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DISSERTATIONS

ON

THE PROPHECIES,

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WHICH HAVE BEEN

REMARKABLY FULFILLED,

AND

AT THIS TIME ARE FULFILLING IN THE WORLD.

BY THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF BRISTOL.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
A number of Original Notes, and a Supplement, containing
Extracts from the writings of
Owen, Usher, Brown, Knox, Gill, More, &c.

A NEW EDITION,

IN WHICH THE
GREEK, LATIN, AND OTHER QUOTATIONS,
Are translated into English.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA:
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deserve them : and indeed I should think any preferment ill bestowed upon me, that did not incite and animate me more to prosecute my studies, and thereby to prove myself more worthy of your grace's favour and kindness to,

My Lord,

Your grace's ever obliged,

and dutiful humble servant,

THOMAS NEWTON.

Nov. 3, 1758.

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XXIV.

AN ANALYSIS

OF THE

REVELATION.

IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.

IT is very useful, as well as very curious and entertaining, to trace the rise and progress of religions and governments; and in taking a survey of all the different religions and governments of the world, there is none perhaps that will strike us more with wonder and astonishment than that of Rome, how such a mystery of iniquity could succeed at first and prosper so long, and under the name of Christ introduce Antichrist. Other heresies and schisms have obtained place and credit among men for a time, and then have been happily exposed and suppressed. Arianism once succeeded almost universally; for a while it grew and flourished mightily, but in process of time it withered and faded away. But Popery hath now prevailed I know not how many centuries, and her renowned hierarchs have not, like the fathers of other sects, stole into secret meetings and conventicles, but have infected the very heart of the Christian church, and usurped the chief seat of the western world: have not only engaged in their cause private persons, and *led captive silly women*, but have trampled on the necks of prin-

ces and emperors themselves, and the lords and tyrants of mankind have yet been the blind slaves and vassals of the holy see. Rome Christian hath carried her conquests even farther than Rome Pagan. The Romanists themselves make universality and perpetuity the special marks and characters of their church; and no people more industrious than they in *compassing sea and land to make proselytes.*

All sincere protestants cannot but be greatly grieved at the success and prevalence of this religion, and the papists as much boast and glory in it, and for this reason proudly denominate theirs *the catholic* religion. But it will abate all confidence on the one hand, and banish all scruples on the other; if we consider that this is nothing more than what was signified before-hand by the spirit of prophecy. It is directly foretold, that there should be such a power, as that of the Pope of Rome, exercised in the Christian church, and that it should prevail for a long season, but at last should have a fall. Several clear and express prophecies to this purpose have been produced out of Daniel and St. Paul in the course of these dissertations: but others clearer still, and more copious and particular, may be found in the Apocalypse or Revelation of St. John, who was the greatest, as he was the last prophet of the Christian dispensation, and hath comprehended in this book, and pointed out most of the memorable events and revolutions in the church, from the apostles, days to the consummation of the mystery of God.

But to this book of the Apocalypse or Revelation it is usually objected, that it is so wrapt and involved in figures and allegories, is so wild and visionary, is so dark and obscure, that any thing or nothing, at least nothing clear and certain, can be proved or collected from it. So learned a man as Scaliger is noted for saying,* that Cal-

* 'Calvin is wise, because he hath not written on the Revelation.' See Scaliger's Secunda, page 41. But Scaliger was not very consistent in his opinion of the Revelation. For as the Bishop of Rochester remarks, he says in another place. 'This I can boast of, that I am not unacquainted with any thing written in that truly canonical book the Revelation, excepting that chapter where a wo is seven times repeated. For I know not whether that time be past, or still future.' See Scaliger's Prima, page 13.

vin was wise, because he wrote no comment upon the Revelation. A celebrated wit and divine * of our own church hath not scrupled to assert, that that book either finds a man mad, or makes him so. Whitby, though a useful commentator on the other books of the New Testament, would not yet adventure upon the Revelation. "I confess I do it not, † (says he,) for want of wisdom; that is because I have neither sufficient reading nor judgment to discern the intendment of the prophecies contained in that book." Voltaire is pleased to say, that Sir Isaac Newton wrote his comment upon the Revelation, to console mankind for the great superiority that he had over them in other respects: but Voltaire, though a very agreeable, is yet a very superficial writer, and often mistaken in his judgment of men and things. He never was more mistaken, than in affirming that Sir Isaac Newton has explained the Revelation in the same manner with all those who went before him: a most evident proof that he had never read either the one or the other, for if ever he had read them, he must have perceived the difference.—However, it is undeniable, that even the most learned men have miscarried in nothing more than in their comments and explanations of this book. To explain this book perfectly is not the work of one man or of one age; and probably it will never all be clearly understood, till it is all fulfilled. It is a memorable thing, that Bishop Burnet ‡ relates to this purpose of his friend the most learned Bishop Lloyd of Worcester. He says, that that excellent person was employed above twenty years in studying the Revelation with an amazing diligence and exactness, and that he had foretold and proved from the Revelation, the peace made between the Turk and the emperor in the year 1698, long before it was made, and that after this he said, the time of the Turks' hurting the papal Christians was at an end; and he was so positive in this, that he consented that all his scheme should be laid aside, if § ever the

* See Dr. South's second Volume of Sermons, Serm. II. page 422, sixth edition.

† See Whitby's Preface to his treatise on the Millennium.

‡ Burnet's History of his own times. Vol. II. page 104.

§ Upon reflection I think it not impossible that Bishop Burnet might mistake, and so might misrepresent Bishop Lloyd's

Turk engaged in a new war with them. But it is very well known, that the Turk and the Emperor have engaged in a new war since that time, and probably may engage again, so that by his own consent all his scheme is to be laid aside: and if so great a master of learning, so nice a critic in chronology and history, one who perhaps understood the prophetic writings better than any man of his time, was so grossly mistaken in the most positive of his calculations, it may serve at least as an admonition to others of inferior abilities, to beware how they meddle with these matters, and rather to avoid the rocks and shelves about which they see so many shipwrecks.

Not that this book is therefore to be despised or neglected. They who censure and dissuade from the study of it, do it for the most part because they have not studied it themselves, and imagine the difficulties to be greater than they are in reality. It is still 'the sure word of prophecy;' * and men of learning and leisure cannot better employ their time and abilities than in studying and explaining this book, provided they do it, as Lord Bacon † adviseth, "with great wisdom, sobriety, and reverence."—Lord Bacon adviseth it with regard to all the prophecies, but such caution and reverence are more especially due to this of St. John. "The folly of interpreters has been, as Sir Isaac Newton ‡ observes, to foretel times and things

meaning. If he said indeed, that the Turks would never engage in a new war with the papal Christians, he was plainly in the wrong. If he said only that the Turks would no more hurt the papal Christians, would no more subdue any Christian state or potentate, he was probably in the right; the prophet seemeth to intimate the same thing, and the event hitherto confirms it.

[* It is remarkable that the authenticity of the book of the Revelation of John was admitted almost universally during the first two centuries of Christianity. Objections entirely unfounded, were raised against it in the third century, originating chiefly in some mistaken ideas concerning the doctrine of the Millennium. Had it been written as some have pretended by Cerinthus, the doctrines of the divinity and humanity of Christ had not been found in it, much less have shone with such peculiar lustre.]

† 'With great wisdom, sobriety and reverence.'—See the quotation prefixed to the Introduction.

‡ See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse, Chap. i. page 251.

by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities by enabling them to foreknow things, but that after they were fulfilled they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter's, and be then manifested thereby to the world." If therefore we could confine ourselves to the rules of just criticism, and not indulge lawless and extravagant fancies; if we would be content with sober and genuine interpretation, and not pretend to be prophets, nor presume to be wise above what is written; we should more consider those passages which have already been accomplished, than frame conjectures about those which remain yet to be fulfilled. Where the facts may be compared with the predictions, there we have some clue to guide us through the labyrinth: and though it may be difficult to trace out every minute resemblance, yet there are some strong lines and features, which I think cannot fail of striking every one, who will but impartially and duly examine them.*

We should be wanting to the subject, and leave our work unfinished, if we should omit so material a part of prophecy. And yet such a disquisition is not to be entered upon hastily, but after a diligent perusal of the best authors, both foreign and domestic; and it will be happy, if out of them all there can be formed one entire system, complete and consistent in all its parts. As Sir Isaac

[* It is happily observed by Dr. Scott, that prophecy, especially that in this book, resembles a *map of the world* on a small scale, in which only countries and capital cities and some very remarkable places are noticed; so that they who dwell near cities and large towns are disappointed at not finding them in the map. Thus the events of a century though a whole continent, or continents, being foretold in a few verses, or at most a single short chapter, we certainly shall look in vain for many transactions which appear to us of great importance. But they who shall come after us, on reviewing the history of the century, or the continent, will doubtless perceive a sufficient coincidence between event and prophecy to enable them to say, *thus it was written, and thus it must be.*]

Newton * says, "Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing." But our greatest obligations are owing to three particularly, Mr. Mede, Vitringa, and Daubuz. We shall find reason generally to concur with one or more of them; but as they often differ from one another, so we shall differ sometimes from all the three, and follow other guides, or perhaps no guides at all.—What satisfaction we may give to others, is very uncertain; we shall at least have the satisfaction ourselves of tracing the ways of providence. It is little encouragement to this kind of studies to reflect, that two of the most learned men of their times, as well as two of the best interpreters of this book, Mr. Mede and Mr. Daubuz, the one died a fellow of a college, and the other a vicar of a poor vicarage in Yorkshire. Mr. Mede, as we read in the memoirs of his life, was so modest, that he wished for nothing more than a donative or sinecure to be added to his fellowship; but even this he could not obtain.

> Alas! what boots it with incessant care
> To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
> And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
> Were it not better done as others use, &c.
>
> MILTON'S LYCIDAS.

But however, let us proceed, encouraged by that divine benediction, 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.'

CHAP. I.

1. THE Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John:

2. Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw.

3. Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

* See the same Work of Sir Isaac Newton, page 253.

The book opens, ver. 1, 2, 3, with the title or inscription of the book itself; the scope and design of it, to foretel things which should shortly begin to be fulfilled, and succeed in their due season and order, till all were accomplished; and the blessing pronounced on him who shall read and explain it, and on them who shall hear and attend to it. The distinction is remarkable of 'him that readeth, *and of* them that hear; for books being then in manuscript were in much fewer hands, and it was a much readier way to publish a prophecy or any thing by public reading than by transcribing copies. It was too the custom of that age to read all the apostolical writings in the congregations of the faithful; but now only some few parts of this book are appointed to be read on certain festivals.

4. John to the seven churches which are in Asia: Grace *be* unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come; and from the seven spirits which are before his throne;

5. And from Jesus Christ, *who is* the faithful witness, *and* the first-begotten of the dead, and the prince of the kings of the earth: Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.

6. And hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father; to him *be* glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

7. Behold he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they *also* which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him: even so, Amen.

8. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty.

The apostle dedicates his book, ver. 4, 5, 6, to the seven churches of the Lydian or proconsular Asia, wishing them grace and peace from the eternal God as the author and giver; and from the seven spirits, the representatives and ministers of the Holy Ghost, as the instruments; and from Jesus Christ as the mediator, who is mentioned last, because the subsequent discourse more immediately relates to him. To the dedication, he subjoins a short and solemn preface, ver. 7, 8. to show the great authority of the divine person, who had commissioned him to write the Revelation.

9. I John, who also am your brother, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

10. I was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet,

11. Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and, What thou seest, write in a book, and send *it* unto the seven churches which are in Asia; unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamos, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

12. And I turned to see the voice that spake with me, and being turned, I saw seven golden candlesticks;

13. And in the midst of the seven candlesticks, *one* like unto the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

14. His head and *his* hairs *were* white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes *were* as a flame of fire;

15. And his feet like unto fine brass as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters.

16. And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword; and his countenance *was* as the sun shineth in his strength.

17. And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead: and he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last:

18. *I am* he that liveth, and was dead; and behold I am alive for ever more, Amen; and have the keys of hell and death.

19. Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter.

20. The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches: and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches.

He then, ver. 9—20. mentions the place, where the Revelation was given, and describes the manner and circumstances of the first vision. The place, where the Re-

velation was given, was Patmos a desolate island in the Archipelago, whither he was banished for the confession of the gospel. It is not well known, at what time, or by whom he was banished into this island; but we may suppose it to have happened in the reign of Nero more probably than in that of Domitian. It is indeed the more general opinion, that the Apocalypse was written in Domitian's reign; and this opinion is founded upon the testimony of Irenæus,* who was the disciple of Polycarp, who had been the disciple of St. John. This authority is great, and is made still greater, as it is confirmed by Eusebius † in his Chronicle and in his Ecclesiastical History. But Eusebius a little afterwards in the same history‡ recites a memorable story out of Clemens Alexandrinus; that St. John, after he returned from Patmos, committed a hopeful young man to the care of a certain bishop; that the bishop received him into his house, educated, instructed, and at length baptized him; that the bishop afterwards remitting of his care and strictness, the young man was corrupted by idle and dissolute companions, revelled with them, robbed with them, and forming them into a gang of high-way men, was made their captain, and became the terror of all the country; that after some time, St. John coming upon other occasions, to revisit the same bishop, inquired after the young man, and was informed, that he was not to be found in the church, but in such a mountain with his fellow robbers; that St. John called for a horse, and rode immediately to the place; that when the young man saw him, he fled away from him; that St. John forgetting his age, eagerly pursued after him, recalled him, and restored him to the church. Now all these transactions must necessarily take up some years; and may seem credible if St. John was banished by Nero, but are altogether impossible if he was banished by Domitian; for he survived Domitian but a very

* See Irenæus against heresies, Book V. Chap. xxx. page 449, in Grabe's edition.

† See Eusebius' Chronicle, Book I. in Scaliger's edition, page 80, in the Greek, and page 44, for the Latin. See also page 164, of the latter book, and of the Chronicle page 208. See the Ecclesiastical history, Book III. Chap. xviii.

‡ See Eusebius' history in the same place, Chap. xxiii.

few years, and he was then near 100 years old, and so very weak and infirm, that he* was with great difficulty carried to church, and could hardly speak a few words to the people, and much less ride briskly after a young robber. Epiphanius† asserts, that he was banished into Patmos, and wrote the Apocalypse there, in the reign of Claudius: but Epiphanius being not a correct writer, he might possibly mistake Claudius for his successor Nero, especially as Nero had assumed the name of Claudius, by whom he was adopted, Nero Claudius Cæsar. This date is perhaps nearly as much too early, as the time of Domitian is too late. The churches of Syria have thus‡ inscribed their version, "The Revelation made to John the Evangelist by God, in the island Patmos into which he was banished by Nero Cæsar." The ancient commentators Andreas and Arethas§ affirm, that it was understood to be written before the destruction of Jerusalem But if it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, it might naturally be expected that such a memorable event would not have been unnoticed in this prediction: and neither was it unnoticed in this prediction, as will be seen hereafter. Our Saviour's repeating so frequently in this book, 'Behold, I come quickly—Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they also who pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him'—and the like expressions, cannot surely be so well understood of any other event as of the destruction of Jerusalem, which *coming* was also spoken of in the gospels, and what other *coming* was there so speedy and conspicuous? So many spurious Apocalypses, written by Cerinthus and others in early times, demonstrate evidently that the Apocalypse of St. John, in imitation whereof they were written, was still earlier, and was held in high estimation among Chris-

* See Jerome on the epistle to the Galatians, Chap. vi. Vol. IV. Part I. Col. 314, in the Benedictine edition.

† See Epiphanius against heresies, Book I. Vol. II. Sect. 12. page 434, and Sect. 33. page 456, in Petavius' edition.

‡ 'The Revelation which was made by God to John the Evangelist, in the island of Patmos, into which he was thrown by Nero Cæsar.'

§ See Andreas on Rev. vi. 16, and Arethas on Rev. xviii. 19.

tians. But what is to me an unanswerable argument, the style itself, so full of Hebraisms, and as I may say, so full of barbarisms and even solecisms, as some * even of the ancients have observed, manifestly evinces, that the author was but lately come out of Judea, was little accustomed to write in Greek, and had not yet attained to that greater purity of style, which appears in his Gospels and Epistles. On the contrary it is urged, that there are internal marks in the book itself of its being of a later date than Nero's reign, that the churches of Asia could not have changed and degenerated so much in so short a space of time, that they had not then been exposed to persecution, nor had Antipas suffered martyrdom at Pergamos, the persecutions by Nero being confined to the metropolis of the empire. But why might not St. John charge the churches of Asia with having degenerated and 'fallen from their first love,' as well as St. Paul accuse the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. iii. 3. of being *carnal* and having 'envying and strife and divisions among them;' or complain of the churches of Galatia, Galat. i. 6. 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from them that called you into the Grace of Christ unto another gospel.' iii. 1. 'O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth; or write to Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus, 2 Tim. i. 15. 'This thou knowest that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me?' Why might not the churches of Asia be liable to persecution, when it is said, 2 Tim. iii. 12. that 'all who live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution;' when unto the Philippians, i. 29. 'it was given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake;' and when the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. ii. 14. 'suffered like things of their own countrymen, as the churches in Judea of the Jews;' and manifested, 2 Thess. i. 4. 'their patience and faith in all their persecutions and tribulations which they endured?' As for Antipas there is no genuine history or authentic account of him: it is

* 'But I observe that his dialect and language are not purely Greek, but that he uses barbarous idioms, and sometimes solecisms.' See Dionysius Alexander as quoted by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical history, Book VII. Chap. xxv.

not known who or what he was, when he suffered, or who caused him to be put to death, so that nothing can be from thence inferred one way or other. Neither is it certain that the persecutions by Nero were confined to the metropolis; they raged indeed most there, but were extended likewise over all the provinces, as Orosius* testifies with others. Sir Isaac Newton hath farther† shown, that in the Epistles of St. Peter, and in St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, there are several allusions to this book of the Apocalypse; and St. Peter and St. Paul, all the ancients agree, suffered martyrdom in the end of Nero's reign. It may indeed be retorted, that St. John might borrow from St. Peter and St. Paul, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul from St John: but if you will consider and compare the passages together, you will find sufficient reason to be convinced, that St Peter's and St. Paul's are the copies, and St. John the original. Moreover it is to be observed, that this Revelation was given *on the Lord's-day*, when the apostle's heart and affections, as we may reasonably suppose, were sublimed by the meditations and devotions of the day, and rendered more recipient of divine inspiration. The heavenly visions were vouchsafed to St. John, as they were before to Daniel, Dan ix. x. after supplication and prayer: and there being‡ two kinds of prophetic revelation in a vision and a dream, the Jews accounted a vision superior to a dream, as representing things more perfectly and to the life.

In the first vision Jesus Christ, or his angel, speaking in his name, and acting in his person, appears amid 'the seven golden candlesticks,' meaning 'the seven churches.' His clothing, is somewhat like the high priest's and

* 'He first began to punish and put to death the Christians at Rome, and afterwards gave order that the persecution should extend to all the provinces of the empire.' See Book VII. Chap. vii. p. 473, in Havercamp's edition.

† See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Apocalypse, Chap. i. page 239—246.

‡ 'All the gradations of prophecy may be summed up in these two kinds, dreams and visions.' See Maimonides in his book entitled More Nevochim, Part II. Chap. xxxvi. See Smith's Discourse of Prophecy, Chap. ii. page 174, and 175.

he is described much in the same manner as the divine appearances in Daniel's visions, Dan. vii. 9. x. 5, &c.—St. John at the sight of so glorious a person fell down senseless before him, as Daniel did upon the same occasion: and like Daniel too, he is graciously raised and encouraged, and commanded to write 'the things which he had seen,' contained in this chapter, 'and the things which are,' the present state of the seven churches represented in the two next chapters, 'and the things which shall be hereafter,' the future events which begin to be exhibited in the fourth chapter, as it is there said, ver. 1. 'Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter.'

CHAP. II.

1. Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus, write, These things, saith he, that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks;

2. I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil: and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not; and hast found them liars:

3. And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted.

4. Nevertheless. I have *somewhat* against thee because thou hast left thy first love.

5. Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works, or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.

6. But this thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.

7. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.—To him that overcometh I will give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.

8. And unto the angel of the church in Smyrna, write, These things saith the first and the last, which was dead, and is alive;

9. I know thy works, and tribulation, and poverty, (but thou art rich) and I *know* the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews,

and are not, but *are* the synagogue of Satan.

10. Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer: behold, the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.

11. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches, He that overcometh, shall not be hurt of the second death.

12. And to the angel of the church in Pergamus, write, These things saith he which hath the sharp sword with two edges;

13. I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, *even* where Satan's seat *is*: and thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith, even in those days wherein Antipas *was* my faithful martyr, who was slain among you, where Satan dwelleth.

14. But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and commit fornication.

15. So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate.

16. Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth.

17. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches, To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it.

18. And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira, write, These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet *are* like fine brass;

19. I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first.

20. Notwithstanding, I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols.

21. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.

22. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds.

23. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; and I will give unto every one of you according to your works.

24. But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, As many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak, I will put upon you none other burden.

25. But that which ye have *already*, hold fast till I come.

26. And he that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations:

27. (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.

28. And I will give him the morning star.

29. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

CHAP. III.

1. And unto the angel of the church in Sardis, write, These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name, that thou livest, and art dead.

2. Be watchful and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God.

3. Remember therefore, how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee.

4. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy.

5. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my

Father, and before his angels.

6. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

7. And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia, write, These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth and no man openeth;

8. I know thy works, behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name.

9. Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan (which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie) behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee.

10. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.

11. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.

12. Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is* new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of Heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him* my new name.

13. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

14. And unto the angel of the church of the Laodiceans, write, These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the creation of God:

15. I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot.

16. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth:

17. Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing: and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.

18. I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich: and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and *that* the shame of thy nakedness do not appear;

and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see.

19. As many as I love, I rebuke, and chasten: be zealous therefore, and repent.

20. Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him and he with me.

21. To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne.

22. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.

The second and third chapters contain the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These seven are addressed particularly, because they were under St. John's immediate inspection: he* constituted bishops over them; he was as it were their metropolitan, and resided much at Ephesus, which is therefore named the first of the seven. The main subjects too of this book are comprised of sevens; seven churches, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven vials; as seven was also a mystical number throughout the Old Testament. Many contend, and among them such learned men as More and Vitringa, that the seven epistles are prophetical of so many successive periods and states of the church from the beginning to the conclusion of all. But it doth not appear, that there are or were to be seven periods of the church, neither more or less; and no two men can agree in assigning the same periods. There are likewise in these epistles several innate characters, which are peculiar to the church of that age, and cannot be so well applied to the church of any other age. Besides other arguments, there is also this plain reason; the last state of the church is described in this very book as the most glorious of all, but in the last state in these epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as 'wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.'

But though these epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent moral pre-

* See Tertullian against Marcion, Book IV. Sect. 5. page 415, in Rigaut's edition of Paris 1675. See also Mill's Preface to the New Testament, page 20.

cepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which may be of use and instruction to the church in all ages. The form and order of the parts you will find the same almost in all the epistles; first a command to write; then some character and attributes of the speaker, taken from the vision in the first chapter, and appropriated to the matter of each epistle; then commendations or reproofs with suitable promises or threatenings; and then in all the same conclusion, 'He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.' What therefore the Spirit saith unto one church, he saith in some measure to all the churches. The church of Ephesus in particular is admonished to repent, and forewarned that if she would not repent, her 'candlestick should be removed out of his place.' But this admonition belongeth equally to all the churches: and hath not the candlestick been accordingly removed out of its place, and the light of the gospel taken from them? Were they not ruined and overthrown by their heresies and divisions from within, and by the arms of the Saracens from without? and doth not Mohammedism still prevail and prosper in those countries, which were once the glory of Christendom, their churches turned into Mosques, their worship into superstition? Ephesus in particular,* which was once so magnificent and glorious a city, is become a mean sordid village, with scarcely a single family of Christians dwelling in it, as approved authors testify. To the church of Smyrna it is predicted, that she should 'have tribulation ten days, *or* ten years' according to the usual style of prophecy; and the greatest persecution that the primitive church ever endured was the persecution of Diocletian, which lasted† ten

* 'For at present this city, which was once the model of Asiatic magnificence, is of no consequence. It has a few small cottages or mis-shapen cabins, and is rather a village than a city. Here, there is scarcely to be found one family of Christians remaining, as we are assured by certain credible witnesses, and these distinguished for their learning, who have favoured us with a description of modern Ephesus.' See Smith's Present State of the seven churches of Asia, page 4. See also Rycaut's State of the Greek Churches, page 50. See Vitringa, page 72 and 73.

† See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history, Book VIII. Chap. xv, and xvi. See Lactantius on the death of Persecutors, Chap. xlviii.

years, and grievously afflicted all the Asian, and indeed all the eastern churches. This character can agree to none of the other general persecutions, for none of the others lasted* so long as ten years. As the commendatory and reproving part of these epistles exhibits the present state of the churches, so the promissory and threatening part foretels something of their future condition; and in this sense, and in none other, can these epistles be said to be prophetical.

The first epistle is addressed to the church of Ephesus as it was the metropolis of the Lydian Asia, and the place of St. John's principal residence. It was, according to Strabo,† one of the best and most glorious cities, and the greatest emporium of the Proper Asia. It is called by Pliny‡ one of the eyes of Asia, Smyrna being the other; but now, as eyewitnesses § have related, it is venerable for nothing but the ruins of palaces, temples, and amphitheatres. It is called by the Turks, Ajasaluk, or the temple of the moon, from the magnificent structure formerly dedicated to Diana. The church of St. Paul is wholly destroyed. The little which remains of that of St. Mark is nodding to ruin. The only church remaining is that dedicated to St. John, which is now converted into a Turkish mosque. The whole town is nothing but a habitation for herdsmen and farmers, living in low and humble cottages of dirt, sheltered from the extremities of weather by mighty masses of ruinous walls: the pride and ostentation of former days, and the emblem in these, of the frailty of the world, and the transient vanity of human glory. All the inhabitants of this once famous city amount not now to above forty or fifty

* 'This persecution was of longer continuance than any that went before it,—for it lasted during ten years, &c. See Orosius, Book VII. Chap. xxv. page 528, in Havercamp's edition.

† See Strabo, Book XIV. page 634, in the Paris edition, and p. 941, in that of Amsterdam, in 1707. See also Book XII. page 577, in the Paris edition, and page 865, in the Amsterdam of 1707.

‡ See Pliny's Natural History, Book V. Chap. xxxi. page 280, in Harduin's edition.

§ See Smith's Present State of the Seven Churches of Asia. See Rycaut's Present State of the Greek Churches, Chap. ii. See Wheler and Spon's Voyage, Book III. See Van Egmont and Hayman's Travels, Vol. I. Chap. ix.

families of Turks, without one Christian family among them; so strikingly hath the denunciation been fulfilled, that their 'candlestick should be removed out of his place.'

Smyrna was the nearest city to Ephesus, and for that reason probably was addressed in the second place. It is situated on lower ground than the ancient city,* and lieth about forty-five miles northward of Ephesus It is called Esmir by the Turks, and is celebrated not so much for the splendour and pomp of the buildings (for they are rather mean and ruinous) as for the number, and wealth, and commerce of the inhabitants. The Turks have here fifteen mosques, and the Jews several synagogues. Among these enemies of the Christian name the Christian religion also flourishes in some degree. Smyrna still retains the dignity of a metropolis, although there are only two churches of the Greeks. But besides them, here is a great number of Christians of all nations, sects, and languages. The Latin church hath a monastery of Franciscans. The Armenians have one church. But the English, who are the most considerable number, next to the Greeks and Armenians, have only a chapel in the consul's house, which is a shame, says Wheler, considering the great wealth they heap up here, beyond all the rest; yet they commonly excel them in their pastor; for I esteem a good English priest an evangelist, if compared with any of the rest. Frequent plagues and earthquakes are the great calamities of the place; but the Christians are here more considerable, and in a far better condition than in any other of the seven churches: as if the promise was still in some measure made good to Smyrna, 'Fear none of those things, which thou shalt suffer; be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

Pergamus, formerly the metropolis of the Hellespontic Mysia and the seat of the Attalic kings, is † by the Turks with some little variation still called Bergamo, and hath its situation about sixty-four miles to the north of Smyrna. Here are some good buildings, but more ru-

* See Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon in the same places. See Van Egmont's and Hayman's Travels, Chap viii.

† See Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon in the same places.

ins. All the city almost is occupied by the Turks, very few families of Christians being left, whose state is very sad and deplorable. Here is only one church remaining, dedicated to St. Theodorus; and that the name of Christ is not wholly lost and forgotten in Pergamus, is owing to the care of the metropolitan of Smyrna, who continually sendeth hither a priest to perform the sacred offices.—The Cathedral church of St. John is buried in its own ruins; their angel or Bishop removed; and its fair pillars adorn the graves, and rotten carcases of its destroyers, the Turks; who are esteemed about two or three thousand souls in number. Its other fine church, called Santa Sophia, is turned into a mosque, and daily profaned with the blasphemies of the false prophet. There are not in the whole town above a dozen or fifteen families of miserable Christians, who till the ground to gain their bread, and live in the most abject and sordid servitude. There is the less reason to wonder at the wretched condition of this church, when we consider that it was the very 'throne of Satan;' that they 'ran greedily after the error of Balaam, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication;' and that they held the impure doctrines of the Nicolaitans, which Christ detested.' It was denounced unto them to 'repent, or else he would come unto them quickly, and fight against them,' as the event evinces that he hath done.

Next to Pergamus is Thyatira * situated at the distance of about forty-eight miles to the south-east. Certain heretics called *Alogi* (which may not improperly be interpreted *unreasonable men*) have † affirmed, but have only affirmed without any proof, that at the time of St. John's writing, there was no Christian church at Thyatira. Epiphanius admits it, and thence infers, that St. John must have written with a prophetic spirit. The objection is frivolous, and Epiphanius might have returned a better answer than *argumentum ad homines*, and instead of allowing the fact, and arguing from thence for the divinity of the book, he should absolutely have denied

* See Smith and Rycaut in the same places.

† See Epiphanius against Heresies, Book II. Vol. I. Chap. xxxiii. page 455. Vol. II. in Petavius' edition.

their affirmation. For there is no just reason for doubting, that at this time there was a Christian Church at Thyatira. This very epistle is a sufficient proof of it. It is said expressly, Acts xix. 10. that 'all they who dwelt in Asia' (meaning Asia Minor) 'heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks:' and what ground is there for thinking that the city of Thyatira was alone excepted? It is said particularly, Acts xvi. 14. that *Lydia*, an eminent trader and seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, was baptized with her household.' At present the city is called by the Turks* Akhisar, or the white castle, from the great quantities of white marble there abounding. Only one ancient edifice is left standing. The rest even the churches, are so destroyed, that no vestiges of them are to be found. The principal inhabitants are Turks, who have here eight mosques, when not so much as one Christian church is still remaining. So terribly have the divine judgments been poured upon this church for 'committing fornication, and eating things sacrificed unto idols: And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not.'

Sardis, once the renowned capital of Crœsus and the rich Lydian kings,† is now no longer worthy of the name of a city. It lieth about thirty-three miles to the south of Thyatira, and is called by the Turks Sart or Sard, with little or no variation from the old original name. It is a most sad spectacle, nor can one forbear weeping over the ruins of so great a city. For now it is no more than an ignoble village, with low and wretched cottages of clay; nor hath it any other inhabitants, besides shepherds and herdsmen, who feed their flocks and cattle in the neighbouring plains. Yet the great extent and grandeur of the ruins abundantly show, how large and splendid a city it was formerly. The Turks themselves have only one mosque, a beautiful one indeed, perverted to that use from a Christian church. Very few Christians are here to be found; and they with great patience, or rather senseless stupidity, sustain a miserable servitude; and

* See Smith and Rycaut in the same places.

† See Smith, Rycaut, Wheler and Spon in the same places.—See Van Egmont's and Hayman's Travels, Chap. x.

what is far more miserable, are without a church, without a priest among them. Such is the deplorable state of once the most glorious city: but 'her works were not found perfect,' that is, they were found blameable, 'before God;' she was *dead*, even while she *lived;* and she is punished accordingly.

Philadelphia, so called from Attalus Philadelphus its builder, * is distant from Sardis about twenty-seven miles to the south-east. It is called by the Turks Alah Shahr, or the beautiful city, on account of its delightful situation, standing on the declivity of the mountain Tmolus, and having a most pleasant propect on the plains beneath, well furnished with divers villages, and watered by the river Pactolus. It still retains the form of a city, with something of trade to invite the people to it, being the road of the Persian caravans. Here is little of antiquity remaining, besides the ruins of a church dedicated to St. John, which is now made a dunghill to receive the offals of dead beasts. However, God hath been pleased to preserve some of this place to make profession of the Christian faith, there being above two hundred houses of Christians, and four churches; whereof the chief is dedicated, to Panagia or the holy Virgin; the other to St. George, who is of great fame among the oriental Christians; the third to St. Theodore; and the fourth to St. Taxiarchus, as St. Michael the arch-angel is called by the Greeks. Next to Smyrna this city hath the greatest number of Christians, and Christ hath promised a more particular protection to it; 'I know thy works: behold, I have set before thee an open door and none can shut it: for thou hast a little strength and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.' Than which, as Dr. Spon saith, what could be said more formally to foretel the coming of the Turks, the open enemies of Christianity; who seem to be sent on purpose for the punishment of our crimes, and to distinguish the faithful from the false Christians, who pretend to be so, and are not?

* See Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon in the same places.

Laodicea lay south of Philadelphia, in the way to return to Ephesus: and if you will inspect the maps of Asia Minor, you will find the seven churches to lie in a kind of circular form, so that the natural progress was from Ephesus to Smyrna, from Smyrna to Pergamus, from Pergamus to Thyatira, from Thyatira to Sardis, from Sardis to Philadelphia, from Philadelphia to Laodicea, and from Laodicea around to Ephesus again: which is the method and order that St. John hath observed in addressing them, and was probably the circuit that he took in his visitation. That there was a flourishing church at Laodicea in the primitive times of Christianity, is evident from St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, wherein frequent mention is made of the Laodiceans, as well as from this Epistle of St. John. But the doom of Laodicea* seemeth to have been more severe and terrible than that of almost any other of the seven churches. For it is now utterly destroyed and forsaken of men, and is become an habitation only for wolves, foxes, and jackalls, a den of dragons, snakes, and vipers. And that because the Lord hath executed the judgment, that he had pronounced upon her: that all the world might know, and tremble at the fierce anger of God against impenitent, negligent, and careless sinners. For such was the accusation of the *lukewarm* Laodiceans, who grew proud and self-conceited, thinking themselves much better than they really were. Wherefore, because they were 'neither hot nor cold,' they were loathsome to Christ; and he therefore assured them, that he 'would spue them out of his mouth.' The ruins show it to have been a very great city, situate upon six or seven hills, and encompassing a large space of ground. Some notion may be formed of its former greatness and glory from three theatres and a circus which are remaining; one of which is truly admirable, as it was capable of containing above thirty thousand men, into whose area they descended by fifty steps. This city is now called Eski Hisar or the old castle; and though it was once the mother-church of sixteen bishoprics, yet it now lieth desolate, not so much as inhabited by shepherds, and so far from showing any of the ornaments of God's ancient worship,

* See Smith, Rycaut, Wheler, and Spon in the same places.

it cannot now boast of an anchorite's or hermit's chapel, where God's name is praised or invoked.

Such is the state and condition of these seven once glorious and flourishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. "These objects, as Wheler* justly observes, ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly contend to find out *from whence we are fallen*, and do daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God *of purer eyes than to behold iniquity*; and seeing *the axe* is thus long since *put to the root of the tree*, should it not make us repent and turn to God, *lest we likewise perish?* We see here *what destruction the Lord has brought upon the earth.* But *it is the Lord's doing*: and thence we may reap no small advantage by considering how *just* he is in all his *judgments*, and *faithful* in all his *promises*." We may truly say, 1 Cor. x. 11, 12. that 'all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'

CHAP. IV.

1. After this, I looked, and behold, a door *was* open in heaven: and the first voice which I heard, *was* as it were of a trumpet talking with me: which said, Come up hither, and I will show thee things which must be hereafter.

2. And immediately I was in the spirit: and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and *one* sat on the throne.

3. And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper, and a sardine stone: and *there was* a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald.

4. And round about the throne *were* four and twenty seats: and upon the seats I saw four and twenty elders sitting clothed in white raiment; and they had on their heads crowns of gold.

5. And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices: and *there were* seven lamps

* See Wheler's Voyage, Book III. page 259, &c.

of fire burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God.

6. And before the throne *there was* a sea of glass like unto crystal: And in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne *were* four beasts full of eyes before and behind.

7. And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had the face of a man, and the fourth beast *was* like a flying eagle.

8. And the four beasts had each of them six wings about him, and *they were* full of eyes within: and they rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.

9. And when those beasts give glory, and honour, and thanks to him that sat on the throne, who liveth for ever and ever,

10. The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying,

11. Thou art worthy, O Lord to receive glory and honour, and power: for thou hast created all things and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.

After this vision relating to 'the things which are,' other visions succeed of 'the things which must be hereafter,' ver. 7. The scene is laid in heaven; and the scenery is drawn in allusion to Numb. i. ii. the encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness. God is represented, ver. 2, 3. sitting on his throne, as in the tabernacle or temple, much in the same manner as the prophet Ezekiel, i. 26, 27, 28. hath described him. Next to the tabernacle encamped the priests and Levites; and next to the throne, ver. 4. 'were four and twenty elders sitting,' answering to the princes of the four and twenty courses of the Jewish priests;' clothed in white raiment,' as emblems of their purity and sanctity; 'and they had on their heads crowns of gold,' Christ having made them 1 Pet. ii. 9. 'a royal priesthood,' and Rev. 10. 'kings and priests unto God. Out of the throne proceeded, ver. 5. lightnings, and thunderings, and voices,' the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence: 'and there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne,' answering to the golden candlestick with seven lamps, which was before the most holy place in the tabernacle. Before the throne there was also, ver. 6. 'a sea of glass,

like unto crystal, answering to the great molten sea or laver in the temple of Solomon: 'and in the midst of the throne, and round about the throne,' that is, before and behind the throne, and on each side of the throne, 'were four beasts, *or rather* four living creatures, *zoa*, representing the heads of the whole congregation in the four quarters of the world, and resembling the Cherubim and Seraphim in Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions, Ezek. i. 10. x. 14. Isa. vi. 2, 3. or rather resembling the four standards or ensigns of the four divisions in the camp of Israel, according to the* traditionary description of them by Jewish writers. 'The first living creature was like a lion,' ver. 7 which was the standard of Judah with the two other tribes in the eastern divisions; 'and the second like a calf *or* ox,' which was the standard of Ephraim with the two other tribes in the western division; 'and the third had a face as a man,' which was the standard of Reuben, with the two other tribes in the southern division; 'and the fourth was like a flying eagle; which was the standard of Dan. with the two other tribes in the northern division: and this traditionary description agrees also with the four faces of the Cherub in Ezekiel's visions. Of these living creatures and of the elders the constant employment, ver. 8—11. is to celebrate, in hymns of praise and thanksgiving, the great and wonderful works of creation and providence.

CHAP. V.

1. And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written, and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

2. And I saw a strong angel, proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

3. And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon.

4. And I wept much because no man was found worthy to open, and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

* 'Our ancestors have said,' &c. See Aben Ezra, and others, quoted by Mr. Mede, page 437.

5. And one of the elders saith unto me, weep not; behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof.

6. And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne, and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns, and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent forth into all the earth.

7. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne.

8. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts, and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.

9. And they sung a new song, saying, thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation;

10. And hast made us unto our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth.

11. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands;

12. Saying with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing.

13. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing, and honour, and glory, and power be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever.

14. And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.

Future events are supposed by St. John, as well as by Daniel and other prophets, in a beautiful figure, to be registered in 'a book,' for the greater certainty of them. This book, ver. 1. is 'in the right hand of God,' to de-

note that as he alone directs the affairs of futurity, so he alone is able to reveal them. This book, through the abundance of the matter, was* 'written within and on the backside;' as the roll of the book, which was spread before Ezekiel, ii. 10. was 'written within and without.' It was also *sealed*, to signify that the decrees of God are inscrutable, and sealed 'with seven seals,' referring to so many signal periods of prophecy. In short we should conceive of this book, that it was such an one as the ancients used, a volume or roll of a book, or more properly a volume consisting of seven volumes, so that the opening of one seal laid open the contents only of one volume. All creatures are challenged, ver. 2. 'to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof.' But, ver. 3. 'no one *oudeis* in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth,' neither angels, nor men, nor departed spirits, were any of them qualified to comprehend and communicate the secret purposes of God. St. John 'wept much,' ver. 4. at the sad disappointment: but who now is concerned or grieved, that he cannot understand these prophecies? However he is comforted, ver. 5. with an assurance that still there was one who had power and anthority to reveal and accomplish the counsels of God. The Son of God, and he alone, was found worthy to be the great revealer and interpreter of his Father's oracles; ver. 6. &c. and he obtained this privilege by the merits of his sufferings and death. Whereupon the whole church, ver. 8, &c. and all the angels, ver. 11, &c. and all creatures, ver. 13, &c. sing praises to God and to the Lamb for such glorious manifestations of divine providence. All this is by way of preface or introduction, to show the great dignity, importance, and excellence of the prophecies here delivered.

* So in Juvenal's Satire I. Line 5. 'Now though the margin and backside of the book be fully written upon, yet Orestes remains unfinished.'

CHAP. VI.

1. And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals, and I heard as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts, saying, Come, and see.

2. And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

As the seals are opened in order, so the events follow in order too. The first seal or period, ver. 1, 2. is memorable for conquest, and was proclaimed by the first of the four living creatures, who was like a lion, and had his station in the east. 'And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him, and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.' This first period commenceth with Vespasian and Titus, who from commanding * in the east, were advanced to the empire; and Vespasian for this reason was regarded, both by the Romans and foreigners,† as that great prince who was to come out of the east, and obtain dominion over the world. They 'went forth to conquer;' for they made an entire conquest of Judea, destroying Jerusalem, and carried the Jews captive into all nations. As these prophecies were written a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, they properly begin with some allusion to that memorable event; and a short allusion was sufficient, our Saviour himself having enlarged so much upon all the particulars. The *bow*, *the white horse*, and the *crown* are proper emblems of victory, triumph, and royalty; and the proclamation of conquest is fitly made by a creature like a lion. This period continued during the reigns of the Flavian family and the short reign of Nerva, about 28 years.

They who suppose this book to have been written in

* 'In his (Vitellius') time, Vespasian seized the chief command in the east.' See Arelius Victor's Abridgment, Chap. viii.

† See Tacitus' history, Book V. page 217, in Lipsius' edition. See Suetonius' Life of Vespasian, Chap, iv. See Josephus' Jewish wars, Book VI. Chap. v. Sect. 4, page 1283, in Hudson's edition.

Domitian's time, some years after the destruction of Jerusalem, are obliged to give another explanation of this first seal, applicable to some subsequent event, that it may not be deemed a history of things past instead of a prophecy of things to come. Now their notion is, that this first seal exhibits a representation of the person and dignity of Christ, and of the triumphs of the Christian religion over all the powers of Paganism. At the same time they allow (as it is generally allowed) that the six first seals especially relate to Heathen Rome, and comprehend so many notable periods in the Roman History. But where then is the propriety or consistence, of understanding this first seal of Christ and the Christian religion, and the succeeding seals of successive revolutions in the Roman empire, during its pagan and unconverted state? And what good reason can be given for representing the Church in triumph and glory, at a period when it was most grievously persecuted and afflicted? Would it not have been more uniform and of a piece, and have agreed better with the series and order of true history, if they had applied this first seal to the conquests of Vespasian and Titus, and the destruction of Jerusalem; as they have applied the second seal to the wars of Trajan and Adrian with the Jews, and the third and following seals to transactions of other Roman emperors? The four living creatures have their stations, as we have shown, in the four quarters, east, west, south and north, to denote from what part we are to look for the completion of the prophecy: and as Trajan proceeded from the *west*, Septimius Severus from the *south*, and Maximine from the *north*, what other emperor before them, besides Vespasian, came from the *east*, which was the station of the lion, who made the first proclamation? It should seem therefore that the interpretation which was first proposed is the more eligible, and indeed I cannot see how this first seal can be well explicated otherwise, consistently with the truth of history and other circumstances of the prophecy; and if this be the true interpretation, this is a farther argument that the book was more probably written in the persecutions under Nero than in those under Domitian.

3. And when he had opened the second seal, I heard the second beast say, Come, and see.

4. And there went out another horse *that was* red; and *power* was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword.

The second seal or period, ver. 3, 4. is noted for war and slaughter, and was proclaimed by the second living creature, who was like an ox, and had his station in the west. 'And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword.' This second period commenceth with Trajan, who came from the west, being a Spaniard* by birth, and was the first foreigner who was elevated to the imperial throne. In his reign, and that of his successor Adrian, there were horrid wars and slaughters, and especially between the rebellious Jews and the Romans. Dion relates† that the Jews about Cyrene slew of the Romans and Greeks two hundred and twenty thousand men, with the most shocking circumstances of barbarity. In Egypt also, and in Cyprus they committed the like barbarities, and there perished two hundred and forty thousand men more. But the Jews were subdued in their turn by the other generals and Lucius sent against them by Trajan. Eusebius writing of the same time, saith‡ that the Jews inflamed

* 'Trajan a Spaniard, was neither an Italian, nor of Italian extraction. No foreigner before him had risen to the sovereignty of the Romans.' See Dion's history, Book LXVIII. page 771, in Leunclavius' edition.

† 'At this time the Jews who inhabited Cyrene, slew of the Romans and Greeks twenty-two myriads. In Egypt and in Cyprus they committed like barbaries,—for they destroyed there twenty four myriads. But Lucius and other generals were sent by Trajan against the Jews, who subdued them in their turn.' See Dion in the same Work, page 786.

‡ 'They, as if stirred up by some horrible and seditious demon, flew to arms,—in the first engagement they obtained a victory over the Greeks, who in their flight entered into the city of Alexandria. There they laid hold of and put to death all the Jews found in that city. The emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo, with a great naval and land force. He in numerous engagements put many of the Jews to death. The emperor hav-

as it were by some violent and seditious spirit, in the first conflict gained a victory over the Gentiles, who flying to Alexandria, took and killed the Jews in the city. The emperor sent Marcius Turbo against them, with great forces by sea and land; who in many battles slew many myriads of the Jews. The emperor also suspecting that they might make the like commotions in Mesopotamia, ordered Lucius Quietus to expel them out of the province, who marching against them slew a very great multitude of them there. Orosius treating of the same time, saith,* that the Jews with an incredible commotion, made wild as it were with rage, rose at once in different parts of the earth. For throughout all Lybia they waged the fiercest wars against the inhabitants, and the country was almost desolated. Egypt also and Cyrene and Thebais they disturbed with cruel seditions. But in Alexandria they were overcome in battle. In Mesopotamia also war was made upon the rebellious Jews by the command of the emperor. So that many thousands of them were destroyed with vast slaughter. They utterly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, having first murdered all the inhabitants. These things were transacted in the reign of Trajan: and in the reign of Adrian †was

ing suspected that the Jews who dwelt in Mesopotamia would attack the inhabitants of that country, gave command to Lucius Quietus to expel them from that province. He marching against them slew a vast number of them there.' See Eusebius' History, Book IV. Chap. ii.

* 'At one time the Jews, with an incredible commotion, as if made wild with rage, became terrible through different parts of the earth. For they carried on the fiercest wars throughout Africa against the inhabitants, and having slain the cultivators, the country was rendered desolate.—They embroiled Egypt, the whole of Cyrene and Thebais with cruel seditions. But in a battle which was fought at Alexandria they were overcome and routed. In Mesopotamia also rebelling, war was carried on against them, by an order from the emperor. And thus by a vast slaughter, many thousands of them perished. They truly destroyed Salamis, a city of Cyprus, by killing all the inhabitants.' See Orosius' History, Book VII. Chap. xii. page 487, in Havercamp's edition.

† See Eusebius' same Work, Chap. vi. See Dion's History, Book LXIX. page 794.

their great rebellion under their false Messiah Barchochab and their final dispersion, after fifty of their strongest castles, and nine hundred and eighty-five of their best towns had been demolished, and after five hundred and eighty thousand men had been slain by the sword; besides an infinite number who had perished by famine and sickness and other casualties, with great loss and slaughter too of the Romans, insomuch that the emperor forbore the usual salutations in his letters to the senate. Here was another illustrious triumph of Christ over his enemies; and the Jews and the Romans, both the persecutors of the Christians, were remarkably made the dreadful executioners of divine vengeance upon one another. The *great sword* and *red horse* are expressive emblems of this slaughtering and bloody period; and the proclamation for slaughter is fitly made by a creature like an ox that is destined for slaughter. This period continued during the reigns of Trajan and his successors by blood or adoption, about 95 years.

5. And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come, and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand.

6. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.

The third seal or period, ver. 5. 6. is characterised by the strict execution of justice and judgment, and by the procuration of corn and oil and wine; and was proclaimed by the third living creature, who was like a man, and had his station in the south. 'And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four living creatures say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine.' Where Grotius and others have observed,* that a *chœnix* of corn, the mea-

* 'But a chœnix of wheat was as much as a man in health stands daily in need of, as the learned have remarked out of the third and seventh books of Herodotus. Others have collected the same thing from the writings of Hippocrates, Diogenes Lær-

sure here mentioned, was a man's daily allowance, as a *penny* was his daily wages; so that if his daily labour could earn no more than his daily bread, without other provision for himself and his family, corn must needs bear a very high price. But whatever may be the capacity of the *chœnix*, which is difficult to be determined, as it was different in different times and countries; yet such care and such regulations about the necessaries of life imply some want and scarcity of them. Scarcity obligeth men to exactness in the price and measure of things. In short, the intent of the prophecy is, that corn should be provided for the people, but it should be distributed in exact measure and proportion. This third period commenceth with Septimius Severus, who was an emperor from the south, being a native of Africa.* He was an enactor of just and equal laws,† and was very severe and implacable to offences; he would not suffer even petty larcenies to go unpunished: as neither would Alexander Severus in the same period, who was a most severe judge against thieves;‡ and was so fond of the Christian maxim, 'Whatsoever you would not have done to you, do not you to another,' that he commanded it to be engraven on the palace, and on the public buildings. These two emperors were also no less celebrated for the procuring of

tius and Athenæus. But a Denarius or a penny, was as much money as a man working vigorously could earn a day, as is manifest from Matt. xx. 2, &c. See Grotius on the passage. See also Vitringa, page 259.

* 'Septimius Severus,—a native of Africa. He was the only emperor that ever came from Africa, none that went before or that followed being of this country.' See Eutropius, Book VIII. Chap. x.—'On the death of Didius Julianus, Severus, a native of Africa, obtained the sovereignty. See Aelius Spartianus' life of Severus. See the writers of the Augustan History, Book VI. page 64, in Salmasius' edition.

† 'He was an enactor of equal laws —He was implacable in the case of offences.—He would not suffer even petty larceny to pass without punishment.' See Aurelius Victor, Chap. x.

‡ He was a most rigorous judge against thieves.—"Do not to another what you would not have done to yourself," was a sentence so much esteemed by him, that he caused it to be inscribed on his palace, and on his public works.' See Lampridius' life of Alexander. See the writers of the Augustan History, Book VI. page 123, and 132, in Salmasius' edition.

corn and oil and other provisions, and for supplying the Romans with them after they had experienced the want of them. They repaired the neglects of former times, and corrected the abuses of former princes. Of Septimius Severus it is said, that the provision of corn,* which he found very small, he so far consulted, that at his death he left a certain rate or allowance to the Roman people for seven years: and also of oil as much as for the space of five years might supply not only the uses of the city, but likewise of all Italy which might want oil. Of Alexander Severus, it is also said, that he took such care in providing for the Roman people, that the corn which Heliogabalus had wasted, † he replaced out of his own money; the oil also which Septimius Severus had given to the people, and which Heliogabalus had lessened, he restored whole as before. The colour of the *black horse* befits the severity of their nature and their name, and the *balances* are the well known emblem of justice, as well as an intimation of scarcity; and the proclamation for justice and judgment, and for the procuration of corn and oil and wine, is fitly made by a creature like a man. This period continued during the reigns of the Septimian family about 42 years.

7. And when he had opened the fourth seal, I heard the voice of the fourth beast say come and see.

8. And I looked, and behold, a pale horse; and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth to kill with sword and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.

* 'With respect to corn, of which he had found a small quantity, he so contrived that at his death, he left to the Roman people a sufficiency for the consumption of seven years.' See Spartian in the same place, page 97. 'And of oil he left what might suffice for the use of the city and of all Italy, during five years.' See Spartian's life of Severus, page 73.

† 'He made such provision for the people of Rome, that the corn wasted by Heliogabalus, he replaced at his own proper expense.—The oil too which had been diminished by Heliogabalus, he restored whole as before.' See Lampridius' life of Alexander, page 121.

The fourth seal or period, ver. 7, 8. is distinguished by a concurrence of evils, war, and famine, and pestilence, and wild beasts; and was proclaimed by the fourth living creature, who was like an eagle, and had his station in the north. 'And I looked, and behold, a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him: and power was given unto them, over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth.' These are the same 'four sore judgments,' with which Ezekiel xiv. 21. threatened Jerusalem, 'the sword and the famine, and the noisome beast, and the pestilence:' for in the oriental languages the pestilence is emphatically* styled *death*. These *four* were to destroy 'the fourth part of mankind; and the image is very poetical of 'death riding on a pale horse, *and* hell *or* the grave following with him,' ready to swallow up the dead corpses. This period commenceth with Maximine, who was an emperor from the north, being† born of barbarous parents in a village of Thrace. He was indeed a barbarian in all respects. There was not, as an historian‡ affirms, a more cruel animal upon the earth; he was so cruel, that he

* 'By death in Hebrew we are to understand the pestilence. For so *moth* or death is to be taken, Jer. ix. 21. and xviii. 21. Thus we read in the book of the son of Sirach, xxxix. 29. famine and death, where by death no doubt is signified the pestilence. The Syriac translator both here and in Luke, where the pestilence is made use of, renders it '*Mothna*,' that is deaths. And the Hebrew word *Deber* signifying the pestilence, is rendered by the Septuagint death. In the same manner it is translated by the Chaldean and Latin, Lev. xxvi. 25. After these examples, Sulpicius in his life of Severus puts death for the pestilence. See Grotius on Matth. xxiv. 7.

† 'He was of a town in Thrace, near to the barbarians, and descended from barbarians both by the father and the mother's side.' See Julius Capitolinus' life of Maximus. See the writers of the Augustan history. Book VI. page 138, in Salmasius' edition. See also Salmasius' and Casaubon's notes. 'Maximnius was born in the interior of Thrace, and was half a barbarian.' See Herodian, Book VI. page 143, in Henry Stephen's edition of 1581.

‡ 'There was not a more cruel animal upon the earth.—He was so cruel, that some called him Cyclops, others Busiris, others Sciro, some Phalaris, many Typho, or Gyges.' See Julius Capitolinus' lives, page 141.

was deservedly called by the name of Cyclops, Busiris, Phalaris, and the worst of tyrants. The history of his and several succeeding reigns is full of wars and murders, mutinies of soldiers, and invasions of foreign armies, rebellions of subjects, and deaths of princes. There were more than twenty emperors in the space of fifty years, and all or most of them died in war, or were murdered by their own soldiers and subjects. Besides lawful emperors, there were in the reign of Gallienus* thirty tyrants or usurpers, who set up in different parts of the empire, and came all to violent and miserable ends. Here was sufficient employment for the *sword;* and such wars and devastations must necessarily produce a *famine*, and the *famine* is another distinguishing calamity of this period. In the reign of Gallus, the Scythians made such incursions,† that not one nation subject to the Romans was left unwasted by them, and every unwalled town, and most of the walled cities were taken by them. In the reign of Probus also‡ there was a great famine throughout the world; and for want of victuals the army mutinied, and slew him. An usual consequence of famine is the *pestilence*, and the *pestilence* is the third distinguishing calamity of this period. This pestilence, according to Zonaras,§ arising from Ethiopia, while Gallus and Vo-

* See Trebellius Pollio on the thirty tyrants. See the writers of the Augustan history, Book VI. p. 184, &c. in Salmasius' history.

† 'So that indeed no nation subject to the Romans remained unhurt by them, but I might affirm that almost every unwalled town was taken by them, and even the greater part of them that were defended by walls.' See Zozimus in his account of the reign of Gallus, Book I. Sect 26.

‡ 'There was a great famine over the world, and provisions being wanted, the army mutinied, and meeting the emperor, they put him to death. See John Malela's Chronicle, page 400, in the Oxford edition of 1691.

§ 'Zonaras hath told, nor are other writers silent, that under the reign of Gallus and Volusian, a pestilence originating in Ethiopia, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for the space of fifteen successive years, incredibly exhausted them. A celebrated author of the present age hath said, that in the course of his reading, he had never met with a plague of so long continuance or so extensive.' See Mede, page 446. See Zonaras in his account of the emperors Gallus and Volusian. See Lipsius on Constancy, Book II. Chap. xxiii.

lusian were emperors, pervaded all the Roman provinces, and for 15 years together incredibly exhausted them: and so learned a man as Lipsius declares, that he never read of any greater plague, for the space of time that it lasted, or of land that it overspread. Zozimus, speaking of the devastations of the Scythians in the reign of Gallus before-mentioned, farther addeth, that the pestilence not less pernicious* than the war, destroyed whatever was left of human kind, and made such havoc as it had never done in former times. He saith also, that in the reign of Gallienus,† such a grievous pestilence as never happened at any time before, rendered the calamities inflicted by the barbarians more moderate. He saith afterwards too, in the reign of Claudius,‡ that the pestilence seizing on the Romans as well as the barbarians, many of the army died, and also Claudius the emperor. Dionysius§ in Eusebius treating of the same time, mentions the *war* and the *famine* and the *pestilence*, as succeeding one another in their natural order. St. Cyprian too mentions|| all the three together, as troubling the world more at that time than at any other. He wrote also¶ a treatise upon this

* 'And not less than the war which burst out in all directions, a pestilence brake forth in all the cities and villages, and destroyed every thing human which the war had left, and wrought such havoc among men, as former ages had never witnessed.' See Zozimus in the same work.

† 'A pestilence such as never had been in any former age, burst forth like a devouring torrent, aud rendered the calamities occasioned by the barbarians more moderate.' See Zozimus in the same work, Sect. 37.

‡ 'But the Pestilence having seized the Romans, many of their soldiers died, and Claudius also became its victim.' See Zozimus in the same place, Sect. 46.

§ See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history, Book VII Chap. xxii.

|| 'But verily when you say, that many complain of the frequency of wars, of the prevailing of pestilence and famine,' &c. See his work addressed to Demetrian, page 129, in Fell's edition, 'That wars continue to be more frequent, that sterility and famine add to our anxiety, that our health is interrupted by prevailing diseases, that the human race is wasted by the pestilence.' See in the same place, page 130.

¶ See Fell's edition, page 110.

very pestilence which he entitled *De mortalitate*, as if he had taken the name from the prophecy which had predicted it. In short, without alleging more testimonies, Eutropius affirms of Gallus and Volusian,* that their reign was remarkable only for the pestilence and diseases and sickness. Orosius† asserts much the same things; and Trebellius Pollio likewise‡ informs us, that in the reign of Gallienus the pestilence was so great that five thousand men died in one day. When the countries lie thus uncultivated, uninhabited, unfrequented, the *wild beasts* multiply, and come into the towns to devour men: which is the fourth distinguishing calamity of this period. This would appear a probable consequence of the former calamities, if history had recorded nothing of it: but we read in history that§ five hundred wolves together entered into a city, which was deserted by its inhabitants, and where the young Maximine chanced to be. It is well known, that the Heathens maliciously ascribed all public calamities to the Christians, and among them we find objected‖ the wars which they were obliged to wage with lions and wild beasts; as we may collect from Arnobius, who wrote soon after this time. The colour of the *pale horse* is very suitable to the mortality of this period: and the proclamation for death and destruction is fitly made by a creature like an eagle that watches for carcases. This period continued from Maximine to Diocletian about fifty years.

* 'Their reigns have been known, only by the pestilence, the diseases and sicknesses which then prevailed.' See Eutropius, Book IX. Chap. v.

† 'Gallus and Volusian have been remarkable for these miseries alone.' See Orosius' History, Chap. xxi.

‡ 'The pestilence was so great, that in one day five thousand persons perished.' See Trebellius' Pollio on the reign of Gallus, page 177.

§ 'Five hundred wolves at once, entered a city into which, Maximin had betaken himself. That city deserted by its inhabitants had its gates standing wide open to that prince when he came to it.' See Julius Capitolinus' account of the younger Maximin, page 150.

‖ 'When had we wars with wild beasts, and battles with lions? it was not so with us in former times.' See Arnobius against the Gentiles, Book I. page 5, in the Leyden edition of 1651.

9. And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.

10. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?

11. And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also, and their brethren that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.

The following seals have nothing extrinsical, like the proclamation of the living creatures, to determine from what quarter we must expect their completion; but they are sufficiently distinguished by their internal marks and characters. The fifth seal or period is remarkable for a dreadful persecution of the Christians, who are represented, ver. 9. lying 'under the altar,' (for the scene is still in the tabernacle or temple) as sacrifices newly slain and offered to God. They 'cry aloud,' ver. 10. for the Lord to 'judge and avenge' their cause; that is, the cruelties exercised upon them were of so barbarous and atrocious a nature, as to deserve and provoke the vengeance of the Lord. 'White robes are given unto every one of them,' ver. 11. as a token of their justification and acceptance with God; and they are exhorted to 'rest for a season,' till the number of the martyrs be completed, when they shall receive their full reward, as we shall see hereafter. Where Mr. Lowman* observes very well, that "this representation seems much to favour the immediate happiness of departed saints, and hardly to consist with that uncomfortable opinion, the insensible state of departed souls, till after the resurrection." There were other persecutions before, but this was by far the most considerable, the tenth and last general persecution which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by others, and lasted longer, and extended farther, and was sharper and more bloody than any or all preceding; and therefore this was particularly predicted. Eusebius and

* See Lowman on the Revelation, page 51.

Lactantius, who were two eye-witnesses,* have written large accounts of it. Orosius† asserts, that this persecution was longer and more cruel than all the past; for it raged incessantly for ten years, by burning the churches, proscribing the innocent, and slaying the martyrs. Sulpicius Severus‡ too ,describes it as the most bitter persecution, which for ten years together depopulated the people of God; at which time all the world almost was stained with the sacred blood of the martyrs, and was never more exhausted by any wars. So that this became a memorable æra to the Christians, under the name of the æra of Diocletian, or as it is otherwise called the æra of martyrs.

