A LETTER TO THE AUTHOR OF MILLENNARIANISM INDEFENSIBLE.

By WILLIAM ANDERSON,
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"They have caused them to stumble in their ways from the ancient paths."
Jer. xviii. 15.

"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."
JUSTIN MARTYR.

"The most of the chief Divines here, not only Independents, but others, such as Twisse, Marshall, Palmer, and many more, are express Chilists.
BAILIE'S LETTERS from the Westminster Assembly.
"There has been no age of the Church in which the Millennium was not admitted by individual Divines of the first eminence."
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I find that in my haste to close I have made a notable omission, in not producing the testimony of John Wesley. I can only refer to Hymn LX of his Collection; and challenge the whole of the Conference to sing it with understanding and good conscience, without being millenarians. There are a few more in the Collection of the same character.
P R E F A C E.

The following is the First of a proposed Series of Letters on this question. It forms a more ample exhibition than any which I am aware has appeared of the Testimony of the Church in general, and of learned and holy men individually, in favour of the Royalty of the Redeemer and his Saints, to be manifested in the Millennial Kingdom.

To some of the scorners of our Hope, I have administered rebuke with a severity which I consider not only warrantable, but demanded by a regard for truth. That I shall be accused, however, of having written in an unchristian spirit, by those especially who are so liberal in their abuse of our party, I do not doubt. But I shall be well content that I be retaliated upon with double severity, if they shall acknowledge before the people, that I have produced such an array of names of learned and holy men, who have entertained, or do entertain millenarian opinions, as makes them ashamed of their ignorance, and filled with contrition, when they see how the hard and reproachful speeches which they were accustomed to utter, fell
with condemnation, not on a few, but on a multitude of the most eminent saints of all ages of the Church—especially on most of the chief divines of the Westminster Assembly. From the pulpit, in their coteries, and through the medium of their Magazines, let them put the people in possession of this secret; then, with whatever protestant cautions they may make the communication, there is no personal abuse, for which I will not regard myself fully compensated by the disclosure.

In the following pages I have taken advantage of every opportunity which offered itself of making the discussion bear practically on our fears and expectations. In consequence, however, of the nature of the work in which I was engaged, such opportunities occurred but seldom. I shall, therefore, embrace the present, of saying a few words, of this practical tendency, on the general question.

In a late No. of the London Courier, there appeared the following representation:—

"The manner in which the different classes of society are now assailing each other on the score of wealth—they considering no longer that their interest is one and identical—and the common name of country having lost for almost all classes its binding power; the farmers appealing against the manufacturers, and the manufacturer and artizan attacking the agriculturists; the masters combining against the workmen, and the men entering into combination
against them; the present conflict of almost all classes one with another, as to which shall have the largest share of the joint produce, is for us a subject of rather painful reflection; while the gradual wearing out of patriotism—the disuse even of the term except in mockery—and the individualization which is going on in every part of society, make us ready to forebode much coming evil. The Community is scarcely now the object of any man’s care, except indeed those demagogues who seek to make a profit by talking of it; and every numerous class in the state, forgetful of the common interest, is only anxious to obtain wealth by invading the rights and privileges of some other. We are no longer in fact a community. We are only individuals and classes living in the same island; each pursuing his own good in his own manner.”

All this is truth; but it is not the half of the truth; the impiety, sensuality, and crime, are not mentioned. —And it is the same throughout the world. The peace even of China, and the United States of America, is broken up.

How is the evil to be remedied? How is the world to be set right? After all the manner in which hopes have been disappointed, that by any instrumentality which is at present wielded, regeneration shall be effected—when instead of advancement there
is a rapid retrogression in disorder, in the best kingdom of the world, and in ungodliness, in the best part of the Church—is it not wonderful that men will cleave to their idols? Just think of the American divines having covenanted that they will produce the Millennium in the course of a century! Joyfully I admit that Christianity is still making converts, and deepening its impressions on the minds of many. But it was the same in Jerusalem, when yet that fated city was rapidly filling up the cup of its iniquity. "Revivals of religion," says Mr. Douglas, "have often gone before the destruction of the nations in which they took place."

Let us all remain by our posts, and discharge our duty with activity; but equally let us be assured, that the world will not be set right till the Master come. Therefore, come thou, O Lord, quickly!
LETTER I.

Sir,

Although your name does not appear in either of your books, as the name of their Author; yet I have been given much circumstantial evidence for believing, that it is to be found in their title pages, as the name of their Publisher. Were I sure of this, the relation in which that gentleman once stood to Mr. Begg, would give me occasion for making a few remarks on the peculiarly bad spirit in which you have written concerning him, aggravated by the pusillanimity of your having attacked him anonymously. Even on the supposition that he is personally a stranger to you, and that you know of his worth neither by report nor intercourse with him, his publications bear such witness to his piety and the sanctity of his zeal for what he believes to be the cause of Christ, and withal, to his orthodoxy in regard of what are commonly called fundamental truths, as should have secured for him a disciple's treatment, and deterred you from indulging in the abuse for which your pages are characterized. Millenarians have sometimes expressed themselves with severity—more than one of them, I believe are ready, after calm reflection, to confess, with too much severity—concerning classes of interpreters; but such bitter personality as yours is without example on our side of the controversy—you can plead the precedent only of Dr. Hamilton, and some others who rank on your own.

In writing thus, I do not so much complain on
behlaf of my friend, as take upon me to administer some necessary rebuke to you. If the qualifications of the two authors are to be estimated by the spirit and execution of their respective works, he is both morally and intellectually greatly your superior; so as, on the supposition of your being a stranger to him, to stand on ground where your sneers cannot much affect him:—Only, not being satisfied that there is no treachery in them, of one who formerly professed himself a friend, he must feel acutely; and that in proportion to the generosity of his disposition. So far as absolute certainty, however, is concerned, that point being not yet determined, I shall drop the consideration of your want of candour.

But there is another point, nearly allied to this, to which I must shortly advert.—What is the state of devotional spirit which your two books indicate? You have managed to write two hundred pages about the Kingdom and Coming of the Lord, without even making an attempt to exhilarate the minds of your readers with the prospects of the Church. You have only, in the short concluding paragraph, endeavoured to arouse the careless with the alarm of Death. How differently you have acted in this, as in many other important respects, from him whom you have attempted to discredit! Although his were the cause of error, and yours the cause of the truth, his error would appear precious and lovely, in consequence of the sanctified manner in which he has conducted its advocacy, when compared with your truth, the advocacy of which you have conducted in a spirit so destitute of every feeling but the desire of exhibiting your opponent as an object of contempt. It is all as it should be; his being the truth, and yours being error, it was fitting that the truth should be represented as rich in happy and holy feelings, and error as barren and void of them. I have already, however, given you credit for a partial exception. On that one short para-
graph I congratulate you. For, although it proceed on the absurd and unscriptural principle, that the Coming of man's Enemy is equivalent to the Coming of man's Redeemer; so that the saint, being in health and comfort, instead of praying, in unison with the Apostle, Come, Lord Jesus, may as well pray, Come, O Death,—it nevertheless savours of a spirit of piety, in inculcating watchfulness against sin, and diligence in preparing for eternity. Little though there be of it, it is somewhat refreshing for its verdure, after the arid wilderness through which you have dragged your readers.

Probably you understand why Mr. Begg himself has not long before this time replied to your first publication; but lest you should not, I shall inform you. The particular form of his reply he resolved should depend on the avowal or disavowal of authorship by your publisher. Those who are acquainted with all the circumstances consider that in common civility he was entitled to this satisfaction: but notwithstanding repeated application it has hitherto been refused him. Whether he shall ever be given it; or should he be given it, whether he will answer you, now that I have taken you into task, I do not know. But as an advocate of that system of truth which you impugn, I consider that you have been long enough permitted to pass without challenge and rebuke.

When I first read your work entitled "Millenarianism Indefensible," it appeared to me to be a very innocent performance, so far as it threatened to do injury to our cause. The manner in which you dispose of the Holy Oblation prophesied of by Ezekiel, all assisted as you are in removing it out of the way by an esteemed acquaintance; and the mutilation you make of the prediction contained in the sixty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, seemed to me sufficient to discredit your book in the estimation of any intelligent reader, howsoever little acquainted with the
subject. It was not till the Magazines began to sound your praise that I contemplated any danger; but then I saw the danger to be considerable. For although your Letters should not be read, yet the mere announcement, by these oracles of the religious community, of a book having appeared which demolishes our hope, is enough for the indolence of some and the prejudice of others, that they should refuse to inquire for themselves, and conclude against us, that we are a number of antiscr iptural visionaries. True, those who are possessed of the secret, how these critical notices, as they are called, are manufactured—if by a man of intelligence, not unfrequently when he is entirely ignorant of the particular subject, or is indebted for any knowledge he has of it to a hasty reading of the book to be reviewed, without being aware of what is advanced on the opposite side; but then, he has been complimented with a copy; or the publisher of the Magazine is interested in the sale of the book; and the Magazine must be so constructed as to please a certain party, or to suit popular prejudices—a few lines must be written in commendation of it; nay, here is a notice ready for insertion; possibly by the author himself, or some youthful friend exercising himself in the writing of his mother tongue, and ambitious to appear in print; no doubt the flattery is very gross; but what can a poor Editor do? so the critical notice is transmitted to the printing office; and in due time the book is proclaimed as a masterpiece of fine writing and cogency of argument—a complete prostration of all opponents, and where- withal distinguished for its excellent spirit!—those, I say, who are in the knowledge of all this, receive these critical notices merely as Advertisements of certain books having been published on certain subjects. Unless a particular view of the author's line of argument be given, illustrated by extracts from which they can form a judgment for themselves, they
disregard the commendations as much as a Newspaper's praises of Blacking.—It may be good blacking, but such praise affords no evidence that it is. How different is the estimate of the people in general! That editorial we brings before their imaginations a company of holy and learned men, versed in all kinds of erudition, orthodox to a hair-splitting, carefully determining the value of a book, and as the guardians of the church publishing their decision. The opinion of their own minister; the opinion of any man they know, is nothing as compared with the Oracle of the Magazine. It is the consideration of this which has chiefly prompted me to reply to your book; and show the ignorance, or something worse, in which those laudatory notices of it have been written and published.

Were it the case of any other person, you, Sir, I am persuaded, have as much knowledge of the secret of Magazine-manufacture, as would enable you to value such notices at their proper price. But an author's heart is exceedingly susceptible of flattery. He will take consequence to himself from a commendatory review of his performance even when it is himself that has indited the praise. Besides, therefore, its being requisite for the defence of the truth, it may be of moral advantage to yourself that I be somewhat particular in reviewing those reviews. I quote from the extracts which your publisher, no doubt with your approbation, has printed and circulated so industriously for promoting the sale of your first publication.

"It is calculated to carry conviction to the mind at every step," says the Presbyterian Review. "It everywhere shows the mind of a master," says the Evangelical Magazine. "We recommend it as an excellent specific against the millenarian poison," says the Presbyterian Magazine. "This is a very able and perspicuous and scriptural confutation of the vagaries of our modern millenarians," says the Christian Herald. "In a few pages the author has entered into the
substance of the controversy, and he has said enough to convince every candid student of the Scriptures that the new light is only darkness," says the Orthodox Presbyterian. "It is indeed a masterly production, ably exposing the sophistry and shallowness of Millenarians," says the Covenanter.

All this, Sir, and a great deal more of the same nature, is, no doubt, very sweet to your heart; but is it not too sweet? When your friends have represented you as having convicted the primitive church, for two centuries clear, after the apostolic age, of having been universally infected with a dangerous error—a vagary, says the Christian Herald, a darkness, says the Orthodox Presbyterian, a shallow sophistry, says the Covenanter, a poison, says the Presbyterian Magazine—every thing foolish and wicked but a damning heresy, which their great charity prevents them from imputing to Irenæus and Justin Martyr:—and in reference to times since the Reformation, when they have represented you as having exploded all the criticism and argument, and even rendered suspicious the sanity, or the honesty and piety of Mede, Cressener, Newton, Horsley, Cunninghame, Way, Noel, Hall, Thorpe, Platt, and a multitude of others,* a few of whom I shall afterwards name, heretofore eminent, but alas! now that you have risen and dispelled the delusion, eminent no more:—when they have represented your theological prowess, (see the Evangelical) and might in the Scripture (see the Covenanter) to be so great as to have done such execution on the learning and piety of the Church in all ages, the dark ages of the dominion of Popery alone being spared, Do you not feel, Sir, that they have acted with lamentable indiscretion; and that it would have been better, both for themselves and you, had they expressed themselves with moderation in your praise; lest by some one

* See Appendix, A.
coming after them, and showing at what expense of
the very flower of Christian character they have
trumpeted your fame, the people should deliver over
to contempt not only their critical notices but your
book in company with them?
Perhaps you will reply that you and your friends
are Protestants, and that in your exposure of error
and defence of scriptural truth, you care not on
whom your censures reflect discredit. Let me try you
of this. In a certain book I find the following words
written:—

"As Christ would have us to be certainly per-
suaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both
to deter all men from sin, and for the greater conso-
lation of the godly in their adversity; so will He
have that day unknown to men, that they may shake
off all carnal security, and be always watchful, be-
cause they know not at what hour the Lord will
come; and may be ever prepared to say, Come, Lord
"Jesus, come quickly. Amen."

