

George Hakewill, *An apologie or declaration of the power and prouidence of God in the gouernment of the world: consisting in an examination and censure of the common errour touching natures perpetuall and uniuersall decay, diuided into foure bookes: whereof the first treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatiues therunto: the second of the pretended decay of the heauens and elements, together with that of the elementary bodies, man onely excepted: the third of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of strength and stature, of arts and wits: the fourth of this pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large prooffe of the future consummation of the world from the testimony of the gentiles, and the use which we are to draw from the consideration thereof. The 2nd ed. reu., and in sundry passages augmented by the authour, with aduertisements and tables newly annexed in the end of the booke, an index wherof is presented in the next page.*

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LIB. III.

CHAP. 6. Containing a discourse in generall, that there is no such uniuersall and perpetuall decay in the powers of the minde, or in the Arts and Sciences as is pretended.

SECT. I. The excellency of the ancients in the powers of the minde, compared with those of the present, as also their helps and hinderances in matter of learning, ballanced.

(...) The principall faculties of the soule, are imagination, judgement, and memory. One of the most famous for memory among the ancients, to my remembrance, was Seneca the Father, who reports of himself, that he could repeate two thousand names, or two hundred uerses, brought to his Master by his school fellowes backward and forward (...).

But that which Pasquier hath obserued out of Monstrelet, is yet more memorable, touching a young man who being not about 20 yeares old, came to Paris in the yeare 1445, and shewed himselfe so admirably excellent in all arts, sciences, and languages, that if a man of an ordinary good wit and found constitution should liue one hundred yeares, and during that time study incessantly without eating, drinking, sleeping, or any recreation, he could hardly attaine to that perfection: in so much that some were of opinion, that hee was Antichrist begotten of the Deuill, or somewhat at leastwise about humane condition: (...)

Not to insist upon supernaturals, were there among us that industry, and that union of forces, and contribution of help as was in the ancients, I see no sufficient reason but the wits of

this present age might produce as great effects as theirs did, nay greater, inasmuch as we haue the light of their writings to guide and assist us: wee haue bookes by reason of the art of printing more familiar, and at a cheaper rate: most men being now unwilling to giue three hundred pound for three bookes (...).

Likewise it cannot be denied, but that the encouragements for study and learning were in former times greater (...). Whereunto may bee added, that the ancients copying out their bookes for the most part with their own hands, it could not but worke in them a deeper impression of the matter therein contained, and being thereby forced to content themselues with fewer bookes, of necessity they held themselues more closely to them (...)

CAP. 7. Touching the three principall professions, diuinity; law, and physicke.

SEC. 1. Of the Diuinity of the Gentiles and Jewes before Christ, and the next ages after Christ.
(...) As then the three first Centuries are commended for piety, deuotion, and martyrdom, so is the fourth for learned and famous Diuines. (...) Yet in those uery times, was the Church so rent and torne in sunder with capital heresies, trenching upon the uery uitall parts and fundamental principles of Christian Religion, touching the sacred Trinity, and incarnation of our blessed Sauour, ut illis temporibus ingeniosiores fuit esse Christianum, so as in those times it was a matter of wit to be a Christian: Such were the nicities, wherein their Teachers differed, and such their subtilties, they bound their schollers to maintaine.(...)

SECT. 2. Of ensuing ages.

(...) But about 200 yeares since, together with the Arts, the languages likewise began to reuiue, in somuch as Hebrew and Greeke are now as common as true Latine then was, and for the true sense of holy Scripture, neuer had the Church more judicious and faithfull interpreters, then by the Diuine Prouidence it hath enjoyed these last 100 yeares: besides, the sermons of this latter age, specially in this land, haue doubtles bin more exquisite and effectually, then ordinarily they haue bin in any precedent age; insomuch, as it is obserued, that if there were a choice collection made of the most accurate, since the entrance of Queene Elizabeth, to these present times, (leauing out the largenesse of applications thereupon) it would proue one of the rarest peeces that hath bene published since the Apostles times. Hereunto might be added for practicall diuinitie, the decisions of cases of conscience, which the Ancient did not handle professedly, but onely upon the Bye, and the many singular treatises tending to deuotion, which I wish they were as well practised as they are written. And no doubt but the great agitation of controuersies, which these latter times haue produced, hath not only sharpened the spirits of Diuines, but made the grounds of Christian religion to be better understood. (...)

CAP. 13. That the world shall haue an end by Fire, and by it be entirely consumed.

SECT. 1. That the world shall haue an end, is a point so cleere in Christian Religion, that it needeth not to be proued from the principles thereof, neither is he worthy the name of a Christian who makes any doubt of it.