12. And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood.

13. And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken of a mighty wind.

14. And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places:

15. And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains:

16. And said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:

17. For the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?

* See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, Book VIII. with the supplement. See Lactantius on the death of Persecutors, Chap. 7.

† 'Which persecution was longer and more cruel, than almost all that had gone before it. For it was carried on incessantly during ten years, in the burning of churches, in the proscribing of the innocent, and in the slaying of martyrs.' See Orosius' history, Book VII. Chap. xxv. page 528, in Havercamp's edition.

‡ 'The bitterest persecution, which during ten successive years cut off the people of God, wherein almost the whole world was stained with the sacred blood of the martyrs. By no wars was the world ever exhausted to a greater degree.' See Sulpicius Severus' Sacred history, Book II. page 99, in the Elzevir edition of 1656.

The sixth seal or period produceth mighty changes and revolutions, which according to the prophetic style are expressed by great commotions in the earth, and in the heavens. The very same images, the very same expressions are employed by other prophets concerning the mutations and alterations of religions and governments; and why may they not therefore with equal fitness and propriety be applied to one of the greatest and most memorable revolutions which ever were in the world, the subversion of the Heathen religion, and establishment of the Christian, which was begun by Constantine the Great, and was completed by his successors? The series of the prophecy requires this application, and all the phrases and expressions will easily admit of such a construction. 'And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal,' ver. 12. 'and lo, there was *seismos megas* a great earthquake, *or rather* a great concussion; for the word in the original comprehends the shaking of *heaven* as well as of the *earth*. The same phrase is used by the prophet Haggai, ii. 6, 21. concerning the first coming of Christ, 'I will shake the heavens and the earth:' and this shaking, as the apostle saith, Heb. xii. 27. 'signifieth the removing of those things which are shaken;' and so the prophet Haggai himself explains it, 'I will shake the heavens and the earth. And I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the Heathens:' And where was ever a greater concussion or removal, than when Christianity was advanced to the throne of Paganism, and idolatry gave place to the true religion? Then follow the particular effects of this general concussion, ver. 12, 13, 14. 'And the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood; And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth, even as a fig-tree casteth her untimely figs when she is shaken with a mighty wind: And the heavens departed as a scroll when it is rolled together; and every mountain and island were moved out of their places.'—Isaiah speaketh much in the same manner concerning Babylon and Idumea; xiii. 10. xxxiv. 4. 'For the stars of heaven and the constellations thereof shall not give their light; the sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall not cause her light to shine; and all

the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll; and all their host shall fall down as the leaf falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the fig-tree:' And Jeremiah concerning the land of Judah, iv. 23, 24. 'I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens, and they had no light: I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly;' And Ezekiel concerning Egypt, xxxii. 7. 'And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light:' And Joel concerning Jerusalem, ii. 10, 31. 'The earth shall quake before them, the heavens shall tremble, the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining: the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and terrible day of the Lord come:' And our Saviour himself also concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, Matth. xxiv. 20. 'The sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken.' Now it is certain, that the fall of any of these cities and kingdoms was not of greater concern and consequence to the world, nor more deserving to be described in such pompous figures, than the fall of the Pagan Roman empire, when the great lights of the heathen world, *the sun, moon, and stars*, the powers civil and ecclesiastical, were all eclipsed and obscured, the heathen emperors and Cæsars were slain, the heathen priests and augurs were extirpated, the heathen officers and magistrates were removed, the heathen temples were demolished, and their revenues appropriated to better uses. It is customary with the prophets, after they have described a thing in the most symbolical and figurative diction, to represent the same again in plainer language: and the same method is observed here, ver. 15, 16, 17. 'And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bond man, and every free man, that is Maximian, Galerius, Maximine, Maxentius, Licinius, &c. with all their adherents and followers, were so routed and dispersed, that they 'hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the

mountains, and said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us;' expressions used, as in other prophets, Isa. ii. 19, 21. Hos. x. 8 Luke xxiii. 30. to denote the utmost terror and consternation; 'Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?' This is therefore a triumph of Christ over his heathen enemies, and a triumph after a severe persecution; so that the time and all the circumstances, as well as the series and order of the prophecy, agree perfectly with this interpretation. Galerius,* Maximine,† and Liciniust made even a public confession of their guilt, recalled their decrees and edicts againgt the Christians, and acknowledged the just judgments of God and of Christ in their destruction.

CHAP. VII.

1. And after these things, I saw four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that the wind should not blow on the earth, nor on the sea, nor on any tree.

2. And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God: and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea.

3. Saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads.

4. And I heard the number of them which were sealed: *and there were* sealed an hundred *and* forty *and* four thousand, of all the tribes of the children of Israel.

5. Of the tribe of Judah *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of

* See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history, Book VIII. Chap. xvii. See his life of Constantine, Book I. Chap. lvii. See Lactantius on the death of Persecutors, Chap. xxxiii. &c.

† See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history, Book IX. Chap. ix, x, and xi. See his life of Constantine, Book I. Chap. lix See the same work of Lactantius, Chap xlix.

‡ See Eusebius' life of Constantine, Book X. Chap. xviii.

the tribe of Gad *were* sealed twelve thousand.

6. Of the tribe of Aser *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses *were* sealed twelve thousand.

7. Of the tribe of Simeon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar *were* sealed twelve thousand.

8. Of the tribe of Zabulon *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph *were* sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin *were* sealed twelve thousand.

9. After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands;

10. And cried with a loud voice, Saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.

11. And all the angels stood round about the throne, and *about* the elders, and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God.

12. Saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might *be* unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.

13. And one of the elders answered, Saying unto me, What are these which are arrayed in white robes? and whence came they?

14. And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb.

15. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them.

16 They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.

17. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne, shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.

What follows in this chapter is still a continuation of the sixth seal, for the seventh seal is not opened till the

beginning of the next chapter. It is a description of the state of the church in Constantine's time, of the peace and protection that it should enjoy under the civil powers, and of the great accession that should be made to it both of Jews and Gentiles. 'Four angels,' ver. 1, 2, 3. are ordered by another angel to restrain 'the four winds' from blowing with violence on any part of the world; to show that these were halcyon days, wherein the former wars and persecutions should cease, and peace and tranquillity be restored for a season. Eusebius is very copious upon this subject in several parts of his writings, and hath * applied that passage of the Psalmist in the version of the Seventy, Psal. xlvi. 8, 9. 'Come hither and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders he hath wrought in the earth: He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear asunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire;' which things, saith he, being manifestly fulfilled, in our times, we rejoice over them. Lactantius also saith in the same triumphant strain,† "tranquillity being restored throughout the world, the church which was lately ruined riseth again. Now after the violent agitations of so great a tempest, a calm air and the desired light become resplendent. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful." These are testimonies of cotemporary writers;‡ medals of Constantine are still preserved with the head of this emperor on one side, and this inscription, CONSTANTINUS AUG. and on the reverse BEATA TRANQUILLITAS, *Blessed Tranquillity*. During this time of tranquillity 'the servants of God were to be sealed in their foreheads.' It is an expression in allusion

* 'Over which things as manifestly fulfilled in our time, we greatly rejoice.' See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical history, Book X. Chap. i.

† 'Tranquillity being restored throughout the world, the church lately cast down, now raiseth up again. Now after the tossings of so great a tempest, we have a serene sky, and the wished for light shines again. Now God hath relieved the afflicted. Now he hath wiped away the tears of the sorrowful.' See Lactantius on the death of Persecutors, Chap i.

‡ See Daubuz, page 311.

to the ancient custom of marking servants in their foreheads to distinguish what they were, and to whom they belonged. Now among Christians baptism being the seal of the covenant between God and man, is therefore by ancient writers * often called the *seal*, the *sign*, and *mark* and *character* of the Lord: and it was the † practice in early times, as it is at present, to make the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the parties baptized. The same sign of the cross was also made at confirmation; and upon many other occasions the Christians signed themselves with the sign of the cross in their foreheads, as a token that they were not ashamed of a crucified master, that on the contrary they gloried in the cross of Christ, and triumphed in that symbol and representation of it. The *sealing* therefore 'of the servants of God in their foreheads' at this juncture, can imply no less, than that many converts should be baptized, and those, who before, in times of persecution, had been compelled to worship God in private, should now make a free, open, and public profession of their religion; and that such an accession was made to the church, every one knoweth who knoweth any thing of the history of this time.

As the church of Christ was first formed out of the Jewish church and nation, so here, ver. 4—8 the spiritual Israel is first mentioned; and the number of the thousands of Israel is that of the twelve patriarchs multiplied by the twelve apostles, which we shall find to be a sacred number throughout the Revelation. But the twelve tribes are not enumerated here in the same method and order, as they are in other places of holy scripture. Judah hath the first rank and precedence, because from him descended the Messiah. Dan is entirely omitted, and Ephraim is not mentioned, because they were the principal promoters of idolatry, and therefore Levi is substituted in the room of the one, and Joseph is mentioned instead of the other. The children too of the bond-woman and of the free-woman are confounded to-

* See Mede, page 511. See Bingham's Antiquities, Book XI. Chap. i. Sect. 6, and 7.

† See Cave's Primitive Christianity, Part I. Chap. x. See the same work of Bingham, Chap. ix. Sect. 4, &c.

gether, there being, Gal. iii. 28. 'in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free.' Besides some of all the tribes of Israel, there was 'an innumerable multitude of all nations and tongues, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands,' ver. 9, 10. who received and embraced the gospel: and as Sulpicius Severus says,* it is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at that time. The historians, who have written of this reign,† relate, how even the most remote and barbarous nations were converted to the faith, Jews as well as Gentiles. One historian in particular affirms,‡ that at the time when Constantine took possession of Rome after the death of Maxentius, there were baptized more than twelve thousand Jews and Heathens, besides women and children. The angels also, ver. 11, 12. join in the celebration of God upon this occasion; for if 'there is joy,' Luke xv. 10. 'in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth,' much more may those heavenly spirits rejoice at the conversion of whole countries and nations. Then one of the elders, ver. 13—17. explains to St. John some particulars relating to this innumerable multitude of all nations. They have 'palms in their hands,' as tokens of their victory and triumph over tribulation and persecution. They are 'arrayed in white robes,' as emblems of their sanctity and justification through the merits and death of Christ. They are, like the children of Israel, arrived at their Canaan or land of rest, and they shall no more suffer *hunger*, or *thirst*, or *heat*, as they did in the wilderness. They are now happily freed from all their former troubles and molestations; and their heathen adversaries shall no more prevail against them. This period we may suppose to have continued with

* 'It is wonderful how much the Christian religion prevailed at this time.' See Sulpicius Severus' sacred history, Book II. page 100, in Elzevir edition of 1656.

† See Socrates' Ecclesiastical history, Book I. Chap. xviii, xix. xx. See Sozomon's Ecclesiastical history, Book II. Chap. v.—viii, &c.

‡ 'At this time were baptized at Rome, of Jews and Pagans upwards of twelve thousand men, besides women and children.' See Abul-Pharajius' history, Dynasty VII. page 85, in Pocock's Translation. See also Epiphanius on Heresy, XXX. Sect. 4, &c. page 127. Vol. I. in Petavius' history.

some little interruption, from the reign of Constantine the great, to the death of Theodosius the great, about 70 years.

CHAP. VIII.

1. And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.

2. And I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets.

3. And another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given him much incense, that he should offer *it* with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne.

4. And the smoke of the incense, *which came* with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God, out of the angel's hand.

5. And the angel took the censer, and filled it with fire of the altar, and cast it into the earth: and there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake.

6. And the seven angels which had the seven trumpets, prepared themselves to sound.

The seventh seal or period is of much longer duration, and comprehends many more events than any of the former seals. It comprehends indeed seven periods, distinguished by the sounding of seven trumpets. At the opening of this seal, ver. 1. 'there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour.' This 'silence of half an hour' is a sign that the peace of the church would continue but for a short season. It is an interval and pause, as it were, between the foregoing and the succeeding visions. It is a mark of solemnity, to procure attention, and to prepare the mind for great and signal events; and not without an allusion to a ceremony among the Jews. Philo* informs us, the incense used to be offered before the morning, and after the evening sacrifice: and while the sacrifices were made, 2 Chron. xxix. 25—28. the voices and instruments, and trumpets sounded; while the priest went into the temple

* 'Before the morning and after the evening sacrifice.' See Philo on victims, page 836, in the Paris edition of 1640.

to burn incense, Luke i. 10. all were silent, and the people prayed without to themselves. Now this was the morning of the church, and therefore the silence precedes the sounding of the trumpets. It was necessary before the trumpets could be sounded, that they should be *given*, ver. 2. to the seven archangels, who were to execute the will of God, and to sound the trumpets each in his season. At the same time, ver. 3, 4, 5. 'another angel,' like the priest, 'having a golden censer,' offereth incense 'with the prayers of all saints;' and then filleth the censer 'with fire off the altar, and casteth it into the earth;' as in Ezekiel, x. 2. 'coals of fire' are taken 'from between the cherubim,' and scattered over Jerusalem, to denote the judgments of God to be executed upon that city. Whereupon immediately ensue 'voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake,' the usual prophetic signs and preludes of great calamities and commotions upon earth. Then the angels, ver. 6. 'prepare themselves to sound:' and as the *seals* foretold the state and condition of the Roman empire before and till it became Christian, so the *trumpets* foreshow the fate and condition of it afterwards. 'The sound of the trumpet,' as Jeremiah, iv. 19. says, and as every one understands it, is 'the alarm of war:' and the sounding of these trumpets is designed to rouse and excite the nations against the Roman empire, called 'the third part of the world,' as perhaps including the third part of the world, and being seated principally in Europe, the third part of the world at that time.

7. The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up.

At the sounding of the first trumpet, ver. 7. the barbarous nations, like a storm of 'hail and fire mingled with blood,' invade the Roman territories; and destroy 'the third part of trees,' that is, 'the trees of the third part' of the earth, and 'the green grass,' that is, both old and young, high and low, rich and poor together. Theodosius the great died in the year 395; and no sooner was he dead, than the Huns, Goths, and other barbarians,*

* See Socrates' Ecclesiastical history, Book VI. Chap. i. See

like hail for multitude, and breathing fire and slaughter, broke in upon the best provinces of the empire, both in the east and west, with greater success than they had ever done before. But by this trumpet, I conceive, were principally intended the irruptions and depredations of the Goths, under the conduct of the famous Alaric,* who began his incursions in the same year 395, first ravaged Greece, then wasted Italy, besieged Rome, and was bought off at an exorbitant price, besieged it again in the year 410, took and plundered the city, and set fire to it in several places. Philostorgius, who lived and wrote of these times, saith,† that "the sword of the barbarians destroyed the greatest multitude of men; and among other calamities, dry heats with flashes of flame and whirlwinds of fire occasioned various and intolerable terrors; yea, and hail greater than could be held in a man's hand, fell down in several places, weighing as much as eight pounds." Well therefore might the prophet compare these incursions of the barbarians to 'hail and fire mingled with blood.' Claudian in like manner compares them to ‡ a storm of *hail* in his poem on this very war. Jerome also saith,§ of some of these barbarians, "that they came on unexpectedly every where, and marching quicker than

Sozomen, Book VIII. Chap. i. See Zozimus' history, Book V, and VI. See Paul Orosius' history, Book VII Chap. xxxvii. See Charles Sigonius' history of the western empire, Book X.

* See the same works of Zozimus, Orosius and Signonius, &c. See Philostorgius, Book XI, and XII.

† 'For truly the sword of the barbarian destroyed a multitude. Dry heats with flashes of flame and fiery meteors falling from heaven, occasion many and insupportable calamities. Likewise hail, larger than a man could grasp with one hand, fell in many places. Yea, some was found which weighed eight pounds.' See Philostorgius' Ecclesiastical history, Book XI. Chap. vii.

‡ See Claudian in his Getic war, line 173. Wheresoever the infernal fury dashed these rovers like hail, or a disease, (morbi,) they rushed headlong through all barriers opposed to them.' Here Mr. Daubuz would read *nimbi* a shower, instead of *morbi* a disease.

§ 'Unexpectedly they were every where present, in swiftness outdoing fame, and spared neither religion, nor rank, nor age, nor even the crying infant. They were forced to die who had scarcely begun to live.' See Jerome's 84th epistle on the death of Fabiola, Col. 661. Vol. IV. Part II. in the Benedictine edition.

report, spared not religion, nor dignities, nor age, nor had compassion on crying infants; those were compelled to die, who had not yet begun to live." So truly did they destroy the *trees* and the *green grass* together.

8. And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea; and the third part of the sea became blood:

9. And the third part of the creatures which were in the sea, and had life, died; and the third part of the ships were destroyed.

At the sounding of the second trumpet, ver. 8, 9. 'as it were a great mountain burning with fire,' that is, a great warlike nation or hero, (for in the style of poetry,* which is near akin to the style of prophecy, heroes are compared to mountains;) 'cast into the sea, turneth the third part of it into blood, and destroyeth the fishes and the ships therein;' that is, falling on the Roman empire, maketh a sea of blood, with horrible destruction of the cities and inhabitants; for *waters*, as the angel afterwards, xvii. 15. explains them to St. John, 'are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, and 'the third part' is all along the Roman empire; for it possessed in Asia and Africa, as much as it wanted in Europe to make up the third part of the world, and the principal part was in Europe, the third part of the world at that time. The next great ravagers after Alaric and his Goths, were Attila and his Huns, who for the space of fourteen years, as Sigonius† says, shook the east and west with the most cruel fear, and deformed the provinces of each empire with all kind of plundering, slaughter, and burning. They first wasted Thrace,‡ Macedon, and Greece, putting all to fire

* So Virgil of his hero, Æneid, Book XII. p. 71. 'In point of size like mount Athos, or Erix, or even father Appenine, when he raiseth himself to the sky, when he rustleth with his waving oaks, or when he piqueth himself on account of his snowy summit.

† See Sigonius on the western empire, Book XIII. 'Now here we shall begin our account of the wars of the Huns, which for fourteen long years shook the east and west with the most cruel terror, and which by plundering, slaughtering, and burning, disfigured the provinces of both empires.

‡ See Sigonius in the same place, and Jornandes on the Getic affairs, &c. &c.

and sword, and compelled the eastern emperor, Theodosius the second, to purchase a shameful peace. Then Attila turned his arms against the western emperor, Valentinian the third; entered Gaul with seven hundred thousand men, and not content with taking and spoiling, set most of the cities on fire. But at length being there vigorously opposed, he fell upon Italy, took and destroyed Aquileia with several other cities, slaying the inhabitants, and laying the buildings in ashes, and filled all places between the Alps* and Appenine with flight, depopulation, slaughter, servitude, burning, and desperation. He was preparing to march to Rome, but was diverted from his purpose by a solemn embassy from the emperor, and the promise of an annual tribute; and so concluding a truce, retired out of Italy, and passed into his own dominions beyond the Danube. Such a man might properly be compared to 'a great mountain burning with fire,' who really was, as he called himself,† *the scourge of God, and the terror of men*, and boasted that he was sent into the world by God for this purpose, that as the executioner of his just anger, he might fill the earth with all kinds of evils, and he bounded his cruelty and passion by nothing less than blood and burning.

10. And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters:	11. And the name of the star is called Wormwood: and the third part of the waters became wormwood: and many men died of the waters, because they were made bitter.

At the sounding of the third trumpet, ver. 10, 11. a great prince appears like 'a star shooting from heaven

* 'Now all places between the Appenine and Alps were filled with flight, plundering, slaughter, slavery, burning and despair.' See Sigonius in the same work, Anno 432.

† 'Who used to call himself the scourge of God, and terror of mankind, and boasted that he was commissioned by God into the world, that as the executioner of his just wrath, he might throw into confusion the earth by all kinds of evils, and indeed his cruelty and lust had no other issue than blood and burning.' See Sigonius in the same place.

to earth;' a similitude not unusual in poetry.* His coming therefore is sudden and unexpected, and his stay but short. 'The name of the star is called Wormwood,' and he infects 'the third part of the rivers and fountains with the bitterness of wormwood;' that is, he is a bitter enemy, and proveth the author of grievous calamities to the Roman empire. The *rivers* and *fountains* have a near connection with the *sea:* and it was within two years after Attila's retreat from Italy, that Valentinian was murdered, and Maximus who had caused him to be murdered reigning in his stead,† Genseric the king of the Vandals settled in Africa, was solicited by Eudoxia, the widow of the deceased emperor, to come and revenge his death. Genseric accordingly embarked with three hundred thousand Vandals and Moors, and arrived upon the Roman coast in June 455, the emperor and people not expecting nor thinking of any such enemy. He landed his men, and marched directly towards Rome; whereupon the inhabitants flying into the woods and mountains, the city fell an easy prey into his hands. He abandoned it to the cruelty and avarice of his soldiers, who plundered it for fourteen days together, not only spoiling the private houses and palaces, but stripping the public buildings, and even the churches of their riches and ornaments. He then set sail again for Africa, carrying away with him immense wealth, and an innumerable multitude of captives, together with the empress Eudoxia and her two daughters; and left the state so weakened, that in a little time it was utterly subverted. Some critics understand *rivers* and *fountains* with relation to doctrines; and in this sense the application is still very proper to Genseric,

* See Homer's Iliad, Book IV. line 75.

——— She headlong urg'd her flight,
And shot like lightning from Olympius' height,
As the red comet from Saturnius sent
To fright the nations with a dire portent,
With sweeping glories glides along in air,
And shakes the sparkles from its blazing hair.
See Pope's Translation.

† See Evagrius' Ecclesiastical History, Book II. Chap. vii. See Zonaras' Annals, Book XIII. at the end. See Sigonius on the western empire, Book XIV. Anno 455, &c.

who was a most bigotted Arian, and during his whole reign most cruelly persecuted the orthodox Christians. Victor Uticensis, or Vitensis as he is more usually called, who * wrote in three books, the history of this persecution by the Vandals, speaking of St. Austin, hath used this very same metaphor, of the river of his eloquence being dried up,† and his sweetness turned into *the bitterness of wormwood.*

12. And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise.

At the sounding of the fourth trumpet, ver. 12. 'the third part of the sun, moon, and stars,' that is, the great lights of the Roman empire, are eclipsed and *darkened*, and remain in darkness for some time. Genseric left the western empire in a weak and desperate condition. It struggled hard, and gasped as it were for breath, through eight ‡ short and turbulent reigns, for the space of twenty years, and at length expired in the year 476 under Momyllus, or Augustulus as he was named in derision, being a diminutive Augustus. This change was effected by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who coming to Rome with an army of barbarians, stripped Momyllus of the imperial robes, put an end to the very name of the western empire, and caused himself to be proclaimed king of Italy. His kingdom indeed was of no long duration; for after a reign of sixteen years he was overcome and slain § in the year 493, by Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths

* See Vossius on Latin Historians, Book II. Chap. xviii. See Hoffman's Law.

† 'Then that river of eloquence, which flowed in such abundance through all the churches, was dried up by his fear, and his melodious sweetness was changed into the bitterness of wormwood.' See Victor, Bp. of Vite on the Vandal Persecution, Book I. page 3. See also Augustine's life, Book VIII. Chap. xi. Sect. 2, in the Benedictine edition.

‡ See Sigonius on the western empire, Book XIV, and XV. at the beginning.

§ See Sigonius in the same place, Book XIII. at the end. See Procopius on the Gothic Wars, Book I. Chap. i.

in Italy, which continued about sixty years under his successors. Thus was the Roman *sun* extinguished in the western emperor; but the other lesser luminaries, the *moon* and *stars*, still subsisted: for Rome was still allowed to have her senate, and consuls, and other subordinate magistrates as before. Odoacer* at first suppressed them, but after two or three years restored them again. Theodoric† changed none of the Roman institutes; he retained the senate, and consuls, and patricians, and all the ancient magistrates, and committed those offices only to Romans. These lights, we may suppose, shone more faintly under barbarian kings than under Roman emperors; but they were not totally suppressed and extinguished, till after the kingdom of the Ostrogoths was destroyed by the emperor of the East's lieutenants, and Italy was made a province of the eastern empire. Longinus was sent‡ then in the year 556 by the emperor Justin II. to govern Italy with absolute authority: and he changed the whole form of the government, abolished the senate, and consuls, and all the former magistrates in Rome and Italy, and in every city of note constituted a new governor with the title of Duke. He himself presided over all; and residing at Ravenna, and not at Rome, he was called the Exarch of Ravenna, as were also his successors in the same office. Rome was degraded to the same level with other places, and from being the queen of cities and empress of the world, was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to Ravenna, which she had used to govern.

13. And I beheld, and heard an angel flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Wo, wo, wo to the inhabiters of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.

* See Sigonius in the same Work, Book XV. years 476 and 479.

† 'Now truly he changed no Roman institute; for he retained the senate, the patricians, the consuls, and all the old magistrates, and he bestowed these offices on such only as were Romans.' See Sigonius in the same place, Book XVI. year 494.

‡ See Sigonius' History of the kingdom of Italy. See Blond's First Decade, Book VIII.

Notice is then proclaimed by an angel, ver. 13. that the three other trumpets sound to still greater and more terrible plagues, and are therefore distinguished from the former by the names of *woes*. The design of this messenger is to raise our attention to the following trumpets; and the following we shall find to be more strongly marked than the foregoing. The foregoing relate chiefly to the downfall of the western empire, the two following relate chiefly to the downfall of the eastern empire. The foregoing are described more succinctly, and contain a less compass of time; the following are set forth with more particular circumstances, and are of longer duration as well as of larger description.

CHAP. IX.

1. And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.

2. And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit as the smoke of a great furnace: and the sun and the air were darkened, by reason of the smoke of the pit.

3. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth; and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.

4. And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God on their foreheads.

5. And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment *was* as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.

6. And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it: and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.

7. And the shapes of the locusts *were* like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads *were* as it were crowns like gold, and their faces *were* as the faces of men.

8. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the *teeth* of lions.

9. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron: and the sound

of their wings *was* as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.

10. And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.

11. And they had a king over them, *which* is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue *is* Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath *his* name Apollyon.

12. One wo is past, *and* behold, there come two woes more hereafter.

At the sounding of the fifth trumpet, ver. 1, 2, 3. 'a star fallen from heaven,' meaning the wicked impostor Mohammed. 'opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit, and the sun and the air were darkened' by it: that is, a false religion was set up, which filled the world with darkness and error; and swarms of Saracen or Arabian *locusts* overspread the earth. A false prophet is very fitly typified by a blazing *star* or meteor. The Arabians likewise are properly compared to *locusts*, not only because numerous armies frequently are so, but also because swarms of locusts often arise from Arabia: and also because in the plagues of Egypt, to which constant allusion is made in these trumpets, 'the locusts,' Exod. x. 13. are 'brought by an east-wind,' that is from Arabia, which lay eastward of Egypt; and also because in the book of Judges, vii. 12. the people of Arabia are compared to 'locusts or grasshoppers for multitude,' for in the original the word for both is the same. As the natural locusts * are bred in pits and holes of the earth, so these mystical locusts are truly *infernal*, and proceed with the smoke, 'from the bottomless pit.' It is too a remarkable coincidence, that at this time 'the sun and the air were *really* darkened.' For we learn from an eminent Arabian historian, that "in the seventeenth year of Heraclius† half the body of the sun was eclipsed, and this defect continued from the former Tisrin to Haziran, (that is from October to June) so that only a little of its

* See Gesner on Insects. See Pliny's Natural History, Book XI. Chap. xxix. Sect. 35. in Harduin's edition.

† 'In the seventeenth year of Heraclius, the half of the sun's body wanted light, and this defect continued from the former Tisrin to Haziran, so that only a little of his light appeared.' See the History of Abul-Farajius, Dynasty VIII. page 99, in Pocock's Translation.

light appeared." The seventeenth year of Heraclius * coincides with the year of Christ 626, and with the 5th year of the Hegira; and at this time Mohammed was training and exercising his followers in depredations at home, to fit and prepare them for greater conquests abroad.

It was commanded them, ver. 4. 'that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree;' which demonstrates that these were not natural, but symbolical locusts. The like injunctions were given to the Arabian officers and soldiers. When Yezid was marching with the army to invade Syria, Abubeker charged him with this among other orders ;† "Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn; cut down no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat." Their commission is to 'hurt only those men who have not the seal of God in their foreheads;' that is, those who are not the true servants of God, but are corrupt and idolatrous Christians. Now from history it appears evidently, that in those countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe, where the Saracens extended their conquests, the Christians were generally guilty of idolatry in the worshipping of saints, if not of images; and it was the pretence of Mohammed and his followers to chastise them for it, and to re-establish the unity of the Godhead. The parts which remained the freest from the general infection were Savoy, Piedmont, and the southern parts of France, which were afterwards the nurseries and habitations of the Waldneses and Albigenses; and it is very memorable, that‡ when the Saracens approached these parts, they were defeated with great slaughter by the famous Charles Martel in several engagements.

As they were to hurt only the corrupt and idolatrous Christians, so these, ver. 5, 6. they were not to *kill* but only to *torment*, and should bring such calamities upon

* See Blair's Chronological Tables, No. 33. See the History of Abul-Farajius, Dynasty IX. page 102. See Elmacinus' History of the Saracens, Book II. page 6.

† See Ockley's History of the Saracens, Vol. I. page 25. See Petaus' Register of Times, Part. I. Book VIII. Chap. v.

‡ See Mezeray's Chronological Abridgment, year 732, &c.

the earth, as should make men weary of their lives. Not that it could be supposed that the Saracens would not *kill* many thousands in their incursions. On the contrary their angel, ver. 11. hath the name of *the destroyer*. They might *kill* them as individuals, but still they should not *kill* them as a political body, as a state or empire. They might greatly harass and *torment* both the Greek and the Latin churches, but they should not utterly extirpate the one or the other. They besieged Constantinople, and * even plundered Rome; but they could not make themselves masters of either of those capital cities. The Greek empire suffered most from them, as it lay nearest to them. They dismembered it of Syria, and Egypt, and some other of its best and richest provinces; but they were never able to subdue and conquer the whole. As often as they besieged Constantinople, they were repulsed and defeated. They attempted it in the reign of Constantine Pogonatus† A. D. 672; but their men and ships were miserably destroyed by the sea-fire invented by Callinicus, and after seven years fruitless pains they were compelled to raise the siege, and to conclude a peace. They attempted it again‡ in the reign of Leo Isauricus, A. D. 718; but they were forced to desist by famine, and pestilence, and losses of various kinds. In this attempt they exceeded their commission, and therefore they were not crowned with their usual success. The taking of this city, and the putting an end to this empire, was a work reserved for another power, as we shall see under the next trumpet.

In the following verses, 7, 8, 9, 10. the nature and qualities of these locusts are described, partly in allusion to the properties of natural locusts and the description given of them by the prophet Joel, and parly in allusion to the habits and manners of the Arabians, to show that

* See Sigonius' history of the kingdom of Italy, Book V. year 846.

† See Theophilus Cedreprus, at the fifth year of Constantine. See Zonoras' Annals, Book XIV. Chap. xx. See Petau's Register of Times, Part I. Book VIII. Chap. i. See Blair's Chronological Tables, No 34, Part II

‡ See Sigonius' history of the kingdom of Italy, Book III. year 718. See Petau's same work, Chap. v.

not real but figurative locusts were here intended. The first quality mentioned is their being 'like unto horses prepared unto battle;' which is copied from Joel, ii. 4. 'The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and as horsemen, so shall they run.' Many authors have observed* that the head of a locust resembles that of an horse. The Italians therefore call them *cavalette*, as it were little horses. The Arabians too have in all ages been famous for their horses and horsemanship. Their strength is well known to consist chiefly in their cavalry.

Another distinguishing mark and character is their having 'on their heads as it were crowns like gold; which is an allusion to the head-dress of the Arabians,† who have constantly worn turbans or mitres, and boast of having those ornaments for their common attire, which are crowns and diadems with other people. The *crowns* also signify the kingdoms and dominions which they should acquire. For, as Mr. Mede‡ excellently observes, "No nation had ever so wide a command, nor ever were so many kingdoms, so many regions subjugated in so short a space of time. It sounds incredible yet most true it is; that in the space of eighty or not many more years, they subdued and acquired to the diabolical kingdom of Mohammed Palestine, Syria, both Armenias, almost all Asia Minor, Persia, India, Egypt, Numidia, all Barbary even to the river Niger, Portugal, Spain. Neither did their fortune or ambition stop here, till they had added also a great part of Italy, as far as to the gates of Rome; moreover Sicily, Candia, Cyprus, and the other islands of the Mediterranean sea. Good God! how great a tract of land! how many *crowns* were here! Whence also it is

* See Albertus, Aldrovandus, Theodoret, &c. quoted by Bochart in his Hierozoicon, Book IV. Chap. v. 'The head and face are not unlike to those of horses. Hence a locust is called by the Italians "cavalette,' or little horse,' Col. 476.

† 'The mitred Arabians live,' &c. See Pliny's Natural History, Book VI. Chap. xxviii. Sect. 32, in Harduin's edition. 'This Arabian covered with a mitre.' See Claudian, Book I. line 156. See Pocock's Notes on the Poems of Tograi an Arabian, last page.

‡ See Mede, page 468,

worthy of observation, that mention is not made here, as in other trumpets, *of the third part;* forasmuch as this plague fell no less without the bounds of the Roman empire than within it, and extended itself even to the remotest Indies."

They had also 'faces as the faces of men, and hair as the hair of women: and the Arabians wore their beards, or at least mustachoes, as men; while the hair of their heads was flowing or plaited like that of women; as Pliny and other ancient authors testify.* Another property copied from Joel, is their having 'teeth as the teeth of lions;' that is strong to devour. So Joel describes the locusts, i. 6. as 'a nation, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion,' and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion;' and it is wonderful how they bite and gnaw all things, as Pliny† says, even the doors of the houses. They had also 'breast-plates, as it were breast-plates of iron;' and the locusts have a hard shell or skin, which‡ hath been called their armour. This figure is designed to express the defensive, as the former was the offensive arms of the Saracens. 'And the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.' Much the same comparison had been used by Joel, ii. 5.

* 'The mitred Arabians live either with the hair unshorn; the beard is shaven off, excepting on the upper lip, in others no part is cut off.' See Pliny in the same place. 'The hair of many of them is not cut, their heads are covered with a mitre, a part of the beard is shaven close to the skin.' See Solinus, Chap. xxxiii. page 46, in Salmasius' edition. 'A certain man with long hair,' &c. See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XXXI. where Valesius has this Note. Such was the dress of the Saracens as Jerome informs us in his life of Malchus. 'Lo suddenly the Ishmaelites riding on horses and camels, rush in with long hair upon their heads tied up with ribbands,' &c. and Theodotus, Bishop of Mopsuesta on Jerem. x. saith, that the Saracens pulled off the hair from their foreheads, but behind suffered it to hang down,' &c. page 954, in the Paris edition of 1681.

† 'They truly gnaw all things by their biting, not even excepting the doors of houses.' See Pliny's Natural history, Book XI. Chap. xxix. Sect 55, in Harduin's edition.

‡ See Claudian's thirty-second Epigram concerning the locust. A Fragment. Their covering of the same nature, grows hard on their back. Heaven hath armed their skin.

'Like the noise of chariots on the tops of mountains shall they leap :' and Pliny* affirms, that they fly with so great a noise of their wings, that they may be taken for birds. Their *wings*, and 'the sound of their wings,' denote the swiftness and rapidity of their conquests; and it is indeed astonishing that in less than a century they erected an empire, which extended from India to Spain.

Moreover they are thrice compared unto 'scorpions,' ver. 3, 5, 10. and 'had stings in their tails like unto scorpions;' that is they should draw a poisonous train after them, and wherever they carried their arms, there also they should distil the venom of false religion. It is farther added, ver. 11. that 'they had a king over them; the same person should exercise temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty over them; and the caliphs were their emperors, as well as the heads of their religion. The king is the same as the *star* or 'angel of the bottomless pit,' whose name is *Abaddon* in Hebrew, and *Apollyon* in Greek, that is *the destroyer*. Mr. Mede† imagines that this same allusion to the name of *Obodas*, the common name of the kings of that part of Arabia from whence Mohammed came, as *Pharaoh* was the common name of the kings of Egypt, and *Cæsar* of the emperors of Rome; and such allusions are not unusual in the style of scripture. However that be, the name agrees perfectly well with Mohammed and the caliphs his successors, who were the authors of all those horrid wars and desolations, and openly taught and professed that their religion was to be propagated and established by the sword.

One difficulty, and the greatest of all, remains yet to be explained; and that is the period of 'five months' assigned to these locusts, which being twice mentioned, merits the more particular consideration. They 'tormented men five months,' ver. 5. and again, ver. 10. 'their power was to hurt men five months.' It is said without doubt in conformity to the type; for locusts‡ are

* 'Their wings in flying make such a noise, that they may be taken for birds. See Pliny in the same place.

† See Mede in the same place, page 470.

‡ 'They appear with the constellation of the seven stars, that is about the first of May or the fifth of that month, and die about the rising of the dog star, or fifteen days before the first of Au-

observed to live about 'five months,' that is from April to September. Scorpions too, as Bochart* asserts, are noxious for no longer a term, the cold rendering them torpid and inactive. But of these locusts it is said, not that their duration or existence was only for 'five months,' but their 'power of hurting and tormenting men' continued 'five months.' Now these months may either be months commonly so taken: or prophetic months, consisting each of 30 days, as St. John reckons them, and so making 150 years at the rate of each day for a year: or the number being repeated twice, the sums may be thought to be doubled, and 'five months' and 'five months' in prophetic computation will amount to 300 years. If these months be taken for common months, then as the natural locusts live and do hurt only in the five summer months, so the Saracens, in the five summer months too, made their excursions, and retreated again in the winter. It appears that this was their usual practice, and particularly when† they first besieged Constantinople in the time of Constantine Pogonatus. For "from the month of April till September, they pertinaciously continued the siege, and then despairing of success, departed to Cyzicum, where they wintered, and in spring again renewed

gust, and then others come up in their place.' See Pliny's Natural History, Book XI. Chap. xxix. Sect. 35, in Harduin's edition.—'Locusts are produced in the spring, they die at the end of summer, nor do they usually live more than five months.' See Bochart's Hierozoicon. Part after Book IV. Chap. viii. Col. 495.

* 'Nor is it in vain said, that the power of hurting was not given to these mystical locusts, which have the tails of scorpions, for more than five months For neither locusts nor scorpions do prove hurtful for a longer portion of time. For they are benumbed by the cold, and danger from them is no longer to be feared.' See the same Work of Bochart, Book IV. Chap. xxix. Col. 640.

† See Howell's History of the world, Part III. Chap iv. Sect. 7. page 288. 'From the month of April to September. And then having returned to Cyzicum, they occupied it and spent the winter there. At the return of the spring, they in like manner carried on war against the Christians for the space of seven years.' See the compend of Cedrenus' History, page 437, in the Paris edition, and 345, in the Venetian edition See Theophanes' Chronolography, page 264, in the Paris edition, and page 234, in that of Venice.

the war: and this course they held for seven years, as the Greek annals tell us." If these months be taken for prophetic months or 150 years, it was within that space of time that the Saracens made their principal conquests.—Their empire might subsist much longer, but their *power* of *hurting* and *tormenting men* was exerted chiefly within that period. Read the history of the Saracens, and you will find that their greatest exploits were performed, their greatest conquests were made between the year* 612 when Mohammed first 'opened the bottomless pit,' and began publicly to teach and propagate his imposture, and the year 762, when the caliph Almansor built Bagdad, to fix there the seat of his empire, and called it *the city of peace*. Syria, Persia, India, and the greatest part of Asia; Egypt, and the greatest part of Africa; Spain, and some parts of Europe, were all subdued in the intermediate time. But when the caliphs, who before had removed from place to place, fixed their habitation at Bagdad, then the Saracens ceased from their incursions and ravages like locusts, and became a settled nation; then they made no more such rapid and amazing conquests as before, but only engaged in common and ordinary wars like other nations; then their power and glory began to decline, and their empire by little and little to moulder away; then they had no longer, like the prophetic locusts, 'one king over them,' Spain† having revolted in the year 736, and set up another caliph in opposition to the reigning house of Abbas. If these months be taken doubly, or for 300 years, then according to Sir Isaac Newton,‡ "the whole time that the caliphs of the Saracens reigned with a temporal dominion at Damascus and Bagdad together,

* See Prideaux' life of Mahomet, page 14, of the eighth edition. See Elmacinus' History of the Saracens, Book I. Chap. i. page 3, and Book II. Chap. iii. page 102. See Abul-Farajius' History, Dynasty IX. page 141, in Pocock's Translation. See Blair's Chronological Tables, No. 36. Part II.

† See Elmacinus' History of the Saracens, Book II. Chap. iii. page 101. See the same work of Blair.

‡ See Sir Isaac Newton on the Apocalypse, Chap. iii. page 305. See likewise page 91, of Mr. Jackson's Address to the Deists; wherein are some pertinent observations concerning the completion of this and the succeeding Wo.

was 300 years, viz. from the year 637 to the year 936 inclusive;" when their empire was broken and divided into several principalities or kingdoms.* So that let these 'five months' be taken in any possible construction, the event will still answer, and the prophecy will still be fulfilled; though the second method of interpretation and application appears much more probable than either the first or the third.

In the conclusion it is added, ver. 12. 'One wo is past, and behold there came two woes more hereafter.'—This is added not only to distinguish the woes, and to mark more strongly each period, but also to suggest that some time will intervene between this first wo of the Arabian locusts, and the next of the Euphratean horsemen. The similitude between the locusts and Arabians, is indeed so great, that it cannot fail striking every curious observer: and a farther resemblance is noted by Mr. Daubuz,† that "there hath happened in the extent of this torment a coincidence of the event with the name of the locusts.—The Saracens have made inroads into all those parts of Christendom where the natural locusts are wont to be seen and known to do mischief, and no where else: And that too in the same proportion. Where the locusts are seldom seen, there the Saracens stayed little: where the natural locusts are often seen, there the Saracens abode most; and where they breed most, there the Saracens had their beginning and greatest power. This may be easily verified by history.

13. And the sixth angel sounded, and I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar, which is before God,

14. Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates.

15. And the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men.

16. And the number of the army of the horsemen *were* two hundred thousand thousand: and I heard the number of them.

* See Elmacinus, Book III. Chap. i. page 203. See Blair's Tables, No. 39.

† See Daubuz, page 409.

17. And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses *were* as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone.

18. By these three was the third part of men killed, by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths.

19. For their power is in their mouth and in their tails: for their tails *were* like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt.

20. And the rest of the men which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:

21. Neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts.

At the sounding of the sixth trumpet, ver. 13, 14, 15. a voice proceeded 'from the four horns of the golden altar,' (for the scene was still in the temple) ordering the angel of the sixth trumpet 'to loose the four angels which were bound in the great river Euphrates;' and they 'were loosed' accordingly. Such a voice proceeding 'from the four horns of the golden altar,' is a strong indication of the divine displeasure; and plainly intimates, that the sins of men must have been very great, when the altar, which was their sanctuary and protection, called aloud for vengeance. 'The four angels' are the four sultanies or four leaders of the Turks and Othmans.—For there were four principal sultanies or kingdoms of the Turks bordering upon the river Euphrates:* one at Bagdad, founded by Togrul Beg, or Tangrolipix, as he is more usually called, in the year 1055, another at Damascus, founded by Tagjuddaulas or Ducas, in the year 1079: a third at Aleppo, founded by Sjarsuddaulas, or

* See Elmacinus' History of the Saracens, Book III. Chap. vii, and viii. page 271, and 284, in Erpenius' edition. See Heylin's Cosmography, Book III. page 726, in the edition of 1703. See Introduction to the History of Asia, Chap xi. Sect. 2, and 3. See Sandy's Travels, Book I. page 34, of the 7th edition.

Melech, in the same year 1079: and a fourth at Iconium, in Asia minor, founded by Sedyduddaulus or Cutlu Muses, or his son, in the year 1080. These four sultanies subsisted several years afterwards; and the sultans were *bound* and restrained from extending their conquests farther than the territories and countries adjoining to the river Euphrates, primarily by the good providence of God, and secondarily by the croisades or expeditions of the European Christians into the holy land, in the latter part of the eleventh, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nay, the European Christians took several cities and countries from them, and confined them within narrower bounds. But when an end was put to the croisades, and the Christians totally abandoned their conquests in Syria and Palestine, as they did in the latter part of the thirteenth century; then 'the four angels on the river Euphrates were loosed.' Soliman Shah,* the first chief and founder of the Othman race, retreating with his three sons from Jingiz Chan and the Tartars, would have passed the river Euphrates but was unfortunately drowned, the time of 'loosing the four angels' being not yet come. Discouraged at this sad accident, two of his sons returned to their former habitations: but Ortogrul the third, with his three sons, Condoz, Sarubani, and Othman, remained some time in those parts, and having obtained leave of Aladin the sultan of Iconium, he came with four hundred of his Turks, and settled in the mountains of Armenia. From thence they began their excursions; and the other Turks associating with them, and following their standard, they gained several victories over the Tartars on one side, and over the Christians on the other. Ortogrul † dying in the year 1288, Othman his son succeeded him in power and authority; and in the year 1299, as some say, with the consent of Aladin himself, he was proclaimed sultan, and founded a new empire; and the people afterwards, as well as the new empire, were called by his name. For though they disclaim the name of *Turks*, and assume that of

* See Pocock's Supplement to Abul-Farajius' History, page 41, 42. See Herbelot's Oriental Library, page 822, 694, &c.

† See the same Work of Pocock. See Herbelot, page 694, and 697.

Othmans, yet nothing is more certain than that they are a mixt multitude, the remains of the four sultanies above mentioned, as well as the descendants particularly of the house of Othman.

In this manner and at this time, 'the four angels were loosed, which were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year, for to slay the third part of men,' that is as before, the men of the Roman empire, and especially in Europe, the third part of the world. The Latin or western empire was broken to pieces under the four first trumpets; the Greek or eastern empire was cruelly *hurt* and *tormented* under the fifth trumpet; and here under the sixth trumpet is to be *slain* and utterly destroyed. Accordingly all Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Thrace, Macedon, Greece, and all the countries, which formerly belonged to the Greek or eastern Cæsars, the Othmans have conquered, and subjugated to their dominion. They first passed over into Europe,* in the reign of Orchan their second emperor, and in the year 1357; they took Constantinople† in the reign of Mohammed their seventh emperor, and in the year 1453; and in time all the remaining parts of the Greek empire shared the fate of the capital city. The last of their conquests were Candia‡ or the ancient Crete in 669, and Cameniec in 1672. For the execution of this great work, it is said, that they 'were prepared for an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year;' which will admit either of a literal or a mystical interpretation; and the former will hold good, if the latter should fail. If it be taken literally, it is only expressing the same thing by different words, as 'peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,' are

* See Pocock's Supplement, page 43. See Herbelot, page 693. The year of the Hegira, 758, began on the 25th of December, 1356. See Pocock's Index.

† See Leunclavius' Pandects of Turkish History, Chap. cxxix. page 448, in the Paris edition, and page 339, in that of Venice. See Pocock in the same place, page 47. See Herbelot, page 615. See Prince Cantemir's History of the Othman empire, Book III. Chap. i. Sect. 9. page 103. See Savage's Abridgment of Knolles and Rycaut, Vol. I. page 180, &c.

‡ See Prince Cantemir, Book III. Chap. xii. Sect. 8. page 262. Sect. 16. page 265. See Savage in the same Work, Vol. II. page 192, and 200.

jointly used in other places: and then the meaning is, that they were prepared and ready to execute the divine commission at any time or for any time, any *hour*, or *day*, or, *month* or *year*, that God should appoint. If it be taken mystically, and the *hour*, and *day*, and *month*, and *year* be a prophetic *hour*, and *day*, and *month* and *year*, then a *year*, (according to St. John's who follows herein Daniel's computation) consisting of 360 days is 360 years, and a *month*, consisting of 30 days is 30 years, and a *day* is a year, and an *hour* in the same proportion is fifteen days; so that the whole period of the Othmans 'slaying the third part of men,' or subduing the Christian states in the Greek or Roman empire, amounts to 391 years and 15 days. Now is it wonderfully remarkable, that the first conquest mentioned in history, of the Othmans over the Christians, was in the year of the Hegira* 680, and the year of Christ 1281. For Ortogrul "in that year (according to the accurate historian Saadi) crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of Cutahi upon the Greeks." Compute 391 years from that time, and they will terminate in the year 1672; and in that year, as it was hinted before, Mohammed the fourth took Cameniec† from the Poles, "and 48 towns and villages in the territory of Cameniec were delivered up" to the sultan upon the treaty of peace. Whereupon Prince Cantemir hath made this memorable reflection, "This was the last victory by which any advantage accrued to the Othman state, or any city or province was annexed to the ancient bounds of the empire." Agreeably to which observation, he hath entitled the former part of his history *of the growth of the Othman empire*, and the following part *of the decay of the Othman empire*. Other wars and slaughters, as he says, have ensued. The Turks even besieged Vienna in 1683; but this exceeding the bounds of their commission, they were defeated. Belgrade and other places may have been taken from them, and surrendered to them again: but still they have subdued no new state or potentate of Christendom now for the space

* See Prince Cantemir's History, Book I. Chap. ii. Sect 5, page 10.

† See Prince Cantemir's History, Book III. Chap. xii. Sect. 18, 19. page 265.

of between 80 and 90 years; and in all probability they never may again, their empire appearing rather to decrease than increase. Here then the prophecy and the event agree exactly in the period of 391 years; and if more accurate and authentic histories of the Othmans were brought to light, and we knew the very day wherein Kutahi was taken, as certainly as we know that wherein Cameniec was taken, the like exactness might also be found in the 15 days. But though the time be limited for the Othmans' 'slaying the third part of men,' yet no time is fixed for the duration of their empire only this second wo will end, when the third wo, xi. 14. or the destruction of the beast, shall be at hand.

A description is then given, ver. 16—19. of the forces, and of the means and instruments, by which the Othmans should effect the ruin of their eastern empire. The armies are described as very numerous, 'myriads of myriads;' and who knoweth not what mighty armies the Othman emperors have brought into the field? When Mohammed the second besieged Constantinople, he had* about four hundred thousand men in his army, besides a powerful fleet of thirty larger and two hundred lesser ships. They are described too chiefly as *horsemen;* and so they are described both by Ezekiel and by Daniel, as there was occasion to observe in the last dissertation upon Daniel: and it is well known, that their armies consisted chiefly of cavalry, especially before the order of Janizaries was instituted by Amurath the first. The Janizaries may be the guard of the court, but the Timariots, or horsemen holding lands by serving in the wars, are the strength of the government: and these, as Heylen† affirms, are in all accounted between seven and eight hundred thousand fighting men; some say, that they are a million; and besides these, there are Spahi's and other horsemen in the emperor's pay.

* 'It is said, that at that time, the king's army consisted of forty myriads of men,—and that his fleet was composed of thirty vessels which had three banks of oars, and of two hundred smaller. See Laonicus Chalcocondylas on Turkish Affairs, Book VIII. page 203, in the Paris edition, and page 158, in that Venice.

† See Heylin's Cosmography, Book III. page 129, in the edition of 1703. See Sandy's Travels, Book III. page 38, 7th edition.

'In the vision,' that is, in appearance, and not in reality, they had 'breast-plates of fire, and of jacinth' or hyacinth, 'and brimstone.' The colour of *fire* is red, of *hyacinth* blue, and of *brimstone* yellow: and this as Mr. Daubuz* observes, "hath a literal accomplishment; for the Othman, from the first time of their appearance, have affected to wear such warlike apparel of scarlet, blue, and yellow" Of the Spahi's particularly some have red, and some have yellow standards, and others red or yellow mixt with other colours. In appearance too, 'the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions,' to denote their strength, courage, and firmness; 'and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone' A manifest allusion to great guns and gun-powder, which were invented under this trumpet, and were of such signal service to the Othman in their wars. For 'by these three was the third part of men killed,' by these the Othmans made such havoc and destruction in the Greek or eastern empire. Amurath the second† broke into Peloponesus, and took several strong places by the means of his artillery. But his son Mohammed at the siege of Constantinople‡ employed such great guns, as were never made before. One is described to have been of such a monstrous size, that it was drawn by seventy yoke of oxen and by two thousand men. There were two more, each of which discharged a stone of the weight of two talents.

* See Daubuz, page 444. See Rycaut's Present state of the Othman Empire, Book III. Chap. iii. See Tournefort's Voyage, Vol. II. page 36, &c.

† See Chalcocondylas in the same place, Book VII.

‡ 'He ordered guns of the largest calibre to be made, such as exceeded all that were known before his time.—The size of one gun was so great, that it required seventy yoke of oxen and two thousand men to drag it along.—The king had two very large guns, each of which threw a stone that weighed two talents.—Others threw a stone of the weight of half a talent.—The largest gun discharged a ball which weighed about three talents.—At the discharging of this gun, we are told that the neighbouring country, to the distance of forty furlongs was shaken.—Already had the wall of the city been vigorously battered for the space of forty days, &c. See Chalcocondylas in the same Work, Book VIII. page 203, 204, in the Paris edition, and page 158, and 159, in that of Venice.

Others emitted a stone of the weight of half a talent.—But the greatest of all discharged a ball of the weight of three talents, or about three hundred pounds; and the report of this cannon is said to have been so great, that all the country round about was shaken to the distance of forty furlongs. For forty days the wall was battered by guns, and so many breaches were made, that the city was taken by assault, and an end put to the Grecian empire.

Moreover 'they had power to do hurt by their tails,' as well as 'by their mouths, their tails being like unto serpents, and having heads.' In this respect they very much resemble 'the locusts;' only the different tails are accommodated to the different creatures, the tails of 'scorpions to locusts;' the tails of 'serpents, with an head at each end, to horses.' By this figure it is meant, that the Turks draw after them the same poisonous trains as the Saracens; they profess and propagate the same imposture; they do hurt not only by their conquests, but also by spreading their false doctrine; and wherever they establish their dominion, there too they establish their religion. Many indeed of the Greek church remained, and are still remaining among them: but they are made* to pay dearly for the exercise of their religion; are subjected to a capitation-tax, which is rigorously exacted from all above fourteen years of age; are burdened besides with the most heavy and arbitrary impositions upon every occasion; are compelled to the lowest and most servile drudgery; are abused in their persons, and robbed of their property; have not only the mortification of seeing some of their friends and kindred daily apostatize to the ruling religion, but had even their children taken from them to be educated therein, of whom the more robust and hardy were trained up to the soldiery, the more weakly and tender were castrated for the seraglio: but notwithstanding these persecutions and oppressions some remains of the Greek church are still preserved among them, as we may reasonably conclude, to serve some great and mysterious ends of providence.

But though the Greek church was thus ruined and oppressed, 'the rest of men,' ver. 20. 21. 'who were not killed by these plagues,' the Latin church which pretty

* See Smith's and Rycaut's Account of the Greek Church.

well escaped these calamities, 'yet repented not of the works of their hands,' that they should not worship devils, *daimonia* demons or second mediatory gods, as it hath largely been shown before, saints and angels, 'and idols of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood.' From hence it is evident, that these calamities were inflicted upon the Christians for their idolatry. As the eastern churches were first in the crime, so they were first likewise in the punishment. At first they were visited by the plague of the Saracens, but this working no change or reformation, they were again chastised by the still greater plague of the Othmans; were partly overthrown by the former, and were entirely ruined by the latter. What churches were then remaining, which were guilty of the like idolatry, but the western, or those in the communion with Rome? And the western were not at all reclaimed by the ruin of the eastern, but persisted still in the worship of saints, (and what is worse) the worship of images, 'which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk:' and the world is witness to the completion of this prophecy to this day. 'Neither repented they of their murders,' their persecutions and inquisitions, 'nor of their sorceries,' their pretended miracles and revelations, 'nor of their fornication,' their public stews and uncleanness, 'nor of their thefts,' their exactions and impositions on mankind: and they are as notorious for their licentiousness and wickedness, as for their superstition and idolatry. As they therefore refused to take warning by the two former woes, the third wo, as we shall see, will fall with vengeance upon them.

CHAP. X.

1. And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud, and a rainbow *was* upon his head, and his face *was* as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire.

2. And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and *his* left *foot* on the earth.

3. And cried with a loud voice, as *when* a lion roareth: and when he had cried, seven thunders uttered their voices.

4. And when the seven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write:

and I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Seal up those things which the seven thunders uttered, and write them not.

5. And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea, and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven,

6. And sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there should be time no longer:

7. But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets.

8. And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said Go, *and* take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea, and upon the earth.

9. And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take *it*, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but it shall be in thy mouth as sweet as honey.

10. And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth as sweet as honey: and as soon as I had eaten it my belly was bitter.

11. And he said unto me, Thou must prophecy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.

St. John, in the conclusion of the last chapter, having touched upon the corruption of the western church, proceeds now to deliver some prophecies relating to this lamentable event. But before he enters upon the subject, he (and the church in him) is prepared for it by an august and consolatory vision. 'Another mighty angel came down from heaven,' ver. 1. described somewhat like the angel in the three last chapters of Daniel, and in the first chapter of the Revelation. He had in his hand, ver. 2. 'a little book,' *biblaridion* 'a little book' or codicil different from the *biblion* or *book* mentioned before: and it was *open*, that all men might freely read and consider it. It was indeed a codicil to the larger book, and properly cometh under the sixth trumpet, to describe the state of the western church after the description of the state of the eastern: and this is with good reason made a

separate and distinct prophecy, on account of the importance of the matter, as well as for engaging the greater attention. 'He set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth,' to show the extent of his power and commission: 'and when he had cried aloud,' ver. 3. 'seven thunders uttered their voices.' St. John would have written down, ver. 4. 'those things which the seven thunders uttered,' but was forbidden to do it. As we know not the subjects of 'the seven thunders,' so neither can we know the reasons for suppressing them: but it may be conceived, that something might be proper to be revealed to the apostle, and yet not to be communicated to the church. By these 'seven thunders,'* Vitringa understands the seven great croisades or expeditions of the western Christians for the conquest of the holy land, and Daubuz the seven kingdoms which received and established the protestant reformation by law. But doth it not savour rather of vanity and presumption than of wisdom and knowledge, to pretend to conjecture what they are, when the Holy Spirit hath purposely concealed them? Then the angel, ver. 5, 6, 7. 'lifted up his hand to heaven,' like the angel in Daniel, xii. 7. 'and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, the great Creator of all things, *hoti chronos ouk esti eti*, 'that the time shall not be yet,' but it shall be in the days of the seventh trumpet, that 'the mystery of God shall be finished,' and the glorious state of his church be perfected, agreeably to the good things which he hath promised, *doulois tois prophetois* 'to his servants the prophets.' This is said for the consolation of Christians, that though 'the little book describes the calamites of the western church, yet they shall all have a happy period under the seventh trumpet. St. John is then ordered, ver. 8, 9, 10. 'to eat the little book, as Ezekiel iii. 3. did upon a like occasion: and he 'ate it up;' he thoroughly considered and digested it; and found it to be, as he was informed it would be, 'sweet as honey in his mouth, but bitter in his stomach.' The knowledge of future things at first was pleasant, but the sad contents of the little book afterwards filled his soul with sorrow. But these contents were not to be 'sealed

* See Vitringa on the passage, page 431. See Daubuz, page 469.

up' like those of 'the seven thunders;' this 'little book' was to be published, ver. 11. as well as the larger book of the Apocalypse; it was a kind of *second* prophecy, added to the former; and as it concerned 'kings and nations,' so it was to be made public for their use and information. But if here, as some contend, the prophecy begins again anew, the subject is resumed from the beginning, and all that follows is contained in 'the little book,' then 'the little book' contains more matter than 'the larger book,' and part of the *sealed* book is made part of the *open* book, which is contrary to the regularity and order of the Apocalypse, and in great measure destroys the beauty and symmetry of the different parts; for it is evident and undeniable, that the seventh trumpet is the seventh part of the seventh seal, as the seventh seal is the seventh part of the sealed book, and consequently can be no part of the little open book, which endeth, as we shall see, with the sixth trumpet, and immediately before the sounding of the seventh.

CHAP. XI.

1. And there was given me a reed like unto a rod: and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein.

2. But the court which is without the temple, leave out, and measure it not; for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty *and* two months.

3. And I will give *power* unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophecy a thousand two hundred *and* threescore days clothed in sackcloth.

4. These are two olive-trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth.

5. And if any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies: and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed.

6. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will.

7. And when they shall

have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

8. And their dead bodies *shall lie* in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified.

9. And they of the people, and kindreds, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and a half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put in graves.

10. And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth.

11. And after three days and an half, the spirit of life from God entered into them; and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them which saw them.

12. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither, And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

13. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven.

14. The second wo is past, *and* behold, the third wo cometh quickly.

In the former part of this chapter, from the first verse to the fourteenth, are exhibited the contents of this little book. St. John is commanded, ver. 1. to *measure* the inner court, 'the temple of God, and the altar, and them who worship therein,' to show that during all this period there were some true Christians, who conformed to the rule and measure of God's word. This measuring might allude more particularly to the Reformation from popery, which fell out under this sixth trumpet; and one of the moral causes of it was the Othmans taking of Constantinople, whereupon the Greeks flying from their own country, and bringing their books with them into the more western parts of Europe, proved the happy occasion of the revival of learning; as the revival of learning opened men's eyes, and proved the happy occasion of the

Reformation. But though 'the inner court,' which includes the smaller number, was *measured*, yet 'the outer court,' which implies the far greater part, was 'left out,' ver. 2. and rejected, as being in the possession of Christians only in name, but *Gentiles* in worship and practice, who profaned it with heathenish superstition and idolatry: 'and they shall tread under foot the holy city,' they shall trample upon, and tyrannize over the church of Christ, for the space of 'forty and two months.'

At the same time God should raise up some true and faithful witnesses, ver. 3. to preach and protest against these innovations and corruptions of religion: for there were protestants long before ever the name came into use. Of these witnesses there should be, though but a small, yet a competent number; and it was a sufficient reason for making them 'two witnesses,' because that is the number required by the law, and approved by the gospel, Deut. xix. 15. Matth. xviii. 16. 'In the mouth of two witnesses shall every word be established:' and upon former occasions two have often been joined in commission, as Moses and Aaron in Egypt, Elijah and Elisha in the apostasy of the ten tribes, and Zerubbabel and Joshua after the Babylonish captivity, to whom these witnesses are particularly compared. Our Saviour himself sent forth his disciples, Luke x. 1. 'two and two:' and it hath been observed also, that the principal reformers have usually appeared as it were in pairs, as the Waldenses and Albigenses, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Ridley, and their followers. Not that I conceive, that any two particular men, or two particular churches, were intended by this prophecy; but only it was meant in the general, that there should be some in every age, though but a few in number, who should bear witness to the truth, and declare against the iniquity and idolatry of their times. They should not be discouraged even by persecution and oppression, but though 'clothed in sackcloth,' and living in a mourning and afflicted state, should yet *prophecy*, should yet preach the sincere word of God, and denounce the divine judgments against the reigning idolatry and wickedness: and this they should continue to do as long as the grand corruption itself lasted, for the space

of 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days.' It is the same space of time with 'the forty and two months' before mentioned. For 'forty and two months' consisting each of thirty days, are equal to 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days, or years' in the prophetic style: and 'a thousand two hundred and threescore years,' as we have seen before in Daniel, and shall see hereafter in the Revelation, is the period assigned for the tyranny and idolatry of the church of Rome. The *witnesses* therefore cannot be any two men, or any two churches, but must be a succession of men, and a succession of churches.

