

A  
Commentary  
Upon The  
Divine Revelation  
Of The  
Apostle and Evangelist Iohn.  
By  
David Pareus.  
Translated  
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English by Elias Arnold.

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Unto which in the last place wee must adde diligent meditation, and ardent prayer, that the Spirit of God who revealed these mysteries to *Iohn*, do enlighten the eyes of our mindes with heavenly knowledge to finde out the wisdom of this Booke. For blessed is hee that readeth: and blessed are they that heare the words of this Prophecie, and keepe them, that is, which diligently meditate, and labour exactly to weigh these oracles in an equall ballance, with the events past, present, and to come.

Rev. 1. 3.  
Es 22. 7. 14.

## CHAPTER. IV.

*Touching Ancient and Moderne Interpreters of the Revelation, and of the manner of Interpreting observed by them.*

I Have spoken of the Authour, and Canonickall Authority, and obscurity of the Revelation, and shewed that in these things is nothing to hinder us from the interpretation thereof.

The objection about the Interpreters is of no weight. I confesse that not a few Divines of great account, as *Luther*, *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, *Martyr*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, and others have abstained from the Interpretation of the Revelation. But this neither doth lessen the authority of the Booke, neither doth it prejudice other Interpreters: for who knowes, whither the darkenesse of the Book, or their other waightry labours, or want of time did occasion the same, certaine it is, they no way questioned the authority of the Booke.

In the meane while, in all Ages there have beene excellent Teachers of the Church, who have laboured to illustrate the secrets of this Booke by their Commentaries.

The Ancientest that have written upon the Revelation, are *Iustine Martyr*, and *Irenæus* Bishop of Lyons, and *Meliso* of Sardis, as *Ierome* and *Eusebius* record. But their Commentaries have not been preserved untill our times: save onely that some few fragments of this nature touching the ten hornes of the Beast, the two horned Beast, of the image, Character, Number and Name of the Beast arising out of the Sea, are found in *Irenæus* Lib. 5. Cap. 21. 23. 25.

In vita Iobannæ.

Eus. lib. 5.  
hist. eccl. 25.

Among *Augustins* workes wee finde a few Homilies upon the Revelation, which notwithstanding are ascribed to *Ticonius* by *Bede*, who himselfe also hath commented some things upon the *Apocalyps*.

But *Austine* in that divine Commentary de *Civitate Dei* endeavours to search not a few mysteries of this Booke, touching *Gog* and *Magog*, touching the thousand yeeres of Satans binding and loosing, of the first and second Resurrection, of the Saints reigning with Christ a thousand yeeres, of the fire falling from heaven and devouring the ungodly, of the casting of the devill and his followers into the lake of fire, of the dead, which the Sea, Death, and Hell, shall give up to be judged, and lastly touching the *New Heaven* and the *New Earth*, &c.

Lib. 20. de  
C. D. à cap.  
7. usq; ad  
18.

Wee have also some what upon the Revelation under the name of *Ambrose*: but it may plainly be gathered from the worke it selfe, that it is later then *Ambrose*.

In the latter Ages among *Monkes* and *Schoolemen*, almost no Booke hath had so many Interpreters, as the *Apocalyps*, seeing no man but thought it a fine thing to exercise his wit in the opening of such dark *Ænigmas*, either for ostentation sake, or to delight himselfe with Allegories, a long Catalogue of which, even above an hundred, as well of such as are extant, as not, that upstart Interpreter, before mentioned, hath reckoned up. And among these hee commends foure Manuscripts which he found in the Libraries of Spaine. Vndoubtedly our *Germany* hath more. I have seene a compendious Exposition of *Iohns* Revelation

Alcasar.  
Vestigat.  
Not. 26.  
Proam.

velation written in the yeere 1486. by *Iohannes Hilten* a Franciscane: who also, (as they say) foretold many other things.

At *Heidelberg* in the Librarie of *WISDOMS Colledge* is extant a Commentarie of two big Volumes, written a little before that time by *Richard Faber* of *Landenburg* an *Augustinian*.

*Luther* also published a short Commentary upon the Apocalyps at *Wueberg* Anno. 1528. sent unto him out of *Livonia*, having no name unto it: the which *Conr. Gesnerus* in his *Bibliotheca* ascribeth unto *Iohn Hulse*. But it plainly appeareth to be more ancient. The Postill of *Lyra* ascribes the prologue of that namelesse Authour, which beginneth thus, *All that will live godly*, &c. unto *Silbertus Pictaviensis*, who flourished under the Emperour *Conradus* about the yeer 1140. But by the 20<sup>th</sup> Chapter it appears not to be so ancient, for the Authour there disputing touching *the thousand yeeres*, testifies, that hee wrote in the yeer, from the Incarnation of Christ, 1357. *Which*, saith he, *is our present date*. He often expressly interpreteth the *Papacy* for Antichrists kingdome, the *Pope* for Antichrist: which therefore I rebeare, least any might imagine, that wee were the first Authours of this opinion. Yea *Pope Gregory* above a 1000. yeeres ago doubted not confidently to lay, that that *Priest* should be Antichrist, or his Forerunner, who should arrogate the Title of *UNIVERSAL* unto himself, which a while after, as is knowne, the Bishops of *Rome* themselves did doe. But of this more in its place.

*Alcasar* also hath raked together many latter Writers upon this Booke, of his owne order.

Protestant  
Interpre-  
ters of the  
Revelation

But of ours not a few Divines of excellent learning, have in the foregoing age put their hands to this Prophecie, among whom notwithstanding in my judgement *Henry Bullinger* of *Helvetia* is most eminent, whom almost all do follow, as *David Chytrius*, *Alfonsus Chytrius*, *Franciscus Lambertus*, *Sebastianus Meyerus*, *Nicolaus Collado*, *Iohannes Foxus*, *Benedictus Arelius*, *Matthias Illyricus*, *Augustinus Marloratus*, *Petrus Ariopagus*, *Franciscus Junius*, *Daniel Tossanus*. And of late in this our age *Iohn Napier* a Scotchman, *Thomas Brightman* an Englishman, *Raphael Eglinus*, *Conradus Graferus* a Germane, *Iohannes Piscator*, *Matthias Hoe*, *Matthias Costerius* a French man, with others whom I have not seene.

But thou wilt say, to what end are all these named? To wit to shew what I purposed, that nothing of the authority of this Booke is hereby diminished, because (as hath bin objected) some worthy Divines have abtained from interpreting the same.

Touching the manner of interpretation, which every of them hath followed, and whether, being so many, they have effected what they desired and ought to have done: would be too long to explicate; neither is it to the purpose in hand. This one thing perhaps may be affirmed without injurie to any of them all, that to this Booke hath happened, what the Evangelist *Marke* writeth of the woman diseased with an issue of blood: *that shee had suffered many things of the Physitians, and it availed her nothing, but she became much worse*: perhaps not so much by reason of the Physitians unskilfullnesse, as the incurablenesse of the disease, namely the healing thereof being reserved for to illustrate the glory of Christ.

Mar. 5. 26

For while so many (every one following the force and reason of his own wit) have uttered such various things touching these enigmaticall Visions, piously indeed, as I suppose, yet little cohering with themselves, or with the scope or meaning of the Holy Ghost: it is come to passe, that indeed there are extant an heap of Commentaries upon this Booke, every of which promisseth a new light unto the Prophecie, whereas the obscurity thereof is not onely not lessened thereby, but in some places also more darkened. For some applie the *Ænigmæ* of the Revelation unto the History of the Ancient Church: Others diversly unto the continued period of the New Church: Others in every particular have

The different  
manner of in-  
terpreting.

have imagined unto themselves mysticall meanings; thinking, as the saying is, that under every stone gold lay hid: *Others* turned all things into tropes and morall Allegories: *Others* have laboured prophetically to presage and find out future things, even more then was lawfull for men to know: yea hardly among so many (which commonly is said of Chronicles) thou shalt find two or three agree: which disagreement verily argues that the difficultie of the Booke is not yet by so great variety of Authours wholly taken away, but rather encreased: not so much by a blame-worthy ignorance of Interpreters; as in regard of the incomprehensible wisdom of the Prophecie it selfe: the full revelation whereof is undoubtedly reserved unto the manifestation of Christ our Lord.

Notwithstanding I write not these things touching Interpreters, as if I would detract any thing from the labours of so many learned men, or thought that by their labour nothing of these mysteries were brought to light or explicated: and that I at length in all these *Ænigmæes*, had (as the saying is) hit the naile on the head. Far be it: for I doubt not in the least, but that a great part of these Types by foregoing and present events are so manifestly brought to light, that the truth of them may daily bee seene and felt, of such, who, as the Holy Ghost requireth (*τις υὸν ἔχει*) have understanding. Yea I ingeniously professe that I have bin very much helped by the Commentaries of most of them, especially *Bullingers* and *Brighmans*; Now what I further judge touching the whole form, method, and manner of interpreting the Revelation, I will by and by shew,

## CHAPTER. V.

*Of the dignity, time, profit, and scope of this Prophecie.*

I Have spoken of the Authour and authority, of the obscurity and Interpreters of the Revelation; and thus I have freed this Booke from a three-fold slander: first as if it were not *Canonically*: secondly obscure, as not to be understood: thirdly of neglect; as if for this cause the worthiest Divines had hitherto shunned the interpretation thereof.

There remaine two other scandals to be taken away: one of the *order*: that this Booke is the last of the New Testament: the other of *errour*: that it containes somethings not agreeable to Apostolicall Faith: both these clouds will be dispersed by the consideration of the dignity of this Prophecie, which (like the Morning Starre above the rest) shineth most clearly among the other Bookes of the New Testament.

What therefore respects the Order, so farre is it from diminishing the worth of the Booke in any kind, as it the more commendeth the same. For it is in very deed a divine Seale, by which the Holy Ghost was pleased, not without reason, to close up both the Old and the New Canon of the divine Scriptures: which manifestly appeareth from that prophetical Protestation at the end of the Booke, by which such are pronounced blessed who observe the words of this Prophecie: the falsifiers on the contrary that presume to adde or take ought therefrom, are threatned with curses: for *unto them that adde, God shall adde the plagues that are written in this Booke: to them that take away, God shall take away his part out of the Booke of Life, and out of the HOLY CITY, and from the things that are written in this Booke.* What could be expressed more honourable concerning this Prophecie: for if it be unlawfull to adde ought thereto: then certainly in all respects it is absolute, perfect, divine, and the word of God, unto which nothing without impiety may bee added by men, Again if nothing may be taken away from the same, then it is Sacred, inviolable, divine, and the word of God, which onely cannot bee broken. Thus we see that

(B 3)

Rev. 22.18

The Canonically authority of the Revelation confirmed from the order thereof.

Job. 10.35.

the

things considered, I suppose that the third opinion touching the *Beast-Antichrist* is sufficiently confirmed. Notwithstanding, if these things are not fully satisfactory to any: such then I onely desire that they will rest in the reasons laid down, untill they heare *Iohn* himselfe in Chap. 17. give the interpretation of this mysterie. For from that fountain the sence of this place is to be drawn, howsoever those interpreters seeme to me inconsiderate, who apply all the mysteries of that place to this here, for they ought to observe, that the spirit doth purposely and in great wisdom produce this monstre in foure distinct visions, (viz. the third, fourth, fift, and sixt) acting or suffering diuerse and different things, that the former things may the more clearly be known by the latter.

Who Antichrist should be, questioned betwixt us and the Papists. The Papists description of Antichrist.

And hitherto indeed such of the Papists agree with our interpreters, who acknowledge *Antichrist* to be noted by this *Beast* whither wholly considered, or in one of his heads.

But we disagree in judgement about the question, *who is that Antichrist figured out by this Beast.*

The Papists (that the Pope might not be suspected to be he) feign such an Antichrist (as we have more then once before spoken of: to wit) a certaine Jew begot by an euill spirit, and to be borne of a Iewish woman near the end of the world: whom the Jews shall acknowledge for their *Messias*, and who (as they say) in the space of *three years and six months* shall subdue all the kingdoms of the world, yea the Romane Empire also (but yet not take up the title of a Romane Emperor) seduce the whole earth, rebuild the temple of *Ierusalem*, sit and reign there: he shall restore *Rome*, which ten Kings (having thrust out the Pope) had burnt with fire, there he shall reign and literally fulfill all things which here are recorded of both Beasts. Touching the vanity of which fabulous opinion (which al may see was forged for the destruction of the Christian world) we have spoken enough before on Chap. 9. and 11.

Antichrist described by the Protestants.

Our Divines on the contrary affirme, that no man is more evidently represented by this most monstrous Beast then the Papall Empire or Pope of Rome: of whom *Alphonſus Maſſermanus* thus writeth: *Iohn* (saith he) being to describe *Antichrist's* ravenous extortion, & venomous rage against the godly, types him out under the monstrous image of a horrible Beast, which neither could be termed a Lyon, or a Beare, or any such like creature, but one in whom was contained the fiercenesse of all wilde beasts. By this Beast therefore *Antichrist* is undoubtedly to be understood: whensoever then *Antichrist* is mentioned, we need not seek him in Babilon, but in the head of the fourth Monarchie, so wit, at Rome, &c. Furthermore, I see not who he should be, save the Pope, whose kingdom and tyranny if we compare with the things spoken in Daniel of the little horn, it will abundantly appeare, that it is he who fully acts all the parts of *Antichrist*, &c.

Alcasars reasons answered.

This opinion seems indeed to *Alcasar* to be foolish and vain: but not so unto us in the least, but rather he himself is ridiculous in deceiving both himself and others by his idle and foolish reasons. It is apparent (saith he) that the Popes authority, is founded, stablished, and erected by Christ our Lord. As if forsooth whatsoever seems right and apparent to them, must needs be true & certain. What I pray you is more apparent, then that the Priesthood of *Aaron* was appointed of God? And yet was not *Cayphas* the high Priest his Successour a wicked murderer of Christ? Besides the ancient Bishops of *Rome* were not guilty of that filthinesse and corruption, with which afterward the succeeding Popes having invaded the Chaire of *misverſall* preſcience, defiled the sea of *Rome*.

Further, he feigneth, that if the Popes of *Rome* be this *Beast*, then the Diuel made war against the Church by the ministry of the *Romish* Popes immediately when (the Jews ceasing) the Gentiles became the Church. But the consequence which he supposeth is false, viz. that the transferring of the Church unto the Gentiles is not described till in Ch. 12. for what was the treading down of the holy city by the Gentiles, before treated of in Ch. 11? Wherefore it certainly follows, that the *Romane* Popes by the instigation of the Dragon made war against the Church trodden down by the Gentiles,

*Gentiles*, that is, as *Ribera* interprets it, by Antichrist and his ministers.

But saith he, it is altogether improbable that the Revelation should omit to mention that most cruel war, by which the idolatrous *Romane Emperors* oppressed the *Christian Church*, together with that most glorious victory, wherein the Church obtained, notwithstanding the persecution of the *Romane Empire*. I confesse it is improbable. But *Alcasar* might have learned from the foregoing war of *Michael with the Dragon*, that neither this war was omitted, nor the victory passed by in silence, if he would wipe off from his eyes the disease occasioned by his own foolish consequence.

Fourthly, he objects, that the fourth Beast in *Daniel* figures out, not the Pope, but the heathen *Romane Empire*. But this hath been answered in what we spake unto the first opinion.

Lastly, he saith that the description of the Sea beast cannot but with contradiction be applyed unto the Pope. But the reason thereof is, because he disdaines out of a Spanish pride, to read what hath been published hereabout by the authours of the said opinion: for this subtle man acknowledgeth, that he knows nothing but by heare-say, and refutes the hereticks by the report he hath heard. But he should have learned rather to believe his eyes then eares, and so doing, he would have made the better application. Thus I have expounded the most probable opinions of others touching this Sea-Beast.

*Alcasar*  
strongly re-  
futes the  
hereticks by  
hear-say.

Now for my own part, I conceive that neither the first touching the *Romane Empire*, nor the third concerning the *Romane Antichrist* is simply to be approved or disapproved, but that in a certain sence, both are to be joyned together.

The authors  
opinion.

First therefore I take it undoubtedly (seeing it is usuall to the Prophets under the type of a Beast enigmatically to figure out Empires and Monarchicall kingdoms, because of their violence, cruelty, and other horrible excesse) that by this Beast is also noted some certain Monarchicall Empire.

Secondly, I suppose the thing it self makes it clear, as in its place shall be shewed, that this and the seven headed beast mentioned *Cha. 17.* is one and the same, and that the seven mountaines, signifie *Rome*.

Thirdly, I affirme with the foresaid interpreters, that this Beast, as hath been even now proved, signifies Antichrist.

Fourthly, (with *Rupertus* & *Bellarmin*) I judge that the same Antichrist in a diverse regard is figured out by both Beasts. The Beast (saith *Rupertus*) is said to be twofold, because of his double, viz. warlike, or Kingly and magicall force: Or as *Bellarmin*: By the one, Antichrist is expressed, in regard of his kingly power and tyranny: But by the other, in regard of his magicall art, by which he subtilly seduceth men: More rightly according to *Revel. cha. 13.* by one is meant his tyranny: by the other his deceit and seducing: for which cause afterward he is often called a false prophet: And so *ch. 17.* he is again represented by this Beast as a Monarch: and by the woman riding thereon, as a Queen, or seducing Church. Fifthly, I conclude, that Antichrist is figured out by a double beast, and by his twofold rising out of the sea & earth, as it were living on the land & sea, having two bodies, two shapes, & a twofold nature, in a certain likenes to Christ: here indeed as a secular Monarch and ecclesiasticall seducer: but afterward as the *Romane Monarch* and adulterous Church. Sixthly, I conclude, that neither the old nor the new *Romane Empire* simply, nor the *Romish prelature* is absolutely represented by this beast (for absolutely neither the one nor other is Antichrist) but that *Romane Pontificall Empire* and authority, which the Popes of *Rome* have exercised these many ages. Lastly, I conclude, that this double bodied and faced Antichrist living both on the land and sea, signified by both the beasts is none other but the *Romish Pope*, clothed with the spoiles of the *Romane Monarchie*, and pretended Vicarship of Christ, and armed with the sword of *Paul*, and key of *Peter*, that is, with both powers: The Temporall to let up and put downe Emperours and Kings, &c. The Spirituall to give Lawes both to them in heaven, on earth, and under the earth: that Antichrist, I say, who first under the figure of a Sea-beast, presently after under the figure of a land-beast doth

*Lib. 8 in*  
*Apoc.*  
*Bel. lib. de*  
*R.P.C. 25.*



here come forth on the theatre, who one while is cloathed in his pontificals, an other while comes armed into the councell with imperiall ensignes, saying *I am Caesar*.

This is my opinion of *Antichrist*, who is here so evidently figured out by the *seven-headed beast*, and fained likenesse to the Lamb: and afterward Chap. 17. by the *seven-headed beast and woman riding thereon*: that no man, unlesse he willingly shut his eyes against the light, cannot but perceive the same. This light our method brings to al (who without it are in darknes) the which henceforward we will labour to illustrate by our interpretation unto Gods glory.

See Ver. 18.

But thou wilt say, wherefore then doth not John expressly name the Pope or Antichrist? because here he stands not in the place of a teacher, but of a Prophet. Teachers indeed are to expresse things plainly: but Prophets foretelling things to come especially of dangerous consequence, (set them forth under dark and obscure types:) hereby to stir men up to the more diligent searching out of the events: and to shun unnecessary displeasure. John in his Epistles, where he onely teacheth and exhorteth the Church, often names *Antichrist*, and bids us avoid him. But here as a Prophet he paints out his person and kingdom, under the type of a *Beast*: and thence would have us to judge of the mystery thereof. So Paul Prophelying of Antichrist, purposely abstains from naming him, yet sets him forth in such lively colours, that whosoever looks but on the *Romish Prelacies*, may plainly see, who, and what manner of person he is.

And I saw a beast rising out of the sea. We have heard who this beast is. It followeth now touching his rising, he ascends out of the sea. Before in Chap. 11. 7. and afterward Chap. 17. 8. he ascends out of the bottomlesse pit: the sense is all one; for the sea also in Scripture is called *abyssus*, because of its deepnesse; See Chap. 9. 1. The preposition *out of*, may as well note the place, as the beginning, whence the beast derived his originall, and received his power.

The sea out of which the beast ariseth.

Understanding it originally of the place: by the sea then is meant, the infernall bottomlesse pit, or the throne and kingdom of Satan; Whence also the *Locusts* came forth, Chap. 9. 13. for Antichrist is the *Angel of the bottomlesse pit*, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all deceitfulness of unrighteousnesse, lying signes and wonders. So that these places do excellently expound themselves. For the *Beast* in this place rising out of the sea: and out of the bottomlesse pit, Chap. 11. 8. and 17. 8. is the *Angel of the bottomlesse pit*, Chap. 9. 11. Whose coming is after the power of Satan, 2. Theff. 2. 9. and to whom here, vers. 2. the *Dragon* gave his throne and power: All which things shew, that *Antichrist* is raised up by Satan and armed with his power.

But if we understand it of the matter from whence he took his originall or beginning (like as a living creature is begotten of seed, or as trees grow from the root) in this sence the sea is nothing else but that flood which the *Dragon* cast forth out of his mouth after the woman, Chap. 12. 16. that is, the sinke of Heresies, errors, traditions, superstitions, and all other abominations which increasing in the Church, the sincerity of faith, and purity of Christian religion was corrupted and depraved, the Church forced to flee into the wilderness, Christ thrust out of his possession, and Antichrist set up in his stead.

How the beast arose out of the sea.

But here some may say, how could Antichrist arise out of the dregs of the heresies of *Arius*, *Macedonius*, *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, *Pelagius*, *Caelestius*, *Julian*, &c. Seing it is certain that those heresies were chiefly condemned by the *Romane Bishops*?

It was so indeed: neverthelesse Satan through Synods condemning heresies, did subtilly and secretly work the *mysterie of iniquity*. For under pretence of rooting out heresies, almost yeerly, yea monethly these councils like seas flowing together, continually devised new laws, rites, forms, creeds, &c. inso much as it came to be a proverb that Christians had a *monthly faith*. Now with the new forms of faith, were forged new canons of erecting & purifying temples, consecrating altars, of seats & chief

Rev. 20:4.  
Iob. 6. 40.  
Rev. 6:11.  
Rev. 22:5.

false thing: to mock with ones selfe and with God: neither is it without impiety, how pleasing soever it seems to humane wit: forasmuch as faith cannot be had in a doubtfull or false matter (such as is this *Corporall Resurrection*;) and so no solid consolation. But this is solid and double comfort to the Martyrs, if from the sure word of God, they do beleeye that their Soules, as soone as they goe out of their bodies, shall live and reigne with Christ in Heaven, and that at the last day, (when their brethren and fellow servants, who are to be slaine on earth, shall be fulfilled) their bodies also being raised up by the Son of God, they shall reigne with him for ever and ever in Heaven.

### TOUCHING THE OPINION OF THE OLD CHILIASTS.

HAVING expounded and vindicated the true meaning of this Prophecie, it remaineth in the last place to lay downe, and weaken the false opinion of the *Old Chiliasts*, who understanding this Prophecie corruptly according to the Letter, and not according to the Analogie of Faith, did thence invent this *Jewish Fable*, which *Austin* hath set forth in these words, Lib. 20. de C. D. C. 7. *That as the world was created in sixe dayes, and the seventh was a Sabbathisme: so the world should continue sixe thousand yeers: and afterward should follow a Sabbathisme in the last thousand yeers, namely, by the Saints that shall rise, and celebrate the same: which opinion he saith, might be somewhat tollerable, if it were beleeyed in that Sabbathisme, some spirituall delights should come to the Saints through the presence of the Lord. For we also were sometime of this opinion, but seeing they affirme, that such who should rise againe, shall enjoy carnall Feasts, and eat and drinke beyond measure and modesty, these things cannot be beleeyed but by carnall men, and therefore such as were spirituall, called them that beleeyed these things CHILIASTS, being a Greeke word, and by us may be rendred MILLENARIES.*

*Papias author of the Chiliasts opinion.*

The first Author of this opinion, as *Eusebius* recordeth Lib. 3. Hist. Cap. 33. was *Papias*, whom *Irenaeus* and *Hierom* (at which I wonder) make to be a hearer of the Apostle *Iohn*: where as *Papias* himselfe in the Preface of his worke confesseth, that he never heard or saw the Holy Apostles: but saith that he received this tradition from the Elders of the Apostles.

Now *Eusebius* also writeth of this *Papias*, that being pious, yet too credulous and of little soliditie, he tooke up many Fables for Apostolicall truths, because he understood the Apostolicall Interpretations amisse, and that he became ringleader of the *Chiliasts* error unto many who followed his traditions, among whom also was *Irenaeus*.

*Many of the fathers held the opinion of the Chiliasts.*

Hence almost all the Elder fathers, following the antiquity of the tradition and authority of so great a man, who was accounted a Disciple of the Apostles, became *Chiliasts*: *IUSTINUS* Martyr, dial. cum Tryphon: *Judaeo*. *IRENÆUS* Lib. 5. (ap. quinque extremis; not long since published at Paris, and annexed (as a filthie clout) to his workes: but it had bin better they had buried the same in eternall oblivion, then to uncover the secret shame of so worthy a Father: *NEPOS* a Bishop of Ægypt, whom *DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINVS* refuted, as *Eusebius* writeth Lib. 7. Hist. C. 10. *TERTULLIAN*: Lib. 3. *Cont: marcion*: *Lactantius* lib. 7. instit. Cap. 23. disputes at large of this Fable: *VICTORINUS PICTAVIENSIS* in his Commentary on the Revelat. *Austin* also himselfe in the aforesaid place confesseth that hee sometime held the same.

*How uncertain the antiquity of tradition, and the authority of the fathers is.*

Hence all men may see how little is to be ascribed to antiquitie of TRADITIONS, and the authority of the FATHERS. For antiquity without truth, What is it but the oldnesse of error? Who more ancient then *Irenaeus*? Hee writeth, that he was the hearer, or Disciple of *Papias*, and *Papias* of the Apostles: *Papias* on the contrary denyes, that he heard or ever saw the Apostles with his eyes. (Behold antiquity without truth.) The said *Papias* received the *Chiliasts* Fable by tradition of the Elders, and drew many to embrace this error by his authority.



authority. And without doubt from the said Author *Irenaeus* lacked another fable (which by this means was generally received) touching Antichrist, that he should reigne not fully *four yeeres in the end of the world*: for the most ancient Writers were ignorant thereof. IVSTIN, the oldest Writer extant, affirmeth, that *Antichrist* the man of sinne, was already at the doore: CLEMENT who wrote next to IVSTIN, hath not one word of *Antichrist* three yeeres reigne. Tertullian who lived at the same time affirmed that *Antichrist* was neare at hand (Cyprian also next to the former writeth *Lib. 5. Epist. 7.* yee ought to know, bold, and certainly beleeye, that the day of triall is begun already, and that the decay of the world, and the time of *Antichrist* draweth on: Ibid: *Antichrist* commeth. Wherefore the Fables of Papias were not taken on till at length in latter Ages.

Furthermore the *Chiliassts Fable* occasioned many which dis-approved the same, but were not able to refute it, to fall into another error worse then the former, affirming, that the Revelation was to bee rejected, as written by the Hereticke CERINTHVS. Among these were *Cajus* and others, touching whom (in EVSEBIUS) DIONISIUS ALEXANDRINVS speaketh, who opposed NEPOS the Egyptian. Others on the contrary to keep up the authority of the Revelation, laboured to divide the opinion of Cerinthus and the Fathers, as if Cerinthus indeed maintained a voluptuous *Millenary kingdom*, full of lust and riot. But the Fathers the spirituall delights of the Saints.

But Ribera affirmeth, that there was no difference betwixt the opinion of Cerinthus and the Fathers, because Irenaeus, Tertullian, Lactantius, &c. wrote the same things about the *Millenary Kingdome*, which are contained in the opinion of Cerinthus. And this Dionysius, and Caius also an old Writer affirmeth, *Enseb. Lib. 3. Hist. Cap. 28.* however it be, the *Chiliassts opinion* was by the Christians condemned, for ascribing to Christ contrary to the Scriptures, a voluptuous and earthly Kingdome, and for bringing in, contrary to the *Apostolicall Faith*, one (and so making a two-fold) Resurrection after another: the which opinion how improbable it is, hath, I suppose, bin sufficiently shewed: so as I trust, that such who think it ought again to be renewed (as far as concernes the latter part thereof) will, after the due consideration of these things, in the fear of God (with *Austin*) change their opinion.

Now for the refuting of this old Fiction of the *Chiliassts* (which *Jerome* in the life of Papias calleth a *Jewish tradition*) we may briefly observe, that it consists neither with the present Vision, nor with it selfe, nor with other Scriptures, nor Christian beleefe. Now this (besides what formerly hath bin spoken) I will shew by foure clear Arguments.

First: I have made it manifest already, that the thousand yeers of Satans binding, and the Kingdom of the Martyrs with Christ in Heaven, (beginning from the overthrow of Ierusalem, unto Gregory VII. that *Romish Beast*) are now past above 548. yeers. And yet there hath not bin any corporall Resurrection of Martyrs, or *Golden Kingdom* of Christ on earth. The experience therefore which we now see (but the fathers could not) refuteth this Fiction.

Secondly, That *Millenary Kingdome* is expressly ascribed unto the soules of the Martyrs and Confessours, when (as *Austin* well observeth) they were not restored to their bodies. Then, I say, their soules sate upon thrones, lived and reigned with Christ in those thousand yeeres: this therefore is not to be applied unto the Resurrection of the body.

Thirdly: This error, as arising from a false Chronologie, is plainly refuted: For the *Chiliassts* following the erroneous computation of the Greekes, affirmed that Christ was born in 5199. year of the world: since which are past 1621. yeers, which number being added unto the former, would make 6820. yeers from the Creation. But thus not onely the sixth *Millenary* (or the thousand yeers) which they ascribe to the binding of Satan, should bee past, but also there should but a few yeers of the seventh *Millenary*, and their voluptuous Kingdome of the Saints

The fable of Antichrists four yeeres reigne.

Dialogo cum Tryphone.

Libro Defuga persecut.

Comm: in Apoc. 20. N. 26.

A refutation of the Chiliassts errors by experience.

2. From the text.

3. From the erroneous chronologie.

with Christ, should already have dured above eight hundred : the which is refuted by History and experience, so that if *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius* &c. did now live, they should bee necessitated to confesse that they much erred from the truth.

## IV.

From the  
difficulties  
of the last  
times.

Ich. 18. 36.

Ioh. 8. 20

Mat. 24. 21

Luk. 18. 8.

2. Tim 3. 1

Lastly the whole Scripture holds forth, that the last times shall not be volup-  
tuous in the least, but difficult and sorrowfull unto the Church in this world: Be-  
sides Christ did often foretell that his Kingdom should not be earthly: *My king-  
dome is not of this world. The world shall rejoyce, but yee shall mourne: In the world  
ye shall have tribulation. Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the be-  
ginning of the world unto this time. Watch therefore, that ye may be found worthy to e-  
scape all these things. When the sonne of man cometh shall he finde Faith on the earth?*  
Through manifold tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This know  
that in the last dayes perilous (or difficult) times shall come, &c. These and such like  
testimonies of Scripture: which speake of the afflicted state of the last times,  
doe abundantly refute the *Millenaries Fiction*. Now wee goe forward with  
the Text.

Act. 8. 22.

Ioh. 13. 8.

What it is

to have

part in the

first Resur-

rection.

The profi-

tablenesse

& necessity

of the first

resurrection

Heb. 12. 14.

Lib. 26. de

C.D. ca. 6.

17. 1. 1. 1.

6. *Blessed and holy is hee that hath part* } By an Exclamation he extolleth, and  
commendeth unto us the felicity, and necessity of the first Resurrection, or spiritu-  
all living againe, by which of old those *Rest of the dead* in Paganisme and Anti-  
christianisme, obstinately refused to live againe: by which all, and they onely  
shall be *blessed and holy*, who have part in the first Resurrection. *To have part in  
a thing*, is to become partaker of that thing: as appeares from the contrary: *Thou  
hast neither part nor lot in this matter*, saith Peter to Simon the hypocrite: And Christ  
to Peter, refusing to be washed by him: *If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me*,  
for, thou shalt not have no communion with me. Therefore to have part in the  
first Resurrection, is to be partaker of the first Resurrection, that is, through  
faith and repentance, to rise from the death of sinne unto newnesse of Life with  
Christ. For we clearly shewed erewhile, that this first Resurrection, is not  
of the body, but of the soule. By which we see the great benefit and excellency  
of the first Resurrection: because in it consisteth true blessednesse and holinesse.  
The necessity also, because no man shall bee *blessed and holy without the same*.  
But is it the cause of blessednesse? yea verily: not indeed the meritorious (for  
that Christ onely is, for he hath merited blessednesse for us,) but *causa sine qua non*,  
a cause without which it is not: *for without holinesse*, which the first Resurrection  
bringeth, *no man shall see God*: yea it is also the formall cause inchoated or begun.  
For the first Resurrection is inchoated holinesse, and part of the future blessednesse,  
which shall be perfected in heaven.