Hauing now by Gods assistance done with mine Apologie of his Prouidence in the preseruacion of the world, least I should seeme thereby to undermine or weaken the article of our faith touching the worlds end; it remains, that according to promise I endeauour to confirme it, not so much from Scripture which no true Christian can doubt of: And besides, the passages thereof to this purpose, specially in the new Testament are so many and cleere, as to be ignorant of them were stupiditie no lesse grosse, then to deny them phophane impiety. In this chapter then I will propose three things to my selfe; first, to proue by the testimony of the Gentiles, that the world shall haue an end. Secondly, that it shall haue an end by fire: Thirdly and lastly, that it shall by fire be totally and intirely consumed. That the world shall haue an end is as cleere in Christianity, as that there is a Sun in the firmament: And therefore, whereas there can hardly be named any other article of our faith, which some Heretiques haue not presumed to impugne or call into question; yet to my remembrance I neuer met with any who questioned this; and though at this day many and eager be the differences among Christians in other points of Religion, yet in this they all agree and euer did, that the world shall haue an end, and that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, and a day of judgement. And surely as by the euent of many things already fallen out, we are sure that was true which the Prophets and Apostles foretold of them: So arc we as certaine, that all other things, and this in particular shall come to passe, which they haue likewise foretold, though happily we cannot set downe the time or manner of their euent. And inasmuch as we, who now liue, haue seen the accomplishment of many prophesies foretold by the pen-men of holy writ, which our forefathers saw not, if we stedfastly beleeeue not the fulfilling of those which are yet to come in their due time, we shall thereby be made the more guilty, and the lesse excusable before God. Howsoeuer if we beleeeue (as we all pretend) the Scriptures to be the liuely oracles of God, and to haue bin indited by the diuine and sacred inspiration of the holy Ghost; we cannot but withall beleeeue that the consummation of the world shall most undoubtedly in due time, though to us most uncertaine, be accomplished. Now as the cleere light of this truth hath by Gods grace so brightly shined among Christians, that except they wilfully shut their eyes against it, they cannot but apprehend and imbrace it: So did it appeare to the Iewes, though not in so conspicuous a manner; yea, some sparkes of this truth haue beene scattered euen among the Gentiles themselues, so as it were a shame unpardonable for us Christians not to acknowledge it, or somuch as once to doubt of it.

SECT. 1. That the world shall haue an end, by the testimonie of the Gentiles.

Seneca disputing this question, whether a wise man be so sufficiently content with himselfe as he needs not the helpe of any friend; puts the case, *Qualis futura est uita sapientis*, how he would liue being destitute of friends, if he were cast into prison or banished into some desart, or cast upon some strange shoare; his answere is, *Qualis est Iouis cum resolutio mundo*, etc. As Iupiter shall liue when the world shall be dissolued, contenting himselfe with himselfe. [Latin] What is there which is pruiledged from danger of change? not the earth, not the heauens, no nor this whole frame of Creatures, though it be guided by the finger of God, it shall not alwaies

obserue this order, but some one day at last shall turne it out of his course. For all things haue a time to be borne, to increase, and then againe to die and be extinguished. All those things which thou seest wheeling ouer our Heads, and euen those upon which we are seated and settled, as being most solide, shall be surprized and leaue to be. And in another place. *Si potest tibi solatio esse commune fatum, nihil constat loco stabili, and nihil qua sint loto stabit. Omnia sternet abducetque secum uetustas, supprimet montes, maria sorbebit* If the common destiny of all things may any whit comfort thee, there is nothing settled in a stable course, nothing shall alwayes remaine in that state it now stands in; time shall carry downe all things with it, it shall leuell the mountaines and swallow up the seas. And lastly, in his Naturall questions, *unus humanum genus condet dies, one day shall burie all mankind.* Yet it should seeme, that withall he held a restoring of all things againe: *Omne ex integro animal generabitur dabiturque terris homo inscius scelerum and melioribus auspicijs natus. Sed illis quoque innocentia non durabit nisi dum noui sunt, cito nequitia subrepet.* All Creatures shall be againe restored, and mankind shall againe be sent to inhabite the earth; but a kind uoyd of wickednes and borne to a better fortune: yet shall not their innocencie long endure neither, but only whiles they are yet fresh and new, afterward ungratiousnes will by degrees creepe upon them.

Aelian, as I haue already touched to another purpose in the eight booke of his Historie, telleth us, that not only the mountaine Aetna (for thereof might be giuen some reason, because of the daily wasting and consuming of it with fire) but Parnassus and Olympus did appeare to be lesse and lesse to such as sayled at sea, the height thereof sinking as it seemed; and thereupon inferres, that men most skilfull in the secrets of nature did affirme, that the world it selfe should likewise perish and haue an end. His premises I haue in another place sufficiently disproued, but his conclusion inferred thereupon, I cannot but highly approue, and most willingly accept of, as a rich testimony for the confirmation of our Christian doctrine (touching the end of the world) deliuered from the pen of a Gentile, nay he positiuely affirms it to haue beene the opinion of the most skilfull in the secrets of Nature. And certaine it is, that the greatest part of Philosophers before Aristotle, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and others, as they held that the world had a beginning in time, so did they likewise, that in time it should haue an end: And since Aristotle, the greatest part (his followers only excepted) haue euer constantly maintained the same; in so much, that the uery Epicures heerein accord with the Stoickes, though in other opinions they differ as fire and water, as may appeare in Lucretius, by sect an Epicurean, and for his wit much esteemed among the Ancients.

[Latin]

Behold, O Memmi, first the earth, the sea,
The heauen, their three-fold nature, bodies three,
Three shapes so farre unlike, three peeces wrought
And wouen so fast, one day shall bring to naught,
And the huge frame and engine of this all
Upheld so many yeares, at length shall fall.
And Ouid speaking of Lucretius, seemes to haue borrowed from him part of these very words,

Carmina sublimis tum sunt peritura Lucreti
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.
Lucretius loftie rimes so long shall liue
Till to this earth one day destruction giue.

And Lucan as he differs not much from Lucrece in name, so doth he fully accord with him in this opinion.

[Latin]

So When the last houre shall
So many ages end, and this disjoynted all
To Chaos backe returne: then all the starres shall be
Blended together, then those burning lights on high
In sea shall drench, earth then her shores will not extend
But to the waues giue way, the moone her course shall bend
Crosse to her brothers, and disdaining still to driue
Her chariot wheels athward the heauenly orbe shall striue
To rule the day, this frame to discord wholly bent
The worlds peace shall disturbe, and all in sunder rent.

SECT. 3. That the world shall haue an end by fire, proued likewise by the testimony of the Gentiles.