Before I inform you who were the authors of these
words, (for there was a great company of them,) I
shall show that your publications are directly at
variance with them. You will not dispute, I think,
that the Coming to which they refer, is the true,
literal, personal, Second Advent of the Redeemer.
No, Sir; zealous advocate as you are of the honours
of death, and much as he relieves anti-millenarians
of many difficulties, he refuses to administer you any
relief here. A figurative solution is inconceivable.
And, although I regard you as having dealt very
perversely with many precious promises of the Holy
Scriptures, yet I do not entertain such an unchari-
table idea of you as to believe, that you will presume
to say, that the watchfulness, proceeding on the prin-
ciple of the hour of that Advent being uncertain, which is
inculcated in the quotation, was not inculcated by
the authors on the men of their own generation;
and that they have merely represented it as being
something which would be suitable for a far-distant future generation. I trust you have as much honesty remaining, as will prevent you from making an attempt to escape the difficulty by having such a recourse. Well, it is about one hundred and ninety years, as you will perceive when I mention their names, since those men represented the hour of our Lord’s personal Advent to be so uncertain that they and their friends should be always watchful for it. Now, what is the great object of your publications? Is it not to demonstrate, that, even after the lapse of these one hundred and ninety years, all watchfulness on our part, proceeding on this principle, is the watchfulness of delusion; since it is certain the Lord will make no such visitation of the earth for at least a thousand years—till that millennial age have ended which has not yet commenced?

Those men, Sir, were the Divines of the Westminster Assembly; and the sentence I have quoted forms the solemn conclusion of their Confession of Faith. With all that is said in that Confession I do not profess to agree; the twenty-third chapter, for instance, I regard as containing matter most violatory of the rights of the church and the prerogative of our Lord; but how do you feel, when your witless friends have represented you as having completely triumphed in your attempt to overthrow a Confessional principle?

You may ask, have I the presumption to insinuate that the Westminster divines were infected with the millenarian poison? But that is not precisely the question at present; it is this, Do your books contradict their Confession on the subject of the uncertainty of the time of our Lord’s second coming? I maintain they do so pointedly; and those of your laudatory reviewers, who swear by the immaculate orthodoxy of that pillar of the truth, may retract their praise as gracefully as they can. I do not decline, however, answering the question respecting the state of millenarian faith in that venerable Assembly—so
venerable, that no man of sound mind, howsoever protestant in vindicating the rights of private judgment, may be careless about what were their opinions. But before I do this, I shall produce an extract or two more from the Standards which they framed, in reference to the personal Advent.

In the Directory for Public Worship, it is prescribed, that ministers should pray—

"For the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord." And again—

"For preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of the Lord Jesus."*

In the first of these instances, "the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations," is evidently prescribed as the general object of prayer. And the grammatical construction of the sentence, viewed by itself, seems to indicate that prayer is prescribed for "the hastening of the second coming of our Lord" as one of the particulars which should happen in the course of this propagation, and one of the means by which it should be promoted—immediately after, or in conjunction with "the fall of Antichrist." On this, however, I do not insist. I fix on the word hastening. Believing, as you do, that the Lord will not come till after the millennium, Do you pray, as is prescribed in the Directory, for the hastening of this Coming? If so, then I maintain, that you virtually pray, not only that Antichrist may be speedily cast down, but that it may be so arranged in the divine counsels, that the millennium should be rapidly tided over—that, all such a time as it shall be of men being born to God, its days should, nevertheless, be abbreviated—that the generating of human beings should be cut short, our Lord having

* See Appendix, B.
seen enough of the travail of his soul to satisfy him, in the wicked ages that are past! It is in full consistency with this that you sneer at Mr. Begg, for having, in company with several eminent interpreters, intimated the possibility, that, on the principle of a prophetic day being equivalent to a natural year, the millennial era may be prolonged for the space of three hundred and sixty thousand solar revolutions. To you, if you pray for the hastening of the advent, even one thousand years must be a wearisome interval. Let me help you in this strait. In this day of novelties, (I shall presently show who the innovators are,) I suggest for your adoption a new hypothesis. On the converse of the principle of interpretation just mentioned, may not a thousand years be understood as signifying only a thousand days! Do not say, Sir, that this is mere banter and abuse: I repeat, as a point of regular logical deduction, that, on your principles, to pray for the hastening of the coming of the Lord, is virtually to pray for the shortening of the millennial age; and what sort of a prayer that is, I leave yourself to judge.

I shall now suppose, that here, also, you maintain your protestant rights, and at the risk of losing the favour of your Presbyterian reviewers, refuse compliance with the prescription of the Directory in praying for the hastening of the advent,—but, wherein will this relieve you? Will it not be incumbent on your Independent friends to take you into task for refusing to unite with the Apostle, when the Faithful and True Witness having said, Surely, I come quickly; the beloved disciple responded, Even so, come, Lord Jesus. Afterwards, I shall have occasion for considering minutely this interesting passage with which the canon of Inspiration is closed. In the mean time, I remark, that surely every Christian may join in this response, and should join in it; using the words, not when he is distressed with pain, in reference to death; but when he enjoys health, in
the same sense in which the Apostle used them, that is, in reference to the Personal coming of the Redeemer. I therefore ask, why you, writing a book concerning Christ's second coming, did not conclude it, as the Westminster divines have concluded their Confession, after the Apostolic model? Ah, Sir, you could not; or rather, in that very passage for which I have formerly given you some credit, you had prostituted enough of the Scripture already. Knowing with such certainty, that the thousand years of the millennium must intervene, you could only say something to the careless and wicked after this fashion, Beware, for Death is nigh; you could not for the consolation of the righteous, say, Come, Lord Jesus.

In reference to the second sentence which I have quoted from the Directory, I remark, that the "watching" for the coming of the Lord Jesus, is evidently something different from a "preparation" for it. Such preparation is spoken of in the preceding clause. Will you, therefore, explain how you can not only prepare, but watch, and pray that you be made more and more watchful, for that, concerning which you are absolutely sure, that it is at least a thousand years distant? This, however, is also a subject which will afterwards come before us, when I examine your remarks on the injunctions to watchfulness given to the primitive church.

Having thus shown, that your reviewers bepraise you at the expense of the Westminster divines, I shall now offer some explanation of the sentences which I have quoted being found in the Standards framed by those eminent men. They were truly eminent; but being brought together by Act of Parliament, their Assembly was of an exceedingly heterogeneous composition. On various subjects they differed widely from one another in opinion, and on no one, perhaps, so much, (not even excepting the mode of the government of the church,) as
the time and nature of the millennium. There are things in the history of that Assembly of which there are no dreams in the orthodoxy of some men who give it the dominion of their faith. A number of them followed with Brightman and others of that time, in believing that the Reign of the Saints commenced under the auspices of Constantine, in the year 324; and, consequently, that the Thousand years had expired long before the year 1643, in which the Assembly was convened. This was sufficiently absurd; though not more so than the doctrine of some in the present day, who teach, that the Fifth Monarchy, prophesied of in the seventh chapter of Daniel, was established at our Lord's ascension!! With the erroneousness, however, of that opinion of several of the Westminster fathers, I am not at present so much concerned: My point for observation, in proof that I have not misconstrued the quotations, is, that holding such views they could not dissent from the statement made in the Confession, when proposed by their brethren, respecting the uncertainty of the time of our Lord's Coming, on the score of their being sure, as you are, that the thousand years of the millennium must intervene.

But I remark more especially, that the ancient Millenarianism of Irenæus and Justin Martyr was professed, not only by many of the members of that Assembly, but by some, yea, by the majority, of its most choice spirits. Were any well informed man to select from the list of its sederunt ten of its most eminent names, would not the selection contain those of Dr. William Twisse, nominated prolocutor, or president, by the Parliament, on account of his celebrity; Dr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. Stephen Marshal, and Mr. Herbert Palmer? Well, these were all primitive millenarians; believing that the First Resurrection shall be a literal one; and consequently, that, at least, Christ shall come personally to this earth at the
commencement of the Thousand years, if he shall not also continue to reside on it during their course.

Independently of the testimony of Principal Baillie, which I shall presently produce, the correspondence of Twisse with Mede, preserved in the works of the latter, affords sufficient evidence of the millenarianism of the venerable Moderator. Goodwin's views are explained in his Sermons on the Epistle to the Ephesians; and Burroughs', in his Commentary on the prophecies of Hosea. I am not acquainted with any works of Marshal or Palmer, to which I may refer for evidence of their belief; but the testimony of Baillie, himself a violent anti-millenarian, will not, I should think, be questioned. We find it in a letter numbered 117, in the highly interesting volumes of his published Letters and Journals. It is as follows:—

"Send me the rest of Forbes. I like the book very well, and the man much the better for the book's sake. I marvel I can find nothing in its index against the Millenaries. I cannot think the author a Millenary. I cannot dream why he should have omitted an error so famous in antiquity, and so troublesome among us; for the most of the chief divines here, not only Independents, but others, such as Twisse, Marshal, Palmer, and many more, are express Chiliasts."

Mark the expressions:—a error famous in antiquity; Baillie was not so ignorant as to call it a "new light," as your friend of the Orthodox Presbyterian has done; or to speak of those on whose minds it shines by the appellation of "modern millenarians," as does he of the Christian Herald. True, the Principal stigmaizes it as an error; but one can bear with some patience to be chided by an intelligent man, and especially in company with others of good name:—most of the chief divines here; not a few "shallow

* Chiliasts; the name formerly given to those who professed millenarian faith; from the Greek word signifying a thousand [years.]
sophists," as the Covenanter would have the people believe all millenarians to be, but some of the main pillars of the Assembly, yea, assuredly a majority of them,—Twisse, Palmer, and Marshal, being only a specimen of the brotherhood:—not only Independents; as if it were a thing to be expected of Dr. Thomas Goodwin and his friends—let the Evangelical and Herald mark that; but Presbyterians also—let the rest of your reviewers mark this, and especially when the "many more" refers particularly to the presbyterian party.

This "many more" opens up a wide field to be explored; and I doubt not that in examining the writings of the illustrious men of those self-thinking and free-thinking, and fresh and vigorous thinking, and fearless speaking and fearless writing, truly protestant times, much good fruit of authority for primitive millenarianism would be gathered, so far as it is lawful to admit of human authority in corroborating those points of our creed which we have first learned by our own interpretation of the Scriptures. At present, however, I know of only two other of the Westminster Divines, besides those already mentioned, who held millenarian views; but they are both persons of considerable note,—Mr. Joseph Caryll and Mr. Peter Sterry, the exposition of the Book of Job by the former of whom, Dr. Williams characterizes as "a most elaborate, learned, judicious, and pious work;" and yet, saith the Covenanter, millenarians are "shallow sophists."

The evidence which I adduce of Caryll and Sterry being millenarians, is found in their Imprimatur, as parliamentary censors of the press, in favour of that admirable work of Dr. Homes, The Resurrection Revealed, published in the year 1654.* That was

* The original work consists of two folio volumes. An abridgment has been published by the Editor of the Investigator, price 8s. 6d. I warmly recommend it to the students of Prophecy.
a trying time for millenarian doctrine: the abuses of the Fifth-monarchy-men were beginning to place stumbling-blocks in the way of its reception; just as those of Cerinthus and the Anabaptists of Munster had done in former times; and as those of many of our greatly deplored friends have done at the present day. But for the association, in the minds of the people, of this doctrine with Mr. Irving's revolting expressions used concerning the human nature of our Lord—with Mr. Campbell's alleged teaching, that not only does God love all, but has actually pardoned all—with those utterances and scenes which defy description, being ascribed to the supernatural agency of the Holy Ghost—and painfully I must add, with my own eccentricities and follies real and imputed, but although in a thousand cases most falsely imputed, yet widely credited—But for millenarianism, I say, being associated in the vulgar mind with all these errors; and had its advocacy been conducted only by such men as what Mr. Irving was when he wrote the Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of Ben Ezra, and what Mr. Drummond was when he wrote his Defence of the Students of Prophecy;—by such men as Cuninghame, Noel, Way, Thorpe, Fry, Platt, Marsh, M'Neil, Hooper, Hawtrey, Pym, Tyso, Madden, Burgh, Hoare, and Brooks—ah me! how high the doctrine of the Kingdom might by this time have ascended, gladdening and purifying the church with its blaze; instead of lying thus low to be kicked and spit upon by every petty scribe and ignorant pretender to theology, or hypocritical pretender to orthodox zeal. You, Sir, have joined in the abuse, and been lauded for your performances. But be not deceived. The true account of those circumstances of our brotherhood which have conduced to your apparent triumph, is, that millenarianism is something too good—too holy, too arousing, and too animating—that Satan should not exert the whole of his craftiness in bringing it into discredit; and may not the
church have degenerated so far, that God interposes not to save it from the Adversary's wiles? He may allow them to take their course, and use them for the manifesting of those who have discrimination and boldness to receive and avow their belief of His doctrines, though affected with discredit through the unpopular character of many who profess them.