Hence first it followeth, that all having part in the first Resurrection, that is, being  
truly born again in this life, shall be blessed, and holy with Christ in the other Life:  
and on the contrary, that none which rise not againe with Christ, unto new-  
nesse and holinesse of life on Earth, shall be blessed and holy with Christ in Hea-  
ven: *For none can belong unto this first Resurrection, but such as shall be blessed forever*  
saith Austin. They therefore which have no part in the first Resurrection,  
shall not bee partakers of blessednesse: for wee shall bee clothed upon with  
our house, if so bee that beeing clothed, we shall not bee found naked. 2.  
Corinth. 5. 3.

Secondly it followeth, as before we proved, that the First Resurrection is not  
corporall, but spiritual: for if it were corporall, then by this Exclamation, all  
that shall be raised at the last day, should be excluded from blessednesse, because  
none of them should have part in the first Corporall Resurrection. But this is  
absurd, because in the last day, some shall rise unto blessednesse, others unto eter-  
nall death. The reason of the consequence is, because all, and they onely, that  
have part in the First Resurrection shall be blessed.

All indeed thou wilt say, but not they onely: Yea because all, therefore onely:  
for in an enunciation of the property touching the subject, or of the effect touching  
the

**HORÆ APOCALYPTICÆ,**  
**OR,**  
**A COMMENTARY ON THE APOCALYPSE,**  
**CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL ;**  
**INCLUDING ALSO AN EXAMINATION OF**  
**THE CHIEF PROPHECIES OF DANIEL.**

**ILLUSTRATED BY AN APOCALYPTIC CHART, AND ENGRAVINGS**  
**FROM MEDALS AND OTHER EXTANT MONUMENTS**  
**OF ANTIQUITY.**

**BY THE REV. E. B. ELLIOTT, A.M.**  
**LATE VICAR OF TUXFORD, AND FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.**

**THIRD EDITION,**  
**REVISED, CORRECTED, AND IMPROVED ;**  
**WITH AN APPENDIX,**  
**CONTAINING, BESIDES OTHER MATTER,**  
**A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF APOCALYPTIC INTERPRETATION,**  
**AND INDICES.**

**VOL. IV.**

**SEELEY, BURNSIDE, AND SEELEY ;**  
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**MDCCCXLVII.**

used so often and so powerfully by them against his Church.—For some time following the Reformation the Romish Doctors were very shy of the subject; and after Thomas Aquinas, (as the venerable Foxe tells us in the Preface to his *Eicasm*,<sup>1</sup>) had 'up to the year 1587 scarce ventured to write a word of Comment on the Apocalypse. But just a year or two before his death, *Ribera*, a Jesuit Priest of Salamanca, took up the question, and published an Apocalyptic Commentary; which vehemently excited the indignation of our countryman Brightman,<sup>2</sup> and served to hasten on his own antagonistic and masterly exposition. Again in 1604 *Alcasar*, another Spanish Jesuit, but of Seville, published a copious Commentary on the Apocalypse, still more Papistic in its character than *Ribera's*, in time to receive the notice of Pareus.<sup>3</sup> Of these two I subjoin a brief notice below.<sup>4</sup> The more learned, however of the

<sup>1</sup> "Post Thomam illum haud quisquam fere sit ex totâ illâ cohorte Pontificiâ, infinitâque scribentium multitudine, qui vel verbum in hanc Apocalypsim commentare sit ausus." Prefat.

<sup>2</sup> So in the Dedication of his Comment "to the Holy Reformed Churches of Britain, Germany, and France." Says he: "But mine anger and indignation burst out against the Jesuits. For when as I had by chance light upon *Ribera*, who had made a Commentary upon the same holy Revelation, Is it even so? said I. Do the Papists take heart again, so as that book, which of a long time before they would scarce suffer any man to touch, they dare now take in hand, to intreat fully upon it? What! was it but a vain image or bug, at the sight whereof they were wont to tremble a few years since, even in the dim light, that now they dare be bold to look wishly on this glasse in the clear sunshine; and dare proclaime to the world that any other thing rather is poynted at in it than their Pope of Rome?"

<sup>3</sup> In his Preface Pareus specially notices him; (see next Note;) and also from time to time in the body of his Commentary.

<sup>4</sup> "*Ribera*," says Pareus, p. 16, "explicates the argument of the Apocalypse as being nothing else but certain commentaries upon that prophecy of our Lord in Matt. xxiv, touching the state of the Church, and the signs of the last times." At p. 4, Pareus observes that *Ribera* makes the ten horns of the Beast to be ten kings that shall be the only kings in the world at Antichrist's coming; and that, *three* of them being destroyed, there shall only remain *seven*, who shall fight for Antichrist against the Lamb, being *Pagan*, not Christian kings. (Is it not they that will have given their power to the Beast, says Pareus, that are to have it put in their hearts to hate and tear the Whore; their former support of her having been through ignorance?) Also Pareus says that they (the Romanists, and especially, I suppose, *Ribera*) were expecting their Antichrist to arise every day, out of the Jewish tribe of Dan.

On the other hand *Alcasar*, Pareus tells us, p. 16, explained the Revelation as teaching "that Rome, of old the head of Pagan idolatry, by an admirable vicissitude was to be changed into the metropolis of the Catholic Church; that the Roman Church was gloriously to triumph both in respect of the Roman city and the whole empire; and that the sovereign authority of the Roman Bishop should always remain in the height of honour." *Alcasar* exults, and gratulates the Pope, that he first out of the

Roman Catholic Doctors seem not to have been satisfied with them.<sup>1</sup> And when in 1685, just after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes,<sup>2</sup> *M. Jurieu*, one of the exiled French Calvinist Ministers, had published his work on the Apocalyptic prophecy, (a work mainly based on Mede's views, but with various new particular applications to his own time and his own country,<sup>3</sup>) the Bishop of Meaux thought it

darkness of the Apocalypse should have showed this light. (Surely, observes Pareus, this might cause laughter or shame even to the Roman Court itself.)

Further, Pareus says, p. 17, Alcazar's general argument is that the Apocalypse describes a twofold war of the Church; one with the *Synagogue*, the other with *Paganism*; and a twofold victory and triumph over both adversaries. More particularly the development of the subject was thus:—1. from Apoc. i—xi the rejection of the Jews, and desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans: 2. from Apoc. xii—xx, both inclusive, the overthrow of Paganism, and empire of the Roman Church over Rome and the whole world; the judgment of the Great Whore, and destruction of Babylon, being effected by Constantine and his successors: 3. in Apoc. xxi, xxii, under the type of the Lamb's Bride, the New Jerusalem, a description of the glorious and triumphant state of the *Roman Church in heaven*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sylveira*, a Portuguese Carmelite, had also published before Bossuet on the Apocalypse; viz. A.D. 1661; his Exposition being on a general *historico* principle. But it was one little approved by Romanists.

<sup>2</sup> *Jurieu's* date is given at pp. 203, 254 of my English edition; (London, 1687:) at the latter page as the year of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

<sup>3</sup> *Jurieu* avowedly takes Mede as his master in Apocalyptic interpretation; except in the parts of latest application.

In the *Seals* he only differs from him by expounding the first Seal not of Christ, but of a *Roman subject*, and *Roman Emperors*; (viz. of Vespasian and Titus, with respect to their victories and general prosperity;) consistently with Mede's Rome-referring explanation of the horses and horsemen of the three next Seals.

In the *Trumpets* he improves on Mede by expounding the falling star that made bitter the third part of the rivers, not of the extinction in the Western Empire by Odoacer, but of an epoch and a part of the Gothic ravages of Western Christendom: (viz. in the *provinces*, which might be viewed as the *rivers*; Rome and Italy being as the *sea*;) the extinction of the Western Emperors being symbolized by the darkening of the heavenly lights in the 4th Trumpet.

The *Little Book* he interprets with Mede as a new prophecy: and dwells with admiration on the idea thrown out by our English Expositor, that as the *unmeasured* state of the court, or Church, was to be for  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times, i. e. 1260 years, so the proportion of the Jewish temple proper to the court, indicated the Church's previous better and *measured* state to be about 360 years: an indication agreeable with fact. The *Beast* too he explains as Mede: making its 7th head to be the Papal Antichrist; and the possible two-fold division of the 6th or imperial head into Pagan and Christian Emperors, to be the solution of the enigma of the last head being both the 8th and the 7th.

In his Chapter on the *Witnesses* Jurieu expresses his opinion, that the *last* persecution of Christ's people had commenced in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: the death of the two Apocalyptic Witnesses having then begun at least to have fulfilment; and their prefigured resurrection being anticipated by him either in  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years from that date, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  years from some further act of the same persecution, as extended

My *first* observation is, that after all the thought, learning, and ingenuity that have been brought to bear on the elucidation of the Apocalypse, there appear to be but *three grand Schemes of interpretation*, that can be considered as standing up face to face against each other; with any serious pretensions to truth, or advocacy of any literary weight and respectability. The first is that of the *Præterists*; restricting the subject of the prophecy, except in its two or three last chapters, to the catastrophes of the Jewish nation and old Roman Empire, one or both, as accomplished in the 1st and 2nd, and 5th and 6th centuries respectively: a Scheme originally propounded by the Jesuit Alcasar, as we have seen; adopted with alterations in detail by Bossuet; and now, with their several *mutata mutanda*, urged alike by the more eminent of the later German biblical critics and expositors, by Professor Moses Stuart in the United States of America, and by the disciples of the German School in England, whether among Dissenters or Churchmen.—The 2nd is the *Futurists'* Scheme; making the whole of the Apocalyptic Prophecy, excepting the primary Vision and Letters to the Seven Churches, to relate to things even now future, viz. the things concerning Christ's Second Advent: a Scheme first, or nearly first suggested by the Jesuit Ribera, at the end of the 16th century; and which has been urged, though under a new form, alike by Mr. Maitland, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Newman, Mr. Govett, and others, not without considerable effect and success, in our own times and æra.—The 3rd is what we may call emphatically the *Protestant Scheme of Interpretation*; which regards the Apocalypse as a prefiguration in detail of the chief events affecting the Church and Christendom, whether secular or ecclesiastical, from St. John's time to the consummation:—a Scheme not inconsistent so far with the general views of the earlier patristic expositors: and which, in its particular application of the symbols of Babylon and the Beast to Papal Rome and the Popedom, was early embraced by the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites; then adopted with fuller light by the chief reformers, German, Swiss, French, and English of the 16th century; and has been thence transmitted downwards uninterruptedly even to the present time.

My *second* observation has respect to the *details* of this last-mentioned *Protestant Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation*. The Reader



will be in a position, after reading the Historical Sketch now concluded, to appreciate better the meaning and correctness of what I stated in my Original Preface, as to the defectiveness of this Scheme, so far as it had been up to my own time unfolded, on "the (earlier) Seals, the vision of the rainbow-crowned Angel of Apoc. x, the Witnesses' Death and Resurrection, the Beast's seventh Head, and the Image of the Beast;" also what I there said as to the originality of the solutions proposed in the Horæ "of the three first Seals, of the sealing and palm-bearing Visions, of the rainbow-crowned Angel described Apoc. x, and its included notification on the Death and Resurrection of the two Witnesses; also of the Beast's seventh Head, of the Image of the Beast, and of the Apocalyptic structure itself."

For it is to be understood that on these points the modern Interpreters of the Protestant Scheme had, up to the time of the publication of the Horæ added nothing, at least nothing of importance, to the lucubrations of their predecessors. It seems to me to have been the chief office, and a most important one surely, fulfilled by them, especially by those venerable men *Mr. Faber*, and *Mr. Cuninghame*, (of whom, though so often differing from their opinions, I would wish to speak with all respect and kindness,) to awaken the alarm on the fact of the seventh Trumpet's having sounded at the French Revolution; to bring out more and more into general notice the results of the learned researches of their Protestant predecessors, further fortified in various ways and illustrated; and to arouse and keep up an interest, often too ready to flag, in the great subject of Prophecy. So too, in regard to Messrs. *Bickersteth* and *Birks*, and their joint-propounded Scheme of Apocalyptic Interpretation, if the same want of advance seem to me to be stamped on it, and that it is indeed in character a Scheme singularly fanciful, yet am I well aware, and rejoice to think, how in other ways they have promoted the cause of prophetic truth. How could it but be so, with that spirit of holy love and spiritual-mindedness, which my excellent friend first-mentioned has ever carried into its discussions:—a spirit as congenial with the purer atmosphere of heaven, as it is unsuited to the stormy and lower regions of literary controversy? And Mr. Birks has not only by his masterly work on the First

Elements of Prophecy, advanced the cause of truth, and shown himself its *martel* and *hammer* against what I must beg permission anticipatively to call the reveries of the Futurists : but moreover, by his exquisite description of the City that is to be revealed at Christ's blessed advent, has done much to enlist each hallowed feeling of the heart on the side he advocates ; a description such that one might almost suppose the golden reed to have been given him, with which to delineate it, by the Angel that showed to the beloved disciple the Lamb's bride, the New Jerusalem.—Whether as regards the solution of Apocalyptic enigmas left unsolved by previous interpreters the Author of the present Work has been more successful, it will be for the Reader to consider and judge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I should observe that *Mr. Fry*, in his Works on the *Second Advent* and on *Unfulfilled Prophecy*, has approximated more nearly than any other Expositor I am acquainted with to my explanation of the two first seals : interpreting the *first* of the prosperity of the Roman Empire from Nerva or Trajan to Commodus, the *second* to begin with Commodus, and to include the rebellions of the Prætorian Guards and civil wars consequent. In the details however, he differs essentially ; making Trajan the rider of the first horse, Commodus of the second, Septimius Severus of the third : which third seal he explains not at all as I do, but as Mede and Bishop Newton. The important consideration had not crossed his mind, of the *representative* character of each rider ; nor of the significant meaning of the *crown*, (distinctively from the *diadem*,) and *bow*, and *sword*, and *balance*, as *class-badges* designative of *office*, *age*, or *country*.—It may be proper to observe, that I was not aware of these his views until after my own first Volume (including the Seals) had been printed.

A  
DEFENCE  
OF THE  
SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE  
CONCERNING THE  
SECOND ADVENT OF CHRIST;  
FROM THE  
ERRONEOUS REPRESENTATIONS  
OF  
MODERN MILLENARIANS.

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BY  
WILLIAM HAMILTON, D. D.  
MINISTER OF STRATHBLANE.

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GLASGOW:  
MAURICE OGLE, 17 & 19, WILSON STREET:  
WAUGH & INNES; W. OLIPHANT; W. WHYTE; R. OGLE;  
W. LINDSAY; J. ROBERTSON; J. LOTHIAN;  
AND J. BOYD, EDINBURGH.

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MDCCCXXVIII.

tion. If any man imagines that he is possessed of such a privilege, others are unquestionably warranted to claim the same. If the Millenarians can produce types to prove their theory, it is easy to produce ours to overthrow it, and establish the contrary. But to rest a system, which is destitute of all other support, upon fanciful types and allegories, is the consummation of weakness and folly.

It only remains to take notice of the appeal which is made to,

### III. The testimony of the Christian Fathers.

From the days of Mede down to the last anonymous Pamphleteer, almost every Millenarian talks loudly of Antiquity: boasts that his own notions are no novel opinions; but merely the revival of the tenets of the ancient Fathers, which were universally adopted in the first times of Christianity; and which in every age have flourished or fallen, as religion has prospered or declined. He studiously labours to impress his readers with the belief, that his own creed has been the creed of the primitive ages, and of the best and purest portion of the Christian church.

If they had simply affirmed that their creed was ancient; or at least, that there has been an ancient expectation of a supernatural Millennium; they would have asserted a notorious and indubitable fact. But when they say that their notions, respecting the Millennium, prevailed in the prim-

itive church, and prevailed in the best and purest ages of the church; they either betray a childish ignorance of the history of the Christian church, or a deplorable want of Christian truth and candour. The fact is, that from a very early period an expectation was entertained of our Redeemer's personal reign on earth. But then it is likewise a fact that that opinion was *never* general. It was embraced only by a few of the Fathers. It never was universally received. And it was widely different from the modern edition of that hypothesis.

To enable the reader to judge of the truth of these positions, it will be necessary to illustrate and prove them.

An expectation of Christ's personal reign on earth was entertained from a very early period in the Christian church: but the notions which then prevailed on the subject differed greatly from those which now prevail; and they never were generally received either in the primitive church, nor in any subsequent age.

After repeatedly and loudly appealing to Antiquity, in defence of their theory, have any of our modern Millenarians distinctly and honestly told us what were the ideas which these Christian Fathers who believed in a Millennium, entertained on the subject? No indeed. On looking into the last publication on the subject,\* it might

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\* Reply to various criticisms on Mr. Irving's Course of Lectures in Edinburgh, 1828; pp, 50-56; and Appendix, pp. 83-90.

be supposed that there was nothing much more extravagant in the ancient, than in the modern Millenarian hypothesis. But how is this inference produced? By a fair and full transcript of all that the Christian Fathers have transmitted to us on the subject? Nay. No modern Millenarian ever has had the honesty and courage to do any such thing. He will roundly tell you that his principles are identified with those of the Christian Fathers: but catch him telling you what the Fathers really believed.

One and all of them quote fully from those Fathers, who, without explaining their creed, merely assert in general terms that they expect the personal reign of Christ with his risen saints on earth for a thousand years. From such writers they quote *all* that they say. But from those authors who have given a detailed view of the system in all its absurdity and deformity: do they make extracts equally copious and complete? No indeed. But some may say that these writers were beyond their reach, and that they had no opportunity of seeing and consulting them. But this apology will not suffice. They must either have seen and consulted the authors; and given manufactured and garbled extracts to suit their own ends, or they must have been guilty of the baseness of quoting, at second-hand, from authors, whose works they have never seen. For passages, exposing the *whole* theory to disgrace and ridicule, lie in the very heart of the chapters and pages



which they profess to quote: but of these formidable passages they say not one word.

Just look at the following paragraph. "Lactantius, who lived in the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, in his 'Book of Divine Institutions', says, 'But when he, (i. e. Christ,) shall have destroyed wickedness, and restored the just to life, he shall be seen among men a thousand years, and with most righteous government shall rule them. And at that same time shall the prince of the devils be bound with a chain, and kept in prison during the thousand years of the kingdom, while justice shall reign on the earth, that he may not attempt evil against the people of God.' Again, 'at the end of the Millennial kingdom, Satan shall again be loosed, and then shall be that second and public resurrection, in which the unjust shall be raised to eternal pains'. 'This', says he in concluding, 'is the doctrine of the holy prophets, which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom.'"

The above is almost an exact transcript from bishop Newton, on Rev. xx. 1—6. Now, what inference would any individual naturally draw from such a paragraph? That this is all that Lactantius has stated on the subject. But does this really unfold the whole of what he held on the Millennium? It is but a *part*, and but a small part too. But perhaps the remaining part of his

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\* Reply to various criticisms, &c. p. 53.

millenarian creed might lie in a remote corner of his works, and not be easily found by one who had not carefully perused all his writings? No indeed. It does not lie very far remote. It is just as easily found as the preceding: for it lies in the same *chapters*, and it is *interposed betwixt* the different parts of the above quotations on the subject. We cannot give his opinions at full length. But we shall insert a few which these writers have passed over. "When he shall have destroyed wickedness, and executed the great judgment, and restored to life those who, from the beginning, had been righteous; he shall be conversant amongst men a thousand years, and with most righteous government shall rule them. This is what the Sibyl elsewhere in her impassioned prophecy proclaims,

'Ye mortals, hear; The King eternal reigns.'

Those who at that time are living in the body, shall not die; *but during these thousand years shall produce an infinite multitude of children; and their offspring shall be holy and beloved of God. But those who shall be raised from the dead, will, as judges, rule over the living. The nations, however, shall not be altogether destroyed: some of them shall be left for a conquest to God; that the just may triumph over them, and subject them to perpetual bondage.*" "After his, (Christ's) advent, the righteous shall be gathered together from the whole earth: and the judgment being finished, the holy city shall

be built in the midst of the earth : in which its builder, God himself, shall dwell along with the reigning righteous. It is to this city the Sibyl refers, when she says,

‘ God’s city, which he reared, he made  
T’ outshine the sun, and moon, and stars.’

Then that darkness, with which the heaven is overspread and obscured, shall be removed. The moon will acquire the brightness of the sun, and wane no more. The sun will become seven-fold brighter, than he is at present. The earth will disclose her fertility; and spontaneously produce fruits in the greatest abundance. The rocks will drop honey: *wine will run in streams; and the rivers overflow with milk.* In fine, the world itself will be glad: and all nature, rescued and freed from the dominion of evil, impiety, and error, will rejoice. During this time, the savage beasts will not live on blood, nor ravenous birds on prey: but all things shall be peaceful and gentle.” After some quotations from Virgil and the Erythræan Sibyl, and some speculations about the duration of the world, and the time of the Millennium, he goes on to describe the last effusion of the wrath of God against the nations, when he shall destroy them all to a man. “ But first he will most powerfully shake the earth; by which commotion the mountains of Syria shall be cloven asunder. The hills shall sink. The walls of the cities shall fall. God shall, for three days,

restrain the sun from setting. He will set it on fire: and a scorching heat and a mighty burning, with showers of sulphur, hailstones, and sparks of fire shall descend on his enemies and the wicked. Their spirits shall melt with heat, and their bodies be bruised with the hail. They shall wound each other with swords: and the mountains shall be filled with their bodies, and the valleys covered with their bones. But during these three days, the people of God shall be hidden in the caves of the earth, till the wrath of God against the nations, shall close the last judgment. Then the righteous shall come forth from their concealment, and find all things covered with carcasses and bones. But the whole race of the wicked shall totally perish; and there shall no more be any nation in the world, except the single nation of God. Then for seven whole years the forests shall remain untouched; and no wood shall be cut down from the mountains. But the weapons of the nations shall be used for fuel: and then there shall be no war, but everlasting peace and rest.

“ When the thousand years shall be finished; the world shall be renewed by God; the heavens shall be folded up; and the earth changed. And God shall transform men into the likeness of angels: and they shall be as white as snow: and live continually in the presence of the Almighty: and sacrifice to their Lord, and serve him for ever. At the same time shall be the second and public resurrection of all, in which the wicked shall be

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raised to everlasting pains." It is of all this, and more of the same description, and not of the garbled, mutilated, and manufactured extracts, which our friends have chosen to give us: that Lactantius in conclusion says, "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow: this is our wisdom."\*

This attempt to make the world believe that Lactantius entertained no other opinions respecting the Millennium, than what they have transcribed, is a most culpable suppression of the truth. And yet it is the work of bishop Newton, within two pages of the severe lecture which he has written against Dr. Middleton, for a supposed misrepresentation of the sentiments of Justin Martyr. The Bishop might have spared his censure, and looked to himself: for notwithstanding all his attempts to exculpate him; Justin, as you shall soon see, has left enough on record to justify the worst that Dr. Middleton has said.

Does the reader wish for additional specimens of the good faith and fair dealing of these gentlemen? Let him turn to the writings of Irenæus. It is not easy to tell how often, in this controversy, excerpts have been made from the 36th chapter of his fifth book against Heresies. But is that all that that venerable Father has left us on the subject? Our friends would be glad that we

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Lactantii Opera. Lib. vii. Cap. 24—26. Oxonii, 1694.

should believe that it is the whole. But any man who has read his writings, knows the contrary. If we are required to submit to the authority of Ir-  
 enseus, we are entitled to his whole testimony. Now, what is it that he has actually stated? He informs us that "Some Elders, who had seen John the disciple of the Lord, relate that they had heard from him; that our Lord, speaking of these times, (the Millennium,) said, the days shall come in which ——— a single grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears: and each ear shall yield ten thousand grains; and each grain shall yield ten pounds of pure white flour: and the other fruits, seeds, and plants, shall possess a corresponding fertility." A return of 1,000,000,000 pounds of pure white flour in one season from a single grain of wheat; is surely as much as any farmer can desire. The produce of a few such grains would soon render Britain independent of foreign supplies.

But if this is not abundantly marvellous, let the reader take another sample of the credulity of this honest champion of Millenarianism. It immediately precedes the extract which has just now been given. "The days shall come, in which vines shall grow; each having ten thousand branches; and each of these branches shall have ten thousand smaller branches; and each of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs; and each of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes; and each of these grapes, being pressed, shall give



twenty-five measures of wine." "That is," Dr. Whitby says, "according to the mildest computation, 275 gallons of wine." Really we might think 2,750,000,000,000,000,000 gallons of wine! no bad vintage at all from a single vine: and that this might have been amply honourable to his millennial vines, without any additional recommendation. But is this all that the good man has to say in their favour? No: the best is yet to come. The grapes are endowed with perception and reason, speech and piety. For this patriarch of the creed goes on. "And when any of the saints shall take hold of one of these clusters, another will *cry* out, 'I AM A BETTER CLUSTER: TAKE ME; AND BY ME BLESS THE LORD.'"\*

The most distinguished ancient Millenarians were Barnabas, Papias, Irenæus, Nepos, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Apollinarius, Tertullian, and a fictitious writer who assumed the name of Clement, and who, by the Defender of Mr. Irving, is regarded as the companion of St. Paul. No ancient writer takes notice of more than one epistle written by the genuine Clement. This is what is generally called his first epistle to the Corinthians:

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\* Irenæi Opera. Lib. v. cap. 33. Grabii ed. Oxonii 1702. The good Father adds, "These things are credible to those who believe. But Judas, the traitor, not believing, and asking how the Lord could cause such productions? the Lord answered, They shall see who reach those times."

and the best informed in such matters, consider all the other writings that are circulated under his name, as spurious.\*

Such stuff as that, which has just now been quoted from Irenæus, uniformly forms part and parcel of the ancient Millenarian creed, wherever it is given in detail. That such were the notions of Justin Martyr, is evident from his quotations, from Isaiah lxx. 17—25, in support of his views of the subject. The application of the whole of that passage to the Millennium, proves that he expected that great part of the happiness then possessed, would arise from sensible enjoyments; and his version of the 23d verse, “ Mine elect shall not labour in vain, nor *bring forth children* for a curse,” distinctly intimates that he expected the inhabitants of the millennial world, not even excepting the risen saints, would continue to marry and be given in marriage.†

From his declamation about the land flowing with milk and honey, the ruling over the earth, and the possessing dominion over the fowls, fish-

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\* Vide Testimonia Veterum de S. Clementis Epistolis apud Cotolerii Patres Apostolicos. Tom. i. pp. 128—131. Grabii spicileg. Tom. i. pp. 265—269. Cavii Hist. Liter. p. 18. Lardner's Works, 4to, vol. i. pp. 290—293: and vol. v. pp. 432—446. Memoires Ecclesiastiques par Tillemont. Tom. ii. pp. 292—300.

† See the Paris edition of the Works of Justin Martyr, Folio, 1636: pp. 306—308: or Thirlby's edition, pp. 310—315.

es, and beasts; Barnabas seems to have had as sharp an eye after the good things of this world as his brother Justin.\*

The writings of Papias, Nepos, and Apollinar-  
ius, on the Millennium, have perished. Dr.  
Cave† has preserved a small fragment of Victor-  
inus, containing merely a single allusion to the  
subject. In his brief notice of the matter in his  
work against Marcion, where he shews that his  
own notions were not superior to those of his  
brethren, Tertullian refers us to his Treatise  
on the Hope of the Faithful, where he had  
fully discussed the question.‡ But this work  
has also fallen a sacrifice to the wreck of time.  
If however, we are to confide in the testimony of  
those Fathers who had read their works, we must  
believe that these all entertained the most carnal  
and degrading ideas of the nature of the Millen-  
nium. The following are the words of Jerome.  
“ If we understand the Revelation of John liter-  
ally, we must judaize; if spiritually as it is writ-  
ten, we shall seem to contradict many of the an-  
cients; amongst the Latins, Tertullian, Victori-  
nus, and Lactantius; and amongst the Greeks, to  
omit others, Irenæus Bishop of Lyons, against  
whom, Dionysius, Bishop of the church of Alex-

\* Vide Barnabæ Epistol. cap. vi. apud Cotolerii Pat. Apostol.

† Historia Literaria, p. 104.

‡ Tertulliani ad Marcionem Lib. iii. cap. 24.

andria, a man of uncommon eloquence, wrote a curious piece, deniding the *fable* of a thousand years, and the terrestrial Jerusalem adorned with gold and precious stones; the rebuilding of the temple, bloody sacrifices, sabbatical rest, circumcision, child-births, nursing of children, delicate feasts, and the servitude of the nations: and again after this, wars, armies, triumphs, and slaughters of conquered enemies, and the death of the sinner a hundred years old. Him Apollinarius answered in two volumes; whom not only the men of his own sect, but a very great multitude likewise of our own people follow in this article." \* In the opinion of Jerome, which is corroborated by the testimony of Origen, Augustin, and Gennadius;† Apollinarius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus, and Lactantius, adopted the same notions of the Revelation. The carnal, or Jewish ideas of Irenæus, Lactantius, and Tertullian, are placed beyond a doubt by their own writings. Apollinarius, the defender of Irenæus, certainly must have coincided with his principal. And if Victorinus deserved to be included in the same class with Apollinarius, Lactantius, Tertullian and Irenæus, his creed must have been very little better than that of his companions.

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\* Hieronymi Comment. lib. xviii. in *Essaiam* proem.

† Origenes in Mat. cap. xxii. Augustin de civitate Dei, Lib. xviii. xx. cap. 7.

So much for these five. Let us try to ascertain the creed of Nepos and Papias, two noted men amongst the ancient Millenarians.

Speaking of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, Eusebius informs us, that " he composed two books concerning the Promises. This was occasioned by Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, who taught the saints that the promises were to be fulfilled in a Jewish sense, and maintained that there would be a thousand years of bodily pleasure upon earth. Fancying that he could establish his notion from the Revelation of John, Nepos composed a book upon this subject, and entitled it, ' A Refutation of the Allegorists.' This Dionysius, in his work upon the Promises, opposes." After relating the reluctance of Dionysius to engage in the controversy; the historian goes on transcribing the words of Dionysius concerning Nepos. " But since a book has been published which some think conclusive; and some teachers undervaluing the law and the prophets; neglecting the gospels; and despising the epistles: boast of the doctrine of this book, as containing some precious hidden mystery; and will not allow our more simple brethren to expect any thing sublime and great; neither the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, nor our resurrection from the dead, nor our gathering together, and conformity to him: but persuade them that *nothing but mean mortal things, such as we at present possess*, are to be hoped for in the kingdom of God: it is neces-

sary for me to enter into a discussion with my brother Nepos.”\* Of Papias, the author of the notion, and from whom Irenæus seems servilely to have copied it, we shall perhaps hear afterwards. But from what Irenæus has stated, no doubt can exist that the notions of Papias were of the most abject, unworthy, and ridiculous description.†

Since therefore, almost every ancient Millenarian has left us an explanation of his views, and each who has explained them, shews that he entertained the most gross and contemptible ideas of the nature of the Millennium; we are compelled to conclude that these carnal notions were universally held by all who embraced the system; and that they were uniformly regarded as entering into its very essence.

Now, our modern Millenarians either know this fact, or they do not. If they know it: then where is their candour in suppressing such an important and characteristic part of the ancient system? But if they are ignorant of it: then how is it possible that they can have read the writings of the primitive Millenarians, where such carnal representations are invariably incorporated with every description which they have given of their sentiments? And if they pretend to quote authors whom they have neither seen nor consulted: then

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\* Eusebii Hist. Ecclesiast: Lib. vii. cap. 24.

† Vide Irenæi contra Hæreses Lib. v. cap. 33.

what reliance can be placed on their truth and honour?

It will not excuse them to say that they may have seen the original writers, yet the passages now produced, may have escaped their notice. For unless they began at the end, how could they arrive at the *thirty-fifth* chapter of the fifth book of Irenæus, without reaching the *thirty-third*? And whether they began at the beginning or the end; how could they miss the extracts from Lactantius, which lie in the heart of the chapters to which they refer, and are mixed up with the very paragraphs which they profess to translate from his pages?

And since these gross and carnal ideas uniformly formed an essential part of the Millennium which the ancients expected; unless our modern Millenarians have adopted, or are willing to adopt, all the nonsense and absurdity, the grovelling and disgusting detail of the ancient theory: for what purpose do they appeal to the Christian Fathers? Unless their tenets coincide with those who advocated Millenarian principles in the first ages of the church, an appeal to them is altogether irrelevant.

But whether their tenets coincide with those of the ancients, who held Millenarian notions, or differ from them: a more important question remains to be considered. Were Millenarian principles, of any description, embraced by the primitive church? or by the church in any age?

After the specimens which we have lately seen of the real nature of the ancient form of the system; is there a reader, in his senses, who can believe, that such childish, wild, and ridiculous trash could obtain the sanction of the apostles, or of any men imbued with the spirit of the apostles, and who knew that the kingdom of God cometh not by observation; that it is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost; that they who shall be counted worthy to obtain the resurrection to life, neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels; and that they shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more?