And as they held that the world should haue an end, so likewise that this end should come to passe by fire. Exustionis huius odor quidam etiam ad Gentes manauit, sayth Ludouicus Uiuues, speaking of the generall combustion of the world, some sent of this burning hath spread it selfe euen to the Gentiles. And Saint Hierome in his comment on the 51 of I say; Quae quidem and Philosophorum mundi opinio est omnia quae cernimus igni peritura, which is also the opinion of the Philosophers of this world, that all which we behold shall perish by fire. Eusebius is more particular, affirming it to be the doctrine of the Stoicks, and namely of Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus the most ancient among them. Certaine it is, that Seneca a principall Scholler, or rather Master of that sect, both thought it and taught it: [Latin] The starres shall make inrodes one upon another, and all the whole world being in a flame, whatsoever now shines in comely and decent order shall burne together in one fire. Panaetius likewise the Stoick feared, as witnesseth Cicero, ne ad extremum mundus ignesceret, least the world at last should be burnt up with fire. (...) And with the philosophers their poets accord. Lucan as hee held that the world should haue an end, so in speciall by fire, where speaking of those whom Caesar left unburned at the battle of Pharsalia hee thus goes on.

[Latin]

If fire may not these corpes to ashes turne,

O Caesar, now, when earth and seas shall burne,
It shall: a common fire the world shall end,
And with these bones those heauenly bodies blend.
As for Ouia he deduces it from their propheticall records.

[Latin]

Besides he calls to minde how by decree
Of fates a time shall come when earth and sea,
And heauens high Throne shall faint, and the whole frame
Of this great world shall be consumed in flame.

Which he borrowed, saith Ludouicus Uiues, ex fatis indubie Sybillinis, undoubtedly from the Oracles of Sybilla. And indeed verses there are which go under the name of Sybilla to the very same purpose.

[Latin]

Then shall a burning floud flow from the Heauens on high,
And with its fiery streames all places utterly
Destroy, earth, ocean, lakes, riuers, fountaines, hell,
And heauenly poles: the Lights in firmament that dwell,
Loosing their beauteous forme shall be obscured, and all
Raught from their places down from heauen to earth shall fall.

He that yet desires farther satisfaction in this point may reade Eugubinus his tenth booke de Perenni Philosophia, and Magius de exustione Mundi. And so I passe to my third and last point proposed in the beginning of this Chapter, which is that the whole world by fire shall totally and intirely be consumed.

SECT. 4. That the world shall be by fire totally and finally dissolued and annihilated, prooued by Scripture.

I am not ignorant that the opinions of Diuines touching the manner of the consummation of the world haue beene as different as the greatest part of them are strange and improbable; some imagining that all the Creatures which by Almighty God were made at the first beginning, shall againe be restored to that perfection which they enjoyed before the fall of man. Others that the heauens and elements shall onely be so restored; others that the heauens and onely two of the elements, the aire and the Earth, others againe, that the old world shall be wholly abolished, and a new created in steed thereof; and lastly others which I must confesse, to me seemes the most likely opinion and most agreeable to scripture and reason, that the whole world with all the parts and workes thereof (onely men and Angels, and Diuels, and the third Heauens, the mansion-house of the saints and blessed Angels, and the place and instruments appointed for the tormenting of the damned, excepted) shall be totally and finally dissolued and annihilated: As

they were made out of nothing, so into nothing shall they returne againe; In the proouing whereof I will first produce mine owne arguments, and then shew the weakenes of the aduerse. Man lieth downe, and riseth not, saith Iob, till the heauens be no more. Of old hast thou laide the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the worke of thy hands, They shall perish, but thou shalt endure, saith the Psalmist, which the Apostle in the first to the Hebrewes, and the 10. and the 11. repeates almost in the same words, Lift up your eyes to the heauens, and looke upon the earth beneath; for the heauens shall uanish away like smoake, and the earth shall waxe old as doth a garment, saith the prophet Esay: and in another place: all the host of heauen shalbe dissolued, and the heauen shalbe rolled together as a scroll, and all their host shall fall downe as the leafe falleth off from the uine, and as a falling fig from the figge tree. To the former of which wordes S. Iohn seemes to allude, And the heauen departed as a scroll which is rolled together, Heauen and earth shall passe away, but my word shall not passe away, saith our Sauour. The day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night, in the which the Heauens shall passe away with a great noise, and the Elements shall melt with feruent heate. The earth also, and the workes that are therein shall be burnt up, saith S. Peter. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sate on it from whose face the earth and the heauen fled away, and there was found no place for them, saith S. Iohn. Now I would demaund whether being no more, as Iob; perishing, as Daudid; uanishing away like smoake, dissoluing, rolling together, falling downe as a withered leafe or a dry fig from the tree, as Esay; passing away, as our Sauour; passing away with a great noise; melting with feruent heate, burning up as S. Peter; or lastly flying away, so as their place be found no more, as S. Iohn; doe not include an utter abolition, or at leastwise exclude a restitution to a perfecter estate: once Beza I am sure is so euidently conuincid by the alleadged words of S. Peter, that he plainly confesses the dissolution the Apostle there speakes of to be a kinde of annihilation: And both Tilenus and Meisnerus are confident, that those who hold a restitution will neuer be able to reconcile their opinion with the alleadged Scriptures. If we looke back to higher times before S. Hierome we shall not easily finde any who maintained it. And certaine it is, that Clement in his Recognitions, or whosoeuer were the Author of that worke, brings in S. Peter reasoning with Simon Magus, and teaching that there were two Heauens, the one Superius and inuisibile, and aeternum quod Spiritus beati incolunt: the highest, inuisible and eternall, which blessed spirits inhabite; the other inferius, uisibile, uarijs distinctum syderibus, corruptibile, and in consummatione saeculi dissoluendum, and prorsus abolendum, lower, uisibile, distinguished, with diuerse starres, corruptible, and at the worlds end to be dissolued and utterly abolished. Now though that worke were not Clements, yet was it doubtlesse uery ancient being quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, and remembered by S. Hierome in his Commentaries upon Esay, and is of sufficient authority against those who receiue it: for my selfe I stand not upon his authority but the rock of Scripture and reason drawne from thence, and the force of naturall discourse.