A character is then given of these witnesses, and of the power and effect of their preaching. 'These are the two olive trees, and the two candlesticks standing before the God of the earth,' ver. 4. that is, they are like Zerubbabel and Joshua, Zech. iv. the great instructors and enlighteners of the church. 'Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies,' ver. 5. that is, they are like unto Moses and Elijah, Numb. xvi. 2 Kings i. who called for fire upon their adversaries. But their fire was real, this is symbolical, and 'proceedeth out of the mouth' of the witnesses, denouncing the divine vengeance on the corrupters and opposers of true religion; much in the same manner, as it was said to Jeremiah, v. 14. 'I will make my words in thy mouth fire, and this people wood, and it shall devour them. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of the prophecy,' ver. 6. that is, they are like Elijah, who foretold a want of rain in the days of Ahab, 1 Kings xvii. 1 Jam. v. 17. 'and it rained not on the earth for the space of three years and six months', which, mystically understood, is the same space of time as 'the forty and two months,' and 'the thousand two hundred and threescore days,' which are allotted for the prophesying of the witnesses. During this time the divine grace, and protection, and blessing shall be withheld from those men, who neglect and despise their preaching and doctrine. 'They have' also 'power over the waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues, as often as they will.' that is, they are like Moses and Aaron who inflicted these plagues on Egypt; and they may be said to

'smite the earth' with the plagues which they denounce, for in scripture-language the prophets are often said to do those things, which they declare and foretel. But it is most highly probable, that these particulars will receive a more literal accomplishment, when the plagues of God, and the vials of his wrath, Chap. xvi. shall be poured out upon men, in consequence of their having so long resisted the testimony of the witnesses. Their cause, and the cause of truth will finally be avenged on all their enemies.

Next after this description of the power and office of the witnesses, follows a prediction of those things, which shall befal them at the latter end of their ministry: and their passion, and death, and resurrection, and ascension are copied from our Saviour's, who is emphatically styled iii. 14. 'the faithful and true witness;' but with this difference, that his were real, theirs are figurative and mystical. 'And when they shall have finished, *hotan telesosi*, when they shall be about finishing their testimony,' ver. 7. 'the beast that ascendeth out of the abyss,' the tyrannical power of Rome, of which we shall hear more hereafter, 'shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.' 'The beast' indeed 'shall make war against them' all the time that they are performing their ministry; but 'when they shall be near finishing it, *he* shall *so* make war against them, as to overcome them, and kill them.' They shall be subdued and suppressed, be degraded from all power and authority, be deprived of all offices and functions, and be politically dead, if not naturally so. In this low and abject state they shall lie some time, ver. 8. 'in the street of the great city,' in some conspicuous place within the jurisdiction of Rome,* 'which spiritually is called Sodom' for cor-

* Mr. Mann, the late learned Master of the Charter-house, in some Manuscript notes upon Vitringa's book on the Revelation, communicated to me by my friend Dr. Jortin, hath the following to prove that not Jerusalem, but Rome, was intended in this place. Rev. xi. 8. *The great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where their Lord was crucified.* 1. "Jerusalem in ver. 2. of this very chapter, is called the holy city; can it be in so few periods intended under the names of Sodom and Egypt?

2. "The holy city or Jerusalem ver. 2. was to be wasted and

ruption of manners, 'and Egypt' for tyranny and oppression of the people of God, 'where also our Lord was crucified' spiritually, being crucified afresh in the suffer-

trod under foot by the Gentiles for 42 months; the two witnesses were to prophecy the same space of time; how then should their carcases lie in the streets of Jerusalem so wasted?

3. "Jerusalem in this book is four times called the Holy city, never the Great (unless it be here meant.) The great city is twelve times repeated only of Babylon, that is, Rome; is it possable it should be here used of Jerusalem?

4. "In ver. 13. at the revival of the two witnesses after lying dead three days and a half, the tenth part of the city fell; but in ver. 2. Jerusalem is already wasted, and not supposed to be rebuilt; and therefore incapable of being so damaged.

5. "And were Jerusalem rebuilt, the enemies of Christ out of all people, tongues, and nations, ver. 9. would not assemble there, nor the beast expose the slain witnesses but in his own capital.

1. "Object. There are two characteristics assigned, which fit Jerusalem only, That it is spiritually or figuratively called Sodom and Egypt; as Jerusalem is compared to Sodom, Isa. i. 10. and iii. 9. (of Egypt no instance.)

1. "Answ. That Capernaum, Matth. xi. 23, 24. is likewise compared to Sodom by Christ; and so is any city that shall reject the Gospel, Matth. x. 15. Whence Tertullian (adv. Jud. c. 9.) observes of this very name, It is common in the Holy Scriptures to transfer names from one to another, where the crimes are the same. So Rome might be called Sodom for lewdness, and Egypt for the oppression of God's people.

2. "Object. The second characteristic, where also our Lord was crucified, determines the place to be Jerusalem beyond all possibility of doubting."

2. "Answ. Mills says, The text should be read, *hopou ho kyrios auton*, where their Lord was crucified, or had been crucified; yet indeed without making any great difference to the literal sense. But why may not this expression be used figuratively as well as the preceding? why may not the Lord of the two witnesses be spiritually crucified where they are spiritually slain? St. Paul to the Galatians uses this expression figuratively three or four times: The Epistle to the Heb. vi 6. uses it figuratively, and perhaps in the very sense it may bear here. Though it is capable too of another, which is authorized by Christ himself, for Matth. x. and xxv. and Acts ix. 4, 5. he declares himself to suffer what is done to his followers. In that Great city therefore, which was drunk with the blood of the saints, and the martyrs of Jesus, Chap. xvii. 6. Jesus himself might be said to be crucified."

ings of his faithful martyrs. Nay, to show the greater indignity and cruelty to the martyrs 'their dead bodies' shall not only be publicly exposed, ver. 9. but they shall be denied even the common privilege of burial, which is the case of many protestants in popish countries: and their enemies 'shall rejoice' and insult 'over them,' ver. 10. 'and shall send' mutual presents and congratulations 'one to another' for their deliverance from these *tormentors*, whose life and doctrine were a continual reproach to them. But 'after three days and a half,' ver. 11. that is in the prophetic style 'after three years and a half,' for no less time is requisite for all these transactions, they shall be raised again by 'the spirit of God,' and, ver. 12. shall 'ascend up to heaven;' they shall not only be restored to their pristine state, but shall be farther promoted to dignity and honour: and that by 'a great voice from heaven' by the voice of public authority. 'At the same hour there shall be a great earthquake,' there shall be great commotions in the world; and 'the tenth part of the city shall fall,' as an omen and earnest of a still greater fall; and seven thousand names of men,' or seven thousand men of name, 'shall be slain;' and the remainder in their fright and fear shall acknowledge the great power of God.

Some interpreters are of opinion, that this prophecy of 'the death and resurrection of the witnesses' received its completion* in the case of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who were *two* faithful *witnesses* and martyrs of the blessed Jesus. It is very well known, that they were condemned to death, and afterwards burnt for heresy by the council of Constance. Which council sitting about 'three years and a half,' from November 1414 to April 1418, their *bodies* may that time be said to have lain 'unburied in the street of the great city,' in Constance where was the greatest assembly not only of bishops and cardinals, but likewise of ambassadors, barons, counts, dukes, princes, and the emperor himself. But after the coun-

* See Fox and Vitringa, page 487, &c. See also Frederic Spanheim's History of the fifteenth century, Chap. vi, and vii. See the History of the Council of Constance by James Lenfant. See Voltaire's General History and State of Europe, Part II. and his Annals of the empire, Vol. II.

cil was dissolved, these two preachers were restored as it were to life in their disciples and followers, who propagated the same doctrines, maintained them by force of arms as well as by preaching, and even vanquished the Imperialists in several battles. It was truly said to them, 'Come up hither,' when they were invited to the council of Basil with a promise of redress of grievances: but the council having dealt fraudulently with them, they broke out again into open rebellion, 'and the tenth part of the city fell,' the kingdom of Bohemia revolted, and fell alike from its obedience to the pope and emperor.

Others refer this prophecy to* the protestants of the league of Smalcald, who were entirely routed by the emperor Charles V. in the battle of Mulburg, on the 24th of April 1547; when the two great champions of the protestants, John Frederic, elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner, and the Landgrave of Hesse was forced to surrender himself, and to beg pardon of the emperor. Protestantism was then in a manner suppressed, and the mass restored. The witnesses were *dead*, but *not buried;* and the papists 'rejoiced over them, and made merry, and sent gifts one to another.' But this joy and triumph of theirs were of no very long continuance; for in the space of about 'three years and a half,' the protestants were *raised again* at Magdeburg, and defeated and took the duke of Mecklenburg prisoner, in December 1550. From that time their affairs changed for the better almost every day; success attended their arms and counsels; and the emperor was obliged by the treaty of Passau, to allow them the free exercise of their religion, and to re-admit them into the imperial chamber, from which they had ever since the victory of Mulburg been excluded. Here was indeed 'a great earthquake,' a great commotion, in which many 'thousands were slain; *and* the tenth part of the city fell,' a great part of the German empire renounced the authority, and abandoned the communion of the church of Rome.

Some again may think this prophecy very applicable

* See Brightman and Vitringa, page 493. See Sleidan's History of the Reformation, Book XIX, &c. See Voltaire's Annals of the empire, Vol. II.

to * the horrid massacre of the protestants at Paris, and in other cities of France, begun on the memorable eve of St. Bartholomew's day, 1572. According to the best authors, there were slain thirty or forty thousand hugonots in a few days; and among them, without doubt, many true witnesses and faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. 'Their dead bodies lay in the street of the great city,' one of the greatest cities of Europe; for they were not suffered to be buried, being the bodies of heretics; but were dragged through the streets, or thrown into the river, or hung upon gibbets, and exposed to public infamy. Great *rejoicings* too were made in the courts of France, Rome, and Spain; they went in procession to the churches, they returned public thanks to God, they sung Te Deums, they celebrated jubilees, they struck medals; and it was enacted, that St. Bartholomew's day should ever afterwards be kept with double pomp and solemnity. But neither was this joy of long continuance; for in little more than 'three years and a half,' Henry III, who succeeded his brother Charles, entered into a treaty with the hugonots, which was concluded and published on the 14th of May, 1576, whereby all the former sentences against them were reversed, and the free and open exercise of their religion was granted to them; they were to be admitted to all honours, dignities, and offices, as well as the papists; and the judges were to be half of the one religion, and half of the other; with other articles greatly to their advantage, which were in a manner the *resurrection* of the witnesses, and their 'ascension into heaven.' The 'great earthquake,' and the 'falling of the tenth part of the city,' and the 'slaying of thousands of men,' according to this hypothesis, must be referred to the great commotions and civil wars, which for several years afterwards cruelly disturbed, and almost destroyed the kingdom of France.

Others again have recourse to later events and the later indeed the better and fitter for the purpose. Peter Jurieu, a famous divine of the French church at Rotter-

* See Vitringa, page 496, &c. See Thuanus' History, Book LII, LIII, and LXII. See Davila's History, Book V, and VI. See Mezeray's account of Charles IX, and Henry III.

dam,* imagined that the persecution then carried on by Lewis XIV. against the protestants of France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in October 1685, would be the last persecution of the church; that during this time the witnesses would lie dead, but should recover and revive within a few years, and the Reformation should be established in that kingdom by royal authority; the whole country should renounce popery, and embrace the protestant religion. Bishop Lloyd, and after him Mr. Whiston,† apply this prophecy to the poor protestants in the vallies of Piedmont, who by a cruel edict of their sovereign, the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French king, were imprisoned and murdered, or banished and totally dissipated at the latter end of the year 1686. They were kindly received and succoured by the protestant states; and after a while secretly entering Savoy with their swords in their hands, they regained their ancient possessions with great slaughter of their enemies; and the Duke himself, having then left the French interest, granted them a full pardon; and re-established them, by another edict signed June 4, 1690, just 'three years and a half' after their total dissipation. Bishop Lloyd not only understood the prophecy in this manner, but what is very remarkable, made the application even before the event took place, as Mr. Whiston relates, and upon this ground encouraged a refugee minister, of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home, and returning, he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country. These were indeed most barbarous persecutions of the protestants both in France and Savoy; and at the same time popery here in England was advanced to the throne, and threatened an utter subversion of our religion and liberties, but in a little more than 'three years and a half,' a happy deliverance was wrought by the glorious Revolution.

In all these cases there may be some resemblance to the prophecy before us, of 'the death and resurrection of the witnesses;' and it may please an over-ruling pro-

* See Jurieu's Accomplishment of the Prophecies, Part II. Chap. xii, and xiii.

† See Whiston's Essay on the Revelation, Part III. Vision ii.

vidence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the former efforts of that tyrannical and persecuting power, called 'the beast,' may be the types and figures as it were of this his last and greatest effort against the witnesses. But though these instances sufficiently answer in some respects, yet they are deficient in others, and particularly in this, that they are none of them the last persecution: others have been since, and in all probability will be again. Besides, as 'the two witnesses' are designed to be the representatives of the protestants in general, so the persecution must be general too, and not confined to this or that particular church or nation. We are now living under, 'the sixth trumpet:' and the empire of the 'Euphratean horsemen' or Othmans, is still subsisting, and perhaps in as large extent as ever: 'the beast' is still *reigning*: 'the witnesses are still,' in some times and places more, in some less, 'prophecying in sackcloth.' It will not be till toward the end of their testimony,' and that *end* seemeth to be yet at some distance, that the great victory and triumph of the *beast*, and the suppression, and resurrection, and exaltation of 'the witnesses' will take effect.—When all these things shall be accomplished, then 'the sixth trumpet' will end, then 'the second wo' shall be *past*, ver. 14. the Othman empire shall be broken in the same manner that Ezekiel, xxxviii, xxxix. and Daniel, xi. 44, 45. have predicted; the sufferings of 'the witnesses' shall cease, and they shall be raised and exalted above their enemies: and when 'the second wo' shall be thus 'past, behold the third wo,' or the total destruction of the beast, 'cometh quickly.' Some time intervened between 'the first' and 'the second woes;' but upon the ceasing of 'the second, the third' shall commence immediately.

It appears then that the greater part of this prophecy relating to 'the witnesses,' remains yet to be fulfilled: but possibly some may question, whether any part of it hath been fulfilled; whether there have been any such persons as 'the witnesses,' any true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who have in every age professed doctrines contrary to those maintained by the pope and

church of Rome.* The truth of the fact will best appear by an historical deduction; and if it can be proved, that there have constantly been such *witnesses* from the seventh century down to the Reformation, during the most flourishing period of popery, I presume there can be little doubt about the times preceding or following. As there hath been occasion to observe before, the seeds of popery were sown even in the apostles' time, but they were not grown up to maturity, the power of the pope as a *horn* or temporal prince was not established till the eighth century; and from thence therefore it will be proper to begin our deduction, when the beast began to reign, and the witnesses 'to prophecy in sackcloth.'

Great as the power of the Latin church was grown in the *eighth* century, the Greek church still dissented from it, and opposed it. The emperors † Leo Isauricus and his son Constantine Copronymus, not only vigorously opposed the worship of images, but also denied the intercession of saints, and burnt and destroyed their relics.—In the year 754 Constantine Copronymus held a general council at Constantinople of 338 bishops, who prohibited unanimously the worship of saints as well as of images; and ‡ declared that "only one image was constituted by

* [Bishop Hurd gives the following characters of Antichrist,

1. We are to look for Antichrist within the proper bounds of the Roman empire, Dan. vii. 7—12.

2. His seat and throne was to be the city of Rome itself, Rev. xvii. 3—18.

3. It was to be an *ecclesiastical*, and in name and pretence at least, a *Christian* power. Dan. vii. 24. 2 Thess. ii. 4.

4. It was to possess a complication of characters. The triple brand was to be impressed upon him of a tyrannical, intolerant, and idolatrous power. Dan. vii, viii, 20. Rev. xvii. 14.

5. The *time* in which that power was to appear, and in which to prosper, corresponds exactly and only with the rise of papal authority.] *See his* 11*th Sermon on the Prophecies.*

† See Theophanes, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. See Frederic Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century VIII. Chap. vi, and vii, &c.

‡ Having rejected other images (these are the words of Bellarmine, Vol. I. page 535) they determined, that there is but one only image instituted by Christ himself, namely the bread and the wine in the eucharist, which represent the body and the

Christ himself, namely the bread and wine in the eucharist, which represent the body and blood of Christ;" than which there cannot be a stronger declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation as well as against the worship of images. It is true that the second council of Nice in the year 787 restored and established the worship of images, and the pope ratified and confirmed it; but nevertheless great opposition was made to it by several churches in the west. Charlemain * held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of 300 bishops of various nations, who condemned equally the second council of Nice and the worship of images. The Caroline books were also set forth under the name and authority of that great monarch; and the doctrines therein contained, of the sufficiency of the scriptures, of the worship of God alone, of prayers in the vulgar tongue, of the eucharist, of justification, of repentance, of pretended visions and miracles, and various other points, are such as a papist would abhor, and a protestant would subscribe. Not to seek for farther instances, the † British churches lamented and execrated the second council of Nice; and the famous Albin or Alcuin, wrote a letter against it, disproving and refuting it by express authorities of holy scripture; which letter was transmitted to Charles the great in the name of the bishops and other great men of the kingdom. Even in Italy ‡ the council of Forojulio, prescribed the use of no other creed but that of the apostles, so that they had no conception of the necessity of so many additional articles, as have since been made by

blood of Christ.' See the Council of Constantinople, Vol. III. page 359, in Binnius' edition. See Usher's Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. ii. Sect. 4. page 19.

* See Spanheim's same work, Chap. vi. and ix. See the same work of Usher, page 20. See Alix' Remarks upon the ancient character of the Albigenses, Chap. viii.

† See Hoveden's Annals, Part I. page 232. See Simeon of Durham's History, page 111. See Matthew of Westminster's Flowers of History, year 793. See Usher in the same work, page 19, and 20. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book II. page 139.

‡ See the seventh volume of Councils, page 1002. See Alix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedmont, Chap. viii. See Spanheim's same work, Chap. ix, and x.

pope Pius IV. and received by the church. Some even of the Italian bishops assisted at the council of Francfort, beforementioned, and particularly Paulinus bishop of Aquileia bore a principal part in it.

Popery prevailed still more in the *ninth* century, but yet not without considerable opposition. Not only* the emperors of the east, Nicephorus, Leo Armenius, Michael Balbus, Theophilus, and the emperors of the west, Charles the great, and Lewis the pious, but also several prelates and ecclesiastics, opposed the absolute power and supremacy of the pope, together with the worship of images, and invocation of saints and angels. The capitularies and edicts of Charles the great and Lewis the pious† enjoining the reading of the canonical scripture as the sole rule of faith, without any regard to human traditions or apocryphal writings. Private masses and pilgrimages, and other such superstitions ‡ were forbidden by the same capitularies. Lewis the pious held a council at Paris in the year 824, which agreed with the council of Francfort in rejecting the second council of Nice, and forbidding § the worship of images. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in his book against pictures and images, maintains that we ought not to adore any image of God, but only that which is God himself, even his eternal Son; and that there is no other mediator between God and men, save Jesus Christ, God and man; so that it is no wonder that this book is condemned in the Index Expurgatorius of the church of Rome. It was in this century, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was first advanced here in the west by Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in France; but it was strenuously opposed by Rabanus Maurus, Bertramus, Johannes Scotus, and many other bishops and learned men of that age. Rabanus Maurus,

* See Frederick Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century IX. Chap. ix. See Sacred Miscellanies of Antiquity, Book VI. See History of Images, 7, 8, 9

† See Capito Aquisgranenis. See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century IX. Chap iii. Sect. 2. Chap. ix. Sect. 2.

‡ See the same work of Spanheim, Chap. ix. Sec. 5. 8, &c.

§ See Spanheim's same work, Chap. ix. Sect. 3. Chap xii. Sect. 2. See history of images, Sect 9. See Alix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of the Albigenses, Chap ix.

archbishop of Mentz,* passes this censure upon the novelty of the doctrine; "Some," says he, "of late not rightly conceiving concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have affirmed, that this is the very same body of our Lord, which was born of the virgin Mary, and in which our Lord himself suffered, &c.; which error we have opposed to the utmost of our power, &c." He thus † expresses his own sentiments; "Our Lord would have the sacrament of his body and blood be taken and eaten by the faithful, that by a visible work an invisible effect might appear. For as the material food outwardly nourishes and refreshes the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourishes and strengthens the soul." Again: "the sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the body, but by the virtue of the sacrament eternal life is obtained." Bertramus, or Ratramnus as he is otherwise called, a monk of Corbie, wrote a book *of the body and blood of our Lord*, which he inscribed to the emperor Charles the bald. The emperor ‡ had inquired of him,

* 'Some persons lately not thinking rightly, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have said, that this is the very body of our Lord which was born of the Virgin Mary, and in which he himself suffered, &c. whose error we have opposed to the utmost of our ability.' See his book on Repentance, Chap xxxiii. See Spanheim's History of the Shristian Church, Century IX. Chap. x. Sect. 4.

† 'The Lord chose rather that the sacrament of his body and blood should be received by the mouth of the faithful, and incorporated with them, that by a visible work an invisible effect might appear; For as material food outwardly nourisheth the body, and causeth it to grow, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul. The sacrament is reduced into the nourishment of the body, but only life is obtained by the virtue of it.' See Le Clerk's Institutes, Book I. Chap. xxxi. and on the Universe, Book V. Chap. xi. See Usher on the succession and state of the Christian Church, Chap. ii. Sect. 16.

‡ 'When the emperor asked him, whether the body which was born of Mary, and suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is that which is daily taken in the church by the faithful in the mystery of the sacrament, Bertram answered, that the difference is as great between them, as between the pledge and the thing for which the pledge is given, as great as between the image and the thing whose image it is, as great as between the representation and the thing represented.' See Usher's same work, Sect. 17.

"whether the same body, which was born of Mary, and suffered, and was dead and buried, and which sitteth at the right hand of the Father, is what is daily taken in the mouth of the faithful by the mystery of the sacrament in the church:" and Bertram answers, that the difference between them is "as great as between the pledge, and the thing for which the pledge is delivered; as great as between the image, and the thing whose image it is; as great as between the representation, and the reality." He says * in several places, that "the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ, spiritually not corporally, in figure, in image, in mystery, not in truth, or real existence, or presence of the substance.' Johannes Scotus, the famous Irishman, for the Irish were the Scots of those times,† wrote also a book *of the eucharist* by the command of Charles the bald: and therein he asserted, that "the sacrament of the altar is not the true body nor true blood of our Lord, but only the memorial of the true body and of the true blood." He was after this invited into England by king Alfred, was preferred by him, and honoured with the title of martyr after his death; which is at least a strong presumption, that the church of England had not at that time received the doctrine of transubstantiation. In Italy itself ‡ Angilbertus, archbishop of Milan, would not acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, nor did the church of Milan submit to the see of Rome till two hundred years afterwards. But no one was more willing, as indeed no one of that age was more able, to stem the torrent of superstition than Claud, bishop of Turin, in his numerous writings and comments

* 'There Bertram treats the subject at large. He saith that the bread and wine are figuratively the body of Christ, spiritually not corporally; in figure, in image, in mystery, not in truth or real existence or presence of the substance,' &c. See Spanheim in the same place.

† 'The sacrament of the altar is not the true body nor the true blood of the Lord, but only a memorial of his true body and blood. See Spanheim in the same work. See the same work of Usher, Sect. 19. See Dupin, Century IX. Chap. vii. See Cave's Literary History, year 858, page 45, Vol. II. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book III. page 165.

‡ See Sigonius' History of the kingdom of Italy, Book V. year 844. See Spanheim in the same work, Chap. ix. Sect. 1.

upon scripture. He * asserted the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, and maintained that Jesus Christ was the only head of the church. He overthrew the doctrine of merit, and all pretensions to works of supererogation. He rejected traditions in matters of religion, held the church to be subject to error, and denied the use of prayers for the dead. He proposed the doctrine of the eucharist in a manner totally different from Paschasius Radbertus, and entirely conformable to the sense of the ancient church. He opposed with all his might the worship of saints, of relics, of images, together with pilgrimages, penances, and other superstitions of the like kind. He may in a manner be said to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his diocese of Turin; and his doctrines took such deep root, especially in the vallies of Piedmont, that they continued to flourish there for some centuries, as the papists themselves acknowledge.

The *tenth* century even the writers of the Romish communion lament and describe as the most debauched and wicked, the most illiterate and ignorant age since the coming of Christ. Genebrard † says "This is called the unhappy age being destitute of men famous for wit and learning, as also of famous princes and popes; in which scarce any thing was done worthy of the memory of posterity." He subjoins, "But chiefly unhappy in this one thing, that for almost 150 years, about 50 popes totally degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors being more like apostates than apostles." Baronius himself denomi-

* See these points proved by quotations and extracts from his works in Dr. Alix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedmont. Chap. ix. See also Spanheim, Dupin, Cave, &c.

† 'This is called the unhappy age. It was destitute of men celebrated for their wit and learning, and also renowned princes. It was an age wherein nothing was transacted worthy of being transmitted down to posterity. It was chiefly unhappy upon this account, that during almost a hundred and fifty years, there were about fifty popes, who had altogether departed from the virtue of their predecessors, and who were disorderly and apostatical, rather than apostolical.' See Genebrard's Sacred Chronology, Book IV. at the beginning of Century X. See Usher's Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. ii. Sect. 34. See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century X. Chap. iii. Sect. 1.

nates* it an *iron*, a *leaden*, and *obscure* age; and declares that "Christ was then, as it appears, in a very deep sleep, when the ship was covered with waves: and what seemed worse, when the Lord was thus asleep, there were wanting disciples who by their cries might awaken him, being themselves all fast asleep." It is not to be wondered, that in so long and dark a night as this, while all were asleep, the subtle enemy should sow his tares in great abundance. However there were some few like 'lights shining in a dark place,' who remonstrated against the degeneracy and superstition of the times. The Resolutions and decrees of the councils of Francfort and Paris against the worship of images† had still some force and influence in Germany, in France, in England, and other countries. In the former part of this century, in the year 909, a council was held at Trossoy,‡ a village near Soissons in France; and having made several wise and good regulations, they concluded with a profession of the things, which Christians ought to believe and practise: and in that profession are none of those things which constitute the sum of popish doctrine, nothing of the pope's being head of the church nothing of the daily sacrifice of the mass, or of purgatory, or of the worship of creatures, or of commentitious sacraments, or of confession to the priest, but of pure and sincere confession to God: so much did this council differ from the spirit and principles of the council of Trent. Many churches§ still retained the use of

* 'Lo a new age commenceth, which on account of its barbarity and want of every thing amiable, may be called the iron age, on account of the deformity of abounding wickedness may be named the age of lead, and for the want of authors may be denominated the age of darkness.' See Baronius at the year 900. 'Then as would seem Christ was wrapt up in a deep sleep, when the ship was well nigh covered with the waves. And what was still worse, there were disciples wanting, to awaken their sleeping Lord by their cries, all being fast asleep.' See the same, at the year 912. See also Usher and Spanheim in the same places.

† See the same work of Spanheim, Chap. vi. Sect. 8. See the History of Images, Sect. 19.

‡ See the third volume of the councils in France. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. viii. Sect. 3. See Dupin, Century, X. Chap. iii.

§ See the same work of Spanheim, Chap. vi. Sect. 2. and 10.

the scriptures in the vulgar tongue: and in England particularly Athelstan caused them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon idiom. Great opposition * was also made in several countries to the celibacy of the clergy; and several councils were held upon the controversy between the monks and the secular clergy, and particularly in England, where Elfere earl of Mercia expelled the monks out of the monasteries in that province, and introduced the clergy with their wives. Many too even in this age denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. Heriger abbot of Lobes near Liege † wrote expressly against it; as did also Alfric ‡ in England, whose homily for Easter used to be read publicly in the churches. His principal aim therein § is to prove, "that we spiritually taste the body of Christ, and drink his blood, when with true faith we partake of that holy sacrament: the bread and wine cannot by any benediction be changed into the body and blood of Christ, they are indeed the body and blood of Christ, yet not corporally, but spiritually;" with much more to the same purpose. He wrote also two epistles, the one addressed to Wulsim, bishop of Shirburn, and the other to Wulfstan, archbishop of York, wherein he asserts the same doctrine. In the former he thus explains the doctrine of the sacrament; ‖ "The host is the body of

'He caused the Holy Scriptures to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon language.' See William of Malmsbury and Bellæus.

* See the same work of Spanheim, Sect. 5. See Spelman's British Councils, Vol. I. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book III. page 199.

† See Sigebert on Ecclesiastical writers, Chap. cxxxviii. See Usher in the same place, Sect. 20. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. vii. Sect. 3. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. iv.

‡ See Usher in the same place, Sect. 20, and 21. See Spanheim in the same place, Sect. 2. See Dupin in the same place, Chap v. See Cave's Literary History, Vol. II. page 108, &c. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book III. page 204, &c.

§ That is his principal object, "To show that we eat the body, and drink the blood of Christ in a spiritual manner, when with a true faith we partake of the holy eucharist; that the bread and wine cannot by any blessing be changed into the body and blood of Christ: that they are truly the body and blood of Christ, not however corporally, but spiritually," &c. See Cave in the same work, p 110.

‖ 'The host is the body of Christ, not corporally but spiritual-

Christ, not corporally, but spiritually. Not the body in which he suffered; but the body of which he spake, when he consecrated the bread and wine, the night preceding his passion, and said of the consecrated bread, This is my body, and again of the consecrated wine, This is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." In the latter he hath these memorable words,* which some papists of more zeal than knowledge attempted to erase out of the manuscript copy. "Yet this sacrifice is not made his body in which he suffered for us, nor his blood which he poured out for us, but it is spiritually made his body and blood; as the manna which rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock, as Paul the apostle saith." The synods and councils, which were held in this age by the authority of kings and bishops, show evidently that the power of the pope had not yet extended over all. Nay there were kings and bishops who opposed the supremacy of the pope; and none more than the council of Rheims † in the year 991, and Gerbert archbishop of Rheims, who declared "that if the pope did amiss, he was liable to the censures of the

ly. 'It is not the body in which he suffered, but the body of which he spake, when in the night before he suffered he consecrated the bread and wine into the host: And when he said of the consecrated bread this is my body, and again of the sacred wine, this is my blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' See him quoted by Usher in the same place, Sect. 21.

* 'Yet this sacrifice is not made his body in which he suffered for us, nor his blood which he shed for us, but it is rendered spiritually his body and blood. Like the manna which rained from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock as the apostle Paul speaketh.' See him quoted by Usher in the same place, and Cave in the same place.

† See Spanheim's quotation from Baronius, Anno 992, No. 10. And from Gerbert's Epistle. 'If he sinned he was liable to the judgment of the Church. What, reverend Fathers, do you think this man to be, sitting on a lofty throne, shining in a purple covering and in gold, what, I say, do you think this man to be? Why, if he be without charity and puffed up with knowledge alone, and on that account exalted, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as if he were God.' See Chap. vi. Sect. 3, &c. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. v. See also Alix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of the Albigenses, Chap. x.

church :" and speaking of the pope then reigning, John XV, "What," says he, "do you conceive this man, sitting on a lofty throne, glittering in purple clothing and in gold, what, I say, do you conceive him to be? If he is destitute of charity, and is puffed up by knowledge alone, he is Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself that he is God." He was afterwards himself chosen pope under the name of Sylvester II, and possibly the change of his situation might produce a change in his sentiments.

Much of the same complexion with the tenth was the *eleventh* century, equally sunk in profligacy, superstition, and ignorance, but yet not without some superior spirits to bear testimony against it. The papal power was in this century carried beyond all bounds by the ambition and arrogance of the reigning popes, and particularly by the violence and haughtiness of Gregory VII, whose former name was Hildebrand, or *Hell Brand*, as he hath often been denominated. But yet there were emperors and councils, who strenuously opposed the pretensions and usurpations of the see of Rome; and these contests and struggles between the popes and emperors about the right of investitures and other articles, make a principal part of the history of this age. Our English kings, devoted as they were to the religion, yet would not entirely submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome: but contradicted it in several instances. When William I. was required by the pope to pay him homage, he made answer,* "To pay homage I have been unwilling, nor am I willing, for neither did I promise it, neither do I find that my predecessors paid it to your predecessors." His son William Rufus exerted somewhat of the same spirit,† and insisted that the pope, without his permission, had no manner of jurisdiction in England. Early in this century

* 'To pay homage I have been and still am unwilling; because I have never promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors have ever done it to yours.' See the quotation in Baronius, year 1072. Sect. 25. See Usher's Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. vii. Sect. 9.

† See Eadmer's History, Book II. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History Book IV. page 279.

there* appeared at Orleans some heretics, as they were called, who maintained that the consecration of the priest could not change the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and that it was unprofitable to pray to saints and angels; and they were condemned by the council of Orleans in the year 1017. Not long after these appeared other† heretics of the same stamp in Flanders, who were also condemned by the synod of Arras in the year 1025. They came originally from Italy, where they had been the disciples of Gundulphus; and they are said to have admitted no scripture but the gospels and apostolical writings; to have denied the reality of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; to have attributed no religious worship to the holy confessors, none to the cross, none to images, nor to temples nor altars; and to have asserted, that there was no purgatory, and that penances after death could not absolve the deceased from their sins. Other tenets were ascribed to them, which were really heretical: and perhaps they might hold some errors, as well as some truth; or perhaps their adversaries, as it hath been their usual artifice, might lay things to their charge merely to blacken and defame them. Not long after these‡ arose the famous Berengarius, a native of Tours, and archdeacon of Angers, who more professedly wrote against the doctrine of transubstantiation; and also§ called "the church of Rome a church of Malignants, the council of Vanity, and the seat of Satan." It is true that he was compelled by the authority of popes and councils to renounce, abjure, and burn his writings. But his was all a forced, and not in the least a voluntary

* See Dupin, Century XI. Chap. xiii. See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century, Xi. Chap. x. Sect. 1.

† See Spanheim in the same place. See Dupin in the same place. See Alex's Remarks upon the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, Chap. xi.

‡ See Usher in the same place, Chap. vii. Sect. 24, &c. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. ii. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. viii. &c.

§ 'He used to call the church of Rome, the church of malignants, the council of vanity and Satan's seat.' See William Reginald's Calvino—Turcism, Book II. Chap. v. See Usher in the same place. Sect. 24.

recantation. As often as he recanted, he relapsed again, He returned like a dog to his vomit, as a contemporary popish writer* expresseth it. He lived and died in the same sentiments. His heresy was from him called the Berengarian heresy; and his followers were so numerous, that as old historians relate,† he had corrupted almost all the French, Italians, and English with his depravities. When Gregory VII. had, both by letters and by a council held at Rome in the year 1074, strictly forbidden the marriage of the clergy, it raised‡ great commotions among the ecclesiastics in Germany; who not only complained of the pope for imposing this yoke, but likewise accused him of advancing a notion insupportable, and contrary to the words of our Saviour, who saith that all are not able to live in continence, and to the words of the apostle, who ordereth those who have not the gift of continence to marry. They added that this law, in forcing the ordinary course of nature, would be the cause of great disorders; that they would rather renounce the priesthood than marriage; and the pope should provide, if he could, angels to govern the church, since he refused to be served by men. This was the language of these corrupt ecclesiastics, as Dupin§ hath called them: but the decree of the pope was no less opposed in France, in Flanders, in Italy, and England, than in Germany. A council was held at Winchester in the year 1076, wherein it was decreed|| indeed, that no canon should marry; but the priests in the country, who were already married

* 'Who although he frequently abjured in the synod the same heresy, yet he was not afraid like a dog to return to his vomit.' See Bertold of Constance, a Presbyter, quoted by Usher in the same place, Sect. 34.

† 'At the same time Berenger, of Tours, having fallen into heretical depravity, had already corrupted all the French, the Italians, and the English, with his errors.' See Matthew of Westminster's History of Westminster and Rochester, year 1087. See Usher in the same place, Sect. 27.

‡ See Dupin in the same place, Chap. v. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. vii. Sect. 4.

§ 'It was in this manner that these corrupt Ecclesiastics used to speak.' See Dupin in the same place, page 36.

|| See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book IV. page 248, and 249. See Spelman's Councils, Vol. II.

were allowed to cohabit with their wives; whereas the pope had injoined all priests without distinction to put away their wives, or to forbear the exercise of their office. Whereupon Mr. Collier hath made this just reflection; "From hence it appears that the papal supremacy had not reached its zenith in this century, and that the English bishops did not believe the patriarchal power arbitrary and unlimited, but that a national church had some reserves of liberty, and might dissent from the constitution of the see of Rome upon occasion."

Europe hitherto was involved in the dark night of popery, with only some stars appearing here and there in the horizon; but in the *twelfth* century there began to be visible some streaks of the morning light, some dawnings of a reformation. Here in England, during the reign of Henry II. the famous constitutions of Clarendon were sworn to and signed, both by the clergy and the laity, in recognition of the rights of the crown, particularly forbidding all appeals to Rome without the king's license, and appointing the trial of criminal clerks before secular judges: But the best account of this, as well as of the other memorable transactions of this reign, the public expects with some impatience from one of the most masterly and elegant writers of the present age, a friend to religion and virtue, a friend to liberty and his country; and the public expectations have been since fully answered. Fluentius, bishop of Florence,* taught publicly, that Antichrist was born, and come into the world: whereupon pope Paschal II, went to Florence, held a council there in the year 1105, and severely reprimanded the bishop, and strictly forbade him to preach any such doctrine. St. Bernard himself, devoted as he was and bigotted to the church of Rome in other respects,† yet inveighed loudly against the corruption of the clergy, and the pride and tyranny of the popes, saying, that they were the ministers of Christ and served Antichrist, that noth-

* See Platina's Life of Paschal II. See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century XII. Chap. v. Sect. 2. See Cave's Literary History, Century XII. See Councils, Vol. II. page 258. See Calmet's Dictionary on the word of Antichrist.

† See Spanheim in the same place. See Usher's Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. vii. Sect. 5, and 6.

ing remained but that the man of sin should be revealed, that the beast in the Apocalypse occupied St. Peter's chair, with other expressions to the same effect. While our King Richard I. was at Messina in Sicily, going upon his expedition to the holy land, he* sent for the famous abbot Joachim of Calabria, and heard him with much satisfaction explain the Apocalypse, and discourse of Antichrist. He said that Antichrist was already born in the city of Rome, and that he would be advanced to the apostolical chair, and 'exalted above all that is called God, or is worshipped.' So that some true notion of Antichrist began to spread even among the members of the church of Rome; and no wonder it prevailed among those, who more directly opposed the doctrines of that church. Peter de Bruis, and Henry his disciple, taught† in several parts of France, that "the body and blood of Christ were not offered in the theatrical mass; that the doctrine of the change of the substances in the sacrament is false; that sacrifices, that is, masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are foolish and impious, and profit them nothing; that priests and monks ought rather to marry than to burn, that crosses are not to be adored, or venerated, and so many crosses, serving to superstition, ought rather to be removed than retained:" and they both were martyrs, the one being burnt, and the

* See Roger of Hoveden's Annals, last Part, page 681, in the Frankfort edition of 1601. 'He hath already been born in the city of Rome, and he will be raised to the apostolical chair, &c.' See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book VI. page 401.

† 'That the body and blood of Christ are not offered in the Theatrical mass. That the doctrines concerning the change of the elements or substances made use of in the sacrament, is false. That sacrifices, that is, masses, prayers, alms, and other works of the living for the dead, are folly and impiety, and can be of no advantage to them. That priests and friars ought rather to marry than to burn. That crosses are not to be adored or venerated; and that so many crosses tending to superstition, ought rather to be removed than retained. See the Magdeburg Church History, Vol. III. Century XII. Chap. v. page 331, &c. in the Basle edition of 1624. See the same Work of Spanheim, Chap. vii. Sect. 2. See Dupin in Century XII. Chap. vi. See Alix' Remarks upon the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses, Chap. xiv.

other imprisoned for life, on account of their doctrines.—Other heresies were laid to their charge, and their own writings are now extant to speak for them; but these things they taught and professed, their enemies themselves being judges. Arnold of Brescia* held opinions contrary to those of the church concerning the sacrament, and preached mightily against the temporal power and jurisdiction of the pope and the clergy; for which he was burnt at Rome in the year 1155, and his ashes were thrown into the Tyber, to prevent the people from expressing any veneration for his relics. But the true witness, and as I may say the protestants of this age, were the Waldenses and Albigenses, who began to be famous at this time, and being dispersed into various places were distinguished by various appellations. Their first and proper name seemeth to have been *Vallenses*, or inhabitants of the vallies; and so saith† one of the oldest writers, Ebrard of Bethune who wrote in the year 1212; "They call themselves *Vallenses*, because they abide in the valley of tears," alluding to their situation in the vallies of Piedmont. They were called *Albigenses*, from Alby a city in the southern parts of France, where also great numbers of them were situated. They were afterwards denominated *Valdenses* or *Waldenses* from Peter Valdo, a rich citizen of Lyons, and a considerable leader of the sect. From Lyons too they were called *Leonisits*, and *Cathari* from the professed purity of their life and doctrine, as others since have had the name of *Puritans*.—As there was a variety of names, so there might be some diversity of opinions among them; but that they were not guilty of Manicheism and other abominable heresies, which have been charged upon them is certain and evident from all the remains of their creeds, confessions, and

* See Otto Bishop of Frifingius' History of Frederic Barbarossa, Book I. See the same Work of Spanheim, Chap. vii. Sect. 4. See Dupin in the same place. See Alix' Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, Chap. xviii.

† 'They call themselves Vallians, (vallenses,) because they remain in the valley of tears.' See Eberhard of Bethune's Antihæresis, Chap. xxv. See Usher in the same place, Chap. viii. Sect. 4. See Alix in the same place.

writings. Their opinions* are thus recited from an old manuscript by the Centuriatores of Magdeburg.

"In articles of faith the authority of the holy scripture "is the highest, and for that reason it is the rule of judg-"ing; so that whatsoever agreeth not with the word of "God, is deservedly to be rejected and avoided.

"The decrees of fathers and councils are so far to be "approved, as they agree with the word of God.

"The reading and knowledge of the holy scriptures is "free and necessary for all men, the laity as well as the "clergy; yea and the writings of the prophets and apos-"tles are to be read rather than the comments of men.

"The sacraments of the church of Christ are two, bap-"tism and the supper of the Lord.

"The receiving in both kinds for priests and people "was instituted by Christ.

"Masses are impious; and it is madness to say masses "for the dead.

"Purgatory is an invention of men; for they who be-"lieve, go into eternal life, they who believe not, into "eternal damnation.

"The invocating and worshipping of dead saints is ido-"latry.

"The church of Rome is the whore of Babylon.

"We must not obey the pope and bishops; because "they are the wolves of the church of Christ.

"The pope hath not the primacy over all the churches "of Christ, neither hath he the power of both swords.

"That is the church of Christ which heareth the sin-"cere word of Christ, and useth the sacraments institu-"ted by him, in what place soever it exist.

"Vows of celibacy are inventions of men, and occa-"sions of Sodomy.

"So many orders are so many characters of the beast.

"Monkery is a stinking carcass.

"So many superstitious dedications of churches, com-"memorations of the dead, benediction of creatures, pil-

* 'We bring forth these Articles from an ancient Manuscript.' See the Magdeburg Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. Century XII. Chap. viii. page 548, in the Basle edition of 1624. See also the Confession of Faith by the Waldenses in Perrin's History, Book I. Chap. xii, &c.

"grimages, so many forced fastings, so many superflu-
"ous festivals, those perpetual bellowings (meaning the
"singing and chanting) of unlearned men, and the obser-
"vations of the other ceremonies, manifestly hindering the
"teaching and learning of the word, are diabolical inven-
"tions.

"The marriage of priests is lawful and necessary."

Much hath been written in censure and commendation of this sect both by enemies and friends, by papists and protestants. If they had been grossly misrepresented and vilified on one side, they have been amply vindicated and justified on the other; but I will only produce the testimonies of three witnesses concerning them, whom both sides must allow to be unexceptionable, Reinerius, Thuanus, and Mezeray. Reinerius* flourished

* 'Among all the sects which at present are, or which have been, there is not any more pernicious than the church of the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, that it is of longer standing, for some say that it hath continued from the time of Pope Sylvester, and others, from the time of the apostles. The second is, because it is more widely extended, for there is scarce any country, where this sect is not to be found. And the third is, that while by the outrageousness of their blasphemies, other sectarians induce horror into the minds of them that hear them, the Leonists preserve a great appearance of piety, whilst they live righteously before men, and believe well all things concerning God, yea all the articles which are contained in the creed. Herein only they are culpable, that they speak against the Romish Church and clergy, and in so doing, the laity are but too apt to believe them.' See Reinerius against Heretics, Chap. iv. page 54, in the Ingolstadt edition of 1613. See Usher in the same place, Chap. vi. Sect. 11. and Chap. viii. Sect. 1. See Cave's Literary History, Vol. II, at the year 1244, page 302. Usher hath added other remarkable testimonies concerning the morals of the Waldenses, and their followers. A certain Popish Inquisitor, (See for this the writers of the Bohemian affairs published by Freherus, page 231.) When he is about to describe the morals of the Leonists or Waldenses, maketh use of this preamble. "Heretics are known by their morals and words. In their morals they are quiet and modest. Nothing of pride appears in their dress," &c. O times truly most wretched, wherein quietness and modesty are accounted the marks of heretics. Claud Scyssel, Archbishop of Turin, (in his treatise against the errors and sect of the Waldenses, in the Paris edition of 1520, and ninth leaf,) speaking of the same, hath

about the year 1254; and his testimony is the more remarkable, as he was a Dominican, and inquisitor general. "Among all the sects, which still are or have been, there is not any more pernicious to the church than that of the Leonists. And this for three reasons. The first is, because it is older; for some say that it hath endured from the time of Pope Sylvester; others, from the time of the apostles. The second, because it is more general; for there is scarce any country wherein this sect is not. The third, because when all other sects beget horror in the hearers by the outrageousness of their blasphemies against God, this of the Leonists hath a great show of piety; because they live justly before men, and believe all things rightly concerning God, and all the articles which are contained in the creed; only they blaspheme the church of Rome and the clergy; whom the multitude of the laity is easy to believe." The credit of Thuanus as an historian, is too well established to need any recommendation; and he is* so candid and impartial, as to distinguish between their real opinions, and those heresies which were falsely imputed to them by their ene-

these words. "It contributes not a little towards the establishment and toleration of the sect of the Waldenses, that excepting in these things which they take for granted against our faith and religion, in other things they led a purer life than other Christians. Unless forced, they swear not, and seldom pronounce the name of God in vain. They are scrupulously exact in fulfilling their promises. The greater part of them live in poverty, and profess that they alone observe the practice and doctrine of the apostles: And on that account the power of the church is lodged with them as the innocent and true disciples of Christ, for the sake of the faith and religion of whom, they lived in poverty, and regard it honourable and glorious to suffer persecution from us." James Liclenstein, a Dominican, hath given a similar testimony to the Bohemian Brethren, who descended from the Waldenses, (he is quoted by Joachim Camerarius, belonging to the church of the Bohemian Brethren.) "I affirm," saith he, "that they are excellent in their morals and life, true in their words, of one mind in brotherly love, but in their doctrines they are obstinately and exceedingly wicked, as hath been made evident in my treatise." See Usher, Chap. vi. Sect. 15.

* See Thuanus' History, Book VI. Sect. 16. Vol. I. page 221, in Buckley's edition.

mies. "Peter Valdo, a wealthy citizen of Lyons, about the year of Christ 1170, gave name to the Valdenses. He (as Guy de Perpignan, bishop of Elna in Rousillon, who exercised the office of inquisitor against the Valdenses, hath left testified in writing) leaving his house and goods, devoted himself wholly to the profession of the gospel, and took care to have the writings of the prophets and apostles translated into the vulgar tongue—When now in a little time he had many followers about him, he sent them forth as his disciples into all parts to propagate the gospel—Their fixed opinions were said to be these: that the church of Rome, because she hath renounced the true faith of Christ, is the whore of Babylon, and that barren tree, which Christ himself hath cursed, and commanded to be rooted up; therefore we must by no means obey the pope, and the bishops who cherish his errors: that the monastic life is the sink of the church, and an hellish institution; its vows are vain, and subservient only to the filthy love of boys: the orders of the presbytery are the marks of the great beast, which is mentioned in the Apocalypse: the fire of purgatory, the sacrifice of the mass, the feast of the dedications of churches, the worship of saints, and propitiations for the dead, are inventions of Satan. To these the principal and certain heads of their doctrine, others were feigned and added, concerning marriage, the resurrection, the state of the soul after death, and concerning meats." Mezeray, the celebrated historiographer of France, is short, but full to our purpose; for* he saith, that "they had almost the same opinions as those who are now called Calvinists." It cannot be objected that this is protestant evidence, for they were all three members of the church of Rome.

In the *thirteenth* century, the Waldenses and Albigenses had spread and prevailed so far, and were prevailing still farther, that the pope thought it necessary to exert his utmost efforts to suppress them. For this purpose the first croisade was proclaimed of Christians against

* 'They had almost the same opinions, with them who at present are called Calvinists.' See his Chronological Abridgment of Philip Augustus, p. 657, in the Amsterdam edition of 1674.

Christians, and the office of inquisition was erected, the one to subdue their bodies, the other to inslave their souls. It is enough to make the blood run cold, to read of the horrid murders and devastations of this time, how many of these poor innocent Christians were sacrificed to the blind fury and malice of their enemies. It is computed* that in France alone were slain a million: and what was the consequence of these shocking barbarities? No writer can better inform us than† the wise and moderate historian Thuanus. "Against the Waldenses (saith he) when exquisite punishments availed little, and the evil was exasperated by the remedy which had been unseasonably applied, and their number increased daily, at length complete armies were raised: and a war of no less weight, than what our people had before waged against the Saracens, was decreed against them; the event of which was, that they were rather slain, put to flight, spoiled every where of their goods and dignities, and dispersed here and there, than that convinced of their error they repented. So that they who at first had defended themselves by arms, at last, overcome by arms, fled into Provence and the neighbouring Alps of the French territory, and found a shelter for their life and doctrine in those places. Part withdrew into Calabria, and continued there a long while, even to the pontificate of Pious IV. Part passed into Germany, and fixed their abode among the Bohemians, and in Poland and Livonia. Others turning to the west, obtained refuge in Britain." But there were others in this age, who proceeded not so far as the Waldenses and Albigenses, and yet opposed the church of Rome in many respects. At the beginning of this century Alemric‡ and his disciples were charged with several heresies, and were condemned by the second council of Paris, in the year 1209. They might possibly hold some heterodox opinions; but their great offence was their denying the change of the sub-

* See Mede on the Apocalypse, page 503.

† See De Thou's Preface to the reign of Henry IV. page 7, in Buckley's edition.

‡ See Dupin, Century XIII. Chap. viii. See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century XIII. Chap. ix. Sect. 2.

stance of the bread and wine in the eucharist, their opposing the worship of saints, images, and relics, and their affirming that the pope was Antichrist, that Rome was Babylon, and that the prelates were the members and ministers of Antichrist: so that these differed little from the Waldenses and Albigenses. William of St. Amour, a doctor of the Sarbonne, wrote a treatise* 'of the perils of the last times,' wherein he applied that prophecy of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 1. 'This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come,' to the mendicant orders and preachers of his time: and it was so severe a satire upon the Dominicans, that pope Alexander IV. condemned it, as containing perverse sentiments, contrary to the power and authority of the Roman pontiff, and of the other bishops, and in fine, as a book capable of causing great scandals and troubles in the church. Robert Grosthead or Greathead, bishop of Lincoln,† in his speeches and writings, inveighed bitterly against the corruption and superstition, the lewdness and wickedness of the clergy in general, and the rapacity and avarice, the tyranny and antichristianism of pope Innocent IV. in particular. He was also no less a friend to civil than to religious liberty,‡ and ordered all the violators of Magna Charta, whosoever and wheresoever they were within his diocese, to be excommunicated. Matthew Paris, a contemporary historian, hath related§ the substance of his dying discourses, wherein he proves the pope to be an heretic, and deservedly to be called Antichrist: and concludes with giving him the character of "refuter of the pope, reprover of prelates, corrector of monks, director of priests, instructor of the clergy, and in short the hammer

* See the Magdeburg Ecclesiastical History, Century XIII. Chap. x. p. 588, in the Basle edition of 1624. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. vii. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. vi. Sect. 1.

† See the Magdeburg Centuriators. See Baille, Dupin, Cave, Tanner, &c.

‡ See Matthew Paris at the year 1253, page 874, in the edition of Watts, 1646.

§ See Matthew Paris in the same place. A refuter of the pope, a reprover of the prelates, a corrector of monks, a director of priests, an instructor of clergymen.—The hammer of the Romans, and one that despised them, p. 876.

to beat down the Romans and to bring them into contempt." It is no marvel that such a man was excommunicated! but he* little regarded the censure, and appealed from the court of Innocent to the tribunal of Christ. Not to mention others, Matthew Paris himself hath painted in the most lively colours the corruptions and abominations of the see of Rome, the tyranny, superstition, simony, and wickedness of the popes and clergy. A protestant historian could not more freely lash and expose the vices of the times, than he did who was a monk of St. Albans.

As 'they are not all Israel which are of Israel;' so neither have all the members of the Romish church believed all her doctrines. Dante and Petrarch, the former of whom died, and the latter was born as well as died, in the *fourteenth* century, were severe satirists †upon the times, and wrote freely against the temporal dominion of the pope, and the corruptions of the clergy, treating Rome as Babylon, and the pope as Antichrist: and they probably did more hurt to the court and church of Rome by their wit and raillery, than others by invective and declamation. Peter Fitz Cassiodor, whether a fictitious or a real person, addressed ‡ a remonstrance to the church of England against the tyranny, avarice and exactions of the court of Rome, advising and exhorting the English to shake off the Roman yoke from their necks. Michael Cæsenas and William Occam§ exposed the various errors and heresies of John XXII. to the number of 77; and secure in the protection of the emperor, they set at nought the thunder of the pope's excommunications. Marsilius, a famous lawyer of Padua,|| wrote a treatise entitled *the de-*

* 'Being excommunicated, he appealed from the court of Pope Innocent, to the tribunal of Christ.' See Henry de Knyghton, Book II. between writers X. page 2436.

† See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century XIV. Chap. v. Sect. 8, and 9. See Robert Geary and Henry Wharton in the Appendix to Cave's Literary Hist. page 9, and 50.

‡ See the Appendix to Cave, page 10. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book V. page 501, &c.

§ See Henry Wharton in the Appendix to Cave, page 20, and 28. See Dupin, Century XIV. Chap. v.

|| See Wharton in the same place, page 26, 27. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. v. and viii.

fender of peace, wherein he advanced the power of the emperor above that of the pope in things spiritual as well as temporal; painted in the strongest colours the pride, ambition, and luxury of the court of Rome; and abundantly proved that the pope had not by divine right the least authority or pre-eminence over other bishops. It is no wonder that the author and his book were condemned together. But there were other and better witnesses than these in this age. It was shown before from Thuanus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses being persecuted in their own country, fled for refuge into foreign nations, some into Germany, and some into Britain. In Germany they grew and multiplied so fast, notwithstanding the rage and violence of croisaders and inquisitors, that at the beginning of this century* it is computed, that there were eighty thousand of them in Bohemia, Austria, and the neighbouring territories; and they pertinaciously defended their doctrines even unto death. Among a variety of other names they were called *Lollards* from† one Walter Lollard, who preached in Germany about the year 1315 against the authority of the pope, the intercession of saints, the mass, extreme unction, and other ceremonies and superstitions of the church of Rome; and was burned alive at Cologn in the year 1322. In England also they were denominated Lollards, though there was a man more worthy to have given name to the sect, the deservedly famous John Wickliff, the honour of his own, and the admiration of all succeeding times. Rector only of Lutterworth, he‡ filled all England, and almost all Europe with his doctrine. He began to grow famous about the year 1360 by preaching and writing against the superstitions of the age, the tyranny of the pope, the erroneous doctrines and vicious lives of the monks and the clergy; and especially by defending the

* See Bzovius at the year 1315. See Spanheim in the same work, Chap. vi. Sect. 1. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. viii.

† See Dupin in the same place. See Hoffman's law, Spelman, Skinner, &c.

‡ See Henry Wharton in the Appendix to Cave, page 60, &c. See Spanheim in the same place, Chap. vi. See Leland, Bale, Tanner, &c.

royal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction against the usurpations of the popes and mendicant friars. The more he opposed, the more reason he found for opposition. He translated the canonical scriptures into the English language, and wrote comments upon them. He demonstrated the antichristianity of popery, and the abomination of desolation in the temple of God. He asserted the one true sacrifice of Christ, and opposed the sacrifice of the mass, transubstantiation, the adoration of the host, the seven sacraments, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints and images, and in short all the principal corruptions and superstitions of the church of Rome. His success too was greater than he could have expected. The princes, the people, the university of Oxford, many even of the Clergy, favoured and supported him, and embraced his opinions. His enemies have charged him with several heterodox notions; but many years ago was published, *An apology for John Wickliff, showing his conformity with the now church of England, &c. collected out of his written works in the Bodleian library, by Thomas James, keeper of the same, at Oxford*, 1608. This truly great and good man died of a palsy the last day of the year 1387, but his doctrines did not die with him. His books were read in the public schools and colleges at Oxford, and were recommended to the diligent perusal of each student in the university, till they were condemned and prohibited by the council of Constance in the next century. His followers, the Lollards, in the year 1395 presented a remonstrance* to the parliament, which contained these with other articles; that when the church of England began to mismanage her temporalities in conformity to the precedents of Rome, faith, hope, and charity began to take their leave of her communion; that the English priesthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power superior to angels, is not that priesthood which Christ settled upon his apostles; that enjoining celibacy to the clergy was the occasion of scandalous irregularities in the church; that the pretended miracle of transubstantiation runs the greatest part of christendom

* See Walsingham, Stow, Spelman, Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book VI. page 596, &c.

upon idolatry; that exorcisms and benedictions pronounced over wine, bread, water, the mitre, the cross, &c. have more of necromancy than religion in them; that prayer made for the dead is a wrong ground for charity and religious endowments; that pilgrimages, prayers, and offerings made to images and crosses, are near of kin to idolatry; that auricular confession makes the priests proud, lets them into the secrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for intrigues, and is attended with scandalous consequences, as well as the doctrine of indulgences; that the vow of single life undertaken by women in the church of England is the occasion of horrible disorders, &c. Some false tenets might be contained in the same remonstrance; for alas, who is there that holdeth the truth without any mixture or alloy of error? They denied the infallibility of the pope, and they could not well pretend to be infallible themselves.

Two things contributed much to the revival of learning in the *fifteenth* century, the Greeks flying with their books from Constantinople which the Turks had taken, and the invention of printing. As learning more revived, so the truth prevailed more; and the more the truth prevailed, the fury of persecution increased in proportion. Wickliff himself had been permitted to die in peace; but after his death * his doctrines were condemned, his books were burned, his very body was dug up and burned too, by a decree of the council of Constance, and the command of pope Martin V. executed by Richard Fleming bishop of Lincoln. His followers however were not discouraged, and many of them witnessed a good confession even unto death. William Sawtre, parish priest of St. Ofith, in London, † hath the honour of being the first who was burned for heresy in England; which was done in the reign of Henry IV, at the beginning of this century. A few years afterwards Thomas Badby ‡ was con-

* See Bale's British writers, Century VI. No. I. See Henry Wharton in the Appendix to Cave, page 63. See Dupin, Collier, Tanner, &c.

† See Fox. See Burnet's History of the Reformation, Book I. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Book VII. page 617, &c. See Rapin, &c.

‡ See Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. page 620.

victed of heresy, and ordered also to be burned in Smithfield. Henry, prince of Wales, was present at his execution: and the poor man showing very sensible signs of the torment he endured, the prince out of compassion commanded the fire to be removed, and promised him pardon and a pension for life, provided he would retract his errors. But Badby being come to himself, resolutely rejected this offer; he chose rather to die with a good, than to live with an evil conscience; and so the fire was kindled again, and he was consumed to ashes. In the next reign Sir John Oldcastle, baron of Cobham, * was prosecuted for being the principal patron and abettor of the Lollards. Being examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, he declared against transubstantiation, penances, the worshipping of the cross, the power of the keys; and asserted that the pope was Antichrist and the head of that body, the bishops were the members, and the friars the hinder parts of the Antichristian society. He was therefore pronounced a heretic convict, and delivered over to the secular power. But before the day fixed for his execution he escaped out of prison; and being charged by his enemies with endeavouring to make an insurrection, he was outlawed for high treason; and being taken afterwards, he was hanged as a traitor, and burned hanging as an heretic, being the first nobleman in England who suffered death for the cause of religion. It was the great blot and stain of Henry the fifth's reign and character, that while he was carrying the glory of the English arms abroad, he was still persecuting the poor Lollards at home. But notwithstanding these persecutions, and the severest laws and proclamations against them, their numbers still increased, not only among the people, but even in parliament, not only in England, but even in foreign countries, and especially in Bohemia. For there † John Huss and Jerome of Prague having received Wickliff's books, advanced and propagated the same doctrines; for which they were both condemned to the flames and suffered death with the most heroic fortitude. It

* See Walsingham, Rapin, Collier, ibid. page 632, &c.

† See Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century XV. Chap. vi. vii. See Dupin, Century XV. Chap. vii. See Lenfant's History of the Councils of Pisa and Constance.

was a most unjust sentence, contrary to all faith and the solemn engagement of a safe conduct, and drew after it the most fatal consequences. For out of their ashes a civil war was kindled; the Bohemians revolted against the emperor, and maintained and defended their opinions by arms as well as by arguments. What the opinions generally received among the Bohemians were, we may learn with some exactness from one, who had opportunities of being well informed by living and conversing some time among them, and was far from being prejudiced in their favour; Æneas Sylvius, who being afterwards chosen pope assumed the name of Pius II. These then were their opinions * according to him, who, we may be certain, would not represent them better, if he would not represent them worse, than they were in reality.

"The pope of Rome is equal with other bishops.

"Among priests there is no difference; not dignity, "but merit giveth the preference.