How are we to prove that any particular opinion never formed an article of the belief of the Christian church? Can this point be established by shewing that it never formed an article of any of the creeds, or formularies of the church? that it was rejected and opposed by the most eminent men, whose opinions were held in the highest estimation? that rather than admit the tenet, they questioned the inspiration of the parts of the scriptures which were *supposed* to countenance it? and that its advocates complain that it has been resisted and rejected? Will the establishment of such things as these, prove that the tenet in question was no article of the Christian church? If it will, no long process is necessary to evince that the principles of Millenarianism *never* were embraced by the church.



1. These principles never obtained a place in any creed, confession of faith, or formulary of doctrine of the primitive church. If any assert the contrary, let them produce the document in which these principles are contained.

2. So far from being acknowledged as sound, the principles of Millenarianism were opposed and rejected by the most eminent Fathers of the church. With the exception of Barnabas, the person who assumes the name of Clement, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Nepos, Apollinarius, Lactantius, and Tertullian; they were rejected by almost every Father of the Church; and openly opposed by Dionysius, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Gennadius, Jerome, and Augustin: men whose piety equalled, and whose learning and talents far surpassed, any in the first centuries of the Church.

It can be no difficult matter to ascertain the sentiments of the Fathers upon the Millenarian notions of their contemporaries. Gennadius, of Marseilles, who flourished A.D. 495,\* as cited by Whitby,† declares, “ In the Divine promises we believe nothing concerning meat and drink, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius teach from their author Papias; nor of the reign of a thou-

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\* Cæcilii Hist. Liter. p. 376; and Lardner's Works, 4to London, 1815; Vol. iii. p. 41.

† On the Millennium, p. 720.

sand years on earth after the resurrection, and the Saints' reigning deliciously with him, as Nepos taught." Speaking of Papias and his works, Eusebius uses the following language:—"The same author has published some other things, which he had obtained by report. For example, some strange parables and discourses of our Saviour, and some other things *more fabulous*. Among which, he says there will be a Millennium after the resurrection from the dead, during which the Kingdom of Christ will be corporeally established upon this earth; which I suppose he expected from misapprehending the discourses of the Apostles, by not understanding what they had figuratively spoken. For he was a man of a *very slender judgment*, as may be conjectured from his publications. However, he was the cause why very many ecclesiastical persons, from regard to his antiquity, adopted the same opinion, as Irenæus, and any other who has professed the same tenets."\* Origen, who inflicted a greivous injury upon religion, by setting an example of wild extravagant allegorising of the Scriptures, repeatedly reprobates the system. In one place he says, it was a doctrine that was embraced only by "some silly people." Elsewhere he adds, "They believe that, after the resurrection, we shall, according to the chief promises of the Gospel, eat and drink;

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\* Eusebia Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. cap. 39.

and, as some of them say, shall have children. If these things should be divulged among the heathen, they would bring a great reproach for folly upon Christianity: for many of the heathen entertain a far better belief.\* Jerome's opinion may be easily discovered. "If we understand the Revelation literally, we must judaize; if spiritually, as it is written, we shall seem to contradict many of the ancients."† And Augustin, who informs us that he himself had once embraced the tenets of the sect, says, that their notions might be tolerated, "If they mentioned any spiritual delights which the saints might enjoy by Christ's presence: but since they affirm that those who shall then rise shall indulge in carnal banquets, not only without modesty, but beyond belief, none but carnal men can believe such things."‡

While these men employ such language, is there any necessity for adding another word respecting their sentiments concerning the system?

3. The absurdities of the Millenarian doctrines, led some of the ancients to call in question the inspiration of the book of Revelation.

On this subject, a few sentences may be produced from Eusebius. "We have heard that at the

\* Prolegomena to the Canticles and Philocalia, cap. 26, p. 99, added to Spencer's edition of his work against Celsus.

† Hieronymi Proem, in *Essais* lxx.

‡ Augusteni De Lenitate, Dei. Lib. xx. cap. 7.

same time one Cerinthus was the founder of another heresy. Gaius, whose words I have already quoted, in a disputation which is still circulating, writes of him as follows: ‘Cerinthus, by revelations, as if they had been written by some great Apostle, has published some marvellous tales, which he pretends were communicated to him by angels: saying, that after the resurrection, the Kingdom of Christ will be earthly; and that men living again in the flesh at Jerusalem, will be subject to desires and pleasures. Being an enemy to the Sacred Scriptures, and wishing to seduce into error, he says there will be a thousand years spent in marriage festivity! Dionysius also, who in our time was chosen Bishop of the church of Alexandria, in his second book concerning the Promises, speaking from ancient tradition of the Revelation of John, says, “Cerinthus, the founder of the heresy which bears his name, wishing to give a respectable name to his forgery, was the *author of that* book. For this was one of his tenets, that the Kingdom of Christ would be terrestrial: and being a licentious gluttonous man, he dreamed that it would consist in those things which he himself loved: that is, in meat, and drink, and marriage; and that he might provide these things with a better grace, it would consist in feasts, sacrifices, and the killing of victims.”’\*

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\* Eusebii Hist. Ecclesiast, Lib. iii. cap 24. See also more to the same purpose, book vii. chap. 25.

Does it follow from these statements, that the Church was possessed of Millenarian tendencies, either in the age of Eusebius or in any preceding period? Was the rejection of the Apocalypse itself by some, from the sanction which it was supposed to give to the system, any proof that Millenarian tenets were generally adopted by the Christian world.

4. The early Millenarians were obliged to write in support of their principles, and to defend them from attacks.

Nepos, believing that he could prove from the Revelation of St. John, that the promises were to be literally fulfilled, and that there would be a thousand years spent in sensible enjoyments upon earth, wrote a book, entitled a Refutation of the Allegorical Expositors, or those who explained the promises relating to the Millennium figuratively.\* And Irenæus endeavours to confute these expositors, by shewing the inconsistencies and contradictions, in which he imagined that they involved themselves.†

But if the whole Christian world had adopted Millenarian tenets, would there have been occasion for any such arguments and discussions at all?

Each of the former proofs that was offered for

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\* Eusebii Hist. Ecclesiast: Lib. vii. cap. 24.

† Irenæi Operum Lib. v. cap. 35.

the establishment of the modern Millenarian theory, upon examination was found to give way. This appeal to antiquity is really as unsuccessful as any of its predecessors. The notions adopted by the ancient Millenarians differed widely from those held by the moderns. They were never admitted into any creed. They were rejected by the most eminent Christian Fathers. The aversion to them was so general and strong, that some questioned the inspiration of the Book of Revelation on account of the sanction which it was supposed to give them. And the ancient Millenarians themselves by their language, and by their efforts to secure disciples to their tenets, demonstrate that their system never had gained a general reception.

It is needless to say one word more to shew the groundlessness of the assertions, that Millenarianism was the universal belief of the primitive church, and that the modern doctrines are merely the revival of the faith of the first ages of the Christian world.

THE  
**EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE,**  
 AND  
**MISSIONARY CHRONICLE.**  
 1851.

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VOL. XXIX.—NEW SERIES.

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'Tis well.—Be tumult hush'd in town and street,  
 Unheard be mockery, and unmark'd a sneer;  
 Not thus thy ill-starr'd rule we vainly meet,  
 Not by rude taunt, nor with unmanly fear;—  
 Dauntless our Queen, insulted — yet more dear,

God's word is ours, in land and language ours.  
 Sooner shall fall Saint Peter's dome and towers,  
 Than one sure word of Heaven, before all Papal powers.

J. R. LEIFCHILD.

## Review of Religious Publications.

**THE LAST THINGS:** *An Examination of the Doctrine of Scripture concerning the Resurrection, the Second Coming of Christ, and the Millennium; with Special Reference to the Second Edition of the Rev. D. Brown's Work on the Second Advent. By the Rev. WALTER WOOD, A.M., Elia.*

MILLENNARIANS, or, as, for the sake of distinction, they must now be designated, Pre-Millennialists, deserve credit for the quantity of work which they get through in the way of publication, although, on the score of quality and healthful tendency, their labours entitle them to very slender commendation. Scarcely a month passes without the appearance of some pamphlet, spruce duodecimo, or closely printed octavo, ringing the usual dull and monotonous changes on the common-places of history, the literalities of prophecy, and the restoration of the Jewish temple, with its ancient appendages of altar, sacrifice, and priesthood. But whilst this perpetual stream of print is sent forth from the fountain of Pre-Millennialism, its tendency is neither to fertilise nor beautify. It either stagnates in pestilential swamps, which beget some of the most alarming forms of mental disease; or sweeps on in headlong torrents, which leave scarcely a vestige of truth or sound Scriptural interpretation behind. We have, indeed, known robust and active Christians, who were devoted to every good work, and formed centres of extended usefulness in the localities where they dwelt, converted into dreaming sentimentalists, or contemplative visionaries, by adopting Pre-Millennial notions and principles of prophetic interpretation. Missions, home and foreign, were discountenanced, and deemed impertinent intrusions into the province of Jehovah; and Gentile nations were looked upon simply as fuel destined for combustion amid the conflagration which is to usher in the advent of the Messiah; whilst the Jews were regarded as the exclusive objects of Heaven's solicitude, and Jerusalem was sighed after with more than the enthusiasm of Crusaders, as the sacred capital of the world. Nor, we are satisfied, have such instances of superinduced fana-

ticism been rare among the disciples of Pre-Millennialism. For, whatever may be maintained by its advocates, it is impossible to adopt those principles of prophetic interpretation which form the essential elements of the system; or to embrace those views of the gospel and the kingdom of Christ which form the Alpha and the Omega of Pre-Millennial publications, without having the spirit of solicitude for the salvation of perishing multitudes around us quenched, the arm of active effort for spreading the truth paralyzed, and the future filled, not with bright visions of the benignant triumphs of Christianity among Gentile nations, but with dark pre-intimations of their sudden destruction, amid tempest and storm and fire. We cannot, indeed, doubt that Christians, who look upon the Jews as invested with peculiar rights, and as destined to occupy their capital rebuilt with more than its ancient splendour, whilst they believe that the gospel must be preached among all nations before the end come, may be inferior to none in prayerful solicitude and active effort for the salvation of the world; but we hold it to be impossible that those who embrace and act out the Pre-Millennial notions advocated in the volume now before us, can be distinguished by high practical activity and zeal in promoting the evangelization of Gentile nations. If it is believed that before sunset, or before to-morrow's dawn, the sound of the archangel's trumpet may be heard, that the bright pavilion-cloud in which the Messiah shall descend may be seen, and that the universal conflagration of elemental fires may enwrap the world, and consume the nations of the Gentiles; if it is maintained—as we believe it is by Pre-Millennialists—that the gospel is to be preached as a witness against the great majority of the human family, and not as a means of salvation—what possible inducement can be felt to give general dissemination to the truth, or to attempt to shield the impenitent from the doom that impends over them, and may, perhaps, descend before an effort can be made, or a thought expressed in words? The direct tendency, we believe, of the Pre-Millennial



scheme is to beget indifference in reference to the melioration and progress of the human family, to inspire with notions of self-complacency that are closely allied to the worst forms of selfishness, and to extinguish all generous and manly purposes amid an atmosphere of dreaming and sickly sentimentality.

The writer of this volume is unknown to us, and perhaps—as some men of high principle and generous resolves rise superior to the creed which they have embraced—he may be distinguished for his activity and zeal in seeking the salvation of the world. If so, we congratulate him on the fact, that his infelicitous creed has not yet corrupted his understanding, or benumbed his sympathies; and cannot help regarding it as an intimation that, should he be spared to witness the light which the events and the scholarship of the next twenty or thirty years will throw upon the prophetic page, his Pre-Millennialism will be one of the things on which he will look with astonishment and regret.

His book, although containing nothing new, is highly creditable to him in many respects. On the whole, it is pervaded by moderation of spirit, competency of scholarship, and clearness of style. It is, however, tainted throughout with the vices of the system. There are endless assumptions, false and trifling forms of criticism, and constant attempts to obscure or pervert the simple meaning of Scripture, elaborate accumulations of texts and passages which prove nothing, illogical forms of reasoning, and occasionally a tone, in reference to his antagonist, not at all to our taste. These things will strike every intelligent reader of the volume, whose prejudices are not already enlisted on behalf of the theory contended for by Mr. Wood.

It is unnecessary to enter minutely into an examination of the views and reasonings of Mr. Wood, as they differ in no respect, as far as we can discover, from what has been repeatedly published to the world by Pre-Millennialists. He contends for the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, and, for their distinctness and superiority, during the Millennium, amid the nations of the Gentiles, by the eminence of the position which they will occupy, and the observance of their ancient rites; he holds that all the sainted dead will be raised, and all living Christians mysteriously changed, at the commencement of the Millennium, but that the resurrection of the wicked will not take place till its close; he maintains that the Millennium will be ushered in by the destruction of the impenitent, by the overthrow of all the kingdoms of the world, and by the conflagration of the heavens and the earth; he further believes that during the Millennium Christ and the church of the firstborn will remain enshrouded in a mysterious cloudy pavilion,

which is to continue suspended over Jerusalem, admitting, at the same time, a species of dim and distant communion with the favoured inhabitants of that city. All this is, of course, familiar to every one who is acquainted with the distinctive elements of the Pre-Millennial creed, and is throughout Mr. Wood's volume pleaded for and defended in the usual style of dreamy assumption and false reasoning, based on the literality of prophecy. According, indeed, to the principles of exegesis and interpretation adopted by Mr. Wood and his fellow Pre-Millennialists, it would be no difficult matter to find a footing in the Scriptures for the wildest forms of fanaticism that ever excited the astonishment or amused the credulity of Christendom. Nay, more; give us the license, and random principles of interpretation, on which Pre-Millennialists base their system, and we will undertake to make something of the oracles of Dodona or Delphi, and to extract a theory, not less plausible than that of Mr. Wood, from the pages of the Koran, or the fictions of Oriental mythology.

But, without following Mr. Wood along the oft-trodden path he pursues throughout this volume, we will state two or three general grounds on which the theory of Pre-Millennialists appears to us not only untenable, but fraught with mischief.

We observe, then, that it is based on a false principle of prophetic interpretation. It must have been remarked by every one acquainted with the subject, that, in attempting to explain the language of prophecy, Pre-Millennialists almost uniformly fall back on the Jews as their great masters and exemplars, conceiving that, as to their hands the oracles of God were committed, their principle of interpretation must be a sound one. But, judging from the whole history of that people, from the earliest times down to the present, is it not clear that they have uniformly misunderstood or misrepresented the most important announcements of prophecy touching themselves as a people, and the Messiah as the Prince of peace and the Saviour of the world? We should have imagined, indeed, that the notorious and criminal blindness of the Jews in reference to the true import of prophecy, and the consequent judgments which smote and overwhelmed them, would have convinced all Christian interpreters, that to follow in their steps, or imitate their example, must involve a principle at once false and dangerous. Besides, does not the principle of literal interpretation conduct to all that is incongruous and absurd? Let it be carried out to its full extent, as indeed it has been by not a few Pre-Millennialists, and must not its advocate expose himself to the charge of insanity, by expecting, not only the return of the Israelites to Palestine, the

rebuilding of their temple, and the re-appointment of their ritual in more than its ancient splendour, but the upheaving of Mount Zion until it overtops the Andes and the Himalayas, the restoration of fallen monarchies and desolated cities just as they were thousands of years ago, and the appearance of phenomena utterly incompatible with the laws and arrangements of the physical universe? The literalities of the Pre-Millennial scheme, indeed, involve the most monstrous forms of absurdity, and, besides, divest the kingdom of the Messiah of all its moral and spiritual grandeur, and reduce it to the low level of a glittering and sensuous pageant. Surely, then, the principle that conducts to such an issue as this must be false, when applied to predictions concerning the latter-day glory.

Again, it appears to us that the theory of Pre-Millennialists is opposed to the genius and design of the gospel. There is, as every candid and intelligent reader of the New Testament must have observed, an amplitude that embraces all nations, and a spirituality that forbids all temporal distinctions, in our intercourse with Heaven, belonging to the gospel. It pronounces all men to be of one blood, and annuls the distinction of bond and free, of male and female, of Jew and Gentile. But the Pre-Millennial scheme would perpetuate, and even intensify, the distinction between the descendants of Abraham and the Gentile nations; and, descending to the utmost viciousness in carnality, would stamp the Saviour himself simply as a Jew, and would limit the manifestation of His glory, during the Millennial reign which it contemplates, to Jerusalem and its vicinity; whilst it assigns the highest and most honourable places in His kingdom to those who observe the renovated pomps and ritualism of the Jewish dispensation. And hence, instead of being distinguished by the breadth and comprehensiveness and spirituality of the gospel, it is reduced to the narrow and beggarly dimensions of sectarianism and carnality. Further, the gospel is essentially a system of gentleness, alien from all violence or overwhelming judgments as agents of conviction and enlightenment, seeking to win men's homage and love by moral and spiritual means, and not to command their prostrate and trembling allegiance by engulfing earthquakes and tempests of fire, which at best can be but physical demonstrations of omnipotent power. But Pre-Millennialism, evidently disputing the fitness of moral and spiritual agencies to effect the conversion of the world, and to secure the destined triumphs of the Saviour, not only pleads for the crowding of scattered millions within the narrow limits of Palestine, the appointment of a temple and ritual more gorgeous than

those prescribed to Moses, and the visible enthronement of the Messiah in a cloudy pavilion or tabernacle, but contends for the thunder peal, the fiery tempest, the combustion of the elements, the sudden crushing and trampling down of vast multitudes, the flowing of rivers of blood, and all conceivable tokens of omnipotent vengeance, as essential to the ultimate establishment of the peaceful and heavenly kingdom of the Son of God. It appears to us then, that Pre-Millennialism, instead of breathing the gentle spirit of the gospel and identifying itself in principle with Him who rebuked his disciples when they were disposed to invoke the vengeance of fire on the disobedient, is instinct with a spirit derogatory to the character and purposes of the Messiah, and kindred with that of violence and the most tremendous forms of persecution. On this ground, therefore, were there no other, we should reject it as a system which savours not of the things which belong to the kingdom of God.

But, once more, Pre-Millennialism has a direct tendency to beget a dreaming sentimentalism, which takes delight in hunting out the commonplaces of history, in tracing fanciful coincidences, in musing over the Scriptures as exclusively Jewish, and in picturing to itself visions of literal and sensuous magnificence, until the imperative claims of active obedience are forgotten, and piety becomes a weak, emasculated, romantic thing, fitted to speculate and sip in the coteries of elegant drawing-rooms, rather than to make sacrifices, and struggle in the high places of the field, to gain the moral conquests of truth. This may be denied as an unfounded accusation, but is it not attested by facts? For, whilst there are unquestionably some men of high scholarship, and of generous and active principle, who have embraced Pre-Millennialism, are not the great majority of its advocates and disciples to be found among ignorant, or half-educated men, who have escaped from Cambridge or Oxford, without knowing even the rudiments of theological science, and among those whose leisure and luxurious ease form the very hotbed of all that is fantastic and visionary and sentimental?

But we cannot dwell longer on the subject; our limits forbid. We trust, however, we have said enough to convince our readers that Pre-Millennialism, whatever names may be enlisted under its banner, and whatever *prestige* wealth and rank may throw around it, is utterly inconsistent with the spirit and design of the gospel, and consequently fraught with mischievous consequences to mankind, and dishonour to God.

# THE MILLENNIAL CHURCH:

OR,

The End of the World not yet Come,

BUT

THE MILLENNIUM ALREADY BEGUN.

## A SERMON,

PREACHED IN MILTON CHURCH, ON WEDNESDAY, 21ST MARCH,

THE NATIONAL FAST.

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BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER ARTHUR,

MINISTER OF MILTON.

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"The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of *our Lord*, and of *His Christ*, and He shall reign for ever and ever."—Rev. xi. 15.

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heaven can neither symbolically nor literally mean the literal earth, nor souls mean dead bodies! If so, Scripture may mean anything you please; but the responsibility must be great of those who father upon the Holy Ghost their own rash and groundless fancies!

This is the manner in which Dr Cumming represents, or rather misrepresents, Dr Whitby's argument. He mentions what he considers his two principal ones, as of course containing the substance of the whole. Dr Whitby's treatise consists of thirty-four close columns, embracing four chapters in numerous sections. Chapter first is headed—"That the doctrine of the millennium was never generally received in the church of Christ, is proved, 1, From the testimony of Justin Martyr," &c. In this he examines the whole history of the doctrine in ancient times, and tells us who refuted it. Origin says, "Those things, should they come to the ears of heathens, would lay a great imputation of folly on Christianity," &c. Dr Cumming does not seem to have seen this! "It had its rise," saith Eusebius, 'from Papias, a man of slender judgment.' He that speaks of Irenaeus, adding, 'if there were any other of the same judgment,' seems to intimate that there were not many. Origin saith there were only 'some' that held this doctrine—'some of the simpler sort.' None speaks more contemptibly of this doctrine than Origin, who represents it as a wicked doctrine, a reproach to Christianity. It cannot be doubted but this opinion then lost ground daily, and was generally decried by the learned of those centuries. 'The most, and those pious men,' says Epiphanius, 'look upon these words as true indeed, but to be taken in a spiritual sense.' Dionysius of Alexandria saith, it (made schisms in the church), declaring how fully he confuted it, and reconciled the brethren that were contending about it, and prevailed upon the author and ringleader of this doctrine to own he was convinced of his error." Chapter ii. is headed, "How far I differ from the ancient and modern millenaries, and in what I agree with them," &c. Chapter iii. "This chapter

contains an answer to all the arguments produced from Scripture," &c. Chapter iv. "contains arguments against the literal meaning, &c., 1, from its inconsistency with the happy state of souls departed; 2, from the accurate descriptions of the resurrection in the holy Scriptures, without any mention of a first and second resurrection; 3, from the inconsistency of it with the genius of the Christian faith, and the nature of the gospel promises." Now, of all this, how much does Dr Cumming notice? Just *seven words*, and that only to misrepresent them. Dr Whitby neither refers to the prodigal son, nor the valley of vision, though he well might, if he had had time, for the argument from either is conclusive and *unanswerable*; but he quotes half a text from the valley of vision to show the figurative use of *one word*—"graves."

2. We have seen how Dr Cumming represents Dr Whitby—now, how does he reason against him? Thus, "In the light of these *two* instances, he views the resurrection of the martyrs and saints described in this chapter. He has confounded things that differ. (!) What looks like illustration is really not so. When we read of these resurrections, we likewise read of deaths corresponding to them. Thus, the death of the Jews is shown in the imagery to have been national—their resurrection must be national too." Now, what is all that to the purpose? He seems to "confound things that differ!" The sole question is, Is the imagery *symbolic*? and, if so, why may not the imagery that John saw be symbolic also? None can doubt that Ezekiel's is symbolic, and the inference is natural that John's is so too; and then "the thrones," "souls," and "resurrection," are not literal, but merely *symbols* of the dignity, "the spirit, and purity, of the times of the primitive martyrs," and of the "revival" or "spiritual resurrection" of "the church of Jew and Gentile" in millennial glory. "But the death of the martyrs," he continues, "is pronounced to be *individual, literal*—as *national* death, in the case of the Jews, implied that their resurrection would be *national*—so the *literal* death, in the case of the martyrs,

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## The Millennium and the Late Edward Irving.

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ONE of the most mysterious sources of extravagant and erroneous sentiments—in the declining days of many eminent men—is the hard-working and over-taxing of the mental powers. It is a fact that men of God of a rough, ready, and often reckless mind, live many, many years, without evincing the slightest evidence of any defective change in their sentiments, experiences, or expressions; while the finely-wrought texture of other men's reflecting and thinking powers are often found, toward the end of the journey, to spring a leak somewhere; and the waters of error overwhelm the spirit, and to a certain extent as regards time, the vessel is lost. Let the living and laborious students of the present day lay this fact to heart.

In Mr. Grant's new volume, "The End of All Things," he gives the Millenarians the following solemn lecture. He says:—

"The Millenarians proudly claim the late Edward Irving as having been one of the most earnest believers in the personal reign of Christ, and among the most zealous in the promulgation of that article of his Christian creed. Their claim is just. In his latter days he was a Millenarian in the strictest sense of the word. From the years 1827 to 1830 the Millenarian question attracted a measure of attention it never had done before. It was brought under the notice of thousands of Christians, who, though remarkable for their knowledge of Scripture on other points, had never bestowed a single thought on the question of Christ's personal reign on earth. The cause of this was the prominence given to it by the Rev. E. Irving, at that time at the summit of his popularity. Solely with the generous view of assisting a Spanish friend, he had in the previous year studied the Spanish language, and made such progress in his knowledge of that language as to be able to translate it into English. Just at this time a book written in Spanish, entitled 'The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty,' came into his hands. As this work struck him much, and powerfully expressed his own views on the more important aspects of the Millennial question, he at once set to work and translated it into English. It excited great attention, and gave an impulse, in conjunction with his own preaching on Millenarian topics, to the hypothesis of a personal reign of Christ on earth, surpassing, most probably, anything known in the Church since the second or third centuries. The book which Mr. Irving thus translated from the Spanish was written by an author who professed to have been a Jewish convert to Christianity, and who gave the name of Juan Josaphat Ben-Ezra on the title-page. He was, however, a Spanish priest of the order of Ignatius Loyola, and his real name was Lacunza. In this matter the author of the work in question acted on the Jesuit maxim that the end sanctifies the means, and therefore the false representation which he made of himself did not cause him a moment's uneasiness. Whether Mr. Irving was aware of the fraud which had thus been practised on the readers of the book I have no means of knowing, not having access to the work itself as it came from Mr. Irving's hands. How much he admired the book may be inferred from

some of the phrases expressive of praise he applied to it. He said that he found in it, as Mrs. Oliphant mentions in her *Life of Edward Irving*, 'the hand of a master,' it was the 'chief work of a master's hand,' it was 'a masterpiece of reasoning' which he felt assured God had sent him at that particular time for the love of his Church, 'and it was a gift which he had resolved well how he might turn to profit.'

"But, in addition to the impulse which Mr. Irving gave to Millenarianism through the publication of this book, he did much to promote its progress in various other ways. He established a quarterly journal called the *Morning Watch*, almost the same size as our leading quarterly reviews, for the sole purpose of advocating Millenarian views. That journal lasted for several years; but the extravagance of some of the collateral notions which Mr. Irving intermingled with simple Millenarianism, rather impeded than promoted the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ on earth. The doctrine, too, of speaking with tongues, the assertion of the peccability of Christ's humanity, the zealous advocacy of the opinion that the power of working miracles was still vested in the Church, and not the expectation only, but, from time to time, the repeated assertion, in terms the most emphatic, that Christ would come immediately to reign personally on the earth,—all these and other sentiments no less confidently advanced, and earnestly and frequently inculcated, both from his pulpit and through the press, injured rather than benefited the cause of Millenarianism among the more sober-minded men in the religious world.

"It was my happiness to know Mr. Irving personally, as well as often to hear him preach; and I would be doing violence to my feelings if I made any reference to his name without saying, that I have never met with a man in whom there was such a striking combination of intellect of the loftiest order, with great simplicity of character, extreme geniality of nature, and ardent piety. It was impossible, unless there had been an utter absence in one's bosom of all the sympathies of humanity, to be in that great and good man's society for many minutes without regarding him with a love and admiration too great to be expressed. But, while I say all this, and say it with a depth and sincerity of feeling which could not be surpassed, Mr. Irving's greatest friends and admirers will concur with me when I state, that for the latter six or seven years of his life his judgment was not to be depended on in reference to any religious matter. And as he lived during the last few years of his existence on earth in the full belief of the momentous errors to which I have alluded, so he retained them till his dying hour. Even more than this,—he added one more error to them a very brief period before his death. When his physicians and friends, seeing him in the last stage of consumption, prepared him, in the spirit of affectionate faithfulness, for the solemn event which was at hand, he would not believe that he was dying, or ever would die, but that he would be changed in the twinkling of an eye, and, in a transformed body, made unspeakably glorious, be caught up to heaven. I have received this statement from one who saw him when on his dying bed. The Millenarians therefore do not strengthen their cause by quoting the name of Edward Irving as an authority in favour of their views.

"The intensity of the enthusiasm with which Mr. Irving entered into the notion of a personal reign of Christ on earth is well described



in his Life by Mrs. Oliphant. 'The conception,' she says, 'of a second advent nearly approaching was like the beginning of a new life. The thought of seeing his Lord in the flesh cast a certain ecstasy on the mind of Irving. It quickened tenfold his already vivid apprehension of spiritual things. The burden of his prophetic mystery, so often darkly pondered, so often interpreted in a mistaken sense, seemed to him, in the light of that expectation, to swell into divine choruses of preparation for the splendid event which, with his own bodily eyes, undimmed by death, he hoped to behold.' This biographer more than hints that the extravagances which, towards the close of his career, proceeded both from his lips and his pen were to be traced to a mind which, through its prophetic studies, had lost its balance. That was, I believe, the general conviction of his personal friends. It was mine also from what I heard from him in private conversation, as well as from his pulpit ministrations. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he made, up till the last, many proselytes to his Millenarian notions and advanced views respecting the circumstances under which the second advent would take place.

"I see it stated in some recent Millenarian publications, that the idea of Christ, with his saints, remaining and reigning in the air after he has caught up his people to meet him there, instead of reigning literally on the earth, was unknown until some fifteen or twenty years ago. This is an error. The statement is historically incorrect. The notion had its origin with Edward Irving. So, too, did another doctrine which has made great progress of late, and is, I am sorry and surprised to say, making a daily increasing progress at the present time. I allude to the doctrine of what is called the secret rapture. To this doctrine I shall in a future part of my work advert at some length. Suffice it, in the meantime, to say that the doctrine consists in the assumption that Christ will come and take his people who are alive up with Him into the air when he raises the saints who are in their graves and summons them to meet him in aerial regions. So deeply did this notion take possession of many of those who adopted Mr. Irving's Millenarian views, in conjunction with this other idea,—that Christ's second coming might be looked for at any hour,—that they were as firmly persuaded they would not see death, as they were of any truth in the Word of God. I speak from personal knowledge here. I conversed with persons, just towards the close of Mr. Irving's life, who were equally remarkable for their intellectual attainments and high social position, who lived, and died too, in the belief that they should never taste of death, but be individually caught up by Christ to dwell with him in the air, hidden from the world's view until the time should come for the manifestation of his visible glory. But I must not anticipate what I shall hereafter have to say when I go formally and fully into this part of my subject."

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Are we indeed running the heavenly race? then there is no avoiding spectators, to wit, angels, devils, and wicked men. The latter may reproach, vex, and threaten us, yet it becomes us not so much as to turn our head to notice them, seeing we are in a race which demands all attention and speed.

# PLYMOUTH BRETHRENISM

UNVEILED AND REFUTED.



BY

WILLIAM REID, D.D.,

EDINBURGH.

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## IX.

### THE SECRET RAPTURE OF THE SAINTS.

**W**HILE the Brethren are generally, if not universally, premillennialists, they must be peculiar even in this belief, and hence their notion of the secret rapture of the saints. Indeed, they are, in their own estimation, such accurate students of prophecy, and understand future events so clearly, that they demonstrate the whole series of events connected with this glorious era, by means of diagrams and charts.\*

While many of their notions can be traced back to the exploded fancies of early Christian writers, the dogma of the secret rapture, seems to have had its first conception in the wild imaginings, of that misguided son of genius, Edward Irving. Any one desirous of studying this notion, will find ample scope for *patient* investigation in the writings of Mr Darby and Mr Bellett. A few quotations from publications on the subject by leading writers among the Brethren, may so far enable us to comprehend this dogma :

“No doubt the saints will be manifested before the judgment-seat of Christ, to give an account of themselves to God,” says Mr Darby, “but even this is not separated from privilege, for they arrive there, already like Himself. Yea, He has come Himself to fetch them there. This special association with Christ is made good, not by Christ’s ap-

\* See Charts by Sir E. Denny, and “Inquiry into the Doctrine of a General Judgment,” p. 25.

pearing, as we have seen (though manifested there), but by His coming to receive them to Himself where He is ; His introducing them into His Father's house, and in the kingdom placing them in the heavenly seat of government with Himself. This is effectuated by His coming, and causing them, raised or changed, to come up and meet Him in the air. This is the rapture of the saints, *preceding* their and Christ's appearing : at that they appear with Him. So *that at their rapture He has not appeared yet.* The moment of their rapture none can know. Its distinctive character is vital for him before whom the truth is set. I will now cite some passages of detail, which show our exemption from the tribulation predicted, a position in which the world will find itself, and in an especial manner the Jewish people restored to their land. . . . How can I tell there will be a tribulation ? I shall be answered, ' Passages of Scripture positively declare there will be such.' I admit it ; but there are no passages which reveal it, which do not also show that the Church will not be in it. As far as I am aware they are these : Jeremiah xxx. 7 ; Daniel xii. 1 ; Matthew xiv. 21 ; Mark xiii. 19 ; to which we may add Revelation iii. 10, vii. 14. I am not aware of any other which can be applied to this subject. Now who are in this tribulation in the passages which speak of it in Scripture ? Revelation vii. 14 could alone leave open the smallest question. Of that I will speak. Of all the rest, the positive evidence is, that the Jews are in it—the Church *not*. Jeremiah tells us, ' It is the time of Jacob's trouble,' the day which none is like. That shows to whom it belongs. . . . The statement, that there is a tribulation, declares the Jews will be in it, the Church kept out of it. But there is a passage obscure to most. (Revelation vii.). It is one of

the signs of error and the enemy's work, that he takes an obscure passage to trouble the minds of saints, and unsettle them by this means in great and plain truths. This passage may be employed so, and hence I notice it also. That it is not the Church which is spoken of here, is clear from the promise to Philadelphia."\*

Again, we read—"The rapture is peculiar to Paul's gospel, while the *appearing* in glory to earth is that of which Peter testifies, who had received his mission from Christ on earth. Paul's commission belongs to the interval; Peter's to that which is before and after the interval. The Lord goes away from earth, and promises to return again to earth in like manner. This return is called in Scripture 'the *appearing*' [manifestation]. While He is away, the Holy Ghost comes down from Him, and forms a new thing—the Church—one with Christ on high, the Holy Ghost abiding in it. When this is completed (that is, the last member gathered in), this Church will be caught away to meet Him in the air, before He has actually *appeared*, and it will then *appear* with Him in glory. It is of this catching away that Paul speaks (as well as of the appearing); while we find Peter and the other apostles only speak of the appearing itself."†

Another writer of the same school says—"After the Church is gone, Antichrist will be fully revealed, and this will usher in the greatest tribulation that will ever take place on the earth. As we have seen, after the Church is caught away, the kingdom of heaven will remain, profession will go on, and God will have some faithful servants among the prevailing declension and apostasy. But besides all this, in

\* "The Rapture of the Saints, and the Character of the Jewish Remnant," by J. N. Darby, pp. 49, 50, 58, 62, 63.