SECT. 5. The same farther prooued by reason.

The first then, and as I conceiue the most weighty argument is taken from the End of the Worlds creation, which was partly and chiefly the glory of the Creator, and partly the use of man, the

Lord Deputy as it were, or Viceroy thereof. Now for the glory of the Creator, it being by the admirable frame of the World manifested unto man, man being removed out of the world, and no Creature being capable of such a manifestation besides him, we cannot imagine to what purpose the frame it selfe should be left and restored to a more perfect estate. The other end being for mans use, either to supply his necessity in matter of diet, of Physick, of building, of apparell; or for his instruction, direction, recreation, comfort and delight; or lastly that therein as in a looking-glasse he might contemplate the wisdome, the power, and the goodnesse of God; when he shall attaine that blessed estate, as he shall haue no farther use of any of these, enjoying perfect happinesse, and seeing God as he is, face to face, the second or subordinate end of the Worlds being must needs be likewise frustrate: And what other end can be giuen or conceiued for the remaining or restoring thereof, for mine owne part I must professe I cannot conceiue. And to affirme that it shalbe restored, and withal to assigne no end wherefore, is ridiculous and unreasonable. An house being built for an inhabitant, as the World was for man. If it be decreed that it shall no more be inhabited, it were but uanity to repaire, much more to adorne and beautifie it farther. And therefore when mankind shall be dislodged and removed from hence, thereupon shall instantly ensue the Consummation or End, not the reparation or restitution, but the End of the world. So the Scriptures call it in plaine termes, and so I beleue it. And in truth some Diuines, considering that of necessity some end must be assigned, haue falne upon ends so absurd and unwarrantable, that the very naming of them were sufficient to make a man beleue there was no such matter indeed. Some then, and that of our owne Church, and that in published bookes for the clearing of this objection, haue fancied to themselues an intercourse of the Saints (after the resurrection) betwixt heauen and earth, and that full Dominion ouer the Creatures which by the fall of Adam was lost. Others are of opinion that the Earth after the day of judgement being renewed with fire, and more pleasantly apparelled, shall be the mansion of such as neither by their merits haue deserued heauen, nor hell by their demerits. And lastly others, that such as haue died in their infancy without circumcision or Baptisme might possesse it. Now what meere dreames these are of idle braines, if I should but endeauour to demonstrate, I feare I should shew my selfe more uaine in vouchsafing them a confutation, then they in publishing them to the World. And yet they are the best we see that Learned men by the strength of their wits can finde out.

My second reason shall be drawne from the nature of the world, and the quality of the parts thereof, which are supposed shall be restored to their originall integrity, and so in that state euerlastingly remaine. I will begin with the uegetables and Creatures endued with sense, and concerning them would willingly learne, whether they shall be all restored, or some onely, namely such as shall be found in being at the day of Iudgment: if all, where shall we finde stowage for them? Surely we may in this case properly apply that which the Euangelist in another case uses figuratiuely, if they should all be restored: euen the world it self could not contain the things which should be restored. if some onely, thē would I gladly know why those some should be vouchsafed this great honour and not all, or how these creatures without a miracle shall be restrained from propagating and multiplying, and that infinitely their kinds by a perpetuall generation. Or lastly, how the seueral individuals of these kinds shall contrary to their primitiue

natures, liue and dure immortally. But to make a good and sound answere to these demaunds, is a point of that difficulty, that the greatest part of Diuines rather choose to leaue out the mixt bodies and preferre only the heauens and the elements to this pretended dignity of restitution; though about the number of the Elements to be restored they all agree not. But heere againe I would demaund, whether the world without the mixt bodies, can truly be sayd to be more perfect and beautifull then before, whether the inbred and inseparable qualities of the Elements, as thickenesse and thinnesse, weight and lightnesse, heate and cold, moisture and drynesse shall remaine? if they shall not, how shall they remaine Elements? if they shall, how without a miracle shall they be suspended from a mutuall intercourse of working one upon another, and a production of Meteors and mixed bodies? And how shall the Earth disuested of the uegetables which apparelled her, and appearing with her naked and dustie face, be sayd to be more amiable then before? Finally, if the heauens according to their Essence shall remaine, how shall they naturally and without a miracle stand still, being now naturally inclined to a circular motion? Or how without a miracle shall the light be increased, and yet the warmth springing from thence be abated, nay wholly abolished? Or if the warmth shall remaine, how can it choose but burne up those parts of the Earth, upon which it neuer ceases to dart perpendicular beames? Or how can the Sunne stand still, and yet inlighten both the Hemespheres, or the starres of that hemesphere which it inlightens at all appeare? To these demaunds, Pererius makes a short answere, and in my judgement a uery strange one, and unworthy the penne of so great a Clarke, that some of these things God hath already done, that we might be induced the more readily to beleue, that they both may, and shall be done againe. And for instance, he allegeth the standing still of the Sunne and Moone at the prayer of Iosuah, and the restrayning of the burning force of the fire, in the Babylonian furnace; but withall foreseeing that those were miracles, for satisfaction thereunto he concludes: *Non agere autem inter se qualitates elementorum, nec lum Syderum calefacere, quamuis nunc ingens esset miraculum, tunc tamen posita semel mundi renouatione non erunt miracula.* It were now a great miracle, that the qualities of the elements should not mutually worke each upon other, or that the light of the starres should not produce warmth, but then the world being renewed, they shall be no miracles. Indeed if the world were so to be renewed as the former essence of it were to be destroyed, or the former qualities to be entinguished, then should I happily allow of his reason as probable and passable; but now granting that the same identicall forme and matter shal, still continue, and that the former qualities shall not be abandoned but perfected, not altered in kinde, but only in degree; I cannot see how it should be held and tearmed a great miracle heretofore, which shall not be so heereafter. And whereas it is said, that the bodies of the Saints shall then naturally liue without meate, which now without a miracle they cannot doe, we must consider, that though the substance of their bodies shall remaine, yet the qualities of them shall be intirely changed, so farre as the Apostle is bold to call it a spirituall bodie. And besides, we may be bold to challenge a speciall priuiledge unto the bodies of the Saints, the temples of the holy Ghost, which without speciall warrant cannot be yeilded to any other Corporeall substance. And withall we must remember, that for the resurrection of the bodie, wee haue an Article in our Creede and most cleere proofes from Scripture, but for the restitution of the Creatures no one such sufficient prooffe, as the mind of a Christian desirous to be truly