Caryll and Sterry being men who despised the danger of losing the repute of being orthodox, and openly professing millenarianism though it was beginning to be in bad odour both with the church and the government, in consequence of others abusing it, I take peculiar pleasure in their testimony; and shall therefore quote the whole of Caryll's Imprimatur, and part of Sterry's, which is too long for an entire transcription in these limited pages. Besides gratifying myself, however, with these quotations, for the reason just mentioned, they will serve other important purposes; particularly they will corroborate Baillie's testimony respecting "the chief divines" and the "many more" who in the Assembly's times had embraced the faith.

Caryll's Imprimatur.

"That all the saints shall reign with Christ a thousand years on earth, both in a visible and spiritual glorious manner, before the time of the ultimate and general resurrection, is a position, which, though not a few have hesitated about and opposed it, has gained ground in the hearts and judgments of very many both grave and godly men, who have left us divers Essays and Discourses upon this subject. And having perused the learned and laborious work of this author, I conceive that the church of God hath not hitherto seen this point so clearly stated, so largely discussed, and so strongly confirmed—not only by the testimony of ancient and modern writers of all sorts, but by the Holy Scriptures throughout—as is presented in this book. Wherein also divers other considerable points are collaterally handled, all tending to set forth the catastrophe and result of the troubles and hopes of such as fear God, as the preface to their eternal bliss. And whereas some have been, and still
are, apt to abuse this doctrine, by making it an occasion to
the flesh, and of heating themselves in the expectation of a
carnal liberty and worldly glory, I find that the author
hath cautiously forelaid and prevented all such abuses, by
showing the exceeding spirituality and holiness of this state:
to which, as none but the truly holy can attain; so, having
attained it, they shall walk in the height of holiness. And
therefore I judge this book very useful for the saints, and
worthy of public view."

Sterry's Imprimatur.

"The subject, which is the Reign of our Saviour with his
saints on Earth, is of a transcendent glory in itself, of uni-
versal importance to all persons and states, and very season-
able for the present times. Like a piece of rich coin which
hath been long buried in the earth and lately dug up again,
it begins to grow bright with handling, and to pass current
with great numbers of saints and learned men of great
authority. As the same star at different seasons is the
evening-star, setting immediately after the sun, and then the
morning-star, shining immediately before it; so was this
truth the evening-star to the First Coming of Christ, setting
together with the glory of that day in a night of antichrist-
ianism; and now it appears again in our times, as a morn-
ing-star to that blessed day of the second effusion of the
Spirit, and the Second appearance of our Saviour in the
glory of the Father.

"The manner of handling this subject appears to be with
pious and modest learning; judgment, industry, and variety;
—a variety of divine matter, excellent reading, choice
Scriptures and Expositions of Scripture;—out of all which
ariseth much present light, many hints for more, with quick-
ening occasions for further searches and discoveries: so that
this book is at once a well grown orchard and a nursery of
truths."

Here then, Sir, it is undeniable, that besides
many other eminent divines of that time who had no
place in the Assembly, there were of its members
Twisse, T. Goodwin, Marshal, Burroughs, Palmer,
Caryl, Sterry, and "many more," who professed
millenarian faith. And when the ability and influ-
ence of those who are specified are considered, with-
out taking into account the "many more" not mentioned, does my commentary appear either improbable or fantastic, when I argue, that the passages which I have quoted from the Confession and Directory contain sentiments of a millenarian cast? Was that influence in no manner exerted on behalf of this system? Did they observe complete silence on the subject of their vagary; or did its poison make no manifestation of its virulence within Westminster Abbey? Were Goodwin, Marshal and Palmer—three of the principal debaters in the house—so afraid of the Scotch commissioner reporting them to his constituents as unsound divines, that they cowardly dissembled in his presence? How different in that case would the spirit of millenarianism have been in those men from what it is in its advocates at the present day? Our adversaries themselves bear us witness that we are a most vexatious generation. You say, that we propagate our opinions with "enthusiastic earnestness." Your friend of the Presbyterian Review complains of us, in terms calculated to excite at once pity and anger, on account of our agitation. And there are other of your friends, whom I need not mention, that have acknowledged in very moving calls for protection, our zeal and success in creating disturbance. But when we act thus we have no merit above our Westminster predecessors. From the nature of their belief, and not merely because it is a novelty, as you suppose, millenarians must ever be an excited people. Theirs is the Blessed Hope of the speedy revelation of the Lord from Heaven. Accordingly Baillie declares that Twisse and his friends were express Chilists—avowing their opinions without fear, and contending for them ardently, so that their error was a very troublesome one to such sceptics as the Rev. Principal.

While I maintain, however, that the Westminster Standards contain millenarian sentiments, I at the same time admit that they contain others not clearly
consistent with them. Here, as in other cases, that heterogeneous assembly of illustrious men, ordered by Parliament to frame a code of religious law for the kingdom, and having undertaken the task, felt when they met face to face on that noble arena, the floor of the Jerusalem Chamber, that they behaved to act, to a considerable extent, on the principle of mutual compromise. Of this there is various evidence in the correspondence of Baillie.* And in respect of the present question, although millenarianism may have been at disadvantage in point of numbers, (of this however I am not certain—that "many more" is a pregnant expression;) yet it cannot be honestly doubted, that the weight was greatly in its favour, so as to secure for it a part of the Church's testimony. I should not soon weary of repeating the words of the Principal—The Most of the Chief divines here are EXPRESS Chiliasts.

Altogether independently, however, of there being one word in those Standards expressive of millenarian views, With what kind of an aspect, I ask, do they appear in general, and in reference to other matters, since confessedly the men who had the principal hand in framing them were millenarians, if millenarians be what your reviewers say they are, innovators on the faith of the Church, shallow sophists, and perverters of the Scripture; or even what you, somewhat moderated in your censure, represent them in the preface to your last publication, only specious reasoners? Are not the Confession, Catechisms, and Directory, drawn up by such incapable if not sinful men, to be greatly suspected; instead of having such deference shown them be thousands, who the more that they are Confessional in their profession, regard themselves entitled thy more to the praise of being soundly orthodox? If they should not be entirely discarded, is there not

* See Appendix, C.
at least an urgent need for you and your reviewers examining them, and reporting your decision to the Church? This is not mere sarcasm. I challenge you and your Presbyterian friends to meet its force of sound argument. Nor have your Independent friends, who profess that they stand emancipated from the insulting bondage of all human creeds, much reason for congratulating themselves on escaping this thrust. "Not only Independents," says my favourite authority, as if it were a common thing for the Independents of those days to be Chiliasts. Or, have the Evangelical and Herald so little respect for the memories of Goodwin, Burroughs, Caryll and Sterry, that they are willing to surrender all the honour of their names to our scouted brotherhood? I do not imagine them to be so foolish; and yet it defies my poor wit to explain how they can congratulate themselves on Thomas Goodwin being of their party, when they treat millenarians with such contempt. Or did they heretofore know that that eminent man was an avowed Chiliast? I am led to question that they did, from the manner in which they speak of our modern origin. But of this I shall say more by and by.

You will observe, Sir, that it is more your reviewers than yourself with whom I have hitherto been dealing. Perhaps enough has been said already to disabuse the people of any prejudice which their ignorant censures may have excited against our Hope. To render it quite impossible, however, for any of my readers to respect their opinions on this subject, I shall proceed a little farther with their exposure; making the Presbyterian Review, the Christian Herald, and the Christian Journal, more especially the objects of animadversion. The first of these periodicals, the Presbyterian Review, is deservedly high in repute. Offensive though its ecclesiastical politics be, yet I have been both instructed and refreshed by many of its Articles.
It falls in with my present subject to refer particularly to the review of Dr. Keith's Signs of the Times, evidently written by an accomplished millenarian—the reviewer, I mean; though the Doctor himself is not far from being one of us, if he be not such already; he is too much a literalist to harmonize with those who are the true innovators.—But, Sir, how far you have reason to congratulate yourself on your book having been favourably treated in the Critical Notices of this publication, I leave yourself to judge from this circumstance,—that in the very same Number, only three pages distant, there occurs a warm recommendation of the Investigator—a thoroughly millenarian Magazine.* Yea, only two

* The admirable papers by the Editor, signed "Abdiel," are being republished separately. I exhort our friends to procure them. Like many other millenarian publications, however, the political remarks which they contain had need be read with discrimination. It is another of the misfortunes of the doctrine of the Kingdom, that its advocacy has fallen especially into the hands of those who hold the dogma of passive obedience. How is it that holy and intelligent men cannot distinguish between the spirit of lawless anarchy, and that spirit of liberty and patriotism which breathed from the bosom of the Master who publicly denounced Herod as a "bloody fox," and from the bosom of the Disciple, who thus claimed his rights as a freeman—"they have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison, and now do they thrust us out privily? nay verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out?" Was the Revolution of 1688, I ask, which chased the Stuart from the throne of Britain into ignominious exile, rebellion against God, or not? If not; then neither is it rebellion that at the present day an oppressed people should demand their rights from a pensioned Aristocracy, and pampered Priesthood too. And that man who refuses to assist them, much more him who abuses them for making the demand, I regard as deficient in the virtue of Patriotism, to which the virtue of Loyalty ought ever to be subordinated. Suppose the people did forget God in making the demand, are not the aristocracy equally forgetful of Him in refusing it? while the people have natural justice on their side. That power is not of the people, I maintain with any man: that it is of God, I maintain with any man. But that it is directly conferred on any Gentile king I deny. It is transmitted through the people. A Pastor's is so transmitted. And the divine right of
pages distant, we have not only a spirited testimony to the doctrine of the restoration of natural Israel to the earthly Canaan, when the Lord shall fulfil on their behalf "the very letter of his long-promised blessings;" but,—will my readers who have not seen the article believe it—a cordial recommendation of Barbara Ann Simon's "Hope of Israel," of which the object is to prove that the American Indians are the Ten Tribes of the Assyrian captivity and dispersion, who shall be gloriously restored to Palestine, in company with their brethren of the Tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Now, Sir, what gratification can it afford you to have obtained the insertion of a critical notice favourable to your book in a publication which blows cold and hot in this manner in the course of the turning of a leaf? The Investigator and The Hope of Israel are both favourite books with me, and I might otherwise have rejoiced in the recommendation given them; but it is almost entirely neutralized by the juxta-position of the recommendation of your book, which contains sentiments diametrically opposed to theirs. For the same reason you cannot wisely rejoice in the recommendation of that respectable periodical; because it is neutralized by what is said in it of the other two authors. The intrinsic value of the critical notice I shall afterwards discuss, when I examine those passages of your performance which are quoted in it with approbation. In the mean time I call upon the public to judge, from this specimen of the manner in which one of the most respectable religious magazines of a Pastor will measure any day with the divine right of a King. On this subject, I have largely explained my views in my Discourse on the Coronation of his Majesty. And though I sought not an opportunity of introducing it here, I am glad one has offered itself; that I may more and more keep myself clear of being suspected of holding those obnoxious political principles which are professed by not a few millenarians—but not by them all: Hall and Bicheno, and others whom I might name, were of a different mind.
the day is conducted, what sort of a manufacture that of the getting up of religious magazines is. The children of this world are much wiser: its politicians seldom befool themselves so grossly.