† "Manchester Tracts for Believers—The Present Interval," pp. 7, 8.

Revelation xi. we read of God giving power to His two witnesses, and they shall prophesy in sackcloth. There will evidently be a decided testimony for God, and these witnesses, with any associated with them, may be 'the brethren' of our passage—the people's treatment of whom decides their doom. Notice, too, that in Matthew xxiv. 14, we read, 'This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations; and then shall the end come.' From these passages we learn that the godly remnant of those days will be surrounded with the grossest deception, accompanied with the most frightful persecution. Among other things we read that no one will be allowed to buy or sell, but he that has the mark or the name of the beast. This must surely test the people of the nations. All will be obliged to take part either with Satan and his agents, or with the persecuted brethren of Christ." \*

Mr M'Intosh says, after quoting 1 Thess. iv.—"Here, then, we have presented to us what is commonly spoken of amongst us as the rapture of the saints—a most glorious, soul-stirring, and enrapturing theme surely—the brightest hope of the Church of God, and of the individual believer. The Lord *himself* shall descend from heaven with a summons designed only for the ears and the hearts of His own. Not one uncircumcised ear shall hear—not one unrenewed heart be moved by, that heavenly voice, that divine trumpet-call. The dead in Christ, including, as we believe, the Old Testament saints, as well as those of the New, who shall have departed in the faith of Christ—all those shall hear the blessed sound, and come forth from their sleeping places. All the living saints shall hear it, and be changed in a

\* "An Inquiry into the Doctrine of a General Judgment," pp. 17, 20, 22.

moment. And oh, what a change ! The poor crumbling tabernacle of clay exchanged for a glorified body, like unto the body of Jesus. . . . It may perhaps present a difficulty to some of our readers in laying hold of the truth of the Christian's hope of resurrection, that our Lord makes use of the word 'hour' in speaking of the two classes. 'How,' it is argued, 'can there be a thousand years between the two resurrections, when our Lord expressly tells us that all shall occur within the limits of an hour?' To this question we have a double reply. In the first place, we find our Lord making use of the self-same word 'hour,' at verse 25, where He is speaking of the great and glorious work of quickening dead souls. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God ; and they that hear shall live.' Now, here we have a work which has been going on for nearly nineteen long centuries. During all that time, here spoken of as an 'hour,' the voice of Jesus, the Son of God, has been heard calling precious souls from death to life. If, therefore, in the very same discourse, our Lord used the word 'hour' when speaking of a period which has already extended to well nigh two thousand years, what difficulty can there be in applying the word to a period of one thousand years? Surely none whatever, as we judge. But even if any little difficulty yet remained, it must be thoroughly met by the direct testimony of the Holy Ghost, in Revelation xx., where we read, 'But the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished. *This is the first resurrection.* Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection : on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years.' Verses 5, 6.

"There is positively no such thing in Scripture as a promiscuous resurrection—a common rising of all at the same time. We must abandon this idea altogether." \*

Mr Stanley, in endeavouring to determine the order of events preceding the coming of Christ, as asserted in the Book of Revelation, says—"The Church having been with the Lord from chapter vi. now returns with the Lord in chapter xix. The full number of the first resurrection being completed in the beginning of chapter xx., then takes place the millennium, or thousand years' rest, with Christ. The rest of the dead live not until this thousand years' rest is completed. During this thousand years, every promise of blessing to this earth will be fulfilled—Satan bound—sin not allowed, but immediately judged. Then comes the end. Satan is loosed a little while; and then the great judgment of the dead takes place (chapter xx. 11-15). And this over, the eternal state of inexpressible blessedness sets in—new heavens and new earth—

Where God shall shine in light divine,  
In glory everlasting." †

So while the Brethren are millenarian, they must differ even from the great body of those who hold this doctrine, by affirming that, previous to the millennium, saints shall be removed by Christ to be with Him, where He is; and at the end of a certain period, they do not say how long, Christ and His people shall return to reign on earth a thousand years! Nor do they speak very definitely as to where saints shall be with Christ during this interval. Mr Darby expresses himself in these terms:

\* "Papers on the Lord's Coming," pp. 32, 51, 52.

† "What God hath said on the Second Coming of Christ, and the End of the Present Ages," p. 31.



"It is not heaven, though I shall be in heaven: it is *Christ* I am to get—the blessedest of all, *Christ*. Am I waiting for *Christ*? He will find a people waiting for Him when He comes. How long the midnight cry goes forth, we know not. It may do its work in a moment, of rousing the hearts of the sleeping Church. Behold, the Bridegroom cometh! Scripture does not talk of going to heaven, but of being *with the Lord*. The nearest approach to any thought about heaven is to the thief on the cross—'This day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' " \*

I have thus endeavoured, by culling these passages from the publications of Messrs Darby, M'Intosh, Stanley, and others, to present some idea of this notion as held by the Brethren. Although they are about the most intelligible passages I could discover, I fear that my readers, equally with myself, must still fail to comprehend the subject. It may be proper, therefore, to add a few sentences from a small work by Dr Tregelles—one who had the best means of knowing the religious views of the Brethren, owing to his many years' association with them, and intimacy with their leaders, and who expresses himself with a clearness which is quite refreshing, after having pursued the most hazy labyrinth which it has ever been our lot to pass through.

"The doctrine held and taught by many is," says Dr Tregelles, "that believers are concerned not with a public and manifested coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory—not with His appearing when every eye shall see Him, and when He shall sever the wicked from among the just, but with a secret or private coming, when the dead saints shall be secretly raised, the living changed, and both caught up to meet the Lord in the air;

\* "Notes of Addresses at Edinburgh," p. 46.

that the shout, the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, do not indicate anything of publicity, for the ear of faith alone shall hear them ; that the Church shall meet the Lord, not at His visible coming, but in order to remain with Him, at least for years, before His manifested advent ; that after *this* secret coming there shall be in the earth a full power of evil put forth amongst both Jews and Gentiles ; that there shall be a time of unequalled tribulation and great spiritual perils (with which the Church has nothing to do), and that this condition of things shall end by the *manifest* coming of the Lord. . . . After the opinion of a secret advent had been adopted, many expressions in older writers were regarded as supporting it ; in which, however, the word 'secret' does not mean unperceived or unknown, but simply secret in point of time. Thus in a passage of Milman—

' Even thus amidst thy pride and luxury,  
Oh, Earth, shall this last coming burst on thee,  
    *That secret coming of the Son of man ;*  
When all the cherub-throning clouds shall shine,  
Irradiate with His bright advancing sign,  
    When the great Husbandman shall wave His fan,' etc.

The third line was taken up as if it taught the new doctrine of *this* secret coming, whereas the whole passage (even if it had any theological value) teaches a coming in power, glory, and publicity, in contrast to that which is private ; so, too, as to other writers, whose words were sometimes used. . . . In 1863 I heard it publicly and definitely maintained that the secret coming is the *second* coming promised in Scripture, and that the manifest appearing of our Lord is His *third* coming. Many seem to think this who do not say so in definite words. But a third coming is something

very different from His coming again. . . . When proofs have been asked for the doctrine of the secret advent and secret removal of the Church, certain supposed analogies have been sometimes presented instead, which were thought to bear on the subject. But as analogy is a resemblance of relations, it is needful that the facts should be first known and demonstrated, instead of their being merely supposed. It has been asked if the crossing of Jordan by the children of Israel was not a thing known to them only at the time and not heard of by the Canaanites till afterwards? Whether Elijah is not to be taken as a type of the Church, and Elisha as that of 'the Jewish remnant?' Whether the ascension of the Lord from the Mount of Olives, seen by the disciples only, does not intimate a second advent only to be known by the Church? . . . Some, indeed, ask, 'Have you not overlooked how plainly the secret rapture of the Church is set forth in the Canticles?' But is it intended that we should interpret the New Testament by the Canticles? Should we not rather let the full light of the Christian Revelation shine on the ancient Scriptures? Of one thing we may be certain, that nothing in the Canticles *can* contradict our Lord's words, and His promise that His elect shall be gathered unto Him by His angels, at His manifest coming with power and great glory. Whatever may be the import of passages in the Canticles which speak of secrecy ('the secret places of the stairs,' etc.), or of the withdrawal of the bride from any particular scene ('Come with me from Lebanon,' etc.), we ought to be so established in New Testament truth, as not to imagine that these can set forth a secret rapture, unless such a rapture had been definitely taught in the Word, instead of its being contradicted. To learn the distinct hope

of the Lord's coming is a far simpler thing than it is to interpret the Canticles."\*

Now, it is very singular, if anything like this awaits saints, that the Scriptures should maintain total silence upon the subject. There is, perhaps, no event yet future, so clearly and fully revealed as Christ's second coming. Prophecy, in this instance, discards its usual obscurity, and assumes the definiteness of historical narrative. We find in Scripture not merely incidental allusion made to it, but the fact announced in language singularly free from ambiguity. It is therefore all the more remarkable, that any devout students of Scripture should fail to apprehend the nature and significance of the event, and also, all the more easy to detect and expose their error. In doing this as respects the dogma in question,

*I. Advert first, to the various arguments and proofs adduced on behalf of the secret rapture of the saints.*

(a.) The Scripture text on which the Brethren seem chiefly to rely is 1 Thess. iv. 16-18. In this, however, we deem them singularly unfortunate. Let us look at the passage: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord. Wherefore comfort one another with these words." Is a *shout, the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God*, consistent with the idea of secresy? Observe, too, the region in which this glorious manifestation is made. It is in "the air,"—that is, in the

\* "The Hope of Christ's Second Coming," by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D., pp. 25, 26, 27, 30, 54, 55.

Then we are exhorted to *wait, watch, and look* for Christ's coming (1 Thess. i. 10; 1 Cor. i. 7; 2 Thess. iii. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Luke xii. 37; Titus ii. 13; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 28; 2 Pet. iii. 12; Jude 21), all of which expressions, imply the foregoing of portents by which His coming may be distinguished.

"Oh, we admit," reply the Brethren, "that His *manifestation* shall be public,—in the very nature of the case, it must be so; but while it is so, as respects His *manifestation*, it is not so, as respects His *coming*." Now, any one by referring to the texts which announce His *coming*, will at once perceive that *coming* (παρουσία), and *appearing* or *manifestation* (ἐπιφάνεια), are terms used synonymously, and that the one as certainly as the other indicates *publicity*. Take the following in which generally the former of these terms, and occasionally both, occur to express Christ's *coming*—Matt. xxiv. 3, 27; 2 Thess. ii. 8; James v. 7, 8; 2 Pet. iii. 4, 12; 1 John ii. 28,—all of which intimate that it shall be public. We have also already proved (see page 309), that saints regard with expectation and desire His *appearing*, equally with His *coming*; hence *coming* and *appearing*, must be identical, for not only are they similarly regarded, but how can they *wait, look, and hope* for His *appearing*, if they have been already long with Him? Then there are the corroborating facts, of the righteous and the wicked being found associated on earth till the final condemnation of all things; and the facts of the resurrection and judgment of both, being simultaneous or in immediate succession. Were Brethren views of Christ's coming true, for aught we know He may have already come, and we now be living under the reign of Antichrist. Thus the notion of a secret advent, is fitted to paralyse the grandest motive of the Christian life.

"So little," says Dr Tregelles, "had I heard of this argument on the words ἐπιφάνεια and παρουσία for many years (ever since 1839, when it seemed to be abandoned for other theories), that I should scarcely have thought it needful to notice it, had I not found that it was again revived. I well remember how some used to press it, and how unspiritual they thought the endeavour to show how these words are really used in the New Testament. It is one of the cases in which the attempt has been made to misrepresent the *facts* of Scripture, and in which the uninstructed and unwary have been misled." \* . . .

The theory involves a third advent of Christ ; indeed, the Brethren, as Dr Tregelles informs us, maintain that "the manifest appearing of our Lord is His *third* coming." The assertion is only a sad instance of the length to which theorists will go when they discard exact criticism, and shut their eyes to the obvious disclosures of Scripture, that they may palm off upon their adherents mere fancies instead of solemn fact. Such a mode of interpretation may suffice for those who constitute the limited class of sentimental religionists, but is likely to find small favour generally in an age when everything is subjected to the test of rigid criticism.

\* "The Hope of Christ's Second Coming," pp. 43, 44.

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A  
**TREATISE**  
OF THE  
**TRUE MILLENIUM;**  
SHEWING THAT IT IS NOT A  
REIGN OF PERSONS RAISED FROM THE DEAD,  
BUT OF  
**THE CHURCH**  
FLOURISHING GLORIOUSLY FOR A THOUSAND YEARS  
AFTER THE CONVERSION OF THE JEWS,  
AND  
THE FLOWING-IN OF ALL NATIONS TO THEM THUS CONVERTED  
TO  
THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.



# EXAMEN

VARIANTIUM LECTIONUM

JOHANNIS MILLII, S. T. P.

IN

NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

---

- I. Lectionum harum fundamenta incerta plane esse, et ad lectionem textus hodierni convellendam protinus inidonea.
- II. Lectiones variantes quæ sunt momenti alicujus, aut sensum textus mutant, paucissimas esse, atque in iis omnibus lectionem textus defendi posse.

Ubi ostenditur

- III. Lectiones variantes levioris momenti, quas latius expendimus, tales esse in quibus à lectione recepta rarissime recedendum est.
  - IV. Millium in hisce variantibus lectionibus colligendis sæpius arte non ingenua usum esse, falsis citationibus abundare, et sibimet ipsi multoties contradicere.
- 

OPERA ET STUDIO

DANIELIS WHITBY, S. T. P.

ET ECCLESIE SARISBURIENSIS PRÆCENTORIS.

---

Justus videtur qui primus est in causa sua, sed venit socius ejus, et investigabit eum. *Prov. xviii. 17.*

OF THE  
MILLENNIUM,

&c. &c.

PREFACE.

SCALIGER was pleased to say, "*Calvinus sapuit, quia non scripsit in Apocalypsin;*" *Calvin was wise, because he did not write upon the Revelation.* I confess, I do it not for want of wisdom; that is, because I neither have sufficient reading nor judgment to discern the intendment of the prophecies contained in that book. But yet, conceiving that I have either found out the true sense of those words, xx. 4. which usually are alleged as the foundation of the supposed Millennium, or resurrection of the martyrs to reign with Christ on earth a thousand years; or, at the least, have said what is sufficient to shew, it is not necessary to understand them in a proper sense; I have comprised my sentiments of that controversy in the ensuing treatise, which I submit to the judgment of the reader.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING employed some thoughts upon the mystery of the conversion of the Jewish nation, mentioned by St. Paul, Rom. ix. and comparing the glorious things he there says of it, with what the prophets had foretold of the same thing in very high expressions; I began to compare them with what was written in the Revelation, concerning the new Jerusalem, the new heavens, and new earth, and the "bride of the Lamb made ready for a marriage with him;" and finding that this bride was thought, by the best commentators, to be the Jewish church and nation, represented formerly by our Saviour, as "not having on her wedding-garment," Matt. xxii. 12. that the new heavens and the new earth were the things promised to the Jews; that the new Jerusalem was described in the very words of the prophets and Jewish writers, speaking of that glorious state they expected towards the end of the world; I was strongly inclined to conceive this glorious conversion, which St. Paul saith shall be, even to the gentile, *ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, "life from the dead," (Rom. xi. 15.) and which is by the prophets frequently represented as the *ζωοποίησις, ἀνάστασις*, i. e. the new-birth, reviviscence, resurrection of their dead church and nation, by the Messiah, so that *ὁ θάνατος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι*, "death shall be no more," (Rev. xxi. 4.) might be the very resurrection intended by St. John; and the flourishing condition and union both of the Jewish and the gentile church thus raised from the dead, and so continuing in peace and plenty, and a great increase of knowledge and of righteousness, and a return of the primitive purity of doctrine and of manners, might be the reign of the saints on earth a thousand years, which the apostle mentions: this naturally led me to a discourse of the Millennium; which being framed according to this new hypothesis, I shall now offer it to the consideration of the learned, in the following method.

1. I shall state the true Millennium of the ancients; shewing how far it was received, and by whom opposed, in the four first centuries, and what were the particular opinions, which then ob-

tained, concerning the Millennium; and how far the modern patrons of the millenary state have discarded the received opinion of the ancients who embraced that doctrine.

2. I shall show what reason I have to conceive that this Millennium is to begin with the conversion of the Jewish nation; and doth indeed relate to the most happy state and flourishing condition the church of Christ shall at that time enjoy.

3. I shall attempt to answer all that hath been offered to prove a proper and literal resurrection of the martyrs, and other Christian sufferers, and saints, to reign on earth a thousand years; consider the pretences of them who place this reign before the conflagration of the world, as most of the assertors of this doctrine do; and of the reverend Dr. Burnet, who makes it to begin after the conflagration of the world. And,

4. I shall offer some arguments against this doctrine of the Millennium, or of the literal resurrection of the saints and martyrs, to reign on earth a thousand years.

CHAP. I.

§. I. That the doctrine of the Millennium was never generally received in the church of Christ, is proved, 1. From the testimony of Justin Martyr and Irenæus. §. II. 2. Of Eusebius, Origen, and Stephanus Gobarus, and the distinction which then obtained betwixt the allegorists and the disciples of the letter. §. III. An answer to the pretended tradition of Papias, mentioned by Irenæus. §. IV. The Millennium of the ancients differed from that which is now asserted by the most judicious of the modern millenaries, in five particulars: (1.) The ancients generally held that the temple or city of Jerusalem, should be new-built. (2.) That all the just were then to rise, and not martyrs only. (3.) That Jesus Christ should then reign on earth. (4.) That they should fare deliciously, and enjoy corporal delights. (5.) That they should beget children: all which things are denied by the modern millenaries. §. V. The necessity of these doctrines, according to the letter of the Scriptures, cited for the Millennium, by those ancients who espoused that doctrine. §. VI. This error of some of the fathers, as to the Millennium, will not invalidate their authority as to any thing delivered by them as eye-witnesses, or which they deliver as the practice of the church of Christ in their days.

THE patrons of the Millennium do usually say, their doctrine was both generally received in the three first centuries, and was derived by tradition from the apostles; and that the first man who opposed it, was Dionysius of Alexandria. In opposition to this pretence, I shall endeavour to make it appear;

I. That this opinion was never generally received in the church of Christ.

II. That there is no just ground to think it was derived from the apostles, but rather from a mistake of the words of the author of the Apocalypse; or from the notions of the Jews, and of the Sybilline author. (See lib. ii.—iv.)

III. That the new patrons of the Millennium differ in many

things of moment from the ancient assertors of it, and have indeed scarce any suffrage of antiquity for that Millenium which they do so stiffly maintain. And,

§. I. That this opinion was never generally received in the church of Christ, appears sufficiently from the confessions and very words of the two first assertors of it, whose writings are still extant, viz. Justin Martyr and Irenæus. I begin with Irenæus, because his words will justify the ancient reading of the words of Justin Martyr, against the criticism upon them, or rather the corruption of them, by Mr. Mead,\* and Mr. Daille.† Irenæus therefore speaks thus;‡ “I am not ignorant, that some among us, who believe, in divers nations, and by various works, and who, believing, do consent with the just, do yet endeavour, *transfere hæc* (Gr. Μεταφέρειν) to turn these things into metaphors,” or to carry them from their proper to an improper sense, as metaphors are wont to do: that this is the meaning, is evident from these words following, “But if some have attempted to allegorize these things, they have not been found in all things consistent with themselves, and may be convinced from the words themselves.” Again, he complains, that § “the sentiments of some were carried away by the discourses of the heretics; so that they were ignorant of the appointment of God, and the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and the kingdom.” Here then we may evidently discern three sorts of men: 1. The heretics denying the resurrection of the flesh, and the Millenium. 2. The exactly orthodox asserting both the resurrection and the kingdom of Christ upon earth. 3. The believers who consented with the just, and yet endeavoured to allegorize and turn into metaphor all those scriptures he had produced for a proper reign of Christ, and who had sentiments rather agreeing with those heretics who denied, than those exactly orthodox who maintained, this reign of Christ on earth. Now these being almost a translation of the words of Justin Martyr,|| they vindicate the reading of all the manuscript copies of that writer; and exclude the hold criticism of Daille and Mr. Mead. “Tell me truly (says Trypho¶), Do you [*Christians*] indeed confess, that Jerusalem shall be built again, and that your people shall be gathered together (*there*), and rejoice with Christ, together with the patriarchs, and prophets, and those of our nation, or those who are made proselytes before the coming of your Christ, or before you expect your Christ shall come (to judgment)? Or do you only confess this, that thou mayest seem to overcome us in questions?”

Here you see that Justin Martyr did before, ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν, confess these things, as he doth plainly, p. 243. where Trypho having put the question thus; “What! do you say, that none of us shall have any inheritance in the holy mount of God?” Justin Martyr replies; “I say not so, but that the gentiles who repent, and believe in Christ, shall inherit (*it*), with all the patriarchs, and prophets, and the just which proceed from Jacob:” and therefore he here answers thus; \*\* “I have before confessed, that I and many others are of this mind, that these things shall happen. But then again, I have intimated to you, that many Christians of a pure

and pious judgment do not own this; (*I speak of Christians of a pure and pious judgment:*) for as for those who are called Christians, but indeed are atheists, and ungodly, and heretics, I have told you already, that they teach things wholly blasphemous, atheistical, and absurd (and therefore are not to come into the account of Christians). If therefore you have met with some of them who blaspheme the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and deny the resurrection of the dead, that confess not this, you are not to esteem them Christians (or to take an estimate of the doctrines of the Christians from them). They indeed deny the resurrection of the flesh, and the Millenium;\* but I, and all Christians who are exactly and in all things orthodox, know there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and a Millenium in Jerusalem, built, adorned, and enlarged.” Here then, as in Irenæus, is a plain distinction of three sorts of men: 1. Of heretics, that were κατὰ πάντα βλάσφημοι, entirely blasphemers of the God of Israel, and deniers of the resurrection of the flesh, and consequently of the Millenium, which supposed this resurrection. 2. Of Christians who were κατὰ πάντα ὀρθογνώμονες, in all things orthodox, who owned both the resurrection of the flesh, and the Millenium: and Justin Martyr being of this opinion, and declaring here, that he thought it a doctrine delivered by God; it could not be expected that he should affirm of them, that held it not, that they were of a right opinion in all things. 3. Of many Christians of a pure and pious judgment, who did not own this Millenium.

Obj. But “where (saith Mr. Daille) had he made mention before of any such?” I answer with another question, Where had he made mention before of the many who confessed the Millenium, as he here saith he had? Mr. Daille should have considered, that Justin’s memory could not serve him to write down all he had discoursed with Trypho, or that he might not think that part of his discourse necessary to be afterward committed unto writing; and then this objection would not have seemed of force sufficient to have authorized him to change Justin’s words without any consent of copies, into the direct contradictory words, and for Christians τῆς καθαρᾶς γνώμης, of a pure judgment, to read, Christians μὴ τῆς καθαρᾶς γνώμης, of an impure judgment; since such bold criticisms will evacuate both the sense and force of any testimony.

§. II. 2. This is still farther evident from the ancient writers of the church, who plainly tell us, that this was a particular opinion of some doctors of the church, and never was received by all. “It had its rise (saith Eusebius) from Papias, a man of slender judgment;† but the antiquity of the man prevailed with many of the ecclesiastics to be of that opinion, particularly with Irenæus, and if there were any other of the same judgment with him.” Now he that confesseth that most of the ecclesiastics were of that opinion, plainly denies that all were of it. He that particularly speaks of Irenæus, adding, “if there were any other of the same judgment,” seems to intimate, they were not many. Origen, in his Philocalia, (cap. 26. p. 99.) saith, they were only τινές, some, that held this doctrine, and that so clancularly, that it had not yet come to the ears of the heathens: and in his prolegomena to the Canticles, (f. 69. B.) that they were only *simpliciores quidam*, some of the simpler sort of Christians. Besides, of all the fathers of the Christian church, none hath spoken more severely and more contemptibly of that doctrine, than Origen, who represents it as a wicked doctrine, a reproach to Christianity; the heathen, saith he, having better sentiments than these. He therefore being then the great doctor of the church, and continuing in great authority amongst all

\* P. 533, 534.

† De Pœnis Satisf. et Human. lib. v. cap. 7.

‡ Lib. v. cap. 33.

§ “Quoniam igitur transferuntur quorundam sententiæ ab hæreticis sermonibus, et sunt ignorantes dispositiones Dei, et mysterium justorum resurrectionis, et regni quod est principium incorruptelæ, per quod regnum, qui digni fuerint, assuescant capere Deum.” Lib. v. cap. 32. p. 495.

|| “Et rursus, quoniam autem quidam ex his qui putantur rectè credidisse, supergrediuntur ordinem promotionis justorum, et modus meditationis ad incorruptelam, ignorant hæreticos sensus in se habentes,” &c. Cap. 31.

¶ Εἴπε δὲ μοι ἀληθῶς, ὑμεῖς ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι τὸν τόπον Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοῦτον ὁμολογεῖτε, καὶ συναχθῆσθαι τὸν λαὸν ὑμῶν, καὶ εὐφρανθῆναι σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἅμα τοῖς πατριάρχεσσι, καὶ τοῖς προφῆταις, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, ἡ καὶ τῶν προσελύτων γενομένων, πρὶν ἰλθεῖν ὑμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκᾶτε; Dial. cum Tryph. p. 306.

\*\* Ὡς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶμαι, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν, ὥς καὶ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα τοῦτο γενοσόμενον, πολλοὺς δ’ αὖ, καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβείας ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης, τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσθμαινά σιν. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 306.

\* Ἐγὼ δὲ, καὶ εἰ τινὲς εἰσιν ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, καὶ σαφεῶς ἀπέστειλον γνώστον ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ χίλια ἴτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομηθῆσθαι, καὶ κοσμηθῆσθαι, καὶ πλατυθῆσθαι, p. 307.

† Πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ἐποχῆς αὐτῆς δόξης παραιτίως γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τ’ ἀνδρῶν προβεβλημένων, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖον, καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος τὰ ἑμοῖα φροσὼν ἀναπέφηνεν. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cap. 39.

churchmen for above a hundred years; his scholars being also he most celebrated doctors of that age, and one of them, viz. Dionysius Alexandrinus, undertaking to confute this doctrine; and his Philocalia, where we find these severe sayings, being a collection of the two great lights of the fourth century, St. Basil and Gregory the divine; it cannot be doubted but this opinion then lost ground daily, and was generally decried by the learned of those centuries. In a word, Stephanus Gobarus,\* in his account of opinions in which the fathers differed from each other, reckons this as the tenth, "That the just shall rise first, and live deliciously a thousand years, eating, drinking, and begetting children: and that there should be no precedence in the resurrection, no millenary delight, no marriage then."

3. This will be more evident, if it be considered, that as the doctors of the church were then of different opinions, so were they then distinguished by different names; as they who denied the Millenium, saith Irenæus, attempted to allegorize the places produced by others for it, so had they upon that account the name of Allegorists; and therefore Nepos, a man, saith Eusebius, from Dionysius of Alexandria, otherwise orthodox, but a writer for the Millenium, styled his book *Ἐλεγχον τῶν Ἀλληγοριστῶν*, or, A Refutation of the Allegorists. (H. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 24.)

Accordingly, in Origen,† they who deny the Millenium, are *Οἱ τροπολογούντες τὰ προφητικά*, they who interpret the sayings of the prophets by a trope; and they who assert it are styled, "Solius literæ discipuli," disciples of the letter of the Scripture only; the first, saith he, assert, "Horum vim figuratiter intelligi debere," the passages which they produce from Scripture ought to be figuratively understood; the other, saith he, understand the Scripture, "Judaico sensu," after the manner of the Jews. Epiphanius,‡ speaking of the Millenium asserted by Apollinarius, saith, "There is indeed a Millenium mentioned by St. John; but the most, and those pious men, look upon those words as true indeed, but to be taken in a spiritual sense."

And here it may deserve to be observed, by the by, That the primitive fathers derived almost all their considerable errors from the Jews: viz. that angels had to do with women, and begat giants of them; that the world was to end soon after the coming of the Messiah; that Elias was in person to usher in his second advent, &c.

§. III. 2. As for the pretended tradition from the apostle John, touching this doctrine, it is only mentioned by Irenæus, as received from Papias; and the words in which it is delivered are sufficient to demonstrate the incredibility and the apparent folly of it: for these elders pretend to have heard from St. John these romantic words; § "The days shall come, in which there shall be vines which shall severally have ten thousand branches, and every of these branches shall have ten thousand lesser branches, and every of these branches shall have ten thousand twigs, and every one of these twigs shall have ten thousand clusters of grapes, and in every one of these clusters shall be ten thousand grapes, and every one of these grapes, being pressed, shall give twenty-five metretas (that is, according to the mildest computation, two hundred and seventy-five gallons) of wine; and when one shall

take hold of one of these sacred bunches, another shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and by me bless the Lord:" to omit what he says, from the same tradition, of every grain of wheat, and of apples, seeds, and herbs. Now can any man be so wholly bereft of sense, as to imagine this stuff could ever come out of the mouth of an apostle? No, certainly, he had it only from the converted Jews, in whose writings, some learned persons have informed me, the words cited by Irenæus from Papias, are yet to be found. As for Papias, the only voucher of this tradition, Eusebius informs us, he was a man of a very slender judgment, as the story cited by Irenæus, from the fourth book of his discourse, may abundantly convince us, there being scarcely any things in the most infamous of Romish legends more fabulous, than, as Eusebius truly saith, his traditional relations were.

§. IV. 3. That the new patrons of the Millenium differ in many things of moment from the ancients, and have indeed scarce any suffrage of antiquity for that Millenium they maintain, will be apparent, from a just representation of the Millenium of the ancients: for,

1. The ancient millenaries generally held, that the temple or the city of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and that the land of Judea should be the habitation of those who were to reign on earth a thousand years: so Justin Martyr (Dial. cum Tryph. p. 243. C.) tells the Jews, that the believing gentiles should then dwell, *ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ*, in the holy mount, and that they should then acknowledge him, (p. 259. E.) *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων*, in the same place of Jerusalem where they crucified him: he confesses also to Trypho, (p. 336. B. 307. B.) *ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι τὸν τόπον Ἱερουσαλήμ*, "That the place of Jerusalem should be built, and that the saints should spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, built, adorned, and augmented," and that "all Christians entirely orthodox knew this would be so; and therefore they all, (saith he, p. 312. B.) expected *τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φανῆσθαι*, Christ to appear in Jerusalem." "In the times of that kingdom Jerusalem shall be built," saith Irenæus,\* and the Jews shall be restored to the land he gave to their fathers. "He (i. e. Christ) shall build the holy city, (saith Lactantius†), and there shall be the reign of the Just for a thousand years." St. Barnaby is very positive, ‡ "That the very temple which was destroyed by their enemies should be rebuilt gloriously." "They feign to themselves (saith Origen§) that the terrestrial Jerusalem should be rebuilt with precious stones, and that the aliens shall be their servants to rebuild it." Hence Dionysius|| of Alexandria, in his book writ against them, derides their golden Jerusalem upon earth, adorned with jewels, and the restoration of the temple. Whereas, scarce any of our new millenaries dare assert, that this shall be the place of the habitation of the raised saints, and one of them makes the whole earth to become a paradise for the reception of them.