informed, can rest fully satisfied therein. Such as they are I will not conceale them. These places then are to that purpose commonly alleaged.

SECT. 6. The arguments commonly alleaged from the Scriptures for the renouation of the world, answered.

Whom the heauens must containe till the times of the Restitution of all things. He layed the foundations of the earth that it should not be remoued for euer, sayth Dauid. And Solomon, one generation passeth and another commeth, but the earth abideth for euer.

Behold I create new heauens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. To which words of the Prophet, S. Iohn seemes to allude, And I saw a new heauen and a new earth, for the first heauen and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea. And for the increase of the light of the Planets and other starres, that passage of the same Prophet is usually alleaged: The light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne seauen fold: But the pretended proofes most stood upon, are drawne from S. Paules Epistles, The fashion of this world passeth away; the fashion not the substance. And againe, The Creature it selfe also shall be deliuered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God. And lastly, heereunto they adde the words of the Psalmist, Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed: not abolished but chaunged: Which words are againe by the Apostle taken up and repeated, Heb. 1. 12. These are, I am sure, the strongest, if not all the pretended proofes that are commonly drawne from the holy Scripture and pressed for the maintenance of the aduerse opinion; the strength of which, I thinke I shall so put backe, as it shall appeare to any indifferent Iudge, that it is in truth but forced and wrested. The passages I will consider in order as they are alleaged, and seuerally examine their ualiditie to the purpose they are urged. First then whereas wee out of the Greeke reade the Restitution of all things, the Syriake Interpreter hath it usque ad Complementum temporum omnium, to the end of all times, whereby none other thing can be understood then the finall consummation of the world; but to take the words as we finde them, The times of restitution are undoubtedly the same, which Saint Peter in the next uerse saue one going before, had tearmed times of refreshing, and by them is meant the actuall fulnesse and perfection of our redemption, [Latin quotation from Calvin], because our restitution and consequently our redemption as yet is but imperfect, whiles we groane under the burden of seruitude. To the second it may be sayd, that in the course of nature, the earth should remaine for euer without decay or diminution, had not the Creator of it decreed by his almighty power to abolish it: But I rather chuse to answere with Iunius, who upon the first place taken out of the Psalme, giues this note, tantisper dum saeculum duraturum est, as long as time shall endure: and upon the second this, hominis uani comparatione, in comparison of the uanishing estate of man. The earth then is sayd to remaine for euer, as circumcision and the Leuiticall Law are sayed to be perpetuall, not absolutely, but comparatiuely. Now for the new heauens and the new earth, it should seeme by the places alleaged, that if it be litterally to be understood of the materiall heauens, they shall not be renewed as the common opinion is, but new Created, creation being a production of some new thing out of nothing: So as it shall not

be a restitution of the old, but a substitution of new, inasmuch as the Prophet Esay addes, the former shall not be remembred, nor come into minde: And Saint Iohn, the first heauen and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea. And Saint Peter, The heauens shall passe away with a noise, and the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt up. And of this opinion, Beza in one place seemes to haue beene: [Latin]. There are promised new heauens and a new earth, not the restitution of the old either unto their former or a better state, neither can I assent unto them, who referre this dissolution to the qualities alone. But seing belike the singularity and absurditie of this opinion, he recalls himselfe in his annotations upon the uery next uerse. But the truth is that by new heauens and a new earth is to be understood in the Prophet Esay, the state of the Church during the kingdome of Christ: and in Saint Peter and S. Iohn, the state of the Saints in the heauenly Ierusalem. For the Prophet, that which I affirme will easily appeare to any understanding Reader that pleaseth to peruse that Chapter; specially if thereunto we adde the latter part of the next touching the same point. For as the new heauens and the new earth which I will make, shall remaine before me, sayth the Lord: so shall your seed and your name continue, and from moneth to moneth, and from sabbaoth to sabbaoth shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. Upon the alleaged passage of the former chapter Iunius and Tremelius giue this note, *Omnia instauraturus sum in Christo*, I will restore all things in Christ: Referring us for the farther illustration thereof to that of the same Prophet in his 25 chapter at the 8 uerse. And for the exposition of the latter passage in the 66 chapter, referres us to that in the 65 going before. So that aswell by the drift and coherence of the text, as by the judgement of sound Interpreters, materiall heauens and earth are not there understood. Which some of our English translatours well perceiuing, haue to the first passage affixed this note, I will so alter and change the state of the Church that it shall seeme to dwell in a new world: And to the second this, Heereby he signifieth the kingdome of Christ, wherein his Church shall be renewed. Yet I will not deny but that the Prophet may in those words likewise allude to the state of the Saints in the heauenly Ierusalem. To which purpose, S. Peter seemes to apply them, according to his promise, sayth he, we looke for new heauens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousnes, that is, by the consent of the best expositours, righteous and just men, who after the day of judgement shall dwell no longer upon the Earth, but in the heauenly Ierusalem. Which Saint Iohn more liuely describes in the 21 of the Reuelation; for hauing sayd in the first uerse, And I saw a new heauen and a new earth, he presently addes in the second, as it were by way of Exposition of the former: And I Iohn saw the holy city new Ierusalem, comming downe from God out of heauen, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; and by the sequele of that Chapter and the latter part of the precedent, it cleerely appeares (whatsoever bright man dreame to the contrary) that he there describes the state of the Saints after the day of judgement, and the glory of that place which they are eternally to inhabite; being such, that it had no need of the Sunne nor of the Moone to shine in it, the glory of God inlightning it, and the Lambe being the light thereof. And Iuniusthus begins his annotations on that chapter: *Nunc sequitur historiae propheticae pars secunda de statu futuro Ecclesiae coelestis post Iudicium ultimum*. Now followes the second part of this propheticall history of the future