"Souls departing out of bodies, are immediately either "plunged into eternal punishments, or attain eternal joys.

"There is no purgatory fire.

"It is in vain to pray for the dead, and an invention of "priestly covetousness.

"The images of God and the saints ought to be de-"stroyed.

"The blessing of water and palm branches is ridicu-"lous.

"The religion of the mendicants was invented by evil "demons.

"Priests ought to be poor, content with alms alone.

"Every one hath free liberty to preach the word of "God.

"No capital sin ought to be tolerated, although for the "sake of avoiding a greater evil.

"He who is guilty of moral sin ought not to enjoy any "secular or ecclesiastical dignity, nor is he to be obeyed.

* See Usher's Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. vi. Sec. 16. See Alix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedmont, Chap. xxii. See Æneas Sylvius' History of the Bohemian Brethren, Chap. xxxv.

"Confirmation, which the bishops celebrate with anoint-
"ing, and extreme unction, are by no means contained
"among the sacraments of the church.

"Auricular confession is trifling; it is sufficient for
"every one in his chamber to confess his sins unto God.

"Baptism ought to be celebrated without any mixture
"of holy oil.

"The use of church-yards is vain, invented for the
"sake of gain; in whatsoever ground human bodies are
"buried, it maketh no difference.

"The temple of the great God is the whole world;
"they confine his majesty, who build churches, monas-
"teries, and oratories, as if the divine goodness would
"be found more propitious in them.

"Sacerdotal vestments, ornaments of altars, palls, cor-
"porals, chalices, patins and vessels of this sort are of
"no moment.

"A priest in any place, at any time can consecrate the
"body of Christ, and administer it to those who desire
"it; it is sufficient, if he repeat only the sacramental
"words.

"The suffrages of the saints reigning with Christ in
"heaven are implored in vain, forasmuch as they cannot
"help us.

"The time is consumed in vain in singing and saying
"the canonical hours.

"We should cease from work on no day, except that
"which is now called the Lord's day.

"The festivals of saints are altogether to be rejected.

"The fasts also instituted by the church have no merit
"in them."

These were the opinions of the Bohemians or Hussites, for which they fought as well as disputed against the pope and emperor. At first they were victorious under the conduct of the famous John Ziska; and when they were beaten at last, they retired into the mountains and caves, where they continued distinguished by the name of *the Bohemian brethren* till the time of the Reformation. Even in the bosom of the church of Rome there were many good men, who called aloud for a reformation in faith as well as in morals, in doctrine as well as in discipline. One instance is more particularly worthy of our

attention. Jeronimo Savonarola * was a Dominican, celebrated in all Italy, and especially in Florence, for the great purity and strictness of his life and doctrine. He preached freely against the vices of the age, the luxury, avarice, and debauchery of the Roman clergy in general, and the tyranny and wickedness in particular of the pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia. In his discourses, sermons, and writings, he pressed the necessity of holding a general council and of making a general reformation: and he wrote particularly a treatise † entitled *The lamentation of the spouse of Christ against false apostles, or an exhortation, to the faithful that they would pray unto the Lord for the renovation of the church.* But what was the fruit and consequence of all his pious zeal? He was excommunicated, he was imprisoned, he was tortured, he was burned; which he suffered with all possible constancy on the 23d of May, 1498, and in the 46th year of his age. All persons of any note and eminence bear a double character in the world, and so doth Savonarola, his admirers extolling him as the best of men and the prophet of God, his enemies reviling him as the worst of impostors, and hypocrites; but if his works may speak for him, they are, in the opinion ‡ of Dupin, "full of grace and maxims of piety; he speaketh freely there against the vices, and teacheth the most pure and the most exalted morality."

We are now arrived at the *sixteenth* century, *sæculum reformation* as it hath been called, or the age of reformation. The materials had in great measure been collected, and the foundations had been laid deep before, but this age had the happiness of seeing the superstructure raised and completed. All the Christian world almost had groaned

* See Spanheim in the same work, Chap. v. Sect. 3. See Henry Wharton in the Appendix to Cave, page 198, &c. See Guicciardini, Book III. towards the end. See Philip de Pomines, Book VIII. Chap. xix. See Dupin in the same place, Chap. iv. See Bayle's Dictionary, &c.

† Printed at Venice in 1537, along with a life of Savonarola, and at Paris 1674, in octavo. See Wharton in the same place.

‡ 'The works of that author are full of unction, and of maxims of piety; He therein speaks freely against vices, and teaches a morality the most pure and the most exalted.' See Dupin in the same place.

earnestly for a reformation: and pope Adrian himself acknowledged* the necessity of it, and promised to begin with reforming the court of Rome, as the source and origin of evil. Erasmus and others led the way; and Luther began publicly† to preach against the pope's indulgences in the year 1517, which is usually reckoned the æra of the reformation. So that during all the dark ages of popery, from the first rise of the beast down to the Reformation, there have constantly been some true and faithful *witnesses* of Jesus Christ, who, though they may have fallen into some errors and mistakes, (as indeed who is altogether free from them ?) yet it may charitably be presumed, held none which are contrary to the fundamentals of the Christian faith, and destructive of salvation. Many more there were without doubt than have come to our knowledge; many more might have been collected, and this deduction drawn out into a greater length: but I have studied brevity as much as I well could: and they who are desirous of seeing a larger and more particular account of 'the witnesses' may find it in Flaccius Illyricus,‡ in the Centuriators of Magdeburg, in Usher, in Allix, in Spanheim, and other authors. Here only some of the principal instances are selected: but this deduction, short and defective as it is, evidently demonstrates however, that there hath not been that uninterrupted union and harmony, which the members of the church of Rome pretend and boast of to have been before the Reformation: and at the same time it plainly evinces, that they betray great ignorance, as well as impertinence, in asking the question, *Where was your religion before Luther?* Our religion, we see, was in the hearts and lives of many faithful witnesses; but it is sufficient, if it was no where

* See Sleidan's History of the Reformation, Book IV. See Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Book I. Sect. 60.

† See Sleidan in the same work, Book I. See Father Paul, Book I. Sect. 18, &c.

‡ See Matthias Flaccius' Catalogue of the witnesses for the truth. See the Magdeburg Ecclesiastical History. See Usher's succession and state of the Christian Church. See Allix' Remarks upon the ancient Churches of Piedment, and the ancient Churches of the Albigenses. See Frederic Spanheim's History of the Church, and the History of Images.

else, that it was always in the Bible. "The Bible," as Chillingworth says,* "the Bible only is the religion of protestants."

15. And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become *the kingdoms* of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

16. And the four and twenty elders which sat before God on their seats, fell upon their faces and worshipped God,

17. Saying, We give thee thanks, O Lord God almighty, which art, and wast, and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned.

18. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they should be judged, and that thou shouldst give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints and them that fear thy name, small and great, and shouldst destroy them which destroy the earth.

We are now come to the seventh and last trumpet, or the third wo-trumpet, and the seventh trumpet as well as all the trumpets, being comprehended under the seventh seal, and the seventh seal, and all the seals being constituent parts or members of the sealed book, it is evident that the seventh trumpet cannot any way belong to the little open book, but it is plainly distinct from it, the little book being no more than an appendage to the sixth trumpet and the contents all comprehended under it, or at least ending with it. 'The forty and two months of the Gentiles treading the holy city under foot, and the 1260 days of the witnesses prophecying in sackcloth,' are 1260 synchronical years, and terminate at the same time with the fall of the Othman empire, or the end of the sixth trumpet or second wo-trumpet. And when 'the second wo is past,' it is said, xi. 14. 'behold, the third wo cometh quickly.' At the sounding of the seventh trumpet, ver. 15. 'the third wo' commenceth, which is rather implied than

* See Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants, Chap. 6. Sect. 56.

expressed, as it will be described more fully hereafter.— 'The third wo' brought 'on the inhabiters of the earth,' is the ruin and downfal of the Antichristian kingdom: and then, and not till then, according to the heavenly chorus, the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' St. John is wrapt and hurried away as it were to a view of the happy millennium, without considering the steps preceding and conducting to it.— At the same time 'the four and twenty elders,' or the ministers of the church, ver. 16, 17, 18. are represented as praising and glorifying God for manifesting his *power* and *kingdom* more than he had done before: and gave likewise an intimation of some succeeding events, as 'the anger of the nations,' Gog and Magog, xx. 8. 'and the wrath of God,' displayed in their destruction, xx. 9. and 'the judging of the dead,' or the general judgment, xx. 12. 'and the rewarding of all the good, small and great,' as well as 'the punishing of the wicked.' Here we have only a summary account of the circumstances and occurrences of the seventh trumpet, but the particulars will be dilated and enlarged upon hereafter.

And thus are we arrived at the consummation of all things, through a series of prophecies extending from the apostle's days to the end of the world. It is this series which has been our clue to conduct us in our interpretation of these prophecies: and though some of them may be dark and obscure, considered in themselves, yet they receive light and illustration from others preceding and following. All together they are, as it were, a chain of prophecies, whereof one link depends on, and supports another. If any parts remain yet obscure and unsatisfactory, they may perhaps be cleared up by what the apostle himself hath added by way of explanation.

XXV.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REVELATION.

PART II.

MOST of the best commentators divide the Apocalypse or Revelation into two parts, 'the book' *biblion*, 'sealed with seven seals,' and 'the little book' *biblaridion*, as it is called several times. But it happens unluckily, that according to their division the lesser book is made to contain as much or more than the larger: whereas in truth 'the little book' is nothing more than a part of 'the sealed book,' and is added as a codicil or appendix to it. If we were to divide the Revelation, as they would have it divided, into two parts, the former ending with Chap. ix, and the latter beginning with Chap. x, the whole frame of the book would be disjointed, and things would be separated, which are plainly connected together and dependant upon one another. The former part, as they agree, comprehends the book sealed with seven seals, which are all opened in order; but the seventh seal consists of the seven trumpets, and of the seven trumpets the three last are distinguished by the name of 'the three wo-trumpets; so that the seven trumpets, as well as the seven seals, all belong properly to the former part. Whereas if we were to follow the other division, the trumpets would be divided, the three last trumpets would be divided from each other, the sixth trumpet itself would be divided, would begin in the former part of the book, and end in the latter, and the seventh trumpet would remain separated from the rest, which would be a strange interruption of the series and order of the prophecies, and greatly disturb and confound the course of events. The former part, instead of closing with the seventh trumpet, would then break off in the middle of the sixth trumpet; the latter part would then commence under the sixth trumpet, and after that would follow the seventh and last trumpet, and after this the general subject of the Revelation would be resumed from the beginning of the Christian æra, which instead of coming in after so many

events posterior in point of time, ought certainly to be the beginning of the latter part. For we would also divide the Revelation into two parts, or rather the book so divides itself. For the former part proceeds as we have seen, in a regular and successive series from the apostles days to the consummation of all things. Nothing can be added, but it must fall some where or other within the compass of this period; it must in some measure be a resumption of the same subjects; and this latter part may most properly be considered as an enlargement and illustration of the former. Several things, which were only touched upon, and delivered in dark hints before, require to be more copiously handled, and placed in a stronger light. It was said that 'the beast should make war against the witnesses, and overcome them:' but who or what 'the beast' is we may reasonably conjecture indeed, but the apostle himself will more surely explain. The transactions of the seventh trumpet are all summed up and comprised in a few verses, but we shall see the particulars branched out and enlarged into as many chapters. In short, this latter part is designed as a supplement to the former, to complete what was deficient, to explain what was dubious, to illustrate what was obscure: and as the former described more the destinies of the Roman empire, so this latter relates more to the fates of the Christian church.

19. And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail.

This last verse of the eleventh chapter, in my opinion, should have been made the first verse of the twelfth chapter; for it appears to be the beginning of a new subject. It is somewhat like the beginning of Isaiah's vision; vi. 1. 'I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne,' (the ark) 'high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple.' It is somewhat like the beginning of St. John's prophetic visions; iv. 1, 2. 'I looked, and behold, a door was opened in heaven; and behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne.' This is much in the same spirit: 'And the temple of God was opened in

heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament; that is, more open discoveries were now made, and the mystery of God was revealed to the prophet. 'Lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail,' are the usual concomitants and attendants of the divine presence, and especially at the giving of new laws and new revelations. So at mount Sinai, Exod. xx. 18, &c. 'there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount, and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud, and the whole mount quaked greatly.' So likewise in this very book of the Apocalypse, before the opening of the seven seals, iv. 5. there were 'lightenings, and thunderings, and voices.' So again before the sounding of the seven trumpets, viii. 5. 'there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and an earthquake:' and with as much reason are they made in this place the signs and preludes of the revelations and judgments, which are to follow.—It is no just objection, that a new subject is supposed to begin with the conjunction *and*;* for this is frequent in the style of the Hebrews; some books, as Numbers, Joshua, the two books of Samuel, and others, begin with *Vau* or *and*; and the same objection would hold equally against beginning the division with the first verse of the next chapter.

CHAP. XII.

1. And there appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars:

2. And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered.

3. And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold, a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads.

4. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth: and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born.

* [All the chapters of the Revelation begin with *and* except the first two.]

5. And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne.

6. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days.

St. John resumes his subject from the beginning, and represents the church, ver. 1, 2. as a woman, and a mother bearing children unto Christ. She is 'clothed with the sun,' invested with the rays of Jesus Christ, the Sun of righteousness; having 'the moon,' the * Jewish new-moon, and festivals as well as all sublunary things, 'under her feet; and upon her head a crown of twelve stars,' an emblem of her being under the light and guidance of the twelve apostles. 'And she being with child, cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. St. Paul hath made use of the same metaphor, and applied it to his preaching and propagating of the gospel in the midst of tribulation and persecution, Gal. iv. 19. 'My little children of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you.' But the words of St. John are much stronger, and more emphatically express the pangs, and struggles, and torments, which the church endured from the first publication of the gospel, to the time of Constantine the great, when she was in some measure eased of her pains, and brought forth a deliverer. Mr. Whiston carries the comparison further. (Essay on the Revelation, Part 3. Vision 3.) "For as the time of gestation from the conception to the birth in women with child, is known to be 40 weeks or 280 days; so it is as well known, that from the first rise of our Saviour's kingdom at his resurrection and ascension, A. D. 33. till the famous proclamation and edict, for the universal liberty and advancement of Christianity, by Constantine and Lucinius, A. D. 313. which put an end to the pangs of

* A learned correspondent observes, that the Jewish religion is aptly compared to the moon, as its light is not its own, but furnished by the Christian religion, to which it relates, and wherein its types are accomplished.

birth in the heaviest persecution that ever was then known, was exactly 280 years," reckoning, according to the prophetical account, a day for a year. At the same time 'there appeared,' ver. 3. 'a great dragon;' which is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan, and of his agents and instruments. We find the kings and people of Egypt, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Israel, distinguished by this title in several places of the Old Testament; Psal. lxxiv. 13. Isa. li. 9. Ezek. xxix. 3. and with as much reason and propriety may the people and emperors of Rome, who were the great persecutors of the primitive church of Christ, be called by the same name, as they are actuated by the same principle. For that the Roman empire was here figured, the characters and attributes of the dragon plainly evince. He is 'a great red dragon:' and purple or scarlet was the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors, consuls, and generals; as it hath been since of the popes and cardinals. His 'seven heads,' as the angel afterwards, xvii. 9, 10. explains the vision, allude to the seven mountains upon which Rome was built, and to the seven forms of government, which successively prevailed there. His 'ten horns' typify the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman empire was divided; and the 'seven crowns upon his heads,' denote, that at this time the imperial power was in Rome, the high city, as Propertius describes it,* seated on seven hills, which presides over the whole world. 'His tail' also, ver. 4. 'drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth,' that is, he subjected the third part of the princes and potentates of the earth: and the Roman empire, as we have seen before, is represented as 'the third part' of the world. 'He stood before the woman, which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born:' and the Roman emperors and magistrates kept a jealous watchful eye over the Christians from the beginning. As Pharaoh laid snares for the male children of the Hebrews, and Herod for the infant Christ, the son of Mary; so did the Roman dragon

* 'The high city on seven hills, which presides over the whole world.' See Propertius, Book III. Elegy xi. Line 57.

for the mystic Christ, the son of the church, that he might destroy him even in his infancy. But notwithstanding the jealousy and envy of the Romans, the gospel was widely diffused and propagated, and the church brought many children unto Christ, and in time such as were promoted to the empire. 'She brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron,' ver. 5. It was predicted, that Christ should rule over the nations, Psal. ii. 9. 'Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel;' but Christ, who is himself invisible in the heavens, ruleth visibly in Christian magistrates, princes, and emperors. It was therefore promised before, to Christians in general, ii. 26, 27. 'He that overcometh, and keepeth my words unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations (And he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter they shall be broken to shivers) even as I received of my Father.' But it should seem that Constantine was here particularly intended, for whose life * the dragon Galerius laid many snares, but he providentially escaped them all; and notwithstanding all opposition, 'was caught up unto the throne of God,' was not only secured by the divine protection, but was advanced to the imperial throne, called 'the throne of God,' for Rom. xiii. 1. 'there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God.' He too 'ruleth all nations with a rod of iron;' for he had not only the Romans, who before had persecuted the church, under his dominion, but also subdued † the Scythians, Samaritans, and other barbarous nations, who had never before been subjected to the Roman empire: and as the learned Spanheim informs us,‡ there are still extant medals and coins of his, with these inscriptions,

* See Eusebius' life of Constantine, Book I. Chap. xx. See Lactantius on the death of Persecutors, Chap. xxiv. See an unknown author at the end of Ammianus Marcellinus, page 656, in the Valesian edition of Paris 1681.

† See Eusebius' life of Constantine, Book IV. Chap. v, &c.

‡ See Spanheim's thirteenth Dissertation on the excellency and use of ancient Coins, page 636, 638. See observations on the first oration of the emperor Julian in praise of Constantius, page 66.

the subduer of the barbarous nations, the conqueror of all nations, every where a conqueror, and the like. What is added, ver. 9. of 'the woman's flying into the wilderness for a thousand two hundred and threescore days' is said by way of prolepsis or anticipation. For the war in heaven between Michael and the dragon, and other subsequent events, were prior in order of time, to the flight of the woman into the wilderness: but before the prophet passeth on to a new subject, he giveth a general account of what happened to the woman afterwards, and entereth more into the particulars in their proper place.

7. And there was war in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels:

8. And prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in Heaven.

9. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

10. And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ: for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night.

11. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony; and they loved not their lives unto the death.

12. Therefore rejoice, ye heavens, and ye that dwell in them. Wo to the inhabiters of the earth, and of the sea: for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

It might reasonably be presumed, that all the powers of idolatry would be strenuously exerted against the establishment of Christianity, and especially against the establishment of a Christian on the imperial throne: and these struggles and contentions between the Heathen and the Christian religions are represented, ver. 7. by 'war in heaven' between the angels of darkness and angels of light. Michael was, Dan. x. 21. xii. 1. the tutelar angel

and protector of the Jewish church. He performs here the same office of champion for the Christian church. He and the good angels, who are 'sent forth,' Heb. i. 14. 'to minister to the heirs of salvation,' were the invisible agents on one side, as the devil and his evil agents were on the other. The visible actors in the cause of Christianity were the believing emperors and ministers of the word, the martyrs and confessors; and in support of idolatry were the persecuting emperors and heathen magistrates, together with the whole train of priests and sophists. This contest lasted several years, and the final issue of it was, ver. 8, 9. that the Christian prevailed over the heathen religion; the Heathens were deposed from all rule and authority, and the Christians were advanced to dominion and empire in their stead. Our Saviour said unto his disciples, casting devils out of the bodies of men, Luke x. 18. 'I beheld Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven.' In the same figure Satan fell from heaven, and 'was cast out into the earth.' when he was thrust out of the imperial throne, 'and his angels were cast out with him,' not only all the heathen priests and officers civil and military were cashiered, but their very gods and demons, who before were adored for their divinity, became the subjects of contempt and execration. It is very remarkable, that Constantine himself, and the Christians of his time, describe his conquests under the same image, as if they had understood that this prophecy had received its accomplishment in him. Constantine himself,* in his epistle to Eusebius and other bishops, concerning the re-edifying and repairing of churches, saith, that "liberty being now restored, and *that dragon* being removed from the administration of public affairs, by the providence of the great God and by my ministry, I esteem the great power of God to have been made manifest even to all." Moreover†

* 'But now liberty having been restored, and that dragon having been removed from the administration of public affairs by the providence of the great God, and by our service, I think that the divine power has been rendered conspicuous to all,' &c. See Eusebius' life of Constantine, Book II. Chap. xlvi. See Socrates' Ecclesiastical History, Book I. Chap. ix. See Theodoret, Book I. Chap. xv.

† See Eusebius' life of Constantine, Book III. Chap. iii. 'Both the enemy, and hostile wild beast, who had opposed him-

a picture of Constantine was set up over the palace gate, with the cross over his head, and under his feet *the great enemy of mankind, who persecuted the church by the means of impious tyrants, in the form of a dragon*, transfixed with a dart through the midst of his body, and falling headlong into the depth of the sea: in allusion, it is said expressly, to the divine oracles in the books of the prophets, where that evil spirit is called the dragon and the crooked serpent. Upon this victory of the church, there is introduced, ver. 10. a triumphant hymn of thanksgiving for the depression of idolatry, and exaltation of true religion: for now it was no longer in the power of the Heathen persecutors, as Satan accused holy Job before God, to accuse the innocent Christians before the Roman governors, as the perpetrators of all crimes, and the causers of all calamities. It was not by temporal means or arms that the christians obtained this victory, ver. 11. but by spiritual, by the merits and death of their Redeemer, by their constant profession of the truth, and by their patient suffering of all kinds of tortures even unto death: and the blood of the martyrs hath been often called *the seed of the church*. This victory was indeed, ver. 12. matter of joy and triumph to the blessed angels and glorified saints in heaven, by whose sufferings it was in great measure obtained; but still new woes are threatened 'to the inhabiters of the earth;' for though the dragon was deposed, yet was he not destroyed; though idolatry was depressed, yet was it not wholly suppressed; there were still many Pagans intermixed with the Christians, and the devil would incite fresh troubles and disturbances on earth, 'because he knoweth that he hath but a short time,' it would not be long before the Pagan religion should be totally abolished, and the Christian religion prevail in all the Roman empire.

13. And when the dragon saw that he was cast unto the earth, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-*child*.

self to the church of God by the tyranny of wicked men—in the form of a dragon.'

14. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place: where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

15. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, after the woman; that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood.

16. And the earth helped the woman, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon cast out of his mouth.

17. And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ.

When the dragon was thus deposed from the imperial throne, and 'cast unto the earth,' ver. 13. he still continued to persecute the church with equal malice, though not with equal power. He made several attempts to restore the Pagan idolatry in the reign of Constantine, and afterwards in the reign of Julian; he traduced and abused the Christian religion by such writers as Hierocles, Libanius, Eunapius, and others of the same stamp and character; he rent and troubled the church with heresies and schisms; he stirred up the favourers of the Arians, and especially the kings of the Vandals in Africa, to persecute and destroy the orthodox Christians. These things, as Eusebius* saith upon one of these occasions, some malicious and wicked demon, envying the prosperity of the church, effected. But the church was still under the protection of the empire, ver. 14. 'and to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle.' As God said to the children of Israel, Exod. xix. 4. 'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself;' so the church was supported and carried as it were on eagles' wings: but the similitude is the more proper in this case, an *eagle* being the Roman ensign, and the *two wings* alluding probably to the division that was then made of the eastern

* 'These things some malicious and wicked demon envying the happiness of the church, did accomplish.' See Eusebius' Life of Constantine, Book II. Chap. lxxiii.

and the western empire. In this manner was the church protected, and these wings were given, 'that she might fly into the wilderness,' into a place of retirement and security, 'from the face of the serpent.' Not that she fled into the wilderness at that time, but several years afterwards; and there 'she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time,' that is three prophetic years and a half, which is the same period with the 'thousand two hundred and threescore days' or years before mentioned. So long the church is to remain in a desolate and afflicted state, during the reign of Antichrist; as Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. xviii. Luke iv. 25, 26. while idolatry and famine prevailed in Israel, was secretly fed and nourished three years and six months in the wilderness. But before the woman fled into the wilderness, 'the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood, ver. 15. with intent to wash her away. *Waters* in the style of the Apocalypse, xvii. 16. signify *peoples* and *nations;* so that here was a great inundation of various nations, excited by the dragon or the friends and patrons of the old idolatry, to oppress and overwhelm the Christian religion. Such appeared plainly to have been the design of the dragon, when † Stilicho, prime minister of the emperor Honorius, first invited the barbarous heathen nations, the Goths, Alans, Sueves, and Vandals, to invade the Roman empire, hoping by their means to raise his son Eucherius to the throne, who from a boy was an enemy to the Christians, and threatened to signalize the beginning of his reign with the restoration of the Pagan, and abolition of the Christian religion. Nothing indeed was more likely to pro-

* 'In the mean time Stilicho, his prime minister, descended from a cowardly, perfidious, and crafty nation, not duly valuing the authority which he had under the emperor, endeavoured by every means in his power, to raise his son Eucherius to the empire, who, as many have told us, from his earliest years designed the persecution of the Christians. For this reason he invited Alaric and the whole nation of the Goths, &c. Eucherius to procure to himself the favour of the Pagans, threatened to signalize the commencement of his reign with the restoration of Paganism, and the destruction of Christianity, &c.' See Orosius' History, Book VII. Chap. xxxviii. page 571, in Havercamp's edition. See also Jornandes on the Affairs of the Getæ and their successors, and Paul the Deacon, Book XII.

duce the ruin and utter subversion of the Christian church, than the irruptions of so many barbarous Heathen nations, into the Roman Empire. But the event proved contrary to human appearance and expectation; 'the earth swallowed up the flood;' ver. 16. the Barbarians were rather swallowed up by the Romans, than the Romans by the Barbarians; the Heathen conquerors instead of imposing their own, submitted to the religion of the conquered Christians; and they not only embraced the religion, but affected even the laws, the manners, the customs, the language, and the very name of Romans, so that the victors were in a manner absorbed and lost among the vanquished. This course not succeeding according to probable expectation, the dragon did not therefore desist from his purpose, ver. 17. but only took another method of persecuting the true sons of the church, as we shall see in the next chapter. It is said that he 'went to make war with the remnant of her seed, who kept the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus;' which implies that at this time there was only a *remnant*, that corruptions were greatly increased, and 'the faithful were diminished from among the children of men.'

CHAP. XIII.

1. And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy.

2. And the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as *the feet* of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power, and his seat, and great authority.

3. And I saw one of his heads, as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast.

4. And they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast: and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who *is* like unto the beast? who is able to make war with him?

5. And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphe-

mies; and power was given unto him to continue forty *and* two months.

6. And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.

7. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them: and power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.

8. And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.

9. If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10. He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: He that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword. Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.

Here 'the beast' is described at large, who was only mentioned before: xi. 7. and a *beast* in the prophetic style is a tyrannical idolatrous empire. The kingdom of God and of Christ is never represented under the image of a *beast*. As Daniel, vii. 2, 3. beheld 'four great beasts,' representing the four great empires, 'come up from' a stormy *sea*, that is, from the commotions of the world; So St. John, ver. 1. saw this *beast* in like manner 'rise up out of the sea.' He was said before xi. 7. to ascend *ek tes abyssou* 'out of the abyss *or* bottomless pit;' and it is said afterwards, xvii. 8. that he shall ascend *ek tes abyssou*, 'out of the abyss *or* bottomless pit;' and here he is said to ascend *ek tes thalasses*, 'out of the sea;' so that 'the sea *and* abyss *or* bottomless pit' are in these passages the same. No doubt is to be made, that this beast was designed to represent the Roman empire; for thus far both ancients and moderns, papists and protestants are agreed: the only doubt and controversy is, whether it was Rome, Pagan, or Christian, imperial or papal, which may perhaps be fully and clearly determined in the sequel.

St. John saw this beast *rising* out of the sea, but the Roman empire was risen and established long before St. John's time; and therefore this must be the Roman empire, not in its then present, but in some future shape and form; and it arose in another shape and form, after it

was broken to pieces by the incursions of the northern nations. The beast hath 'seven heads and ten horns,' which are the well known marks and signals of the Roman empire, the 'seven heads' alluding to the seven mountains whereon Rome was situated, and to the seven forms of government which successively prevailed there, and the 'ten horns' signifying the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire was divided. It is remarkable, that the dragon had 'seven crowns upon his heads,' but the beast hath 'upon his horns ten crowns;' so that there had been in the mean while a revolution of power from the *heads* of the dragon to the *horns* of the beast, and the sovereignty, which before was exercised by Rome alone, was now transferred and divided among ten kingdoms: but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till after it was become Christian. Although the heads had lost their crowns, yet they still retained 'the name of blasphemy.' In all its heads, in all its forms of government Rome was still guilty of idolatry and blasphemy. Imperial Rome was called, and delighted to be called * *the eternal city, the heavenly city, the goddess of the earth, the goddess;* and had her temples and altars with incense and sacrifices offered up to her: and how the papal Rome likewise hath arrogated to herself divine titles and honours, there will be a fitter occasion of showing in the following part of this description.

* 'The eternal city.' See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XIV. Chap. vi. page 19. in Valesius' edition of Paris, 1681. See the third epigram of Ausonius concerning lucky days.—'Rome the heavenly city.' See Athenæus, Book I. page 20, in Casaubon's edition.—'The goddess of the earth, and the Rome of the nations; to which there is nothing equal, and no second.' See Martial, Book XII. Epigram VIII.—'Thus, as the coins of many Greek cities show, they thought that Rome, the metropolis of the world, ought to be set off and adored, as some heavenly divinity, or according to the Poet Bilbilitanus, as the goddess of lands and nations, by the title of Rome the goddess, and by the appointment of divine honours, temples, priests, and office bearers. To all which there seems to me to be an allusion in the sacred book of the Revelation, where the beast is said to have inscribed on her 'seven heads' the name of 'blasphemy,' but which Jerome and Prosper have referred to her being called 'the eternal city,' a name frequently given to her both in coins and otherwise.' See Spanheim's dissertation on the use of Ancient Coins, Sec. 3. page 138. Vol. I.

As Daniel's fourth beast, vii. 6. was without a name, and 'devoured and brake in pieces' the three former: so this beast, ver. 2. is also without a name, and partakes of the nature and qualities of the three former, having 'the body of a leopard,' which was the third beast or Grecian empire, and 'the feet of a bear,' which was the second beast or Persian empire, and 'the mouth of a lion,' which was the first beast or Babylonian empire: and consequently this must be the same as Daniel's fourth beast, or the Roman empire. But still it is not the same beast, the same empire entirely, but some variation; 'and the* dragon gave him his power' *dynamin* or his armies, 'and his seat' *thronon* or his imperial throne, 'and great authority' or jurisdiction over all the parts of his empire. 'The beast' therefore is the successor and substitute of 'the dragon' or of the idolatrous heathen Roman empire: and what other idolatrous power hath succeeded to the heathen emperors in Rome, all the world is a judge and a witness. 'The dragon' having failed in his purpose of restoring the old heathen idolatry, delegates his power to 'the beast,' and thereby introduces a new species of idolatry, nominally different, but essentially the same, the

* 'The Roman Papal empire seems then to have arisen when Justinian called him the head of all churches. See his Codex, Book I. Title I. year 533, and this he did not in word only, but by sending Bishops to him as ambassadors. Gregory I. at the end of the sixth century abused this concession, by treating in a very insolent manner the Bishops of Spain, France, &c. but was much exceeded herein by his successors in the seventh century. In both these centuries, by the countenance of the popes, the worshipping of images and the invocation of saints much prevailed. For this very Gregory inserted the name of the blessed Virgin Mary in the Litany. Behold then the blasphemies in the eighth century. Gregory II. in the year 727, seized the civil government and dutchy of Rome, having ex-communicated and expelled the Greek emperor. In the mean time the orthodox, (that is they who resisted the popes in their pretension) were declared out-laws, infamous, aliens, and incapable of appearing as witnesses. The Canons of the church were put upon an equal footing with the laws of the empire. Do not all these things sufficiently show that the beast had arisen who received his great power from the dragon,' &c. See Mr. Mann's Manuscript.

worship of angels and saints instead of the gods and demigods of antiquity.

Another mark, whereby the beast was peculiarly distinguished, was, ver. 3. 'one of his heads as it were wounded to death.' It will appear hereafter, that this head was the sixth head, for 'five were fallen,' xvii. 10. before St. John's time: and the sixth head was that of the Cæsars or emperors, there having been before kings, and consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and military tribunes with consular authority. The sixth head was 'as it were wounded to death,' when the Roman empire was overturned by the northern nations, and an end was put to the very name of emperor in Momyllus Augustulus; or rather, as the government of the Gothic kings was* much the same as that of the emperors with only a change of the name, this head was more effectually 'wounded to death,' when Rome was reduced to a poor dukedom, and made tributary to the exarchate of Ravenna: and Sigonius, who hath written the best history of these times and of these affairs, includes the history of the Gothic kings in his history *of the western empire.* But not only one of his heads was as it were wounded to death, but 'his deadly wound was healed.' If it was the sixth head which was wounded, that wound could not be healed by the rising of the seventh head, as interpreters commonly conceive; the same head which was wounded, must be healed: and this was effected by the pope and people of Rome revolting from the exarch of Ravenna, and proclaiming Charles the great Augustus and emperor of the Romans. Here the wounded imperial head was *healed* again, and hath subsisted ever since. At this time, partly through the pope, and partly through the emperor, supporting and strengthening each other, the Roman name again became formidable: 'and all the world wondered after the beast,' and ver. 4. 'they worshipped the dragon which gave power unto the beast, and they worshipped the beast, saying; Who is like unto the beast? Who is able to make war with him? No kingdom or empire was *like* that of the beast, it had no parallel upon earth, and it was

* 'A kingdom very like to the ancient empire in every respect.' See Sigonius on the western empire, Book XVI. year 494.

in vain for any to *resist* or *oppose* it, it prevailed and triumphed over all; and *all the world* in submitting thus to the religion of the beast, did in effect submit again to the religion of the dragon, it being the old idolatry with only new names.—The worshipping of demons and idols is in effect the worshipping of devils.

Wonderful as the beast was, his words and actions, ver, 5—8. are no less wonderful. He perfectly resembles 'the little horn' in Daniel. As the little horn, Dan. vii. 8, 25. hath 'a mouth speaking great things,' and 'spake great words against the most high;' so 'there was given unto the beast a mouth speaking great things, and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.'* As the little horn, Dan. vii. 21. 'made war with the saints, and prevailed against them;' so 'it was given unto the beast to make war with the saints and to overcome them.' As the little horn prospered, Dan. vii. 25. 'until a time, and times, and the dividing of time,' that is three prophetic years and a half; so 'power was given unto the beast to continue,' to practise and prosper 'forty and two months,' which is exactly the same portion of time as three years and a half. We see that not only the same images, but almost the same words are employed; and the portraits being so perfectly alike, it might fairly be presumed, if there was no other argument, that they were both drawn for the same person: and having before clearly discovered who sat for the one, we cannot now be at any loss to determine who sat for the other. It is the Roman beast in his last state, or under his seventh head: and he hath 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies;' and what can be 'greater things and blasphemies,' than the claims† of *universal bishop*, *infallible judge of all contro-*

[* Mr Faber has here very justly pointed out an inaccuracy in Bishop Newton who seems to confound this beast or the secular empire in all the ten kingdoms with the little horn, predicted by Daniel which accords to the 2d beast afterwards mentioned. Yet, as the secular arm executed the decrees of the ecclesiastical and gave its power to that beast; the kings stated by bishop Newton as accomplishments of this prophecy were evidently such; though he has not with his usual accuracy marked the manner in which this took place.]

† See the Introduction to Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

versies, sovereign of kings, and disposer of kingdoms, vice-regent of Christ, and God upon earth! He hath also 'power' *poiesai* 'to continue' or rather to practise, to prevail, and prosper, 'forty and two months.' Some read *poiesai polemon* to 'make war,' not rightly understanding, I suppose, what was meant by *poiesai* alone; but it signifies to *practise*, to *prevail*, and *prosper*, as the words *gnasah* and *poiesai* are* used by Daniel and the Greek translators. It doth not therefore follow, that the beast is *to continue to exist* for no longer a term, but he is 'to practise, to prosper, and prevail forty and two months;' as 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'is to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles forty and two months,' which are the 1260 days or years of the reign of Antichrist. But if by 'the beast' be understood the Heathen Roman empire, the Heathen Roman empire, instead of subsisting 1260, did not subsist 400 years after the date of this prophecy.

After this general account of the blasphemies and exploits of the beast, there follows a specification of the particulars. 'He opened his mouth in blasphemy against God.' Blasphemy against God may be said to be of two kinds, not only speaking dishonourably of the supreme Being, but likewise attributing to the creature what belongs to the Creator, as in idolatry; which is often the sense of the word in scripture; as in Isaiah, lxv. 7.—'They have burnt incense upon the mountains, and blasphemed me upon the hills:' and in several other places. He 'blasphemes the name of God' by assuming the divine titles and honours to himself, and as it is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon, xiv. 21. 'by ascribing unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name.' He 'blasphemes the tabernacle of God,' his temple and his church, by calling true Christians, who are the house of God, schismatics and heretics, and anathematizing them accordingly: or as you may understand it, by perverting the places dedicated to the worship of saints and angels. He 'blasphemes them that dwell in heaven,' angels and glorified saints, by adolatrous worship and impious adoration;

* Vegnastha, vehitzlihhah, *and it practised and prospered.*—See Dan. viii. 12. Vehitzliahh vegnasah, *and shall prosper and practise*, ver. 24. Vegnasah bahem vehehhezik, *and shall deal against them, and shall prevail.* See Dan. xi. 7. Vignasah, *and he shall do exploits.* See ver. 28. *and also practise*, ver. 30.

and disgraces their acts, and vilifies their memories, by fabulous legends and lying miracles.

So much for his blasphemies; nor are his exploits less extraordinary. 'It was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them:' And who can make any computation, or even frame any conception of the numbers of pious Christians, who have fallen a sacrifice to the bigotry and cruelty of Rome? Mede upon the place hath observed,* from good authorities, that in the war with the Albigenses and Waldenses, there perished of these poor creatures in France alone *a million*. From the first institution of the Jesuits to the year 1480, that is in little more than thirty years, *nine hundred thousand* orthodox Christians were slain. In the Netherlands alone, the Duke of Alva boasted, that within a few years he had despatched to the amount of *thirty-six thousand* souls, and those all by the hand of the common executioner. In the space of scarce thirty years, the inquisition destroyed by various kinds of tortures *a hundred and fifty thousand* Christians. Sanders himself confesses that an innumerable multitude of Lollards and Sacramentarians were burnt throughout all Europe, who yet he says, were not put to death by the pope and bishops, but by the civil magistrates; which perfectly agrees with this prophecy, for of 'the secular beast' it is said, that he should 'make war with the saints, and overcome them.' No wonder that by these means he should obtain an universal authority 'over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations,' and establish his dominion in all the countries of the western Roman empire: and they should not only submit to his decrees, but even adore his person, except the faithful few, whose names, as citizens of heaven, were inrolled in the registers of life. Let the Romanists boast therefore that theirs is the *catholic church* and *universal empire*; this is so far from being no evidence of the truth, that it is the very brand infixed by the Spirit of prophecy.

It was customary with our Saviour, when he would have his auditors pay a particular attention to what he had been saying, to add, 'He who hath ears to hear, let him hear.' St. John repeats the same admonition at the

* See Mede, page 503, 504.

end of each of the seven epistles to the seven churches of Asia, and here in the conclusion of his description of the beast, ver. 9. 'If any man have an ear, let him hear:' and certainly the description of the beast is deserving of the highest attention upon many accounts, and particularly because the right interpretation of the Apocalypse turneth upon it, as one of its main hinges. It is added, by way of consolation to the church, that these enemies of God and of Christ, represented under the character of the beast, shall suffer the law of retaliation, and be as remarkably punished and tormented themselves, as they punished and tormented others, ver. 10. 'He who leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity; He who killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword.' Such a promise might administer some comfort; and indeed it would be wanted; for the patience and the faith of the saints would be tried to the utmost, during the reign of the beast. 'Here is the patience and the faith of the saints.' Of all the trials and persecutions of the church, this would be the most severe, and exceed those of the primitive times both in degree and in duration.

11. And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.

12. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth, and them which dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.

13. And he doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men.

14. And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by *the means* of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live.

15. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast, should be killed.

16. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their

right hand, or in their foreheads:

17. And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

18. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore *and* six.

From this description of 'the ten-horned beast' or Roman state in general, the prophet passeth to that of 'the two-horned beast' or Roman church in particular.* 'The beast with ten crowned horns' is the Roman empire as divided into ten kingdoms; 'the beast with two horns like a lamb' is the Roman hierarchy, or body of the clergy, regular and secular. This beast is otherwise called 'the false prophet,' as we shall see in several instances; than which there cannot be a stronger or plainer argument to prove, that false doctors or teachers were particularly designed. For 'the false prophet' no more than 'the beast' is a single man, but a body or succession of men propagating false doctrines, and teaching lies for sacred truths. As the first beast 'rose up out of the sea,' that is, out of the wars and tumults of the world; so this beast, ver. 11. 'groweth up out of the earth' like plants, silently and without noise; and the greatest prelates have often been raised from monks, and men of the lowest birth and parentage 'He had two horns like a lamb;' he had, both regular and secular, the appearance of a lamb; he derived his powers from the lamb, and pretended to be like the lamb, all meekness and mildness. But 'he spake as a dragon,' he had a voice of terror like the dragon or Roman emperors, in usurping divine titles and honours, in commanding idolatry, and in persecuting and slaying the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. He is an ecclesiastical person, but intermixeth himself much in civil affairs. He is the prime minister, adviser and mover of 'the first beast,' or the beast before mentioned, ver. 12. 'He exerciseth all

* [Where we are to look for this power since the great Roman beast was divided into ten horns, let the impartial voice of history determine.] *Faber.*

the power of the first beast before him.' He holdeth *imperium in imperio*, an empire within an empire; claimeth a temporal authority as well as a spiritual; hath not only the principal direction of the temporal powers, but often engageth them in his service, and enforceth his canons and decrees with the sword of the civil magistrate. As the first beast concurs to maintain his authority, so he in return confirms and maintains the sovereignty and dominion of the first beast over his subjects; 'and causeth the earth, and them who dwell therein, to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed.' He supports tyranny, as he is by tyranny supported. He inslaves the consciences, as the first beast subjugates the bodies of men. Mr. Whiston well observes,* "He is the common centre and cement which unites all the distinct kingdoms of the Roman empire; and by joining with them, procures them a blind obedience from their subjects: and so he is the occasion of the preservation of the old Roman empire in some kind of unity, and name, and strength; which otherwise had been quite dissolved by the inundations and wars succeeding the settlement of the barbarous nations in that empire."

Such is the power and authority of the beast, and now we shall see what courses he pursues to confirm and establish it. He pretends, like other false prophets, ver. 13. to show 'great signs and wonders,' and even to call for 'fire from heaven,' as Elias did. His impostures too are so successful, that, ver. 14. 'he deceiveth them that dwell on the earth, by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.' In this respect he perfectly resembles St. Paul's 'man of sin,' 2 Thess. ii. 9. 'whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness:' or rather they are one and the same character represented in different lights, and under different names. It is farther observable, that he is said to perform his miracles 'in the sight of men' in order to deceive them, and 'in the sight of the beast' in order to serve him: but not 'in the sight of God' to serve his cause, or promote his religion. Now, miracles, visions, and revelations are

* See Whiston's Essay on the Revelation, Part 3. Vision 5.

the mighty boast of the church of Rome; the contrivances of an artful cunning clergy to impose upon an ignorant credulous laity. Even *fire* is pretended to 'come down from heaven,' as in the case of St. Anthony's fire, and other instances cited by Brightman* and other writers on the Revelation: and in solemn excommunications, which are called the *thunders* of the church, and are performed with the ceremony of casting down burning torches from on high, as symbols and emblems of 'fire from heaven.' Miracles are thought so necessary and essential, that they are reckoned among the notes of the catholic church; and they are alleged principally in support of purgatory, prayers for the dead, the worship of saints, images, and relics, and the like (as they are called) catholic doctrines. But if these miracles were all real, we learn from hence what opinion we ought to frame of them; and what then shall we say, if they are all fictions and counterfeits? They are indeed so far from being any proofs of the true church, that they are rather a proof of a false one; they are, as we see, the distinguishing mark of Antichrist.

The influence of the two-horned beast or corrupted clergy, is farther seen in persuading and inducing mankind, ver. 14. to 'make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword and did live;' that is, an image and representative of the Roman empire, which was wounded by the sword of the barbarous nations, and revived in the revival of a new emperor in the west. 'He had' also 'power,' ver. 15. 'to give life' and activity 'unto the image of the beast.' It should not be a dumb and lifeless idol, but should *speak* and deliver oracles, as the statues of the heathen gods were feigned to do, and should 'cause to be killed as many as would not worship' and obey it. Some by this 'image of the beast'† understand "the rise of the new empire of Charlemain, which was an image of the old Roman empire, and is now become the empire of Germany:" but this is 'the beast' himself,

* See Brightman and Poole's Synopsis on the passage.

† See Limborch's Christian Theology, Book VII. Chap. xi. Sect. 16. See Lord Napier on the passage. See Whiston's Essay on the Revelation, Part III. Vision vi.

'who had the wound by a sword and did live,' and not 'the image of the beast;' the rise of this new empire was the healing of his deadly wound, by which he lived again. Others more probably conceive,* that this 'image of the beast' is "the office of inquisition, which was introduced among the blind vulgar, as a popular scheme, and warmly recommended by the Dominican and Franciscan monks, at first without any *voice* of command, or *power* of execution; till courts were erected independent of bishops; and judges, officers, familiars, prisons, and tormentors were appointed, who should put to exquisite punishments, and deliver over to a cruel death all that would not submit with an implicit obedience:" but the office of inquisition is established only in some particular popish countries, and this belongs and extends to all in general. 'As many as would not worship the image of the beast, the image of the beast should cause to be killed;' but there are many papists who do not receive and own the authority of the inquisition, and yet the inquisition doth not attempt to destroy and extirpate all such papists. What appears most probable is, that this *image* and representative 'of the beast' is the pope. He is properly the 'idol' of the church. He represents in himself the whole power of the beast, and is the head of all authority temporal as well as spiritual. He is nothing more than a private person, without power and without authority, till the two-horned beast or the corrupted clergy by choosing him pope, *gave life* unto him, and enable him to *speak* and utter his decrees, and to 'persecute even to death as many as refuse' to submit to him and 'to worship him.' As soon as he is chosen pope, he is clothed with the pontifical robes, and crowned and placed upon the altar, and the cardinals come and kiss his feet, which ceremony is called *adoration*. They first elect, and then they worship him; as in the medals of Martin V.† where two are represented crowning the pope, and two kneeling before him, with this inscription, *Quem creant adorant*, *Whom they create they adore*. He is the principal of unity

* See Vitringa on the passage. See Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture, page 121.

† See Bonannus on the coins of the Roman Pontiffs. See Daubuz, page 582.

to the ten kingdoms of the beast, and causeth, as far as he is able, all who will not acknowledge his supremacy, to be put to death. In short, he is the most perfect likeness and resemblance of the ancient Roman emperors, is as great a tyrant in the Christian world as they were in the Heathen world, presides in the same city, usurps the same powers, affects the same titles, and requires the same universal homage and adoration. So that the prophecy descends more and more into particulars, from the Roman state or ten kingdoms in general, to the Roman church or clergy in particular, and still more particularly to the person of the pope, the head of the state as well as of the church, the king of kings as well as bishop of bishops.

Other offices the false prophet performs to the beast in subjecting all sorts of people to his obedience, by imposing certain terms of communion, and excommunicating all who dare in the least article to dissent from them, ver. 16, 17. 'He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond,' of whatsoever rank and condition they be, 'to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads;' And he will not permit any man to 'buy or sell,' or partake of the common intercourses of life, who hath not 'the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.' We must understand, that it was customary among the ancients,* for servants to receive the mark of their master, and soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed 'on their right hand or on their foreheads;' and consisted of some hieroglyphic characters, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters, or of the name disguised in numerical letters according to the fancy of the imposer. It is in allusion to this ancient practice and custom, that the symbol and profession of faith in the church of Rome, as subserving to superstition, idolatry, and tyranny, is called 'the mark or character of the beast;' which character is said to be

* See Grotius on the passage. See Le Clerc on Lev. xix. 28, and above all Spencer on the Ritual Laws of the Hebrews, Book II. Chap. xx. Sect. 1, 3, and 4.

received 'in their forehead,' when they make an open and public declaration of their faith, and 'in their right hand,' when they live and act in conformity to it. If any dissent from the stated and authorised forms, they are condemned and excommunicated as heretics, and in consequence of that, they are no longer suffered to 'buy or sell;' they are interdicted from traffic and commerce, and all the benefits of civil society. So Roger Hoveden* relates of William the conqueror, that he was so dutiful to the pope, that "he would not permit any one in his power *to buy or sell* any thing, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see." So the cannon of the council of Lateran under Pope Alexander the third, made against the Waldenses and Albigenses,† enjoins upon pain of anathema, that "no man presume to entertain or cherish them in his house or land or *exercise traffic* with them." The synod of Tours in France under the same pope ‡ orders under the like intermination, that "no man should presume to receive or assist them, no not so much as to hold any communion with them in *selling or buying*, that being deprived of the comfort of humanity, they may be compelled to repent of the error of their way." Pope Martin V, in his bull set out after the council of Constance § commands in like manner, that "they permit not the heretics to have houses in their districts, or enter into con-

* 'He suffered none under his authority to buy or sell, whom he found disobedient to the apostolic see.' See Usher's Succession and State of the Church, Chap. vii. Sect. 7. quoted by Vitringa, page 624, and by Daubuz, page 599.

† 'That no person presume to keep them in his house, or on his land, or to entertain or traffic with them.' See Vol. IV. of the Councils published at Rome in 1612, page 37, quoted by Mede, page 509, by Vitringa, page 624, and Daubuz, page 508.

‡ 'When the sectarians of that heresy are known, no person may presume to afford them a place of abode on their land, or give them any succours, nor have any fellowship with them in buying or selling, that being destitute of the comforts of humanity, they may be forced to repent of the error of their way.' See Vitringa and Daubuz' quotation from Usher's Succession and State of the Church, Chap. viii. Sect. 26.

§ 'That they do not suffer heretics to have places of abode in their districts, nor enter into contracts, nor carry on Merchandize, nor enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians.' See Daubuz' quotation from Pareus, page 598.

tracts, or carry on commerce, or enjoy the comforts of humanity with Christians." In this respect, as Mede* observes, the false prophet 'spake as the dragon.' For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict, that no one should sell or administer any thing to the Christians, unless they had first burned incense to the gods, as Bede also rehearseth in the hymn of Justin Martyr; "They had not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor were they allowed the liberty of drawing water itself, before they had offered incense to detestable idols." Popish excommunications are therefore like heathen persecutions: and how large a share the corrupted clergy, and especially the monks of former, and the Jesuits of later times, have had in framing and enforcing such cruel interdicts, and in reducing all orders and degrees to so servile a state of subjection, no man of the least reading can want to be informed.

Mention having been made of 'the number of the beast, *or* the number of his name.' (for they are both the same) the prophet proceeds to inform us what that number is, leaving us from the number to collect the name, ver. 18. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast.' It is not therefore a vain and ridiculous attempt to search into this mystery, but on the contrary is recommended to us upon the authority of an apostle. 'For it is the number of a man; it is a method of numbering practised among men; as the measure of a man,' xxi. 17. is such a measure as men commonly make use of in measuring. It was a method practised among the ancients, to denote names by number; as the name of *Thoyth* † or the Egyptian Mercury was signified by the number 1218; the name of Jupiter, as *He Arche*

* 'And what shall we now say? Doth not the false prophet here speak as a dragon? For the dragon Diocletian published a like edict, that not one should sell or be helpful to Christians, unless they had first burnt incense to the gods.' This is mentioned by Bede in a hymn of Justin Martyr. "They had not the power of buying or selling any thing, nor even the liberty of drawing water, before offering incense to detestable idols." See Mede, page 509.

† See Martianus Capella on the marriage of Philologia and Mercury, Book II, and VII, at the beginning. See Daubuz, page

or the beginning of things, by the number 737; and the name of the sun, as *Heys* good, or *hyes* the author of rain, by the number 608. St. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, in his* epistle discovers in like manner the name of Jesus crucified in the number 318: and other instances might be produced if there was occasion. It hath been the usual method in all God's dispensations for the holy Spirit to accommodate his expressions to the customs, fashions, and manners of the several ages. Since then this art and mystery of numbers was so much used among the ancients, it is less wonderful that the beast also should have his number, 'and his number is six hundred and sixty-six.' Here only the number is specified; and from the number we must, as well as we can, collect the name. Several names possibly might be cited, which contain this number: but it is evident; that it must be some Greek or Hebrew name; and with the name also the other qualities and properties of the beast must all agree. The name alone will not constitute an agreement; all other agreements must be perfectly applicable, and the name also must comprehend the precise number of 666. No name appears more proper and suitable than that famous one mentioned by Irenæus, who lived not long after St. John's time, and was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John. He saith,† that "the name *Lateinos*

605. See Selden's Works, Vol. III. Part. II. Col. 1402. Of the number 666.

Th——9	*E*——8	*e*——8
o—800	*a*——1	*y*—400
y—400	*r*—120	*s*—200
th——9	*ch*—600	———
———	*e*——8	608
1218	———	
	737	

* See St. Barnabas' Epistles, Chap. ix. in the edition of Coteleruis and Le Clerc. The name of Jesus was wrote thus abbreviated IHT, IH the two first letters of the name, and T as the mark of his cross.

I———10
H——— 8
T—— 300
———
318

† 'But the name LATEINOS contains the number 666; and

contains the number of 666; and it is very likely, because the last kingdom is so called, for they are Latins who now reign: but in this we will not glory:" that is, as it becomes a modest and pious man in a point of such difficulty, he will not be too confident of his explication. Lateinos with ei is the true orthography, as the Greeks wrote the long i of the Latins, and as the Latins themselves* wrote in former times. No objection therefore can be drawn from the spelling of the name, and the thing agrees to admiration. For after the division of the empire, the Greeks and other orientalists called the people of the western church, or church of Rome, *Latins*: and as Dr. Henry More † expresseth it, they *Latinize* in every thing. Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls are conceived in Latin. The papal councils speak in Latin. Women themselves pray in Latin; Nor is the scripture read in any other language under popery, than Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent commanded the vulgar Latin to be the only authentic version. Nor do their doctors doubt to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text itself, which was written by the prophets and apostles. In short all things are Latin; the pope having communicated his language to the peo-

it is very probable because this last kingdom is so called. For they are Latins who now reign. But we will not boast of this discovery,' See Irenæus, Book V. Chap. xxx. page 449, in Grabe's edition.

* So Ennius, Book VI. Line 26.

Quorum virtutei bellei fortuna pepercit,
Horundem me leibertatei parcere certum est:

That is, "I am resolved to spare these men their liberty, whom the fortune of war hath spared." There are infinite examples besides this one where EI is made use of instead of I.

† See More's Mystery of Iniquity, Part II. Book I. Chap, xv. Sect. I. and Peter Molinæus' Vates, page 500, &c. 'Mass, prayers, hymns, litanies, canons, decretals, bulls are all said in Latin. Nor is the holy scripture read in any other language among the papists than in Latin. Wherefore the council of Trent, ordered the Latin Vulgate to be the only authentic version. And their doctors hesitate not to prefer it to the Hebrew and Greek text, which was written by the apostles and prophets. In fine every thing is in Latin, for the pope hath communicated this language to the people under his authority, as the mark and character of his dominion.'

people under his dominion, as the mark and character of his empire. They themselves indeed choose rather to be called Romans, and more absurdly still, *Roman catholics:* and probably the apostle, as he hath made use of some Hebrew names in this book, as *Abaddon*, ix. 11. and *Armageddon*, xvi, 16. so might in this place likewise allude to the name in the Hebrew language. Now *Romiith* is the* Hebrew name for the *Roman beast* or *Roman kingdom:* and this word, as well as the former word *Lateinos*† contains the just and exact number of 666. It is really surprising that there should be such a fatal coincidence in both names in both languages. Mr. Pyle ‡ asserts, and I believe he may assert very truly, that "no other word, in any language whatever, can be found to express both the same *number*, and the same *thing*."

* The Hebrew masculine word *Romi* and the feminine *Romijith*, which agrees with *hhajah* 'beast' or *Malchuth* 'kingdom.'

		The Hebrew	
L	30	*R*	200
A	1	*V*	6
T	300	*M*	40
E	5	*I*	10
I	10	*I*	10
N	50	*Th*	400
O	70		
S	200		666
	666		

† [No name, though it may possibly comprehend the number 666, can be the name of the beast, unless it equally answers in all other particulars to the description of that name. *Lateinos* is at once the name of a man (the ancient king of Latium, whence Rome had its origin) the title of an empire; and the distinguishing appellation of every individual in that empire; and since the sum of its numerical letters is 666, I do not hesitate to assert, that Latinus, and nothing but Latinus, is the name of the beast; for in no other word, descriptive of the received temporal beast, or the papal empire, can such a fatal concurrence of circumstances be found.] *Faber.*

‡ See Pyle's Paraphrase, page 104.

CHAP. XIV.

1. And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred forty *and* four thousand, having his Father's name written in their foreheads.

2. And I heard a voice from heaven, as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder; and I heard the voice of harpers harping with their harps:

3. And they sung as it were a new song before the throne, and before the four beasts, and before the elders; and no man could learn that song, but the hundred and forty *and* four thousand, which were redeemed from the earth.

4. These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins; these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth: these were redeemed from among men, *being* the first fruits unto God, and to the Lamb.

5. And in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God.

After this melancholy account of the rise and reign of the beast, the Spirit of prophecy delineates, by way of opposition, the state of the true church during the same period, its struggles and contests with the beast, and the judgments of God upon its enemies. Our Saviour is seen, ver. 1. as the true *Lamb* of God, not only with horns like a lamb, 'standing on the mount Sion,' the place of God's true worship; 'and with him an hundred forty and four thousand,' the same select number that was mentioned before, vii. 4. the genuine offspring of the twelve apostles apostolically multiplied, and therefore the number of the church, as 666 is the number of the beast; and as the followers of the beast have the number of the beast, so these have 'the name of God,' and as some copies add 'of Christ, written in their foreheads,' being his professed servants, and the same as 'the witnesses,' only represented under different figures. The angels and heavenly choir, ver. 2, 3. with loud voices and instruments of music sing the same 'new song' or Christian song that they sung before: Chap. v. 'and no man could

learn that song, but the hundred and forty and four thousand;' they alone are the worshippers of the one true God through the one true mediator Jesus Christ; all the rest of mankind offer up their devotions to other objects, and through other mediators. 'These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins; ver. 4. they are pure from all the stains and pollutions of spiritual whoredom or idolatry, with which the other parts of the world are miserably debauched and corrupted. 'These are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth;' they adhere constantly to the religion of Christ in all conditions and in all places, whether in adversity or prosperity, whether in conventicles and deserts, or in churches or cities. 'These were redeemed from among men,' rescued from the corruptions of the world, and are consecrated as 'the first fruits unto God and the Lamb,' an earnest and assurance of a more plentiful harvest in succeeding times. 'And in their mouth was found no guile;' ver. 5. they handle not the word of God deceitfully, they preach the sincere doctrine of Christ, they are as free from hypocrisy as from idolatry; 'for they are without fault before the throne of God,' they resemble their blessed Redeemer, 'who, 1 Pet. ii. 22. did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;' and are, as the apostle requires Christians to be, Philip. ii. 15. 'blameless and harmless, the sons of God without rebuke in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation.' But possibly it may be asked, Where did such a church ever exist, especially before the Reformation: and it may be replied that it hath not existed only in idea; history demonstrates, as it hath been before evinced, that there have in every age been some true worshippers of God, and faithful servants of Jesus Christ; and as Elijah did not know the seven thousand men who had never bowed the knee to Baal, so there may have been more true Christians than were always visible.

6. And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people.

7. Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour

of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters.

Such is the nature and character of the true Christian church in opposition to the wicked Antichristian kingdom; and three principal efforts have been made towards a reformation at three different times, represented by three angels appearing one after another. 'Another angel,' ver. 6. besides those who were employed in singing, ver 3. is seen 'flying in the midst of heaven,' and 'having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation and people; so that during this period the gospel should still be preached, which is styled 'the everlasting gospel,' being like its divine author, Heb. xiii. 8. 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever,' in opposition to the novel doctrines of the beast and the false prophet, which, Matth. xv. 13. 'shall be rooted up as plants not of the heavenly Father's planting.' This angel is farther represented, ver. 7. 'saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come.' Prophecy mentions things as come, which will certainly come: and so our Saviour said, John xii. 31. 'Now is the judgment of this world;' it is denounced with certainty now, and in due time will be fully executed. But what this angel more particularly recommends, is the worship of the great Creator of the universe; 'Worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters. It is a solemn and emphatic exhortation to forsake the reigning idolatry and superstition, and such exhortations were made even in the first and earliest times of the beast. Besides several of the Greek emperors who strenuously opposed the worship of images, Charlemain himself* held a council at Francfort in the year 794, consisting of about 300 French, and German, and Italian, and Spanish, and British bishops, who condemned all sort of adoration or worship of images, and rejected the second council of Nice, which had au-

* See Frederick Spanheim's History of the Christian Church, Century VIII. Chap. vii, and ix. See Dupin's Ecclesiastical Library every where. See Voltaire's Annals of the empire, year 794.

thorised and established it. At the same time *the Caroline books*, as they are called, four books written by Charles himself, or by his authority, proving the worship of images to be contrary to the scripture, and to the doctrine and practice of antiquity, were approved by the council, and transmitted to the pope. Lewis the pious, the son and successor of Charles,* held a council at Paris in the year 824, which ratified the acts of the council of Francfort and the Caroline books, and affirmed, that according to the scripture and the fathers, adoration was due to God alone. Several private persons also taught and asserted the same scriptural doctrines. Claud, bishop of Turin,† declares that "we are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be made happy, but to the Creator himself: and therefore we should not worship dead men; they are to be imitated, not to be adored! let us together with the angels worship one God." Agobard, archbishop of Lyons,‡ wrote a whole book against images, and says that "angels or saints may be loved and honoured, but not to be served and worshipped: let us not put our trust in man, but in God, lest that prophetic denunciation should redound on us, *Cursed is the man, who trusteth in man.*" Many others§ bishops and writers of Britain, Spain, Italy,

* See the same work of Spanheim, Century IX. Chap. xii. Sect. 2. and his history of Images, Sect. 9. See Dupin in the same place, Vol. VII. Chap. i.