I now turn to the Christian Herald. As in the preceding case, considering the section of the church of which this periodical is the organ, were I to speak disrespectfully of it in general, I would only expose my own folly. But with regard to the critical notice which appears in it of your book, I am not restrained, by any fear of my censure falling on any respectable person, from saying, that its author is pitiably ignorant of the subject on which he presumes to write, and that you must be exceedingly susceptible of flattery if you take any consequence to yourself from his praise. I argue this from his speaking of our brotherhood by the name of Modern millenarians—as if our doctrine were an innovation on the faith of the Church. When, about eight years ago, after having been comparatively quiescent for a considerable time, it rallied its strength, and began to act with more than common energy, it was somewhat excusable, considering the state of the education, and the course of the study of those who principally engage themselves in writing for the Magazines, that these periodicals should almost universally raise against it the cry of Novelty, and of its being a desertion of the good old way. But to repeat the charge, so late in the controversy as March 1833, reveals a state of ignorance which it is impossible not to despise—if not, of moral perversity, which we are warranted to treat with indignation. No demonstration can be more complete than that which our books have, one after another, repeatedly made, to our own weariness, of our Hope having been the cherished expectation of at least some of the most eminent saints of all ages of the church, since the Apostolical, the dark ages alone being excepted. Nor will it avail your friend of
the Herald, and others like him, to plead that they have considered our books so unworthy of being read, that they did not know we had produced this demonstration.—Why then pretend to criticise our system? Is it their moral principle that as the Magazine-Guardians of the Church they may libel us at a venture? Or is their confidence placed in the report of such authors as you, the very Title page of whose book, I shall in due time prove, is disfigured by three misrepresentations?

You will perceive, Sir, that I feel particularly indignant at this charge of Novelty being brought against our system; and I do so not only because it is false, but because I admit, that, were it true, it would be a legitimate reason for treating us with suspicion. Let me explain myself. When innovation is carried only a certain length, no man can be less afraid than am I of being accounted an innovator. Instead of being afraid, I rejoice in it. And I heartily pity the man, who treats the memory of our forefathers with such superstitious and abject reverence as if they had exhausted the knowledge of the Bible—explored all its ocean, dug out all its ore, and collected the whole of its spoil into the narrow measure of their Confessions and Catechisms, leaving nothing to be discovered by their posterity! Improvement in the interpretation of Prophecy is especially to be expected. From its nature, this light is progressive—shining brighter and brighter until the day-star arise. Not only does the event fulfilling any one prediction illustrate that one particularly, but it guides in the interpretation of others which are to be fulfilled in future. Nor is this all; if we are now come to the time of the end of which the Angel spake to the Prophet,* until which the words should be shut up and the book sealed, but during which many should

* Daniel xii. 4. The time about the end, or towards the end of Gentile domination.
run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased: Or, if we live under the "main revolution," said by Sir Isaac Newton to be "predicted by all the holy prophets," and which, through the telescope of inspiration he descried at a distance, (for he was as ardent a student of prophecy as of the stars, and that, not in his state of dotage as the infidel has lyingly alleged, but, in the vigour of his mind;) and of which he further said, that, when it should commence, "it would at once both turn men's eyes upon considering the predictions and plainly interpret them:"*—if we are come to that time, I say, and live under that revolution, which almost every person who knows any thing about the matter regards as being the case, then, pretensions to having received new light in prophetical interpretation, have a claim to be regarded with favour, instead of being treated with scorn.

Nevertheless, the favour or forbearance shown to such novelties, must have its bounds. It can be safely extended only to the interpretation of particulars of comparatively subordinate importance. Had our brethren come forward at the present day, for the first time in the history of the Church, with the doctrines of the pre-millennial advent of our Lord, and the literal nature of the first resurrection, I would have been one of the foremost to conclude, *a priori*, without troubling myself with an examination of their arguments, that their teaching must be erroneous:—on this principle, that it would have been inconceivable how, if doctrines of such magnitude were contained in the Scripture, they could have escaped the observation of all the intelligent and independent of all the ages that have passed.

According to this view, then, it seems incumbent on us to show, ere we can justly expect to be given

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a favourable hearing, that our system, in its prominent features at least, and making exception only for points of subordinate importance, is not new to the Church of the faithful, though it be new to many, who suppose that every thing which is new to them, must be such to every other person also. This demonstration, I have already observed, we have heretofore repeated to weariness, but it appears that an ignorance still prevails which requires that it be repeated once more.

1. As already shown, the chief of the Westminster divines were millenarians. This, of itself, is sufficient to refute the charge of our system being a modern one, in the sense libelled. Or, should the critic in the Herald say, that the year 1643 is a modern date, then will I say, that Independency is modern church government too; for so far as ecclesiastic history is concerned, that form of administration is not recommended by an antiquity much more venerable. Of New Testament history, as distinguished from Ecclesiastic, it would be out of my way to say any thing; for the state of the Scriptural evidence for our system, is not the subject of the question at present before us.

2. On an antiquity, however, so recent as the middle of the seventeenth century, millenarians would have reckoned little. I therefore observe, in the second place, that it will scarcely be denied by any one, that from the time when the canon of inspiration was closed for the Old Testament Church by Malachi, till the first advent of the Saviour, that Church universally, in its sanctified, as well as unsanctified members, entertained the expectation of a Messiah who should visibly reign in the midst of their nation, over all the other nations of the earth. It will be said they were wrong, but that is the point to be proved by our opponents. That they erred in not waiting for Him manifested in a state of humiliation, does not prove that they erred also in waiting for
Him manifested in a state of glory;—a heretic's creed may contain some important truth, in rejecting which, because of its alliance with error, we would be involved in heresy ourselves. But whether they were right or wrong, is not our present question. I am simply vindicating our doctrine from the charge of novelty; and I adduce their case to prove, that the expectation of the personal reign of Christ on this earth, is one of remote antiquity.

Nor was the other part of our doctrine,—the Resurrection, and Reign of the Saints,—unknown among them. Meade, whose learning and honesty, at least, will not be questioned, gives the following account of their faith on this head:—

"Though the ancient Jews, whilst they were yet the church of God, had no distinct knowledge of such an order in the Resurrection as First and Second, but only of the Resurrection, in gross and general, to be in die judicii magni, [in the day of the great judgment;] yet they looked for such a resurrection, wherein, those that rose again should reign sometime upon earth; as appeareth [in the Apocryphal book,] Wisdom iii. 1—8, where it is expressly said, that the souls of the righteous which were departed, should in the time of their visitation shine, and that they should judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord should reign for ever. This opinion is here and there also dispersed in the Chaldee Paraphrase, and in the Talmud, as of ancient tradition; and is the opinion of the Jews at this day; who, as they look not for the kingdom of their Messiah, until dies judicii magni, so they expect that their forefathers (at least such as were just and holy,) should rise at the beginning of the same, [the day of the great judgment being, according to Jewish reckoning, an extended period of time; compare Heb. iii. 8, 9,] and reign in the land of Israel with their offspring under Messiah. I can hardly believe, that all this smoke of tradition could arise but from some fire of truth anciently made known unto them.* Besides, why should the Holy Ghost, in this point, speak so

* See Appendix, D.
like them, unless he would induce us, mutatis mutandis, to mean with them? In fine, the Second and universal resurrection, [Rev. xx. 12,] with the state of the saints after it, now so clearly revealed in Christianity, seems to have been less known to the ancient church of the Jews than the First, [Rev. xx. 4,] and the state to accompany it.". Second Letter to Dr. Meddus; Mede's Works, Book IV. Ep. xx.

3. Neither will it be denied, that not only did the Apostles entertain similar expectations to ours, of the personal reign of our Lord on earth, all along till the time of his death; but that his death did not extinguish these expectations, or if it did, that they revived, so soon as He rose from the grave. We find that the principal question which they asked him, when they met him again, was, Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel? Acts i. 6. That they used these words in the sense of an external restoration, when He himself should reign on earth, and they be exalted in company with Him, is a matter, so far as I am aware, in which commentators universally agree. Only, it is customary to turn round on them, and abuse them for their carnal views. Our Lord did not do so. He only corrected their views, as to the time of this restoration; their views of its nature he rather sanctioned than otherwise. On this subject I refer to Mr. Begg’s unanswerable reasoning in No. vii. of his Letters to a Minister of the Gospel. But, as in the preceding case, whether they were right or wrong is not the present question. My point for demonstration is, that our doctrine of the Messiah’s Reign on the earth is not a novelty, but was the faith of the Apostles during the whole course of our Lord’s personal ministry among them.

Whether or not their views underwent a change after the illumination of the day of Pentecost, is the essence of the inquiry, and must be deferred; since it is not the Scriptural proof with which I am at present engaged, but the defence of our system from
the charge of being of modern origin among uninspired interpreters.

4. I therefore pass on to observe, in the fourth place, that our principles were professed by many of the members of the primitive church, from the death of the apostle John, onward for more than two centuries. I adduce the evidence of one of the most virulent of our adversaries. Dr. Hamilton makes the following acknowledgments:

"If they [millenarians] had simply affirmed that their creed was ancient; or at least that there has been an ancient expectation of a supernatural millennium; they would have asserted a notorious and indubitable fact."—"The fact is, that from a very early period an expectation was entertained of our Redeemer's personal reign on earth. But then it is likewise a fact, that that opinion was never general."—"So far from being acknowledged as sound, the principles of millenarianism were opposed and rejected by the most eminent Fathers of the church. With the exception of Barnabas, the person who assumes the name of Clement, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Nepos, Apollinarius, Lactantius, and Tertullian; they were rejected by almost every Father of the church; and openly opposed by Dionysius, Origen, Ensebius, Epiphanius, Gennadius, Jerome, and Augustin." Defence, Pp. 291 and 308.

Though written with the purpose of condemning our doctrine, these extracts contain enough in its favour for my present object. Acknowledgment is made in them of some of the primitive Christians and Fathers, at least, having held our principles and professed our creed; and, consequently, that our system is not of modern invention.

But, besides the observation which I shall afterwards make under another head, I remark, in this place, that several of the persons thus confessed to have been millenarians, were saints of great eminence. Never did controversy make a more deplorable exhibition of perverseness of spirit, than in the manner in which Dr. Hamilton, in many respects an individual of great worth, has misrepresented the opinions,
and libelled the character of Justin and Irenæus; aggrandizing too, at their expense, such men as Origen, Dionysius, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Gennadius, and Jerome.* Than the names of Justin and Irenæus, along with that of Polycarp, a millenarian also, there are few more reverent to be found, excepting those of the Apostles, in the annals of the Church of Christ. They were both martyrs—a circumstance, one might suppose, which would have secured sympathy for them, from one who complains so piteously as the Doctor does, in the preface to his book, of the persecuted case of himself and many of his brethren on the Scottish establishment, who, "to the disgrace of this age and country, are condemned to starvings of £150 per annum;" or who have "their lives shortened" by infidel and hard-hearted.

* Origen is universally allowed to have been a man of great learning; but few retaining a Christian profession have gone so great a length in corrupting its doctrines. He adopted only so much of the Gospel as was not inconsistent with the Platonic Philosophy. The vicarious satisfaction of Christ had no place in his creed; he taught the efficacy of the death of the martyrs, for the remission of the sins of those for whom they prayed; and held opinions respecting the transmigration of souls, more absurd than those of Pythagoras. According to Dr. H. himself, "he inflicted a grievous injury upon religion, by setting an example of wild extravagant allegorizing of the Scriptures." Dionysius was a disciple of Origen, and in opposing millenarianism, was led to deny the inspiration of the Apocalypse. Eusebius, though famed as a historian, was in slight repute, either for piety or orthodoxy. Of Epiphanius, Mosheim says, that his book against heresies "discovers almost in every page the levity and ignorance of its author." Gennadius was a person so obscure, that many of the ecclesiastical historians do not notice him. And of Jerome, Milner says, that "he contributed more than any other person of antiquity to the growth of superstition." Such, with one exception, are the persons whom Dr. Hamilton's anti-millenarianism has induced him to eulogize, and prefer to Justin and Irenæus. Nor, although somewhat more fortunate in the brotherhood of Augustin, has he much reason for boasting of it. He also was infected with Platonism; and Mosheim says, that "the accuracy and solidity of his judgment were by no means proportionable to his other eminent talents."
heritors, who "resist every call of religion and humanity," to improve their circumstances. Was it fitting that one who has such experience of the woes of martyrdom, should speak so scornfully of men, who "loved not their lives to the death"? But not only were Justin and Irenæus saints of distinguished piety;—of the former, Milner says, "he is the first Christian since the Apostles' days, who added to an unquestionable zeal and love for the gospel, the character of a man of learning and philosophy;" and of the other, "his assiduity and penetration are equally remarkable in analyzing and dissecting all the fanciful schemes with which heretics had disgraced the Christian name." Mosheim speaks of both in similar terms of commendation; and Dr. M'Leod of New York, whose authority I have special reasons for quoting, says of Irenæus, that he was "confessedly learned, prudent, and pious." And yet, Dr. Hamilton has expressed himself concerning them in a manner which would make his uninformed readers believe, that those two millenarians were the most despicable of men, for the carnality of their expectations and the weakness of their judgments. It is a striking instance of the perverting tendency of the anti-millenarian spirit.*

5. Not only, however, was our doctrine professed by some of the most eminent saints of primitive times. I observe, in the fifth place, that it was a standard

* In every respect is the Doctor's book unworthy of him, whether we regard him as a Christian, a gentleman, or a scholar. You, Sir, the author of Millenarianism Indefensible, very wisely slight it, when, in the Preface to your last publication, you speak as if no "serious opposition" had been made to our doctrine, till you stood forth as defender of the faith. Those who have read the Doctor's rhapsody, so as to be disgusted with its ribaldry, and particularly with its abuse of the primitive Fathers, will find it rebuked with merited severity, by Mr. Cuninghame, in an Appendix to his Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Theological Magazine. Mr. Drummond's Defence also, is a reply of great value.
article of the church in general, for at least a hundred years after the death of the apostle John. Dr. Hamilton affects to treat us with great scorn, when we make such affirmations, but the whole of it falls back on himself. He endeavours, as I have shown by the extract made from his book at page 33, to show that we have little countenance from antiquity; but what do my readers, who are not versed in ecclesiastic history, think of his attempt, when they are informed, that all those whom he enumerates as having held our principles, are, with the exception of Lactantius, Fathers of the first and second centuries; whereas, there is not one of those whom he enumerates as opposed to our principles, who flourished before a period considerably advanced in the third?* Nor, with all their keen searching, have he and his friends been so successful as to discover a single writer of that age, which is pre-eminently, if not solely entitled to the character of primitive, who patronises their scepticism, in reference to the doctrine of the Kingdom.