2. They held this resurrection was not to be confined to the martyrs only, but that all the just were then to rise, and reign with Christ: this Justin Martyr confesses touching all Christian people, all the believing gentiles, and the just progeny of Jacob, in the forecited places. Irenæus frequently declares of the just in general, that they shall arise to inherit the promises. Tertullian affirms,¶ that some shall rise sooner, and some later, but

\* Apud Photium, Cod. 232. p. 894.

† Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. cap. 12. f. 135. B. col. 1. B. c.

‡ Τῇ δὲ βίβλῳ ἀναγνώσκουσιν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ εὐλαβεῖς περὶ τῶν πνευματικῶν εἰδότες, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πνευματικῶς ἔχοντα λαμβάνοντες, ἀληθῆ μὲν ὄντα, ἐν βαρύτερῃ δὲ σαφηνιζόμενα πιστεύουσιν. Hæc. lxxvii. §. 26. p. 1031.

§ "Quemadmodum presbyteri meminere, qui Joannem discipulum Domini viderunt, audisse de eo, quemadmodum de temporibus illis docebat Dominus, et dicebat, venient dies in quibus vinee nascentur singule decem millia palmitum habentes, et in uno palmito dena millia brachiorum, et in uno vero palmito dena millia flagellorum, et in unoquoque flagello dena millia botrum, et in unoquoque botru dena millia acinorum, et unumquodque acinum expressum dabit viginti quinque metretas vini, et eam eorum apprehenderit aliquis sanctorum botrum, alius clamabit botrus, ego melior sum, me sume, per me Domino benedic." Lib. v. cap. 3.

\* "Restituet illos in terram quam dedit patribus ipsorum." Iren lib. v. cap. 34, 35. "Sed in regni temporibus revocata (i. renovata) terrâ à Christo et reedificata Hierusalem."

† "In terra cum his ipse regnabit, et condet sanctam civitatem, et erit regnum justorum mille annis." Epit. §. 11. p. 758.

‡ Καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ὑπηρέται ἀνοικοδομοῦσι αὐτὴν, §. 16.

§ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. cap. 12.

|| "Adversus Irenæum Dionysius ecclesiæ Alexandriæ Pontifex elegantem scribit librum, irridens mille annorum fabulam, et auream atque gemmatam terris Hierusalem, instaurationem templi," &c. Hieron. Prefat. in lib. xviii. Com. in Isaiam.

¶ Lib. iii. contr. Mar. cap. ult. verba vide infra.

that all the just shall rise within the time of the Millenium. "This Millenium (saith Lactantius\*) belongs to all the just which ever were from the beginning of the world:" whereas the millenaries of this age do generally, with Dr. Burnet,† say, "The first resurrection, and the reign of Christ, seem to be appropriated to the martyrs." (Rev. xx. 4.)

Moreover, the ancients extended this reign, on earth, not only to the dead, but to the just also, who shall be then alive at this first resurrection; this being a necessary consequent of the former doctrine, that this Millenium belongs to all the just. Thus Irenæus,‡ amongst those, who are to enjoy the Millenium, reckons "those whom the Lord shall find in the flesh, expecting him from heaven, who having suffered tribulation, did nevertheless escape the hands of the wicked." Then "they that are found living, shall not die," saith Lactantius:§ whereas it is inconsistent with the hypothesis of Dr. Burnet, that any of the just should be then living, since this Millenium only begins after the conflagration of the world, and the burning of all things that are in it.

3. The ancients generally consent in this, that Jesus Christ shall then come down from heaven, and be seen on earth, and reign there with his servants. Papias, the first assessor of this doctrine, declares, that "it shall be a reign of Christ bodily upon earth."|| Justin Martyr tells the Jews, that they should then see him whom they had pierced, and this in that very place of Jerusalem where they had crucified him, that both the and Christians should then be gathered together, and rejoice with him. Victorinus saith,¶ "This is that true sabbath, in quo Christus cum electis suis regnaturus est, in which Christ is to reign with his elect;" and Lactantius saith expressly, "That Mille annos inter homines versabitur, he shall be conversant with men a thousand years." Irenæus\*\* seems not so clear as to this matter; yet he declares, the just shall reign on earth, increasing by the vision of Christ; for, saith he, "Christ will be every where seen, as men are worthy to see him:" that which seems most expressly in him to relate to this affair is this; that discoursing of our Lord's promise, To drink new wine with his disciples in the kingdom of heaven, he declares,†† this "cannot be done by him whilst he remains in those celestial regions." But Nepos was express in this, that,‡‡ "after this resurrection, the kingdom of Christ was to be upon earth a thousand years; and the saints were to reign with him in pleasures, or faring deliciously there:" and therefore Dionysius saith of him, and the brethren that magnified his book, that §§ "they had no sublime or magnificent thoughts of the glorious and Divine advent of our Lord, or of our resurrection, and our gathering together, and assimilation to

Christ; but hoped then for little and mortal things, and such as men now hope for, in the kingdom of God."

4. They all declare, they shall then fare deliciously, and shall enjoy the richest wines and most delicious fruits, build houses, plant vineyards, and eat the fruits of them: thus Justin Martyr\* understands those words of Isaiah, lxx. 21. of the Millenium, viz. "They shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them." And Irenæus saith,† "They shall have a table prepared for them by God, who shall feed them with dainties;" adding, "that the promises he had cited, *creaturæ epulationem significant*, do signify the banquets they should have upon the creature:" hence doth he tell us of the prodigious clusters of grapes and ears of corn, the vines and the earth shall then bring forth. "The earth (saith Lactantius‡) shall open its fertility, and of its own accord produce fruits plentifully, the rocks of the mountains shall sweat with honey, wines shall run down with streams, and the rivers flow with milk." Of this opinion, doubtless, was Tertullian, in his book De Spe Fidei: and Nepos, who promised, saith Dionysius of Alexandria, "a thousand years of corporeal delights on earth." Accordingly Gennadius saith,§ "In the Divine promises, we believe nothing concerning meat and drink, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Lactantius, teach from their author Papias, nor of the reign of a thousand years with Christ on earth after the resurrection, and the saints reigning deliciously with him, as Nepos taught." St. Austin therefore saith of this opinion, || "That it might be tolerable, if they mentioned any spiritual delights which the saints might enjoy by Christ's presence; but since they affirm, that they who then rise, shall enjoy carnal and immoderate banquets of meat and drink without modesty, these things can only be believed by carnal men." And because all this plenty could not be procured and enjoyed, these houses could not be built, nor these vineyards planted, nor this wine brought into the fat, nor this corn into the barn, thrashed, ground, and made fit for these new-raised inhabitants, without hands; the ancients have made provision for this also, telling us, "that they shall be Κυριεύοντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,¶ such as lord it upon earth;" and therefore Irenæus saith, \*\* that which was spoken to Jacob, "The nations shall serve, and princes shall bow down to thee," (Gen. xxvii. 27, 28.) *ad tempora regni sine contradictione pertinet, quando regnabunt justi surgentes à mortuis*, without all contradiction belongs to this millenary kingdom. "The nations shall not utterly be destroyed (saith Lactantius††), but some of them shall be left to be triumphed over by the just, and subjected to perpetual slavery." "They think (saith Origen‡‡) that

\* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 308.

† "Hæc sunt in regni temporibus, hoc est, in septima die, quæ est verum justorum sabbatum, in quâ non facient omne terrenum opus, sed adjacentem habebunt paratam mensam à Deo pascentem eos epulis omnibus," lib. v. cap. 33. Ἐν τῇ Χιλωνταστῇ τῶν φυσικῶν μεταλαμβάνουσι ἡδίων. Apollinarius apud Epiph. Hier. lxxvii. p. 1032.

‡ Cap. 34. "Terra vero aperiet fecunditatem suam, et uberrimas fruges suâ sponte generabit: rupes montium melle sudabunt, per rivos vina decurrent, et flumina lacte inundabunt," lib. vii. cap. 24.

§ "Non quod ad cibum vel ad potum pertinet, sicut, Papias aucoire, Irenæus, Tertullianus, et Lactantius acquiescunt, neque post (l. per) mille annos post resurrectionem regnum Christi in terra futurum, et sanctos cum illo in deliciis regnatos speramus, sicut Nepos docuit, qui primam justorum resurrectionem, et secundam impiorum confixit." Eccl. Dogmat. cap. 55.

|| "Sed cum eos qui tunc resurrexerint, dicunt immoderatissimis carnalibus epulis vacaturos, in quibus cibis sit tantus et potus, ut non solum nullam modestiam teneant, sed modum quoque ipsius incredulitatis excedant, nullo modo ista possant, nisi de carnalibus, credi." De C. D. lib. xx. cap. 7.

¶ Barnab. §. 6.

\*\* Lib. v. cap. 33.

†† "Gentes vero non extinguuntur omnino, sed quidam relinquuntur in victoriam Dei, ut triumphent à justis, et subjunguntur perpetuæ servituti." Lact. lib. vii. cap. 24. Vide Epist. §. 11.

‡‡ "Quinetiam ministros deliciarum barum dandos sibi alienigenas putant, quos vel aratores habeant, vel structores parietum, à quibus diruta ipsorum et collapsa civitas extruatur, et arbitrantur quod facultates eorum accipiant ad edendum, et in divitiis eorum dominantur, ut veniant et afferant sibi aurum, et thus, et lapides pretiosos." Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. cap. 12.

\* "Verum ille cum deleverit injustitiam, ac justos qui à principio fuerint, ad vitam restauraverit, mille annos inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget." Lib. vii. cap. 24. p. 722.

† Book iv. chap. 4. 151, 152.

‡ "Et illos quos Dominus in carne inveniet expectantes eum de cœlis, et perpassos tribulationem, qui et effugerint iniqui manus." Lib. v. cap. 35.

§ "Tum qui erunt in corporibus vivi, non morientur, sed per eosdem mille annos infinitam multitudinem generabunt, et erit soboles eorum sancta." Lib. vii. cap. 24. p. 722.

|| Χιλιάδα φωνῶν, ἰσὺν ἰσθῆναι μετὰ τὴν ἐν νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν σωματικῶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτοῖς τῆς γῆς ὑποστασισμένης. Apud Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 39. 112. C.

¶ De Fabrica Mundi apud D. Doot. Cave, p. 104. Epit. p. 772.

\*\* "In qua regnabunt justi in terra crescentes ex visione Domini." Cap. 35. Πανταχῶς γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ἰσθῆναι καὶ δέξιν ἰσθῆναι οἱ ὀφειλῆς. Cap. 36.

†† "Neque autem aurum insuper celesti loco constitutus cum suis potest intelligi bibens vitis generationem," lib. v. cap. 33.

‡‡ Χιλιάδα ἰσὺν τρυφῆς σωματικῶς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἰσθῆναι ὑποτιβίματος. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 24.

§§ Οὐδὲ ὑψαλὸν καὶ μεγαλὸν φρονῶν, οὐτε περὶ τῆς ἡδύτης, καὶ ἀλλοῦς ἡδίων τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰσθῆναι, οὐτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμετέρας καὶ ἡμετέρας. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 24. p. 271.

aliens shall be given them to be ministers of their delights, who shall either serve at the plough, or be their masons and carpenters to build up their fallen city, and they suppose they shall have of their provisions to eat, and have dominion over their riches, so that they shall come and offer to them gold, and frankincense, and precious stones." Dr. Burnet must either produce these servile nations, as he hath done Gog or Magog, out of the mud, or his opinion must fall into it, unless he hopes to avoid this, by saying, that "in this state it will be part of their diversion and entertainment, to learn mechanics," p. 218.

And because men can hardly do this whole business without beasts, the ancients have made provisions of them also, subjecting to them not only sheep, and goats, and oxen, or bulls; but wolves, and bears, and leopards, and lions, "which, with all other animals\* (saith Irenæus), shall be then subject to man." And that the doctor may not be at a loss for the production of these beasts, Stephanus Gobarus† informs him, the doctrine of the ancients was this, "That the just should rise first, Καὶ οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ζῷα, and all those living creatures with them." Now the new millenaries, as they say little of these slaves, and these brute beasts, who are so necessary for the enjoyment of the universal plenty, and the goods of fortune prepared in this state; so are they shy of owning *futuras corporis voluptates et luxurias*, such luxuries and bodily pleasures, as Origen saith‡ the millenaries of his time did expect.

For, 5. in their Millenium, they were not only to feast and junket it, but also to beget children. "The virgins (saith Irenæus§) shall rejoice in the assemblies of the young men; and they that are left, shall be multiplied upon earth:" accordingly he speaks of some believers, whom God had prepared to multiply those who were left upon the earth, to be under the kingdom of the saints, and minister to this Jerusalem. "They shall beget an infinite multitude (saith Lactantius¶), and their seed shall be holy." "To their other luxuries (saith Origen¶) they add, *nuptiarum conventiones, et filiorum procreationes etiam post resurrectionem futuras*; the solemnities of marriage, and the procreation of children, even after the resurrection:" and again, "they think (saith he\*\*) that after the resurrection we shall eat and drink corporeal meats, and shall use those conjugal duties by which our prayers are hindered, and which cannot be performed without some impurity:" and a third time, they believe,†† "that after the resurrection, we shall, according to the promises of the gospel, eat and drink, and, as some of them say, beget children; these things (saith he), should they come to the ears of heathens, would lay a great imputation of folly upon Christianity, since many heathens have better opinions than these are:" so much are they mistaken who reckon Origen among the patrons of the Millenium. Stephanus Gobarus gives us the opinion of the millenaries in these words, ‡‡ "The just shall rise first, and for a thousand years shall fare deliciously, eat-

ing, and drinking, and getting children; and after this shall be the general resurrection." Methodius\* is the only person who denies they shall be thus employed after the resurrection; and with him doubtless all our modern millenaries do agree, as knowing this unworthy to be the matter of a gospel-promise.

§. V. Moreover, if we consider the Scriptures on which the ancients grounded this Millenium, we shall perceive it necessary that all these doctrines should be maintained by them. For,

1. That the temple or city of Jerusalem should be new-built, and that the land of Judea should be the habitation of those who are to enjoy this new heaven and earth, can never reasonably be denied by those who interpret the sayings of the prophets literally, since they so plainly and so fully speak of a "Mount Zion, to be established upon the top of the mountains," Isa. ii. 2. xxvii. 13. lvi. 7. and of God's promises "to beautify the place of his sanctuary, the house of his glory, and to make the place of his feet glorious," lx. 7. 13. and of "all nations flowing in to her," and being gathered to her, and of all "nations and tongues coming to see her glory," lx. 5. and lxvi. 18. when God had brought them again into their own land.

2. That this resurrection must belong to all faithful Christians, and that they must all reign with Christ on earth, will follow from the literal interpretation of those words of St. John, + "Thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us to be kings and priests to God, and we shall reign on earth:" (Rev. v. 9, 10.) for, according to the import of these words, if, as Dr. Burnet saith, they belong to the first resurrection, all that have been redeemed by the blood of Christ must reign on earth. This follows also from those words, "I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and (of them) which had not worshipped the beast, nor his image, and which had not received his mark upon their foreheads, nor upon their hands, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years:" (Rev. xx. 4.) for, "they who worshipped not the beast," are all they "whose names were written in the book of life." (Rev. xiii. 8. xvii. 8.) This follows from St. Peter's new heaven and new earth, if truly interpreted by Dr. Burnet of this resurrection; "for these (saith he) we Christians do expect, and therefore are concerned to be found of him without spot, and blameless." (2 Pet. iii. 13, 14.) This follows from the words of St. Paul, if they belong to the Millenium, as he saith they do; for they introduce "the whole creation groaning to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and all that had the first-fruits of the Spirit, groaning for the adoption," i. e. for the redemption of their bodies from corruption. (Rom. viii. 18. 23.)

3. They must bring Christ from heaven to reign on earth, who contend that this reign is the very time of "the restitution of all things:" (Acts iii. 21.) for the heavens are only to contain him till that time; and who infer this reign of Christ from those words, "They that have part in the first resurrection shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years;" for if they reign on earth without him, they do not reign there with him. Moreover, if he continue still at the right hand of God, with what propriety is this resurrection called, ἡ παρουσία, the presence, the appearance of our Lord, and that from heaven?

4. That in this Millenium they must fare deliciously, drink precious wines, and have those splendid banquetings of which the fathers often speak, must follow from the application of all those passages to this state, which say, "the meek shall inherit the

\* "Oportet subjecta esse omnia animalia homini." Lib. v. cap. 33.

† Apud Photium. Cod. 232. p. 894.

‡ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. cap. 12. p. 235. 8. B.

§ "Ipsi sunt de quibus ait propheta, 'et derelicti multiplicabuntur in terra,' et quot ex credentibus ad hoc præparavit Deus ad derelictos multiplicandos in terra, et sub regno sanctorum fieri et ministrari hæc Jerusalem." Lib. v. cap. 35.

¶ "Qui remanserint, multiplicabuntur super terram." Lib. v. cap. 34.

¶ Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. cap. 12.

\*\* Οὕτως καὶ τὰ περὶ γάμων γυμνασίου καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ταρῶντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡντιῦ καὶ αἰώνου συνουσίας ἡμῶν καὶ τότε χρῆσθαι, δι' ἧς οὐδὲ σχολάζει ἱστὶ ἐν τῇ περιουσίᾳ δουρῶν, ἐν μελυσμῇ πῶς ἔστιν καὶ ἀναβαρῶς τιν τῶν χρημάτων ἀφροδισίως. Com. in Matt. ed. Huet. p. 498.

†† Τίς οὐκ οἶσται καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν ταῖς αἰωναῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ἐσθίειν ἡμῶν μέλλειν τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα, καὶ πίνειν, τινὲς καὶ ταπεινοῦν, ταῦτα δὲ φέδοντα καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων μεγάλων εὐδαιμονίας δέξαι ἀπαιτῆσθαι πῶσι τὴν χριστιανισμῶν, πολλὰ βέλτιστα βρώματα ἔχοντες τῶν ἀλλοτρίων τῆς πίστεως. Philocal. cap. 26. p. 99.

‡‡ Ὅτι πρῶτον οἱ δίκαιοι ἀναστήσονται, καὶ οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ζῷα, καὶ ἐπὶ χίλια ἔτη τρυφώσουσι, καὶ ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες, καὶ ταπεινῶντες, καὶ μετὰ τούτοις ἡ καθολικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ τῶν ἀνάστασις. Apud Phot. Cod. 232. p. 894.

\* Ἐσομένους γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὴν αἰῶνα γῆν, ἀνάγειν πᾶσα ἱστοῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς οἰκόντας, οἷασι τῶν ἐσθίωντων, καὶ γαμήσοντας, καὶ γαστρονόμενους, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀγγέλους ἀμεταστροφῶς ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τὰ ἀρίστα πράττοντας. Apud Epiph. Hæc. lxiiv. §. 32.

† Χίλια ἔτη ποιήσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας ἀρεσφύτους Ἰωάννης. Just. M. Dial. p. 308.



earth," that they shall "drink new wine with Christ in his kingdom," that they shall receive \* "a hundred-fold increase of goods and lands;" that there shall be then a recompence of their alms given, and their feasts made for the poor; and from all that the prophets say, of the fruitfulness of the earth, and of the temporal blessings they shall then enjoy.

5. That the nations shall then serve them, and even build up Jerusalem for them, cannot be denied by them who literally interpret those words of the prophets, "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister to thee: the sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee, and they that despised thee shall bow themselves down at the soles of thy feet: and the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish:" (Isa. lx. 10, 12, 13.) "And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen, and your vinedressers; ye shall eat the riches of the gentiles, and in their glory shall you boast yourselves," (Isa. lxi. 5. See also xlix. 22, 23.) And,

6. That they shall have wives and children, and, as Irenæus saith, "shall be multiplied upon the earth," must follow from the literal exposition of our Saviour's promise, that they who have lost or forsaken wife or children for his sake, "shall receive a hundred-fold;" for children cannot lawfully be begotten without wives, and the use of the marriage-bed. And, lastly, whereas the Millenium of the reverend Dr. Burnet is to begin after the conflagration of the world, that of the ancients is still placed before it; "We expect it (saith Justin Martyr) before Christ's coming to judgment." "After this (saith Tertullian) shall be the destruction of the world, and the conflagration at the day of judgment, and we shall be changed in a moment into an angelical substance," "God shall after this reign on earth a thousand years, and renew the world," saith Lactantius.†

It therefore deserves to be admired, that learned men, with so much confidence, make use of these testimonies of scriptures, and these authorities of the fathers, to establish their Millenium, and yet so stiffly should deny the consequences which flow so naturally from those scriptures, and reject what these ancients so generally delivered as a part of that doctrine. But, to insist no longer on these things, hence I suppose it evident,

1. That the doctrine of the Millenium was not the general doctrine of the primitive church from the times of the apostles to the Nicene council, as Dr. Burnet hath asserted; for then it could have made no schisms in the church, as Dionysius‡ of Alexandria saith it did, declaring how fully he confuted it, and reconciled the brethren that were contending about it, and prevailed upon Coracius, the author and ringleader of this doctrine, to own he was convinced of his error, and promise he would no more embrace, or discourse of it to the people.

2. That the old doctrine of the Millenium differed in many material points from that which is asserted by the new patrons of it.

§. VI. If any man think it not safe, to discover so much of the nakedness of the fathers as I have done in this chapter, I answer: First, That I think it more safe than to let it be confidently

\* "Quæ enim sunt in hoc seculo centupla et prandia exhibita, et cœnæ quæ redduntur pauperibus, hæc sunt in regni temporibus." Iren. lib. v. cap. 33.

† Πρὶν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἡμῶν Χριστὸν ἀποδοκᾶται. Dial. p. 306.

‡ "Hæc est ratio regni terreni, post cuius mille annos, intra quam statem includitur sanctorum resurrectio pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium, tunc et mundi destructione, et iudicii conflagratione commissâ, demutati in atomum angelicam substantiam, scilicet per illud incorruptelæ super indumentum transferrentur in cœlestem regnum." Contr. Marcion. lib. iii. cap. ult.

§ "Post hæc renovabit Deus mundum, et transformabit iustos in figuram angelorum, ut immortalitatis veste donati serviant Deo in sempiternum." Epit. cap. 11. p. 759.

|| Book 4. cap. 6. p. 173. Ὡς καὶ σχίσματα καὶ ἀποστασίας ὅλων ἐκκλησιῶν γινώσκονται. Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 24.

said and believed, that they were all millenaries from the first to the fourth century, seeing that shakes the foundation of episcopacy, and the translation of the sabbath to the Lord's-day, and other constitutions derived from the apostles.

Secondly, I answer, That this mistake of the fathers, in a matter which they received from the traditions and notions of the Jews, will not invalidate their authority in any thing delivered by them as witnesses of what they saw with their own eyes, or declared to have been then the practice of the church of Christ: nor will it affect their testimony in any other doctrine which they neither did nor could receive, only on the authority of the Jewish doctors.

## CHAP. II.

§. I. How far I differ from the ancient and modern millenaries, and in what I agree with them. The proposition that the true Millenium is only a reign of the converted Jews, and of the gentiles flowing in to them: Ibid. §. II. Where it is noted, 1. That all spiritual blessings have been still conveyed from the Jews to other nations. 2. That there will be a glorious conversion of the Jews to the Christian faith. §. III. That the description of this conversion of the Jews, made by their own prophets and writers, answers fully to the Millenium of St. John, which he speaks of in the very words of the said prophets. §. IV. The characters which the patrons of the Millenium give of those times, accord exactly with the characters given by the prophets of the conversion of the Jews. §. V. The prophets seem to intimate, that this conversion shall be effected by a full influence of the Holy Ghost upon them. §. VI. All the passages cited to this effect, from the Jewish writers, speak only of the Millenium, the resurrection, the new heavens and earth belonging to the Jewish nation.

HAVING thus given you a just account of the Millenium of the ancients, and of the true extent of that opinion in the primitive ages of the church; I proceed now to shew, in what things I agree with the assertors of that doctrine, and how far I find myself constrained, by the force of truth, to differ from them.

§. I. I believe then, that after the fall of antichrist, there shall be such a glorious state of the church, by the conversion of the Jews to the Christian faith, as shall be to it life from the dead; that it shall then flourish in peace and plenty, in righteousness and holiness, and in pious offspring; that then shall begin a glorious and undisturbed reign of Christ over both Jew and gentile, to continue a thousand years during the time of Satan's binding; and that, as John the Baptist was Elias, because he came in the spirit and power of Elias; so shall this be the church of martyrs, and of those who had not received the mark of the beast, because of their entire freedom from all the doctrines and practices of the antichristian church, and because the spirit and purity of the times of the primitive martyrs shall return. And, therefore,

1. I agree with the patrons of the Millenium in this, That I believe Satan hath not yet been bound a thousand years, nor will he be so bound till the time of the calling of the Jews, and the time of St. John's Millenium.

2. I agree with them in this, That the true Millenium will not begin till the fall of antichrist; nor will the Jews be converted till that time, the idolatry of the Roman church being one great obstacle of their conversion.

3. I agree both with the modern and the ancient millenaries, That then shall be great peace and plenty, and great measures of knowledge and of righteousness in the whole church of God.

I therefore only differ from the ancient millenaries in three things;

1. In denying Christ's personal reign upon earth during this

thousand years; and in this both Dr. Burnet and Mr. Mead expressly have renounced their doctrine.

2. Though I dare not absolutely deny what they all positively affirm, that the city of Jerusalem shall be then rebuilt, and the converted Jews shall return to it, because this probably may be collected from those words of Christ, "Jerusalem shall be trodden down till the time of the gentiles is come in," Luke xxi. 24. and all the prophets seem to declare the Jews shall then return to their own land, Jer. xxxi. 8—40, yet do I confidently deny what Barnabas and others of them do contend for; viz. that the temple of Jerusalem shall be then built again: for this is contrary not only to the plain declaration of St. John, who saith, "I saw no temple in this new Jerusalem," Rev. xxi. 22. whence I infer, there is to be no temple in any part of it; but to the whole design of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is to shew the dissolution of the temple-service, for the weakness and unprofitableness of it; for the Jewish tabernacle was only a figure of the true and "the more perfect tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and not man;" the Jewish sanctuary only "a worldly sanctuary, a pattern, and a figure of the heavenly one into which Christ our high-priest is entered." (Heb. viii. 2. ix. 2. xi. 23, 24.) Now such a temple, such a sanctuary, and such service, cannot be suitable to the most glorious and splendid times of the Christian church; and therefore the apostle saith, "The Lord God omnipotent, and the Lamb, shall be their temple."

3. I differ both from the ancient and the modern millenaries, as far as they assert that this shall be a reign of such Christians as have suffered under the heathen persecutors, or by the rage of antichrist; making it only a reign of the converted Jews and of the gentiles then flowing in to them, and uniting into one church with them. This I believe to be indeed the truth of this mistaken doctrine; and therefore I shall set myself more fully to explain and to confirm it. Let it be noted therefore,

§. II. 1. That as the Jews were the first nation which were owned by God as his people, and therefore are styled "his first-born," Exod. iv. 22. "Israel his elect," Isa. liv. 4. "the children of Jacob, his chosen ones," 1 Chron. xvi. 13. Psal. cv. 6. God having chosen them "to be a peculiar treasure to himself above all the people of the earth," Exod. xix. 5. Deut. vii. 6. so all nations of the world have ever since received the word of God and the true religion from the Jewish nation, and Jerusalem hath been still the mother of all other churches. Before the advent of our Lord and Saviour, to them alone, saith the apostle Paul, "belonged the adoption, the glory, and the covenant, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises," (Rom. ix. 3.) and none then could be "joined unto the Lord," (Isa. lvi. 3.) and worship him aright, unless he joined himself to the Jews, and became a worshipper of the God of Israel, or a member of that church.

After Christ's coming in the flesh, the gospel was first sent to them, as being "the children of the kingdom," Matt. viii. 12. our Lord exercised his ministry only among them, whence he is styled "the minister of the circumcision," Rom. xv. 8. and saith, he was not then sent to any but "only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," Matt. xv. 24. And sending his apostles, he forbids them, whilst he was on earth, "to go into the way of the gentiles, or to enter into any city of Samaria," Matt. x. 5. but saith to them, "Go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." After his ascension, they were charged to begin their preaching at Jerusalem, Luke xxiv. 47. as accordingly they did, "preaching the word to none but the Jews only," Acts xi. 19. Paul, the apostle of the gentiles, first offers his ministry to them, preaching Christ in their synagogues, "as his manner was," Acts ix. 20. xiii. 5. xiv. 1. xvii. 12. 17. xviii. 4. and declaring "it was necessary that the word of God should be first spoken to them," Acts xiii. 46. the gospel being "the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first," Rom. ii. 10. and that

through their fall and rejection of it, "the gospel came unto the gentiles," Rom. xi. 28. the halt, lame, and blind, being called to this feast, because those guests first bidden refused to come, Luke xiv. 21.

Note also, that notwithstanding the infidelity of many of them, the first church that ever received the gospel, the doctrine, the sacraments of the New Testament, was the Jewish church, Acts ii. 42. 47. All the churches of the gentiles received the gospel from them, they being "made partakers of their spiritual things," Rom. xv. 27. and the word of God coming out from them to other churches, 1 Cor. xvii. 36. they being all "grafted into their good olive-tree." Hence, in the primitive times, the church of Jerusalem had the pre-eminence of all other churches; to her they went for the decision of their controversies, Acts xv. and the bishop of Jerusalem is therefore styled by the ancients, "the first bishop, the guide of priests, the top of the heads, the bishop, and chief of the apostles;" and the church of Jerusalem is said to be the church, "*cui omnes favorem impendunt quasi matri Christiani nominis, which all favoured as the mother of Christians.*"

After the fall of antichrist, and before the second coming of our Lord to judgment, the Jews shall be converted, and become a most famous church again. For this mystery the apostle hath revealed, "that blindness in part hath happened to Israel until the fulness of the gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved, as it is written" in the prophet Isaiah, lix. 20. "There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob; for this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, when I shall take away their sins." These words are as a key to the great things said by Isaiah touching the Jewish nation, and teach us to interpret them of their glorious conversion to the Christian faith, and the gathering them "out of every kindred, and tongue, and nation, and people;" that "at the blowing of the great trumpet they may come from the land of Assyria and Egypt, and may worship the Lord in the holy mount in Jerusalem," (Isa. xxvii. 13.) and they may "fear the Lord from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun." (Isa. lix. 19.) This is that day "when the Lord shall set his hand *שני*, a second time to recover the remnant of his people, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth;" (Isa. xi. 11, 12.) when he will so "bring again the captivity of Jacob, and have mercy on the whole house of Israel, as to leave none of them any more there, nor hide his face any more from them;" (Ezek. xxxix. 25, 28, 29.) when he shall so "plant them in their land, that they shall no more be pulled up out of the land that he hath given them:" (Amos ix. 14, 15.) so Tobit saith, that "when *Πληρωθῶσιν οἱ καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος*, the times of the age shall be accomplished, they shall return from all places of their captivity, and build up Jerusalem gloriously, and the house of God shall be built in it gloriously, as the prophets have spoken thereof," Tobit xiv. 51. vi. 7. And when they shall be thus converted, and receive the gospel, then shall salvation be again derived from them to the gentiles, and they shall be the means of converting such of them as still remain to be converted; and shall draw them to as great purity and zeal, and as great knowledge of the truth, as ever the church enjoyed: for, saith the apostle, "if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminishing them the riches of the gentiles, how much more their fulness?" And "if the casting away of them be the reconciling of the world, what shall be the reconciling of them but life from the dead," to the same world? Rom. xi. 12. 15. Of this the prophets speak very fully, saying, "In that day there shall be a root of Jesse which shall stand for an ensign to the people, and to it shall the gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious," Isa. xi. 10. "Behold (saith God), I will then lift up my hands to the gentiles, and set up my standard to the people, and they shall bring

\* Cotel. Not. p. 138.



thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders, and kings shall be thy nursing-fathers, and queens thy nursing-mothers; they shall bow down to thee with their faces towards the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet," Isa. xlix. 22, 23. "Behold, thou shalt call a nation that thou knowest not, and nations that have not known thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee," Isa. lv. 5. "The Lord God that gathereth the outcasts of Israel saith, Yet will I gather others to him besides those that are gathered to him," lvi. 8. "And the gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising: lift up thine eyes round about, and see; all they gather themselves together, they come to thee; thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side; the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee, the forces of the gentiles shall come to thee," lx. 3—5. "And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee: therefore thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the forces of the gentiles, and that their kings may be brought: for the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish, and shall be utterly wasted," ver. 10—12. "Thou shalt suck the milk of the gentiles, and shalt suck the breasts of kings," ver. 16. "Ye shall be named the priests of the Lord; men shall call you the ministers of our God: ye shall eat the riches of the gentiles, and in their glory shall you boast yourselves," lxi. 6. "The gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory," lxii. 2. "Behold, I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the gentiles like a flowing stream," lxvi. 12. "I will gather all nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory," ver. 18. "And they shall bring all their brethren for an offering to the Lord, out of all nations to my holy mountain Jerusalem; and I will also take of them for priests and for Levites, saith the Lord: for as the new heavens and the new earth which I shall make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall their seed and their name remain," ver. 20—22. "Many nations (saith Tobit) shall come from far to the name of the Lord God, with gifts in their hands, even gifts to the King of heaven, when his tabernacle shall be built again with joy, and he shall make his captives joyful in Jerusalem; yea, all nations shall turn, and fear the Lord God truly," xiii. 10, 11.