† 'We are not commanded to go to the creature, that we may be blessed, but to the Creator himself. And therefore it is no part of our religion to worship men that are deceased; they are to be honoured by our imitation, but not to be religiously worshipped. Let us with angels worship God alone.' See him quoted by Spanheim as above, Century IX. Sect. 7. See also Dupin in the same place, and Cave's Literary History at the year 820.

‡ 'Angels or saints departed may be loved and honoured, but not served or worshipped. Let us not put our trust in man, but in God, lest perhaps the saying of the prophet should be fulfilled upon us, "Cursed be the man who trusteth in man."' See his work concerning images, Chap. xxx. quoted by Spanheim in the same place. See also Dupin in the same place, and Cave at the year 813.

§ See Spanheim in the same place, Sect. 3. See Usher on the Succession and State of the Christian Church, Chap. ii. See also Allix' Remarks upon the ancient churches of the Albigenses, Chap. viii. and ix.

Germany, and France, professed the same sentiments; and this public opposition of emperors and bishops to the worship of saints and images in the eighth and ninth centuries appears to be meant particularly by the 'loud voice of' this first 'angel flying aloft,' and calling upon the world 'to worship God.' In another respect too these emperors and bishops resemble this 'angel having the everlasting gospel to preach unto every nation;' for this in their time, and greatly by their means,* the Christian religion was propagated and established among the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, and many other northern nations.

8. And there followed another angel, saying Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication.

As the admonitions of the first angel had not the proper effect upon the kingdom of the beast, the second angel is commissioned to proclaim the fall of the capital city, ver. 8. 'And there followed another angel, saying, Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city.' By *Babylon* was meant *Rome*, as all authors of all ages and countries agree: but it was not prudent to denounce the destruction of Rome in open and direct terms; it was for many wise reasons done covertly under the name of Babylon, which was the great idolatress of the earth, and enemy of the people of God in former, as Rome hath been in later times. By the same figure of speech, that the first angel cried that 'the hour of his judgment is come,' this second angel proclaims that 'Babylon is fallen;' the sentence is as certain, as if it was already executed. For greater certainty too it is repeated twice 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen; as Joseph said, Gen. xli. 32. 'that the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, because the thing is established by God, and God will shortly bring it to pass.' The reason then is added of this sentence against Babylon, 'because she made all nations drink of the wine of her wrath,' or rather 'of the inflaming wine of her fornication.' Hers was a kind of a Circean cup with

* See Spanheim in the same work, Chap. ii.

poisoned liquor to intoxicate and inflame mankind to spiritual fornication. St. John in these figures copies the ancient prophets. In the same manner, and in the same words, did Isaiah foretel the fate of ancient Babylon, xxi. 9. 'Babylon is fallen, is fallen:' And Jeremiah hath assigned much the same reason for her destruction, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken: the nations have drunken of her wine: therefore the nations are mad.' As by the first angel calling upon men to worship God, we understand the opposers of the worship of images in the eighth and ninth centuries, so by this second angel proclaiming the fall of mystic Babylon or Rome, we understand particularly Peter Valdo * and those who concurred with him in the Waldenses and Albigenses; who were the first heralds, as I may say, of this proclamation, as they first of all in the twelfth century pronounced the church of Rome to be the Apocalyptic, Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations of the earth; and for this cause not only departed from her communion themselves, but engaged great numbers also to follow their example, and laid the first foundation of the Reformation. Rome then began to fall; and as the ruin of Babylon was completed by degrees, so likewise will that of Rome, and these holy confessors and martyrs first paved the way to it.

9. And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive the *mark* in his forehead, or in his hand,

10. The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out

* See Mede, page 517, 722, &c. See Frederic Spanheim's History of the Church, Century XII. Chap. vi. 'That they had withdrawn from the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church, and had given to her the name of Babylon, and the mother of all confusion,' &c. Sect. 4. See Thuanus' History, Book VI. Chap. xvi. 'These were reported to be their received opinions, that the Roman Church, because she had renounced the true faith of Christ was the whore of Babylon,' &c. page 221, in Buckley's edition.

without mixture into the cup of his indignation: and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone, in the presence of the lamb:

11. And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.

12. Here is the patience of the saints: here *are* they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus.

13. And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed *are* the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth, Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

But not only the capital city, not only the principal agents and promoters of idolatry shall be destroyed; the commission of the third angel reached farther, and extends to all the subjects of the beast, whom he consigns over to everlasting punishment, ver. 9, 10, 11. 'And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead or in his hand,' if any man embrace and profess the religion of the beast, or what is the same, the religion of the pope; 'the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, *or rather* of the poisonous wine of God.' His punishment shall correspond with his crime. As he drank of the 'poisonous wine' of Babylon, so he shall be made to drink of 'the poisonous wine' of God, *tou kekerasmenou akratou*, 'which is poured out without mixture, *or rather* which is mixt unmixt,' the poisonous ingredients being stronger when mixt with mere or unmixt wine, in the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.' By this 'third angel following the others with a loud voice' we understand principally Martin Luther and his fellow reformers, who 'with a loud voice' protested against all the corruptions of the church of Rome, and declared them to be destructive of salvation to all who obstinately continue in the practice and profession of them. This would be a time of great trial, ver. 12. 'Here is the patience of the saints; here are they who keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. And it

is very well known, that this was a time of great trial and persecution; the Reformation was not introduced and established without much bloodshed; there were many martyrs in every country. But they are comforted with a solemn declaration from heaven, ver. 13. 'And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth,' if they die in the faith and obedience of Christ, and more especially if they die martyrs for his sake: 'Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours,' for immediately upon their deaths they enter into rest; 'and their works do follow them,' they enjoy now some recompense, and in due time, at the day of judgment, they shall receive the full reward of their good works. It is most probable that St. John alluded to a passage in Isaiah, where the Spirit hath made the like declaration; lvii. 1, 2. 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come: He shall enter into peace: they shall rest in their beds, each one walking in his uprightness.' But the greatest difficulty of all, is, to account for the words 'from henceforth;' for why should 'the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord' be restrained to this time, and commence from this period rather than from any other, when they are at all times and in all periods equally blessed, and not more since this time than before? Commentators here are very much at loss, and offer little or nothing that is satisfactory: but the difficulty in great measure ceases, if we apply this prophecy, as I think it should be applied, to the Reformation. For from that time, though, 'the blessedness of the dead who die in the Lord' hath not been enlarged, yet it hath been much better understood, more clearly *written* and promulgated than it was before, and the contrary doctrine of purgatory hath been exploded and banished from the belief of all reasonable men. This truth was moreover, one of the leading principles of the Reformation. What first provoked Luther's spirit was the scandalous sale of indulgences; and the doctrine of indulgences having a close connection with the doctrine of purgatory, the refutation of the one naturally led him to the refutation of the

other; and his* first work of reformation was his 95 theses or positions against indulgences, purgatory and the dependent doctrines. So that he may be said literally to have fulfilled the command from heaven, of 'writing, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth:' and from that time to this, this truth hath been so clearly asserted, and so solidly established, that it is likely to prevail for ever.

A learned and ingenious friend refers these three proclamations of the three angels to later times, and supposes that they are an immediate prelude to the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. But the clue that has principally conducted me through both parts of the Revelation is following the series of history, and the successive order of events. After the description of the two beasts, secular and ecclesiastical, whose power was established according to my hypothesis in the eighth century, but according to most commentators much sooner, there would be a very large chasm without the prediction of any memorable events, if these prophecies relate to the time immediately preceding the fall of Antichrist and the millennium. What a long interval would that be without any prophecy? And how thick would the events follow afterward? For all the particulars not only of this 14th, but likewise of the 16th, 18th, and 19th chapters, must be fulfilled before the commencement of the millennium. I can hardly frame even in imagination, any events which can answer more exactly to these proclamations of the three angels than the three principal efforts towards a reformation. Charlemain, Valdo, Luther, and their followers, certainly deserve as exalted characters as are here given them: and it would be very strange that there should be so many prophecies relating to the downfall of popery, and yet none concerning the reformation. He conceives that the church cannot be represented in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation, as it is in the former part of this chapter, while it is afflict-

* See Sleidan's History of the Reformation, Book I. year 1517. See Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Book I. Sect. 18. See Spanheim's History of the Church, Century XVI. Chap. vi. Sect. 1.

ed and persecuted during the reign of the beast. But the church of this period is not drawn in such an attitude of triumph and jubilation as he imagines; there are some intimations of its suffering persecution in this very chapter: and if it was as he imagines, yet why may not the true church be represented like the Apostles and primitive Christians as 'sorrowful yet always rejoicing,' as 'rejoicing in tribulation,' as 'exceeding joyful in tribulation,' &c.? He farther conceives, that the dead are 'blessed from henceforth,' because they will remain a shorter time in the separate state, and be sooner raised again. But why then is not that reason assigned, but quite different ones, 'that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them?' These are reasons which hold equally good at all times, and cannot be restrained and limited to any particular time: and therefore I conceive that the words 'from henceforth' relate not so much to 'the blessedness of the dead,' which is always the same, as to the *writing* and promulgating of this doctrine by Luther and the protestant reformers.

14. And I looked, and behold, a white cloud, and upon the cloud *one* sat, like unto the Son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle.

15. And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, Thrust in thy sickle, and reap: for the time is come for thee to reap; for the harvest of the earth is ripe.

16. And he that sat on the cloud, thrust in his sickle on the earth, and the earth was reaped.

17. And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle.

18. And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe.

19. And the angel thrust in his sickle into the earth, and gathered the vine of the earth, and cast it into the great wine-press of the wrath of God.

20. And the wine-press was trodden without the city and blood came out of the

wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles, by the space of a thousand *and* six hundred furlongs.

But still the voices of these three warning angels not having their due influence and effect, the judgments of God will overtake the followers and adherents of the beast, which judgments are represented under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*, ver. 14—20. figures not unusual in the prophets, and copied particularly from the prophet Joel, who denounced God's judgments against the enemies of his people in the like terms; iii. 13. 'Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe; come, get you down, for the press is full, the fats overflow, for their wickedness is great.' What particular events are signified by this *harvest** and *vintage*, it appears impossible for any man to determine, time alone can with certainty dicover, for these things are yet in futurity. Only it may be observed, that these two signal judgments will as certainly come, as harvest and vintage succeed in their season; and in the course of providence the one will precede the other, as in the course of nature the harvest is before the vintage and the later will greatly surpass the former, and be attended with a more terrible destruction of God's enemies. It is said, ver. 20. that 'the blood came even unto the horse-bridles,' which is a strong hyperbolical way of speaking to express vast slaughter, and effusion of blood; a way of speaking not unknown to the Jews,† for the Jerusalem Talmud describing the woful slaughter, which the Roman emperor Adrian made of the Jews at the destruction of the city of Bitter, saith, that "The horses waded in blood up to the nostrils." Nor are similar examples

* [Some late expositors decide with confidence, that the bloody scenes lately exhibited in France, and on the continent, are the fulfilment of the prophecy concerning "the harvest," nor do I doubt but that posterity will clearly see that these events began to accomplish the prediction.] *Scott.*

† In Taanith Leaf 69. Col. 1. See Lightfoot's Harmony of the New Testament on the passage. See also Echa, R. II. 2. 'Adrian besieged the city of Bitter during three years and a half. The slaughter did not cease in it, till a horse might have waded in blood up to the mouth,' &c. See him quoted by Wetstein on the passage.

wanting even in the classic authors: for Silius Italicus* speaking of Hannibal's descent into Italy, useth a like expression of "the bridles flowing with much blood." The stage where this bloody tragedy is acted, 'is without the city by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs,' which, as Mr. Mede† ingeniously observes, is the measure of *stato della chiesa*, or the state of the Roman church, or St. Peter's patrimony, which reaching from the walls of Rome unto the river Po and the marshes of Verona, contains the space of 200 Italian miles, which make exactly 1600 furlongs.

CHAP. XV.

1. And I saw another sign in heaven, great and marvellous, seven angels having the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.

2. And I saw as it were a sea of glass, mingled with fire; and them that had gotten the victory over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, *and* over the number of his name, stand on the sea of glass, having the harps of God.

3. And they sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God almighty; just and true *are* thy ways, thou king of saints.

4. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for *thou* only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest.

5. And after that I looked, and behold, the temple of the tabernacle of the testimony in heaven was opened:

6. And the seven angels came out of the temple, having the seven plagues, clothed in pure and white linen, and having their breasts girded with golden girdles.

7. And one of the four

* See Silius Italicus, III. 705. 'And the bridles flowing with much blood.'

† 'There is at hand a place, whose measurement exactly agrees with the number of furlongs here mentioned, and that is *stato della chiesa*, or the state of the Roman Church, which stretching from the city of Rome, to the farthest mouth of the Po and the marshes of Verona, measures two hundred Italian miles, or sixteen hundred furlongs.' Mede, page 522.

beasts gave unto the seven angels, seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, who liveth for ever and ever.

8. And the temple was filled with smoke from the glory of God, and from his power, and no man was able to enter into the temple, till the seven plagues of the seven angels were fulfilled.

God's judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, or Antichristian empire, are hitherto denounced, and described in general terms under the figures of *harvest* and *vintage*. A more particular account of them follows under the emblem of 'seven vials' which are called, ver. 1. 'the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God.' These seven last plagues must necessarily fall under the seventh and last trumpet, or the third and last wo-trumpet; so that as the seventh seal contained the seven trumpets, the seventh trumpet comprehends the seven vials. Not only the concinnity of the prophecy requires this order; for otherwise there would be great confusion, and the vials would interfere with the trumpets, some falling under one trumpet, and some under another: but moreover, if these seven last plagues and the consequent destruction of Babylon be not the subject of the third wo, the third wo is no where described particularly as are the two former woes. When four of the seven trumpets had sounded, it was declared, viii. 13. 'Wo, wo, wo, to the inhabitants of the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels which are yet to sound.' Accordingly at the sounding of the *fifth* trumpet, ix. 1. commences the wo of the Saracen or Arabian locusts; and in the conclusion is added, ver. 12. 'One wo is past, and behold, there come two more woes hereafter.' At the sounding of the *sixth* trumpet, ix. 13. begins the plague of the Euphratean horsemen or Turks; and in the conclusion is added, xi. 14. 'The second wo is past, and behold, the third wo cometh quickly.' At the sounding of the *seventh* trumpet therefore, xi 15, &c. one would naturally expect the description of the 'third wo' to succeed: but as it was before observed, there follows only a short and summary account of the seventh trumpet, and of the joyful rather than of the woful part of it. A general intimation indeed

is given of God's taking unto him his great power, *and* destroying them who destroy the earth :' but the particulars are reserved for this place; and if these last plagues coincide not with the last wo, there are other plagues, and other woes after the last; and how can it be said that 'the wrath of God is filled up in them,' if there are others besides them? If then these seven last plagues synchronize with the seventh and last trumpet, they are all yet to come; for the sixth trumpet is not yet past, nor the wo of the Turkish or Othman empire yet ended: and consequently there is no possibility of explaining them in such a manner as when the prophecies may be parallel with histories, or evinced by ocular demonstration. The many fruitless attempts which have hitherto been made to explain them, are a farther proof that they cannot well be explained, the best interpreters having failed and foundered in this part more than any other. But before the vials are poured out, the scene opens with a preparatory vision, which is the subject of this chapter.

As seven angels sounded the seven trumpets, so seven angels are appointed to pour out the seven vials, angels being always the ministers of providence; and in order to show that these judgments are to fall upon the kingdom of the beast, the true worshippers of God and faithful servants of Jesus, who had escaped 'victors from the beast,' *tous nikontasek tou theriou* and had never submitted to his tyranny or religion, are described, ver. 2, 3, 4. like unto the children of Israel, after their deliverance and escape out of Egypt. For as the children of Israel, Exod. xv. having passed through the Red Sea, stood on the shore, and seeing their enemies overwhelmed with the waters, sung the triumphant song of Moses: so these having passed through the fiery trials of this world, 'stand on the sea of glass mingled with fire,' which was mentioned before, iv. 6. and seeing the vials ready to be poured out upon their enemies, sing a song of triumph for the manifestation of the divine judgments; which is called 'the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb,' the words in great measure being taken from the song of Moses and other parts of the Old Testament, and applied in a Christian sense. After this 'the most holy place of the temple is opened,' ver. 5. and 'the seven angels come out of the

temple,' ver. 6. to denote that their commission is immediately from God, *clothed* like the high priest but in a more august manner, 'in pure and white linen,' to signify the righteousness of these judgments, 'and having their breasts girded,' to show their readiness to execute the divine commands, 'with golden girdles,' as emblems of their power and majesty. A vial then is given unto each of the seven angels, ver. 7. by 'one of the four living creatures,' the representatives of the church; by which it is intimated, that it is in vindication of the church and true religion that these plagues are inflicted. Moreover 'the temple is filled with smoke from the glory of God and from his power,' so that 'no man is able to enter into it;' ver. 8. in the same manner as the tabernacle, when it was consecrated by Moses, and the temple when it was dedicated by Solomon, Exod. xl. 34, 35. 1 Kings viii. 10, 11. were both filled with a cloud and the glory of the Lord, so that neither Moses nor the priests could enter therein: a farther proof of the majestic presence and extraordinary interposition of God in the execution of these judgments.

CHAP. XVI.

1. And I heard a great voice out of the temple, saying to the seven angels, Go your ways and pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth.

In obedience to the divine command, ver. 1. the seven angels come forth 'to pour out the vials of the wrath of God upon the earth:' and as the *trumpets* were so many steps and degrees of the ruin of the Roman empire, so the *vials* are of the ruin of the Roman church. The one in polity and government is the image of the other; the one is compared to the system of the world, and hath her *earth*, and *sea*, and *rivers*, and *sun*, as well as the other; and this is the reason of the similitude and resemblance of the judgment in both cases. Some resemblance too there is between these plagues, and those of Egypt. Rome papal hath already, xi. 8. been distinguished by the title of 'spiritual Egypt,' and resembles Egypt in her

punishments as well as in her crimes, tyranny, idolatry, and wickedness.

2. And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and *upon* them which worshipped his image.

Vial the first, ver 2. is 'poured out upon the earth;' and so the hail and fire of the first trumpet, viii. 7. "were cast upon the earth.' It 'produceth 'a noisome and grievous sore;' and in this respect resembleth the sixth plague of Egypt, Exod. ix. 10. which was 'boils breaking forth with blains.' This plague is inflicted 'upon the men who had the mark of the beast, and upon them who worshipped his image;'* which is to be understood of the others also, where it is not expressed. Whether these *sores* and *ulcers* are natural or moral, the event must show.

3. And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.

4. And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood.

5. And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, which art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus:

6. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy.

7. And I heard another out of the altar say, Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous *are* thy judgments.

Vial the second, ver. 3. is 'poured upon the sea,' and the sea becomes 'as the blood of a dead man,' or as con-

*[Mr. Faber interprets the whole passage of the bloody transactions in France, and on the continents, and thinks the Sun who scorches men with fire, is the present tyranny of the ruler of that nation.]

gealed blood; and in like manner under the second trumpet, viii, 8. the burning mountain 'was cast into the sea, and the sea became blood.' Vial the third, ver. 4. is 'poured out upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood:' and in like manner under the third trumpet, viii. 10. the burning star 'fell upon the rivers and fountains of waters.' There is a close connection between these two vials; and the effects are similar to the first plague of Egypt, Exod. vii. 19. when 'the waters of Egypt, *and* their streams, *and* their rivers, *and* their ponds, *and* their pools of water became blood.' *Seas* and 'rivers of blood manifestly denote great slaughter and devastation: and hereupon, ver. 5, 6. 'the angel of the waters,' for it was a prevailing opinion in the east, that a particular angel* presided over the waters, as others did over other elements and parts of nature, and mention was made before, xiv. 18. of 'the angel who had power over fire;' this angel of the waters celebrates the righteous judgments of God in adapting and proportioning the punishment of the followers of the beast to their crime; for no law is more just and equitable, than that they who have been guilty of 'shedding the blood of saints and prophets,' should be punished in the effusion of their own blood. 'Another angel out of the altar,' ver. 7. for, vi. 9. 'under the altar were the souls of them who were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held,' declares his assent in the most solemn manner, 'Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.'

8. And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire.

9. And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory.

As the fourth trumpet affected 'the sun;' viii. 12. so likewise the fourth vial, ver. 8, 9. is 'poured out upon

* 'The Persians think that the guardianship of waters is entrusted with a peculiar angel,' &c. See Hyde on the Religion of the Ancient Persians, Chap. vi. page 139. See also Chap. xix.

the sun. An intense heat ensues; 'and men blaspheme the name of God, and repent not to give him glory.' Whether by this intense heat of the sun, be meant literally uncommon sultry seasons, scorching and withering the fruits of the earth, and producing pestilential fevers and inflammations; or figuratively, a most tyrannical and exorbitant exercise of arbitrary power by those who may be called 'the sun' in the firmament by the beast, the pope or emperor; time must discover. Men shall be tormented, and complain grievously; they shall, like the rebellious Jews, Isa. viii. 21. 'fret themselves, and curse their king, and their God, and look upward,' look upward not to pray, but only to blaspheme; they shall not have the sense or courage to repent, and forsake their idolatry and wickedness. When the events shall take place, and these things shall all be fulfilled, not only these prophecies of the vials shall be better understood, but also those of the trumpets, to which they bear some analogy and resemblance.

10. And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness, and they gnawed their tongues for pain,

11. And blasphemed the God of heaven, because of their pains and their sores, and repented not of their deeds.

Vial the fifth, ver. 10, 11. is 'poured out upon the seat *or* throne of the beast, and his kingdom *becomes* full of darkness,' as Egypt did, Exod. x. 21. under her ninth plague. This is some great calamity which shall fall upon Rome itself, and shall *darken* and confound the whole Antichristian empire. But still the consequences of this plague are much the same as those of the foregoing one; for the sufferers, instead of 'repenting of their deeds,' are hardened like Pharaoh, and still persist in their blasphemy and idolatry, and obstinately withstand all attempts of reformation.

12. And the sixth angel poured out his vial upon the great river Euphrates; and the water thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of the east might be prepared.

13. And I saw three unclean spirits, like frogs, *come* out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet.

14. For they are the spirits of devils, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty.

15. Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed *is* he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame.

16. And he gathered them together into a place called in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon.

Vial the sixth, ver. 12. is 'poured out upon the great river Euphrates, and the water thereof is dried up,' to prepare a passage 'for the kings of the east.' Whether by *Euphrates*, be meant the river so called, or only a mystic Euphrates, as Rome is mystic *Babylon*; and whether 'by the kings of the east,' be meant the Jews in particular, or any eastern potentates in general; can be matters only of conjecture, and not of certainty and assurance till the event shall make the determination. Whoever they be, they appear to threaten the ruin and destruction of the kingdom of the beast: and therefore * the agents and emissaries of popery, ver. 13. 14. 'of the dragon' the representative of the devil, 'and of the beast,' the representative of the Antichristian empire, 'and of the false prophet,' the representative of the Antichristian church, as disagreeable, as loquacious, as sordid, as impudent † as *frogs*, are employed to oppose them, and stir up the princes and potentates of their communion to make their united and last effort in a religious war. Of necessity these must be times of great trouble and affliction; so that an exhortation is inserted, ver. 15. by way of parenthesis, of the *suddenness* of these judgments, and of the *blessedness* of *watching*, and of being *clothed* and prepared for all events. Beza conceives that this verse was transferred hither from the 3d chapter, where it

* 'The *three unclean spirits like frogs*, Mr. Mann thinks to be the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits.' See his manuscript.

† See Bochart's Hierozoicon, in that part which follows, Book V. Chap. iv.

should be subjoined to the 18th verse: but the third chapter and 16th chapter are at too great a distance for such a transposition to be made. However it is certain that this insertion hath in some measure disturbed the sense, and broken the connection of the discourse; for our translators as well as several others render the following words, ver. 16. 'And he gathered them together,' when the true construction is, 'And they gathered them together,' the evil spirits and agents before mentioned gather all the forces of the popish princes together, 'into a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon,' that is, the 'mountain of destruction.'

17. And the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a great voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, It is done.

18. And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake *and* so great.

19. And the great city was divided into three parts; and the cities of the nations fell: and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

20. And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found.

21. And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, *every stone* about the weight of a talent: and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail; for the plague thereof was exceeding great.

Vial the seventh, ver. 17. is 'poured out into the air,' the seat of Satan's residence, who is emphatically styled, Eph. ii. 2. 'the prince of the power of the air,' and is represented, ver. 13. as a principal actor in these latter scenes: so that this last period will not only complete the ruin of the kingdom of the beast, but will also shake the kingdom of satan every where. Upon the pouring out of this vial, a solemn proclamation is made 'from the throne' of God himself, 'It is done;' in the same sense as the angel before affirmed, x. 7. that 'in the days of the seventh trumpet, the mystery of God should be finished.' Of this vial, as indeed of all the former, the completion is gradual; and the immediate effects and

consequences are, ver. 18—21. 'voices, and thunders, and lightnings, and an earthquake, and great hail.' These portend great calamities. 'Voices, and thunders, and lightnings,' are the usual attendants of the deity, especially in his judgments. 'Great earthquakes,' in prophetic language, signify great changes and revolutions; and this is such an one as men never felt and experienced before, 'such as was not since men were upon the earth.' Not only 'the great city is divided into three parts' or factions, but 'the cities of the nations fall' from their obedience to her. Her sins are 'remembered before God,' and like another *Babylon*, she will soon be made to drink of the bitter cup of his anger. Nay, not only the works of men, 'the cities fall;' but even the works of nature, 'the islands fly away, and the mountains are not found;' which is more than was said before, vi. 14. that they 'were moved out of their places,' and can import no less than an utter extirpation of idolatry. 'Great hail' too often signifies the judgments of God, and these are uncommon judgments. Diodorus, a grave historian, speaketh of hailstones which weighed a pound and more;* Philostorgius mentions hail that weighed eight pounds; but these are 'about the weight of a talent,' or about a hundred pounds, a strong figure to denote the greatness and severity of these judgments. But still the men continue obstinate, 'and blaspheme God because of the plague of the hail;' they remain incorrigible under the divine judgments, and shall be destroyed before they will be reformed.

CHAP. XVII.

As the 'seventh seal,' and the 'seventh trumpet,' contained many more particulars, than any of the former seals, and former trumpets; so the 'seventh vial' contains more than any of the former vials: and the more you consider, the more admirable you will find the structure

* 'And the hail was of incredible size, for some of them weighed a pound and more.' See Diodorus Siculus, Book XIX. concerning the flood of the Rhodians, page 695, in Stephanus' edition, and page 689 in that of Rhodomanus. See Philostorgius' History of the Church, Book XI. Chap. vii.

of this book in all its parts. The destruction of the Antichristian empire is a subject of such importance, and consequence, that the holy Spirit hath thought fit to represent it under a variety of images. Rome hath already been characterized by the names of 'spiritual Egypt *and* Babylon:' and having seen how her plagues resemble those of *Egypt*, we shall now see her fall compared to that of *Babylon*. It was declared before in general, xiv. 8. 'Babylon is fallen is fallen;' but this is a catastrophe deserving of a more particular description, both for a warning to some, and for a consolation to others. But before the description of her fall and destruction, there is premised an account of her state and condition, that there may be no mistake in the application. Rome was meant, as all, both papists and protestants agree;* and I think it appears almost to demonstration, that not Pagan but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was here intended; and the arguments urged to the contrary by the bishop of Meaux himself, the best and ablest advocate for popery, prove nothing so much as the weakness and badness of the cause, which they are brought to defend.

1. And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither, I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters;

2. With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication.

3. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness; and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns.

4. And the woman was arrayed in purple, and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication.

5. And upon her forehead *was* a name, written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE

* 'It is most certain, that by the name of Babylon is signified the city of Rome.' See Baronius at the year 45. 'John every where in the book of the Revelation calls Rome Babylon. This is manifest from Chap. xvii. of the Apocalypse.' See Bellarmine concerning the Roman Pontiff, Book III. Chap, xiii, &c.

GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH.

6. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration.

'One of the seven angels, who had the seven vials,' ver. 1, calleth to St. John. Most probably this was 'the seventh angel;' for under the seventh vial 'great Babylon came in remembrance before God,' and now St. John is called upon to see her condemnation and execution. 'Come hither, I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore, that sitteth upon many waters.' So ancient Babylon, which was seated upon the great river Euphrates is described by Jeremiah, li. 13. as 'dwelling upon many waters:' and from thence the phrase is borrowed, and signifies, according to the angel's own explanation, ver. 15. ruling over many *peoples* and *nations*. Neither was this an ordinary prostitute; she was 'the great whore,' ver. 2. 'with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication:' as Tyre, Isa. xxiii. 17. 'committed fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth.' Nay, not only 'the kings,' but inferior persons 'the inhabiters of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication;' as it was said of ancient Babylon, Jer. li. 7. 'the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad.' *Fornication* in the usual style of scripture is idolatry; but if it be taken even literally, it is true that modern Rome openly allows the one, as well as practises the other. Ancient Rome doth in no respect so well answer the character; for she ruled more with a rod of iron, than with 'the wine of her fornication,' What, and where were the kings, whom she courted and debauched to her communion? What, and where were the people, whom she inveigled and intoxicated with her idolatry? Her ambition was for extending her empire, and not her religion. She permitted even the conquered nations to continue in the religion of their ancestors, and to worship their own gods after their own rituals. She may be said rather to have been corrupted by the importation of foreign vices and super-

stitions, than to have established her own in other countries.

As Ezekiel, while he was a captive in Chaldea, was conveyed by the Spirit to Jerusalem, Ezek. viii. 3. so St. John ver. 4. is 'carried away in the spirit into the wilderness;' for there the scene is laid, being a scene of desolation. When the woman, the true church, was persecuted and afflicted, she was said, xii. 14. 'to fly into the wilderness;' and in like manner, when the woman, the false church, is to be destroyed, the vision is presented 'in the wilderness.' For they are by no means, as some have imagined, the same woman under various representations. They are totally distinct and different characters, and drawn in contrast to each other, as appears from their whole attire and behaviour, and particularly from these two circumstances; that during the 1260 years while the woman is 'fed in the wilderness,' the beast and the scarlet whore are reigning and triumphant, and at the latter end, the whore is 'burned with fire,' when the woman as 'his wife, hath made herself ready for the marriage of the Lamb.' 'A woman sitting upon a beast is a lively and significative emblem of a church or city directing and governing an empire. In painting and sculpture, as well as in prophetic language, cities are often represented in the form of women: and Rome herself is exhibited in ancient* coins as a woman sitting upon a lion. Here the beast is 'a scarlet-coloured beast,' for the same reason that the dragon was, xii. 3. 'a red dragon;' to denote his cruelty, and in allusion to the distinguishing colour of the Roman emperors and magistrates. The beast is also 'full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns;' so that this is the very same beast which was described in the former part of the 13th chapter; and the woman in some measure answers to the two-horned beast or false prophet: and consequently the woman is Christian, and not Pagan Rome; because Rome was become Christian, before the beast had completely 'seven heads and ten horns,' that is, before the Roman empire experienced its last form of government, and was divided into

* See Vitringa, page 757. See Emmenessus on Virgil's Æneid, Book VI. Line 854.

ten kingdoms. The woman is arrayed too, ver. 4. 'in purple and scarlet colour,' this being the colour of the popes and cardinals, as well as of the emperors and senators of Rome. Nay the mules and horses, which carry the popes and cardinals, are covered with scarlet cloth, so that they may properly be said to ride 'upon a scarlet-coloured beast.' The woman is also 'decked with gold and precious stones, and pearls;' and who can sufficiently describe the pride, and grandeur, and magnificence of the church of Rome in her vestments and ornaments of all kinds? Alexander Donatus* hath drawn a comparison between ancient and modern Rome, and asserts the superiority of his own church in the pomp and splendour of religion. You have a remarkable instance in Paul II, of whom Platina† relates, that, "in his pontifical vestments he outwent all his predecessors, especially in his *regno* or mitre, upon which he had laid out a great deal of money in purchasing at vast rates, diamonds, sapphires, emeralds, chrysolites, jaspers, unions, and all manner of precious stones, wherewith, adorned like another Aaron, he would appear abroad somewhat more august than a man, delighting to be seen and admired by every one. But lest he alone should seem to differ from the rest, he made a decree, that none but cardinals should under a penalty wear red caps; to whom he had in the first year of popedom given cloth of that colour, to make horse-cloths or mule-cloths of when they rode." You have another conspicuous instance in the Lady of Loretto; the riches of whose holy image,‡ and house and treasury; the golden angels, the gold and silver lamps; the vast number, variety, and richness of the jewels, of the vestments for the holy image, and for the priests; with the prodigious treasures of all sorts: are far beyond the reach of description; and as Mr. Addison says, "as much surpassed my expectation, as other sights have generally fallen short of it. Silver can scarce find an admission, and gold

* See Vitringa, page 759. See Donatus on the City of Rome, Book I. Chap. xxix.

† See Platina's lives of the popes translated by Sir Paul Rycaut, page 414.

‡ See Wright's Travels, page 123. See Addison's Travels, page 92.

itself looks but poorly amongst such an incredible number of precious stones." Moreover the woman, like other harlots who gave philters and love-potions to inflame their lovers, hath 'a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication;' to signify the specious and alluring arts, wherewith she bewitcheth and inciteth men to idolatry, which is 'abomination and spiritual fornication' It is an image copied from Jeremiah, li. 7. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken;' and in that excellent little moral treatise, entitled the Table of Cebes,* there is a like picture of Deceit or Impostures; "a fair, beautiful, and false woman, and having a cup in her hand; she is called Deceit, and seduceth all mankind." And is not this a much more proper emblem of pontifical than of imperial Rome?

Yet farther to distinguish the woman, she has her *name* inscribed *upon her forehead*, ver. 5. in allusion to the practice of some notorious prostitutes, who had their names written in a label upon their foreheads, as we may collect from ancient authors† The inscription is so very particular, that we cannot easily mistake the person; 'Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, *or rather* of fornications, and abominations of the earth.' Her name *Mystery* can imply no less, than that she dealeth in *mysteries*; her religion is 'a mystery, a mystery of iniquity;' and she herself is 'mystically and spiritually Babylon the great.' But the title of *mystery* is in no respect proper to ancient Rome, more than any other city: and neither is there any mystery in substituting one heathen, idolatrous, and persecuting city for another; but it is indeed a mystery, that a christian city, professing and boasting herself to be the city of God, should prove ano-

* 'A woman with a deceitful countenance and a plausible appearance, and holding a cup in her hand. She is called Deceit, and seduceth all men. See the Table of Cebes, not far from the beginning.

† 'She hath hung thy name upon thy forehead; thou hast received the reward of thy whoredom,' &c. See Seneca, Book I. Controversy II. See Juvenal's Satire VI. 122. 'Then she continued naked with her gilt breast, and with the counterfeited name of Lycisca.

ther Babylon in idolatry and cruelty to the people of God. She glories in the name of *Roman Catholic*, and well therefore may she be called 'Babylon the great.' She affects the style and title of 'our holy mother the church,' but she is in truth 'the mother of fornications and abominations of the earth.' Neither can this character with any propriety be applied to ancient Rome; for she was rather a learner of foreign superstitions, than the mistress of idolatry to other nations: as appears in various instances, and particularly from * that solemn form of adjuration, which the Romans used when they laid siege to a city, calling forth the tutelary deities of the place, and promising them temples, and sacrifices, and other solemnities at Rome. It may be concluded therefore that this part of the prophecy is sufficiently fulfilled, though there should be reason to question the truth of what is asserted by some writers, that the word *mystery* was formerly written in letters of gold upon the forepart of the pope's mitre. Scaliger† affirms it upon the authority of the Duke de Montmorency, who received his information from a man of good credit at Rome. Francis le Moyne and Brocardus‡ confirm it, appealing to ocular inspection; and when king James objected this, Lessius could not deny it. If the thing be true, it is a wonderful coincidence of the event with the letter of the prophecy: but it hath been much controverted, and you

* See Macrobius' Saturnalia, Book III. Chap. ix.

† 'The late Duke de Montmorency being at Rome, at a time when they spake freely both of St. Peter and of the Holy See, he learned from a man worthy of credit, that in truth the pope's mitre had written on the front of it in letters of gold the word *mystery*.' See Scaliger on the passage quoted by Sacred Critics.

‡ 'Also Francis le Moyne and James Brocard confirm the same thing, appealing to ocular inspection, and Leonardus Lessius not denying it. See Wolfius on the passage, 'In the turban or mitre of the pope you have this word *mystery* written; so that you have no need to seek a more distant interpretation.' See Brocard on the passage, quoted by Vitringa, p. 763. 'The pope of Rome on his mitre had this very name *mystery* inscribed, which has been attested by eye-witnesses: and when king James objected this, Lessius could not deny it.' See Downam on Pool's Synopsis in this text.

may see the authors on both sides in Wolfius.* It is much more certain, and none of that communion can deny it, that the ancient mitres were usually adorned with inscriptions One particularly† there is "preserved at Rome as a precious relic of pope Sylvester I, richly, but not artfully embroidered with the figure of the virgin Mary crowned, and holding a little Christ, and these words in large capitals underneath, AVE REGINA CELI, *Hail queen of Heaven*, in the front; of which father Angela Roca, keeper of the pope's sacristy, and an eminent antiquary, has given a copperplate in the third vol. p. 490 of the works of pope Gregory I. and it seems more probably to have belonged to Gregory; because he is said to have first instituted at Rome the litanies to the virgin Mary." An inscription this directly contrary to that on the forefront of the high priest's mitre, Exod. xxviii. 36. HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

Infamous as the woman is for her idolatry, she is no less detestable for her cruelty, which are the two principal characteristics of the Antichristian empire. She is, ver. 6. 'drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;' which may indeed be applied both to Pagan and to Christian Rome, for both have in their turns cruelly persecuted 'the saints and martyrs of Jesus;' but the latter is more deserving of the character, as she hath far exceeded the former both in the degree and duration of her persecutions. It is very true, as it was hinted before, that if Rome Pagan hath slain her thousands of innocent Christians, Rome Christian hath slain her ten thousands. For not to mention other outrageous slaughters and barbarities; the croisades against the Waldenses and Albigenses, the murders committed by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, the massacres in France and Ireland, will probably amount to above ten times the number of all the Christians slain in all the ten persecutions of the Roman emperors put together. St. John's *admiration* also plainly

* See John Christopher Wolf's Work, entitled Curæ Pilolog. Criticæ, Vol. V.

† See Mann's Critical Notes on some passages of Scripture, page 112.

evinces, that Christian Rome was intended: for it could be no matter of surprise to him, that a Heathen city should persecute the Christians, when he himself had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero: but that a city, professedly Christian, should wanton and riot in the blood of Christians, was a subject of astonishment indeed; and well might he, as it is emphatically expressed, 'wonder with great wonder.'

7. And the angel said unto me, Wherefore didst thou marvel? I will tell thee the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her, which hath the seven heads and ten horns.

8. The beast that thou sawest, was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder, (whose names were not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world,) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.

9. And here *is* the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman sitteth.

10. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, *and* the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.

11. And the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into perdition.

12. And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.

13. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.

14. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, *are* called, and chosen, and faithful.

15. And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.

16. And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.

17. For God hath put in

their hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled.

18. And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

It was not thought sufficient to represent these things only in vision; and therefore the angel, like the *angelos* nuncius, or messenger in the ancient drama, undertakes to explain, ver. 7. 'the mystery,' the mystic scene or secret meaning, 'of the woman, and of the beast that carrieth her:' and the angel's interpretation is indeed the best key to the Revelation, the best clue to direct and conduct us through this intricate labyrinth.

'The mystery of the beast' is first explained; and 'the beast' is considered first in general, ver. 8. under a threefold state or succession, as existing, and then ceasing to be, and then reviving again, so as to become another and the same. He 'was, and is not,' *kai pherestin* 'and yet is,' or according to other copies *kai parestai* 'and shall come, shall ascend out of the bottomless pit.' A *beast* in the prophetic style, as we before observed, is a tyrannical idolatrous empire; and the Roman empire was idolatrous under the Heathen emperors, and then ceased to be so for some time under the Christian emperors, and then became idolatrous again under the Roman pontiffs, and so hath continued ever since. It is the same idolatrous power revived again, but only in another form; and all the corrupt part of mankind, whose names are not enrolled as good citizens in the registers of heaven, are pleased at the revival of it; but in this last form it 'shall go into perdition;' it shall not, as it did before, cease for a time, and revive again, but shall be destroyed for ever.

After this general account of the beast, there follows an explanation of the particular emblems, with a short preface intimating that they are deserving of the deepest attention, and are a proper exercise, and trial of the understanding. 'Here is the mind which hath wisdom; ver. 9. as it was said upon a former occasion, xiii. 18. 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count,' &c. The 'seven heads' have a double signification. They are primarily 'seven mountains on which the

woman sitteth, on which the capital city is seated; which all who have the least tincture of letters, know to be the situation of Rome. Historians, geographers, and poets, all speak of *the city with seven hills;* and passages might be quoted to this purpose without number and without end. It is observed too, that new Rome or Constantinople, is situated on seven mountains; but these are very rarely mentioned, and mentioned only by obscure authors, in comparison of the others; and besides the seven mountains, other particulars also must coincide, which cannot be found in Constantinople. It is evident therefore, that the city 'seated on seven mountains,' must be Rome; and a plainer description could not be given of it, without expressing the name, which there might be several wise reasons for concealing.

As 'the seven heads' signify 'seven mountains,' so they also signify 'seven kings,' reigning over the seven mountains. ver. 10, 11. *kai basileis hepta eisin* 'And they are seven kings *or* kingdoms, *or* forms of government,' as the word imports, and hath been shown to import in former instances. 'Five are fallen,' five of these forms of government are already past; 'and one is,' the sixth is now subsisting. The 'five fallen' are *kings*, and *consuls*, and *dictators*, and *decemvirs*, and *military tribunes with consular authority;* as they are enumerated and distinguished by those who should best know, the two greatest Roman historians Livy and Tacitus.* The *sixth* is the power of the *Cæsars*, or *emperors*, which was subsisting at the time of the vision. An end was put to the impe-

* 'From the building of Rome to the time of its being taken, the Romans were governed first by kings, then by consuls, and dictators, and decemvirs, and by tribunes with consular authority.' See Livy, Book VI. Chap. i. 'From the beginning kings have possessed the city of Rome. Lucius Brutus brought in liberty and the consulship. The dictatorship was resorted to for a time only, nor did the power of the decemvirs continue beyond two years, nor was the authority of military tribunes of long duration. The dominion of Cinna and of Sylla was but short. The power of Pompey and Crassus quickly fell into the hands of Cæsar. The arms of Lepidus and Antony yielded to Augustus. This last, received under the title of sovereign, the empire wearied out by civil broils.' See Tacitus' Annals, Book I. at the beginning.

rial name in the year 476 by Odoacer king of the Heruli, who having taken Rome deposed Momyllus Augustulus, the last emperor of the west. He and his successors the Ostrogoths assumed the title of Kings of Italy: but though the name was changed, the power still continued much the same. This therefore cannot well be called a new form of government; it may rather be considered as a continuation of the imperial power, or as a renovation of the kingly authority. *Consuls* are reckoned but one form of government, though their office was frequently suspended, and after a time restored again: and in the same manner *kings* may be counted but one form of government, though the name was resumed after an interval of so many years. A new form of government was not erected, till Rome fell under the obedience of the eastern emperor, and the emperor's lieutenant, the exarch of Ravenna, dissolved all the former magistracies, and constituted a Duke of Rome, to govern the people, and to pay tribute to the exarchate of Ravenna. Rome had never experienced this form of government before: and this I conceive to be *the other*, which in the apostle's days 'was not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue a short space.' For Rome was reduced to a dukedom tributary to the exarch of Ravenna by Longinus, who was sent exarch* in the year 566 according to some accounts,† or in the year 568 according to others; and‡ the city revolted from the eastern emperor to the pope in the year 727; which is 'a short space,' in comparison of the imperial power, which preceded, and lasted above 500 years; and in comparison of the papal power, which followed, and hath now continued about a thousand years. But still possibly you may hesitate, whether this is properly a new form of government. Rome being still subject to the imperial power, by being subject to the Greek emperor's deputy, the exarch of Ravenna: and according as you determine this point, 'the beast that was and is not, was,' while idolatrous, and 'was not' while not idol-

* See Sigonius on the western empire, Book XIV, &c. and Petau's Register of Times, Part I. Book VI. Chap. xviii.

† See Sigonius on the kingdom of Italy, Book I. See Petau's Register of Times, Part I. Book VII. Chap. X.

‡ See the same work of Sigonius, Book III.

atrous, will appear to be 'the seventh *or* eighth.' If you, reckon this a new form of government, the beast* that now is, is 'the eighth;' if you do not reckon this a new form of government, the beast is 'of the seven;' but whether he be 'the seventh *or* eighth,' he is the last form of government, 'and goeth into perdition.' It appears evidently, that the sixth form of government, which was subsisting in St. John's time, is the imperial; and what form of government hath succeeded to that in Rome, and hath continued for 'a long space,' of time, but the papal; The beast therefore, upon which the woman rideth, is the Roman government in its last form; and this all must acknowledge, is the papal, and not the imperial.

Having explained the mystery of 'the seven heads,' the angel proceeds to the explanation of 'the ten horns,' ver. 12, 13, 14. 'The ten horns are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet:' and consequently they were not in being at the time of the vision; and indeed the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some time after it was become Christian. 'But they

* Mr. Mann explains the seventh and eighth otherwise. 'Who then will be the seventh king? Surely the pope. For from the year 534, in which Justinian declared him the head of all churches, and others constituted him the judge of all, and to be judged by none, he was treated with so much reverence and respect by the emperors themselves, and by and by he animadverted upon others with so much authority, sometimes even anathematizing them, that he might be said to have reigned no less in spiritual things, while he always called himself the servant of servants, than the emperors in temporal things. At that time the pope might be said, to belong to *these seven*, that is, to be of the kind and order of those princes who had gone before him, and so to continue till the year 727, when Gregory II. shook off altogether the yoke of the emperor Leo, whom he had excommunicated in the preceding year, and brought Rome and the adjoining countries under his dominion. For from that time the pope might justly be regarded as the eighth king, seeing from thence he obtained a temporal as well as a spiritual dominion. I know, there are some who deny, that when the emperor Leo was defeated, Rome became subject to the pope, but it fell under the dominion of Pepin in 752. After the exarchate of Ravenna was given to the pope, with Rome and the other cities, it appears to me that he had nothing to oppose his views of dominion.'

receive power as kings one hour,'* *mian horan* at the same time, or for the same length of time, 'with the beast:' It is true in both senses, they rise and fall together with the beast: and consequently they are not to be reckoned before the rise and establishment of the beast; and accordingly when a catalogue was produced of these ten kings or kingdoms in a dissertation upon Daniel, they were exhibited as they stood in the eighth century, which is the time of the rise and establishment of the beast.—Kingdoms they might be before, but they were not before kingdoms or *horns* of the beast, till they embraced his religion, and submitted to his authority; and the beast strengthened them, as they again strengthened the beast. It is upon the seventh or last head of the beast that the horns are seen growing together, that is upon the Roman empire in its seventh or last form of government; and they are not, like the *heads*, successive, but contemporary kingdoms. 'These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast,' which is easily understood and applied to the princes and states in communion with the church of Rome. However they may differ in other respects, yet they agree in submitting implicitly to the authority of the Roman church, and in defending its rights and prerogatives against all opposers. But where were ever ten kings or kingdoms, who were all unanimous in their submissions to the Roman empire, and voluntarily and of their own accord contributed 'their power and strength,' their forces and riches to support and maintain it? 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them; 'they persecute the true church of Christ, but the true church shall in the end prevail and triumph over them; which particulars have been fulfilled in part already, and will be more fully accomplished hereafter.

In the former part of this description, ver. 1. 'the whore' is represented like ancient Babylon, 'sitting upon many waters: and these waters are here, verse 15. said expressly to signify 'peoples, and multitudes, and na-

* "At one and the same time." See Vitringa. 'I would choose rather to say, to one and the same time, to comprehend their duration with the identity of time.

tions, and tongues.* So many words in the plural number fitly denote the great extensiveness of her power and jurisdiction: and it is a remarkable peculiarity of Rome, different from all other governments in the world, that her authority is not limited to her own immediate subjects, and confined within the bounds of her own dominions, but extends over all kingdoms and countries professing the same religion. She herself glories in the title of the *Catholic* church, and exults in the number of her votaries as a certain proof of the true religion. Cardinal Bellarmine's † first note of the true church is *the very name of the Catholic church:* and his fourth note is *amplitude, or multitude and variety of believers;* for the truly catholic church, says he, ought not only to comprehend all ages, but likewise all places, all nations, all kinds of men. But notwithstanding the general current in her favour, the tide shall turn against her; and the hands which helped to raise her, shall also pull her down, ver. 16. 'The ten horns shall hate the whore;' that is by a common figure of the whole for a part, *some* of the ten kings, for others, xviii. 9. 'shall bewail her and lament for her,' and xix. 19. shall fight and perish in the cause of the beast. Some of the kings who formerly loved her, grown sensible of her exorbitant exactions and oppressions, shall 'hate her,' shall strip, and expose, and plunder her, and utterly consume her with fire. Rome therefore will finally be destroyed by some of the princes, who are reformed or shall be reformed from popery; and as the kings of France have contributed greatly to her advancement, it is not impossible, nor improbable, that some time or other they may also be the principal au-

* 'And that in this place, is so much the more in point, because from the reverence and first kindness of the people, the papal power was advanced, and during ten centuries or more the popes have been elected by the suffrages of the Roman people.' See Mr. Mann's Manuscript.

† 'The first mark, is the very name of the Catholic Church, and of Christians.' See Bellarmine on the marks of the Church, Book IV. Chap. iv.—'The fourth mark is the largeness, the multitude and variety of believers. For the true Catholic Church ought not only to comprehend all times, but also all places, all nations, and all kinds of persons.' See the same work, Chap. vii.

thors of her destruction. France hath already shown some tendency towards a reformation, and therefore may appear more likely to accomplish it. Nay even the kings of Spain and Portugal, their most *catholic* and *faithful* majesties as they are styled, have restrained the power of the Pope, and the Inquisition, and have not only banished the Jesuits from their respective kingdoms, but have likewise insisted upon the suppression of that order, which may be considered as leading steps to some farther revolution. Such a revolution may more reasonably be expected, because, ver. 17. this infatuation of popish princes is permitted by divine providence only for a certain period, 'until the words of God shall be fulfilled,' and particularly the words of the prophet Daniel, vii. 25, 26. 'They shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time:' *But* then, as it immediately follows, 'the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end.'

Little doubt can remain after this, what idolatrous church was meant by 'the whore of Babylon:' But for the greater assuredness, it is added by the angel, ver. 18. 'The woman which thou sawest is that great city.' The angel had undertaken to 'tell the mystery of the woman, and of the beast.' He hath explained the mystery of the beast, and of his seven heads and ten horns; and his explanation of the mystery of the woman is 'that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth.' And what city at the time of the vision 'reigned over the kings of the earth, but Rome? She hath too ever since, 'reigned over the kings of the earth,' if not with temporal, yet at least with spiritual authority. In the arts of government she hath far exceeded all the cities both of ancient and of modern times: as if she had constantly remembered and put in practice the advice of the poet,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
> Hæ tibi erunt artes. VIRGIL.

Rome therefore is evidently and undeniably *this great city;* and that Christian and not heathen, papal and not imperial Rome was meant, hath appeared in several instances, and will appear in several more.

CHAP. XVIII.

1. And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

4. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

7. How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

8. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burnt with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

After this account of the state and condition of spiritual Babylon, there follows a description of her fall and destruction, in the same sublime and figurative style as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel have foretold the fall of ancient Babylon and Tyre, the types and emblems of this spiritual Babylon. A mighty and glorious angel descends from heaven, ver. 1, 2, 3. and proclaims, as before, xiv. 8. the fall of Babylon, and together with her punishment the crimes which deserved it, her idolatry and wickedness. It is farther added, that after her fall she shall be made a scene of desolation, and become the habitation of hateful

birds and beasts of prey; as Isaiah also predicted concerning ancient Babylon, xiii. 21. 'Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there:' where the word that we translate *satyrs*, the Seventy translate *daimonies demons* or *devils*, who* were supposed sometimes to take the shape of goats or satyrs, and to haunt forlorn and desolate places: and it is from the translation of the Seventy, that the apostle hath borrowed his images and expressions. But if this fall of Babylon was affected by Totilas king of the Ostrogoths, as Grotius affirms, or by Alaric king of the Visigoths, as the bishop of Meaux contends, how can Rome be said ever since to have been 'the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird,' unless they will allow the popes and cardinals to merit these appellations?

'Another voice' is also 'heard from heaven,' ver. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 exhorting all Christians to forsake the communion of so corrupt a church, lest they should be 'partakers of her sins and her plagues,' and at the same time denouncing that her punishment shall be great and extraordinary in proportion to her crimes. But was there any such necessity of forsaking the church of Rome in the days of Alaric or Totilas, before she had yet degenerated again into idolatry? or what were then her notorious crimes deserving of such exemplary punishment, unless Rome Christian was to suffer for the sins of Rome Pagan? 'She saith in her heart,' like ancient Babylon, Isa. xlvii. 7, 8. 'I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow;' She glories like ancient Rome, in the name† of *the eternal city*: but notwithstanding 'she shall be utterly burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.' These expressions can imply no less than a total destruction by fire; but Rome hath never yet been totally de-

* See Bochart's Hierozoicon, Part I. Book II Chap. lv. Col. 643.

† 'It is to be found in the very title of Kircher's Obeliscus Pamphilius. 'The chief Pontiff Innocent X. hath erected it for a monument of "the eternal city." See Daubuz, page 812.

stroyed by fire. The most that Alaric* and Totilas† did, was burning some parts of the city: but if only some parts of the city were burnt, it was not an event important enough to be ascribed to 'the Lord God' particularly, and to be considered as a *strong* exertion of his judgment.

9. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her when they shall see the smoke of her burning.

10. Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandise any more:

12. The merchandise of gold and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyne wood, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble.

13. And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.

14. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after, are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty

* 'On the third day, the barbarians of their own accord departed from the city into which they had entered, after having set fire to some houses,' &c. See Orosius' History, Book VII. Chap. xxxix. in Havercamp's edition. 'Alaric attacked the city of Rome, thrown into consternation, and burnt a part of it with fire,' &c. See Marcellinus' Chronicle, Indiction VIII. page 38, in Scaliger's edition. 'Moreover some houses were set on fire, and some works thrown down by the fury of the barbarians.' See Sigonius' History of the western empire, Book X, at the end.

† See Procopius on the wars of the Goths, Book III. Chap. xxii. 'But Totilas would neither destroy, nor for the future leave the city of Rome.' See the same Chap. xxxvi. and Book IV. Chap. xxii. 'Totilas by a stratagem of the Isaurians enters into Rome, on the sixteenth day before the Calends of January, and pulls down the walls, and burns a few houses with fire,' &c. See Marcellinus' Chronicle, page 54, in the same work. See Sigonius in the same place, Book XIX.

and goodly, are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing.

16. And saying, Alas, alas that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

17. And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off.

18. And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What *city* is like unto this great city?

19. And they cast dust on their heads, and cried weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness; for in one hour is she made desolate.

20. Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.

In this solemn manner, by an angel and by a voice from heaven, is declared the fall of Rome, and her destruction by fire: and then are set forth the consequences of her fall, the lamentations of some, and the rejoicings of others. 'The kings,' of her communion, 'who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, bewail and lament for her:' ver. 9, 10. but what kings were they who 'lived deliciously,' with old Rome, and had reason to lament her fall?' ver. 11—17. for there is an end of all traffic and commerce with her, whether spiritual or temporal; for it is intimated, ver. 13. that they make merchandise of the *souls* as well as of the *bodies* of men.—'The ship-masters, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, weep and wail,' verse 17, 18, 19. for they can now no longer import or export commodities for her, or convey strangers to and fro; for there is an end of all her *costliness*. These lamentations are copied from the like lamentations over Tyre in the 26th and 27th chapters of Ezekiel; and are equal to the most mournful strains of the Greek tragedians over Thebes or Troy. In all they 'stand afar off,' ver. 10, 15, 17. as if they were unable or

afraid to help and assist her. In all they cry *ouai ouai*, 'alas, alas,' ver. 10, 16, 19. which is the 'third wo,' *ouai* before mentioned; viii. 13. xi. 14. for as the fall of the Othman empire is the end of 'the second wo,' so the fall of Rome is the completion of 'the third wo.' In all they lament the suddenness of her fall; ver. 10, 17, 19. 'for in one hour is her destruction come. At the same time her destruction is matter of joy and triumph, ver. 20. to 'the holy apostles and prophets, for God hath avenged them on her:' but what reason had the Christians to rejoice over the calamities brought on Rome by Alaric or Totilas, in which they themselves were the principal sufferers? And how were these calamities any vindication of their cause, or of the cause of true religion?

21. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all.

22. And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee: and no craftsmen, of whatsoever craft *he be*, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee:

23. And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: for thy merchants were the great men of the earth: for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived:

24. And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

Yet farther to confirm the sudden fall and irrecoverable destruction of Rome, an emblem is copied and improved from Jeremiah; li. 63, 64. 'a mighty angel,' ver. 21. 'casteth a millstone into the sea,' declaring that 'with the same violence this great city shall be thrown down,' and shall never rise again. Her utter desolation is farther described, ver. 22, 23. in phrases and expressions borrowed from the ancient prophets. Isa. xxiv. 8. Jer. vii. 34. xvi. 9. xxv. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 13. There shall be

no more *musicians* for the entertainment of the rich and great; no more *tradesmen* or *artificers* to furnish the conveniences of life; no more *servants* or *slaves* to grind at the mill, and supply the necessaries of life. Nay, there shall be no more *lights*, no more *bridal songs*; the city shall never be peopled again by new marriages, but shall remain depopulated for ever. For which utter desolation there are assigned these reasons, ver. 23. 24. her *pride* and *luxury*, her *superstition* and *idolatry*, her *tyranny* and *cruelty*. Her punishment shall be as severe and exemplary, as if she had been guilty of all the persecutions that ever were upon account of religion; for by her conduct she hath approved, and imitated, and surpassed them all. But Rome hath never yet been depopulated and desolated in this manner. She hath been taken indeed and plundered * by Alaric, king of the Visigoths, in the year 410, by Genseric, king of the Vandals, in the year 455, by Totilas, king of the Ostrogoths, in the year 546, and by others since that time: but yet she is still standing and flourishing, and is honoured by many nations as the metropolis of the Christian world; she still resounds with *singers* and *musicians*; she still excels in *arts* which serve to pomp and luxury; she still abounds with *candles*, and *lamps*, and *torches*, burning even by day as well as by night: and consequently this prophecy hath not yet been, but remains yet to be fulfilled.

CHAP. XIX.

1. And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, saying, Alleluia; Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power unto the Lord our God:

2. For true and righteous *are* his judgments; for he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand.

3. And again they said, Alleluia. And her smoke rose up for ever and ever.

4. And the four and twenty elders, and the four beasts

* See Petau's Register of Times, and Blair's Chronological Tables.

fell down and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen; Alleluia.

5. And a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great.

6. And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.

7. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.

8. And to her was granted, that she should be arrayed in fine linen, clean and white: for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints.

9. And he saith unto me, write, Blessed *are* they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God.

10. And I fell at his feet to worship him: And he said unto me, See *thou do it* not: I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren that have the testimony of Jesus: worship God: for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.

Hereupon the whole church, ver. 1—4. agreeably to the exhortation of the angel, xviii. 20. join praises and thanksgivings to Almighty God for his *truth* and *righteousness* in judging this idolatrous city, his *truth* in fulfilling his promise and threatenings, and his *righteousness* in proportioning her punishment to her crimes. 'And her smoke rose up for ever and ever;' which intimates that she should be made as signal a monument of divine vengeance as Sodom and Gomorrah. It is taken from Isaiah, who hath said much the same thing of Edom, and by Edom * the Jews understand Rome. Isaiah, xxxiv. 9, 10. 'And the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch;' in the genuine editions † of the Chaldee para-

* See Rabbi David at the beginning of Obadiah, 'but what the prophets say of the destruction of Edom in the last days, they have spoken concerning Rome.' See Buxtorf's Chaldee Lexicon on the word Rum (or Romi.)

† '*And the streams* of Rome *shall be turned into pitch, &c.* The latter editions have omitted the word Rome. See Buxtorf in the same place.

phrase it is, 'and the rivers *of Rome* shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night nor day; the smoke shall go up for ever.' This tradition of the rabbins may receive some confirmation from these words of the apostle: and such an event may appear the more probable, because the adjacent countries are known to be of a sulphureous and bituminous soil; there have even at Rome been * eruptions of subterraneous fire, which have consumed several buildings; so that the fuel seemeth to be prepared, and waiteth only for the breath of the Lord to kindle it. But God is praised not only for the destruction of the great seat of idolatry, but also, ver. 5.—8. for the manifestation of his kingdom, as before, xi. 17. and for the happy and glorious state of the reformed Christian church.' She is no *harlot* tainted with idolatry, but a *spouse* prepared for her Lord Christ: she is not arrayed like an harlot 'in purple and scarlet colour,' but like a decent bride, 'in fine linen clean and white,' as the properest emblem of her purity and sanctity. Christ hath now, as St. Paul expresseth it, Eph. v. 26, 27. 'sanctified and cleansed his church with the washing of water, by the word. That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that it should be holy, and without blemish.' So great is the felicity of this period, that the angel orders it, ver. 9. to be particularly noted: and blessed and happy are they who shall be living at this time, and be worthy to partake of this marriage feast. It is a matter of consolation to all good Christians, and they may assuredly depend upon it, as the never-failing word of God. St. John was in such rapture and ecstasy at these discoveries, that, ver. 10. not knowing or not considering what he did, he 'fell down at the angel's feet to worship him:' but the angel prohibits all manner of worship, for he was no more than 'a fellow servant' of the apostle's, and of all true prophets, of all 'who have the testimony of Jesus,' and 'the testimony of Jesus is

* See Dion's History, Book LXVI, in his account of Titus, where it is said, 'that in the following year a subterraneous fire bursting forth, consumed a very considerable part of Rome, &c. See page 756, in Leunclavius' edition.

the spirit of prophecy.' Worship not me then, says the angel, but *God*, whose servants we both are, and who inspires us both with the same spirit of prophecy.

11. And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him *was* called faithful and true, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

12. His eyes *were* as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written that no man knew but he himself:

13. And he *was* clothed with a vesture dipt in blood: and his name is called, The Word of God.

14. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

13. And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron: and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

16. And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

17. And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

18. That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

19. And I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

20. And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

21. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which *sword* proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.