It may be said, however, that this circumstance does not prove that the doctrine was generally entertained in the Church—that many may have objected, though we have no account of their opposition. To this, we answer, with the testimony of Justin Martyr, who flourished about thirty years after the

* Origen flourished about the year 230. Dionysius some time after. Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome and Augustin belong to the fourth century; and Gennadius, to the fifth. Such is the comparatively modern antiquity of anti-millenarian error. Just think of Dr. H. preferring the primitiveness of Gennadius, who flourished in the year 495, to that of Justin Martyr, who flourished about the year 140! Among other strange things in anti-millenarianism, its system of chronology is very peculiar. "To make out your case," says Mr. Drummond, in replying to the Doctor, "your meaning of primitive must be remote from the earliest times; for exactly in proportion as the times were primitive, so in proportion did the principles of millenarianism exist."
death of the apostle John, a testimony not more important than distinct; it is as follows:

"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, rebuilt, and adorned, and enlarged, as the prophets Ezekiel, and Isaiah, and others attest." And, again, "a certain man among us, whose name was John, one of the Apostles of Christ, in a revelation made to him, did prophesy, that the faithful believers in Christ should pass a thousand years in the New Jerusalem; and that after these should be the general resurrection and judgment." Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

Now, let it be observed, that when Justin thus speaks of persons "orthodox in all respects," he does not mean a select party, who, in his estimation, were thoroughly sound in the faith, when compared with others, who, although sound in fundamental points, and therefore entitled to the christian name, were nevertheless deficient in points of subordinate importance; for when we examine the context, we find, that those "orthodox" signify such as were distinguished from some so heretical as to deny a resurrection altogether; and, consequently, not to be taken account of when inquiring what was the faith of the Church. This explanation being made, the declaration of Justin respecting the general, if we should not say universal, faith of Christians in his time, is, to use the language of Mede, "a testimony absolute, without all comparison, to persuade such as rely upon authority and antiquity. It is to be admired," he goes on to say, "that an opinion once so generally received in the church, should ever have been cried down and buried. But those times which extinguished this brought other alterations into the church beside this; et quidem sic fieri opportuit."*

In all this there is much more for our opponents

* Mede's Works, Book IV. Ep. xx. In Book III. page 533, the whole of the passage may be seen which relates to this subject, in the Dialogue with Trypho. See also Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, Diss. xxv.
than the refutation of their charge, that our doctrine is a novel one, and the casting of it back on their own as a departure from the ancient faith. Whatever professions men may make of a protestant spirit, every party is more desirous than another of making it evident; that the Christians of the time of Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, believed as they do; as affording presumptive evidence that their interpretations of the Scripture are correct. The learned Burnet, than whom no man was ever more protestant in the formation of his creed, has judiciously expressed himself on this subject, as follows:— "On subjects of controversy, it is customary for most men to make it a matter of no small importance to inspect the faith of primitive and uncorrupted antiquity. For, although, with the exception of the Apostles, we attribute infallibility to no man, nor age; neither first, middle, nor last; nevertheless, when the Christian religion was not yet erected either into a profession or domination, (artem aut imperium,) the Christians followed the naked truth with much more simplicity and sincerity. In proportion as the streams are nearer the fountain, they are usually the more pure; and in proportion as the christian Fathers lived nearer to the Apostles, or Apostolic times, the more approved and irrefragable witnesses are they to be regarded of what is orthodox doctrine." Accordingly, the Socinian controversy was, on a memorable occasion of no distant date, conducted on this ground; and the Church rejoiced greatly when Priestley was vanquished, and Horsley triumphed. Why is the rule departed from when the subject of dispute is the nature of the millennial kingdom? How disingenuous it is to laud a man's evidence when it is in favour of our prejudices; and to disregard or revile it whenever it opposes them! If it is worthless in the one case, it is equally worthless in the other; and if in one it is valuable, it is valuable in both.

* De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium. p. 56.
When this view of the subject is taken, the doctrine of the primitive Church respecting the Millennial Reign, will not admit of being lightly treated by our opponents. They have therefore laboured with all their might to dispossess us of the ground of antiquity. I have already exposed the unsoundness of a part of Dr. Hamilton's reasoning, when in this attempt he produces the opposition made in centuries comparatively modern, as an evidence that our doctrine was not generally entertained in primitive times. There remain, however, for examination, a few more of his statements, in reference to times truly primitive.

First.—"These principles," he says, "never obtained a place in any creed, confession of faith, or formulary of doctrine of the primitive church:" which he argues they would have obtained, had they been generally professed. p. 308.

Now, according to Dr. H.'s system of chronology, when he extends the primitive church the length of the sixth century, I shall afterwards show, that our principles did most certainly obtain a place in its formularies of doctrine. And with respect to the church truly primitive—it is true they did not obtain a place in its creeds, confessions, &c., for the plain reason, that it was so poor as to have none in which they might be inserted. Or should any one contend, that what is called the Apostle's Creed was framed so early as the second century, in what would he be involved; did he plead, that the want of specific statements of millenarian views in that confession, is a proof that they were not the general doctrine of the ancient Christians? On the same principle, might not the Socinian plead against him that the doctrines of the divinity and atonement of Christ were not generally received by them, since neither are they specifically stated in that symbol of the Church? And when the Socinian does actually plead in this manner, how do we answer him? Is it not by re-
ferring to the writings of the Fathers for proof of the sense which they must have attached to the expressions used concerning the Sonship and Death of our Lord? Let the same treatment be given to the expressions, "He shall come to judge the quick and the dead," and "the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting." Let the writings of Justin and Irenæus be examined, and they will instruct you that they are to be received in a millenarian acceptation.

Secondly.—"The early millenarians," says the Doctor, "were obliged to write in support of their principles, and defend them from attack;" whence he infers, that they were opposed by many. P. 312.

But who does not see, that a doctrine might be very generally received, so as with propriety to be regarded the doctrine of the Church, when yet there were a few sceptical on the subject who needed re-buke? Accordingly, it is rather attack of others than defence of themselves, by which those parts of the writings of the primitive Fathers are characterized, to which the Doctor refers. But I take higher ground than this. It was formerly shown, that, in the times of Justin, the objectors were not members of the Church catholic, but persons so heretical as to deny the doctrine of any resurrection of the body whatever. In like manner, it is in his book entitled, Against Heresies, that Irenæus makes acknowledgment of any existing opposition.

But, argues Dr. Hamilton, although it were proved that the whole of the primitive Church was millenarian, the millenarianism of those times was so "widely different from the modern edition of that hypothesis," that we could not justly claim the sanction of antiquity for our views. Pp. 292, 306.

We never endeavoured to conceal, that we do differ from the Fathers in some points; but although that difference were much wider than it is, still would we have maintained, that, since the general system is in both cases the same, we had the countenance of
those primitive saints. On the supposition that Dr. H. had found in the writings of the Fathers of the first and second centuries the doctrine of unconditional election taught in conjunction with that of unconditional reprobation; and the representation that our Lord suffered a pang or shed a drop of blood, neither more nor less than what was an exact equivalent for the merited punishment of the elect, would he not have pled such passages, and most justly, as being part of the evidence drawn from antiquity for the doctrines of election and atonement; although in the one case there was a conjunction of what he regarded gross error, and in the other, a very objectionable mode of representing the principle? In like manner, it would have been sufficient to warrant us maintaining that we have the countenance of antiquity for our millennial system, although the Fathers had mingled up with their doctrine much error which we rejected, if yet they and we harmonized in holding the fundamental principles—the Personal Advent of Christ at the commencement of the Thousand years, the Resurrection of the Saints and their Reign with Him, and the Regeneration of the earth. Now, that those Fathers and we do thus harmonize, Dr. Hamilton himself is witness: "If they had simply affirmed that their creed is ancient," says he, "they would have asserted a notorious and indubitable fact." p. 291.

But is it true that we differ widely even in respect of the details of the system? Here the Doctor, after all his abuse, becomes excessively kind, and elevates us, both in respect of the morality and rationality of our views, above those martyrs to whom their Lord intrusted so much of the superintendence of his Church in those perilous times of its infancy and warfare. We decline accepting the honour which he presses on us.

First, he says that we differ from the Fathers widely, in respect of the gross and carnal notions
which they entertained of the state and enjoyments of the risen Saints. Now, although it were true that their notions were somewhat gross, Dr. H. would not be precisely the person qualified to reprimand them. By inspecting his book at the seventy-second page, any one may see that he represents the resurrection body of the saints to be of such a constitution, and clothed with such raiment, that, were it placed in this world, it would be chilled and benumbed by the frost, and drenched by the rain! But the grossness of the views of the Fathers lies all in his own anti-millenarian perversion, or want of discrimination.

With respect to Justin—I refer to the exposure which Mr. Cuninghame makes, in the Appendix formerly noticed, of the Doctor's controversial dishonesty, when, with Bishop Newton's vindication of the character of that eminent saint open before him, he yet justifies Dr. Middleton's fraudulent interpolation of the martyr's works. And yet the Doctor affects to feel high moral indignation against us for making partial quotations from the works of our millenarian predecessors, and concealing from the people much offensive matter, from the midst of which we cull our evidence of their having entertained our principles. I can afford room only for a specimen of the manner in which he endeavours to support this charge.

Bishop Newton has made the following quotations from Lactantius' Book of Divine Institutions:—

"'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 sixth thousandth year all wickedness should be abolished out of the earth, and justice should reign for a thousand years.' 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 the 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.'"

The above being all that Bishop Newton quotes from Lactantius, Dr. Hamilton roundly accuses him of want of honesty and courage in suppressing other parts of that Father's statement of his system, by which his evidence is discredited. The Doctor has, of course, supplied the deficiency by two pages of additional extracts. I shall examine those sentences in which, having caused them to be printed in italics, he evidently triumphs with particular exultation, as illustrative of the grossness of ancient millenarianism.

"'Those who at that time are living in the body shall not die; but during these thousand years shall produce an infinite multitude of children: and their offspring shall be holy and beloved of God. But those who shall be raised from the dead will, as judges, rule over the living.'"