§. III. Now here it is easy to observe, how fully this description of the conversion of the Jews, by their prophets, answers to the Millenium of St. John, who useth the very words by which the prophets had foretold their glorious conversion, and saith, they shall be then accomplished. And,

1. St. John speaks of a reviviscence of the church of the primitive martyrs, that suffered "for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God," Rev. xx. 4. (see chap. iii. §. 1.) and with them all the just. Now the very words *ἀνδράσις* and *ἐξήσαν*, used by St. John, are very frequently used by the prophets, to express the glorious state of the Jewish church; and by St. Paul, to signify the flourishing condition of the gentiles then. St. John saith, they who enjoy this Millenium, shall be "priests to God and Christ," Rev. xx. 6. and the prophet Isaiah saith of the converted Jews, "Ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the ministers of our God," lxi. 6. and of the gentiles that come to them, "I will take of them to be priests and Levites," lxvi. 21. This was the very thing proposed to the Jewish nation when God entered into covenant with them, that they should be "a kingdom of priests," Exod. xix. 6. *Βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα*, "a kingly priesthood," saith the Septuagint, *מלכים כהנים*, i. e. "kings and priests," saith the Targum. This all Christians are already made, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii. 5. and St. John, Rev. xvi. 5, 10. "We are (saith Justin Martyr) truly priests to God:"

it therefore may be expected men should be more eminently so in that glorious state of the church.

2. St. John speaks of a new heaven and a new earth that he saw, saying, "The former heaven and earth were passed away," Rev. xxi. 1. and introduceth our Lord, saying, "Behold, I make all things new," ver. 5. And the prophet Isaiah introduceth God, thus speaking at the conversion of the Jews, "Behold, I create new heavens and new earth; and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into my mind," Isa. lxv. 17. And again, "I have put my word in thy mouth, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, Thou art my people," li. 16. And, thirdly, in the very words of the author of the Revelation, "Behold, I make all things new," xlii. 18, 19. Seeing then these new heavens and new earth must be contemporary with the conversion of the Jews, sure they must be before the conflagration of the world, i. e. before the Jewish nation be consumed to ashes; and therefore can be only a new heaven and new earth, in that moral sense in which Maimonides explains the phrase, when he says, "it signifies, that God will place them in perpetual joy, in lieu of their former sorrow and anxiety; so that the memory of their former sorrow shall no more remain."\*

I confess there is this peculiarity in St. John's new earth, that it is said of it, *καὶ ἡ θάλασσα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτι*, "and the sea is not yet," because he had all along represented the beast as ascending out of the abyss, "and sitting upon many waters," which were "the peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, that had submitted to her," Rev. xvii. 1. 15. Now because the beast was utterly destroyed, and Satan was bound up for a thousand years, and Gog and Magog were not to be gathered till then, nor were the armies of the beast which were slain to rise again till the thousand years were past; (Rev. xix. 21. xx. 6.) therefore the apostle saith, that in this new earth, "the sea was not yet."

3. St. John saith, "I heard a great voice from heaven, saying, The tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself with them shall be their God," Rev. xxi. 3. And Ezekiel, the other prophet who, by the ancients, is supposed to speak of the Millenium, saith in like manner, "I will make a covenant of peace with them, and will place them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore; my tabernacle also shall be with them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people," Ezek. xxxvii. 26, 27.

4. St. John saith, "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away, Rev. xxi. 4. so also saith the prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem, that after the former heaven and earth were passed away, "the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying," lxv. 19. that "the Lord will wipe away tears from all faces," xxv. 8. that "they shall not hunger, nor thirst, neither shall the heat nor sun smite them; for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of water shall he guide them," xlix. 10. which words exactly answer to those of St. John, Rev. vii. 16, 17.

5. St. John saith, "The building of the wall of the city was of jasper, and the city was of pure gold like unto clear glass, and the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones," Rev. xxi. 18, 19. and Isaiah saith, "I will lay thy stones with fair colours, and thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones" liv. 11, 12. and Tobit saith, "Jerusalem shall be built up with sapphires, and

\* *Ἀρχιματὶν τὸ ἀλλοτὸν γένος, γένος ἰσμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Dial. cum Tryph. p. 334. 6.

\* "Quod dixi creabo novos oculos, &c. id ita intelligo, quod vos posituros esse in letitiam perpetuam loco luctus et anxietatis prioris, neque illius luxus prioris memoria sit mansura." More Nevoch. par. ii. cap. 29. p. 268.

emeralds, and precious stones; thy walls, and towers, and battlements, with pure gold; and the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl, carbuncle, and stones of Ophir," xiii. 16—18.

6. St. John speaks of "the tree of life planted there," and of "a pure river of water of life, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb," Rev. xxii. 1, 2. And the prophet Zachary speaks of "living water going out of Jerusalem," xiv. 8. And he that passeth under the name of Esdras saith, "They shall have the tree of life planted for an ornament of sweet savour: for unto you (saith he) is paradise opened, the tree of life is planted," 2 Esd. ii. 12.

7. St. John saith, "There shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun," xxii. 5. Isaiah saith the same, lx. 19. And the prophet Zechariah saith, "It shall be one day which shall be known unto the Lord, not day nor night; and it shall come to pass, that at the evening-time it shall be light," xiv. 7.

Moreover, St. John so represents the scene of things following the fall of antichrist, as plainly to inform us, that he is speaking of this glorious conversion of the Jewish nation, and God's marrying her again whom he had formerly divorced; for as the church of Christ is represented as "the Israel of God," Gal. vi. 16. "the commonwealth of Israel," Eph. ii. 12. "the Jerusalem which is above," Gal. iv. 46. "the celestial Jerusalem," Heb. xii. 22. so St. John represents this new scene of things in the same language, saying, "I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven," Rev. xxi. 2. And again, "He shewed me the great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God," ver. 10. Now that this great and holy city, this new Jerusalem, is the Jewish church converted to God, the characters he gives of it will not suffer us to doubt: for, first, he saith, "the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine in it; for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof," Rev. xxi. 23. So saith God of the conversion of the Jews: "They shall call thee, The city of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel," Isa. lx. 14. "Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise; the sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory," ver. 18, 19. He saith, "The gates of this city shall not be shut at all by day, neither shall there be any night there, and they shall bring the glory, and honour, and substance of the nations unto it," Rev. xxi. 25, 26. Even as Esaias had said, "Thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the gentiles, and that their kings may be brought," Isa. lx. 11. Lastly, he saith, "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of this city, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour to it," Rev. xxi. 24. which I have shewed to be the very thing foretold by the prophets at the conversion of the Jewish nation.

Add to this, that he introduceth this holy city, this new Jerusalem, "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," Rev. xxi. 2. and saith, "Come hither, I will shew thee the bride, the Lamb's wife," ver. 9, 10. and then shews the great city, the holy Jerusalem; and xix. 7, 8. he saith, "He heard a voice, saying, The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready; and to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of the saints." Now thus have the prophets represented the Jewish church converted to God: hence is she introduced, speaking thus; "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God: for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with jewels," Isa. lxi. 10. And again, "Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken, neither shall thy land any

more be termed Desolate: but thou shalt be called Heph-zibah, and thy land Beulah; for the Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land shall be married," lxii. 4. and ver. 5. "For as a young man marryeth a virgin, so shall thy sons marry thee; and as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee."

§. IV. Add to this, that all the characters which the patrons of the Millenium give of those times, exactly accord with the characters given by the prophets of the conversion of the Jews, and are many of them taken from the very words of the prophets, foretelling those times: for instance,

1. "Indolence and plenty (saith Dr. Burnet, book iv. chap. 7. p. 183.) seem to be two ingredients of this happy state." Accordingly the prophets every where speak, how "the riches of the gentiles shall then flow in to them," Isa. lx. 5, 11. "and they shall eat the riches of the gentiles," lxi. 6. that "there shall be then no hunger nor thirst, no heat nor sun to smite them, no voice of crying or weeping." (See Isa. xxv. 10.)

2. That it shall be "a time of universal peace, and freedom from war and persecution;" (ibid. p. 184.) and this he proves from the words of the prophets declaring, that at the day, that time when God shall create new heavens and new earth, "the lamb and the lion shall lie down together, and the sucking child shall play with the basilisk, and they shall not hurt in all my holy mountain," as it is written, Isa. xi. 6—9. and lxxv. 25. and saying, that "the nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," Isa. ii. 4. Micah iv. 3. as appears also from the promises, that God will then "make her officers peace," Isa. lx. 17. "and will extend peace to her as a river," lxxvi. 12.

3. That it shall be "a kingdom of righteousness," (ibid.) Accordingly of this holy city, Jerusalem, it is said, "There shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and unclean," Isa. lxi. 1. "A highway shall be there, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it," xxxv. 8. which exactly answers to those words of St. John, "Into the holy city shall nothing enter that is polluted or unclean," Rev. xxi. 27. And again, "Thy people shall be all righteous," Isa. lx. 21. (See Zeph. iii. 9. Zech. xiv. 20, 21.)

Moreover this, saith he, (p. 185.) will be "a state under a peculiar presence and Divine conduct, because the tabernacle of God will be with men, and he will dwell with them:" and this we see was promised at the conversion of the Jewish nation, Ezek. xxxvii. 27.

"The last character (saith he) that belongs to this state, or rather to those that enjoy it, is this, that they are kings and priests unto God;" and this also we have shewed to be promised to the converted Jews, Isa. lxi. 6. lxxv. 20.

I add, That as the ancient fathers generally held that the time would come when "all Israel shall be saved," and be converted to the Christian faith; so did they as generally conceive that this should happen at the close of the world,\* and about the time of our Saviour's second coming; and most of them speak of it as a branch of the Millenium.

So Justin Martyr says once and again, that "then the Jews shall see and shall acknowledge him whom they have pierced;" and he confesses to Trypho,† "that Jerusalem shall be rebuilt," and that "Christians shall rejoice with Christ, together with the patriarchs and prophets, and with the Jews and their proselytes;" i. e. the nations then flowing in to them before the coming of our Lord." So Irenæus‡ declares, that then "God will restore them

\* "In the end of the world," 2 Esd. ii. 34. vi. 15. 25.

† P. 232. D. "Ὅτι ἐπιγινώσκουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἑξουσιᾷ αὐτοῦ."

‡ P. 249. C.

§ "Ἀμα τοῖς Πατράρχαις, καὶ τοῖς Προφήταις, καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, ἢ καὶ τῶν προσηλύτων γενομένων πρὶν ἰλθεῖν ἡμῶν τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκπροσδεδωκῆται. P. 306.

|| Lib. v. cap. 34.

to the land which he had promised, and given to their fathers, and they shall dwell in it in hope:" and Tertullian\* saith, that "he will then own the circumcision, 'et Abrahæ gentem, cum ultimò venerit, acceptatione, et benedictione dignabitur,' and at his last coming will vouchsafe to accept and bless the seed of Abraham." And this is suitable to the ancient opinion of the Jews,† that, "in the end of the world, there should be to them a world full of joy and exultation, so that their heaven and earth should as it were be renewed, according to the words of Isaiah," lxxv. 17. So the Targum upon those words of Hosea, "The children of Israel shall seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days."

§. V. Nor is it to be wondered that there should be then such a glorious conversion of them, and such a flowing-in of the nations to them, seeing the prophets seem to intimate there shall be then a full effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them, somewhat resembling that which was vouchsafed to the first ages of Christianity. So the prophet Isaiah speaks of the desolation of the city, *ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ*, "until the spirit be poured upon them from on high," Isa. xxxii. 15. which is the very phrase in which our Lord promiseth the Spirit to his apostles, Luke xxiv. 49. St. Paul proves their conversion from those words of the prophet Isaiah, "The Deliverer shall come out of Zion, and shall turn away iniquity from Jacob:" with which these are immediately connected, "And this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord; My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put into thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, from henceforth for ever," lxx. 20, 21. And again, xlv. 3. "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing on thy offspring." So Ezek. xxxvi. 24. "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all countries, and will bring you into your own land." And, ver. 27. "I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes." And xxxix. 28, 29. "I have gathered them unto their own land, and have left none of them any more there: neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord." And this seems plainly to be hinted in these words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 15—17. "Even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away; for the Lord is (*the giver of*) that Spirit, (or οὗ δὲ) where the Lord is, there is the Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," from subjection to the law, and from that veil which hinders them from turning to Christ.

To this Mr. Mead (p. 761. 767.) conjectures there shall be added a vision of Jesus Christ to them; for, saith God by his prophet Zechariah, xii. 10. "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications, and they shall look upon him whom they have pierced, and mourn for him." And Christ being asked, "What shall be the sign of the end of the world?" Matt. xxiv. 3. saith, ver. 30. "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven, and they shall see all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory." And he spake to the Jews thus, "Verily I say unto you, Yet a little while, and you shall not see me till you say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," Matt. xxiii. 39.

Or, that according to the ancient and general doctrine both of Jew and Christian, they shall have an Elias sent to instruct them, a deliverer *ἐνεκεν Σιών*, for the sake of Zion, as the Septuagint, Isa. lix. 20. for, saith he, "It may be fit to conceive magnificently of so great a work of God, towards a people for whom he

hath formerly shewed so many wonders; especially this being the greatest work of mercy and wonder that ever he did for them, far beyond the bringing them forth of Egypt, and leading them in the wilderness." And to this he refers these words of Ecclesiasticus; "Elias was ordained to turn the hearts of the father to the son, and to restore, *ἀναστήσαι*, the tribes of Jacob: *Μακάριοι οἱ ἰδόντες σε, καὶ οἱ ἀγαπήσει κεκοσμημένοι, καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ζωῇ ζήσομεθα*, blessed are they that see, and are adorned with love, for we shall surely live," Ecclus. xlviii. 10. 11. Where note, that their conversion is again represented by a new life, and by the very word used concerning the souls of the martyrs which were slain, Rev. xx. 4.

§. VI. Add to this, that as all the ancient millenaries held, that this reign on earth should be at Jerusalem,\* and that the Jews converted then should reign together with the Christians; so all the passages cited from Jewish writers concerning the Millenium, speak only of the Millenium of the resurrection, the new heavens and new earth the Jewish nation shall enjoy. This is apparent from those words on which the Midrash Tehillim founds this Millenium, viz. "Comfort us, according to the days in which thou hast afflicted us," Psal. xc. 15. in Babylon, in Greece, in Rome: from the words cited by Galatinus, lib. xii. cap. 1. from R. Eliezer, cap. 34. "As I live, saith the Lord, I will raise you in the time to come, in the resurrection of the dead, and I will gather you, with all Israel, into the land of Israel:" from those cited from R. Saadiah on Dan. vii. 18. "Because the Jews rebelled against their Lord, their kingdom shall be taken from them, and given to the four monarchies who shall possess it in this world, and shall subdue and carry captive Israel, till the age to come, in which the Messiah shall reign:" from the Targum on Hos. xiv. 8. "They shall be gathered from the midst of their captivity;" and on Psal. i. 4. from the passage quoted by Galatinus, lib. xi. cap. 1. from the book Beracoth, that "Israel shall no more make mention of their departure out of Egypt in the age to come, in the days of the Messiah:" and from the words cited by Mr. Mead, Luke xxi. 24. "The Jews shall be carried captives into all nations, till the times of the gentiles be fulfilled, and then they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds:" from the words of Tobit, cited by Mr. Mead, p. 579. "Then the children of Israel shall go into a very long captivity; but the blessed God shall remember them, and gather them from the four corners of the earth." Accordingly, Mr. Mead sums up their opinion thus: "They expect their forefathers, at least such as were just and holy, should rise in the beginning of the same Millenium, and reign in the land of Israel, with their offspring, under the Messiah:" and, saith he, "I can hardly believe that all this smoke of tradition could arise, but from some fire of truth anciently made known to them." And this I freely grant, and do indeed suppose, by asserting a prediction of such a general call of the Jews, near the close of the world, as they styled *ζωοποίησις*, a reviving, and a resurrection of them. But how comes this tradition to relate to Christian martyrs beheaded for the name of Christ, or to be fulfilled in the resurrection of them only who are chiefly Christians, not of the Jews, but of the gentiles? Mr. Mead solves the matter thus, p. 604. "Under the second sort of these reigners, I would in a particular respect understand the nation of the Jews then converted to the Christian faith, who, coming in towards the end of the day, may, above all others, be said to be those who had not worshipped the beast, nor his image, nor had received his mark upon their foreheads or their hands." And thus will truth prevail at last, but to the ruin of this literal resurrection: for how can they literally be "said to live again, and to have a part in the first resurrection, who were never slain for the faith?" and who are not to be converted, say their own prophecies and traditions, till God createth a new heaven and a new earth, and much less till the fall of Babylon?

\* Adv. Maro. lib. v. cap. 9. p. 472. C.

† R. Saadiah Gaon Sepher Hæmunot.

\* Justin Martyr, Iren. Tertul. supra.

## CHAP. III.

§. I. This chapter contains an answer to all the arguments produced from Scripture, to prove this literal resurrection of the martyrs, and this reign of them on earth a thousand years, viz. 1. To the chief argument for this opinion, from Rev. xx. 4—6. §. II. To 2 Pet. iii. from ver. 5. 13. §. III. To Heb. ii. 5. compared with i. 6. §. IV. To Matt. v. 5, "The meek shall inherit the earth." §. V. To Rom. viii. 19, 20. "The creature shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sons of God." §. VI. To Acts iii. 20, 21. "The heavens must receive him, till the time of the restitution of all things." §. VII. To Matt. xix. 27—29. "Ye that have followed me in the regeneration, shall sit upon twelve thrones. And they shall receive a hundred-fold now in this life."

I PROCEED now to the arguments produced from Scripture, for the doctrine of the Millennium; to which I hope to return a clear and satisfactory answer, beginning with those words of the Revelation, in which all the assertors of this doctrine place their confidence. And they are these:

§. I. *Arg. I.* "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given to them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, Rev. xx. 4.

"But the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection, ver. 5.

"Blessed and holy is he who hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years," ver. 6.

1. Here, say they, is mention of a first resurrection, antecedent to the general resurrection of the just, who are not to live again, till they who first rise have reigned a thousand years on earth.

2. This resurrection, say they, is proper to those who were "slain for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God, and were not worshippers of the beast."

3. This resurrection, say they, is not a metaphorical, but a proper resurrection; for the souls, i. e. the persons of them that were slain, live again.

4. They do "reign with Christ a thousand years," and that reign, say most of them, is to be upon earth; therefore there is to be a reign of those martyrs, who were "slain for the testimony of Jesus, and the word of God," upon earth a thousand years.

Now, in answer to this argument, let it be noted:

*Ans. 1.* That it is not the bodies, but the souls of them that are beheaded, who are said to live. Now the word *ψυχή*, rendered *soul*, occurs six times in this book, this place excepted; and in all these places, it signifies either the soul in separation or distinction from the body, or the living soul; for, vi. 9. "The souls under the altar," not only "cry with a loud voice," but they are "clothed with white robes," ver. 10, 11. Which expressions cannot be well applied to dead bodies; viii. 9. The *κρίσματα ἔχοντα ψυχὰς* are the creatures having animal souls by which they lived, xii. 11. It plainly signifies their lives, i. e. the souls by which men live, xvi. 3. It is expressly *ἡ ψυχή ζωῶσα*, the living soul, xviii. 13. It signifies the lives of men, or else the souls of men, which they did hunt for, or devour, as Ezek. xiii. 18. 20. 22. 25. and ver. 14. *ἐπιθυμία τῆς ψυχῆς* is, the desire, not of the body, but of the soul: why therefore must this word be here supposed to signify, not the soul, but that dead body opposite to it, which alone properly can be said to rise, and live again?

2. Let it be noted, that a proper and a literal resurrection is never, in the whole New Testament, expressed or represented to

us, by the *living of the soul*; but always by the living, raising, or the resuscitation of the dead, "the raising of the bodies of the saints, of them that slept in the dust," or "in their graves and sepulchres," or who were "buried in the sea," or "in the earth:" if then the Holy Ghost here meant a literal and proper resurrection, why doth he so much vary from the terms he constantly doth use elsewhere, whenever he discourseth of such a resurrection, and take up with the terms so oft applied, in Scripture, to a moral and metaphorical resurrection? As we shall see hereafter.

*Ans. 2.* I grant, that here is mention of a first resurrection, an antecedent to the general and proper resurrection; but then it plainly is a resurrection, in which all that are "blessed and holy," and over whom the "second death hath no power," have a part, ver. 6. and they are all whose names are written in the book of life, ver. 14, 15. It is a resurrection of all who had not worshipped the beast, ver. 4. and they are all the same persons, Rev. xiii. 8. It is a resurrection of those who are made "kings and priests to God and Christ," which all good Christians are, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 6. and therefore not of martyrs only.

Again, it is a resurrection before the day of judgment, and before the sea, and death, and the grave, deliver up their dead, as the words following intimate, ver. 12, 13. viz. "I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened; and another book which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of these things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up her dead that were in it: and death and hades delivered up their dead that were in them: and they were judged, every man according to his works." Where note, that the dead delivered up, were all that were "judged according to their works." It also is a resurrection before Christ's coming "to render to every man as his works shall be;" for this he after promiseth to do, xxii. 12. Whereas, according to the doctrine of the Millennium, Christ had already given to them, whom he had raised to reign with him on earth, the blessing promised "to him that overcometh," Rev. ii. 26, 27. iii. 21. v. 10.

3. The rest of the dead, that lived not again until the thousand years were finished, are not, the just, but the synagogue of Satan, Gog and Magog, ver. 8. For St. John, chap. xix. represents the "King of kings, and Lord of lords," with "the armies which were in heaven, making war with the kings of the earth, and their armies," and giving "their flesh to be meat" unto them; in which war "the beast was taken, and the false prophet, and cast alive into a lake of fire," ver. 20. And then it follows thus, *καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ*, and the rest of them, who were gathered together to make war with this King of kings, "were slain with the sword that came out of his mouth, and all the fowls were filled with their flesh," ver. 21. Now, it being by the pagan emperors first, and by the beast afterward, that Satan, "the great dragon, made war with the seed of the woman which kept the commandments of God, and had the testimony of Jesus Christ," Rev. xii. 17. these instruments of Satan being thus slain, and overcome by Christ, Satan is bound a thousand years; i. e. he is so long disabled from persecuting and molesting the church of Christ: and during this space, she is raised up to her primitive purity, and flourisheth gloriously, and so is represented as having a resurrection from the dead: this thousand years being ended, Satan is let loose again, and gathers again his instruments, i. e. "the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to battle, and they compass the camp of the saints," Rev. xx. 8, 9. And this is the living of the rest of the dead again, after the thousand years were ended, ver. 5. For it is only, *οἱ λοιποὶ*, the rest that were slain, xix. 21. that lived again; it is only those who had no share in the first resurrection, and so were neither blessed nor holy, ver. 6. nor had their names written in the book of life; and consequently, those on which the second death had place, which death they suffered when "fire came down from heaven and

devoured them," and they were cast "into the lake of fire with the devil," ver. 10. 15.

And that *οἱ λοιποὶ*, *the rest*, xix. 21. xx. 5. should signify the same persons, cannot seem strange, if we consider that only four verses intervene betwixt them. And that they must be the same persons, is evident from the connexion of the words, thus; "The rest of the dead lived not till the thousand years" of Satan's binding, and the saints' reign were ended, ver. 5. And when those "thousand years were ended, Satan was loosed, and gathered them together against that church of Christ, which had thus reigned a thousand years, ver. 7-10.

And this interpretation, of "the rest of the dead" rising again, gives a clear answer to the objection of Mr. Mead, against the other senses commonly imposed upon these words, viz. "That it would be a most harsh and violent interpretation, to say, The dead and the living again of the dead, should not be taken in the same sense:" for, according to this exposition, they are exactly taken in the same sense: the dead church living again, in the same metaphorical sense in which the rest of the dead, the enemies of the church, live again, at the end of the thousand years, when Satan is loosed, and gathers them to battle against the church.

4. The souls of them who were "slain for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God," are those Christians who were slain in the time of the ten persecutions; and the souls of them "who worshipped not the beast," are those Christians who chose rather to die, or suffer persecution, than to be guilty of Romish idolatry: and they are said to live again, as the beast which had received "τὴν πληγὴν θανάτου, the wound of death, and one of whose heads was wounded to death, ἐζήσεν, lived again," Rev. xiii. 3. 12. viz. in the succession of the antichristian beast, to him which exercised the power of the heathen emperors over the earth, and revived the idolatry of the heathen empire. And as the two witnesses, when slain, are said to live again, "the spirit of life from God entering into them," Rev. xi. 7. 11. because a succession of men of the same faith, and the same opposition to the beast, revive and flourish after they were slain; some here reply, that "this was spoken of the two churches," that they were slain, and lived again, not of the supposita. But why then may not the words of the St. John be spoken of the church of Jew and gentile, then reviving, and not of the supposita? Moreover, these two witnesses are said to be slain, ver. 7. and their "dead bodies to lie in the streets of the great city," ver. 18. to be seen lying there "three days and a half," and not to be suffered to be put into their graves, ver. 9. and "after three days and a half, the Spirit of God" is said to "enter into them, to make them stand upon their feet, and live again." If therefore nothing of this be spoken of the supposita, why should those words, "I saw the souls of them who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and they lived again," be spoken of the supposita, and not of the churches of the converted Jews and gentiles? This being the prophetic scheme by which the Scripture still represents the glorious restoration of God's church and people. For,

1. The restoration of the church is sometimes represented as a resurrection of it from the dead. So saith the prophet Isaiah, Ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, *"Thy dead shall arise, and be raised out of their tombs,"* xxvi. 19. So God speaks to the Jewish nation by Ezekiel, saying, "I will open your graves, and cause you to come out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel," Ezek. xxxvii. 13, 14. The prophet Hosea speaks thus; "In three days, ἐξωστήσμεθα, *we shall rise up again, and we shall live before him,*" Hos. vi. 2. And the apostle, speaking of this very matter, viz. the conversion of the Jews, saith, "It shall be even to the gentiles, ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν, *as life from the dead,*" Rom. xi. 15. Here then is a resurrection of the church of God, agreeable to that which our interpretation of this passage of the Revelation doth import: nor is there any more reason to say the words of St. John respect the supposita, and not the churches, than to say the same of many of the places cited.

Moreover, the Scripture doth more frequently mention the restoration of the church, and her return from a low, captive, and afflicted state, under the metaphor of "a new life, a life from the dead, a reviviscence of God's church and people." Thus when God moved the Persian kings to let the Jews return to their own land, he is by Ezra said to give them, ζωοποιήσας, *a reviviscence,* Ezra ix. 8, 9. The Psalmist, speaking of himself, as the text, or of God's people also, saith the marginal reading, useth these words, "Thou which hast shewed me great and sore troubles, shalt quicken me (marg. us) again, and shalt bring me up again (marg. us) from the depth of the earth," Psal. lxxi. 20. And the church speaketh thus to God, Ζωώσεις, *"Thou wilt quicken us,"* and "we will call upon thy name," Psal. lxxx. 18. And again, "Thou wilt return, καὶ ζωώσεις ἡμᾶς, *and revive us, and thy people shall rejoice in thee,*" Psal. lxxxv. 6. Ζήσονται οἱ νεκροὶ σου, *"Thy dead men shall live,"* Isa. xxvi. 19. say Symmachus and Theodotion: Ζησόμεθα. *"We shall live in his sight,"* saith the prophet Hosea, vi. 2, 3. and xiv. 17. "They shall live with their children, and return again," saith the prophet Zachary, x. 8, 9. The son of Sirach saith, "At the coming of Elias ζωὴ ζήσόμεθα, *we shall live again,*" xlviii. 11. But the chief seat of this metaphor is in the thirty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, where God is introduced inquiring of the Jews in Babylon, Εἰ ζήσεται, *"Can these bones live?"* ver. 3. and promising to put into them πνεῦμα ζωῆς, *"the breath of life,"* ver. 5. and saying "I will put my spirit into you, καὶ ζήσασθε, *and ye shall live;*" and bidding the prophet blow upon them, καὶ ζοάτωσαν, *"that they may live,"* ver. 9. and declaring, that when he had done so, "breath entered into them, καὶ ἐζήσαν, *and they lived again,* and stood upon their feet," v. 10. in all which places, the very word which St. John useth to express the first resurrection is here used to express the return of the church from her obscurity and thralldom to a glorious state. Why therefore may not the word in St. John bear that sense which it so often bears in the prophetic writings, and twice in the New Testament,\* when spoken of the gentiles? It hence at last appears, that by this interpretation, I put no force upon the words, but do expound them in the familiar sense in which they are still used upon the like occasion in the prophetic writings.

Now it is generally agreed, by those who own this conversion of the Jews, that it is not to commence till after the destruction of the beast, or the downfall of antichrist, mentioned chap. xviii. And therefore, in the next chapter, he begins his discourse upon it saying, xix. 7. "The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready;" i. e. she who was formerly put away, because she was not prepared† for the bridegroom's coming, was now to be married to God again. And, chap. xxi. he reassumes this matter, and shews the bride, the Lamb's wife, in such a description, as will not suffer us to doubt she is the Jewish nation converted to the Christian faith: for he calls her the holy city, and the new Jerusalem; and tells us, in the very words of Isaiah, lx. 3. 10. that the "nations which shall be saved shall walk in the light of this city." He calleth her also the bride to be married to the Lamb; which is the description the prophets make of this converted nation, viz. as "of a bride adorned with her jewels, and as one that is to be married to the Lord." (Isa. lxi. 10. lxii. 4, 5.) And he goes on in a continual description of this new Jerusalem, in the words of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, speaking of the conversion of the Jewish nation. The city also "coming down from heaven," ver. 10. is the new church of the converted Jews, said to come down from heaven, according to the Hebrew phrase; because of that Divine wisdom, and those spiritual gifts and graces with which she shall be adorned from heaven: for, as they were wont to say of one who treated of sublime heavenly things, that he did

\* Ὁ ἀδελφός σου οὗτος μαρὸς ἦν, καὶ ἀνέζησε, Luke xv. 32. Rom. xi. 15.

† Not itready, ready.



עלה לרקע, "ascend into heaven,"\* and speak as one who was admitted into the Divine councils, (Deut. xxx. 11, 12. Prov. xxx. 3.) and of those who heard these things, that they were "exalted to heaven:" (Matt. xi. 23.) so the pouring down of these gifts and blessings is represented as "the opening of heaven," and letting them down upon the earth. Thus when St. John receives his prophecy, he "sees a door opened in heaven," and hears "a voice, saying, Come up hither, and I will shew thee what shall be hereafter," Rev. iv. 1. Where note, that the voice he heard then, was "as the voice of a trumpet:" and so the very same voice he heard when he was "in the spirit," Rev. i. 10. The two witnesses also, when they live again, are "called up into heaven," Rev. xi. 11, 12. as being filled with heavenly wisdom. And since the spiritual gifts, imparted to the church, are said to come "from above, from the Father of lights," James i. 7. and they who were made partakers of them, to have "tasted, τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐπουρανίου, of the heavenly gift;" seeing the church of Christ "is the Jerusalem which is from above," Gal. iv. 25. "the heavenly Jerusalem," Heb. xii. 22. it is no wonder that she is represented here as coming down from heaven, when she was, as it were, to have a "new birth" which is "from above," John iii. 3. and to be adorned with "spiritual blessings in heavenly things in Christ Jesus," Eph. i. 3. and to be reduced to her primitive lustre and purity: for then shall the purity of the church return, and be as it was in the times of the first martyrs for the faith; and the gospel shall be professed, without any antichristian mixture; as they who opposed the beast, endeavoured to preserve it: and thus shall these martyrs and opposers of the beast live again.

A reverend and worthy person, of more than ordinary skill in matters of this nature, is of opinion;

First, "That the first resurrection here mentioned, will be a literal resurrection of them that have lost their lives for the testimony of Christ, to enjoy eternal life in heaven a thousand years before the general resurrection, as the martyrs of the Old Testament arose with the body of Christ," Matt. xxvii. 52. "They shall reign (saith he) with Christ, not on earth, but in heaven, where Christ is, and shall be, till he come to judgment."

Secondly, He is of opinion, "that not only the martyrs shall then rise to heavenly bliss, but that their murderers shall then also rise to eternal punishment:" which he gathers from those words of Daniel, xii. 2. "And many of them that sleep in the dust shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting shame and contempt." Now,

First, Against the doctrine of the first and second resurrection, properly so called, I have offered some arguments in the annotations on 1 Cor. xv. and chap. iv. §. 2. I therefore only farther note;

First, That St. Matthew speaks not one word of any martyrs that arose after Christ's resurrection, but only of the arising of some saints that slept, and their going into the holy city, and appearing unto many; which seems rather to make it probable, they were saints who had lived in the memory of those to whom they appeared, and were known. (See the note there.)