It was said by the angel, speaking of the kings subject to the beast, xvii. 14. 'These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with him, are called, and chosen, and faithful:' And this vision, ver. 11—21. is added by way of enlargement, and explanation of that great event.' 'Heaven is opened,' and our Saviour cometh forth riding 'upon a white horse,' as a token of his victory and triumph over his enemies. He is described in such characters as are appropriated to him in this book, and in the ancient prophets. 'On his head *also* were many crowns,' to denote his numerous conquests and kingdoms, which were now, xi. 15. 'become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' As the Jewish high-priest wore the ineffable name of Jehovah on his forehead, so he had 'a name written,' which none could perfectly comprehend but himself; 'his name is called the Word of God.' He had likewise another 'name written,' on that part of his vesture which covered his thigh, 'King of kings, and Lord of lords;' a title much affected by the eastern monarchs,* and by Antichrist himself. The pope is styled† 'King of kings, and Lord of lords;' but what he is only in pretence, Christ is in reality. His armies are mounted 'upon white horses,' as well as himself, and are 'clothed in fine linen, white and clean,' as emblems of their victory and sanctity. 'An angel standing in the sun,' and so conspicuous to all, in lofty strains copied from the ancient prophets, and particularly from Ezekiel, xxxix 17, 18. calleth the fowls to the great slaughter of Christ's enemies. These enemies are 'the beast and the false prophet,' the Antichristian powers civil and ecclesiastical, with 'their armies gathered together,' their adherents and followers combined and de-

* 'Artaxerxes king of kings,' Ezra vii. 12. 'Sapor the king of kings.' See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book XVII. Chap. v. page 163, in Valesius' edition, printed in Paris, 1681. 'Sesoosis (or Sesostris,) the king of kings, and lord of lords.' See Diodorus Siculus, Book I. page 35, in Stephanus' edition, and page 51, in that of Rhodomanus.

† See Jewel's Defence of his Apology, Part 5. and Barrow's Introduction to his Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy.

termined to support idolatry, and oppose all reformation. But the principals, as deserving of the greatest punishment, are 'taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone:' and their followers are *slain* with the word of Christ, 'the sword which proceeded out of his mouth; and all the fowls are filled with their flesh;' their substance is seized for other persons, and for other uses. In a word, the design of this sublime and figurative description is to show the downfall of popery, and the triumph of Christianity: the true word of God will prevail over superstition and idolatry; all the powers of Antichrist shall be completely subdued; and the religion of Rome, as well as Rome herself, be totally destroyed.

CHAP. XX.

1. And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand.

2. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years.

3. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that, he must be loosed a little season.

4. And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto 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.

5. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This *is* the first resurrection.

6. 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.

After the destruction of the beast and of the false prophet, there still remains 'the dragon, who had delegated his power to them, 'that old serpent, which is the devil and Satan: but he is bound by 'an angel,' an especial minister of providence; and the famous millennium commences, or the reign of the saints upon earth for a thousand years, ver. 1—6. 'Binding him with a great chain, casting him into the bottomless pit, shutting him up, and sealing a seal upon him,' are strong figures to show the strict and severe restraint which he should be laid under 'that he might deceive the nations no more,' during this whole period. Wickedness being restrained, the reign of righteousness succeeds, and the administration of justice and judgment is given to the saints of the most High; and the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, not only those who 'were beheaded,' or suffered any kind of death under the heathen emperors, but also those who refused to comply with the idolatrous worship 'of the beast and of his image,' are raised from the dead, and have the principal share in the felicities of Christ's kingdom upon earth. 'But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished;' so that it was a peculiar prerogative of the martyrs and confessors above the rest of mankind. 'This is the first resurrection,' a particular resurrection preceding the general one at least a thousand years. 'Blessed and holy' too 'is he who hath part in the first resurrection;' he is *holy* in all the senses of the word, *holy* as separated from the common lot of mankind, *holy* as endowed with all virtuous qualifications, and none but such are admitted to partake of this blessed state. 'On such the second death hath no power. 'The second death' is a Jewish phrase for the punishment of the wicked after death. So the* Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos upon that text in Deuteronomy, xxxiii. 6. 'Let Reuben live, and not die, *hath* Let him not die the second death,' and the other paraphrases of Jonathan Ben Uziel and of Jerusalem have 'Let him not die the second death

* 'Let him not die the second death.' See Onkelos. 'Let him not die the death by which the wicked in the world to come do die.' See Jonathan. 'Nor let him die the second death, whereby the wicked in the next world die.' See the Jerusalem Targum.

by which the wicked die in the world to come.' It is a familiar phrase in the Chaldee paraphrases and Jewish writings, and in this very book, xx. 14. xxi. 8. it is declared to be the same as 'the lake burning with fire and brimstone.' The sons of the resurrection therefore shall not die again, but shall live in eternal bliss, as well as enjoy all the glories of the millennium, 'be priests of God and of Christ, and reign with him a thousand years.'

Nothing is more evident than that this prophecy of the millennium, and of the first resurrection, had not yet been fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken in a figurative sense. For reckon the thousand years with Usher from the time of Christ, or reckon them with Grotius from the time of Constantine, yet neither of these periods, nor indeed any other, will answer the description and character of the millennium, the purity and peace, the holiness and happiness of that blessed state. Before Constantine indeed the church was in greater purity; but was groaning under the persecutions of the heathen emperors. After Constantine, the church was in greater prosperity, but was soon shaken and disturbed by heresies and schisms, by the incursions and devastations of the northern nations, by the conquering arms and prevailing imposture of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, by the corruption, idolatry, and wickedness, the usurpation, tyranny, and cruelty of the church of Rome. If Satan was then *bound*, when can he be said to be *loosed?* Or how could 'the saints *and* the beast.' Christ and Antichrist, reign at the same period? This prophecy therefore remains yet to be fulfilled, even though the resurrection be taken only for an allegory, which yet the text cannot admit without the greatest torture and violence. For with what propriety can it be said, that some of the dead 'who were beheaded, lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, but the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished,' unless *the dying* and *living again* be the same in both places, a proper death and resurrection? Indeed the *death* and *resurrection* of the witnesses before mentioned, Chap. xi. appears from the concurrent circumstances of the vision to be figurative, but the *death* and *resurrection* here mentioned must for the very same reasons be concluded to be real. If the martyrs rise only

in a spiritual sense, then 'the rest of the dead,' rise only in a spiritual sense; but if 'the rest of the dead' really rise, the martyrs rise in the same manner. There is no difference between them; and we should be cautious and tender of making the first resurrection an allegory, lest others should reduce the second into an allegory too, like those whom St. Paul mentions, 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. 'Hymeneus and Philetus, who concerning the truth erred, saying, that the resurrection is past already, and overthrow the faith of some.' It is to this first resurrection that St. Paul alludes, when he affirms, 1 Thess. iv. 16. that 'the dead in Christ shall rise first,' and, 1 Cor. xv. 23. that 'every man shall be made alive in his own order, Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christ's at his coming, and then cometh the end,' after the general resurrection.

In the general that there shall be such a happy period as the millennium, that 'the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High,' Dan. vii. 27. that Christ shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession,' Psal. ii. 8. that 'the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea,' Isa. xi. 9. 'that the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and all Israel shall be saved,' Rom. xi. 25, 26. in a word, that the kingdom of heaven shall be established upon earth, is the plain and express doctrine of Daniel and all the prophets, as well as of St. John: and we daily pray for the accomplishment of it, in praying 'Thy kingdom come.' But of all the prophets St. John is the only one who hath declared particularly and in express terms, that the martyrs shall rise to partake of the felicities of this kingdom, and that it shall continue upon earth a thousand years: and the Jewish church before him, and the Christian church after him, have farther believed and taught, that these thousand years will be the seventh millenary of the world. A pompous heap of quotations might be produced to this purpose both from Jewish and Christian writers: but I choose to select only a few of the most material of each sort; you may find a great

number in Dr. Burnet* and other authors who have treated of this subject.

Of the Jewish writers, Rabbi Ketina,† as cited in the Gemara or gloss of their Talmud, said, that "the world endures six thousand years, and one thousand it shall be laid waste, (that is, the enemies of God shall be destroyed) whereof it is said, Isa. ii. 11. *The Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.* Tradition assents to Rabbi Ketina; As out of seven years every seventh is the year of remission, so out of the seven thousand years of the world, the seventh millenary shall be the millenary of remission, that *God alone may be exalted in that day.*" It was the tradition of the house of Elias,‡ who lived two hundred years or thereabouts before Christ, and the tradition might perhaps be derived from Elias the Tishbite, that "the world endures six thousand years, two thousand before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah." It was also the tradition of the house of Elias,§ that "the just whom God

* See Burnet's Theory, Book III. Chap. v. Book IV. Chap. vi. See the opinions of the Jewish doctors, concerning the great day of Judgment, by Mede, page 535, Book V. Chap. iii. page 892, &c.

† 'Rabbi Ketina hath said, the world standeth six thousand years; and in one (thousand years) it shall be laid waste; concerning which it is said, "that the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day." Tradition assents to Rabbi Ketina. 'As of every seven years the seventh is the year of release, so of seven thousand years of the world, the seventh thousand shall be the thousand years of release; that the Lord alone may be exalted in that year.' See the Gemara Shanhedrim, quoted by Mede, page 535, and page 893.

‡ 'This is the tradition of the house of Elias. The world lasteth six thousand years, two thousand years without the law, two thousand years under the law, and at last two thousand years under Christ.' See the quotation in Mede, page 536, and page 894. See Burnet's Theory, Book III. Chap. v.

§ 'This is the tradition of the house of Elias. The just whom God will raise from the dead shall not a second time be reduced to dust. But if you inquire, what is to happen to the just, in these thousand years, wherein the holy blessed God will renew this world, concerning which it is said, and the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. You must know that the holy blessed God will give to them, wings like those of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the waters. Hence it is said, Psal. xlvi.

shall raise up (meaning in the first resurrection) shall not be turned again into dust. Now if you inquire, how it shall be with the just in those thousand years, wherein the holy blessed God shall renew his world, whereof it is said, *And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day*; you must know that the holy blessed God will give them the wings as it were of eagles, that they may fly upon the face of the waters; whence it is said, Psal. xlvi. 2. *Therefore will we not fear, when the earth shall be changed.* But perhaps you will say, it shall be a pain and affliction to them. Not at all, for it is said, Isa. xl. 31. *They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles.*"

Of the Christian writers St. Barnabas in the first century thus* comments upon those words of Moses, "*And God made in six days the works of his hands, and he finished them on the seventh day, and he rested in it, and sanctified it.* Consider, children, what that signifies, *he finished them in six days.* Thus it signifies, that the Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years. For a day with him is as a thousand years; as he himself testified, saying, *Behold this day shall be as a thousand years.* Therefore, children, in six days, that is, in six thousand years shall all things be consummated. *And he rested the seventh day*: this signifies, that when his Son shall

2. "Therefore will not we fear, though the earth shall be changed." But perhaps you will say, they shall have sorrow and affliction. But that word comes in for comfort. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles," Isa. xl. 31. See Mede, page 776.

* 'In six days, God made the works of his hands, and in the seventh day he finished them, and rested therein, and sanctified it. Take good heed children, why doth he say that he finished them in six days. This is meant, that the Lord God will finish all things in six thousand years. For one day is with him as a thousand years, as he himself testifieth, saying, behold one day shall be as a thousand years. Therefore in six days, children, that is, in six thousand years will things be finished. And that he rested in the seventh, this means, when his Son cometh, he will put an end to the time of the wicked, he will judge the ungodly, and will change the sun, and moon, and stars, and having done so, he shall rest gloriously.' See St. Barnabas' Epistles, Chap. xv. in Cotelerus and Le Clerc's edition.

come, and shall abolish the season of the wicked one, and shall judge the ungodly, and shall change the sun, and the moon, and the stars, then he shall rest gloriously in that seventh day." Justin Martyr in the second century* declares the millennium to be the Catholic doctrine of his time. "I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, (meaning the first resurrection) and a thousand years in Jerusalem rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged, (that is, in the new Jerusalem) as the prophets Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and others unanimously attest." Afterwards he subjoins, "A certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in a revelation made to him did prophecy that the faithful believers in Christ should live a thousand years in the new Jerusalem, and after these should be the general resurrection and judgment:" which is an early attestation to the genuineness and authenticity of the book of the Revelation; for Justin was converted to Christianity about thirty years after the death of St. John, at which time probably many were alive, who had known and remembered the apostle. Dr. Middleton in his Inquiry into the miraculous powers, &c. has done great injustice to Justin Martyr as well as to several of the fathers. In treating of the millennium, p. 26. he represents Justin as saying, "that all the saints should be raised in the flesh, and reign with Christ in Jerusalem, enlarged and beautified in a wonderful manner for their reception, in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures, for a thousand years before the general resurrection." But in the original there is no such clause as that, *in the enjoyment of all sensual pleasures*; it is an

* 'But I, and as many Christians as are of a right judgment, understand that there will be a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years for Jerusalem, rebuilt, and beautified, and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel, and Isaiah and others do confess.—And afterwards a certain man among us, whose name was John, one of Christ's apostles, in the revelation made to him, hath prophecied that the faithful in our Lord Christ, will spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after these, will come the universal and general resurrection and judgment.' See Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Tryphon, Part II. page 307, and 308, in the Paris edition, and page 313, and 315, in that of Thirlbius.

addition and interpolation of the Doctor's own, in order to depreciate the venerable father: and he could not possibly have made it by mistake, he must have done it designedly, for he has cited the original as far as to that clause, and there stopping short has concealed the rest with an &c. If he had fairly cited the whole sentence (as I have done above) he was sensible that every scholar must have detected the imposition. It is seriously to be lamented, that so learned and ingenious a man, and so very fine a writer as Dr. Middleton was, should in support of any argument have been guilty of so many false quotations as he has been, more than any author I know. Forgery should be deemed a capital offence in literary as well as in civil affairs. It has been the fate of Justin to have his sense misrepresented by others as well as by Dr. Middleton. For he has been made to say, that the doctrine of the millennium had not, even in his time, obtained universal reception, but that *many Christians of pure and pious principles rejected it*, it should have been said, *did not acknowledge it*, *touto me gnorizein*. But Justin could not so palpably contradict himself. The whole context evidently demonstrates, that we should read, with Mede and Tillotson, the passage with a negative, *ou ten katharas kai eusebous* that *many* not of *pure and pious principles did not acknowledge it. For some*, says he, *are called Christians, but are atheistical and ungoldly heretics. Tous gar legomenous men Christianous, ontas de atheous kai asebeis hairesiotas.* A manifest proof, that they were men *not of pure and godly principles.* A little after, he subjoins that, *some are called Christians, and do not confess this, and deny the resurrection of the dead: tisi legomenois Christianois, kai touto me homologousin, kai legousi me einai nekron anastasin.* And then after all follows what was cited before, "But I, and as many as are orthodox Christians in all respects, do acknowledge that there shall be a resurrection of the flesh, and a thousand years in Jerusalem," &c. He thought the doctrine of the millennium of such consequence that he has joined it all along with that of the resurrection of the dead. It is evident therefore that he never meant to say, that they who rejected this doctrine were Christians *of pure and pious principles*, but the contrary. Tertullian at the beginning

of the third century* professeth his belief of the kingdom promised to the saints upon earth, of their resurrection for a thousand years, of their living in the new Jerusalem, and therein enjoying all spiritual delights, and of the destruction of the world and the general judgment after a thousand years: and his books *of Paradise, and of the hope of the faithful*, if they had not been lost or suppressed, might have afforded ampler proofs of all these particulars. Lactantius, at the beginning of the fourth century,† is very copious upon this subject in the seventh book of his Divine Institutions. He saith, "Because all the works of God were finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should remain in this state six ages, that is, six thousand years." And again, "because having finished the works he rested on the seventh day, and blessed it; it is necessary that at the end of the six thousandth year all wickedness should be abolished out of the earth, and justice should reign for a thousand years."—

* 'For we also acknowledge, that we shall have the kingdom upon earth which has been promised to us, &c. See Tertullian against Marcion, Book III. Chap. xxiv. in Rigaut's edition of Paris, 1675.

† 'Since all the works of God were finished in six days, it is necessary that the world should continue in the present state during six ages, that is, six thousand years.—And again, because having finished his works he rested in the seventh day, and blessed it, it is necessary that at the end of the sixth thousandth year, all wickedness be abolished out of the earth, and that righteousness should reign for a thousand years.' See Chap. xiv. 'But when he shall have destroyed unrighteousness,—and shall have restored to life the righteous, who have been from the beginning of the world, he will dwell among men a thousand years, and will rule them by the justest government.—At the same time also shall the prince of devils—be bound with chains, and shall be in close confinement, during the thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, wherein justice shall reign in the world, that, he may devise no mischief against the people of God.' See Chap. xxiv. 'But he (the prince of devils) when the thousand years of the kingdom, that is, the seven thousandth year shall draw nigh to a conclusion, shall be loosed again, &c. But when the thousand years are completed—then shall be the second and public resurrection of all, wherein the unrighteous shall be raised up to everlasting torments.—This is the doctrine of the holy prophets, which we Christians embrace. This is our wisdom, Chap. xxvi.

He saith, "When the Son of God shall have destroyed injustice, and shall have restored the just to life, he shall be conversant among men a thousand years, and shall rule them with most just government. At the same time the prince of devils shall be bound with chains, and shall be in custody the thousand years of the heavenly kingdom, while justice shall reign in the world, lest he should attempt any evil against the people of God." He saith, "When the thousand years of the kingdom, that is, seven thousand years shall draw towards a conclusion, Satan shall be loosed again: and when the thousand years shall be completed, then shall be that second and public resurrection of all, wherein the unjust shall be raised to everlasting torments." And having enlarged upon these topics he concludes, "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; this is our wisdom." In short the doctrine of the millennium was generally believed in the three first and purest ages; and this belief, as the learned Dodwell* hath justly observed, was one principal cause of the fortitude of the primitive Christians; they even coveted martyrdom, in hopes of being partakers of the privileges and glories of the martyrs in the first resurrection.

Afterwards the doctrines grew into disrepute for various reasons. Some, both Jewish and Christian, writers have debased it with a mixture of fables; they have described the kingdom more like a sensual than a spiritual kingdom, and thereby they have not only exposed themselves, but (what is infinitively worse) the doctrine itself to contempt and ridicule. It hath suffered by the misrepresentations of its enemies, as well as by the indiscretions of its friends; many like Jerome,† have charged the

* 'The first Christians believed, that the first resurrection of their bodies would be in the kingdom of Millennium. And as they believed that that resurrection would be peculiar to the righteous, so they believed that such as were martyrs would have the principal share in it. When these things were thus believed, it is unspeakable what influence it had upon confessors of that age to covet martyrdom.' See Dodwell's Dissertation.—See Cyprian on the fortitude of Martyrs, Sect. 20, 21.

† See Mede's Works, Book V. Chap. v. See Jerome on the opinions of the Millenarians, page 897.

millenarians with absurd and impious opinions which they never held; and rather than they would admit the truth of the doctrine, they have not scrupled to call in question the genuineness of the book of the Revelation. It hath been abused even to worse purposes; it hath been made an engine of faction; and turbulent fanatics, under the pretence of saints, have aspired to dominion, and disturbed the peace of civil society. Besides wherever the influence and authority of the church of Rome have extended, she hath endeavoured by all means to discredit this doctrine; and indeed not without sufficient reason, this kingdom of Christ being founded on the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist. No wonder therefore that this doctrine lay depressed for many ages, but it sprang up again at the Reformation, and will flourish together with the study of the Revelation. All the danger is, on one side of pruning and lopping it too short, and on the other, of suffering it to grow too wild and luxuriant. Great caution, soberness, and judgment are required, to keep the middle course. We should neither with some interpret it into an allegory, nor depart from the literal sense of scripture, without absolute necessity for so doing. Neither should we with others indulge an extravagant fancy, nor explain too curiously the manner and circumstances of this future state. It is safest and best faithfully to adhere to the words of scripture, or to fair deductions from scripture; and to rest contented with the general account, till time shall accomplish and eclaircise all the particulars.

7. And when the thousand years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison.

8. And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog, and Magog, to gather them together to battle; the number of whom *is* as the sand of the sea.

9. And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city; and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them.

10. And the devil that deceived them, was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet *are*, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.

At the expiration of the thousand years, ver. 7—10, the restraint shall be taken off from wickedness, and for 'a little season' as it was said before, ver. 3. 'Satan should be loosed out of his prison,' and make one effort more to re-establish his kingdom. As he deceived our first parents in the paradisiacal state, so he shall have the artifice 'to deceive the nations' in his millennial kingdom, to show that no state or condition upon earth is exempted and secured from sinning. The nations, whom he shall deceive, are described as living in the remotest parts of the world; 'in the four quarters of the earth,' *en tais tessarsi goniais tes ges* 'in the four angels *or* corners of the earth;' and they are distinguished by the name of 'Gog and Magog,' and are said to be as numerous 'as the sand of the sea.' 'Gog and Magog' seem to have been formerly the general name of the northern nations of Europe and Asia, as *the Scythians* have been since, and *the Tartars* are at present. In Ezekiel there is a famous prophecy concerning 'Gog and Magog,' and this prophecy alludes to that in many particulars. Both that of Ezekiel and this of St. John remain yet to be fulfilled; and therefore we cannot be absolutely certain that they may not both relate to the same event, but it appears more probable that they relate to different events. The one is expected to take effect before, but the other will not take effect till after the millennium. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are said expressly, xxxviii. 6, 15. xxxix. 2. to come from 'the north-quarters' and 'the north parts,' but in St. John they come from 'the four quarters *or* corners of the earth.' 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel bend their forces against the Jews resettled in their own land, but in St. John they march up against 'the saints' and church of God in general. 'Gog and Magog' in Ezekiel are with very good reason supposed to be the Turks, but the Turks are the authors of 'the second wo, *and* the second wo,' xi. 14. 'is past *before* the third wo, *and* the third wo,' long precedes the time here treated of. Ezekiel's prophecy apparently coincides with the latter part of the eleventh Chapter of Daniel, and presignifies the destruction of the Othman empire, which includes *Gomer* and many European, as well *Ethiopia*, *Libya*, and other nations. If 'Gog and Magog' in St. John are the same

with those in Ezekiel, then we must suppose the Othman empire to subsist throughout the millennium, which can hardly be believed, as it can hardly be reconciled with other prophecies. It may therefore be concluded that 'Gog and Magog' as well as *Sodom*, and *Egypt*, and *Babylon*, are mystic names in this book: and the last enemies of the Christian church are so denominated, because 'Gog and Magog' appear to be the last enemies of the Jewish nation. Who they shall be, we cannot pretend to say with any the least degree of certainty. It is a strange whimsical absurd paradox of Dr. Burnet,* but his hypothesis betrayed him into it, that they shall be "sons of the earth, generated from the slime of the ground, and the heat of the sun, as brute creatures were at first." Mr. Mede's conjecture† is much more rational, that they shall be the nations of America, the nations of America being in all probability colonies or descendants from the Scythians, that is from 'Gog and Magog.' Whoever they shall be, they shall come up from 'the four corners of the earth on the breadth of the earth, *and shall* compass the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city,' the new Jerusalem with the saints encamped around it, as the Israelites encamped around the tabernacle in the wilderness. But they shall not succeed and prosper in their attempts; they shall not be able to hurt the church and city of God, but shall be destroyed, in an extraordinary manner, by 'fire from heaven;' and 'the devil,' himself, the promoter and leader of this new apostasy and rebellion against God and his Christ, shall not only be confined as before, but shall be 'cast into the lake of fire and brimstone,' where he shall be punished together with 'the beast and the false prophet,' who were cast in before him, 'and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever.'

11. And I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them.

12. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand be-

* See Burnet's Theory, Book IV. Chap. x.

† See Conjectures concerning the Gog and Magog of the Revelation in Mede's Works, Book III. page 574. See also Fuller's Sacred Miscellanies, Book II. Chap. iv. at the end.

fore God; and the books were opened: and another book was opened, which is *the book* of life: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books according to their works.

13. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it: and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

14. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire: This is the second death.

15. And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.

After this last conflict, and the final defeat of Satan, there follows, ver. 11—15. the general resurrection and judgment, represented in a vision of 'a great white throne,' *great* to show the largeness and extent, *white* to show the justice and equity of the judgment, and 'one sitting on it,' who can be none other than the Son of God, for, John v. 22. 'the Father hath committed all judgment unto the Son: from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them,' so that this is properly *the end of the world*. 'The dead,' both *small* and *great*, of all ranks and degrees, as well those who perished at sea and were buried in the waters, as those who died at land and were buried in graves, are all raised, and stand before the judgment-seat of God, where 'they are judged every man according to their works,' as exactly as if all their actions had been recorded in books. They who are found not worthy to be enrolled in the registers of heaven are 'cast into the lake of fire:' whither also were cast 'death and hell *or* the grave,' who are here personified, as they are likewise in other places of holy scripture. It may seem strange that *death* should be 'cast into the lake of fire which is the second death;' but the meaning is that *temporal death*, which hitherto had exercised dominion over the race of men, shall be totally abolished, and with respect to the wicked, be converted into *eternal death*. *Then*, as St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xv. 24, 26. 'shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory; for the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.'

CHAP. XXI.

1. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea.

2. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

3. And I heard a great voice out of heaven, saying, Behold the tabernacle of God *is* with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, *and* be their God.

4. And 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.

5. And he that sat upon the throne, said, Behold, I make all things new. And he said unto me, Write: for these words are true and faithful.

6. And he said unto me, It is done. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely.

7. He that overcometh shall inherit all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son.

8. But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

'A new heaven and a new earth,' ver. 1. succeeded in the room of 'the first heaven and the first earth,' which 'passed away,' xx. 11. at the general judgment. In the new earth there is this remarkable property, that 'there is no more sea,' which, whether it shall be effected by the means which the theorists* of the earth have prescribed, or by any other, time must discover: but it is evident

* See Burnet's Theory, Book IV. Chap. ii. See Whiston's Theory, Book IV. Chap. v.

from hence, that this new heaven and earth are not designed to take place till after the general judgment, for at the general judgment, xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead which were in it.' Many understand the expression figuratively, that there shall be *no troubles* or *commotions* in this new world. In this new world too, 'the new Jerusalem' appears, ver. 2. in full glory and splendour. It is described as 'coming down from God out of heaven:' it is a city, whose builder and maker is God; and is 'adorned as the bride for the Lamb,' the true church of Christ: and the new Jerusalem, the true church of Christ, subsists as well during the millennial kingdom as after it. At the commencement of the millennium it was said, xix. 7. 'The marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready.' At the conclusion of the millennium, Gog and Magog went up, xx. 9. against 'the beloved city:' And here it is represented as the metropolis of the new heaven and the new earth. The new Jerusalem shall be the habitation of the saints of the first resurrection, and it shall also be the habitation of the saints of the general resurrection. The church of Christ shall endure through all times and changes in this world, and likewise in the world to come; it shall be glorious upon earth during the millennium, and shall be more glorious still in the new earth after the millennium to all eternity. Earth shall then become as heaven, or rather it shall be a heaven upon earth, ver. 3. God dwelling visibly among men; and, ver. 4. 'there shall be no more death,' which cannot come to pass, till death shall be totally abolished, xx. 14. by being 'cast into the lake of fire,' and till 'the former things,' the first heaven and the first earth, 'are passed away.' He 'who sat upon the throne' as judge of the world, xx. 11. declares ver. 5. 'Behold, I make all things new:' He is the author of this second as well as of the first creation, and he commands these things to be *written* for the edification and consolation of his church, with a firm assurance of their truth and certainty. He pronounces this period, ver. 6, 7, 8. to be *the consummation* of all things, when the promises of God, and the desires of his faithful servants shall all be fully accomplished; the righteous 'shall inherit all things,' but the profligate and immoral shall have their portion in the lake of fire and brimstone;'

which is a farther demonstration, that these things cannot take effect till after the general judgment.

Many, I know, both ancients and moderns, make the millennium synchronize with the new heaven and the new earth; and some latitude of interpretation may be well allowed in these mysterious points of futurity: but this order of things, and this interpretation of the words, appear to me most natural, and most agreeable to the context. Gog and Magog, the nations in the four corners of the earth, are deceived by Satan after the expiration of the millennium; but Gog and Magog are not inhabiters of the new heaven and the new earth. It is not our business to frame theories and invent hypotheses, but faithfully to follow the word of God as our surest guide, without regarding much the authority of men. Not but various authorities might be cited to show that this is no novel opinion. As St. Barnabas * says, "When the Lord shall make all things new, then shall be the beginning of the eighth day, which is the beginning of another world;" allowing six thousand years to the duration of this world, the seventh thousand to the millennium, and the eighth thousand to the beginning of a blessed eternity: and you may find many more testimonies alleged to this purpose in the notes of Cotelerus and other critics upon this passage of St. Barnabas. Lactantius † affirms, that "when the thousand years shall be completed, the world shall be renewed by God, and the heavens shall be folded up, and the earth shall be changed; and God shall transform men into the similitude of angels: and they shall be white as snow, and shall be always conversant in the sight of the Almighty, and shall sacrifice to their Lord, and serve him

* 'When all things have been made new by the Lord,—then cometh the beginning of the eighth day, that is, the beginning of another world.' See St. Barnabas' Epistles, Chap. xv. See also the Notes of Cotelerus.

† 'But when the thousand years shall have been completed, the world, by God, shall be renewed, and the heavens folded up, and the earth shall be changed; and God will transform men into the likeness of angels, and they shall be white as snow, and they shall be always employed in the presence of the Almighty, and shall offer up the sacrifice of praise to their Lord, and serve him for ever.' See Lactantius, Book VII. Chap. xxvi.

for ever." St. Austin also declares, * that "the judgment being finished, then this heaven and this earth shall cease to be, when the new heaven and the new earth shall begin to be. For by a mutation of things this world will pass away, not by an utter extinction. Whence also the apostle says, 1 Cor. vii. 31. *that the fashion of this world passeth away.*" And indeed why should the new heaven and the new earth be destroyed, when there shall be no more sin, when 'there shall be no more curse,' when 'there shall be no more death?' The heaven and the earth of old, 2 Pet. iii. 5. for the wickedness of man 'perished by water: The heaven and the earth which are now, are reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, and perdition of ungodly men;' but why should not 'the new heaven and the new earth,' be preserved, 'wherein dwelleth righteousness?'

9. And there came unto me one of the seven angels, which had the seven vials full of the seven last plagues, and talked with me saying, Come hither, I will show thee the bride, the Lamb's wife.

10. And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God.

11. Having the glory of God: and her light *was* like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper-stone, clear as crystal;

12. And had a wall great and high, *and* had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which *are the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.

13. On the east, three gates; on the north, three gates; on the south, three gates; and on the west, three gates.

14. And the wall of the city had twelve foundations,

* 'Because on the concluding of the judgment, this heaven and earth shall cease to be, and then shall commence a new heaven and a new earth. For by a change, not by an utter destruction, shall this world pass away. Therefore the apostle saith, "the fashion of this world passeth away." See Augustine's City of God, Book XIX. Chap. xiv. page 447. Vol. II. of the Benedictine edition, printed in Antwerp.

and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

15. And he that talked with me, had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

16. And the city lieth four-square, and the length is as large as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length, and the breadth, and the heighth of it are equal.

17. And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred *and* forty *and* four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel.

18. And the building of the wall of it was of jasper; and the city *was* pure gold, like unto clear glass.

19. And the foundations of the wall of the city *were* garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation *was* jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth, an emerald;

20. The fifth, sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyth; the eighth, beryl; the ninth, a topaz; the tenth, a chrysoprasus; the eleventh, a jacinth; the twelfth, an amethyst.

21. And the twelve gates *were* twelve pearls; every several gate was of one pearl: and the street of the city *was* pure gold, as it were transparent glass.

22. And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty, and the Lamb are the temple of it.

23. And 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.

24. And the nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.

25. And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there.

26. And they shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into it.

27. And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.

A more particular description is afterwards given of the new Jerusalem. 'One of the seven angels who had

the seven vials,' ver. 9. and most probably the same angel who before had showed to St. John, xvii. 1, &c. the mystic Babylon and her destruction, now showeth by way of contrast the new Jerusalem and her glory i or this purpose, ver. 10. 'he carrieth him away in the spirit to a great and high mountain;' in the same manner as Ezekiel, xl. 2. 'was brought in the visions of God, and set upon a very high mountain,' to see the frame of the city and temple: and this description of the new Jerusalem is an assemblage of the sublimest richest imagery of Ezekiel and other ancient prophets. 'The glory of God,' or the divine Shechinah, ver. 11. illuminates the city.—It hath, ver. 12, 13, 14. 'a wall great and high,' to show its strength and security; 'and twelve gates' with *angels* for guards, 'three on the east, three on the north, three on the south, and three on the west,' to show that people of all climates and nations may have access to it.—On 'the twelve gates' are written 'the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel, as on 'the twelve foundations' are inscribed, 'the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb' to signify that the Jewish and the Christian church are now united, and Eph. ii. 20. 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.' The angel hath, ver. 15, 16, 17. a measuring reed, as the angel had likewise in Ezekiel; xl. 3. and the measures of the city and of the walls are formed by the multiplication of *twelve*, the number of the apostles. The city lieth foursquare, the length as large as the breadth,' according to the pattern of Jerusalem in Ezekiel; xlviii. 16. and 'the length and breadth and heighth,' of the walls and buildings are every where of the same beauty, strength, and proportion. It is 'built and garnished with gold and all manner of precious stones,' ver. 18—21. as the richest emblems of eastern wealth and magnificence; the stones resembling those on Aaron's breast-plate, to denote that the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the *light* and *perfection* of God's oracle are there. It hath one remarkable peculiarity, ver 22. that there is 'no temple therein: for the whole is the temple of God, and of the Lamb. The glory of God and the Lamb,' ver. 23. 'shine in it' with a lustre superior to the sun and moon. All they 'who are saved,'

ver. 24—27. 'walk *continually* in the light of it; *for* the gates are never shut, *and* no night is there.' It is the centre of 'glory and honour;' all the wicked are excluded, and only good Christians are admitted, 'they who are written in the Lamb's book of life.'

CHAP. XXII.

1. And he showed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God, and of the Lamb.

2. In the midst of the street of it, and of either side of the river *was there* the tree of life, which bare twelve *manner of* fruits, *and* yielded her fruit every month: and the leaves of the trees *were* for the healing of the nations.

3. And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

4. And they shall see his face; and his name *shall be* in their foreheads.

5. And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light: and they shall reign for ever and ever.

The five verses of this chapter are a continuation of the description of the new Jerusalem. It is further described with 'the river of life *and* the tree of life,' as if paradise was restored and improved. 'A river flowing through the midst of the streets, *and* trees growing on either side of the river,' are wonderfully pleasing and agreeable objects, especially in the hot eastern countries. Of the fruits there is such plenty and abundance, that all may freely partake of them at all seasons; and the very 'leaves are for the healing of the nations;' by all which is signified the blessedness of immortality without any infirmities. Then too 'there shall be no more curse,' as there is in this present world ever since the fall of man: but the blessed inhabitants shall enjoy the so much talked of *beatific vision*, shall live in the light of God's countenance, and 'serve him, *and* reign for ever and ever.'

6. And he said unto me, These sayings *are* faithful and true. And the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to show unto his servants the things which must shortly be done.

7. Behold, I come quickly: blessed *is* he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.

In the conclusion, the angel, ver. 6, 7. ratifies and confirms all these particulars by a repetition of the same solemn assurance which he had before given, xix. 9. xx. 5. that 'these sayings are faithful and true:' and he was commissioned by the same God, who had inspired the ancient prophets, 'to show the things which must shortly be done,' which would very soon begin in part to be fulfilled, and in process of time would be completed. 'Behold, I come quickly,' saith he; for we may observe that the angel speaketh sometimes in his own person, and sometimes in the person and character of Christ, whose ambassador and representative he was. Christ is said to *come* upon any notable and illustrious manifestation of his providence; and all these are but so many steps to prepare the way for his last coming to judgment. A blessing too is pronounced, as in the beginning, i. 3. upon those who 'keep the sayings of the prophecy of this book:' and as good Vitringa devoutly wisheth,* May the Lord bestow this grace and favour on us, who have employed some time and pains in the study and explication of this *book*, that some part of this *blessing* also may descend to us!

8. And I John saw these things, and heard *them*. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which showed me these things.

9. Then saith he unto me, See *thou do it* not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book: worship God.

10. And he saith unto me, Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book: for the time is at hand.

* 'May the Lord grant this favour to us, who have bestowed some labour in meditation thereon, that we also may have some share in this blessing' See Vitringa, page 909.

11. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still.

12. And behold, I come quickly; and my reward *is* with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.

13. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last.

14. Blessed *are* they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city.

15. For without *are* dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

16. I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, *and* the bright and morning star.

17. And the spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst, Come: And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.

18. For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book:

19. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and *from* the things which are written in this book.

20. He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.

21. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ *be* with you all. Amen.

St. John, ver. 8, 9. testifieth himself to be the person who 'saw and heard these things:' and in his ecstasy falling into the same mistake that he had committed before, xix. 10. he is gently corrected in the same manner by the angel: Who ordereth him, ver. 10. 'not to seal up this prophecy,' as Daniel's was, xiii. 4, 9. 'for the time is at hand,' some of the particulars would very soon be

accomplished, as indeed all would in their due season and order: which he farther inforceth, ver. 11—15. with promises and threatenings, of rewards to the righteous, and of vengeance on the wicked. It was not thought sufficient to represent the angel speaking in the person of Christ, but Christ himself also is introduced, ver. 16. speaking in his own person, and confirming the divine authority of this book, and attesting it to be properly his revelation. 'The spirit and the bride,' ver. 17. that is, 'the spiritual bride,' the true church of Christ, therefore receives it, and ardently wisheth and prayeth for its completion. The book being of this importance and authority, a solemn adjuration is added by Christ himself, that no man presume to add any thing to it, or take any thing away from it, ver. 18, 19. 'For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book:' which ought to be seriously considered by all visionaries and enthusiasts on the one hand, who boast their own inventions as divine revelations: and by all sceptics and infidels on the other, who depreciate the value and authority of these predictions. 'He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly;' ver. 20. he not only attesteth them to be true, but will also come speedily to accomplish them: to which St. John answers, and in him the whole church, 'Amen; Even so, Come, Lord Jesus.' He closeth all with the usual apostolical benediction, ver. 21. wishing the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ' to the churches of Asia in particular, and to all Christians in general. The conclusion is truly excellent, as well as all other parts of this book: and nothing could be contrived to leave these things with a stronger impression upon the mind of the readers. In the whole, from first to last, appears the majesty of the divine revealer, 'the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the author and finisher' of every good work, and of this more especially.

This, as (Sir Isaac Newton hath hinted;* and as Dr. Warburton hath fully proved in some discourses, which it is hoped will be printed one time or other for the benefit of the public,) is that 'sure word of prophecy, whereunto' Christians, as St. Peter saith, 'do well to take heed' and attend. St. Peter, 2 Pet. i. 16, &c. is asserting and establishing the truth of Christ's second coming in power and great glory. 'For we have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eyewitnesses of his majesty.' One illustrious proof of his coming in power and glory was his appearing in glory and majesty at his transfiguration, ver. 17, 18. 'For he received from God the Father honour and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.—And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.' His appearing once in power and great glory is a good argument, that he may appear again in like manner: and that he not only may, but will, we have a farther assurance of prophecy, ver. 19. 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' St. Peter might mean the prophecies in general which treat of the second coming of Christ, but it appears that the Revelation was principally in his thoughts and intentions.—Christ's second coming in power and glory is one principal topic of the Revelation. With this it begins, i. 7. 'Behold, he cometh with clouds: and every eye shall see him.' With this it also concludes, xxii. 20. 'He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly.' Nothing can better answer the character of the Revelation, especially in St. Peter's time when as yet scarce any part of it was fulfilled, than 'a light shining in a dark

* See Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Apocalypse, Chap. i. page 240. Bishop Warburton hath since published a discourse upon this subject in the third Volume of his Sermons; but his second Lecturer, Dr. Halifax contradicts him herein, and maintains the Revelation to have been written after the death of St. Peter, in the reign of Domitian.

place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' It openeth more and more like the dawning of the day; and the more it is fulfilled, the better it is understood. Afterwards St. Peter proceeds, in the second chapter, to describe, out of this sure word of prophecy,' the false prophets and false teachers, who should infest the church; and in the third chapter, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, the conflagration of the present heavens and earth, and the structure of the new heavens and earth; and all agreeably to the Revelation. Attention therefore to this book is recommended to us, upon the authority of St. Peter as well as of the writer St. John: and a double blessing, as we have seen in the book itself, is pronounced upon those who shall study and observe it; first in the beginning, i. 3. 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein;' and here again in the end, xxii. 7. 'Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book.' Emboldened by which blessings I would humbly pray with Nehemiah, xiii. 22. 'Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me, according to the greatness of thy mercy.'

XXVI.

RECAPITULATION OF THE PROPHECIES RELATING TO POPERY.

UPON the whole it appears, that the prophecies relating to Popery are the greatest, the most essential, and the most striking part of the Revelation. Whatever difficulty and perplexity there may be in other passages, yet here the application is obvious and easy. Popery being the great corruption of Christianity, there are indeed more prophecies relating to that than at almost any other distant event. It is a great object of Daniel's and the principal object of St. Paul's as well as of St. John's prophecies: and these, considered and compared together, will mutually receive and reflect light from and upon each other. It will appear to be clearly foretold, that

such a power as that of the pope should be exercised in the Christian church, and should authorize and establish such doctrines and practices, as are publicly taught and approved in the church of Rome. It is not only foretold that such a power should be exercised, but the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. Besides the place and the persons, the time also is signified when it should prevail and how long it should prevail; and at last upon the expiration of this term it shall be destroyed for evermore. It is thought proper to represent the prophecies relating to popery in one view, that like the rays of the sun collected in a glass, they may appear with the greater lustre, and have the stronger effect.

I. I say, the Spirit of prophecy hath signified beforehand, that there should be such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome usurped in the Christian world: and these predictions are so plain and express, that, was not the contrary evident and undeniable, they might seem to be penned after the event, and to describe things past rather than to foretel things to come. For instance: Hath there now for many ages subsisted, and doth there still subsist a tyrannical, and idolatrous, and blasphemous power, in pretence Christian, but in reality Antichristian? It is the very same power that is pourtrayed in 'the little horn' and 'the blasphemous king' by Daniel, 'in the man of sin the son of perdition' by St. Paul, and 'in the ten horned beast *and* the two horned beast *or* the false prophet' by St. John.—Hath the church apostatized or departed greatly from the purity of Christian faith and worship? It is the very same thing that St. Paul hath foretold, 2 Thess. ii. 3. 'The day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a falling away, *or the apostasy* first:' and he saith moreover in another place, 1 Tim. iv. 1. that the Spirit of prophecy (meaning in Daniel) had in express words testified the same thing before. 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, *or rather* apostatize from the faith:' and St. John foresaw the church so far degenerated as to become, Rev. xvii. 5. 'the mother of harlots, *or whoredoms*, and abominations of the earth.'—Doth this apostasy consist chiefly in the

worshipping of *demons*, angels and departed saints, and in honouring them with costly shrines and rich offerings, instead of the worship of 'the one true God *through* the one true mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus?' Nothing can better agree with the prophecy of St. Paul, Tim. iv. 1. 'Some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines concerning demons;' and with the prophecy of Daniel, that the blasphemous king, xi. 38. 'in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim' gods protectors, or saints protectors, 'and a god whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things.' —Is the same church, that is guilty of this idolatry, notorious also for enjoining celibacy to her clergy, and engaging her nuns to enter into vows of leading a single life? doth she make a vain distinction of meats, and command and institute certain times and days of fasting, wherein to taste flesh is judged a mortal sin? Nothing can more fully accomplish the prediction of Daniel, xi. 37. that the blasphemous king, who shall worship Mahuzzim, shall also 'not regard the desire of wives;' and the prediction of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv. 3. that those who shall apostatize from the faith by worshipping of demons, shall no less distinguish themselves by 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe and know the truth.'—Doth the pope make himself equal and even superior to God, in affecting divine titles, attributes, and honours; in assuming a power of dispensing with the immutable laws of nature and the gospel; in substituting for the commandments of God the traditions of men; in treading upon the altar of God at his inauguration, and making the table of the Lord his footstool, and in that posture receiving the adoration of his cardinals? It is foretold by Daniel, vii. 25. that the little horn 'shall speak great words against the most High, and think to change times and laws:' and, xi. 36. 'the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and speak marvellous things against the God of gods;' and in like manner, by St. Paul, 2. Thess. ii. 3, 4. 'The man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself

above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.'—Have the bishops of Rome extended their authority and jurisdiction over several countries and nations? have they usurped a supremacy over all other bishops; have they partly by menaces, and partly by flatteries, obtained an entire ascendency over Christian princes; so as to have them zealous members of their communion, blindly devoted to their interest, and ready upon all occasions to fight their battles? It is nothing more than what was foretold by the prophets; by Daniel when he said, vii. 20. that the little horn 'had a mouth speaking very great things, and a look more stout than his fellows;' and by St. John when he said, xiii. 7. that 'power was given unto the beast over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations;' and, xvii. 2. 'the kings of the earth have committed fornication,' or idolatry, with the whore of Babylon; and, xvii. 13. 'have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast.'—Hath the church of Rome enlarged the powers of her clergy both regular and secular, given them an almost absolute authority over the purses and consciences of men, enriched them with sumptuous buildings and noble endowments, and appropriated the choicest of the lands for church lands? This was plainly intimated by Daniel, speaking of the blasphemous king, as the passage should be translated; xi. 39. 'Thus shall he do; to the defenders of Mahuzzim, together with the strange god whom he shall acknowledge, he shall multiply honour, and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.'—Is the church of Rome distinguished above all churches by purple and scarlet colour, by the richness and splendour of her vestments, by the pomp and parade of her ceremonies, inciting and inveigling men with all artifices of ornament and ostentation to join in her communion? This was particularly specified by St. John, speaking of the mystic whore of Babylon, or the corrupted church, xvii. 4. 'And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations, and filthiness of her fornication.'—Have the bishops and clergy of Rome in all ages been remark-

able for their policy? have they not scrupled to promote their religion by all manner of lies and pious frauds? have they allowed of equivocation and mental reservation in oaths and promises, and with the appearance of *lambs*, in meekness and sanctity, acted like 'ravening wolves,' with fury and violence? Daniel hath given the same character of the little horn, vii. 8. 'Behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things;' and St. Paul of the apostates in the latter times' 1 Tim iv. 2. 'Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron;' and St. John of 'the two horned beast' xiii. 11. 'And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon.'—Doth the church of Rome boast of visions and revelations, and make a show of miracles in attestation of her doctrines? do her legends contain as many spurious and pretended wonders, as the scriptures do genuine and real? From St. Paul we learn, 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10. that 'the coming *of the man of sin*, is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness;' and from St. John, xiii. 13, 14. that the false prophet 'doeth great wonders in the sight of men, and deceiveth them who dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he hath power to do.'—Doth the church of Rome require an implicit obedience, condemn all who will not readily conform as heretics, and excommunicate and exclude them from the civil intercourses of life? So the false prophet in St. John, xiii. 16, 17. 'causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark of the beast.'—Have the Roman pontiffs occasioned the shedding of as much or more Christian blood than the Roman emperors themselves? have they all along maintained their spiritual sovereignty by secret plots and inquisitions, by open dragoonings and massacres, and imprisoned, and tortured, and murdered the true worshippers of God, and the faithful servants of Jesus Christ? This particular, as well as all the rest, exactly answers the predictions of the prophets. For it is affirmed of the little horn in Daniel, vii. 21, 25. that he 'shall make war

with the saints, and shall prevail against them; shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High:' and the woman in the Revelation, 'Babylon the great, the mother of harlots,' xvii. 6. is represented as 'drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus,' and, xviii. 24. 'in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.'

Besides these plain and direct prophecies of the corruptions and innovations of the church of Rome, there are several secret glances at them, several oblique intendments and intimations of them.—'Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world:' Acts xv. 18. and when the holy Spirit dictated to the ancient prophets the prophecies concerning Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and other tyrannical and corrupt governments, he dictated them in such a manner as plainly evinces that he had a farther view to this last and most tyrannical and corrupt government of all. Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, and the rest, are made the types and emblems of Rome; and many of the particulars predicted concerning the former, are more truly and properly applicable to the latter; and several of them have been applied accordingly by St John. Jeremiah said concerning ancient Babylon, li. 7, 45. 'Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand, that made all the earth drunken; the nations have drunken of her wine, therefore the nations are mad; My people, go ye out of the midst of her, and deliver ye every man his soul from the fierce anger of the Lord:' But how much more applicable are these expressions, and St. John hath applied them, to mystic Babylon or Rome? xvii. 4. xviii. 3, 4. She hath 'a golden cup in her hand; full of abominations: All nations have drunk of the poisonous wine of her fornication: Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.' The prophets themselves might not understand this mystical, and saw perhaps no farther than the literal meaning; but they 'spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,' 2 Pet. i. 21. who comprehends all events, the most remote as well as the most immediate.—But the intimations of popery, which I particularly meant are, more frequent and more obvious in the New Testament.

Why was our blessed Saviour so very cautious in giving honour to the Virgin Mary, that he seemed to regard her less than the least of his disciples? Matth. xii. 48. 'Who is my mother?' John ii. 4. 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' Luke xi. 27, 28. 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee; Yea, rather blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep it.' Why did he rebuke St. Peter more severely than any other of the apostles, Matth. xvi. 23. 'Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men; and especially just after giving him that high encomium, ver. 18. 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church?' May we not reasonably presume that he spake and acted thus, as foreseeing that divine worship which would idolatrously be paid to the one, that supremacy which would be tyrannically arrogated to the other, and which that very encomium would impertinently be brought to countenance? ——How came it to pass that our Saviour in instituting his holy supper, Matth. xxvi. 26, 27. said of the bread, only 'Take, eat,' but of the cup more particularly, 'Drink ye all of it?' May we not probably suppose that it was designed to prevent or obviate their sacrilege, who would have *all* indeed eat of the bread, but *priests only* drink of the cup?—Why were the vices of the Scribes and Pharisees left so particularly upon record, if not chiefly for the correction and reproof of their natural issue and descendants, the clergy of the church of Rome? Read the whole 23d Chapter of St. Matthew, and you will find that there is not a single wo denounced against the former, but as properly belongs, and is as strictly applicable to the latter. 'Binding heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne and laying them on men's shoulders; doing all their works for to be seen of men; shutting up the kingdom of heaven against men, neither going in themselves, neither suffering them who are entering to go in; devouring widows' houses, and for a pretence making long prayers; compassing sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, making him twofold more the child of hell than themselves;' making useless and frivolous distinctions of oaths; observing positive duties, and 'omitting the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy,

and faith; making clean the outside, but within being full of extortion and excess; outwardly appearing righteous unto men, but within being full of hypocrisy and iniquity; building the tombs of the prophets, and garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous,' honouring the dead saints, and at the same time persecuting the living; are as strong marks and characters of the one sect as they were of the other.—Do not forbidding implicit faith and obedience to men, Matth. xxiii. 9. 'Call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven;' forbidding the worship of angels, Col. ii. 18. 'Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, and worshipping of angels; forbidding all pretences to works of merit and supererogation,' Luke xvii. 10. 'When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do:' forbidding the clergy to lord it over God's heritage, 1 Pet. iv. 3. 'Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock;' forbidding the service of God in an unknown tongue, as St. Paul hath done at large in the 14th Chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians; Do not all these and such like prohibitions, I say, necessarily suppose and imply, that one time or other these particular errors and abuses would creep into the church? and in what church they are publicly taught and practised, no man can be insensible. Such texts of scripture are as much *predictions* that these things *would be*, as they are *arguments* that they *should not be*. For laws divine and human are not levelled against chimerical and mere imaginary vices, such as never are, never will be brought into practice; but are enacted by reason of those enormities, which men either have committed or are likely to commit, and which the lawgivers wisely foreseeing are therefore willing to prevent.—Why doth St. Paul admonish the Romans particularly to beware of apostasy? Rom. xi. 20, 22. 'Be not high minded, but fear?—otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.' Surely this is a strange way of addressing the Romans, if the church of Rome was designed to be the infallible judge of controversies, the centre of unity, and director of all religion.—View the picture that both St. Peter and St. Jude have drawn

of false teachers, and consider whom it most resembles in all its features, 2 Pet. ii. 1, &c. 'But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them; And many shall follow their pernicious ways, by reason of whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of; And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you,' &c. Jude 4, &c. 'Ungodly men, turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God and our Lord Jesus Christ; These filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities; These be they who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit;' &c.—What St. Paul hath predicted concerning the corruption of the last days, is too much the character of all sects of Christians, but the application more properly belongs to the members of the church of Rome, 2 Tim. iii. 1, &c. 'This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy; Without natural affection, trucebreakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good; Traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.'—Such are the direct prophecies, and such the general intimations of popery; and we have the better right to make this application of the general intimations, as the direct prophecies are so plain and particular.

II. It is not only foretold, that such a power as that of the pope and church of Rome should be exercised in the Christian world; but to prevent any mistake in the application of these prophecies, the place and the persons likewise are pointed out, where and by whom it should be exercised. The prophet Daniel, Chap. vii. hath described 'four beasts *or* four kingdoms:' and out of the fourth beast or kingdom, he saith, shall arise 'ten horns *or* ten kings *or* kingdoms;' and 'among them *or* after them shall come up another little horn? and he shall be divers from the rest;' and he shall have 'eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a

look more stout than his fellows; and he shall subdue and pluck up by the roots three of the first horns or kings; and shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws.' Daniel's first kingdom is the Babylonian, the second is the Persian, the third is the Macedonian or Grecian, and the fourth can be none other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its dissolution, was divided into 'ten kings *or* kingdoms.' It is in the western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found: for this was properly the body of the fourth beast, the Greek or eastern empire belonged to the body of the third beast: and out of the western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose 'ten kings *or* kingdoms;' of whom having mentioned the names before, we need not repeat them here. Now who is 'the little horn' that was to spring up among these or after these: who as a politico-ecclesiastical power *differeth* from the other ten powers: who 'hath eyes like the eyes of a man, that is *a seer*,* as Sir Isaac Newton says, *episcopos* or bishop in the literal sense of the word; who 'hath a mouth speaking great things,' bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who 'hath a look more stout than his fellows,' assuming a supremacy not only over other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who 'hath pluckt up by the roots three of the first horns,' the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by *the triple crown*; who 'speaketh great words against the most High,' setting up himself above all laws divine as well as human; who 'weareth out the saints of the most High,' by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who 'changeth times and laws,' instituting new religions, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men: are questions which I think cannot admit of much dispute; there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters.

The blasphemous king described in the 11th Chapter of Daniel, ver. 36—39. who 'shall do according to his

* See Sir Isaac Newton's Observ. on Daniel, Chap. vii. page 75.

will, and shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished, *who* shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but in his estate shall honour Mahuzzim, and the defenders of Mahuzzim shall increase with glory, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain;' is indeed a more general character comprehending the tyrannical and corrupt power of the eastern church as well as of the western.—But when we consider, how much and how far the Latin hath prevailed above the Greek church; how the supremacy, which was first claimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, hath been fully established in the bishop of Rome; how much more absolute the *will* of the Roman pontiff hath been than that of the Byzantine emperor; how the pope hath 'exalted himself and magnified himself,' as a god upon earth; how much more the Latins have degenerated from the *religion* of their *fathers* than the Greeks; how 'the desire of single life *and* the worship of the dead,' which first began in the eastern parts, have been carried to the greatest height in the western empire; how much the jurisdiction and authority, the lands and revenues of the Roman clergy have exceeded those of the Greeks; how while the Greek church hath lain oppressed for several centuries, the Roman hath still *prospered*, and in all probability still may 'prosper till God's indignation' against the Jews 'be accomplished;' in short, when we consider, how entirely this character agrees with that of 'the little horn,' and how much better it agrees with the head of the Roman than with the head of the Greek church, the particular application of it to the bishop of Rome may well be justified, especially since St. Paul himself hath applied it in the same manner.

St. Paul hath drawn 'the man of sin, the son of perdition,' 2. Thess. ii. an exact copy and resemblance of 'the little horn *and* the blasphemous king' in Daniel: and this 'man of sin' must necessarily be a *Christian*, and not a *Heathen* or *infidel* power, because he is represented as God 'sitting in the temple of God.' He is described too as the head of 'the apostasy *or* the falling away' from the faith; and this *apostasy* is afterwards, 1 Tim. iv. 1. de-

fined by St. Paul to consist in 'worshipping of demons,' angels and deceased saints: and no man surely can have any reason to doubt, who is the head and leader of this apostasy, the patron and authorizer of this worship. The apostle had communicated to the Thessalonians, what it was that hindered his appearing, ver. 5, 6. 'Remember ye not that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.' What this was the apostle hath no where expressly informed us; but if tradition may be depended upon in any case, it may certainly in this. For it is the constant and current tradition of the fathers, that 'what withholdeth *is* the Roman empire:' and therefore the primitive Christians in the public offices of the church prayed for its peace and welfare, as knowing that when the Roman empire should be broken into pieces, the empire of 'the man of sin' would be raised on its ruins. They made no question, they were fully persuaded, that the successor to the Roman emperor in Rome would be 'the man of sin:' and who hath succeeded to the Roman emperor in Rome, let the world judge and determine.

St. John too hath copied after Daniel, and, Chap. xiii. exhibits the Roman empire under the same emblem of 'a beast with ten horns.' It is evident that he designed the same as Daniel's fourth or last beast, because he represents him as a composition of the three former, with 'the body of a leopard, the feet of a bear, and the mouth of a lion.' He describes him too with the qualities and properties of 'the little horn,' speaking the same blasphemies, acting the same cruelties: and having plainly seen what power was intended by the one, we have the less reason to hesitate about the other. But to distinguish him yet more, the number of his name is defined to be 'six hundred and sixty-six.' It was an ancient practice to denote names by numbers; and this number must be resolvable into some Greek or Hebrew name, to which all the characters here given may agree. It is an early tradition derived from Irenæus,* who lived not long after

* See Irenæus, Book V. Chap. xxx. page 449, in Grabe's edition.

St. John's time, and was a disciple of a disciple of this apostle, that the number 666 includes the Greek name *Lateinos*, or the Latin empire. Or if you prefer a Hebrew name, as St. John hath sometimes made use of Hebrew names, it is no less remarkable that this number comprehends also the Hebrew name *Romiith* or the Roman empire. For more clearness and sureness still, a woman is shown, Chap. xvii. riding upon this same beast, and her name is 'Babylon the great;' but Babylon was destroyed long before, and by Babylon all agree, was meant Rome. The seven heads of the beast are likewise explained to be 'seven mountains on which the woman sitteth,' which all the world know to be the situation of Rome. The woman herself is also declared 'to be that great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth;' and that can be none other than Rome. Indeed the papists themselves allow (for they cannot but allow) all this to be said of Rome, but then they argue and maintain it to be said of Heathen Rome. But that cannot be; because it agrees not with several circumstances of the prophecy, and particularly with the woman's sitting upon the beast with 'ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns,' which must needs typify the Roman empire, after it was divided into ten kingdoms, but the Roman empire was not divided into ten kingdoms, till some years after it became Christian. St. John with the eyes of prophecy saw this beast 'rise up out of the sea,' and the angel in his exposition saith that he 'shall ascend out of the bottomless pit;' but Heathen Rome had risen and flourished many years before this time. This beast cannot represent Heathen Rome because he is successor to Heathen Rome, to 'the great red dragon *in* his power, and his seat, and great authority.' This beast was to continue and prosper 'forty two' prophetic *months*, that is 1260 years; but Heathen Rome did not continue 400 years after this time. The woman is represented, 'as the mother of idolatry, with her golden cup intoxicating the inhabiters of the earth;' but Heathen Rome ruled more with a rod of iron, and was rather an importer of foreign gods and superstition than an exporter to other nations. St. John 'wondered with great admiration,' when 'he saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus;' but

wherefore should he, who had seen and suffered the persecutions under Nero, wonder so much that Heathen should persecute Christian; but that Christians should delight in shedding the blood of Christians, was indeed of all wonders the greatest. The woman rideth upon the beast under 'his seventh head' or last form of government; but 'the sixth head,' which was the imperial form of government, is said to be subsisting in St. John's time, and 'the sixth' was not destroyed, and 'the seventh' or last form did not take place, till after Rome was become Christian. The ten kings 'with one mind gave their power and strength unto the beast,' and afterwards 'hate the whore and make her desolate, and burn her with fire;' but never did any ten kings unanimously and voluntarily submit to Heathen Rome, and afterwards burn her with fire. Rome according to the prophecies is to be 'utterly burnt with fire,' and to be made a 'desolation for ever and ever:' but Rome hath never yet undergone this fate, and consequently Heathen Rome cannot be the subject of these prophecies. In short from these and all other characters and circumstances, some whereof can never agree with Heathen Rome, and all agree perfectly with Christian Rome, it may and must be concluded, that not Heathen, but Christian, not imperial but papal Rome was intended by these visions.

III. Besides the place and the person, the *time* also is signified of this tyrannical power, when it should prevail, and how long it should prevail. Daniel mentions these things as being at a very great distance, and indeed they were at a very great distance in his time. It is said, viii. 26. x. 24. 'the vision is yet for many days:' that it comprehends, viii. 29. 'what shall be in the last end of the indignation:' that it extends, xi. 35, 40. xii. 4, 9. 'even to the time of the end;' that *when* God, xii. 7. 'shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished:' all which and other passages to the same purpose considered, it appears as unaccountable as strange, that ever any man should imagine as some both ancients and moderns have imagined, that Daniel's prophecies reached not beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel hath described four great empires, not contemporary, but successive one to another.

The fourth and last is represented as the greatest of all both in extent and duration. 'It devoureth the whole earth, and treadeth it down, and breaketh it in pieces.—After which it is divided into ten kingdoms, and 'the little horn' groweth not up till after this division. So that this tyrannical power was to arise in the latter days of the Roman empire, after it should be divided into ten kingdoms. From St. Paul too we may collect, that the great power of the Roman empire hindered the appearing of 'the man of sin;' but when that power should be diminished and 'taken out of the way,' then should 'the man of sin be revealed in his time.' St. John also refers these events to the same æra Not only the general order and the whole series of his prophecies point to this time, but there are besides particular intimations of it. He describes 'the beast' as successor to 'the great red dragon, *in* his power and in his seat, and great authority:' but if 'the great red dragon' be, as he is generally understood to be, the persecuting power of Heathen Rome, then the persecuting power of Heathen Rome must be removed, before 'the beast' can take his place. The beast hath also 'ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns;' so that ten complete kingdoms must arise out of the Roman empire before the appearance of the beast. Of his 'seven heads' it is said, 'Five are fallen,' that is, in St. John's time five forms of government were past, 'one is and the other is not yet come,' and the sixth which was then present being the imperial, it necessarily follows, that the seventh or last must be some form of government which must arise after the imperial; and as St. John saw the one, we see the other.