state of the Church triumphant after the day of Iudgement: And with him therein accord the greatest part of the soundest and most judicious Interpreters.

The other passage alleaged of the Prophet Esay touching the increase of light in the Sunne and Moone is likewise undoubtedly to be understood of the restauration of his Church, according to the tenour of the chapter, and the annotation of Iunius annexed thereunto, *Illustrissima erunt and gloriosissima omnia in restitutione Ecclesiae*, all things shall then be more beautifull and glorious in the restitution of the Church. And with him fully accord our English notes, when the Church shall be restored, the glory thereof shall passe seauen times the brightnesse of the Sunne. For by the Sunne and Moone which are two excellent Creatures, he sheweth what shall bee the glory of the Children of God in the kingdome of Christ.

Now for the words of the Apostle, *The fashion of this world passeth away*, what other thing intends he, but that in these wordly things, there is nothing durable and solide, elegantly thereby expressing the uanitie of them, in which exposition, both Iunius and Caluin agree. That of the same Apostle in the 8 to the Romans, touching the deliuering of the Creature from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God, is I confesse in appearance more pressing. But this passage the great wit of Saint Augustine found to be uery obscure and perplexed, in somuch as not a few understand those words of Saint Peter of this particular, that in Saint Paules Epistles some things are hard to be understood. It were then in my judgement no small presumption upon a place so intricate and difficult peremptorily to build so uncertaine a doctrine. But because it is so hotly urged as a testimony unanswereable, let us a little examine the parts and sense thereof. First then it is cleere, that the Creature may be deliuered from the bondage of corruption, and yet not restored to a more perfect and beautifull estate, in asmuch as being annihilated, it is thereby freed from that abuse of wicked and ungratefull men, which heere it is of necessity still subject unto. But all the doubt is, how the Creature shall be made partaker of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God. I hope no man will dare to affirme that they shall be with them Coheires of eternall blessednes, as the words seem to import; how then are they made partakers of this glorious liberty? But in asmuch as when the sonnes of God shall be made partakers thereof, the Creature shall be altogether freed from the bondage of corruption: So as that, into the liberty of the sonnes of God, is no more then together with the liberty of the Sons of God, or, by reason of the liberty of the Sons of God, as Saint Chrysostome hath expounded it. They which maintaine any other future liberty in the Creature by way of restitution or bettering it, are bound soundly to answer all the arguments before alleaged, and withall to yeeld a sufficient reason why some Creatures are to be restored and not all, since the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not to some only. Surely S. Ambrose in his Expositions upon that place, durst goe no farther then we doe, *habet enim in labore posita Creatura hoc solatium quoniam habebit requiem, cum crediderint omnes quos scit Deus credituros*: the Creature traueiling in paine hath this comfort, that it shall rest from labour, when they shall all beleue, whom God knowes are to beleue. And in truth this is as much as we neede beleue, and as the words being fauourably interpreted doe inforce.

The last testimony mustered against us was taken from the Psalmist, *Thou shalt change them and they shall be changed*: But since in the same uerse he likewise tels us, *They shall*

perish; what change shall we there understand? Surely for the same thing to bee sayd to bee chaunged into a better and more perfect estate, and yet withall at the same time to perish, cannot properly be uerified. We are to know then that a thing may be chaunged, not only by alteration, which is a chaunge in the quality, but by augmentation or diminution, which is a chaunge in the quantity; by corruption, which is a chaunge in the substance; or lastly, (though in a larger, and perchaunce somewhat unusuall acceptation) by annihilation, which is a totall abolishing of the substance: And this in truth is the greatest chaunge that may be, it being ab ente ad non ens simpliciter, from a being to a not being wholly. And of such a chaunge must the Psalmist of force be understood, if we will reconcile him with himselfe, and the passages before alleaged; or (if this satisfie not) we may say (as some doe) that the heauens shall be changed in regard of us; instead of uisible and materiall heauens, (the use of which wee now enjoy) wee shall be translated to an heauen immateriall and inuisible, the celestial paradise, the heauenly Ierusalem, which in holy Scriptures is likewise tearmed a new heauen. Notwithstanding all this (for the reuerence I beare antiquitie) I will not be peremptory in the point. But truly me thinkes, that a few obscure places should rather be expounded by many cleere, then the cleere wrested to the obscure.
(...)

CAP. 14. Of the Uses we are to make of the Consummation of the world, and of the day of Iudgement.

SECT. 1. That the day of the worlds end shall likewise be the day of the generall iudgement thereof, and that then there shall bee such a iudgement, is proued aswell by reason as the testimonie of the Gentiles.