Secondly, St. Matthew doth not say, as St. John doth, that "many souls lived;" but, that πολλὰ σώματα, "many bodies of those that slept arose out of their sepulchres:" his words must therefore be understood of a proper resurrection of the bodies of the saints: but it cannot be hence inferred, that the words of St. John bear the same sense.

Thirdly, St. John doth not say, his martyrs shall reign with Christ a thousand years "before the general resurrection," but only, that "they shall reign with Christ a thousand years;" which seems an odd expression, when applied to them who are raised to reign for ever with him: add to this, that after the resurrection of St. John's saints to "reign with Christ a thousand years," Satan is loosed,

and raises his armies to fight against, and compass about τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων, *the camp of the saints*, ver. 7—9. which fairly intimates, that the saints, mentioned ver. 6. as partakers of the first resurrection, were still on earth, and not reigning with Christ in heaven.

Lastly, The second part of this opinion seems to contradict many scriptures which expressly teach, that the time of the punishment of the wicked shall be after the sentence of absolution hath been passed upon the blessed, Matt. xxv. 41. 46. when all the good have gone into everlasting life, John v. 28, 29. at the day of judgment, and when we shall appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, Rom. ii. 8, 9. 16. 2 Cor. v. 10. and that they who have persecuted Christ's members, shall be punished at "the revelation of Christ from heaven," 2 Thess. i. 6. 9. at "the conflagration of world," 2 Pet. ii. 9. iii. 7. at "the day of judgment," Jude 14, 15. "when he cometh in the clouds," Rev. i. 7. and that the crown of glory shall be given to the righteous at the same time. (See note on 2 Tim. iv. 8.)

Obj. 2. Some refer to this Millennium those words of Christ, Matt. v. 5. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth;" saying, that "neither David nor our Saviour could understand this otherwise than of a future state; because it is not the meek, but the great ones of the world, that slice the earth among them, and court-flatterers that scramble for preferment."

Ans. But it is evident to a demonstration, that David did understand this of the present earth, or of the land of Canaan; for the tenor of this whole thirty-seventh Psalm is designed to shew, that wicked men shall, by God's judgment, suddenly perish, whilst righteous men lived easily and quietly in the land of Canaan: so ver. 9. "Evil-doers shall be cut off: but they that wait upon the Lord, they shall inherit the earth: for yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be, but the meek shall inherit the earth. They that are blessed of him, shall inherit the earth; and they that are cursed of him, shall be rooted out." So ver. 34. "Wait on the Lord, and keep his way, and he shall exalt thee, τοῦ κληρονομήσαι τὴν γῆν, *to inherit the earth*: when the wicked are destroyed, thou shalt see it." (See also ver. 14. 17. 19. 23, 24, 25, 26.) It is therefore unadvisedly said, the Psalmist "could not understand this of the present earth," and that upon a plain mistake of the import of the phrase; as if inheriting the earth, was enjoying a vast fortune, or a great share of temporal enjoyments here: whereas, the comfort of this life, as our Lord teacheth, Luke xii. 15. "consisteth not in the abundance of the things that we possess." The phrase rather imports, that meekness is the best way to procure us a long and peaceable life on earth, Psal. xiv. 12. 14. 1 Pet. iii. 10. and that the meek person shall ordinarily have the most sure enjoyment of these things, as far as they are needful: that he shall enjoy them with the greatest quiet and tranquillity, without the strife, debate, anxiety, and trouble, which imbitter the enjoyment of these things to others, and with the truest comfort, satisfaction, and contentedness of mind. For, as Chrysostom well observes upon the place, because the Jews had been oft taught this lesson in the Old Testament, our Saviour addresses himself to them in the language they had been accustomed to; this Son of David repeateth and confirmeth to them the promise made by David. And this I judge to be the most natural and truest exposition of these words.

Obj. 3. Our Saviour promises to his disciples and followers, that for the losses they should sustain here on his account, and for the sake of his gospel, they should receive there a hundred-fold, and sit upon thrones with him, judging the tribes of Israel. The words are these: "And Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, that ye which have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Matt. xix. 27. 28. These thrones must, in all reason, be the same with the thrones mentioned, Dan. vii. Apoc. xx. 4. and therefore mark the same time and state: and seeing, in those places, they plainly

signify the millennial state or the kingdom of Christ, and his saints, they must here signify the same in this promise of our Saviour to his suffering followers. And as to the word *παλιγγενεσία*, which is here translated *regeneration*, it is well known, that both the Greek philosophers and Greek fathers use that word for the renovation of the world; which is to be at or before the millennial state.

*Ans.* In answer to this argument, I shall not take notice, that what the argument saith is promised to Christ's disciples and followers in general, is indeed promised only to his twelve apostles, to them who had then lost all, "and followed him," Matt. xii. 17. to them who had "continued with him in his temptations," Luke xxii. 28. The thrones here mentioned therefore, cannot be the thrones spoken of in Daniel and the Revelation; for these thrones are peculiar to the twelve apostles: those in the Revelation are supposed to belong to all who have a share in the first resurrection: the apostles sit upon these thrones, only "to judge the twelve tribes of Israel;" but they "who sit on the thrones," mentioned in the Revelation, are to "rule over the nations, and judge them," Rev. ii. 26, 27. iii. 21. v. 10. 20. iv. 6. But,

Secondly, I grant, the *παλιγγενεσία*, or *regeneration*, here mentioned, may be referred to the consummation of the world, and to the new heavens and earth of which the prophets speak: but then I add, this *παλιγγενεσία*, or *new birth*, is only that of the church of Christ, that *ζωοποίησις*, or *new life*, that *ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, *life from the dead*, she shall receive, when all Israel shall be saved, and the "fulness of the gentiles" shall flow in to them. For,

First, The persons here to be judged, are only the twelve tribes of Israel; which makes it more than probable, that the whole promise made to the apostles respects their government over these tribes, coming in at the close of the world, after the fall of antichrist; and that not by a resurrection of their persons, but by a reviviscence of that spirit which resided in them, and of that purity and knowledge which they delivered to the world; and chiefly by admission of their gospel to be the standard of their faith, and the direction of their lives.

Secondly, It hath been observed already, that the delivery of the Jews from their former captivities and miseries, is always represented as a *ζωοποίησις* "a giving of life, and a resurrection to the Jews." And thus may those words of St. John be primarily referred to them; viz. "I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given to them:" (xx. 4.) though these things belong not to them only, but in general "to him that overcometh," (ii. 26, 27. iii. 1.) Seeing then their return from their captivity, is, in the style of the prophets, usually represented as a *παλιγγενεσία*, a *reviving*, or *new life*; why may not the time of their most glorious conversion, and collection from all the corners of the earth, be by our Saviour represented under that known metaphor? And this conversion of the Jewish nation, being by me placed in St. John's epocha, viz. after the destruction of the beast, and the death and slaughter of the armies of them that fought for him, or worshipped his image; and her converted members being, in my opinion, the very "bride of the Lamb, which had made herself ready," and, after a long divorce, was now married to God again; I comply in this with all the ancient millenaries, and especially with Justin Martyr,\* when he saith, this *παλιγγενεσία* "is the mystery of all that expect Jesus Christ to appear at Jerusalem," spoken of by Isaiah, chap. lxvi. and that "all Christians entirely orthodox, expect to spend a thousand years in Jerusalem," as the prophet Isaiah hath foretold, saying, "There shall be a new heaven and new earth:" for as these things are spoken by a prophet of the Jews (one sent to speak these things to them), so is it beyond dispute, that they chiefly and immediately concern that nation, and

her *τεκνογονία*, new birth of a numerous offspring, after a long barrenness, (lxvi. 7—9.) and her exaltation to a high estate of excellence and glory; and that so visible to the gentiles that all nations and tongues shall see her glory.

As for the following words, urged stiffly by the ancient and some latter millenaries, viz. "And every one that hath forsaken house, or brethren, or sister, or father, or mother, or wife and children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred-fold now in this time, houses, and brothers, and sisters, and mothers, and children, and lands; and in the world to come, eternal life:" it is, in my opinion,

First, Very unreasonable to interpret these words of blessings to be conferred on men after the resurrection; for they that are thought "worthy to be the sons of the resurrection (saith our Lord), neither marry nor are given in marriage," Luke xx. 35. Whence therefore should they have these mothers, and these children, not to add wives, a hundred-fold? They are made like to angels at the resurrection; and what should such angelical persons do with, what advantage will they reap from, a hundred houses, or a like increase of land, in earth?

If you reply, that these words of our Saviour relate not to the first resurrection; of which this text, which speaks of wives and children, is to be interpreted, but only to the second and general resurrection; I answer, that the words are general, and therefore must include all that are "sons of the resurrection." Moreover, by admitting this double resurrection, the first, in which they that are raised, might marry, or have wives and children, and the second, in which they could not, the objection or inquiry of the sadducees is partly left unanswered; for this distinction doth suppose a resurrection, in which the ground of their inquiry might take place.

Secondly, This wonderful increase is promised, *νῦν, at present*, *ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ, in this time of life*, Mark x. 30. Luke xviii. 28. in opposition to what they shall receive "in the age to come." Now the Millennium is still placed, by Dr. Burnet, in the age to come after the conflagration of the world; this promise therefore cannot refer to his Millennium, nor yet to any other which begins after the resurrection of these persons; for that time can with no propriety of speech be said to be now; nor can the blessings then received, be said to be received in this life. Moreover, these blessings are to be received, *μετὰ διωγμῶν, with persecutions*; it being the known observation of critics and grammarians,\* that *μετὰ* with a genitive case, signifies *with*, and denotes, *τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν, the same time*; and only with an accusative case signifies *after*, and denotes *ὑστεροχρονίαν, a following time*; so that these persecutions must be contemporary with the enjoyment of these blessings; whereas a general peace, and freedom from all persecutions,† is made a necessary character of the millennial state.

Lastly, These words afford an argument against the doctrine of the Millennium; because, according to them, the only blessing to be received, *ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ, in the age to come, is life everlasting*; which blessing is confined to heaven, and not to be enjoyed on the earth, our "house eternal being in the heavens," (2 Cor. v. 1.) and our "inheritance eternal reserved in the heavens for us:" and therefore, they to whom the promise is here made, are not in the world to come to live a thousand years on earth, or to enjoy the temporal blessings promised here; because they are not to be enjoyed in the world to come, but now, in this present life; and because the only blessing promised in the world to come, is not to be enjoyed on earth, but is reserved in the heavens for us. (1 Pet. i. 4.)

*Obj.* 4. St. Peter, in his sermon to the Jews, after our Saviour's ascension, tells them, that he will come again, and that there will be then a restitution of all things, such as was promised by the

\* Ὅτι καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκέρχοντο διὰ πάλαιον, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ μυστήριον πάλιν τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πάντων, τὴν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φαίνεται εἰσελθόντων. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 314. B, et p. 307.

\* Phavorinus.

† Dr. Burnet, p. 185.

prophets: "The heavens (saith he) must receive him till the time of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began." (Acts iii. 20, 21.)

*Ans.* I answer, That these words cannot be meant of a restitution of all things to their former state: for sure it is very improper to say, there will be a restitution of all things to their former state, "which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets;" for since these things relate to the forerunner of our Lord, Christ's coming in the flesh, his life, death, resurrection, and ascension, the preaching of the gospel to the gentiles, the reign of antichrist, the calling of the Jews, and the coming in of the fulness of the gentiles, these things may very well be said to be exhibited, performed, accomplished, and consummated: but I see not with what propriety or truth they can be said to be restored to their former states, or be renewed; and therefore ἀχρι χρόνων ἀποκατάστασις πάντων, is, by the Syriac, rendered, *until the fulness of the time of all things*; by the Arabic, *till the time in which all things shall be perfected, or finished*; by Tertullian,\* "adusque tempora exhibitionis omnium;" by Irenæus,† "usque ad tempus dispositionis omnium," i. e. *till the time of the exhibition, or disposal of all things*; by Œcumenius, *till the time that all things do εἰς πέρας ἔλθειν, come to an end*. And for the confirmation of this import of the word, we have the suffrage of Hesychius and Phavorinus, that ἀποκατάστασις is τελειωσις, *the consummation of a thing*. Hence then I argue thus against this doctrine: Since Christ is to continue in heaven till the completion or consummation of all things, spoken by the holy prophets, if the Millennium were any of them, Christ must continue in heaven till the consummation of that also, and therefore is not to come down from heaven to reign on earth till the Millennium be ended; nor can that be contemporary with our Lord's second coming, which is from heaven.

The arguments produced in favour of this Millennium, from Rom. viii. 19—21. from 2 Thess. ii. 1. from Heb. i. 6. and ii. 5. and from 2 Pet. iii. 8—12. are sufficiently answered in the notes on those places.

#### CHAP. IV.

§. I. This chapter contains arguments against the literal resurrection, and the reign of martyrs upon earth a thousand years. First, From the inconsistency of it with the happy state of souls departed. §. II. Secondly, From the accurate description of the resurrection in the Holy Scripture, without any mention of a first and second resurrection, and with such descriptions of the qualities of the bodies raised, the efficient cause, of the time, circumstances, and consequents, of it, which suit not with the doctrine of the Millennium. §. III. Thirdly, From the inconsistency of it with the genius of the Christian faith, and the nature of the gospel-promises.

HAVING thus shewed, that Scripture and antiquity afford no sure foundation for this supposed resurrection of the saints and martyrs to reign with Christ on earth a thousand years; I proceed now to shew the inconsistency of this doctrine, with many things delivered in the Holy Scripture.

§. I. First, This doctrine seems not well consistent with the happy state of souls departed, recorded in the sacred writings; for can it rationally be supposed, that those "spirits of just men made perfect," which are now with Christ, (Heb. xii. 23.) and, being "absent from the body are present with the Lord," (2 Cor. v. 8. Phil. i. 23.) should leave those blessed mansions, or quit that happy state, to live on earth again a thousand years? that they who are already "entered into rest," (Luke xxiii. 43.) and who enjoy all the delights and satisfactions which paradise itself

affords, should quit that station to enjoy peace and plenty upon earth? can they expect to be more righteous and holy, or to have more Divine and heavenly speculations, or better company, or a more full fruition of their Lord on earth, than they enjoyed in paradise? if not, who can imagine that God should thus degrade them after so long enjoyment of those happy regions, or that they should voluntarily quit those mansions for any temporal enjoyments of the body, any meat or drink, or earthly pleasures, which they had formerly denied themselves, and were even dead to whilst they lived here; or for any temporary converse upon that earth in which they only lived as pilgrims and strangers, still "looking for a better country, that is, a heavenly?" (Heb. xi. 13. 16.) And if this change seems not consistent with the state of happy souls in general, much less will it comport with those especial privileges and high prerogatives, supposed by some fathers to belong unto the souls of martyrs, viz. that they do instantly receive their crowns, and are admitted to a fuller vision, and a more intimate enjoyment of the God of heaven; for the higher their advancement is, the greater must their degradation be, when they return again to live on earth. So that this doctrine seems least of all consistent with the state of those Christian sufferers, who are supposed to be the very persons for whom it chiefly was designed, and to whom it is chiefly promised.

Secondly, Let us compare the resurrection mentioned by the Holy Scripture, with that supposed by the millenaries, and we shall easily discern, that no man reasonably can desire to enjoy the latter, who can be made partaker of the former.

They who believe the resurrection promised in Scripture, expect our Lord "from heaven to change their vile bodies into the likeness of Christ's glorious body." (Phil. iii. 21.) The millenaries expect him to change or to restore them into such bodies, as shall be still mortal, corruptible bodies; for else, what need of meat and drink, what pleasure can they reap from their plenty? The first expect, "this corruptible should then put on incorruption, this mortal put on immortality." (1 Cor. xv. 53.) The second, that it should do this only after a thousand years; for they suppose, (book iv. chap. 9. p. 206.) "that nature may be weak," and they may be "desirous to be dissolved" in the millennial state. The first expect, that their "dishonourable bodies should be raised in glory," (ver. 43.) The second, that they be first raised with their dishonourable parts. The first, that the body should be raised "a spiritual and a celestial body," bearing "the image of the heavenly Adam," (ver. 44. 48.) The second, that it be first raised an earthly body, bearing the image of the earthly Adam. And oh! how inglorious, how despicable, is the resurrection which these men expect, compared with the resurrection promised in the Holy Scripture! How much more happy would the saints and martyrs be, could they immediately enjoy the Scripture-resurrection, than by enjoying that which the millenaries have allotted to them? "And why should any one conceive they should not do it? Is it because there is a necessity they should first live on earth a thousand years,\* to prepare them for heaven and eternal glory; 'Ut paulatim assuescant capere Deum,' as Irenæus† says, that *they may by degrees enlarge their capacities, fit and accustom themselves to receive God*; or, as he says in another place, that 'they may become capable of the glory of the Father,' that is, capable of bearing the glory and presence of God?" Sure this is not for the credit of the martyrs, that they should not be fit or capable to receive God, and enjoy the glory of the Father, without employing their contemplations and devotions upon earth a thousand years, when these holy persons, who rise not till the general resurrection, shall from that time be "for ever with the Lord," (1 Thess. iv. 17.) and be immediately partakers of the beatific vision? Moreover, what is it that must be thus fitted and capacitated by contempla-

\* De Resur. Carn. cap. 23.

† B. lib. iii. cap. 12.

\* Dr. Burnet, book iv. chap. 9.

† Lib. v. cap. 32.



tion to receive God, and to enjoy this blessed vision? Is it not the soul? and can she not as well contemplate him under the altar or the throne, or whilst she doth abide in paradise? Is coming down from those celestial regions to this dull earth, the way to elevate the soul to heaven? Will putting on a corruptible body, a body needing plenty of earthly things, and finding pleasure in them, be the way to quicken and invigorate her heavenly flights and aspirations? Or, is there no true friendship,\* no ingenuous conversation to be had in paradise, that the soul must descend to earth to enjoy it? Or, is it necessary, as Tertullian† and others‡ argue, by way of retribution, “that the body which hath suffered, may be rewarded in like kind;” i. e. that it may be now gratified with bodily delights, the pleasures of the throat and palate, fine clothes, and innocent diversions here on earth? As if a “change of this vile body into the likeness of Christ’s glorious body,” were not a better and far more glorious reward of all its sufferings.

*Arg. 2. §. 2.* A second argument against this doctrine, of a proper resurrection to reign with Christ a thousand years on earth, is taken from the accurate description of the resurrection contained in the Holy Scripture. For,

First, in all the descriptions the Holy Ghost so largely gives us of the resurrection, and the future judgment, in the evangelists and the epistles, there is no mention of a first and second resurrection, or of any prerogative of some saints above others in it, or of any precedence of any before others, as to the resurrection of their bodies; which might have reasonably been expected, had this doctrine been then received in some of those places where the thing is so largely and critically discoursed on, as to inform us twice, that the order of the resurrection shall be this, “that the dead in Christ shall rise first,” (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.) and then, “we that are alive shall be changed,” and that Christ is raised “as the first-fruits,” and that “afterward they that are Christ’s” shall be raised “at his coming:” here, I confess, is mention made of an order in the resurrection; for it is said, “In Christ shall all be made alive, every man in his own order,” 1 Cor. xv. 33. but then the order is expressed thus, “Christ the first-fruits, afterward they that are Christ’s.” Whereas, according to the millennial hypothesis, the words should rather have run thus, “Christ the first-fruits,” then the martyrs, and a thousand years after the residue of the just: in the Epistle to the Thessalonians also, there is no order of the resurrection of the dead mentioned; but of them altogether, and without distinction, it is said, “them that sleep in Christ will God bring with him, and the dead in Christ shall rise first.”

In answer to this argument, we have been told, that “as the Scripture speaks of the resurrection in gross, without distinguishing first and second, so it speaks of the coming of our Saviour, without distinction of first and second.” But this is a great oversight; for the Scripture gives express notice of Christ’s coming *ἐκ δευτέρου*, “a second time,” for the salvation of his servants, Heb. ix. 20. and of his “coming again,” to receive them into those mansions he is gone to prepare for them, John xiv. 3. There being therefore equal reason to expect a like distinction betwixt the first and second resurrection properly so called; the constant silence of the Scriptures, as to that matter, is no small prejudice against that hypothesis, which doth suppose a first and second resurrection.

Secondly, The Scripture in those places containeth many things which seem most plainly inconsistent with that doctrine; for either in those places the Scripture speaketh only of the second resurrection exclusively of the first, and then it is not true which Mr. Mead asserts, that “the day of judgment, and the time of the resurrection, include both the Millennium and the general resurrection;”

or, that “the Scripture speaks of the resurrection in the gross, without distinguishing betwixt the first and second;” for, if it speaks only of the second exclusively of the first, it must speak of it distinctly from the first, or it must in those places intend to speak of both conjunctly and without distinction; and then what is said in them must be applicable to them both without distinction.

Again, The Scripture in those places speaketh many things: first, as to the nature of the resurrection, and the qualities of the bodies raised. Secondly, As to the efficient cause of the resurrection, our Lord Jesus. Thirdly, As to the time of the resurrection. Fourthly, As to the circumstances, and the immediate consequences of that resurrection, which are by no means applicable to the first and the particular resurrection supposed by the millenaries, but only to the general resurrection, which all Christians own. And,

First, That which the Scripture saith of the nature and the qualifications of the bodies raised, is this, that they shall be raised “glorious, spiritual, immortal, and incorruptible bodies;” for then “this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality;” (1 Cor. xv. 42, 49.) then shall we bear “the image of the heavenly Adam,” or of that Lord from heaven who shall “change our vile bodies into the likeness of his glorious body;” (Phil. iii. 21.) then shall we “be clothed upon with our house from heaven, and death shall be swallowed up in victory.” (2 Cor. v. 1. 4.) Now, can a body raised in glory, i. e. in clarity and in splendour, shining like the sun, and made “like to Christ’s glorious body,” and “like unto the angels,” as they shall be, saith Christ, who are “thought worthy of the resurrection,” have any need of all the plenty which Dr. Burnet hath prepared for it on earth? Can it feed upon or relish any of the banquets which God, saith Irenæus, and all the ancient millenaries, hath prepared for it? Can a body raised in power, i. e. free from all renitency, all pain and lassitude, continue still, as Dr. Burnet (book iv. chap. 9. p. 206.) makes the bodies of his raised millenaries to do, under such weakness of nature as “will not suffer them to continue long under strong passions, or intenseness of mind?” Can a spiritual body, free from grossness and ponderosity, from needing rest, sleep, clothing, sustenance, receive advantage from that universal plenty, (chap. vii. p. 184. 186.) or need those goods of fortune, that external felicity, that temporal happiness, he hath provided for it upon earth? Can these men, raised with immortal and incorruptible bodies, which have already “swallowed up death in victory,” wish to be dissolved, as he saith they will? (p. 206.) Can the devil, when loosed, be so foolish, as to summon up his armies to fight against and kill them who are immortal, and can die no more? Can Gog and Magog, with all their numerous host, hope to prevail against them, or even dare to assault such shining radiant bodies as they then will have? In a word, can such bodies need or receive any farther exaltation to fit them for heaven, or for their elevation into the clouds, to be for ever with the Lord? If not, why should they live a thousand years on earth after God hath thus fitted and prepared them for their habitation in the highest heavens? I therefore do imagine, that when the patrons of this millennial resurrection find themselves thus pressed, they will assign to their new-raised inhabitants of the earth, a body capable of enjoying the good things on earth, and taking pleasure in those goods of fortune they have there provided for them, and leave their bodies to be changed after the Millennium, “into the likeness of Christ’s glorious body,” and to suffer then another change into celestial and spiritual bodies, though not another resurrection: and it seems necessary for them to admit of the forementioned absurdities, or to admit of this hypothesis; for when the apostle saith, “The dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed,” their new-raised inhabitants must belong to the dead, and so be raised incorruptible, and so incapable of those earthly goods they mentioned, as their reward on earth; or to the living, and then they must be changed. And yet the shift is plainly

\* Dr. Burnet, p. 293.

† “In qua enim conditione laboraverunt, sive afflicti sunt omnibus modis, probati per sufferentiam, justum est in ipsa recipere eos fructus sufferentiae.” Iren. lib. v. cap. 32.

‡ “In compensationem eorum quæ in sæculo vel despeximus, vel amisimus: siquidem et justum, et Deo dignum, illis exaltare famulos ejus ubi sunt afflicti in nomine ipsius.” Tertull. adv. Marcion. lib. iii. cap. 23. p. 412.

\* Dr. Burnet, book iv. chap. 10. p. 217.

contrary to the account St. Paul hath given us of the resurrection of the body; for he expressly saith, that when this corruptible, weak, dishonourable, earthly body, shall be raised, it shall be raised in incorruption, glory, power, and be a spiritual body; that to the natural succeeds the spiritual body, to the earthly the heavenly body; (1 Cor. xv. 43, 44.) to the body bearing the image of the earthly, the body bearing the image of the heavenly Adam: where-as this shift must infer a body raised not in glory, or in incorruption, not a spiritual and a heavenly body, and so make these martyrs twice bear the image of the earthly Adam, or at least at their resurrection not to bear the image of the heavenly. Again, they who are then alive, and shall be changed, saith the apostle, are only those who never slept in the grave, (ver. 51, 52.) Now this cannot be true of martyrs raised from the dead, and so the change here mentioned cannot belong to them.

Secondly, This doctrine seems inconsistent with what the Scripture most plainly hath delivered concerning our Lord Jesus, the efficient cause, as well as the exemplar, of the resurrection of those that are Christ's; for he that is the author of this resurrection, is *ὁ Κύριος ὁ ἐκ νεκρῶν*, the Lord coming down from heaven, to effect it, 1 Cor. xv. 47. our Lord descending down *ἀπὸ οὐρανῶν*, from the heavens, 1 Thess. iv. 16. The time when God shall give to those that have been persecuted and afflicted, rest with the apostles, who sure will have a share in the first resurrection, is the time "of the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven," 2 Thess. i. 7. The time of this Millennium, say the patrons of it, is the time of the "restitution of all things." Now at that time, saith the apostle Peter, our Jesus is to be "sent down from the heavens," (Acts iii. 20, 21.) they being only to contain him till that time. And one would think, that if the saints must reign with Christ on earth a thousand years, he must be with them on the earth: but this the patrons of the Millennium will by no means own, but look upon it as a great absurdity. For, that "Christ should leave the right hand of his Father, to come and pass a thousand years here below, living upon earth in a heavenly body; this, I confess (saith Dr. Burnet\*), is a thing I never could digest. And "I dare not imagine (saith Mr. Mead†) of this presence of Christ in his kingdom, that it should be a visible converse upon earth; for the kingdom of Christ ever hath, and shall be, *regnum celorum*, a kingdom whose throne and kingly residence is in heaven." Here then the Scripture-account of the resurrection, that it shall be effected by the Lord Jesus coming down from heaven, and the Millennium of the ancients, is at once rejected; for, as Lactantius saith, "the Son of God shall come, and be conversant among men a thousand years, and rule them with a righteous empire; he shall reign with them upon earth;" so was this the avowed doctrine of all the ancient millenaries: for they not only did assert his reign on earth, but assigned Jerusalem as the peculiar place of his residence, whilst he reigned upon it.

Thirdly, This doctrine is still more evidently repugnant to the time assigned for the resurrection of the just; for they are to be raised, saith the apostle, "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; (1 Cor. xv. 52.) for the trumpet shall sound, and (then) the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we" that are alive, and have not slept, "shall be changed; for the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first." Here we are taught, that the dead in Christ, and so the martyrs, shall not be raised till our Lord's descent from heaven; that then they shall be raised in a moment, in the twinkling

of an eye; that, immediately upon their being raised, they that are then alive shall be changed. St. Jerome\* therefore said, with good ground; that the apostle by these words, "*cunctam primæ et secundæ resurrectionis excludit fabulam*," destroys the fable of the first and second resurrection; by asserting that the resurrection of all that are dead in Christ, and sleep in him, shall be performed "in a moment," and "in the twinkling of an eye, at the sounding of the last trump," and "at the shout" or voice "of the last angel:" which leaves no room for a whole thousand years betwixt the first and second resurrection, unless the angel should be supposed to shout, or the trump sound, a thousand years. "The hour cometh (saith our Lord, John v. 28.) when all that are in their tombs shall hear my voice, and shall come forth." And sure that must be a long hour which lasteth a full thousand years. Again, there shall be pious persons living and unchanged, when all the pious that were dead are raised; "for the dead in Christ shall rise first, then we that are alive shall be changed," (1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.) we that have not yet slept, saith the apostle. Place now the Millennium after the conflagration of the world, and all things in it, and where will you find these pious men alive, or how will you preserve them from those flames? Dr. Burnet† finds a great difficulty, not common to all, as he imagines, but peculiar to his own invention, of a Millennium after the conflagration of the present earth; viz. "how Gog and Magog should get into this new earth, the wicked being all consumed in those flames." He is not hardy enough to say that this is the poetic tale of the giants, though he saith (p. 219.) it hath great affinity with it. And therefore he produces these men, according to the philosophy of Lucretius and Mr. Hobbes, (p. 220.) "from the slime of the earth, and the heat of the sun, as brute creatures were at first:" but whence come these pious men that have not yet slept, into this new earth, is a fresh difficulty; and to this the doctor hath yet nothing to say, for he either thought not of them, or was unwilling to take up with the rabbinical notion, that they had eagles' wings given them to mount up into the air, whilst the earth was on fire.

Fourthly, This doctrine seems inconsistent with many circumstances of the resurrection mentioned in the Holy Scripture, for that speaks constantly of the resurrection of all saints, as of a resurrection not to a temporal life on earth, but to an eternal in the heavens. "They shall come forth out of their tombs to the resurrection of life, John v. 28. He that seeth and believeth in me, he that eateth my flesh, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day," vi. 54. That teacheth us, that when Christ comes again, they shall be received into the heavenly mansions prepared for them, John xiv. 2, 3. and xvii. 24. "and shall be with him where he now is; that when Christ, who is their life, shall appear, they shall appear with him in glory," Colos. iii. 14. that "when he doth appear, they shall be like him, and see him as he is." Whereas, according to the hypothesis of the millenaries, when Christ appears, and when he comes again, they who have been his choicest and most faithful servants shall not immediately be raised to eternal life, but first to that life which is but temporal; they shall not be received into heavenly, but into earthly mansions; they shall not be glorified with him, appear with him in glory, be like him in his glory, or "see him as he is," till they have spent a thousand years on earth to fit them for those blessed mansions, and to prepare them for this beatific vision. Moreover, it is said of all the dead in Christ, of all that slept in Jesus, that they shall be raised first, and that then immediately we "that are alive shall be snatched up with them in clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and then we shall be for ever with the Lord." Now if this be so, surely we cannot expect afterward to live on earth a thousand years; for, as Nyssen puts the question, † *Τί ἐστι χρεία τῆς κάρω γῆς. οὗτος ἡ*

\* Book iv. chap. 10.

† Mr. Mead on some passages of the Revelation, p. 603.

‡ "Filius hominis veniet, et mille annos inter homines versabitur, eosque justissimo imperio reget," lib. vii. cap. 24. "In terra cum his ipse regnabit." Epit. cap. xi. p. 758. "De millenariis in genere tradit Hieronymus, quod post resurrectionem aiunt in carne Dominum cum sanctis regnaturum." In voce Papias. "Sanctos cum Christo in terra regnatos docuit Nepos." Gennad. cap. 55. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 23.

\* Ep. tom. iii. f. 66. A.

† Book iv. chap. 10. p. 218, 219.

‡ Caten. in Mat. v. p. 119.

μετάρσιος ζωῇ ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἔστιν, *What need is there that they should live below on earth, who hope thus to live in heaven*, and to be ever with the Lord? Especially since these words plainly seem to speak not of a temporal, but an eternal life with Christ, not by enjoyment of him upon earth, but by translation from it to heaven? Again, when the same apostle saith, "This I say, brethren, that flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption," (1 Cor. xv. 20.) and thence concludes, "that the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed;" does he not sufficiently insinuate that we shall be raised not to enjoy an earthly but a heavenly kingdom, and that our raised bodies being glorified, shall not consist of flesh and blood? And what then will they do with all that plenty, and that great affluence of the goods of fortune, which the millenaries do so highly value? In a word, the comfort which the apostle gives the Thessalonians concerning their departed friends,\* who had suffered much affliction, persecution, tribulation, and doubtless many of them death, for Christ's sake, is only this, that they who remained alive should not prevent them in the enjoyment of the happiness promised to the body, but "the dead in Christ should rise first," and then the living should be changed; not this, that these sufferers for the sake of Christ should rise a thousand years before the rest to reign with Christ on earth, which yet is by the millenaries deemed great matter of their consolation, and so was very proper to have been mentioned there, had it been any article of Christian faith.