It appears then that this Antichristian power was to arise in the latter times of the Roman empire, after an end should be put to the imperial power, and after the empire should be divided into ten kingdoms: and it is not only foretold when it should prevail, but moreover *how long* it should prevail. Here we cannot but observe, that the very same period of time is prefixed for its continuance both by Daniel and by St. John. Wonderful is the consent and harmony between these inspired writers, as in other circumstances of the prophecy, so particularly in this. In Daniel, vii. 25. 'the little horn' was to

'wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws;' and it is said expressly, that they 'should be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time;' or as the same thing is expressed in another place, xii. 7. 'for a time, times, and a half.' In the Revelation it is said of the *beast*, xiii. 5. to whom in like manner 'it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them, *that* power also was given unto him to continue forty and two months:' And 'the holy city,' xi. 2. 'the Gentiles should tread under foot forty and two months:' And 'the two witnesses,' ver. 3. 'should prophecy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth:' And the woman, the true church of Christ, who fled into the wilderness from persecution, xii. 6, 14. should be fed and nourished there, a thousand two hundred and threescore days,' or as it is otherwise expressed in the same chapter, 'for a time, and times, and half a time.' Now all these numbers you will find upon computation to be the same, and each of them to signify 1260 years. For 'a time is a year, *and* a time, and times, and the dividing of time *or* half a time, *are* three years and a half, *and* three years and a half' are 42 *months*, and 42 *months* are 1260 *days*, and 1260 *days* in the prophetic style are 1260 *years*. From all these dates and characters it may fairly be concluded, that the time of the church's great affliction and of the reign of Antichrist will be a period of 1260 years.

To fix the time exactly when these 1260 years begin, and consequently when they will end, is a matter of some niceness and difficulty; and perhaps we must see their conclusion, before we can precisely ascertain their beginning. However, it appears to be a very great mistake of some very learned men in dating the commencement of this period too early. This is the capital error of Mr. Mede's scheme; what hath led him, and others who have followed his example, into subsequent errors; and what the event hath plainly refuted. For if the reign of Antichrist had begun, as he reckons, about the year 456, its end would have fallen out about the year 1716. The truth is, these 1260 years are not to be reckoned from the *beginning* of these corruptions, from the *rise* of this tyranny, for 'the mystery of iniquity began to work' even in the days of the apostles; but from their full growth

and establishment in the world. Of 'the little horn,' who was 'to wear out the saints of the most High, and to change times and laws,' it is said that 'they should be given into his hand,' which can imply no less than the most absolute power and authority over them, 'until a time, and times, and the dividing of time.' In like manner 'the holy city,' the true church of Christ, was to be 'trodden under foot,' which is the lowest state of subjection; 'the two witnesses' were not only to prophecy, but to 'prophecy in sackcloth,' that is, in mourning and affliction; 'the woman,' the church, was to abide in 'the wilderness,' that is, in a forlorn and desolate condition; and 'power was given to the beast' *poiesai*, not merely 'to continue' as it is translated, but 'to practise *and* prosper,' and *to do* according to his will; and all for this same period of 1260 years. These 1260 years therefore of the reign of Antichrist are not to be computed from his birth, or infancy, or youth; but from his coming to maturity, from his coming to the throne: and in my opinion, their beginning cannot be fixed consistent with the truth of history either sooner or later than in the eighth century. Several memorable events happened in that century. In the year * 727 the pope and people of Rome revolted from the exarch of Ravenna, and shook off their allegiance to the Greek emperor. In the year 755 the pope obtained the exarchate of Ravenna for himself, and thenceforwards acted as an absolute temporal prince. In the year 774, the pope by the assistance of Charles the great, became possessed of the kingdom of the Lombards. In the year 787 the worship of images was fully established, and the supremacy of the pope acknowledged by the second council of Nice. From one or other of these transactions it is probable, that the beginning of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated. What appears to be most probable is, that it is to be dated from the year 727, when (as † Sigonius says) *Rome and the Roman dukedom came from the Greeks to the Roman pontiff.* Hereby he became in some measure a *horn* or temporal prince,

* See Sigonius, Spanheim, Dupin, &c.

† 'Thus Rome and the Dutchy of Rome came from the Greeks to the Roman Pontiff.' See Sigonius' History of the kingdom of Italy, Book III, at the year 727.

though his power was not fully established till some years afterwards: and before he was a *horn* at all, he could not answer the character of 'the little horn.' If then the beginning of the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist is to be dated from the year 727, their end will fall near the year 2000 after Christ: and at the end of the 6000th year of the world, according to a very early tradition of Jews and Christians and even of Heathens, great changes and revolutions are expected both in the natural and in the moral world; and 'there remaineth,' according to the words of the apostle, Heb. iv. 9. 'a sabbatism *or* holy rest to the people of God.'

IV. What Daniel hath described under the character of 'the little horn,' and 'the blasphemous king;' what St. Paul hath described under the character of 'the man of sin, the son of perdition;' what St. John hath described under the character of the 'beast,' and 'the false prophet;' that same tyrannical, idolatrous, and blasphemous power, ecclesiastical writers usually denominate *Antichrist*: and having thus far traced his character and description, his rise, progress, and continuance, let us now proceed to consider his fall, when at the expiration of the prefixed period of 1260 years, his kingdom shall be destroyed for evermore. The prophets are not more expressive of his elevation, than they are of his destruction. They not only predict his downfall in general terms, but also describe the manner and circumstances of it: and St. John's account being larger and more circumstantial and particular, will be the best comment and explanation of the others. For my part I cannot pretend to prophecy, which is the common vanity of expositors of the Revelation; I can only represent events in the order wherein, according to my apprehension, the prophets have placed them. Sobriety and modesty are required in the interpretation of all prophecies, and especially in the explication of things yet future. Only this much it may be proper to premise, that having seen so many of the prophecies fulfilled, you have the less reason to doubt of the completion of those which are to follow.

At this present time we are living under 'the sixth

trumpet,' and 'the second wo;'* Rev. xi. the Othman empire is still subsisting, the beast is still reigning, and there are protestant witnesses still prophecying in sackcloth: and this 'sixth trumpet' and 'second wo' must end, before the 'seventh trumpet' can sound, or 'the third wo be poured out, which is to fall upon the kingdom of the beast. But before the end of 'the second wo,' it should seem that the papists will make a great and successful effort against the protestant religion. When the witnesses 'shall have near finished their testimony,' that is, towards the conclusion of their 1260 years, 'the beast shall make war against them, and shall overcome them.' They shall lie oppressed and *dead* as it were, to the great joy and triumph of their enemies; but they shall 'rise again after three years and a half,' and the protestant religion shall become more glorious than ever, with a considerable diminution of the papal authority. According to the method and order wherein St. John hath arranged these events, they must happen before the end of 'the second wo, or the fall of the Othman empire. Ezekiel, xxxviii. xxxix. and Daniel, xi. 44, 45. have given some intimations, that the Othman empire shall be

* [Whether the learned author of these Dissertations were right in fixing the particular period in which he lived to the sixth trumpet and second wo, we will not pretend to decide. But certainly the papists have made, since his day, no "great and successful effort against the protestant religion." On the contrary their influence has lessened, and the dominion of the Pope, in a manner, been destroyed. He is no longer a political Sovereign: the Emperor of France is king of Italy. It is a singular fact, announced lately in our public prints, that Pius, the pope of Rome, who has for a considerable time past been a captive, is under the care of a protestant. His kingdom shaken, and his seat almost demolished at home, he has made some exertions, but they have been trivial, to augment his influence abroad by the increase of Bishops and other officers. The same power that has reduced the papal authority has long been viewed by the Othman Empire with jealousy and apprehension. What the result of the present bloody contests, and tremendous preparations may prove, time only must determine. We have followed our author with pleasure through the illustration of past events; but while we admire the modesty which marks his conjectures in relation to futurity, we must not forget the *Keys of futurity hang only at the girdle of Christ.*]

overthrown in opposing the settlement of Israel in their own land in the latter days. In the conclusion of the book of Daniel there are also some intimations, that the religion of Mohammed shall prevail in the east for as long a period of time as the tyranny of the little horn in the west. Very remarkable too it is, that Mohammed * first contrived his imposture in the year 606, the very same year wherein the tyrant Phocas made a grant of the supremacy to the pope; and this might incline one to think that the 1260 years of the reign of Antichrist are to be dated from this time. But though they might rise together, yet they were not fully established together. The authority of Mohammed might be fully established in the seventh century, but that of the pope was not so till the eighth century; and therefore, as the one was established somewhat sooner, so it may also be subverted somewhat sooner than the other. The pope indeed was established *supreme* in spirituals in the seventh century, but he became not a temporal *horn* or *beast* till the eighth century.

When the Othman empire is overthrown, and 'the second wo is past,' then according to St. John, xi. 14. 'the third wo cometh quickly,' which comprehends all the severe and terrible judgments of God upon the kingdom of the beast. In like manner when Daniel hath predicted the fall of 'the king of the north,' or of the Othman empire, he subjoins immediately, xii. 1. that 'there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book;' agreeably to which St. John also saith, xx. 15. 'that whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.' The 1260 years of the reign of the beast, I suppose, end with the 1260 years of the witnesses prophecying in sackcloth: and now the destined time is come for the judgments of God to overtake him: for as he might exist before the 1260 years began, so he may exist likewise after they are finished, in order to be made an eminent example of divine justice. For the greater confirmation and illustration of this subject,

* See Prideaux' Life of Mahomet.

and to make the stronger impression upon the minds of the readers, these judgments are displayed under a variety of figures and representations. First they are described in a more general manner, Rev. xiv. as 'the harvest and reaping of the earth,' and as 'the vintage and wine-press of the wrath of God.' Then they are represented in a more particular manner, Rev. xv. xvi. as 'the seven vials, *or* the seven last plagues, for in them is filled up the wrath of God;' which are so many signal judgments upon the kingdom of the beast, and so many steps and degrees of his ruin. Afterwards the fall of Rome is delineated, Rev. xvii. xviii. as of another Babylon; and it is declared that she shall be destroyed by fire, and her destruction shall be a complete and total destruction, such as hath never yet been the fate of Rome. Some of the princes who were once of her communion, 'shall hate' her as much as they loved her, 'and burn her with fire.' It is farther intimated that she shall be swallowed up by a subterraneous fire, shall sink 'like a great mill-stone in the sea,' and 'her smoke shall rise up for ever and ever:' and the soil and situation of Rome and the neighbouring countries greatly favour such a supposition. As St. John saith, xi. 8. she 'spiritually is called Sodom;' and she shall resemble Sodom in her punishment as well as in her crimes. After the subversion of the capital city, Rev. xix. 'the beast and the false prophet,' the powers civil and ecclesiastical, with those who still adhere to their party, shall make one effort more; but it shall prove as weak and vain, as it is impious: they 'shall both be taken, and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.' The destruction of Antichrist therefore, of himself as well as of his seat, shall be in a terrible manner 'by fire.' Daniel asserts the same thing, vii. 11. 'I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake, I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame.' So likewise saith St. Paul, 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:' and more particularly, ii. 8. 'The Lord shall consume the wicked one, *the man of sin*, with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.'

About the time of the fall of the Othman empire and of the Christian Antichrist, the Jews shall turn to the Lord, and be restored to their own land. Innumerable are the prophecies concerning the conversion and restoration of this people. Hear only what Hosea saith, who prophesied before the captivity of the ten tribes of Israel, iii. 4, 5. 'The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image *or altar*, and without an ephod, and without teraphim' or divine manifestations; 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days.' Hear also what Ezekiel saith, who prophesied during the captivity of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, xxxvii. 21, 25. 'Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, whither they be gone, and will gather them on every side, and bring them into their own land: And they shall dwell in the land that I have given unto Jacob my servant, wherein your fathers have dwelt, and they shall dwell therein, even they and their children, and their children's children for ever, and my servant David shall be their prince for ever.' xxxix. 28, 29. 'Then they shall know that I am the Lord their God, who caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but 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 God.' Ye cannot but remember what St. Paul saith upon the same occasion, Rom. xi. 25. 'I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come, and so all Israel shall be saved.' Now these and the like predictions, we suppose, will take effect, and this great revolution be accomplished, about the time of the fall of the Othman empire, and of the Christian Antichrist. Ezekiel's 'Gog and Magog,' xxxviii xxxix. we believe to be the Turks or Othmans, and 'they shall come up against the children of Israel in the latter days' to oppose their re-settlement in their own land, 'and they shall fall' in some extraordinary manner 'upon the

mountains of Israel, they and the people that is with them: so the house of Israel shall know that I am the Lord their God, from that day and forward.' Daniel too, xi. 45. xii. 1. predicts the fall of the king of the north 'upon the glorious holy mountain; And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince who standeth for the children of Israel.' The restoration of the Jews and the fall of Antichrist shall also happen about the same time. If 'the sixth vial,' Rev. xvi. 12. which is 'poured out upon the great river Euphrates, whose waters are dried up to prepare a passage for the kings of the east,' is to be understood, as Mr. Mede and others think, of the return of the Jews; then the return of the Jews is one of the seven last plagues of Antichrist. But this notion is expressed more clearly in Daniel, as it more immediately concerned his people, xi. 36. 'He shall prosper till the indignation,' that is, God's indignation against the Jews, 'be accomplished:' and again afterwards, xii. 7. 'When God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.' In consequence and conformity to this doctrine, a tradition hath prevailed among the Jews,* that the destruction of Rome and the redemption of Israel shall fall out about the same time.

When these great events shall come to pass, of which we collect from the prophecies this to be the proper order; the protestant witnesses shall be greatly exalted, and the 1260 years of their prophesying in sackcloth and of the tyranny of the beast shall end together; the conversion and restoration of the Jews succeed; then follows the ruin of the Othman empire, and then the total destruction of Rome and of Antichrist. When these great events, I say, shall come to pass, then shall the kingdom of Christ commence, or the reign of the saints upon earth. So Daniel expressly informs us, that the kingdom of Christ and the saints will be raised upon the ruins of the kingdom of Antichrist: vii. 26, 27. 'But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end: And

* See the Opinions of the Hebrew Doctors concerning the Destruction of Babylon or Rome, in Mede's Works, Book V. Chap. viii. page 902.

the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominion shall serve and obey him.' So likewise St. John saith, that upon the final destruction of 'the beast and the false prophet,' Rev. xx. 'Satan is bound for a thousand years; And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto 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: But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection.' It is, I conceive, to these great events, the fall of Antichrist, the re-establishment of the Jews, and the beginning of the glorious millennium, that the three different dates in Daniel of 1260, years, 1290 years, and 1335 years are to be referred: and as Daniel saith, xii. 12. 'Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the 1335 years;' so St. John, saith, xx. 6. 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection.' Blessed and happy indeed will be this period; and it is very observable, that the martyrs and confessors of Jesus, in popish as well as in pagan times, will be raised to partake of this felicity. Then shall all those gracious promises in the Old Testament be fulfilled of the amplitude and extent, of the peace and prosperity, of the glory and happiness of the church in the latter days. Then in the full sense of the words, Rev. xi. 15. 'shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.' According to tradition* these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints will be the seventh millenary of the world; for as God created the world in six days, and rested on the seventh, so the world, it is argued, will continue six thousand years, and the seventh thousand will be the great *sabbatism* or holy rest to the people of God;

* See Burnet's Theory, Book III. Chap. v. and Book IV Chap. vi.

'one day,' 2 Pet. iii. 8. 'being with the Lord as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day.' According to tradition* too these thousand years of the reign of Christ and the saints are 'the great day of judgment;' in the morning or beginning whereof shall be the coming of Christ in flaming fire, and the particular judgment of Antichrist, and the first resurrection; and in the evening or conclusion whereof shall be the general resurrection of the dead, 'small and great, *and* they shall be judged every man according to their works.'

Prudence as well as modesty requires, that we should forbear all curious inquiries into the nature and condition of this future kingdom; as how Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and afterwards loosed again; how the raised saints shall cohabit with the living, and judge and govern the world; how Christ shall manifest himself to them, and reign among them; how the new Jerusalem, the city and church of the living God, shall descend from heaven to earth; how Satan shall at last deceive the nations, and what nations they shall be. These are points which the Holy Spirit hath not thought fit to explain; and folly may easily ask more questions about them, than wisdom can answer. Wisdom, in the mysterious things of God, and especially in the mysterious things of futurity, will still adhere to the words of scripture; and having seen the completion of so many particulars, will rest contented with believing that these also shall be, without knowing *how* they shall be. It is of the nature of most prophecies not to be fully understood, till they are fully accomplished, and especially prophecies relating to a state so different from the present as the millennium. Perfectly to comprehend these and all other prophecies may constitute a part of the happiness of that period, for then they will all be fulfilled, and 'the mystery of God shall be finished.' This however is very evident, that wickedness would soon over-run the world, if not restrained by an over-ruling providence; for no sooner is Satan loosed again, than 'the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth' come up against the holy city, the number of

* See the Opinions of the Jewish Doctors concerning the Great Day of Judgment.

whom is as 'the sand of the sea:' And therefore at the time appointed, after the general judgment, this world shall be destroyed, 2 Pet. iii. 10. 'the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burnt up.' Thus, Rev. xxi. 1. 'the first heaven and the first earth shall pass away, *and* a new heaven *and* a new earth' shall succeed, 2 Pet. iii. 13. 'wherein dwelleth righteousness;' Rev. xxi. 3, 4. 'God himself shall be with men, and be their God; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor pain, for the former things are passed away.' 1 Cor. xv. 24, &c. 'Then cometh the end, when Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet, the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death. And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.'

Since then the corruptions of popery are so particularly foretold in scripture, and make so considerable a part of the ancient prophets, we have the less reason to be surprised and offended at them. While the papists endeavour to corrupt and adulterate the doctrines of the prophets and apostles, they still accomplish their predictions while they labour to destroy Christianity in one part, they unwittingly confirm and establish it in another. And since a time is certainly coming, wherein God will avenge himself on these idolaters, and require the blood of his servants at their hands, let us wait with 'the faith and the patience of saints,' till it be accomplished. We have seen the prophecies remarkably fulfilled in their success, and we shall see them as remarkably fulfilled too in their destruction. The power of the pope is nothing near so great now as it was some years ago: It received its death wound at the Reformation, of which it may languish for a time, but will never entirely recover, though its last struggles and efforts, like those of a dying monster, may be terrible and dangerous. In the end, the gospel will prevail over all enemies and opposers; Matth. xxi. 44, 'Whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken; but

on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.' We will conclude our discourse with the words of Ezra, so very applicable to us of the reformed religion; ix. 13, 14. 'After all that is come upon us for our evil deeds and for our great trespass, seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our iniquities deserve, and hast given us such deliverance as this,' a deliverance from the yoke and tyranny of the church of Rome; 'should we again break thy commandments, and join in affinity with the people of these abominations, wouldst thou not be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?'

CONCLUSION.

FROM these instances, which have been produced, of prophecies and their completions, it is hoped, this conclusion may fairly be drawn in the words of St. Peter, 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. that 'no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation,' or the suggestion of any man's own spirit or fancy; 'for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' Other instances might have been alleged to the same purpose: but those prophecies which received their full accomplishment in ancient times, and even those which were accomplished in the person and actions of our blessed Saviour, are here considered; such only as relate to these latter ages, and either in the whole or in part are now fulfilling in the world, are made the subjects of these dissertations. This is proving our religion in some measure by ocular demonstration, is not 'walking by faith' only, but also 'by sight.' For you can have no reason to doubt of the truth of prophecy, and consequently of the truth of revelation, when you see instances of things, which could no ways depend upon human conjecture, foretold with the greatest clearness, and fulfilled hundreds of years afterwards with the greatest exactness. Nay, you see prophecies, the latest whereof were delivered about 1700 years ago, and some of them above 3000 years ago, fulfilling at this very

time, and cities, countries, and kingdoms in the very same condition, and all brought about in the very same manner, and with the very same circumstances, as the prophets had foretold.

You see the descendants of Shem and Japheth *ruling* and *enlarged* in Asia and Europe, and perhaps in America, and 'the curse of servitude' still attending the wretched descendants of Ham in Africa. You see the posterity of Ishmael 'multiplied exceedingly,' and become 'a great nation' in the Arabians; yet living like 'wild men,' and shifting from place to place in the wilderness; 'their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them;' and still *dwelling* an independent and free people, 'in the presence of all their brethren,' and in the presence of all their enemies. You see the family of Esau totally extinct, and that of Jacob subsisting at this day; the sceptre departed from Judah,' and the people living no where in authority, every where in subjection; the Jews still 'dwelling alone among the nations,' while 'the remembrance of Amalek' is 'utterly put out from under heaven.' You see the Jews severely punished for their infidelity and disobedience to their great prophet like unto Moses; 'plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; oppressed and spoiled evermore, and made a proverb and a byword among all nations.' You see 'Ephraim so broken as to be no more a people,' while the whole nation is comprehended under the name of Judah: the Jews wonderfully preserved as a distinct people, while their great conquerors are every where destroyed; their land lying desolate, and themselves cut off from being the people of God, while the Gentiles are advanced in their room. You see Nineveh so completely destroyed, that the place thereof is not, and cannot be known; Babylon made 'a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern, and pools of water;' Tyre become 'like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon;' and Egypt 'a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms,' and still tributary and subject to strangers. You see of the four great empires of the world the fourth and last, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, divided in the western part thereof into ten lesser kingdoms; and among them a power 'with a triple crown divers from

the first,' with 'a mouth speaking very great things,' and with 'a look more stout than his fellows, speaking great words against the most High, wearing out the saints of the most High, and changing times and laws.' You see a power 'cast down the truth to the ground, and prosper and practise, and destroy the holy people, not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the desire of wives, but honouring Mahuzzim,' gods-protectors or saints-protectors, 'and causing the priests of Mahuzzim 'to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain.' You see the Turks 'stretching forth their hand over the countries,' and particularly 'over the land of Egypt, the Lybians at their steps,' and the Arabians still 'escaping out of their hand.' You see the Jews 'led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem trodden down of the Gentiles,' and likely to continue so 'until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled,' as the Jews are by a constant miracle preserved a distinct people for the completion of other prophecies relating to them. You see one 'who opposeth and exalteth himself' above all laws divine and human, 'sitting as God in the church of God, and showing himself that he is God, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness.' You see a great *apostasy* in the Christian church, which consists chiefly in the worship of *demons*, angels or departed saints, and is promoted 'through the hypocrisy of liars, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.' You see the seven churches of Asia lying in the same forlorn and desolate condition that the angel had signified to St. John, their 'candlestick removed out of its place,' their churches turned into mosques, their worship into superstition. In short you see the characters of 'the beast and the false prophet,' and 'the whore of Babylon,' now exemplified in every particular, and in a city that is seated 'upon seven mountains;' so that if the bishop of Rome had sat for his picture, a greater resemblance and likeness could not have been drawn.

As there is a near affinity between this and what Dr. Clarke* hath said in the conclusion of his discourse of

* See Clarke's Works, Vol. II. on the evidences of natural and revealed religion, page 720, &c.

prophecies, it may be proper to confirm and illustrate the argument with so great an authority: and indeed these things are of such importance, and so deserving to be known, that they cannot be inculcated too frequently, nor shown in too many lights.

"I shall conclude this head with pointing at some particular extraordinary prophecies, which deserve to be carefully considered and compared with the events, whether they could possibly have proceeded from chance or from enthusiasm." Some of them are of such a nature, as that they can only be judged of by persons learned in history; and these I shall but just mention. Others are obvious to the consideration of the whole world; and with those I shall finish what I think proper at this time to offer upon this subject.

"Concerning Babylon it was particularly foretold, that it should be shut up and besieged by the Medes, Elamites and Armenians; that the river should be dried up; that the city should be taken in the time of a feast, while her mighty men were drunken;" Which accordingly came to pass, when Belshazzar and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, were slain by Cyrus's soldiers. Also it was particularly foretold, that "God would make the country of Babylon a possession for the bittern and pools of water;" Which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city. Could the correspondence of these events with the predictions, be the result of chance? But suppose these predictions were forged after the event, can the following ones also have been written after the event? or with any reason be ascribed to chance? "The wild beasts of the desert shall dwell there, and the owls shall dwell therein: and it shall be no more inhabited for ever, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: As God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah, &c. They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,—but thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord:—Babylon shall become heaps, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and an hissing without an inhabitant:—It shall sink, and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her. Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,—shall be as when God over-

threw Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there."

"Concerning Egypt, was the following prediction forged after the event? or can it, with any reason, be ascribed to chance? Egypt shall be a base kingdom: It shall be the basest of kingdoms, neither shall it exalt itself any more above the nations: For I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations."

Concerning Tyre, the prediction is no less remarkable: "I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou shalt be a place to spread nets upon; thou shalt be built no more. Thou shalt be no more; the merchants among the people shall hiss at thee, thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt be any more. All they that know thee among the people, shall be astonished at thee."

"The description of the extent of the dominion of that people, who were to possess Judea in the latter days; was it forged after the event? or can it reasonably be ascribed to chance? He shall come with horsemen, and with many ships, and shall overflow and pass over: He shall enter also into the glorious land, [and shall plant the tabernacles of his palace between the seas in the glorious holy mountain] and many countries shall be overthrown: But these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and Ethiopians shall be at his steps."

"When Daniel, in the vision of Nebuchadnezzar's image,* foretold four great successive monarchies; was this written after the event; or can the congruity of his

* "The fame of which was so nearly spread; that Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, plainly alludes to it, when he says of the prince of Tyre, Chap. xxviii. 3. *Thou art wiser than Daniel; there is no secret that they can hide from thee.*"

description with the things themselves, reasonably be ascribed to mere chance?"

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"When the same Daniel foretels a tyrannical power, which should wear out the saints of the Most High, and they shall be given into his hand, until a time, and times, and the dividing of time and again, for a time, times, and a half:"* (Which can be no way applied to the short persecution of Antiochus, because these prophecies are expressly declared to be for many days; concerning "what shall befal thy people in the latter days; for yet the vision is for many days; concerning the time of the end; what shall be in the last end of the indignation; concerning those who shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days; to try them, even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a time appointed; concerning a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation; the time when God shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people; the time of the end, till which the words are closed up and sealed; to which the prophet is commanded to shut up his words, and seal the book, for many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased; even the end, till which Daniel was to rest, and then stand in his lot at the end of the days.") When Daniel, I say, foretels such a tyrannical power, to concontinue such a determined period of time: And St. John prophecies, that the 'Gentiles should tread the holy city under foot, forty and two months; which is exactly the same period of time with that of Daniel: And again, that 'two witnesses, clothed in sackcloth, should prophecy a thousand two hundred and threescore days;' which is again exactly the very same period of time: And again, that the woman which fled into the wilderness from persecution, should continue there 'a thousand two hundred and threescore days:' And again, that she should 'fly into the wilderness, for a time, times, and half a time;' which is still the very same period: And again, that a wild beast, a tyrannical power, 'to

* "Three years and a half, or 1260 days, is, according to the analogy of all the forementioned numbers, 1260 years."

whom it was given to make war with the saints, and to overcome them,' was to 'continue forty and two months,'* (still the very same period of time) and to have 'power over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations, so that all that dwell upon the earth should worship him:' Is it credible or possible that ignorant and enthusiastical writers should by mere chance hit upon such coincidences of [occult] numbers? especially since St. John could not possibly take the numbers from Daniel, if he understood Daniel to mean nothing more than the short persecution of Antiochus. And if he did understand Daniel to mean a much longer and greater and more remote tyranny, which John himself prophecied of as in his time still future; then the wonder is still infinitely greater, that in those early times, when there was not the least footstep in the world of any such power as St. John distinctly describes, (but which is now very conspicuous, as I shall presently observe more particularly) it should ever enter into the heart of man to conceive so much as the possibility of such a power, sitting not upon the pavilion of heathen persecutors, but expressly, 2 Thess. ii. 4. *in the temple*, and upon the seat of God himself.

"But these prophecies, which either relate to particu-

* "There has prevailed among learned men a very important error, as if the 1260 days (or years) here spoken of, took their beginning from the *rise* of the tyranny here described. Whereas on the contrary, the words of Daniel are express, that, not from the time of his *rise*, but *after* his having made war with the saints, and from the time of *their being given into his hand*, should be *a time, and times, and the dividing of time*, Chap. vii. 24, 25. And St. John no less expressly says, that the time, not of *the two witnesses prophecying*, (for in part of that time they had *great power*) but of *their prophecying in sackcloth*, should be *a thousand two hundred and threescore days*, Rev. xi. 3. And the *persecuted woman*, after her flight, was to be actually *in the wilderness a thousand two hundred and threescore days*. Chap. xii. 6. Wherefore also *the forty and two months*, (the very same period) during which time *power was given unto the wild beast to continue*, (in the original it is *poiesai*) to do what he pleased, Rev. xiii. 3. evidently ought not to be reckoned from his *rise*, or from the time when *the ten kings* (Chap. XVII. 12.) *received power with him*; but from the time of his having totally *overcome the saints*, and of his *being worshipped by all that dwell upon the earth*, Chap. XIII. 7, 8.

lar places, or depend upon the computation of particular periods of time, are (as I said) of such a nature, as that they cannot be judged of, but by persons skilled in history. There are some others more general running through the whole scripture, and obvious to the consideration of the whole world.

"For instance: It was foretold by Moses, that when the Jews forsook the true God, they should be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; should be scattered among the Heathen, among the nations, among all people from the one end of the earth even unto the other; should there be left few in number among the Heathen, and pine away in their iniquity in their enemies' lands; and should become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword, among all nations; and that among these nations they should find no ease, neither should the sole of their foot have rest; but the Lord should give them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind; and send a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies; so that the sound of a shaken leaf should chase them." Had any thing like this, in Moses' time, ever happened to any nation? Or was there in nature any probability, that any such thing should ever happen to any people? that, when they were conquered by their enemies, and led into captivity, they should neither continue in the place of their captivity, nor be swallowed up and lost among their conquerors, but be scattered among all the nations of the world, and hated by all nations for many ages, and yet continue a people? Or could any description of the Jews, written at this day, possibly be a more exact and lively picture of the state they have now been in for many ages; than this prophetic description given by Moses, more than 3000 years ago?

"The very same thing is in like manner continually predicted through all the following prophets; that God would scatter them among the Heathen: that he would cause them to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth; that he would scatter them into all the winds, and disperse them through the countries of the Heathen; that he would sift them among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve; that in all the kingdoms of the earth, whither they should be driven, they should be a reproach

and a proverb, a taunt and a curse, and an astonishment and a hissing; and that they should abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim. And here concerning the predictions of Ezekiel it is remarkable in particular, that they being spoken in the very time of the Babylonian captivity, it is therefore evident from the time of his prophecying, as well as from the nature and description of the thing itself, that he must needs be understood of that latter 'captivity into all places,' which was to happen after the 'fulfilling the time of that age,' wherein God was first to 'bring them again' (out of the Babylonian captivity) 'into the land where they should build a temple,' but 'not like to that which afterwards' (after their final return) should 'be built forever with a glorious building.' The forecited prophecies (I say must of necessity be understood of that wide and long dispersion which in the New-Testament also is expressly mentioned by our Saviour and by St. Paul.

"It is also farther, both *largely* and distinctly predicted, as well by Moses himself, as by all the following prophets, that notwithstanding this unexampled dispersion of God's people, 'yet for all that, when they be in the land of their enemies, God will not destroy them utterly; but when they shall call to mind among all the nations, whither God has driven them, and shall return unto the Lord, he will turn their captivity, and gather them from all nations, from the utmost parts of heaven, even in the latter days: *That* though he makes a full end of all other nations, yet he will not make a full end of them; *but* a remnant of them *shall be preserved*, and return out of all countries whither God has driven them: *That* he will sift the house of Israel among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve; yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth: *That* the Lord set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, and shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah, from the four corners of the earth: *For* I will bring thy seed from the east, *saith the Lord*, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, give up; and

to the south, Keep not back; Bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth: Behold, I will lift up my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people, and they shall bring thy sons in their arms, and thy daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee: In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, for a moment; but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.' And that these prophecies might not be applied to the return from the 70 years captivity in Babylon, (which moreover was not a dispersion into *all nations*) they are expressly referred to the *latter days*, not only by Moses, but by Hosea, who lived long after, 'For the children of Israel shall abide MANY DAYS without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice; AFTERWARD they shall return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the LATTER DAYS; and by Ezekiel, who lived in the captivity itself; after MANY DAYS [speaking of those who should oppose the return of the Israelites] thou shalt be visited in the LATTER YEARS, thou shalt come into the land;—upon the people that are gathered out of the nations;— In that day when my people of Israel dwelleth safely,—thou shalt come up against them,—it shall be in the LATTER DAYS.' These predictions therefore necessarily belong to that age, when 'the times of the Gentiles *shall be* fulfilled *and* the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.' And that, through all the changes which have happened in the kingdoms of the earth, from the days of Moses to the present time, which is more than 3000 years; nothing should have happened, to prevent the *possibility* of the accomplishment of these prophecies; but on the contrary, the state of the Jewish and Christian nations at this day, should be such as renders them easily *capable* not only of a figurative, but even of a literal completion in every particular, if the will of God be so; this (I say) is a *miracle*, which hath nothing parallel to it in the phænomena of nature.

"Another instance, no less extraordinary, is as follows. Daniel foretels 'a kingdom upon the earth, which shall be divers from all kingdoms, divers from all that were be-

fore it, exceeding dreadful, and shall devour the whole earth: That, among the powers into which this kingdom shall be divided, there shall arise one power divers from the rest, who shall *subdue*, unto himself three of the first powers, and he shall have 'a mouth speaking very great things, *and* a look more stout than his fellows. *He shall* make war with the saints, and prevail against them. And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand, *for a long season; even till* the judgment shall sit, and the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High. He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods;—Neither shall he regard* the God of his fathers, nor† the desire of women, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all. And in his estate shall he honour‡ the god of forces, and§ a god whom his father knew not, shall he honour.—Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory; and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain.' Suppose now all this to be spoken by Daniel, of nothing more than the short persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes; which that it cannot be, I have shown above. But suppose it were, and that it was all forged after the event: Yet this cannot be the cause of St. Paul and St. John, who describe exactly a *like* power, and in *like words*; speaking of things to come in the *latter days*, of things still *future* in *their* time, and of which there were then no footsteps, no appearance in the world. 'The day of Christ,' saith St. Paul, 'shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition: Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God

* "*The God of gods*, as in the foregoing verse."

† "*Forbidding to marry*, 1 Tim. iv. 3."

‡ "*Gods-protectors*, as it is in the margin of the Bible, or *saints-protectors*."

§ "*Changing times and laws*, Chap. vii. 25; setting up new religions."

sitteth* in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God:—Whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness. *Again*: The spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils;†—Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c.—St. John in like manner prophesies of a wild beast, *or tyrannical power, to whom was given* great authority, *and* a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies: And he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God: And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them; and power was given him over all kindreds and tongues and nations; and all that dwell upon the earth shall worship him—*And he that* exerciseth his power before him—doeth great wonders,—and deceiveth them that dwell upon the earth, by the means of those miracles which he had power to do—And he causeth that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast;—And the kings of the earth have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast;—even peoples and multitudes, and nations, and tongues.—For God hath put in their hearts [in the hearts of the kings] to fulfil his will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. The name of the person, in whose hands the reins or principal direction of the exercise of this power is lodged, is Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth; with whom the kings of the earth‡ have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of

* "It is therefore a *Christian* (not an *Infidel*) power, that he here speaks of."

† "Doctrines concerning *Demons*, that is, ghosts or souls of (good or bad) men departed. Epiphanius citing this text, alleges the following words, as part of the text itself; *esontai, gar, phesi, nekrois latreuontes, hos kai en to Israel esebasthesan.* "For they shall be, says the apostle, worshippers of the dead, even as the dead were anciently worshipped in Israel." And he applies the whole to the worshippers of the blessed Virgin. Hæres. 78. Sect. 22."

‡ "Have been led into idolatrous practices."

the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. And she herself is drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: *And* by her sorceries* are all nations deceived: And in her is found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that are slain upon the earth. And this person [the political person] to whom these titles and characters belong, is that great city (standing upon seven mountains) which reigneth over the kings of the earth.

"If in the days of St. Paul and St. John, there was any footsteps of such a sort of power as this in the world; Or, if there ever had been any such power in the world; Or, if there was then any appearance of probability, that could make it enter into the heart of man to imagine, that there ever could be any such kind of power in the world, much less in *the temple* or church *of God*: And, if there be not now such a power actually and conspicuously exercised in the world: And if any picture of this power, drawn after the event, can now describe it more plainly and exactly than it was originally described in the words of the prophecy: Then may it with some degree of plausibleness be suggested, that the prophecies are nothing more than enthusiastic imaginations."

For these things you have the attestation of past, and the experience of present times; and you cannot well be deceived, if you will only believe your own eyes and observation. You actually see the completion of many of the prophecies in the state of men and things around you, and you have the prophecies themselves recorded in books, which books have been read in public assemblies these 1700 or 2000 years, have been dispersed into several countries, have been translated into several languages, and quoted and commented upon by different authors of different ages and nations, so that there is no room to suspect so much as a possibility of forgery or illusion.

The prophecies too, though written by different men in different ages, have yet a visible connexion and dependency, an entire harmony and agreement one with another. At the same time there is such perfect harmony, there is also great variety; and the same things

* "*Pharmakeia (sophois pharmakois)* methods of making men religious without virtue."

are foretold by different prophets in a different manner and with different circumstances; and the latter usually improve upon the former. They are all excellent in their different kinds; and you may observe the beauty and sublimity of the style and diction of the prophets even from these quotations which have been made from their writings. Indeed they are very well worthy of your serious perusal and meditation, not only considered as prophets, but considered even as authors, for their noble images and descriptions, their bold tropes and figures, their instructive precepts, their pathetical exhortations, and other excellencies, which would have been admired in any ancient writers whatever.

Obscurities there are indeed in the prophetic writings, for which many good reasons may be assigned, and this particularly, because prophecies are the only species of writing, which is designed more for the instruction of future ages than of the times wherein they are written. If the prophecies had been delivered in plainer terms, some persons might be for hastening their accomplishment, as others might attempt to defeat it; men's actings would not appear so free, nor God's providence so conspicuous in their completion. But though some parts are obscure enough to exercise the church, yet others are sufficiently clear to illuminate it; and the obscure parts, the more they are fulfilled, the better they are understood. In this respect as the world groweth older, it groweth wiser. Time that detracts something from the evidence of other writers, is still adding something to the credit and authority of the prophets. Future ages will comprehend more than the present, as the present understands more than the past: and the perfect accomplishment will produce a perfect knowledge of all the prophecies.

In any explication of the prophecies you cannot but observe the subserviency of human learning to the study of divinity. One thing is particularly requisite, a competent knowledge of history sacred and profane, ancient and modern. Prophecy is, as I may say, history anticipated and contracted; history is prophecy accomplished and dilated: and the prophecies of scripture contain, as you see, the fate of the most considerable nations, and the sub-

stance of the most memorable transactions in the world, from the earliest to the latest times. Daniel and St. John, with regard to these later times, are more copious and particular than the other prophets. They exhibit a series and succession of the most important events from the first of the four great empires to the consummation of all things. Their prophecies may really be said to be a summary of the history of the world, and the history of the world is the best comment upon their prophecies. I must confess it was my application to history, that first struck me, without thinking of it, with the amazing justness of the scripture-prophecies. I observed the predictions all along to be verified in the course of events: and the more you know of ancient and modern times, and the farther you search into the truth of history, the more you will be satisfied of the truth of prophecy. They are only pretenders to learning and knowledge, who are patrons of infidelity. You have heard, in these discourses, of the two greatest men, whom this country or perhaps the whole world hath produced, the Lord Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton, the one wishing for a history of the several prophecies of scripture compared with the events, the other writing Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John: and the testimony of two such (not to mention others) is enough to weigh down the authority of all the infidels who ever lived.

You see what standing monuments the Jews are every where of divine vengeance for their infidelity; and beware therefore of the like crime, lest the like punishment should follow; 'for,' Rom. xi. 21. 'if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.' Our infidelity would be worse even than that of the Jews, for they receive and own the prophecies, but do not see and acknowledge their completion in Jesus, whereas our modern infidels reject both the prophecy and the completion together. But what strange disingenuity must it be, when there is all the evidence that history can afford for the prophecy, and in many cases even ocular demonstration for the completion, to be still obstinate and unbelieving? May we not very properly bestow upon such persons that just reproach of our Saviour, Luke xxiv. 25. 'O fools, and slow of heart to believe

all that the prophets have spoken?' But I have good hope and confidence in God, that, Heb. x. 39. 'we are not of them who draw back unto perdition, but of them who believe to the saving of the soul.'

Indeed if it was once or twice only that the thing had succeeded and the event had fallen out agreeably to the prediction, we should not so much wonder, we should not lay such a stress upon it; it might be ascribed to a lucky contingency, or owing to rational conjecture: but that so many things, so very unlikely ever to happen, should be so particularly foretold, and so many ages afterwards so punctually fulfilled, transcends without doubt all the skill and power of man, and must be resolved into the omniscience and omnipotence of God. Nothing certainly can be a stronger proof of a person's acting by divine commission, and speaking by divine inspiration; and it is assigned in scripture as the test and criterion between a true and a false prophet, Deut. xviii. 22. 'When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously;' and in another place, Jer. xxviii. 9. 'The prophet who prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known that the Lord hath truly sent him.' It is so much the peculiar prerogative of God, or of those who are commissioned by him, certainly to foretel future events, that it is made a challenge to all the false gods, Isa. xli. 21, 28. 'Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the king of Jacob; Show the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods.' Lying oracles have been in the world; but all the wit and malice of men and devils cannot produce any such prophecies as are recorded in scripture: and what stronger attestations can you require to the truth and divinity of the doctrine? No man can bring with him more authentic credentials of his coming from God: and the more you shall consider and understand them, the more you will be convinced, that, Rev. xix. 10. 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy.'

If to the prophecies you add the miracles, so salutary and beneficial, so publicly wrought and so credibly attest-

ed, above any other matters of fact whatever, by those who were eyewitnesses of them, and sealed the truth of their testimony with their blood; if to these external confirmations you add likewise the internal excellence of Christianity, the goodness of the doctrine itself, so moral, so perfect, so divine, and the purity and perfection of its motives and sanctions, above any other system of morality or religion in the world; if you seriously consider and compare all these things together, it is almost impossible not to feel conviction and to cry out, as Thomas did after handling our Saviour, John xx. 28. 'My Lord and my God!' This is only one argument out of many, that there must be a divine revelation, if there is any truth in prophecy; and there must be truth in prophecy, as we have shown in several instances, and might show in several more, if there is any dependence upon the testimony of others or upon our own senses, upon what we read in books, or upon what we see in the world. *

Men are sometimes apt to think, that if they could but see a miracle wrought in favour of religion, they would readily resign all their scruples, believe without doubt, and obey without reserve. The very thing that you desire, you have. You have the greatest and most striking of miracles in the series of scripture prophecies accomplished; accomplished, as we see, in the present state of almost all nations, the Africans, the Egyptians, the Arabians, the Turks, the Jews, the Papists, the Protestants, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, the seven churches of Asia, Jerusalem, and Rome. And this is not a transient miracle, ceasing almost as soon as performed; but is permanent, and protracted through the course of many generations. It is not a miracle delivered only upon the report of others, but is subject to your own inspection and examination. It is not a miracle exhibited only before a certain number of witnesses, but is open to the observation and contemplation of all mankind; and after so many ages is still growing, still improving to future ages. What stronger miracle therefore can you require for your conviction? or what will avail if this be found ineffectual? Alas, if you reject the evidence of prophecy, neither would you be persuaded though one should rise from the dead. What can be plainer? You see or may see

with your own eyes the scripture prophecies accomplished: and if the scripture prophecies are accomplished, the scripture must be the word of God; and if the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.

It is hoped therefore that the same address may be applied to you, which St. Paul made to king Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 27, 28. 'Believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest:' and God dispose your heart to answer again Not only 'almost, *but* altogether thou persuadest me to be a Christian!' For your encouragement remember, that Matth. x. 41. 'He who receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet's reward.' Wherefore, 1 Thess. v. 19, &c 'quench not the spirit; despise not prophesying; prove all things, hold fast that which is good. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.' Amen.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

BISHOP NEWTON'S DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

PROPHECIES,

CONTAINING

Extracts from the writings of

OWEN, USHER, BROWN, KNOX, GILL, MORE, &c.

THE SHAKING AND TRANSLATING OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

A

SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE HONOURABLE

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN

PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED,

April 19th, 1649.

BY DR. JOHN OWEN.

HEB. xii. 27.

And this *word*, Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.

Die Veneris, April 20, 1649.

ORDERED by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that Sir William Marsham do give hearty thanks from this House to Mr. Owen, for his great pains in his Sermon preached before the House yesterday, at Margaret's, Westminster; and that he be desired to print his Sermon at large, as he intended to have delivered it, if time had not prevented him, wherein he is to have the like liberty of printing thereof, as others in like kind usually have had.

HEN. SCOBELL, Cler. Parl.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND,

ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

SIRS,

ALL that I shall preface to the ensuing Discourse, is, That seeing the Nation's welfare and your own actings are therein concerned; the welfare of the nation, and your own prosperity in your present actings, being so nearly related as they are to the things of the ensuing Discourse, I should be bold to press you to a serious consideration of them as now presented unto you, were I not assured, by your ready attention unto, and favourable acceptation of their delivery, that being now published by your command, such a request would be altogether needless. The subject matter of this Sermon being of so great weight and importance as it is, it had been very desirable that it had fallen upon an abler hand; as also that more space and leisure had been allotted to the preparing of it, first for so great, judicious, and honourable an audience; and secondly, for public view, than possibly I could beg from my daily troubles, pressures, and temptations, in the midst of a poor, numerous, provoking people. As the Lord hath brought it forth, that it may be useful to your honourable Assembly, and the residue of men that wait for the appearance of the Lord Jesus, shall be the sincere endeavour at the throne of grace, of

Your most unworthy Servant,

In the work of the Lord,

JOHN OWEN.

COLLEGE-HALL,
May 1st, 1649.

A SERMON

PREACHED TO THE

HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On THURSDAY, the 19th of April, 1649.

HEB. xii. 27. *And this* word, *Yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.*

THE main design of the apostle in this *Scripture of the Hebrews*, is, to prevail with his countrymen who had undertaken the profession of the gospel, to abide constant and faithful therein, without any *apostasy* unto, or mixture with *Judaism*, which God and themselves had forsaken; fully manifesting, that in such *backsliders the soul of the Lord hath no pleasure*, Chap. x. 38.

A task, which whoso undertaketh in any age, shall find exceeding weighty and difficult, even to persuade professors to hold out, and continue in the glory of their profession unto the end, Chap. x. 36. Prov. xxii. 13. and xxvi. 13. *that with patience doing the will of God, they might receive the promise*, especially if there be *lions in the way*, if opposition or persecution attend them in their professed subjection to the Lord Jesus.

Of all that deformity and dissimilitude to the Divine nature, which is come upon us by the fall, there is no one *part* more *eminent* or rather no one *defect* more *evident*, than inconstancy and unstableness of mind, in embracing that which is spiritually good. Man being turned from his unchangeable *rest*, seeks to quiet and satiate his soul with restless movings towards changeable things, *Psalm* cxvi. 7.

Now, he who *worketh all our works for us, and in us*, Isa. xxvi. 12. worketh them also *by* us;* and therefore that which he will *give*, he persuades us to *have*, that at once his *bounty* and our *duty* may receive a manifestation in the same thing. Of this nature is *perseverance* in the faith of Christ; which as by him it is promised and thereby is a *grace*, so to us it is prescribed, and therefore is a *duty*, *Petamus ut det, quod ut habeamus jubet:* August. *Let us ask him to bestow, what he requires us to enjoy.* Yea, *Da Domine quod jubes, et jube quod vis:* Give what thou commandest, and command what thou pleasest.

As a *duty*, it is by the Apostle here considered, and therefore pressed on them, who by nature were capable, and by grace enabled for the performance thereof. Pathetical exhortations then unto perseverance in the profession of the gospel, bottomed on prevalent scriptural arguments, and holy reasonings, are the *sum* of this epistle.

The arguments the Apostle handleth unto the end proposed, are of two sorts;

1. *Principal.*

2. *Deductive*, or emergencies from the first.

1. His *principal* arguments are drawn from two chief fountains;

1. The *Author;*

And, 2. The *nature and end of the gospel.*

The *Author* of the gospel is either,

1. *Principal and immediate*, which is God the Father, 'who having at sundry times, and in divers manners, formerly spoken by the prophets, herein speaketh by his Son,' Chap. i. 1.

2. *Concurrent and immediate*; Jesus Christ, this 'great salvation, being begun to be spoken to us by the Lord,' Chap. ii. 3.

This latter he chiefly considereth, as in and by whom the gospel is differenced from all other dispensations of the mind of God.

Concerning him to the end intended, he proposeth, { 1. His *person.* 2. His *employment.*

* 1 Thess. i. 3. 2 Thess. i. 11. Deut. x. 16. chap. xxx. 6. Ezek. xviii. 31. ch. xxxvi. 26. Acts xi. 18.

For his *person*, that thence he may argue to the thing aimed at, he holdeth out,

1. The infinite glory of his *deity*, being the 'brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person,' chap. i. 3.

2. The infinite *condecension of his love*, in assuming *humanity* : For because the 'children where partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself took part of the same,' chap. ii. 14

And from the consideration of both these, he presseth the main exhortations which he hath in hand, as you may see, chap. ii. 1. chap. iii. 12, 13, &c.

The employment of Christ he describeth in his offices, which he handleth,

1. *Positively*, and very briefly, chap. i. 2, 3.

2. *Comparatively*, insisting chiefly on his priesthood, exalting it in sundry weighty particulars, above that of *Aaron*, which yet was the glory of the Jewish worship, and this at large, chap. vi, vii. viii, ix, x.

And this being variously advanced and asserted, he, layeth as the main foundation upon which he placeth the weight and stress of the main end pursued, as in the whole epistle is every where obvious.

II. The second head of principal arguments he taketh from the gospel itself, which, considering as a *covenant*, he holdeth out two ways;

1. *Absolutely*, in its efficacy, in respect of,

1. *Justification :* In it 'God is merciful to unrighteousness and sins and iniquities he remembers no more,' chap. viii. 12. 'Bringing in perfect remission, that there shall need no more offering for sin,' chap. x. 17.

2. *Sanctification :* 'He puts his laws in our hearts, and writes them in our minds,' chap. xvi. in it 'purging our consciences by the blood of Christ,' chap. ix. 14.

3. *Perseverance :* 'I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people,' chap. viii. 10. All three are also held out in sundry other places.

2. *Respectively* to the covenant of works, and in this regard assigns unto it principal qualifications, with

many peculiar eminencies them attending, too many now to be named; Now these are,

1. That it is *new*: He saith 'a New Covenant, and hath made the first old,' chap. viii. 13.

2. *Better*: It is a 'better covenant, and built upon better promises,' chap. viii. 6, 7, 22.

3. *Surer*: The priest there of being ordained, not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life, chap. vii. 16.

4. *Unalterable*: So in all the places before named, and sundry others.

All which are made eminent in its peculiar Mediator, Jesus Christ: which is the sum of chap. vii.

And still in the holding out of these things, that they might not forget the end for which they were now drawn forth, and so exactly handled, he interweaves many pathetical intreaties, and pressing arguments, by way of application, for the confirming and establishing his countrymen in the faith of this glorious gospel, as you may see almost in every chapter.

2. His arguments *less principal*, deduced from the former, being very many, may be referred to these three heads.

1. The *benefits* by them enjoyed under the gospel.

2. The *example* of others, who by faith and patience obtained the promises, chap. vi.

3. From the *dangerous and pernicious consequence* of back-sliding, of which only I shall speak. Now this he setteth out three ways.

1. From the nature of that sin: It is a 'crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and putting him to open shame,' chap. vi. 6. 'a treading under foot the Son of God, counting the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, and doing despite to the Spirit of grace,' chap. x. 29.

2. The irremediless punishment which attends that sin: 'There remains no more sacrifice for it, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation, that shall consume the adversaries,' chap. x. 26, 27.

3. The *person* against whom peculiarly it is committed, and that is he who is the Author, subject, and Mediator of the gospel, the Lord Jesus Christ; concerning

whom, for the aggravation of this sin, he proposeth two things:

1. His *goodness and love*, and that in his great undertaking to be a Saviour, being 'made like *unto* his brethren in all things, that he might be a merciful and faithful high-priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people,' chap. ii. 17. And of *this*, there is a sweet choice line, running through the whole discourse, making the sin of back-sliding against so much love and condescension, appear exceeding sinful.

2. His *greatness or power*, which he sets out two ways:

1. *Absolutely*, as he is God to be blessed for ever, chap. i. and 'it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,' chap. x. 21.

2. *Comparatively*, as he is the Mediator of the new covenant, in reference to *Moses*. And this he setteth forth, as by many and sundry reasonings in other places of the epistle, so by a double testimony in this 12th chapter, making that inference from them both which you have, ver. 25. 'See that you refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him who spake on earth, how much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him who speaketh from heaven.'

Now the first testimony of his power is taken from a *record* of what he did *heretofore*; the other from a *prediction* of what he will do *hereafter*.

The first you have, ver. 26. in the first part of it. 'His voice THEN shook the earth:' *Then*, that is, when the *law* was delivered by him, as it is described, ver. 18, 19, 20. foregoing. When the *mountain*, upon which it was delivered, Exod. xix. 18, 19. the mediator *Moses*, into whose hands it was delivered, and the *people*, for whose use it was delivered, did all shake and tremble, chap. xx. 18. at the voice, power, and presence of Christ; who, as it hence appears, is that *Jehovah* who gave the law, Exod. xx. 2.

The *other*, in the same verse, is taken from a *prediction* out of *Haggai* ii. 16. of what he will do hereafter, even demonstrate and make evident his power beyond whatever he before effected: 'He hath promised, saying,

Yet once more, I shake not the earth only, but also the heavens.'

And if any one shall ask, wherein this effect of the mighty power of the Lord Jesus consisteth, and how from thence professors may be prevailed upon to keep close to the obedience of him in his kingdom? The apostle answers, ver. 27. 'And this word, Yet once more, signifies the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken, may remain.'

And thus am I stepped down upon the words of my text, finding them in the close of the arguments, drawn from the power of Christ, to persuade professors to constancy in the paths of the gospel; and having passed through their coherence, and held out their aim, and tendance, their opening and application comes now to be considered, and herein are these three things:

I. The apostle's *assertion*: 'The things that are shaken shall be removed, as things that are made.'

II. The *proof* of this assertion: 'This word, once more, signifieth' no less.

III. His *inference* from this assertion, thus proved: 'The things that cannot be shaken must remain.'

I. In the first I shall consider,

1. What are the things that are *shaken*.
2. What is their shaking.
3. What their *removal*, being shaken.

For the *first*, there is great variety of judgment amongst interpreters; the foregoing verse tells us, it is not only the earth, but the heaven also; but now what *heaven* and *earth* this should be is dubious, is not apparent. So many different apprehensions of the mind of God in these words, as have any likeness of truth, I must needs recount and remove, that no prejudice may remain from other conceptions, against that which from them we shall assert.

(1.) The *earth* (say some) is the men of the earth, living thereon; and the *heavens* are the angels, their blessed inhabitants; both shaken or stricken with amazement, upon the nativity of Christ, and preaching of the gospel. The *heavens* were shaken, when so great things were

accomplished, as that the 'angels themselves desired to look into them,' 1 Pet. i. 12. And the *earth* was filled with amazement when the Holy Ghost being poured out upon the apostles for the preaching of the gospel, men of every nation under heaven were amazed, and marvelled at it, Acts ii. 5, 6, 7. Thus *Rollocus*, *Piscator*, and sundry other famous divines. But,

1. The shaking here intimated by the apostle was, then, when he wrote under the promise not actually accomplished, as were the things by them recounted; for he holds it forth as an issue of that great power of Christ, which he would one day exercise for the farther establishment of his kingdom.

2. This that now is to be done, must excel that which formerly was done at the giving of the law, as is clearly intimated in the inference, 'then he shook the earth, but now the heavens also.' It is a gradation to an higher demonstration of the power of Christ, which that the things of this interpretation are, is not apparent.

3. It is marvellous these learned men observed not, that the 'heavens and the earth shaken,' ver. 26. are the things to be 'removed,' ver. 27. Now, how are angels and men removed by Christ? are they not rather gathered up into one spiritual body and communion? Hence, ver. 27. they interpret the *shaken things to be Judaical ceremonies*, which, ver. 26. they had said to be *men and angels*.

(2.) Others, by *heaven and earth*, understand the material parts of the world's fabric, commonly so called; and by their shaking, those portentous signs and prodigies, with earthquakes, which appeared in them at the birth and death of the Lord *Jesus*. A new star, preternatural darkness, shaking of the earth, opening of graves, rending of rocks, and the like, are to them, this shaking of heaven and earth, Matt. ii. 2. and xxvii. 45. Luke xxiii. 44, 45. Matth. xxvii. 51, 52. So *Junius*, and after him most of ours.

But this interpretation is obnoxious to the same exceptions with the former, and also others: For,

1. These things being past before, how can they be held out under a promise?

2. How are these *shaken* things *removed*, which with their shaking they must certainly be, as in my text?

3. This shaking of heaven and earth, is ascribed to the power of Christ as Mediator, whereunto these signs and prodigies cannot rationally be assigned; but rather to the sovereignty of the Father, bearing witness to the nativity and death of his son: So that neither can this conception be fastened on the words.

(3.) The fabric of heaven and earth, is by others also intended, not in respect of the signs and prodigies formerly wrought in them; but of that dissolution, or as they suppose, 'alteration which they shall receive at the last day.' So *Paræus*, *Grotius*, and many more. Now, though these avoid the rock of holding out as accomplished, what is only promised, yet this gloss also is a disfiguring the mind of God in the text: For,

1. The things here said to be 'shaken,' do stand in a plain opposition to the things that 'cannot be shaken *nor* removed,' and therefore they are to be removed, that these may be brought in. Now the things to be brought in are the things of the 'kingdom of the Lord Jesus.' What opposition, I pray, do the material fabric of heaven and earth stand in to the kingdom of the Lord Jesus? doubtless, none at all, being the proper seat of that kingdom.

2. There will, on this ground, be no bringing in of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, until indeed that kingdom, in the sense here insisted on, is to cease; that is, after the day of judgment, when the kingdom of grace shall have place no more.

These are the most material and likely mistakes about the words. I could easily give out, and pluck in again, three or four other warping senses; but I hope few, in these days of *accomplishing*, will once stumble at them. The true mind of the Spirit, by the help of that Spirit of truth, comes next to be unfolded: and first, what are the things that are shaken?

1. As the apostle here applies a part of the prophecy of *Haggai*, so that prophecy, even in the next words, gives light unto the meaning of the apostle. Look what *heaven* and *earth*, the prophet speaks of; of those, and no other, speaks the apostle. The Spirit of God, in the scripture, is his own best interpreter. See then the order

of the words, as they lie in the prophet; Haggai ii. 6 7. 'I will shake heaven and earth: I will shake all nations.' God then shakes 'heaven and earth,' when he shakes 'all nations;' that is, he shakes the 'heaven and earth of the nations. I will shake heaven and earth, and I will shake all nations,' is a pleonasm; for, 'I will shake the heaven and earth of all nations.' These are the things shaken in my text.

The 'heavens of the nations,' what are they? even their *political* heights and glory, those forms of government which they have framed for themselves and their own interest; with the grandeur and lustre of their dominions.

The *nations earth* is the multitudes of their people, their strength and power, whereby their *heavens* or political heights, are supported

It is then neither the material heavens and earth, nor yet Mosaical ordinances, but the political heights and splendour, the popular multitudes and strength of the nations of the earth, that are thus to be shaken, as shall be proved.

That the earth, in prophetical descriptions or predictions of things, is frequently, yea, almost always taken for the people and multitudes of the earth, needs not much proving: One or two instances shall suffice: Rev. xii. 16. 'The earth helped the woman against the flood of the dragon:' which that it was the multitudes of earthly people none doubts. Psal. lxviii. 8. Heb. ii. 20. Mat. xxiv. 7. 1 Sam. xiv. 25. That an earthquake, or shaking of the earth, are popular commotions, is no less evident from Rev. xi. 13. where, by an earthquake, great Babylon receives a fatal blow.

And for the *heavens*, whether they be the political heights of the nations, or the grandeur of potentates, let the scripture be judge; I mean when used in this sense of shaking, or establishment.

Isa. li. 15, 16. 'I am the Lord thy God, who divided the sea, whose waves roared: The Lord of hosts is my name. And I have put my words in thy mouth, and have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Sion, thou art my people.'

By a repetition of what he hath done, he establisheth his people in expectation of what he will do. And,

1. He minds them of that wonderful deliverance from an army behind them, and an ocean before them, by his miraculously preparing dry paths for them in the deep: 'I am the Lord who divided the sea, whose waves roared.'

2. Of his graciously acquainting them with his mind, his law, and ordinances, at Horeb: 'I have (saith he) put my words in thy mouth.'

3. Of that favourable and singular protection afforded them in the wilderness, when they were encompassed with enemies round about: 'I covered thee in the shadow of mine hand.'

Now, to what end was all this? Why, saith he, that 'I might plant the heavens and lay the foundation of the earth?' What! of these material visible heavens and earth? 2460 years before at least were they planted and established: It is all but making of 'Zion a people,' which before was scattered in distinct families. And how is this done? Why the heavens are planted, or a glorious frame of government and polity is erected amongst them, and the multitudes of their people are disposed into an orderly commonwealth, to be a firm foundation and bottom for the government amongst them. This is the heavens and earth of the nations which is to be shaken in my text.

Isa. xxxiv. 4. 'All the hosts of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and all their hosts shall fall down, as a leaf falleth from the vine.' Now these dissolved, rolled *heavens*, are no other but the power and heights of the opposing nations, their government and tyranny, especially that of Idumea, as both the foregoing and following verses do declare.—'The indignation of the Lord (saith he) is upon the nations, and his fury upon their armies, he hath delivered them to the slaughter, their slain, &c.

Jer. iv. 23, 24, 25. 'I beheld the earth, and lo, it was without form and void; and the heavens, and they had no light. I beheld the mountains, and lo, they trembled, and all the hills moved lightly.' Here is 'heaven and earth shaken;' and all in the raising the political state

and commonwealth of the Jews by the Babylonians, as is at large described in the verses following:

Ezek. xxxii. 7. 'I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark: I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light: and all the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God.' Behold, 'heaven and earth, sun, moon, and stars, all' shaken and confounded in the destruction of Egypt; the thing the prophet treats of, their kingdom and nation being to be ruined.