Whatsoever be the manner of the worlds end, most certaine it is, an end it shall haue, and as certaine that then we shall all appeare before the Iudgement seate of Christ, that euery man may receiue according to that which he hath done in his body, whether it be good or euill. If we yeeld that there is a God, and that this God is Almighty and just (which of necessity he must be, or otherwise he may not be God) it cannot be auoyded, but that after this life ended, he administer justice unto men, by punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous: Since in this world the one commonly liue in ease and prosperity, and the other in misery and persecution. Shall not then the Iudge of all the world doe right? doubtles he shall and will. Some therefore he punisheth exemplarily in this world, that we might from thence haue a tast or glimce of his present iustice: And others he reserueth to the next, that from thence we might haue an assurance of a future iudgement, which is either particular, as we are single persons at the day of the separation of the soule from the body, which wee may call the Priuy Sessions of the soule; or uniuersall, as we are parcels of mankinde, at the last day, which we may call the generall Assise both of soule and bodie.

And that there shall be such a generall judgement, beside the particular, we haue these reasons to induce us to beleue it. First, that the body of man rising from his sepulchre at that day

may be partaker of eternall punishment or glory with the soule, euen as in this life it was participant of the uertues or uices which the soule did execute; as they either sinned together, or serued God together. So is it most fit that they should receiue the sentence of eternall life or death together. Yet because the soule both may, and often doth, either sinne or serue God without the bodie, but the body of it selfe can doe neither without the soule; therefore is it as requisite, that the separated soule should either suffer paine or enjoy blisse, whiles the body rests in the graue: And being reunited and married againe unto the body, should partake more either of blisse or paine then it.

As this first reason is taken from the essentiall parts, so the second reason, that there shall be an uniuersall and publique judgement, is drawne from the Actions of the persons to be judged and their rewards. Though it be true then, that if men were rewarded in secret both in soule and in in bodie according to their actions the justice of God might by that meanes be preserued, yet could it not be sufficiently manifested, unlesse this judgement were acted in the publique uiew of the whole world. Many good men haue heere been openly oppressed and troden under foote; and on the other side, the wicked haue flourished in abundance of outward peace and temporall felicity, which hath made the best of Gods seruants at times to stagger and stand amazed thereat: But then shall they and all the world cleerely see, and confidently professe to the honour of Diuine justice, Uerily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtles there is a God that judgeth the Earth. And in regard of this conspicuous manifestation of Gods justice and full accomplishment thereof at the last day, not a few of the Greeke and Latine Fathers, as also the holy Scriptures themselues in sundry places seeme to say, the retribution of our workes in the flesh shall be differred till then. Now besides this honour which shall accrew to the justice of God, both wicked sinners and the blessed saints of God shall then receiue their rewards and finall payments openly in the sight and hearing of each other, to the end, that the grieffe and shame of the impious, and the triumphant joy of the uertuous and religious, might therby be the more increased. For what greater heartbreaking and confusion can there bee to the one, then to haue all their secret faults layd open, and the sentence of Condemnation passed upon them in the presence of them whom they derided and uilified; or what greater comfort and content to the other, then to be justified and rewarded in the uiew of them, who were their professed enemies.

Lastly, as our blessed Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, (who shall then appeare as Iudge) at his first comming into this world was contemptible in the eye of wordlings, and dishonoured publicquely both in his life and death: So was it conuenient, that once in this world hee should shew his power, and Majesty, and that in the sight of all his Creatures, but specially of his wicked enimies, who after that day are neuer to see or behold him more.

To these reasons may be added the testimonie of the uery Gentiles, of Hydaspes, Hermes, and Sybilla; whereof the first hauing described the iniquity of the last age, sayes that the godly and righteous men being seuered from the untighteous, shall with teares and groanes lift up their hands to heauen imploring the helpe of Iupiter, and that thereupon Iupiter shall regard the earth, heare their prayers and destroy the wicked: Quae omnia uera sunt praeter unum quod Iouem dixit illa facturum quae Deus faciet, saith Lactantius, all which things are true, saue one, which is, that he ascribes that to Iupiter which God shall doe. And besides (sayth he) it was not without the

cunning suggestion of Sathan left out that then the Sonne of God shall be sent from the father, who destroying the wicked, shall set the righteous at liberty. Which Hermes notwithstanding dissembled not. Part of Sybilla's verses alleaded by Lactantius in Greeke, may thus be rendred in Latine and English:

[Latin]

When God shall to this world its fatall period send
The immortall, mortall men in judgment shall arraigne,
Great shall his judgment be, his Kingdome without end.

And againe,

[Latin]

Tartarean Chaos then Earth opening wide shall show,
And then all kings before Gods judgment seat shall bow.

And in another place.

[Latin]

Rolling up Heauen I will Earths secret uaults disclose,
Deaths sting also and bonds of fate will I unloose:
Then shall the dead arise, and all both small and great,
Both good and bad shall stand before my judgment seat.

Ouer and aboue these Prophets and men of learning, Peru the South part of America doth yeeld to us an ignorant people, who by the light of Nature and a generall apprehension (for God knoweth they haue nothing else) doe beleue that the world shall end, and that there shall be then a reward for the good and for the euill according to their desert.

SECT. 2. The consideration of this day may first serue for terrour to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulness of the day it selfe, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed.