Now, although there is not in this passage that acknowledgment which I wish there had been of the Transformation of such of the righteous as shall be alive at the coming of the Lord, yet I rejoice in it, as containing a testimony to much precious truth. And I am confident that no millenarian ever designedly suppressed it through being ashamed of any thing in it which can justly be charged with grossness or carnality: but if he did not quote it, did so, either because, as in the case of Bishop Newton, it was not necessary, in producing evidence that the Fathers were not guilty of the modern inconsistency of interpreting the commencement of the twentieth chapter of
the Apocalypse figuratively, when they interpret the conclusion of it literally; or, because, he did not know of its existence in the works of that ancient writer.*—In what respect are those words gross in sentiment which the Doctor has singled out for the reader’s eye? I know well what he intends; it is to make his readers believe, that Lactantius taught the doctrine that the glorified saints shall procreate children—something akin to his own, that they shall be in a capacity to be drenched by rain and benumbed by frost. But they must be as foolish readers, as he is a dishonest controversialist, who will be taken in a snare laid with so little cunning; since the very next sentence which he quotes, distinguishes so clearly between those who shall live in the body unchanged, and those, in a

* What does Dr. H. mean, when, in page 293, he says, of all those who quote the Fathers "at second-hand"—depending on the integrity of such men as Joseph Mede and Bishop Newton—that they are "guilty of baseness" in doing so? And especially, when, in making the apology of his brethren in the Establishment for not writing us down, he complains so bitterly of a whole third of them being "condemned to starvings of £150 per annum," so that they are unable to purchase those books, that they might expose their carnality, which such gross and earthyminded persons as Justin and Irenæus indited, when under the fleshly excitement of the music of the trumpet which summoned them to martyrdom!—Without questioning either the Doctor’s scholarship or industry, or the excellence of his library, by insinuating any thing either about English translations of Latin, or Latin translations of Greek; I take upon me to ask, Has he never been "guilty of the baseness of quoting, at second-hand," from the Prophecies of Daniel, without consulting the original Chaldee—and that, as corrected by Kennicott and De Rossi—yea, without inspecting for himself the manuscripts to which they refer? Let Dr. H. know, that there are some men, in the integrity of whose quotations such persons as myself, poor both in wealth and scholarship, repose the fullest confidence; but that he has proved himself to be unworthy of being one of them, by his shameful justification of Doctor Middleton’s fraud, and many shameful things besides. I receive his two pages of extracts from Lactantius without suspicion, only because they favour our views to a great extent. Till I read them, I was not aware that the Fathers had "speculated" in some cases so correctly on the particulars of our system.
condition so different, who shall be raised from the
dead, to administer the government of the kingdom.

That Dr. Hamilton, in the face of this distinction,
means by his *italics* to impute to Lactantius, the doc-
trine that the glorified saints shall procreate children,
I regard so evident, that I would not receive the Doc-
tor's own denial of it, though made with much solem-
nity. In that case, I would say, he had forgotten
what spirit he was of when engaged in the writing of
that pitiful book. One of the principal objects of
the Section from which I have quoted, is to show,
that the millenarian Fathers had impure and degrad-
ing conceptions of the immortal state. (What a
Church the primitive one, according to him and Mr.
Gibson together, must have been!). For instance,
in page 302, he says, "Barnabas seems to have had
as sharp an eye after the good things of this world
as his brother Justin:" and again, in page 306,
"these gross and carnal ideas, uniformly formed an
essential part of the millennium which the ancients
expected"—Mohammed was nothing to them. Now,
in the course of demonstrating this grossness and
carnality, how could the stigmatized words serve his
purpose, were they applied to any other than the'
glorified party of the millennial kingdom? Does
not the replenishing of the earth with inhabitants,
by men and women in the flesh, form a part of the
Doctor's own system of that kingdom's glory.* Or is

* There is a good passage on this subject occurring at p. 90,
of Dr. Hopkins' Treatise on the Millennium. This being a book
which Dr. Hamilton recommends, it, of course, contains some
objectionable matter. But it contains more of which I approve.
How it would gladden us would our opponents come up the
length of the sentiments of the Fourth Section, which comprises
nearly a half of the Treatise, and is thus summed up:—"The de-
genecy and increasing prevalence of ignorance, error, and wick-
edness, now in the world, especially in Christendom, is preparing
for, and hastening on the battle of that great day of God Almighty,
in which mankind will be punished, and the greatest part then on
earth destroyed; and then the millennium will be introduced."
he a disciple of father Origen to such an extent, (he
knows to what I refer,) as to have banded with father
Malthus and mother Martineau, in "forbidding to
marry?" It is an impious, cruel and impure
apostasy. And yet the Doctor must take his choice,
either of being ranked as a member of it, when, with
his abominable italics, he scoffs at an ancient Father
for philanthropically and piously rejoicing in the
prospect of a time when holy wedlock, being given
full scope, shall, according to the divine blessing,
' Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,' produce an infinite multitude of children—holy, and be-
loved of God; or, of being regarded as possessed of
a spirit of misrepresentation—with which anti-mil-
lenarianism seldom fails to possess its advocates—
when he falsely insinuates, that Lactantius believed
in the procreation of children by the saints in their
glorified condition.—Let him take his choice. There
is not a third alternative.*

The next sentence in which the stigmatizing italics
attract special attention, is as follows:—
" ' The nations, however, shall not be altogether destroy-
ed; some of them shall be left for a conquest to God; that
the just may triumph over them, and subject them to perpetual
bondage.'"

Most probably the word vassalage, or servitude,
should be substituted in the place of bondage. But,
without questioning the correctness of the Doctor's
translation, which I am so "base" as not to have the
means either of verifying or contradicting, I shall
furnish him with an extract from another ancient
millenarian, closely resembling the above, which,
the next time he publishes on this subject, he may
expose to scorn for its grossness, or carnality, or ab-
surdity, or whatever is the offensive quality, on
account of which he regards that made from Lactan-
tius as scorn-worthy.**

* Alternative—not necessarily one of two.—Canning.
"The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister to thee: for in my wrath have I smitten thee, but in my favour will I have mercy on thee. Therefore thy gates shall be open continually; they shall not be shut day nor night; that men may bring unto thee the wealth of the nations, and that their kings may come in their pomp. For that nation, and that kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly destroyed."*

This is but a specimen of the millenarianism of the prophet Isaiah. His book abounds in such descriptions.† Dr. Hamilton will no doubt reply, that Lactantius is to be understood as speaking literally and politically, whereas, Isaiah is to be understood as speaking figuratively and spiritually of the dominion of the Christian church over men's consciences, and the punishment to which the disobedient shall be consigned in eternity. But I would be just as much authorized in converting the cases, and saying, that Isaiah is to be understood as speaking literally, and Lactantius figuratively. Every canon of just criticism demands that the words of both be interpreted literally, till cause of necessity be shown for departing from the plain signification of the terms. Not only, however, is there no necessity,
in the prophet's case, for departing from the literal interpretation, there is a necessity for adhering to it. These words in the passage itself: "In my wrath have I smitten thee, but in my favour will I have mercy on thee," appropriate the prediction to natural Israel. So do many other expressions in the context; to spiritualize which, and apply them to the Gentile church, is to make a mockery of the Scripture. But especially is the twentieth verse of the preceding chapter—"The Redeemer shall come to Zion, and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob"—quoted by Paul in the xi. chapter of the epistle to the Romans, as referring to the time of natural Israel's restoration; when, having regained their place as the elder brethren of the human family, the Lord and his glorified Saints, shall, through them as the medium of their power, administer to a considerable extent, the government of the millennial kingdom.—At present I shall quote only another authority, who speaks in the same strain with Lactantius:

"He that overcometh, and keepeth my works 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 shall they be broken to shivers, even as I received of my Father." Rev. ii. 26, 27. Compare chap. xix. 14.

At these words the Doctor dare not scoff, on account of any alleged grossness of sentiment. Why then scoff at those of Lactantius, which do not go so far in ascribing dominion to the saints?

The remaining passage in which *italics* occur, is as follows:—

"The earth will disclose her fertility, and spontaneously produce fruit in the greatest abundance. The rocks will drop honey: *wine will run in streams*; and *the rivers overflow with milk*. In fine, the world [*earth?*] itself will be glad: and all nature, rescued and freed from the dominion of evil, impiety, and error, will rejoice."
It is difficult to divine what it may be which shocks the Doctor's sentimentality and taste in the words thus exhibited for special reprobation. If he intend to convey the idea that Lactantius rejoiced in the prospect of all this abundance, on behalf of the glorified saints; or if he mock at it as a happy prospect for those who shall live in the flesh, then must he be rebuked, as when, in the preceding case, he mocks at the idea of the world being replenished with a holy offspring. A friend has suggested, that it may be as a member of the Temperance Society, that the Doctor abhors the idea of such a flood of wine; but this can scarcely be the explanation, for he equally stigmatizes with the italics what Lactantius says about milk, the drinking of which all we who are members of that Society earnestly recommend. It is probably the absurdity of the idea of those beverages running in streams and rivers to which the Doctor objects; in the same manner as when he endeavours to expose to ridicule the tradition of Papias, recorded by Irenæus, concerning the vines and wheat-ears of the millennial vintage and harvest.

On this absurdity, as distinguished from grossness, charged against the representations of the primitive Fathers, besides referring again to Mr. Cuninghame's vindication, I briefly remark: First, That any absurdity which may appear in their illustrations of particulars, does not prove that their system was essentially erroneous; any more than the fantastical representations which some make at the present day, disprove the truth of their doctrine that there shall be a resurrection and judgment.* Secondly, That

* After a violent tirade against the absurdities and impieties of modern millenarians, a reverend gentleman lately edified his hearers to the following effect:—That the bodies of the saints shall be first raised from the grave in a kind of lifeless state, meet the Lord in the air, and receive their souls, be judged, and acquitted: Then shall proceed the resurrection of the wicked.
our rejection of these illustrations does not prove what Dr. Hamilton says it does—that our system and that of the Fathers differ, so that we have no right to claim the countenance of their antiquity: this has been already illustrated. Thirdly, That some of the descriptions to which the Doctor objects, proceeding from the warm oriental imaginations of the Fathers, though they do not equal in beauty, yet do not exceed in allegory and hyperbole, representations contained in the writings of the Prophets: take Joel, for example—"And it shall come to pass in that day, that the mountains shall drop new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk." iii. 18; or Amos—"Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed; and the mountains shall drop sweet wine, and all the hills shall melt." ix. 13; or Hosea—"And it shall come to pass in that day, I will hear, saith the Lord; I will hear the heavens; and they shall hear the earth; and the earth shall hear the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and they shall hear Jezreel." ii. 21, 22. There is surely enough here on the foundation of which we are warranted to rebuke Dr. Hamilton's anti-millenarian spirit with severity, when he has endeavoured to raise the laugh of contempt against men to whom the Church is so much indebted; and who had so

who shall be judged by our Lord and the saints conjunctly—they being constituted assessors with Him—so as to fulfil such promises as that made to the faithful in the church of Thyatira! Now, although there be a point or two in this representation which the greater part of our opponents will reject; what better account than their brother's have they to give of the fulfilling of the promise to the church of Thyatira? To such an extent is the doctrine of the Reign of the Saints excluded from the creed of the Church, that I have found more than one minister of the Gospel, otherwise well instructed, who, in the first instance, denied that any such words, represented as used by the departed saints, exist in the Scripture, as these, "Thou hast made us unto our God, kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth." Rev. v. 10. Compare 1 Cor. vi. 2.
much countenance in Scripture for using that language, on account of which he has done all in his power to render their memories despicable? Their vindication is a duty which we owe not only to the particular doctrine which I at present advocate, but to the cause of Christianity in general, which is not a little affected by the character of the primitive Church.

Having thus established for our system its claim to be treated with respect, as having been the standard faith of the Church in the first ages, I revert to a statement formerly quoted from Mede;—"It is to be admired, [wondered at] that an opinion once so generally received in the Church should ever have been cried down and buried." Of the commencement of the opposition, Mosheim gives the following account:—

"Long before this period, an opinion had prevailed that Christ was to come and reign a thousand years among men, before the entire and final destruction of the world.—But in this century its credit began to decline, principally through the influence of Origen, who opposed it with the greatest warmth, because it was incompatible with some of his favourite sentiments." Eccles. Hist. Cent. iii.

Now, when any person of judgment and impartiality reflects what were Origen's principles of interpretation, and opinions respecting the soul, (not to speak of his hundred-and-one Platonic dogmas and heresies beside,) does it not afford presumptive evidence in favour of a doctrine that it was honoured and privileged with his opposition, and especially if he opposed it on the principles of his peculiar opinions, which Mosheim says was the case with his opposition of millenarianism? When Dr. Hamilton attempts to prove that our principles were rejected and condemned by the most eminent men of antiquity, he says, "Origen, who inflicted a grievous injury upon religion, by setting an example of wild extravagant allegorizing of the Scriptures, repeat-
edly reprobates the system." It is impossible to conceive of a sentence more suicidal of a controversalist's own cause than this. At the very time that he triumphs in Origen's opposition, he confesses that the principles which dictated this opposition were wild, extravagant, and grievously injurious to religion. Would Dr. H. boast of any individual who had opposed Socinianism on the principles on which Origen opposed millenarianism?—or, on the principles on which another antique anti-millenarian opposed it—Dionysius, a disciple of Origen, of whom the Doctor boasts also, all the while that he confesses of him that he denounced the Apocalypse as a forger of Cerinthus, for no other reason, than that he regarded it an impure millenarian fable?*—or even on the principles on which Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustin and Gennadius opposed it? for, besides that some of them were Origenists, they have all borne false witness against primitive millenarianism, in saying, that it consisted in the expectation of carnal feasts, and carnal marriages for the glorified saints—an allegation, which, any one may discern from what I have formerly advanced, was either an ignorant or intentional falsehood. Although we lament that our doctrine was obscured, yet we cannot but rejoice that it was not darkened either by a respectable or holy opposition; but by the prevalence of principles which, in the declension of the Church, wrought great havoc among other doctrines of equal importance. And we give our opponents to wit, that we do not grudge them the honour of having Origen for their father, and his disciples for their brethren.