Not to hold you too long upon what is so plain and evident, you may take it for a rule, that in the denunciations of the judgments of God, through all the prophets, *heavens*, *sun*, *moon*, *stars*, and the like appearing beauties and glories of the aspectable heavens, are taken for governments, governors, dominions in political states, as Isa. xiv. 12, 13, 14, 15. Jer. xv. 9. chap. li. 25. Isa. xiii. 13. Psal. lxviii. 8. Joel ii. 10. Rev. viii. 12. Matt. xxiv. 29. Luke xxi. 25. Isa. lx. 20. Obad. 4. Rev. viii. 13. chap. xi. 12. chap. xx. 11.

Furthermore, to confirm this exposition, St. John, in the Revelation, holds constantly to the same manner of expression: heaven and earth in that book, are commonly those which we have described. In particular, this is eminently apparent, chap. vi. 12, 13, 14, 15, verses, 'And I beheld, and when he had opened the sixth seal there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood. And the stars of heaven fell unto the earth: and the heaven departed, as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places,' &c.

The destruction and wasting of the Pagan Romish state, the plagues and commotions of her people, the dethroning her idol-worship, and destruction of persecuting emperors and captains, with the transition of power and sovereignty, from one sort to another, is here held out under this grandeur of words,* being part of the shaking of 'heaven and' earth in my text.

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 9. c. 1. 10. Lib. 8. cap. 27. De vita Constan. Lib. 1. cap. 50, 51, 52.

And lastly hereunto, that the promises of the restoration of God's people into a glorious condition, after all their sufferings, is perpetually in the scripture, held out under the same terms; and you have a plentiful demonstration of this point.

Isa. lxv. 17. 'Behold! I create new heavens, and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind,' ver. 18. 'Be you glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create,' &c. See Isa. lxvi. 22, 23, 24.

2 Pet. iii. 13. 'Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

Rev. xxi. 1. 'I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea.' The heaven and earth is restored; but the sea, that shall be no more.

Those gatherings together of many waters, Gen. i. 10. rivers from all places, or pretended clergymen from all nations, into general councils, which were the *sea* or *many waters*, on which the whore sat, Rev. xvii. 1. shall have no place at all in the church's restored condition.

I hope it is now fully cleared, what is meant by the things that are shaken; even the political heights, the splendour and strength of the nations of the earth. The foundation of the whole is laid, and our heap (or building, if your favour so accept it) will go on a pace; for to the analogy hereof shall the residue of the words be interpreted.

Part II.] The second thing considerable is, what is the *shaking* of these things? To this the answer is now made brief and facile. Such as are the *things shaken*, such must their shaking be; spiritual, if spiritual; natural, if natural; civil, if civil. Now, they being declared and proved to be civil things, such also is their shaking; Matth. xxiv. 6, 7. Jer. iv. 19. Isa. ix. 5. Now, what is a civil shaking of civil constitutions? How are such things done in the world? What are these earthquakes? Truly the accomplishment hereof is in all nations so under our eyes as that I need not speak one word thereunto.

Part III.] Neither shall I insist upon the third inquiry,

viz. *when this shaking* shall be: The text is plain, that it must be previous to the bringing in of those things that cannot be moved; that is the prosperous estate of the kingdom of Christ. Only we may observe, that besides other *shakings* in particular nations of less general concernment and importance, this prophecy hath, and shall receive a two-fold eminent accomplishment with reference unto a two-fold eminent opposition, which the kingdom of Christ hath met with in the world.

First from the *Pagan Roman state*, which, at the gospel's first entrance, held in subjection most of the chief provinces of the then known world. What were the bloody endeavours of the *heaven* and *earth* of that state for the suppression thereof is known to our children.—The issue of the whole, in the accomplishment of this promise, 'shaking those heavens and earth' to pieces, I before pointed at, from Rev. vi. 12, 13, 14, 15. beginning in the plagues of the persecuting emperors, and ending in the ruin of the empire itself. But,

2. The *immovable things* were not yet in their glory to be brought in; more seed of blood must be sown, that the end of the gospel's year may yield a plentiful harvest. That *shaking* was only for vengeance upon an old, cursed, and not for the bringing in of a new, blessed state. The *vials* of God's wrath having crumbled the heavens and earth of *Pagan Rome* into several pieces; and that empire being removed, as to its old form, by the craft of Satan, it became moulded up again into a papal sovereignty, to exercise *all the power of the first beast* in persecution of the Saints, Rev. xiii. 12. This second pressure, though long and sore, must have an end; the new moulded *heaven* and *earth* of *papal* antichristian *Rome*, running by a mysterious thread through all the nations of the west, must be shaken also, Rev. xviii. 2. Isa. xl. 12. Psal. ii. 6. which, when it is accomplished, there shall be no more sea. There is not another beast to arise, nor another state to be formed; let endeavours be what they will, The Lord Jesus shall reign. And this for the opening of the first general head.

II. *General head.*] 2dly, What is the *removal of heaven and earth, being shaken?* The word here translated *removal*, is *Metathesis*. Whence that it come to pass,

I dare not positively say. This, doubtless, is a common fault among translators, that they will accommodate the words of a text to their own apprehension of the sense and matter thereof. Understanding, as I suppose, that the things here said to be shaken, were the Jewish ordinances, they translated their disposition, a *removal:* Heb. xi. 6. Jude 4. Gal. i. 6. Heb. vi. 18. vii. 12. as the truth is, they were removed: But the word signifies no such thing. As its natural importance, from its rise and composition is otherwise, so neither in the scripture, nor any profane author, doth it ever signify properly a *removal: translation*, or changing, is the only native, genuine import of it; and why it should, in this place, be haled out of its own sphere, and tortured into a new signification, I know not: *removal* is of the matter, *translation* of the form only. It is not then a destruction and total emotion of the great things of the nations, but a change, translation, and a new moulding of them, that is here intimated. *They shall be shuffled together almost into their primitive confusion, and come out new moulded, for the interest of the Lord Jesus.* All the present states of the world are cemented together by antichristian lime, as I shall show afterwards. Unless they be so shaken as to have every cranny searched and brushed, they will be no quiet habitation for the Lord Christ and his people. This then is the *Metathesis* of the heaven and earth of of the nations.

Now this is evident, from that full prediction which you have of the accomplishment hereof, Rev. xvii. 12, 13, and 16.

Ver. 12. The *kingdoms* of the west receive *power at one hour with the beast.*

Ver. 13. In their constitution and government at first received *they give their power to the beast, and fight against the Lamb.*

Ver. 14. The *Lamb, with his faithful and chosen ones, overcomes them.* There their *heaven* and *earth* is shaken.

Ver. 16. Their power is translated, new moulded, and becomes *a power against the beast, in the land of Jesus Christ.*

This then is the 'shaking' and 'removal' in my text;

which is said to be 'as of things that are made;' that is, by men, through the concurrence of Divine Providence, for a season: (which making you have, Rev. xvii. 12. and 17.) not like the kingdom of Christ, which being of a purely divine constitution, shall by no human power receive an end.

The other parts of the text follow briefly.

II. The next thing is, the apostle's proof of this assertion. And he tells you, this word once more, the beginning of this sentence he urged from the prophet, signifies no less. The words in the prophet are *gnod ahhath megnat hi* 'yet once, it is a little;' *megnat hi*, 'it is a little,' is left out by the apostle, as not conducing to the business in hand; *eti hapax*, (as he rendereth *gnod ahhath*) is a sufficient demonstration of the assertion. In themselves they hold out a commutation of things; and, as they stand in conjunction in that place of the prophet, declaring that that *shaking* and commutation must be for the bringing in of the kingdom of the Lord Christ. In brief being interpreted by the same Spirit whereby they were indited, we know the exposition is true.

III. The last *head* remaineth under two particulars.

1. *What are the things that cannot be shaken.*

2. *What is there remaining.*

For the first, the 'things that cannot be shaken,' ver. 24. are called a 'kingdom that cannot be removed,' ver. 28. A kingdom subject to none of those shakings and alterations which other dominions have been tossed to and fro withal; Psal. ii. 6. Psal. cx. 2. Acts ii. 36. Rev. i. 18. 1 Cor. xv. 24, 25, 26, 27. Daniel calls it, 'A not giving of the kingdom to another people,' Dan. ii. 44. Not that œcumenical kingdom which he hath with his Father, as King of nations, but that œconomical kingdom which he hath by dispensation from his Father as King of saints. Now this may be considered two ways:

1. As purely internal and spiritual, which is the rule of his Spirit in the hearts of all his saints, Luke vi. 20. Mark xii. 34, &c. This cometh not with observation, it is within us, Luke xvii. 20, 21. consisting in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, Rom. xiv. 17.

1. As external, and appearing in gospel administrations. So is Christ described as a King in the midst of their

kingdoms, Rev. i. 14, 15, 16, 17. As also, chap iv. and chap. xi. 15. and both these may be again considered two ways:

1. In respect of their essence and being: and so they have been, are, and shall be, continued in all ages: 'He hath built his Church upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' Matth. xvi. 18.

2. In reference to their extent in respect of subjects, with their visible glorious appearance, which is under innumerable promises, to be very great in the latter. 'For it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it,' Isa. ii. 4.

These then are the things which cannot be shaken, which we may reduce to three heads.

The Growth of righteousness, peace, and joy, in the saints being filled with light and love, from the special presence of Christ, with a wonderful increase of the number of them, multitudes of the elect being to be born in those days; the residue of the Jews and fulness of the Gentiles meeting in one fold, and there dwelleth righteousness, 2 Pet. iii. 13.

3. The administration of gospel ordinances, in power and purity, according to the appointment, and unto the acceptation of the Lord Jesus. 'The temple of God and the altar being measured anew? the outward court, defiled with Gentile worship, is left out,' Rev. xi. 1, 2.

4. The glorious and visible manifestation of those administrations, in the eyes of all the world, in peace and quietness, 'None making afraid, or hurting in the whole mountain of the Lord,' Isa. lxv. 25.

For the personal reign of the Lord Jesus on earth, Acts iii. 21. I leave it to them, with whose discoveries I am not, and curiosities I would not be acquainted.

But as for such, who from hence do (or for sinister ends pretend to) fancy to themselves a terrene kingly state, unto each private particular saint, so making it a bottom *vivendi ut velis*, for every one to do that which is good in his own eyes, to the disturbance of all order and authority civil and spiritual, as they expressly clash against innumerable promises, so they directly introduce such

confusion and disorder, as the soul of the Lord Jesus doth exceedingly abhor.

It is only the three things named, with their necessary dependencies, that I do assert.

And lastly, of these it is said, they must remain; that is, continue, and be firmly established, as the word is often used, Rom. ix. 11.

The words of the text being unfolded, and the mind of the Holy Ghost in them discovered, I shall from them commend to your Christian consideration this following position:

Obs.] *The Lord Jesus Christ, by his mighty power, in these latter days, as antichristian tyranny draws to its period, will so far* SHAKE *and* TRANSLATE *the* POLITICAL HEIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS, *and* STRENGTH *of the* NATIONS, *as shall serve for the full bringing in of his own peaceable kingdom; the nations so shaken becoming thereby a quiet habitation for the people of the most High.*

Though the doctrine be clear from the text, yet it shall receive farther scriptural confirmation, being of great weight and concernment.

Dan. ii. 44. 'And in the days of THESE KINGS, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.'

That this is affirmed of the kingdom of Christ, under the Gospel, none ever doubted.

Three things are here remarkably intimated of it.

1. The *time* wherein it shall most eminently be established; and that is, in the days of these kings of which *Daniel* was speaking.

2. The *efficacy* of its being set up; 'it shall break in pieces all these kingdoms.'

3. Its own *stability*, 'it shall never be destroyed.'

For the first, there is great debate, about the principal season of the accomplishing of this prediction; much hesitation who these kings are, in whose days the kingdom of Christ is eminently to be established. In the days when the two legs of the *Roman* empire, shall be divided into ten kingdoms, and those kingdoms have op-

posed themselves to the power of Christ; that is, in the days wherein we live, say some. Yea, most of the ancients took this for the *Roman* empire; and to these, the bringing in of the kingdom of Christ, is the establishment of it in these days: Others understand the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* branches of the *Grecian* monarchy, and the bringing in of Christ's kingdom, to be in his birth, death, and preaching of the gospel, wherein certainly the foundations of it were laid: I will not contend with any mortal hereabouts: Only I shall oppose one or two things to this latter interpretation: As,

1. The kingdom of *Syria* was totally destroyed, and reduced into a *Roman* province sixty years before the nativity of Christ, and the *Egyptian* thirty: So that it is impossible that the Kingdom of Christ, by his birth, should be set up in their days.

2. It is ascribed to the efficacy of this kingdom, that being established, it shall break in pieces all those kingdoms. Which how can it be, when, at the first setting of it up, they had neither place nor name, nor scarce remembrance.

So that it must needs be the declining, divided *Roman empire*, shared amongst sundry nations, that is here intimated; and so consequently the kingdom of Christ is to be established, is that glorious administration thereof which in these days, he will bring in.

Be it so, or otherwise, this from hence cannot be denied, that the kingdom of Christ will assuredly shake and translate all opposing dominions, until itself be established in and over them all, *hoper edei deiknynai*, which is all I intend to prove from this place The ten-partite empire of the west, must give place to the stone cut out of the mountain, without hands.

Dan. vii. 27. 'The kingdom, and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.' Hitherto is the end of the matter.

Either Antichrist is described in the close of this chapter, or one very like him, St. John painting him in the Revelation with all this man's colours; plainly intimat-

ing, that though, in the first place, that mad raging tyrant, *Antiochus the illustrious*, was pointed at, yet that another was to rise in his likeness, with his craft and cruelty, that with the assistance of the ten horns, should plague the saints of the Christians, no less than the other had done those of the Jews. Now, what shall be the issue thereof? ver 26. 'His dominion,' with his adherents, 'shall be taken away and consumed:' And then shall it be given to the people of the Most High, as before: Or they shall enjoy the kingdom of Christ in a peaceable manner; their officers being made peace, and their exactors righteousness.

It is clearly evident, from these and other places in that prophecy, that he who is the only potentate will sooner or later, shake all the *monarchies* of the earth, where he will have his name known, that all nations may be suited to the interest of his kingdom, which alone is to endure.

Isa. lx. in many places, indeed throughout, holds out the same.

Ver. 12. 'The nation and the kingdom which will not serve thee, shall be broken to pieces:' That is, all the nations of the earth; not a *known nation*, but the blood of the saints of Christ is found in the skirts thereof. Now, what shall be the issue when they are so broken?

Ver. 17, 18. 'I will make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness: Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders: but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise.'

See at your leisure, to this purpose, Amos ix. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Jer. xxxi. 23, 24, 25. Isa. xxxiii. 21, 22, 23, 24.

I shall only add that punctual description, which you have of this whole matter, as Daniel calls it, in the Revelation, with respect unto its accomplishment, chap. xvii. The Roman harlot having procured the ten kings, or kingdoms, into which the last head of the Roman empire sprouted, about the year 450, by the inundation of the northern nations to join with her, they together make war against the Lamb, ver. 12, 13, 14.

Ver. 12. 'The ten horns which thou sawest' (upon the last head of the great beast, the Roman monarchy) are 'ten kings which have received no kingdoms as yet,'

(to wit, when John saw the vision) 'but receive power as kings one hour with the beast.' (About 400 years after this, the pope ascended to his sovereignty, and these western nations grew into distinct dominions about the same time.)

Ver. 13. 'These have one mind,' (that is, as to the business in hand, for otherwise they did and do vex one another with perpetual broils and wars) 'and shall give their power and strength to the beast (or swear to defend the rights of holy church, which is no other than Babylon,) and act accordingly.

Ver. 14. 'These make war with the Lamb,' (having sworn and undertaken the defence of holy church, or Babylon, they persecuted the poor heretics with fire and sword;) that is, the witnesses of the Lamb, and in them the Lamb himself, (striving to keep his kingdom out of the world) 'and the Lamb shall overcome them,' shaking and translating them into a new mould and frame; For he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him' (whose help and endeavours he will use) 'are called, and chosen, and faithful.'

Ver. 16. 'The ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast,' (being now shaken, changed, and translated in mind, interest, and perhaps government,) 'these hate the whore, and shall make her desolate,' (are instrumental in the hand of Christ, for the ruin of that antichristian state, which before they served) 'and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.'

Hence, chap. xviii. 2. Babylon, and that whole antichristian state which was supported upon their power and greatness, having lost its props, comes toppling down to the ground: 'Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen,' ver. 2. and the saints take vengeance on the whore, for all her former rage and cruelty. 'Double unto her double, according to her works,' ver. 6.

Ver. 9. "*And the kings of the earth*, (being some of them shaken out of their dominion, for refusing to close with the Lamb) *who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her*, (learning and practising false worship of her institution) *shall bewail her, and lament for her*, (as having received succour from her, her monasteries, and shavelings, in their distress, whereunto indeed

they were brought for her sake) *when they shall see the smoke of her burning*, (beholding her darkness, stink, and confusion, in her final desolation.)

"Now, all this shall be transacted with so much obscurity and darkness, Christ not openly appearing to carnal eyes, that though "many shall be purified and made white, yet the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." Dan. xii. 10. There shall be no such demonstration of the presence of Christ, as to open the eyes of hardened men: but at length, having suffered the poor deceived wretches to drink of the cup prepared for them, he appears himself gloriously, chap. xix. 13. in a more eminent manner than ever before, to the total destruction of the residue of opposers. And that this will be the utmost close of that dispensation wherein now he walketh, I no way doubt."

The assertion being cleared and proved, the reasons of it come next to be considered: and the first is, that

Reas. 1.] * It shall be done by the way of recompense and vengeance. 'It is the great day of the wrath of the Lamb,' Rev vi. 17. 'The land shall be SOAKED WITH BLOOD, and the dust made fat with fatness; for it is the day of the Lord's vengeance, and the year of recompense for the controversy of Zion,' Isa. xxxiv. 7, 8. 'The day of vengeance is in his heart, when the year of his redeemed is come,' Isa. lxiii. 4.

"The kings of the earth have given their power to antichrist, endeavouring to the utmost to keep the kingdom of Christ out of the world. What, I pray, hath been their main business for 700 years and upwards, even almost ever since the man of sin was enthroned? How have they earned the titles, *eldest son of the church; the catholic and most Christian king; defender of the faith*, and the like? Hath it not been by the blood of saints? Is there not in every one of these kingdoms, the slain, and the banished ones of Christ to answer for? In particular,

* Psal. ii. 4, 5. Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9. Isa. xlvii. 1, 2, 3. xlix. 26. Jer. l. 33, 34. li. 24, 25, 34, 35. Zech. xii. 2, 3, 4. xiv. 12. Rev. xviii. 6, &c.

"Hath not the blood of the saints of Jesus, (eclipsed by antichrist and his adherents) *Wickliffs* and *Lollards*, cried from the ground for vengeance upon the *English heaven and earth*, for a long season? Did not their bodies lie in the streets of *France* under the names of *Waldenses*, *Albigenses*, and poor men of *Lyons?* Hath not *Germany*, and the annexed territories, her *Husse* and *Hussile*, *Hierom*, and *Subutraguians* to answer for? Is not *Spain's Inquisition* enough to ruin a world, much more a kind? Have not all these, and all the kingdoms round about, washed their hands and garments in the blood of thousands of protestants? And do not the kings of all these nations as yet stand up in the room of their progenitors, with the same implacable enmity to the power of the gospel? Show me seven kings that ever yet laboured sincerely to exhance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, and I dare boldly say, *Octavus quis fuerit nondum constat.* And is there not a cry for all this, *How long, Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that live on the earth?* Rev. vi. 10. Doth not *Sion cry, The violence done to me and my flesh be upon Babylon, and my blood upon those heavens of the* nations? And *will not the Lord avenge his elect that cry unto him day and night? will he not do it speedily, will he not call the* FOWLS OF HEAVEN *to eat the flesh of* KINGS *and* CAPTAINS, *and great men of the earth?* Rev. xix. 18. Will he not make these *heavens* like the *wood of the vine*, not a *pin* to be taken off them to hang a garment on, in his whole tabernacle?"

The time shall come wherein the *earth* shall disclose her slain, and not the simplest *heretic*, as they were counted, shall have his blood unrevenged: neither shall any atonement be made for this blood, or expiation be allowed, whilst a toe of the image, or a bone of the beast is left unbroken.

Reas. 2.] That by his own wisdom he may frame such a power as may best conduce to the carrying on of his own kingdom among the sons of men.*

* Psalm ii. 9, 10, 11, 12. Rev. xvii. 14. Matt. xviii. 20. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13. 1 Tim. vi. 3, 14. Psal. xlv. 16. Isa. xlix. 7, 23.

He hath promised his Church, that he will give unto it *Holy Priests and Levites*, Isa. lxvi. 20, 21, which shall serve at the 'great feast of tabernacles,' Zech. xiv. 16. A sufficient demonstration that he will dwell still in his churches by his ordinances, whatsoever some conceive; So also, 'that he will make her civil officers peace and her exactors righteousness,' Isa. lx. 17, 18. They shall be so established, that the nations, as nations, may serve it; and the 'kingdoms of the world, shall become the kingdoms of our Lord,' Rev. xi. 15.

For the present, the government of the nations, (as many of them as are concerned therein) is purely framed for the interest of Antichrist. No king or government in *Europe*, or line of governors so ancient, but that the beast is as old as they, and had a great influence into their CONSTITUTION or ESTABLISHMENT, to provide that it might be for his own interest.

I believe it will be found a difficult task, to name any of the kingdoms of *Europe*, (excepting only that remotest northward) in the setting up and establishment whereof, either as to persons or government, the Pope hath not expressly bargained for his own interest, and provided that that should have the chiefest place in all the oaths and bonds that were between princes and people.

Bellarmine, to prove that the Pope hath a temporal power indirectly over all kings and nations, (if he mean by indirectly, gotten by indirect means, it is actually true, as to too many of them) gives sundry instances in most of the most eminent nations in *Europe*, how he hath actually exercised such a power for his own interest.

There have been two most famous and remarkable changes of the government of these nations, and into both of them what an influence the Pope had is easily discernible.

The first was between the years 400 and 500 after Christ, 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7. when the *Roman* empire of the west, that which with-held the 'man of sin' from acting his part to the life, was shivered to pieces by many barbarous nations, Dan. ii. 41. who settling themselves in the fruitful soils of Europe, began to plant their *heavens and lay the foundations of their earth*, growing up into civil

states; for the most part appointing them to be their kings in peace, who had been their leaders in war.

This furious inundation settled the *Franches* in *Gall*, the *Saxons* in *England*, the *West Goths* in *Spain*, the *East Goths* and *Longobards* into *Italy*, and set up the *Almans* in *Germany*; from some whereof, though for divers years the papal world was exceedingly tormented, and *Rome* itself sacked; yet in the close and making up of their governments, changing their manners and religion, they all submitted to the usurpation of the man of sin, Rev. xvii. 13. So that in all their windings up, there was a salve for him and his authority.

The second great alteration took up a long space, and was in action about 300 years, reckoning it from the translation of the *French* crown, from *Childerec* the IVth. unto *Pepin* and his son *Charles*, by papal authority, unto the conquest of *England* by the *Normans*; in which space, the line of *Charles* in *France* was again, by the same authority, and the power of *Hugh Capet*, cut off; no state in *Europe*, the choice patrimony of the beast, that did not receive a signal alteration in this space; nor was there any alteration, but that the Pope had a hand in every one of them; and, either by pretended collations of right, to pacify the consciences of blood-thirsty potentates, in the undertaking and pursuing their unjust conquests, or foolish *mitred confirmations* of *sword purchases*, he got them all framed to his own end and purpose, which was to bring all these nations into subjection to his Babylonish usurpations; which their kings finding no way inconsistent with their own designs, did willingly promote, labouring to enforce all consciences into subjection to the *Roman see*.

Hence it is, as I observed before, that such an interposition was made of the rights of Holy Church; that is, *Babylon*, the mother of fornications, Rev. xiii. 15, 16. in all the ties, oaths, and bonds between princes and people. And for the advancement of the righteous judgments of God, that the sons of men may learn to fear and tremble before him. It may be observed, that that which doth and shall stick upon potentates to their ruin, is not so much their own or any other interest, as the very dregs of the papal antichristian interest, thrust into their oaths

and obligations, for no end in the world, but to keep the Lord Jesus out of his throne, 2 Thess. ii. 11.

This is a second reason, why the Lord Jesus, by his mighty power, at the bringing in of his immoveable kingdom, 'will shake the heavens and the earth of the nations;' even because, in their present constitution, they are directly framed to the interest of antichrist, which, by notable advantages at their first moulding, and continued insinuations ever since, hath so rivetted itself into the very fundamentals of them, that no digging or mining with an *earthquake*, will cast up the foundation stones thereof. The Lord Jesus then having promised the service of the nations to his church, will so far open their whole frame to the roots, as to pluck out all the cursed seeds of the 'mystery of iniquity,' which, by the craft of Satan, and exigencies of state, or methods of advancing the pride and power of some sons of blood, have been sown among them.

Reas. 3.] Because as is their interest, so is their acting: The present power of the nations stands in direct opposition to the bringing in of the kingdom of Christ. Two things there are which confessedly are incumbent on him in this day of his advancement.

1. The bringing home of his ancient people, to be one fold with the fulness of the Gentiles; raising up the tabernacle of David, and building it as in the days of old, John x. 16. Isa. xxxvii. 31. Jer. xxx. 9. Ezek. xxxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24, 25. Hos. iii. 5. Amos ix. 11. in the accomplishment of innumerable promises, and answer to millions of prayers put up at the throne of grace, for this very glory in all generations. Now there be two main hindrances of this work, that must be removed: The first whereof is,

1. *Real*: The *Great River Euphrates*, the strength and fulness of whose streams doth yet rage so high that there is no passage for the kings of the east to come over, Exod. xiv. 21, 22. Josh. iii. 15, 16. Hab. iii. 8. wherefore this must be dried up as other waters were for their forefathers in days of old, Rev. xvi. 12. Doubtless this is spoken in allusion to *Abraham's* coming over that river into *Canaan*, when the church of God in his family was there to be erected; whence he was called the *Hebrew*;

that is, the passenger, to wit, over that river, Gen. xiv. 13. and then it may well enough denote the *Turkish* power, which, proud as it is at this day, possessing in peace all those regions, of the East, yet God can quickly make it wither and be dried up: Or, to the deliverance of the Jews from *Babylon*, when it was taken and destroyed by the drying up of the streams of that river, and so the yoke of her tyranny broken from the church's neck, Jer. li. 31, 32. and so it can be no other but the power of the Romish *Babylon*, supported by the kings of the nations, which must therefore be shaken and dried up.

2. *Moral*, or the idolatry of the Gentile worshippers. The *Jews* stick hard as yet at this, that God should abolish any kind of worship which himself had once instituted, Rev. ix. 2. but that he should ever accept any false worship, which he had once strictly prohibited, and no where to this day appointed, to this they will never be reconciled. Now, such is all the invented idolatrous worship which the kings of the earth have sucked in, from the cup of fornication held out to them in the hand, and by the authority of the *Roman whore*; this still they cleave close unto, and will not hearken 'to the angel preaching the everlasting gospel, that men should worship him who made the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters,' Rev. xiii. 6, 7. that is, the God of heaven in Jesus Christ in opposition to their *Iconolatry*, *Artolatry*, *Hagiolatry*, *Staurolatry and Mass-abominations*. This then must also be removed; and because, as you saw before, it is so rivetted and cemented into, and with all the orbs of the nations *heaven and earth*, they must be shaken, and brought *metathesis*, before it can be effected,

2. The second thing he hath to accomplish is, the tremendous total destruction of *Babylon*, Psal cxxxvii. 8, 9. Isa. xlvii. 7, 8, 9. the man of sin and all his adherents, that are not obedient to the heavenly call, Rev. xviii. 4. Jer. li. 25, 26. Rev. xvii. 1. 2. Zech. ii. 7. Jer. li. 6. Judges xvi. 28, 29. Now, as *Sampson*, intending the destruction of the princes, lords, and residue of the *Philistines*, who were gathered together in their idol temple, he effected it by pulling away the pillars whereby the building was supported, whereupon the whole frame toppled to the

ground: So the Lord, intending the ruin of that mighty power, whose top seems to reach to heaven, will do it by pulling away the pillars and supporters of it; after which it cannot stand one moment. Now, what are the pillars of that fatal building? Are they not the powers of the world, as at present stated and framed? pull them away, and alas! what is antichrist? it is the glory of the kings put upon her, that makes men's eyes to dazzle on the *Roman harlot*. Otherwise she is but like the *Egyptian* deities, whose silly worshippers, through many glorious portals and frontispieces were led to adore the image of an ugly ape.

Add hereunto, that in this mighty work, the Lord Jesus Christ will make use of the power of the nations, the horns of them; that is, their strength, Rev. xvii. 16. they must hate the whore and make her desolate and naked, and eat her flesh and burn her with fire. Now, whether this can be accomplished or no in their present posture, is easily discernible. Doth not the papal interest lie at the bottom of all for the most ruling lines of *Christendom?* Can that be ejected, without unbottoming their own dominion? do they not use the efficacy of the *Roman jurisdiction*; to balance the powers of their adversaries abroad, and to awe their subjects at home? Hath not the Pope a considerable strength in every one of their own bosoms? Are not the locusts of their religious orders all sworn slaves to him for number sufficient to make an army to fight the greatest emperor in the world? Are not most potentates tied by oath, or other compact, to maintain either the whole, or some part of the old tower, under the name of rights of holy church, prelates, and the like? And can any expect that such as these should take up the despised quarrel of the saints, against that flourishing Queen? doubtless, no such fruit will grow on these trees before they are thoroughly shaken.

Reas. 4.] That his own people, seeing all earthly things shaking and removing, may be raised up to the laying hold of that durable kingdom that shall not be removed, Heb. xii. 28. All carnal interests will doubtless be shaken with that of *Babylon*, 2 Cor. iv. 18. Many of God's people are not yet weaned from the things that are seen; no

sooner is one carnal form shaken out, but they are ready to cleave to another; yea, to warm themselves in the feathered nest of unclean birds. All fleshly dominions within doors, and all civil dominion that opposeth without doors, shall be shaken. Now these things are so glewed also to men's earthly possessions, the talons of the birds of prey having firmly seized on them, that they also must be shaken with them; and therefore, from them also will he have us to be loosed, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

And these are some of the reasons of the position laid down, which is so bottomed, so proved, as you have heard. Of the speedy accomplishment of all this, I no way doubt. 'I believe and therefore I have spoken.' Whither I shall see any farther perfection of this work whilst I am here below, I am no way solicitous; being assured, that if I fail of it here, I shall, through the grace of him who loved us and gave himself for us, meet with the treasures of it elsewhere. Come we to the uses.

Use 1.] The rise of our first *Use* I shall take from that of the prophet; 'Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall therein,' Hos. xiv. 9. Labour for this heavenly wisdom and prudence, that we may know these things, and be acquainted with the mind and will of God, in the season and generation wherein we live. His way is not so in the dark, nor his footsteps in the deep, but that we may perceive what he is about.

Luke xii. 54, 55, 56. our Saviour gives it in as a sure testimony of the *Pharisees'* hypocrisy, notwithstanding all their pretences and possession of *Moses'* chair, that they were wise in earthly things, and had drawn out experiences by long observation of what was like to come to pass as to the *weather*, by considering the ordinary signs of the alterations thereof: but notwithstanding that mighty effectual concurrence of signs in heaven and earth, with the accomplishment of prophecies, all pointing to the instant establishment of the kingdom of God in the coming of the *Messiah*, not discerning them at all, they come and cry, 'if thou be the Christ, give us a

sign;' when, without satisfying their sinful curiosity, heaven and earth was full of signs round about them.

Men, who will not receive God's *signs*, suppose they should be wonderful proficients in credulity, might they have signs of their own fancying. The *rich glutton* thought, that if his way of teaching might have been set up, by men *rising from the dead*, there would have been a world of converts, more than were made by the preaching of the word of God. Men suppose, that if God should now from heaven give in some discriminating prodigy, Oh, how abundantly should they be satisfied! The truth is, the same lust and corruption that makes them disbelieve God's signs, moves them to look after signs of their own.

For this very thing then, were the Pharisees branded as hypocrites, that having wisdom in natural things, to calculate and prognosticate from necessary signs; yet in the works of the Lord, though the signs which in his wisdom he was pleased to give were plentiful round about them, yet they must have some of their own choosing. I pray God none such may be found in our day.

1 Chron. xii. 32. it is said of the men of 'Issachar that they had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.' *Israel* is in the dark, and knows not what to do, if the times and seasons be not discovered to them; Esther i. 13. If the mind and will of the Lord in their generation, be not made out unto a people, it will be their ruin.

Hence it is, that the Lord encourageth us to make inquiry after these things; to find out the seasons wherein he will do any great work for his people, knowing that without this, we shall be altogether useless in the generation wherein we live. Isa. xlv. 11. 'Ask me of things to come, concerning my sons, and concerning the works of my hands, command you me.'

And what is this that the Lord will have his people to inquire of him about? even the great work of the ruin of Babylon, and restoration of his church, which yet was not to be accomplished for 240 years. And this he tells you plainly in the following verses:

'I have raised him up (*Cyrus*) in righteousness, I will direct his ways, he shall build my cities, and he shall let

go my captives, not for price nor for reward, saith the Lord of hosts,' ver. 13.

The Lord is in earnest with his people, to inquire into the season of the accomplishment of his great intendments for the good of his church, when as yet they are afar off; how much more when they are nigh at hand, even at the doors! 'Whoso is wise, and will ponder these things, they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord,' Psal. cvii. ult.

Dan. ix. 2. The prophet tells you, that this was his great study, and at length he understood, by books, the approach of the time wherein God would deliver his church from Babylonish captivity and pollution: Now, this discovery hath two or three notable products.

1. It puts him upon earnest supplications for the accomplishment of their promised deliverance in the appointed season. Wide from that atheistical frame of spirit, which would have a predetermination of events and successes, to eradicate all care, and endeavour to serve that providence which will produce their accomplishment. A discovery of the approach of any promised and before-fixed work of God, should settle our minds to the utmost endeavour of helping the decree to bring forth.

2. He finds great acceptation in this his address to the Lord, by supplications, for the establishing of that work which he had discovered was nigh at hand: For,

1. An answer is returned him fully to his whole desire, in the midst of his supplications, ver. 21. 'Whilst I was praying, the man Gabriel came,' &c.

2. The work which he had discovered to be approaching, was instantly hastened and gone in hand withal, ver. 23. 'At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth.' Oh, that God would stir up his saints in the spirit of Daniel, to consider, and understand by books, the time that he hath appointed for the deliverance of his people, that, fixing their supplications for the speeding thereof, the commandment may come forth for its full accomplishment.

3. Having attained this, the Lord gives him fresh discoveries, *new light*, of the time for the birth of the Messiah, which he thought not of, prayed not for: 'Seventy

weeks are determined,' &c. ver. 24. So delighted is the Lord with his people's diligent inquiry into his ways and walking towards them, that thereupon he appears unto them in the revelation of his mind, beyond all they did expect or desire.

Now all this have I spoken, to stir you up unto that, whereunto at the entrance of this use you were exhorted; that you would labour for that spiritual wisdom and prudence, which may acquaint your hearts, at least in some measure, with the mind and will of God, concerning his work in the generation wherein you live. And farther to provoke you hereunto, know, that you cannot but wander, as in many other, so especially in four sinful things:

1. *Sinful cares.*
2. *Sinful fears.*
3. *Sinful follies.*
4. *Sinful negligence.*

1. *Sinful cares.* Anxious and dubious thoughts about such things as perhaps the Lord intends utterly to destroy, or at least render useless. Had it not been the greatest folly in the world for Noah and his sons, when the flood was approaching to sweep away the creatures from the face of the earth, Gen. vi. 13. to have been solicitous about flocks and herds that were speedily to be destroyed? Many men's thoughts, at this day, do even devour them about such things, as, if they *knew the season*, would be contemptible unto them. Wouldst thou labour for *honour*, if thou knewest that God, at *this* time, were labouring to lay all the 'honour of the earth in the dust?' Isa. xxiii. 9. Couldst thou set thy heart upon the increase of *riches*, wert thou acquainted that God intends instantly to make 'silver as stones, and cedars as sycamores?' 1 Kings x. 27. though not for plenty, yet for value. Would men be so exceedingly solicitous about this or that form of religion, this or that power, to suppress such or such a persuasion, if they knew that the Lord would suddenly 'fill the earth with his knowledge as the waters cover the sea?' Hab. ii. 14. Should our spirits sink for fear of this or that persecutor or oppressor, were it discovered unto us, that in a short time 'nothing shall hurt or destroy in the whole mountain of

the Lord?' Isa. lxv. 25. Should we tremble at the force and power of this or that growing monarchy, giving its power to the beast had God revealed unto us, that he is going to shake it until it be translated? Certain it is, that the root of all the sinful cares, which sometimes are ready to devour the hearts of God's people, is this, unacquaintedness with the work and mind of the Lord.

2. *Sinful fears;* Luke xxi. 28. Our Saviour, having told his disciples of wars, tumults, seditions, famines, earthquakes, &c. which were to come upon the earth, bids them, when they see these things, 'to lift up their heads for joy.' But how should this be? Rejoice, in the midst of so many evils and troubles, in the most whereof they were to have a *Benjamin's mess*, a double portion! Yea, saith our Saviour, *rejoice*, for I have told you before, that *then* it is your deliverance and redemption draweth nigh. It is for them to shake and tremble who are in the dark, who know not what the Lord is doing. They may be at their wit's end, who know no other end of these things: But for you, who know the mind of the Lord, what he intendeth and will effect by the things, cast off all sinful fears, and rejoice in him *who cometh.*

Amongst us in these days, new troubles arise, wars, and rumours of wars, appearances of famine, invasions, conspiracies, revolts, treacheries, sword and blood. Oh, how do men's faces wax pale, and their hearts die within them! sometimes, with David, they could fly to the Philistines, and wind up their interest with them whom God will destroy. Every new appearance of danger shuffles them off from all their comforts, all their confidence. Hence poor souls are put upon doubling and shifting in the ways of God, in such a frame as God exceedingly abhors: They know not why any mercy is given nor to what end, and therefore are afraid to own it, lest some sudden alteration should follow, and make it too hot for them to hold it; and all this, because they know not the mind of the Lord, nor the judgment of their God; were they but acquainted with it, so far as it is evidently revealed, they would quickly see all things working together to the appointed end.

3. *Sinful follies.* Toil and labour in vain is of all fol-

lies the greatest folly; like the Jews under Julian, building of their temple in the day, God casting it to the ground in the night. When a man labours, toils, wearies and spends himself, for the accomplishing of that which shall never come to pass, *and that*, which if he would but inquire, he might know shall never come to pass, he cannot well want the livery of a *brutish man*.—How many poor creatures that think themselves wiser than those of Temon, and Dedan, and all the children of the east, do spend and consume their days and time in such ways as this, labouring night and day to set up what God will pull down, and what he hath said shall fall.—'Come on, let us deal wisely,' saith Pharaoh to his Egyptians, Exod. i. 10. to root out and destroy these Israelites. Poor fool! is there any wisdom or counsel against the most High? I could give instances plenty in these days of men labouring in the dark, not knowing what they are doing, endeavouring with all their strength to accomplish that whereof the Lord hath said, 'It shall not prosper;' and all, because they discern not the season.

4. *Sinful negligence.* You are no way able to do the work of God in your generation. It is the commendation of many saints of God, that they were 'upright, and served the will of God in their generation.' Besides the general duties of the covenant incumbent on all the saints at all seasons, there are special works of providence which in sundry generations the Lord effecteth, concerning which he expects his people should know his mind, and serve him in them. Now, can a servant do his master's work, if he know not his will? The Lord requireth, that, in the great things which he hath to accomplish in this generation, all *his* should close with him. What is the reason that some stand in the market-place idle all the day? Some work for a season, and then give over, they know not how to get a step farther, but after a day, a week, a month, or year, are at a stand? Worse than all this, some counter-work the Lord with all their strength. They most neglect the duty which of them is required. What is the reason of all this? They know in no measure what the Lord is doing, and what he would have them apply themselves unto. The *best* al-

most live from hand to mouth, following present appearances, to the great neglect of the work which the Lord would have hastened amongst us: All this comes from the same root.

Quest. But now, if all these sad and sinful consequences attend this nescience of the mind of God, as to the things which he is doing in the days wherein we live, so far as he hath revealed himself, and requires us to observe his walkings; by what ways and means may we come to the knowledge thereof, that we be not sinfully bewildered in our own cares, fears, and follies, but that we may follow hard after God, and be upright in our generation?

Ans. There be four things whereby we may come to have an insight into the work which the Lord will do and accomplish in our days:

1. *By the light which he gives.*
2. *By the previous works which he doth.*
3. *The expectation of his saints.*
4. *The fear of his adversaries.*

1. *By the light which he gives.* God doth not use to set his people to work in the dark; they are the *children of light*, and they are no *deeds of darkness* which they have to do. However others are blinded, they shall see.

Yea, he always suits their light to their labour, and gives them a clear discerning of what he is about. *The Lord doth nothing but he reveals his secrets to his servants.* The light of every age, is the fore-runner of the work of every age.

When Christ was to come in the flesh, John Baptist comes a little before. A new light, a new preacher.—And what doth he discover and reveal? Why, he calls them off from resting on legal ceremonies, to the doctrine of faith, repentance, and gospel ordinances; tells them the kingdom of God is at hand; instructs them in the knowledge of him who was coming. To what end was all this? only that the minds of men being enlightened by his preaching, who was a burning and a shining lamp, they might see what the Lord was doing.

Every *age* hath its peculiar *work*, hath its peculiar light. Now, what is the light which God manifestly gives in our days? Surely not new doctrines (as some

pretend,) indeed old errors, and long since exploded fancies. Plainly, the peculiar light of this generation is, that discovery which the Lord hath made to his people, of the mystery of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny: The opening, unravelling and revealing the antichristian interest, interwoven and coupled together in civil and spiritual things, into a state opposite to the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, is the great discovery of these days. Who almost is there amongst us now, who doth not evidently see, that for many generations, the western nations have been juggled into spiritual and civil slavery, by the legerdemain of the whore, and the potentates of the earth, made drunk with the cup of her abominations? how the whole earth hath been rolled in confusion, and the saints hurried out of the world, to give way to their combined interest? Hath not God unveiled that harlot, made her naked, and discovered her abominable filthiness? Is it not evident to him that hath but half an eye, that the whole present constitution of the government of the nations, is so cemented with antichristian mortar from the very top to the bottom, that without a *thorough shaking* they cannot be cleansed? This then plainly discovers, that the work which the Lord is doing, relates to the untwining of this close combination against himself, and the kingdom of his dear Son, and he will not leave it until he have done it.

To what degree in the several nations this *shaking* shall proceed, I have nothing to determine in particular, the scripture having not expressed it: This only is certain, it shall not stop, nor receive its period, before the interest of antichristianity be wholly separated from the power of those nations.

2. *By the previous works he doth.* How many of these doth our Saviour give, as signs of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and so consequently of propagating the gospel more and more to the nations? Matt. xxiv. Luke xxi. How fearful and dreadful they were in their accomplishment, *Josephus* the Jewish historian relateth; and how by them the Christians were forewarned, and did by them understand what the Lord was doing, *Eusebius* and others declare. 'When (saith he) you shall see the abomination of desolation (the Roman eagles and ensigns)

standing in the holy place,' Matt. xxiv. 15. or 'Jerusalem compassed with armies, as Luke xxi. 20. 'then know' by that, that the end thereof is come, and your deliverance at hand.

The works of God are to be sought out of them that have pleasure in them: They are vocal, speaking works, the mind of God is in them: they may be heard, read, and understood; the 'rod may be heard, and who hath appointed it.' Now, generally he begins with lesser works, to point out to the sons of men what he is about to accomplish. By these may his will be known, that he may be met in righteousness.

Now what, I pray, are the works that the Lord is bringing forth upon the earth? what is he doing in our own and the neighbouring nations? Show me the potentate upon earth, that hath a peaceable mole-hill, to build himself an habitation upon? Are not all the controversies, or the most of them, that at this day are disputed in letters of blood among the nations, somewhat of a distinct constitution from those formerly under debate? those tending merely to the power and splendour of single persons, these to the interest of the many. Is not the hand of the Lord in all this? Are not the *shaking* of these *heavens* of the nations from him? Is not the voice of Christ in the midst of all this tumult? and is not the genuine tendence of these things open and visible unto all?

What speedy issue all this will be driven to, I know not; so much is to be done as requires a long space. Though a tower may be pulled down faster than it was set up, yet that which hath been building a *thousand years*, is not like to go down in a *thousand days*.

3. The expectation of the *saints*, is another thing from whence a discovery of the will of God, and the work of our generation, may be concluded. The secret ways of God's communicating his mind unto his *saints*, by a fresh savour of accomplishing prophecies, and strong workings of the spirit of supplications, I cannot now insist upon. This I know, they shall not be 'led into temptation,' but kept from the 'hour thereof,' when it comes upon the whole earth. When God raiseth up the expectation of his people to any thing, he is not unto them 'as waters that fail.' Nay, he will assuredly fulfil the desires of the poor.

Just about the time that our Saviour Christ was to be born of a woman, Luke iii. 15. how were all that waited for salvation in Israel, raised up to an high expectation of the kingdom of God! such as that people never had before, and assuredly shall never have again. Yea, famous was the waiting of that season throughout the whole *Roman empire*. And the 'Lord, whom they sought, came to his temple.' Eminent was their hope, and excellent was the accomplishment.

Whether this will be made a rule to others, or no, I know not: This I am assured, that, being bottomed on promises, and built up with supplications, it is a ground for them to rest upon. And here I dare appeal to all, who with any diligence have inquired into the things of the kingdom of Christ, that have any savour upon their spirits of the accomplishment of prophecies and promises in the latter days, who count themselves concerned in the glory of the gospel, whether this thing, of consuming the 'mystery of iniquity,' and vindicating the churches of Christ, into the liberties purchased for them by the Lord Jesus, by the *shaking and translating* all opposing heights and heavens, be not fully in their expectations. Only the time is in the hand of God; and the rule of our actings with him is his revealed will.

4. Whether the 'fears of his adversaries,' have not their lines meeting in the same point, themselves can best determine. The whole world was more or less filled with dread at the coming of Christ in the flesh. When also the signs of his vengeance did first appear to the Pagan world, in calling to an account for the blood of his saints, the kings and captains present cry out, 'The great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?" Rev. vi. 17.

I am not of counsel to any of the adherents to the man of sin, or any of those who have given their power unto the beast; I have not a key to the bosoms of the enemies of Christ: I am neither their interpreter, nor do they allow me to speak in their behalf: yet truly, upon very many probable grounds, I am fully persuaded that were the thoughts of their hearts disclosed, notwithstanding all their glittering shows, dreadful words, threatening expressions, you should see them tremble and dread this

very thing;—"That the whole world, as now established, will be wrapped up in darkness, at least until that cursed interest, which is set up against the Lord Jesus, be fully and wholly *shaken* out from the heavens and earth of the nations."

And thus, without leading you about by chronologies and computations, which yet have their use, (*well to count a number being wisdom indeed*) I have a little discovered unto you some *rules*, whereby you may come to be acquainted with the work of God in the days wherein we live, and also what that work is, which is our first *Use*. The next shall be for direction, to guide you what you ought to do, when you know what is the work of your generation.

Use 2.] Be exhorted to prepare to meet the Lord, to make his way straight: And this I would press distinctly,

1. *As to your persons.*
2. *As to your employments.*

1. As to your *persons*. Give the Lord Jesus a throne in your hearts, or it will not be at all to your advantage, that hath a throne and kingdom in the world. Perhaps you will see the plenty of it, but not taste one morsel. Take first that which 'comes not by observation,' that 'which is within you, which is righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' Take it in its *power*, and you will be the better enabled to observe it coming in its *glory*. 'Seek first this kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be added unto you. Oh, that it were the will of God to put an end to all that *pretended* holiness, *hypocritical* humiliation, *self-interested* religion that have been among us, whereby we have flattered God with our lips, whilst our hearts have been far from him! Oh that it might be the glory of this assembly, above all the assemblies of the world, that every ruler in it might be a sincere subject of the Lord Jesus! Oh, that it might suffice that we have had in our parliament, and among our ministers, so much of the *form* and so little of the *power* of godliness; that we have called the world Christ, and lusts Christ, and self Christ; working indeed for them, when we pretended all for Christ! Oh, that I could nourish this one contention in your hon-

ourable assembly, that you might strive who should excel in setting up the Lord Jesus in your hearts!

You may be apt to think, that if you can carry on and compass your purposes, then all your enemies will be assuredly disappointed: do but embrace the Lord Jesus in his kingly power in your bosoms; and, *ipso facto*, all your enemies are everlastingly disappointed; You are the grains, which, in the sifting of the nation, have been kept from falling to the ground. Are you not the residue of all the chariots of England? Oh, that in you might appear the reality of the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, which hath been so long pretended by others! that sound righteousness, not a Pharasaical, rigid, supercilious affectation, nor a careless belief and comportment, the issue of novel fancies, might be found upon your spirits; that you may be thought meet to rejoice with the Lord, in his kingdom! otherwise, this day of the Lord, which we have described, however desired and longed after, will be 'darkness to you, and not light.'

2. In reference to your great *employments*, whereunto the Lord hath called you; and here I shall briefly hold out unto you one or two things.

1. That you would seriously consider, why it is that the Lord shakes the *heavens* and the *earth* of the nations, to what *end* this tendeth, and what is the *cause* thereof. Is it not from hence, that he may revenge their opposition to the kingdom of his dear Son? That he may *shake* out of the midst of them all that antichristian mortar, wherewith, from their first *chaos*, they have been cemented? That so the kingdoms of the earth, may become the kingdoms of the Lord Jesus. Is not the controversy of *Sion* pleaded with them? Are not they called to an account for the transgression of that charge given to all potentates, 'Touch not mine anointed? And what is the aim of the Lord Jesus herein, whose mighty voice shakes them? Is it not to frame and form them for the interest of his own kingdom? that he may fulfil the word he hath spoken to Sion, 'I will make thine officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness?'

Consider then (I pray) what you have in hand. Wait upon your king, the Lord Christ, to know his mind. If you lay any stone in the whole building that advanceth it-

self against his sceptre, he will *shake* all again. Dig you never so deep, build you never so high, it shall be shaken. Nay, that there be no opposition, will not suffice: He hath given light enough to have all things framed for his own advantage. The time is come, yea the full time is come that it should be so, and he expects it from you. Say not in the first place, this, or that suits the interest of England, but look what suits the interest of Christ; and assure yourselves, that the true interest of any nation is wrapped up therein. More of this in the treatise annexed to my sermon, Jan. 31.

2. Be encouraged under all those perplexities and troubles, which you are, or may be wrapped up in. Lift up the hands that hang down, and let the feeble knees be strengthened: 'It is but yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry.' The more you are for Christ, the more enemies you shall be sure to have; but the Lamb shall overcome. He is to come to revenge the blood of his slain upon this generation, and to free the residue from the jaws of the terrible. 'He is our Rock, and his work is perfect.' What he hath begun, faster, or slower, he will surely accomplish.

It is a thing of the most imaginable indifferency, whether any of our particular persons behold these things here below, or not. If otherwise, we shall for the present have 'rest with him,' and 'stand in our lot at the end of the days:' But for the work itself, the decree is gone forth, and it shall not be recalled: receive strength and refreshment in the Lord.

Use 3. Wonder not, when the *heaven* is *shaken*, if you see the stars fall to the grouud: We had some who pretended to be *church stars*, that were merely fixed to all men's view, and by their own confession in the *political heavens*. The first shaking of this nation shook them utterly to the ground. If others also tremble like an aspen-leaf, and know not which wind to yield unto, or sail backwards and forwards by the same gale, wonder not at that neither: When men lay any other foundation than the immovable corner-stone, at one time or other, sooner or later, assuredly they will be shaken.

Use 4.] Let the professing people that are amongst us look well to themselves; the day is coming that 'will

burn like an oven.' Dross will not endure that day: we have many an hypocrite as yet to be uncased. Take heed you that act high, if a false heart, a defiled heart be amongst you, there shall be no place for it in the mountain of the Lord's house. 'The inhabitants of Sion shall be all righteous,' Isa. lx. 21. Many that make a great show now upon the stage, shall be turned off with shame enough: Try and search your hearts, force not the Lord to lay you open to all. The 'Spirit of judgment and burning' will try you. Tremble, I pray, for you are entering a most purging, trying furnace as ever the Lord *set up* on the earth.

Use 5.] Be loose from all shaken things; you see the clouds return after the rain; one storm in the neck of another. Thus it must be, until Christ hath finished his whole work. 'Seeing that all these things must be dissolved, what manner of persons ought we to be in all manner of conversation?' Let your eyes be upwards, and your hearts be upwards, and your hands be upwards, that ye be not moved at the passing away of shaking things. I could here encourage you, by the glorious issue of all these shakings, whose fortaste might be as marrow to your bones, though they should be appointed to consumption before the accomplishment of it: But I must close.

Use 6.] See the vanity, folly, and madness of such as oppose the bringing in the kingdom of the Lord Jesus. Can'st thou hinder the *rain* from descending upon the earth when it is falling? Can'st thou stop the *sun* from rising at its appointed hour? Will the *conception* for thee dwell quietly in the womb beyond its month? Surely thou mayest with far more ease turn and stop the current and course of nature, than obstruct the bringing in of the kingdom of Christ in righteousness and peace. Whence comes it to pass, that so many nations are wasted, destroyed and spoiled, in the days wherein we live, that God hath taken quietness and peace from the earth? doubtless from hence, that they will smite themselves against the 'stone cut out of the mountain without hands.' Shall not the decree bring forth? Is it not in vain to fight against the Lord? Some are angry, some troubled, some in the dark, some full of revenge: But the truth is, whether they

will hear or forbear, *Babylon* shall fall, and all the glory of the earth be stained, and the kingdoms become the kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ.

'And when ye see this, your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall flourish like an herb: and the hand of the Lord shall be known towards his servants, and his indignation towards his enemies.'

'For by fire, and by his sword, will the Lord plead with all flesh; and the slain of the Lord shall be many.' Isaiah lxvi. 14, 16.

ARCHBISHOP USHER, 1655.

"THE *greatest stroke upon the reformed churches is yet to come;*—and the time of the utter ruin of the see of Rome *shall be when she thinks herself most secure.*" One presumed to inquire of him, what his present apprehensions were concerning a very *great persecution.* He answered, "that a sad persecution would fall upon *all the protestant churches in Europe:* Adding, "I tell you, all you have yet seen hath been but the beginning of sorrows, to what is yet *to come upon the Protestant churches of Christ*, who will *ere long fall under a sharper persecution than ever*; therefore (said he) *look you be not found in the outward court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all those that profess his name, and call themselves his people:* and the outward worshippers he *will leave out* to be *trodden down* by the Gentiles; the *outward court* is the *formal Christians*, whose religion lies in performing the outward duties of Christianity, without having an *inward life and power of faith uniting them to Christ*, and these God will leave to be trodden down, and swept away by the Gentiles; but the worshippers *within the temple*, and *before the altar*, God will hide in *the hollow of his hand* and *under the shadow of his wings.* And this shall be one great difference between *this last*, and all the other preceding persecutions: for in the former the most eminent and spiritual ministers and Christians did generally suffer most, and were most violently fallen upon; but in this last persecution these shall be preserved by God, as a seed to partake of that glory which shall immediately follow, and come upon the church, as soon as ever this storm shall be over; for as it shall be the sharpest, so it shall be the shortest persecution of them all; and shall only take away the gross hypocrites and formal professors, but the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be over."

ARCHBISHOP BROWN, 1551.

"THERE is a *new* fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will *deceive* many, who are much after the scribes and pharisees manner, amongst the Jews; they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it; for these sorts will turn themselves into several forms, with the heathen an heathenist, with atheists an atheist, with Jews a Jew, and with the reformers a reformade, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the *fool* that 'said in his heart, there is no God.' These shall spread over the whole *world*, shall be admitted into the *councils of princes* and they never the wiser; charming of them; yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God; and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even *by the hands of those who have most succoured them*, and made use of them; so that at the end they shall become *odious to all nations*, they shall be worse than Jews, having no resting place upon earth.

REV. JOHN KNOX, 1572.

"SENTENCE is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer, the *king of France*, and God's vengeance shall never depart from him, nor his house, but his name shall remain an *execration* to posterity; and *none that shall come off his loins*, shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment." The French ambassador, being told the prediction, applied to the regent and council for an interdiction, but was refused. See his life.

DR. H. MORE, 1663.

On the Mystery of Iniquity contained in the kingdom of Antichrist.

An earthquake signifies political commotions and change of affairs, is obvious to any one to note; and that whore of Babylon is nothing but the body of the idolatrous clergy in the empire, who appertain to the seventh or last head of the beast, which is an head of blasphemy, as well as the six first, that is to say, an idolatrous head. Whence we may understand, what is meant by these *seven thousand names of men*; for neither seven nor thousand, signify any determinate number, but only the nature or property of these *names of men* that are said to be slain, namely, that they are TITLES, DIGNITIES, OFFICES or ORDERS of men belonging to the state of Christendom.

DR. GILL, 1741.

AND the same hour was there a great earthquake.] Or, "the same days," as the Complutensian edition and some copies read; that is, at the time of the resurrection and ascension of the witnesses, as there was at the resurrection of Christ, and is to be understood of a very great commotion in the civil affairs of kingdoms and nations within the Roman jurisdiction, as there was when Rome pagan was near its ruin, chap. vi. 12.

And the tenth part of the city fell.] Mr. Daubuz interprets *the earthquake* of the irruption of the Ottomans upon the Grecian empire, and the *tenth* part of the city, of the Greek church, and the falling of it, of its loss of liberty, and falling into slavery; but something yet to come is here intended. By *the city* is meant the city of Rome, the great city, mentioned in ver. 8. and by *the tenth part* of it, may be designed either Rome itself, which as it now is, according to the observation of some, is but a tenth

part of what it was once; so that the same thing is meant, as when it is said, "Babylon is fallen, is fallen:" or it may design the tithes and profits which arise from the several kingdoms belonging to the jurisdiction and see of Rome, which now will fall off from those who used to share them, upon this new and spiritual state of things; the Gospel daily gaining ground, and enlightening the minds of men, and freeing them from the slavery they were held in: or else the ten-fold government of the Roman empire, or the ten kings that gave their kingdoms to the whore of Rome, and are the ten horns of the beast, on which she sits, who will now hate her, and burn her flesh with fire; or rather one of the ten kingdoms, into which the Roman western empire was divided. Dr. Goodwin seems inclined to think, that Great Britain is intended, which having been gained over to the popish party, will now fall off again; but I rather think the kingdom of France is meant, the last of the ten kingdoms which rose up out of the ruins of the Roman empire, which will be conquered, and which will be the means of its reformation from popery.

And in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand.] The meaning is, that in the commotions, massacres, tumults, and wars which will be throughout the empire, such a number of men will be slain; which is either put for a greater number, a certain for an uncertain, as in Rom. xi. 4. and perhaps in reference to the account there; otherwise seven thousand is but a small number to be slain in battle; or as it is in the original text, "the names of the men seven thousand." Now it is observed by some, that the smallest name of number belonging to men, is a centurion, or captain of an hundred men; and supposing that to be meant, then seven thousand names of men will imply, that in an hour, or about a fortnight's time may be slain throughout all Europe, in battles and massacres, about seven hundred thousand men, which is a very large number: or names of men may signify men of name, of great renown, as in Numb. xvi. 2. and then, if seven thousand men of name, officers in armies, should be slain, how great must be the number of the common soldiers? Some have thought, that ecclesiastical dignities, or men distinguished by names and titles, such as cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, &c. and the whole rab-

ble of the antichistian hierarchy, which will now fall, and be utterly demolished, are intended.

And the remnant were affrighted] Who were not slain in this earthquake: these will be affected with the judgments of God upon others, and be made sensible of their danger, and of their deliverance, which will so work upon them, as to reform them from popery.

And gave glory to the God of heaven] Will acknowledge the justice of God and the righteousness of his judgments upon those that were slain, and his goodness to them who are spared: will confess their transgressions and sins, they have been guilty of; and give the glory of their deliverance, not to their idols and images, but to the true God, whose religion they now embrace; for this respects the large conversions among the popish party, to the true religion, under the influence of the grace of God, through the preaching of the gospel, which will now be spread throughout the world.

REV. ROBERT FLEMING, 1700.

"And now, seeing I have marked out the time we are in at present, it is time also to put a stop to our Apocalyptical thoughts; seeing no man can pretend, upon any just grounds, to calculate future times. However, seeing I have come so far, I shall adventure to present you further with some conjectural thoughts on this head; for I am far from the presumption of some men, to give them any higher character.

"Now my conjectures shall relate to two things, viz. to the remaining part of this vial, and to the other vials that follow this.

"And, 1. As to the remaining part of this vial, I do humbly suppose that it will come to its highest pitch about Anno 1717, and that it will run out about the year 1794. —So that there is ground to hope, that about the beginning of another such century, things may again alter for the better; for I cannot but hope that some new mortifi-

cation of the chief supporters of antichrist will t[illegible] pen; and perhaps the *French monarchy* may be[illegible] considerably *humbled* about that time: that whereas [illegible] sent *French king* takes the *sun* for his emblem and thi[illegible] his motto, *Nec pluribus impar*, he may at length or rather his successors, and the Monarchy itself (at least before the year 1794) be forced to acknowledge, that in respect to neighbouring potentates, he is even *singulis impar*.

"But as to the expiration of this vial, I do fear it will not be until the year 1794. The reason of which conjecture is this; that I find the pope got a new foun[illegible] exaltation, when Justinian, upon his conquest o[illegible] left it in a great measure to the pope's management, being willing to eclipse his own authority, to advance that of this haughty prelate. Now this being in the year 552; this, by the addition of 1260 years, reaches down to the year 1811; which, according to prophetical account is the year 1794.

MR. JOHN WILSON, 1742.

BEFORE Antichrist's fall, one of the ten kingdoms which supported the beast shall undergo a marvellous revolution, Rev. xi. 13. 'The same hour there [illegible] great earthquake and the tenth part of the city fe[illegible] which *tenth part*, is to be understood one of the ten kingdoms into which the great city, Romish Babylon, was divided; this many take to be the kingdom of France, it being the *tenth* and last of the kingdoms as to the time of its rise, and that which gave to Rome the denomination of a beast with ten horns, and also it being the only one of the ten that was never conquered since its rise. However unlikely this and other prophecied events may appear at the time, yet the almighty hand of the only wise God can soon bring them about when least expected.

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