*Arg. 3. §. 3.* This reign of Christians upon earth agrees not with the genius of Christian faith, or with the nature of Christian promises, or with that frame and temper of spirit it requires from the professors of Christianity. For,

1. The Christian is represented as one who is entirely dead to the world, and to the things of the world; one who is not to love it, or the things of it, who is to use it as if he used it not, as one "whose conversation is in heaven," (Phil. iii. 19.) and it is made the character of one who is an enemy to the cross of Christ, that he minds earthly things; whereas, if this be a true gospel-promise made to Christians for their consolation and encouragement, under the troubles of this present world, that they shall, after this life is ended, live again on earth a life of indolence, and peace, and plenty, in the enjoyment of the goods of fortune: if this be one great part of the reward which God hath promised to those that suffer for his name, sure it becomes them to have their minds and their affections set upon it, and to live in expectation of it, and to desire to enjoy these goods of fortune, this peace and plenty upon earth; and it would rather be the character of those who bear the cross, in prospect of these blessings, to mind earthly things. That, saith St. Paul, which makes the sufferings of this present world so light unto us, is this consideration, "that we look not at the things which are seen, but which are not seen," not at things temporal, but eternal, (2 Cor. iv. 17, 18.) even at "a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," (v. 1.) Whereas if this be one of the great and precious promises contained in the gospel, and made for the encouragement of Christians to suffer for Christ's sake, they must then look not only at things eternal, but things temporal; or for a temporal house on earth, as well as one eternal in the heavens, for their supposed reign on earth will be but temporal.

Again, The exhortation of our Lord, in his admirable sermon on the mount, runs thus: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, but lay up treasures in heaven; for where your treasure is, there will your hearts be also:" (Matt. vi. 19—21.) And again, "Provide yourselves bags that wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not." (Luke xii. 53, 34.) St. Paul exhorts all that are risen with Christ to "set their hearts and their affections not on things on the earth, but on things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God," (Colos. iii. 1—3.) and that be-

cause they are dead with Christ unto these worldly things, "and their life is hid with Christ in God;" so that when "Christ, who is their life, shall appear, they shall appear with him in glory." And yet if our Lord Christ, in that very sermon, as the millenaries suppose, encouraged them to suffer with patience and meekness upon this consideration, that they "should inherit the earth," and had pronounced them blessed upon this account, surely they might have suffered upon this very prospect of laying up for themselves treasures upon earth in this Millennium, and might have had their hearts and affections placed upon them: for wherefore are they bid to lay up treasures in heaven, and to set their affections on things above, but because these are the blessings promised as the reward of Christian piety and patience? if then these blessings to be enjoyed on earth after the resurrection be one great part of the reward which God hath promised to the piety and patience of the Christian, what reason can be given why he should not seek and set his heart upon them also? If it be so great a privilege to have a part in the first resurrection, to enjoy this indolency, peace, and plenty upon earth, that the apostle styles them blessed who have a part in it, should they not seek and set their hearts upon that very thing in which their happiness consists? And yet the comfort which our Lord and his apostles do afford those Christian sufferers, is only this, that "great is their reward in heaven;" (Matt. v. 12. Luke vi. 23.) that "when they are tried, they shall receive a crown of glory;" (James i. 12.) and that they "have in heaven a better and a more enduring substance;" (Heb. x. 34.) which as it placeth the reward and comfort of Christ's suffering members not on earth, but in the heavens, and so gives us just reason to conclude our Lord and his apostles knew nothing of this reign on earth, or thought it no great matter of their consolation; so did it give occasion to the ancients to conclude thus,\* "if the inheritance of martyrs be in heaven, their reign on earth can be no better than a fable."

Moreover, it is evident that all the ancient patrons of the Millennium held that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the patriarchs and prophets, were to be sharers with the Christians in this reign on earth, and that then would the promised Canaan be made good to them: whereas the apostles plainly tell us, that they expected no reward on earth, nor did they mind that Canaan where they dwelt, but only waited for a heavenly country: "They confessed (saith the apostle) that they were strangers and pilgrims upon earth," that "they were not mindful of that country whence they came out, but sought a better country, that is, a heavenly." (Heb. xi. 13, 16.) Since then these holy patriarchs and choice friends of God, not only sought not after, but even disdained any inheritance on earth; seeing the only country they did expect and look for was a heavenly country; seeing this only was the inheritance God, as their God, provided for them, and therefore that only which they were to enjoy at their resurrection, when they completely were to be made and treated as the sons of God: surely in vain must Christians hope for any reign on earth with them, who, professing themselves pilgrims and strangers in it, declared they were not mindful of such a habitation in the land of Canaan, and who are at the resurrection to be made like the angels, and to enjoy not any earthly, but that heavenly country, which God hath graciously prepared for them.

In a word, to foretell times of peace and plenty to succeeding ages, to raise the expectation of a people whose backs are bowed down, and have been long enslaved and afflicted, is very suitable to this Divine economy; but to promise plenty, and the goods of fortune, as the reward of Christian piety and patience, and let them know that if they suffer for the sake of Christ, he will be sure to raise them up to plentiful enjoyments of the goods of fortune, this is too mean, too much beneath the sublime spirit of Christianity, to be one of her great and precious promises.

\* 1 Thess. i. 6. ii. 14, 15. iii. 3.

‡ Thess. i. 4—7.

\* Ἐν οὐρανῷ ἡ κληρονομία, μὴ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ κατοικία, ὡς οὐρανός ἐστιν.

THE  
BAPTISTS IN AMERICA;  
A NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
DEPUTATION FROM THE BAPTIST UNION  
IN ENGLAND,

TO  
The United States and Canada.

BY THE REV. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D.;

AND  
THE REV. J. HOBY, D.D.



LONDON:  
T. WARD AND CO., 27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCXXXVI.

munion are scattered here upon the banks of the river, but the association after having increased to twenty churches, and more than 800 communicants, a few years ago took alarm by the introduction of what once occasioned a like panic among our churches in England. They were not prepared for missions, bible societies, and other benevolent operations. Misguided opposition to these new and but little understood schemes of christian enterprise, inflicted a blight upon them, from which they have but slowly recovered.

Amidst the excitement occasioned by these controversies, some very absurd errors were taught by those who at the same time were the champions of the "*anti-effort*" party. Supralapsarian doctrines were commingled with the monstrous figment, that the non-elect are not literally the natural offspring of Adam, but that although Eve was their mother, the devil, who was eternal and self-subsistent, was their father. Much zeal had been manifested in this controversy; and if such absurdities as those taught by Southcott and her followers, were not without abettors even in the episcopalian churches of England, it is not surprising that views of this description, taught by men of good moral character and honest zeal, should have produced lamentable effects amidst a new and scattered people, in the depths of these boundless forests, and removed hundreds of miles from the light of cultivated cities! nor can it be deemed incredible that even now the Mormonites make a few disciples.\*

\* The Mormons may be regarded as a race of fanatics who are in no way connected with any portion of the baptists,



The legislative spirit of the times, among christians of all denominations, displayed itself in some of these associations, by rules against private christians and churches harbouring such as by their own

excepting that as they immerse their converts. From the information given me by a person who seemed strongly inclined to join them, and from Mr. Peck, I was induced to differ in opinion with Mr. P. on the propriety of even so far countenancing this heresy, as to publish any exposure of its follies; but as several thousands are said to have embraced mormonism, he thought it right to print a tract on the subject. The sect originated in the pretended discovery of a number of engraved plates, in the year 1830, by a man named Smith. The character of the engraving was that of some unknown tongue, and Smith professed to have been suddenly and miraculously gifted to translate it. He did so, and published an English version of the "Book of Mormon," or "The Golden Bible!" In point of style, this production is about as close an approximation to that of the New Testament, as the Koran is to the Old Testament. Whatever doctrines may therein be taught, it is impossible not to trace an analogy between the Mormon pretensions to the miraculous gifts of healing, and of tongues, and of prophecy, with similar delusions which at the same time were so rife in England and Scotland. It is not improbable but the Mormon pretenders of Missouri, adopted many of the notions of the Irvingite Millenarians. The book is styled "An Abridgment of the Record of the People of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, which are a remnant of the house of Israel; also to Jew and Gentile: written by commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and revelation. Written and sealed up, and hid up to the Lord, that they might not be destroyed, to come forth by the gift and power of God unto the interpretation thereof; sealed by the hand of Moroni," &c. &c. An angel is said to have pointed out the place where these plates were concealed, and eleven witnesses attest the fact of having seen and examined them. The Mormons are a sect of Millenarians, having high-priests, elders, bishops and

efforts appeared to take the work of God out of his own hands. Jealousy of the divine honour led to another remarkable result ; they would not tolerate the existence of an authority which could at pleasure abrogate or set at defiance the authority and laws of God ; accordingly, some of their rules not only *prohibited the holding of slaves*, but also corresponding with such as did hold them, or even with those who corresponded with them.

What may be deplored as extravagant, is thus to be traced to much that must be approved, and it is yielding to the influence of growing illumination. As the noxious exhalations of their own unwholesome swamps are dispersed by the clearings of the forest which admit the light of the sun, and the winds of heaven, that their beautiful river may roll its bright and healthful waters through a paradise ; so the moral gloom is yielding to the untiring efforts of zealous and pious advocates of wisdom and knowledge. It may be in part ascribed to these circumstances, that the advocates of infidelity have met with partial success. The true church was paralysed, and did not encounter the adversary with specific and appropriate weapons of the spiritual warfare.

I proceeded to New Harmony by the stage. The

deacons, who are sent forth on their ministry after the manner in which Christ sent his disciples, and in the mean time the families of these missionaries are supported by the church. In their ministry they dwell chiefly on the anticipated millennium, and many enthusiasts have made great sacrifices in expectation of the speedy coming of Christ to reign personally on the earth.

THE  
CHRISTIAN WITNESS

AND  
Congregational Magazine,  
1869.

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1869.



for them. Is an awakening of the people, for whose souls you care, needed, or that as chapels are built, men, women, and children, shall flock thither to hear of heaven, and learn the way? Pray for it. "In everything give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning you." "Be careful for nothing, but in everything by prayer, and supplication with thanksgiving, let your requests be made known unto God."

And "now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, that Great Shepherd of the Sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." "And I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation, for I have written a letter unto you in few words." "Grace be with you all. Amen."

## THE IRVINGITES; OR, SO-CALLED CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

### III.—ORGANISATION AND DOCTRINE.

We proceed now to glance at the organisation and doctrine of the Irvingites, or, as they wish to be called, "The Catholic Apostolic Church." Some of the explanations given by these modern "Apostles," both with regard to organisation and doctrine, are utterly unintelligible; but we will do our best to deal justly with them. The Church is constituted by the whole company of the baptized. There is, however, a distinction between the Church Catholic or Universal, and the Church Local. The latter embraces the faithful within a limited district. "Apostles" are ministers of the Universal Church, and are the representatives of Christ in the highest functions of rule. Whatever they ordain is law; and as for private judgment, "let it not be once named among you." It savours of a stiff-neckedness and pride which are extremely hurtful to all—save the "Apostles." They ordain ministers, they confer the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, they prescribe the order of worship, and have the oversight of the Churches generally.

Next to the "Apostle" in the Church comes the "Prophet," whose work it is to throw light upon the Scriptures, to call men to the ministry, and to reveal the mind of Christ generally. He is not supposed, however, to understand his own words. This was the grand mistake of Mr. Robert Baxter, who left the Irvingites years ago. He prophesied, and had the audacity to try to find out what he was saying; to interpret, and to apply the word spoken by himself. Thereby he proved himself to be no "Prophet," whose work is done when he has spoken. He must leave to the "Apostle" the task of finding out the meaning of the utterance, and of applying it to its right use. It matters not that, "we have a sure word of

prophecy unto which we do well to take heed;" this may lie unheeded, while the "filthy fanaticism of an ignorant dreamer," as Dr. Chalmers would have said, shall receive the utmost attention.

After the "Prophet" comes the "Evangelist," whose office it is to preach the Gospel. His mission is not so much to draw men to Christ; it is rather that of the servant in the parable, who was sent at supper-time to say to those that were already bidden, "Come, for all things are now ready." Local Churches are each under the care of an "Angel" or "Pastor," and thus we arrive at a "fourfold" ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors. This, we are assured, is not an arbitrary or temporary division of offices, but grows out of the unchangeable constitution of man, in whom there is a fourfoldness of character answering to these forms of ministry. He needs an apostle for his will, a prophet for his imagination, an evangelist for his understanding, and a pastor for his affections. To put it in other words, the apostle brings man into subjection, so that the voice of the Church becomes authoritative; the prophet gives new utterances which plainly supersede "that which is written;" the evangelist applies these modern drivellings to the debauching of every intellect that receives them, and the pastor works away at the affections to supply any lack of service on the part of his brethren in office. When they can realise their ideal, the Irvingites will have this fourfoldness of ministry in every local Church, but at present, amongst the seven Churches of London, Gordon Square is the only one in which it exists. In addition to these ministries, there are Deacons chosen by the people and ordained by the "Apostle." Their work is to assist generally in religious services, to give people advice in worldly difficulties, and to look after the poor. When necessary, however, they may both preach and baptize. There are also Deaconesses, who look after the female members of the flock and render assistance to the apostle, prophet, evangelist, and pastor, in the oversight of families.

This is an outline of the Irvingite polity. We have only to add that in its development, instead of winning our confidence or respect by its adherence to primitive simplicity, "The Catholic Apostolic Church" has incurred our grave suspicions by its exceeding readiness to catch the superstitious spirit of the time. It did without a ritual until the Tractarian movement had fairly set in, and then the "Apostles" were moved to frame a Liturgy, "combining the excellencies of the Liturgies in the Latin, Greek, and Anglican Churches." The "Apostles" kept pace with the followers of Newman, Pusey, and other Tractarians, in the introduction of lights, incense, vestments; Rome gave the word, and immediately the "Apostles" had a new revelation of paramount importance. Instead of teaching the present age, as the "Apostles" profess themselves specially raised up to do, they have only too readily learned its follies and superstitions, and have reproduced them to the misleading of multitudes. In short, looking at the strange development of the Irvingite body, especially during the last twenty years, it is impossible to foretell, even with the assistance of one of its own

"Prophets," whereunto this thing will grow, so far as absurdity, credulity, and superstition are concerned.

Turning now to the doctrine of this sect, we find that they set out with the statement that the great duty of the "*restored Apostles*" has been to teach the doctrine of Christ. They hold that the first explicit statement of Christian doctrine was made by Peter on the day of Pentecost, when the Apostles received their endowment and began their work: that almost every article of the creed, explicitly or by implication, is contained in it. Having said thus much, had not the inconsistency of the "*restored Apostles*" long since ceased to surprise us, we should be surprised at finding that there are *two* sources from which the doctrine of Christ is to be derived:—the Scriptures, and the traditions of the Church! Candidates for baptism are required to give their assent to the Apostles' Creed. The Nicene Creed forms part of the service of the Eucharist, and the Athanasian Creed is repeated at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and on All Saints' Day. These Creeds, too, as well as the Apostle Peter's sermon, before referred to, are regarded as setting forth the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. While the "*Apostles*" teach, as we have seen, the efficacy of sacraments, their own authority to forgive sins, and the use of prayers for the dead, they do not in the same breath hesitate to say that they have promulgated no novelties, and have added nothing to the authorised statements of the faith! Taking two or three of the truths "*commonly believed among us,*" let us see how they appear in the light of Irvingite teaching.

With regard to the Fall, we find it stated that sin had its origin in the rebellion of the Devil against the Divine purpose concerning the pre-eminence of man in the Man Christ Jesus. It is added, too, that the Son of God might have become man, had there been no Fall and no need of Redemption, in order to bring the Godhead into full manifestation, and to lift up the creation in Him into the closest and most blessed union with the Creator. How do these statements accord with the plain teaching of the Scriptures, in whose plenary inspiration the "*Apostles*" profess to believe? Again: "*Baptism is the sacrament of regeneration, or, the ordinance for conveying the new or resurrection life.*" As the Irvingites retain infant baptism, what is this but baptismal regeneration? In reference to the Lord's Supper we have the following passage, the interpretation of which we must really leave to the reader's own discernment:—"The elements of bread and wine are not *transubstantiated*, or changed into the material substance of flesh and blood, which would contradict the testimony of the senses and the word of Christ and His Apostles; but, continuing as they were in all their physical properties, they are made, by the invisible working of the Holy Ghost, to be the containers of a new power, viz., the living law and substantiating principle of our Lord's manhood."

Upon an "*election according to grace,*" we are told that, "*as the death of Christ atoned for the sins of many who will finally perish, so there are true operations of the Holy Ghost in many who are not 'kept by the power*



of God, through faith unto salvation.'” It is added that “the company of the elect is a narrower circle than that redeemed by the blood of Christ, narrower even than that engrafted into Christ by the Holy Ghost.” We are further informed, and confused by the information, that “all the saved are not of the Church, as all the people of a realm are not the wife of the king.” The “*restored Apostles*” have no doubt respecting the ends for which the elect are chosen in the purposes of God, viz., to be for the blessing of those to whom a lower place is given in His great scheme. Apparently no one was elected unto everlasting life under the old dispensation; for we are told that “the gathering of the elect began with the descent of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost.” We suppose this is partly explained or intended to be explained, by another statement:—“It must be kept in mind that the Christian sacraments are ordinances for conveying spiritual blessings which did not exist before the Incarnation. Until Jesus died and rose again, there was no new life to be bestowed.”

Our space will not admit of further illustration of the Irvingite theology, but before leaving the subject it will be expected that a word should be said upon the topic on which the “Apostles” are accustomed to speak with the utmost certainty—the Future. Here is an Irvingite’s view of the end of all things:—“The gathering of the elect shall end with the second coming of the Lord, when taking His Church to Himself, by raising the holy ones from among the dead, and changing the faithful from among the living, He will proceed to set up His Kingdom in the earth. He will first restore the twelve tribes of Israel to their own land, and re-organise them as a nation, and then, by their instrumentality, He will visit all the families of the earth with His salvation. There will be a threefold constitution of things during the Millennium. The Lord and His Church in the glory of the resurrection shall inhabit the ‘New Jerusalem, which cometh down from God out of heaven,’ and has its seat upon the earth, or in close proximity to it; the restored and re-constituted nation of Israel shall be next in rank, holding the central and metropolitan place among the nations, and by this twofold ordinance of Divine rule, the Church dwelling with Christ as in the holy of holies, and the Jews occupying, as a kingdom of priests, the holy place, all the families of mankind, like the dwellers in the outer court, shall be made to see the light and rejoice in the deliverance of God. This shall be the order of things during that period of a thousand years described by John; but at the expiration of it there shall be an outbreak of rebellion among the nations in the four corners of the earth, that is outside ‘the camp of the saints and the beloved city,’ instigated thereto by Satan, then loosed from his prison-house; which, having been put down by Divine judgments, the general resurrection takes place, and the last judgment ensues.”

Such, then, is a brief outline of the rise and progress, worship, organisation, and doctrine of the Irvingite community. We have now only to remind our readers of the claim set up on its behalf by its leading spirits.

They maintain that it originated in the direct interference of God ; that its object and effect are evidently to restore the Church to its Scriptural form and unity, and that its development has proceeded step by step under Divine guidance. The "Apostles" have not been engaged in reducing to practice a preconceived scheme, they have simply followed the dictates of what they recognised to be the voice of God. He spake and they believed. He commanded and they obeyed. By degrees a system of Church Government and of Divine Service has been brought into existence, which they never contemplated, and which is, so far as it is yet developed, consistent with the Scriptural account of the framework and constitution of the Church when fresh from God's hand ! And as its root and basis are supernatural, so no worldly means have been adopted to erect the superstructure, no fleshly power relied on, no temporal patronage sought in order to accomplish the purpose aimed at ; the power and blessing of the Holy Spirit alone have been its support and stay !

Will any candid reader of the New Testament, who has examined the outline we have given of the Irvingite polity, worship, and doctrine, be prepared to say the same ? Will he not rather say, the Apostles of Jesus we know, but who are ye ? Are you to prove your apostleship by being the very reverse of those in primitive days ? Can your ritual be Scriptural and unscriptural at the same time ? Can your doctrine at once be the doctrine of God and the doctrine of devils ? Some of those who have left the Irvingite community have not hesitated to say that the whole system is a delusion and a snare, that the spirit which has operated to bring it about is Satanic, that to the Devil alone must be ascribed the establishment of a system which, while bearing certain Scriptural marks, emphatically preaches "another gospel," to the ruin of souls who will be deluded by it. We believe there are those yet living who told poor Irving this on his death-bed, and besought him with tears to believe them. The restored "Apostles," however, as we have shown, have left him far in the distance. Their only mission now, as it seems to us, is to strengthen the hands of the Romish Church, and to do its work under a new name.

## THE SCULPTOR OF BRUGES.

By Marie Sibree.

### PART V.\*—THE WOUNDED OFFICER.

We left Anka and Cuthbert in the little village church, with the lifeless body of the soldier-priest at their feet, and his simple confession of faith still ringing in the ears of the half-awakened Romanist. He made no reply to Anka's searching question—indeed he had none to make ; for he was confounded and almost terrified at the admission wrung from him by the force

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\* For Part IV. see "Christian Witness," November, 1868.

# CHURCH HISTORY.

BY

PROFESSOR KURTZ.

*AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION FROM LATEST REVISED  
EDITION BY THE*

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MDCCCXC.

South Russian town of Jellisawetgrad under the designation of a "*Biblical Spiritual Brotherhood*."

10. **The Catholic Apostolic Church of the Irvingites.**—Edward Irving, 1792-1834, a powerful and popular preacher of the Scotch-Presbyterian church in London, maintained the doctrine that the human nature of Christ like our own was affected by original sin, which was overcome and atoned for by the power of the divine nature. At the same time he became convinced that the spiritual gifts of the apostolic church could and should still be obtained by prayer and faith. A party of his followers soon began to exercise the gift of tongues by uttering unintelligible sounds, loud cries, and prophecies. His presbytery suspended him in 1832 and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland excommunicated him. Rich and distinguished friends from the Episcopal church, among them the wealthy banker, Drummond, afterwards prominent as an apostle (died 1859), rallied round the man thus expelled from his church, and gave him the means to found a new church, but, in spite of Irving's protests, brought with them high church puseyite tendencies, which soon drove out the heretical as well as the puritanic tendencies, and modified the fanatical element into a hierarchical and liturgical formalism. The restoration of the office of apostle was the characteristic feature of the movement. After many unsuccessful attempts they succeeded by the divine illumination of the prophets in calling twelve apostles, first and chief of whom was the lawyer Cardale (died 1877). By the apostles, as chief rulers and stewards of the church, evangelists and pastors (or angels, Rev. ii. 1, 8, etc.) were ordained in accordance with Eph. iv. 11; and subordinate to the pastors, there were appointed six elders and as many deacons, so that the office bearers of each congregation embraced thirteen persons, after the example of Christ and His twelve disciples. In London seven congregations were formed after the pattern of the seven apocalyptic churches (Rev. i. 20). Prominent among their new revelations was the promise of the immediately approaching advent of the Lord. The Lord, who was to have come in the lifetime of the first disciples and so was looked for confidently by them, delayed indefinitely His return on account of abounding iniquity and prevented the full development of the second apostolate designed for the Gentiles and meanwhile represented only by Paul, because the church was no longer worthy of it. Now at last, after eighteen centuries of degradation, in which the church came to be the apocalyptic Babylon and ripened for judgment, the time has come when the suspended apostolate has been restored to prepare the way for the last things. Very confidently was it at first maintained that none of their members should die, but should live to see the final consummation. But after death had removed so many from among them, and even the apostles



one after another, it was merely said that those are already born who should see the last day. It may come any day, any hour. It begins with the first resurrection (Rev. xx. 5) and the "changing" of the saints that are alive (the wise virgins, i.e. the Irvingites), who will be caught up to the Lord in the clouds and in a higher sphere be joined with the Lord in the marriage supper of the Lamb. They are safely hidden while antichrist persecutes the other Christians, the foolish virgins, who only can be saved by means of painful suffering, and executes judgment on Babylon. This marks the end of the Gentile church; but then begins the conversion of the Jews, who, driven by necessity and the persecution of sinful men, have sought and found a refuge in Palestine. After a short victory of antichrist the Lord visibly appears among the risen and removed. The kingdom of antichrist is destroyed, Satan is bound, the saints live and reign with Christ a thousand years on the earth freed from the curse. Thereafter Satan is again let loose for a short time and works great havoc. Then comes Satan's final overthrow, the second resurrection and last judgment. Their liturgy, composed by the apostles, is a compilation from the Anglican and Catholic sources. Sacerdotalism and sacrifice are prominent and showy priestly garments are regarded as requisite. Yet they repudiate the Romish doctrine of the bloodless repetition of the bleeding sacrifice, as well as the doctrine of transubstantiation. But they strictly maintain the contribution of the tenth as a duty laid upon Christians by Heb. vii. 4. Their typical view of the Old Testament history and legislation, especially of the tabernacle, is most arbitrary and baseless. Their first published statement appeared in 1836 in an apostolic "*Letter to the Patriarchs, Bishops, and Presidents of the Church of Christ in all Lands, and to emperors, kings, and princes of all baptized nations*," which was sent to the most prominent among those addressed, even to the pope, but produced no result. After this they began to prosecute their missionary work openly. But they gave their attention mainly to those already believers, and took no part in missions to the heathen, as they were sent neither to the heathen nor to unbelievers, but only to gather and save believers. In their native land of England, where at first they had great success, their day seems already past. In North America they succeeded in founding only two congregations. They prospered better in Germany and Switzerland, where they secured several able theologians, chief of all Thiersch, the professor of Theology in Marburg, the Tertullian of this modern Montanism (died 1885), and founded about eighty small congregations with some 5,000 members, chief of which are those of Berlin, Stettin, Königsberg, Leipzig, Marburg, Cassel, Basel, Augsburg, etc. Even among the Catholic clergy of Bavaria this movement found response; but that was checked by a series of depositions and



excommunications during 1857.—In 1882 the Lutheran pastor Alpers of Gehrden in Hanover was summoned to appear before the consistory to answer for his Irvingite views. He denied the charge and referred to his good Lutheran preaching. As, however, he had taken the sacramental "sealing" from Irvingite apostles, the court regarded this as proof of his having joined the party and so deposed him.<sup>1</sup>

11. **The Darbyites and Adventists.**—Related on the one hand to Irvingism by their expectation of the immediately approaching advent and by their regarding themselves as the saints of the last time who would alone be saved, the **Darbyites**, on the other hand, by their absolute independentism form a complete contrast to the Irvingite hierarchism. John Darby, 1800–1882, first an advocate, then a clergyman of the Anglican church, breaking away from Anglicanism, founded between 1820 and 1830 a sectarian, apocalyptic, independent community at Plymouth (whence the name **Plymouth Brethren**), but in 1838 settled in Geneva, and in 1840 went to Canton Vaud, where Lausanne and Vevey have become the headquarters of the sect. All clerical offices, all ecclesiastical forms are of the evil one, and are evidence of the corruption of the church. There is only one office, the spiritual priesthood of all believers, and every believer has the right to preach and dispense the sacraments. Not only the Catholic, but also the Protestant church is a "Balaam Church," and since the departure of the apostles no true church has existed. In doctrine they are strictly Calvinistic.<sup>2</sup>—The **Adventists**. Regarding the 2,300 days of Dan. viii. 14 as so many years, W. Miller of New York and Boston proclaimed in 1833 that the second advent would take place on the night of October 23rd, 1847, and convinced many thousands of the correctness of his calculations. When at last the night referred to arrived the believers continued assembled in their tabernacles waiting, but in vain, for the promise (Matt. xxiv. 30, 31; 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17), at "the voice of the archangel and the trump of God to be caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." This miscalculation, however, did not shake the Adventists' belief in the near approach of the Lord, but their number rather increased from year to year. Most zealous in propagating their views by journals and tracts, evangelists and missionaries, is a branch of the sect founded by James White of

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<sup>1</sup> Oliphant, "Life of Ed. Irving." 3rd edition. London, 1865. Carlyle, in "Miscellaneous Essays." Brown, "Personal Reminiscences of Ed. Irving," in *Expositor*. 3 ser., vol. vi., pp. 216, 257. Miller, "History and Doctrine of Irvingism," 2 vols. London, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Darby, "Personal Recollections." London, 1881.

Michigan, whose adherents, because they keep the Sabbath in place of the Lord's Day, are called *Seventh Day Adventists*.

12. **The Mormons or Latter Day Saints.**—Jos. Smith, a broken down farmer of Vermont, who took to knavish digging for hid treasures, affirmed in 1825, that under direction of divine revelations and visions, he had excavated on Comora hill in New York State, golden tablets in a stone kist on which sacred writings were engraved. A prophet's spectacles, *i.e.*, two pierced stones which as a Mormon Urim and Thummim lay beside them, enabled him to understand and translate them. He published the translation in "the Book of Mormon." According to this book, the Israelites of the ten tribes had migrated under their leader, Lehi, to America. There they divided into two peoples; the ungodly Lamanites, answering to the modern Redskins, and the pious Nephites. The latter preserved among them the old Israelitish histories and prophecies, and through miraculous signs in heaven and earth obtained knowledge of the birth of Christ that had meanwhile taken place. Toward the end of the fourth century after Christ, however, the Lamanites began a terrible war of extermination against the Nephites, in consequence of which the latter were rooted out with the exception of the prophet Mormon and his son Moroni. Mormon recorded his revelations on the golden tablets referred to, and concealed them as the future witness for the saints of the last days on the earth. Smith proclaimed himself now called on of God, on the basis of these documents and the revelations made to him, to found the church of *The Latter Day Saints*. The widow of a preacher in New York proved indeed that the Book of Mormon was almost literally a plagiarism from a historico-didactic romance written by her deceased husband, Sal. Spaulding. The MS. had passed into the hands of Sidney Rigdon, formerly a Baptist minister and then a bookseller's assistant, subsequently Smith's right-hand man. But even this did not disturb the believers. In 1831 Smith with his followers settled at Kirtland in Ohio. To avoid the daily increasing popular odium, he removed to Missouri, and thence to Illinois, and founded there, in 1840, the important town of Nauvoo with a beautiful temple. By diligence, industry and good discipline, the wealth, power and influence of their commonwealth increased, but in the same proportion the envy, hatred and prejudices of the people, which charged them with the most atrocious crimes. In 1844, to save bloodshed the governor ordered the two chiefs, Jos. and Hiram Smith, to surrender to voluntary imprisonment awaiting a regular trial. But furious armed mobs attacked the prison and shot down both. The roughs of the whole district then gathered in one great troop, destroyed the town of Nauvoo, burned the temple and drove out the inhabitants. These, now numbering 15,000 men, in several suc-

cessive expeditions amid indescribable hardships pressed on "through the wilderness" over the Rocky Mountains, in order to erect for themselves a Zion on the other side. Smith's successor was the carpenter, Brigham Young. The journey occupied two full years, 1845-1847. In the great Salt Lake basin of Utah they founded *Salt Lake City*, or the New Jerusalem, as the capital of their wilderness state *Deseret*. The gold digging of the neighbouring state of California did not allure them, for their prophet told them that to pave streets, build houses and sow fields was better employment than seeking for gold. So here again they soon became a flourishing commonwealth.

13. In common with the Irvingites, who recognised in them their own diabolic caricature, the Mormons restored the apostolic and prophetic office, insisted upon the continuance of the gift of tongues and miracles, expected the speedy advent of the Lord, reintroduced the payment of tithes, etc. But what distinguished them from all Christian sects was the proclamation of polygamy as a religious duty, on the plea that only those women who had been "sealed" to a Latter-day Saint would share in the blessedness of life eternal. This was probably first introduced by Young in consequence of a new "divine revelation," but down to 1852 kept secret and denied before "the Gentiles." The ambiguous book of Mormon was set meanwhile more and more in the background, and the teachings and prophecies of their prophet brought more and more to the front. "The Voice of Warning to all Nations" of the zealous proselyte Parly Pratt, formerly a Campbellite preacher, exercised a great influence in spreading the sect. But the most gifted of them all was Orson Pratt, Rigdon's successor in the apostolate. To him mainly is ascribed the construction of its later, highly fantastic religious system which, consisting of elements gathered from Neoplatonism, gnosticism, and other forms of theosophical mysticism, embraces all the mysteries of time and eternity. Its fundamental ideas are these: There are gods without number; all are polygamists and their wives are sharers of their glory and bliss. They are the fathers of human souls who here on earth ripen for their heavenly destiny. Jesus is the first born son of the highest god by his first wife; he was married on earth to Mary Magdalene, the sisters Martha and Mary and other women. Those saints who here fulfil their destiny become after death gods, while they are arranged according to their merit in various ranks and with prospect of promotion to higher places. At the end of this world's course, Jesus will come again, and, enthroned in the temple of Salt Lake City, exercise judgment against all "Gentiles" and apostates, etc.—The constitution of the Mormon State is essentially theocratic. At the head stood the president, Brigham Young, as prophet, patriarch, and priest-king, in whose