Besides the prevalence, however, of Platonic principles, raised into repute by the learning and industry of Origen, there were other causes of the decline of our doctrine which must not be overlook-

* Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's History, has been guilty of interpolation in representing his author as characterising the dissertations of Dionysius as "learned and judicious."
ed. That some heretics of the Cerinthean school debased it with carnality, cannot be denied—so as to deter undiscriminating men from meddling with it in its genuine form; yea, to influence them to become its active opponents. Then the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne must have been highly prejudicial to its profession, as it proclaimed the Coming of another King than Cæsar—under which Cæsar too, many of them imagined the Reign of the Saints had begun.* Immediately thereafter, the empire was agitated and engrossed by the Arian controversy, to the neglect of almost every other doctrine as well as that of the millennium. Then broke in the irruptions of the northern barbarians, when the whole of the study of Christian truth was so dreadfully interrupted. At last arose the Papal Apostasy, fatal to all truth, but especially prophetic, since it is against this impious dominion that prophecy directs some of the sharpest and most fiery of its arrows. Is it any objection to our doctrine that we can find no traces of its profession during the dark ages of the dominion of that accursed system?

6. Reverting to the beginning of the third century, I observe, in the sixth place, that although, through evil influence, millenarianism ceased from being universally professed, yet did it continue down the length of the dark ages to have many adherents. Yea, it is questionable if during the third century it lost its catholicity as the belief of the majority of Christians. Or, if it did so, it appears to have regained its ground by the commencement of the fourth, in consequence of the decline of Origenism. How

* Mr. Drummond will not be suspected of having been swayed by a Dissenter's bias at the time when he wrote the following sentence. "When the Church was taken up by the Emperor Constantine, then, for the first time, did her sons begin to hold the Apocalypse in disrespect; for they could not conceive that the dear Power which had just begun to succour her, could ever become her bitterest scourge, the Beast, False Prophet, and Dragon of St. John."—Defence of the Students of Prophecy, p. 50.
can we otherwise account for the declaration formerly quoted from Lactantius, who flourished about the year 310, "This is the doctrine of the holy prophets which we Christians follow; This is our wisdom." But there is much more than this.

When Dr. Hamilton objects that our "principles never obtained a place in any creed, confession of faith, or formulary of doctrine of the primitive Church," I heretofore answered, that it was impossible they could, for the very sufficient reason, that the truly primitive Church does not appear to have had any such formal confession in which they might be inserted; but that, according to the Doctor's reckoning of primitiveness, I would afterwards show, that they did most certainly receive that acknowledgment which he denies they did. I shall now redeem my pledge. And it remains for Dr. Hamilton, versed as he professes to be, and from his own inspection too of the originals, in the writings of the primitive times, to explain why he has suppressed the subsequent document; and especially when he is so shocked at the dishonesty and baseness of millenarians for suppressing the gross and carnal parts of the creed of Lactantius—a grossness, which, after all, exists, as we have seen, only in his own misrepresentation or misapprehension. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

The council of Nice was convened in the year 325. It was the first of those Æcumenical or General Assemblies which represented the whole body of the Christian Church. Besides a short Creed, retained in the communion service of the Church of England, and a number of Ecclesiastical Canons, they set forth certain Forms of Doctrine, according to which all teachers in the Church were to frame their discourse, and direct their opinion. Some of these Forms are recorded by Gelasius Cyzicenus in the history of the Acts of the Council. Amongst them there is the following for the doctrine of the Resurrection—according to which, those clauses of their Creed which
pertain to the Advent, the Judgment, and the Kingdom of our Lord, are evidently to be interpreted:—

"The world was made inferior because of fore-knowledge: for God foreknew that man would sin. Therefore, we expect New Heavens and a New Earth according to the holy Scriptures [1 Peter iii. 13;] the Epiphany and Kingdom of the Great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ being then manifested to us, [Titus ii. 13.] And as Daniel says, the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, [chap. vii. 18.] And the earth shall be pure and holy,—the land of the living and not of the dead; which David foreseeing with the eye of faith, exclaims, I believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living—the land of the meek and humble. Blessed, saith he, [Christ] are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth, [Psalm xxxvii. or Matt. v.] And the prophet saith, the feet of the meek and humble shall tread upon it, [Isaiah xxvi. 6.]

Mede has surely under-rated the force of this testimony, when, in writing to Dr. Twisse, he says, "Judge by this (notwithstanding fifty years' opposition) how powerful the chiliastical party yet was, at the time of that Council. By some of whom [of the council] if this formula were not [originally] framed and composed, yet was it thus moderated as you see, that both parties might accept of it, salvā cuique interpretatione suād, (every one being allowed his own interpretation) as being delivered in the terms and language of Scripture."† It is evident that the anti-chiliastical party of the present day would acquiesce in no such construction of scriptural phrases. And I do not see how those of ancient

* In the Investigator, Vol. II. p. 51, there is given us the original Greek, carefully collated, we are assured, with the text of Gelazius. The above is a literal translation: it being understood, that the scriptural references are supplementary.

† Mede's Works, Book IV. Ep. lxi.
times could do so with much less inconsistency. For, although Origen himself believed in the Renovation of the world by the purging of fire*, yet he could not consistently with his other views synchronise this renovation with the Kingdom of the saints, as is done in the preceding Formula. I therefore conclude, that the majority, at least, of the Nicene Council must have been millenarians, so as to carry their point against any opposition which may have been made to them. Let it be remembered what that Council was—a representative assembly of the whole of Christendom. Do I thence infer the truth of millenarianism? No such thing: “All Synods or Councils since the Apostles' times, whether general or particular,” say the Westminster Protestants, making no exception surely for the infallibility of their own, “may err, and have erred, and, therefore, they are not to be made the Rule of faith or practice.” Besides the disingenuousness of Dr. Hamilton, what I principally infer from that ancient document is, that the critic in the Christian Herald, and many other critics, are pitifully ignorant of the subject on which, as guardians of the Church's orthodoxy, they presume to publish their decisions, when they represent our system as being a modern one, and with the cry of novelty endeavour to prejudice the ignorant against its reception.

Subsequent to the First Council of Nice, we cannot produce much ancient authority in favour of our system. But this does not occasion us much concern. Not only is the time after that scarcely entitled to the character of antiquity, but thenceforth the Church degenerated with such rapidity, till Apostasy manifested itself in the blossoming of Popery, that its opinions in this part of its history are entitled to comparatively little respect. Nevertheless, I shall additionally quote the testimony of Jerome, who died

* Contra Celsum, Lib. iii.
in the year 420. "His bitterness," says Mosheim, "against those who differed from him was extremely keen;" and yet, not only does he represent the number of millenarians as being great, at the time when he writes, but speaks of them with much moderation of censure, or rather without censure at all. In his commentary on Isaiah, Book xviii, writing of Apollinarius, he says, in reference to his millenarian opinions, "whom not only the men of his own sect, but also a very great multitude (pluralima multitudo) of our people follow in this point only." And again, in his commentary on Jeremiah, chap. xix, he says of the same opinions, "which things though we follow not, yet neither can we condemn, (damnare non possimus,) because a multitude of ecclesiastics and martyrs have spoken them. Let every one be persuaded in his own mind, and let all stand over to the judgment of God." These words of Father Jerome, in good temper for once, contain such an excellent lesson for us all, that I shall conclude with them the review of the antiquity of our faith.*

7. 'Wherever the influence and authority of the Church of Rome have extended,' says Bishop Newton, '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.' Dissertation xxv.

If we credit all that has been reported of them, the millenarian cause derives little credit from its having been professed by the followers of Muntzer. There is little doubt, however, that the representations of the wildness of their conduct are greatly exaggerated, as in the kindred case of the Fifth-

* See Appendix E.
Monarchy-men of England. We know how grossly abused has been the memory of our Scotch Covenanters. But allowing it to have been all as extravagant as is represented, still do those Muntzer-men afford evidence that the study of the Scriptures, unshackled by human authority, tends to the embracement of millenarian opinions. I would turn their case, however, to much more profitable account. Is it not highly probable that their extravagances, real and imputed, had a considerable influence in modifying the creeds of the Churches of the Reformation, operating as the corruptions of Cerinthus had done in earlier times, when they dreaded the rock on which others had wrecked themselves? How foolish it was, to abandon or interdict the voyage to an island of beauty and delight, because a ship had been lost which steered a mistaken course! How foolish it is, when many of us are now seen holding advantageous traffic with it! For we have had our soul’s joy increased greatly; nor have we become worse members of civil society or of the Christian Church, unless it be in the estimation of the ignorant, the bigoted, or the envious.*

* Such is the manner in which I expressed myself early in the year 1830, in my Apology for Millennial Doctrine. Some may ask, how I can presume to repeat the language since the occurrence of those shocking “manifestations” among our party. I reply, First, that everyone who is accurately acquainted with the history of these phenomena, knows, that they commenced in the West of Scotland among persons who, at that time, did not entertain Millenarian opinions, their reception of which, was a subsequent circumstance. Secondly, that the great body of Millenarians, of whom there are many thousands in the United Kingdom, reject the claims of those persons, to be regarded as possessed of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, with greater vehemence perhaps than any other party. Only, we do not presume, as many do, to limit the Lord, and condemn them on the abstract principle that miracles have ceased for ever. Thirdly, that the Papists have as great a show of reason in taunting Protestants, with the case of John Agricola and his Antinomian followers, as a consequence of Martin Luther’s doctrine of Justification by Faith, as our opponents have in taunting us with the case of Edward Irving and
In a sketch of the history of Millenarianism, given in the First Part of my Apology, I inserted an extract from the Catechism of Edward VI. as an evidence of the chief of the English Reformers having been of this faith. But howsoever valuable that extract is, and howsoever strong its appearance of containing millenarian doctrine, after being informed of other parts of the contents of that Catechism, and the opinions of those Reformers as elsewhere expressed, I do not feel myself warranted to continue to claim it for our cause, and shall consign it to the Appendix. See Note A.

In chronological order, the state of millenarian faith in the Westminster Assembly, which I have already discussed, falls to be considered at this stage. Almost contemporaneously we have the testimony of the English Baptists. In the Dialogues on Prophecy, Vol. II. p. 267, there occurs the following extract from one of their Confessions, as recorded by Crosby in his History of that Denomination.

"'We believe that there will be an order in the resurrection; Christ is the first-fruits, and, then next, or after, they that are Christ's at his Coming: then, or afterwards, cometh the end.

"'Concerning the kingdom and reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we do believe that he is now in heaven at his Father's right hand, so we do believe, that, at the time appointed of the Father, he shall come again in power and great glory; and that at, or after, his coming the second time, he will not only raise the dead, judge and restore the world, but will also take to himself his kingdom, and will,

his gifted brotherhood and sisterhood, as a consequence of Justin Martyr's doctrine of the reign of Christ and his Saints:—Yea, greater, for to superficial reasoners there is a stronger appearance of logical connexion in the former case than in the latter. And, Fourthly, that were our opponents candid and discriminating, they would rather fix their attention on Joseph Mede, and "the most of the chief Divines" of the Westminster Assembly, and Bishop Newton, and Robert Hall, and argue from their cases that Millenarianism is no such dangerous poison.
according to the Scriptures, reign on the throne of his father David, on Mount Zion, in Jerusalem, for ever.

"' We believe that this kingdom of our Lord will be an universal kingdom, and that, in this kingdom, the Lord Jesus Christ himself will be the alone visible supreme Lord and king of the whole earth.

"' We believe that as this kingdom will be universal, so it will also be an everlasting kingdom that shall have no end, nor cannot be shaken; in which kingdom the saints and faithful in Christ Jesus shall receive the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls; where the Lord is, they shall be also.