The certainty then of this uniuersall Iudgment at the last day being thus cleerely prooued, not only by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, but by the light of reason and the testimonies of the Gentiles, the consideration thereof may justly serue for terrour to the wicked, it being to them a day of wrath and uengeance; for comfort to the Godly, it being to them a day of refreshing and full redemption; and lastly for admonition and instruction to both. First then it may justly serue for matter of extreame terrour to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulness of the day in which they shall be tryed, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed, or the nature and number of their accusers that shall bring in euidence against them,

or the presence of such an assembly of men and Angels before whom they shall be arraigned, or their owne guiltinesse and astonishment, or lastly the sharpnesse and seuerity of the sentence that shall passe upon them. The uery face and countenance of that day shall be hideous and dismall to looke to, it shall be apparelled with horreur and affrightment on euery side: That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and heuinesse, a day of destruction and desolation, a day of gloominesse and darknesse, a day of clouds, stormes and blacknesse, a day of the trumpet and alarme against the strong cities and against the high towres. Then shall the Sun be darkned, and the Moone shall be turned into bloud, and the starres shall fall from heauen as it were withered leaues from their trees, and the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and the graues shall uomit up their dead bodies, the heauens shall passe away with a noise, and shriuel together like scorched parchment, the elements shall melt and dissolue with heat, the sea and flouds shall roare, and the Earth with the works that are therein shall be burnt up, there shall be horrible clapps of thunder and flashes of lightning, uoyces and earthquakes, such as neuer were since men dwelt upon the earth: such howling, such lamentations, such skriches shall be heard in euery corner, that the hearts of men shall tremble and wither for uery feare and expectation of those things which at that day shall befall them.

And now tell me what mortall heart can choose but ake and quake at the remembrance of these unspeakable incomprehensible terrours. The Law was giuen with thunder and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, with an exceeding lowde and shrill sound of the trumpet, so that all the people were afrayde, yea so terrible was the sight, that Moses said, I feare and quake. Now if Moses the seruant of the Lord quaked to heare the first trumpet at the giuing of the Law, how shall the wicked, condemned in their owne Conscience, tremble and quake to heare the second at the execution thereof?

Specially being arraigned at the barre of such a Iudge, apparelled with Robes of Majesty, and attended with millions of Angels. A Iudge so soueraigne as there lyes no appeale from him; so wise as nothing can escape his knowledge; so mighty as nothing can resist his power, so upright as nothing can peruert his justice, who neither can bee deceiued with sophistry, nor blinded with gifts, nor terrified with threats. They shall looke upon him whom they haue wounded and gored with the speare of their blasphemies, with the nailes of their cursings and cursed oathes; whom they haue buffeted and spit upon with their impiety and prophanesse; whom they haue again crucified to themselues by their diuelish and damnable actions, trampling his pretious Bloud under foot by their impenitencie, putting him to open shame by their infidelity, making a mock of him by their obstinacy, and turning his grace into wantonnes by their presumption. Holy Augustine in one of his Sermons of the last Iudgment, brings in this glorious Iudge thus expostulating the matter with these miscreants at that Day.

O man with mine owne handes did I fashion thee out of the slime of the earth: into thy earthly members did I infuse a spirit: I uouchsafed to bestow upon thee mine own Image: I placed thee among the delights of Paradise: but thou contemning the uitall efficacy of my Commandements, choosedst rather to listen to the tempter, then thy God. And when being expelled out of Paradise by reason of sin thou wert held in the chaines of death, I was inclosed in the Uirgins wombe, I was layde in the cratch, I was wrapped in swathing clothes, I endured the

scorne of infancy and the grieffe of manhood, that so being like unto thee, I might make thee like unto my selfe. I bore the buffetings and spittings of scorners, I dranke uineger mixed with gall, I was scourged with whippes, crowned with thornes, nayled to the crosse, gored with a speare, and that thou mightest be freed from death, in torments I parted with my life. Looke upon the print of the nayles, behold the skarres of my wounds: I took upon me thine infirmities, that I might impart unto thee my glory. I underwent the death due to thee, that thou mightst liue for euer. I was buried in a sepulchre, that thou mightest raigne in Heauen. Why hast thou wilfully lost that which I by my sufferings purchased for thee? Why hast thou spurned at the gracious gift of thy Redemption. I complaine not of my death, only render unto me that life for which I gaue mine. Render me that life which by the wounds of thy sinnes thou dayly killest. Why hast thou polluted with more then beastly sensuality that temple which in thee I consecrated to my selfe? Why hast thou stained my body with filthy prouocations? Why hast thou tormented me with a more grieuous crosse of thy sinnes, then that upon which I sometimes hung: for the crosse of thy sinnes is more grieuous (in as much as unwillingly I hang upon it) then that other which taking pity upon thee, and to kill thy death I willingly mounted. I being impassible in my selfe uouchsafed to suffer for thee: but thou hast despised God in man, saluation in mine infirmity, pardon from thy Iudge, life from my crosse, and wholesome medicine from my sufferings.

Now what flinty or steely heart in the world could choose but resolute it selfe into teares of bloud upon such an expostulation were it moistned with any drop of grace? But heereunto might be added, that thou hast often joyned with his enemies against him, turned the deafe eare to the ministry of his Word, jested at his threatnings, neglected his gracious inuitations, quenched his holy inspirations, abused his Sacraments and his patience, which being long abused at length is turned into fury. This Lambe of God therefore shall then shew himselfe as a Lyon, he shall then put on righteousnesse for a brest-plate, and take true judgment in steed of an helmet, then shall he put on the garments of uengeance for cloathing, and be clad with zeale as with a cloake; Then shall hee come in strength as a storme of haile, and as a whirlewinde breaking and throwing downe whatsoever standeth in his way, as a rage of many waters that flow and rush together. The mountaines shall melt and fly away at his presence, a burning fire shall run before him, and on euery side of him a uiolent tempest. And if Felix himselfe a iudge trembled to heare Paul (who as a prisoner was arraigned before him) disputing of this Last Iudgment, how shall the guilty prisoners tremble before the face of this Iudge, being both the Iudge and the party offended? If the Iewes who came to attach him fell backward at the hearing of his uoyce in the dayes of his humiliity, how shall the wicked stand amazed and confounded at his presence when he comes to iudge them in glory and maiesty? Surely for them to endure the fiercenes of his angry countenance wilbe intollerable, and yet to fly from it impossible, and the more intollerable will it be in regard of the nature and number of their accusers.