"' We believe that the New Jerusalem, that shall come down from God out of heaven, when the tabernacle of God shall be with men, and he will dwell among them, will be the metropolitan city of this kingdom, and will be the glorious place of residence of both Christ and his saints for ever, and will be so situated as that the kingly palace will be on Mount Zion, the holy hill of David, where his throne was.'"

The Editor of the Dialogues on Prophecy having omitted to give us any particulars of the history of the Confession from which the above testimony is extracted I cannot inform my readers at what time it was framed and published. But Mr. Cox in his excellent tract, "A Millenarian's Answer of the Hope that is in him," furnishes us with another extract, whether from the same Confession or not I am unable to say, but from one presented by the same Denomination to Charles II., March, 1660; subscribed by forty-one elders, deacons and brethren, met in London, in behalf of themselves and others, to the amount, it is declared, of more than twenty thousand. Mr. Cox says, that he extracts verbatim from Crosby's History, Vol. II. Appendix, p. 85. I extract verbatim from his Answer.

"' Article 22.—We believe that the same Lord Jesus who showed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofs, (Acts i. 3,) which was taken up into heaven, (Luke xxiv. 51,) shall so come in like manner as he was
seen go into heaven, (Acts i. 9, 10, 11 :) ' And when Christ who is our life shall appear, we also shall appear with him in glory,' (Col. iii. 4.) ' For the kingdom is his, and he is the Governor among the nations,' (Psal. xxii. 28,) and ' king over all the earth,' (Zech. xiv. 9,) ' and we shall reign with him on the earth,' (Rev. v. 10.) The kingdoms of this world (which men so mightily strive after here to enjoy) shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ, (Rev. xi. 15.) ' For all is yours,' (ye that overcome this world,) for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's, (1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.) ' For unto the saints shall be given the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom, under (mark that) the whole heaven,' (Dan. vii. 27.) Though (alas!) now many men be scarce content that the saints should have so much as a being among them; but when Christ shall appear, then shall be their day, then shall be given unto them power over the nations, to rule them with a rod of iron, (Rev. ii. 26, 27.) Then shall they receive a crown of life, which no man shall take from them, nor they by any means turned or overturned from it; for the oppressor shall be broken in pieces, (Psal. lxxii. 4,) and their vain rejoicings be turned into mourning and lamentations, as it is written, Job xx. 5—7.' "

For an account of individual testimonies by eminent divines since the Reformation I refer to the Appendix. And as I draw the sketch to a conclusion, I remark, generally, that not only during the Commonwealth, and the reign of Charles II., but for a considerable time afterwards did millenarianism so prevail among the English Dissenters as to be regarded one of their characteristic tenets. Thus, Prideaux, when insisting that the first Resurrection, spoken of in the xx chapter of the Apocalypse, is to be understood figuratively, says, "neither do those things move us which are urged of the Dissenters, viz., that souls are here taken synecdochically for souls and bodies united." How strikingly matters are changed! The principal part of the testimony for the doctrine of the Kingdom is now borne by Episcopalians, while the Dissenters are all but universally
its strenuous opposers. An observation of Mede opens the way for explaining this in part. In reference to his own times, he says, “that Episcopal men are loath that we should expect a better time than under them.” Whereas, Dissenters, being then oppressed and persecuted, were naturally led to study the scriptural prospects of the Church’s deliverance and exaltation. But, at the present day, the spirit of political reform having pronounced the doom of Ecclesiastical Establishments, when the thunder-clouds are gathering in such gloomy masses over their Church—the cause of which they, of course, identify with the cause of Christianity—Episcopalian are placed in similar favourable circumstances to those in which Dissenters were once situated, for the study of the prediction of a happier era, after the storm has burst and wrought its desolation.* On the other hand, the cause of Dissenterism is, for the same reason, rapidly rising to be the ascendant, so that its members are strongly tempted to engross themselves and be pleased with their political prospects. As a Voluntary-Church advocate—no man reprobating with keener indignation the presumption of any Gentile King or Gentile Parliament, prescribing a faith to the subjects and taxing them for the teaching of the same by ministers of their sanctioning—I marvel greatly how millenarians especially can approve of the enormity, when they discourse so acutely on the Pope’s being Satan’s caricature of Him who is coming, and whose prerogative it is to be a Prophet and Priest on the Throne—holding such sentiments, I say, I myself am strongly tempted every day with the political prospects of Dissent. How much more those of my

* It may be said, our doctrine should, for the same reason, obtain ground among the members of the Establishment of Scotland. I answer, that it accordingly is held by a few of its ministers and preachers, and by more than is generally known. Besides, there are many who, although they do not hold it, express themselves in reference to it, with a tenderness of censure, little of which is to be found among Dissenters.
brethren who are restrained by no check of millenarian faith! Oh, there be some of them, who,—just as Eusebius, one of Dr. Hamilton's boasted anti-millenarians, argued, that on the accession of Constantine to the imperial throne, Rome became the New Jerusalem—speak as if the passing of the Reform Bill was the dawning of the Millennium! I know of it having been preached as gospel. How is it that men are so eager in the contention which of the parties shall prove itself the greater fool?

Another reason of millenarianism prevailing more among Episcopalians, than either among Dissenters or in the Scotch Establishment is, that there is greater liberty of Protestant judgment and preaching enjoyed by the ministers of the Episcopacy than by those of Presbytery or the Congregational Unions. Unless it be in his politics, an Episcopal minister must have deviated far from the ordinary course before his Superior interferes with him; but, in the case of either of the two latter parties, a very slight departure from the uniform system of the whole body, if it do not endanger his church-standing altogether, subjects him to much inconvenience and discomfort. (Nevertheless, I am bound in justice to say, that I myself have, in this case, been treated by my more immediate fathers and brethren with the characteristic liberality of the Denomination.) But, what is of greater importance than anything which has yet been mentioned, may it not be that the Lord has punished the spiritual pride of the Church of Scotland and of Dissenters at large, by assigning the honour of hearing this testimony for his Kingdom to the Episcopacy of England and Ireland, of which many not only think, but speak, as if its two churches there, were nothing but suburbs of Babylon! I wonder if some of those devout and learned men know how we in Scotland regard them? Are they aware that even the better instructed among us, notwithstanding that we are every Lord's day helping ourselves out of the treasures which have
been collected by their Tillotsons, Barrows, Sherlocks, Lowths, Ushers, Magees, Watsons, Horsleys, Scotts, &c., &c., can scarcely refrain from feeling towards them, that they are a species of Samaritans—a mongrel race, begotten of Popery and Protestantism? It is a fact, that this is our national estimate of the Episcopal character.

Finally,—Notwithstanding of the acrimony with which individuals have declaimed and written against this doctrine, it is most worthy of remark, that in no period of the History of the Church, has any Council or Ecclesiastical Synod or Assembly felt itself at liberty to condemn it as a heresy;* and this too on particular occasions, and some of those of recent occurrence, when condemnation previously appeared exceedingly probable.† To pronounce sentence of

* Should any captious disputant object that the Articles of the Church of England, as originally framed in the year 1553, contained one, numbered xlii., against the Millenarians; I reply, that the suppression and withdrawment of that Article, when the hurry of the Reformation was past, nine years afterwards, in the year 1562, afford a stronger evidence of the toleration, at least, of that Church for our doctrine, than had the condemnation never been given a place in its creed: inasmuch, as it is much more difficult, and especially for a body of men, to retract a public testimony, than to observe silence from the beginning, on the subject of an error. There can be little doubt that the adverse Article of 1553 was rashly framed, under the excitement occasioned by the conduct of the Anabaptists on the Continent, against whose corrupt form of the doctrine, it is obvious, that it is especially directed.—Those who have read my Apology will perceive, that on this subject I have mentioned a hear-say which is contradictory of the facts of the case. Still, however, it is very remarkable that that Symbol does not contain an Article either on the Resurrection or Judgment, leaving the special form of teaching those two important doctrines perfectly open to the scriptural judgment of the ministers of this Church.

† I refer to the cases of Messrs. Irving, Campbell, McLean, Scott, D. & W. Dow, and Tait, whose Millenarianism was made no charge against them in their respective libels. All the while, I do not question that secretly it weighed heavily against them in the estimation of many of their judges. The opinions which Dr. Hamilton, for instance, has formed of Millenarians, must have greatly facilitated the condemnation of his co-presbyter.
excommunication on the memories of Justin Martyr, and Irenæus, not to speak of "the most of the chief Divines" of the Westminster Assembly, is a feat of orthodoxy which is reserved for a more valiant Church than any whose exploits Ecclesiastical History has yet put upon record.

Having thus closed the review of the history of this question, I now ask with confidence, against which party is the charge of novelty, or innovation on the faith of the Church, preferrable, consistently with truth? We millenarians stand on the ground which was occupied by a great majority, at least, of the Saints who lived in those ages which immediately succeeded the Apostolic. The man who denies it is guilty of dishonesty, or, on account of his ignorance, qualified for nothing but writing a critical notice in

In connexion with the above, I regard as worthy of special notice the following case of the Christian Instructor, the organ of the evangelical party of the Church of Scotland, and at that time conducted by the late Dr. Thomson. When the number for January, 1830, was, for months previously, announced, as about to contain an exposure of the errors of Mr. Irving and his followers, many anticipated a complete overthrow of Millenarianism and subscribed for it, and bought it, and sought after it solely with that expectation. But, lo! when it appeared, any thing it contained on that subject was rather in our favour than otherwise. In the preliminary observations, before entering on the discussion of the great question—the qualities of our Lord's Human Nature—the reviewer, speaking of the writers in the Morning Watch, says, "If they can produce any thing like satisfactory arguments on these subjects [the speediness and personality of Christ's coming] we not only stand committed by no pledge, and influenced by no prejudice, to reject these arguments, but, on the contrary, are prepared to weigh them with something of a wish to find them conclusive." And again, "We agree with them in acknowledging what is so very plainly stated in prophecy, and confirmed by the general character of the dispensations of God since the world began, that whenever the Millennial State of the Church may come, it will be preceded by a day of great spiritual decay and temporal calamity. In consequence of this, it is impossible to believe, that we are just to ride triumphantly into that happy state, on the tide of our many Religious Societies."—See more at p. s.
one of the Religious Magazines. And if either novelty or innovation be discreditable, I retort the charge on our opponents, who deny the doctrines of the Personal coming of our Lord at the commencement of the Millennium, and the literal nature of the First Resurrection of the Saints to reign with him on the earth. But more especially do I retort the charge on those of them who believe, "that we are just to ride triumphantly into that happy state on the tide of our many religious societies;"* and who have no word of warning admonition for the people, that tremendous judgments—the signs of which are abroad through the whole earth—impend over a guilty world, ready to be visited on it in a deluge of woe, as a preliminary work to the introduction of the glory of the Kingdom of the Church. "Because, even because they have seduced my people, saying, Peace, and there was no peace, and one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered mortar: say unto them which daubed it with untempered mortar, that it shall fall: there shall be an overflowing shower; and ye, O, great hailstones shall fall: and a stormy wind shall rend it. Lo, when the wall is fallen, shall it not be said unto you, where is the daubing wherewith ye have daubed it." That these Religious Societies are serving an important purpose under the government of God—that they are accomplishing the vision of the Apocalyptic Angel, flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth—that they are appointed, for sealing, as part of the first-born, some of every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people—and that they are bearing witness for Christ that he is

* I marvel how the Rev. Marcus Dodds, the reputed author of the Review quoted, could say that "it is impossible to believe" this, when the great majority do believe it, or at least profess to believe it, and are enraged, and ready to denounce as heretics or infidels those who will not unite in the testimony.
Lord, so that he may be just when he comes and judges—All this I believe, and therefore assist them with my contributions, my prayers, and my advocacy; and rejoice in their success; and am grieved by the false-heartedness of any professed millenarian who does not do the same. But, to assign to them the instrumentality of bringing in the millennium, I regard as a species of idolatry.* This is not only Modern Millenarianism but a very novel fashion of it; the origin of which is to be dated within the last thirty years: for, before that period, who, I ask, was the Protestant divine that expected a millennium without the precursory, sudden, and violent destruction of Antichrist? and that, be it especially observed, not as what may be called the natural effect of the prevalence of liberal principles, whether infidel or religious, but as a special judgment of the Almighty, in the way of giving testimony against the wickedness of past ages, before he had done with the old system, and proceeded to "make all things new" under a happier economy.

* There is much more in the Scriptural Millennial prospect than that of a time of nearly universal holiness; but, although there were nothing more, how long must we wait for it, calculating at the rate of the present progress of the instrumentality now in operation. "There are many Missionary Societies," says Mr. Tyso, "at present in operation; yet infidelity is increasing. There is a Reformation Society in England; yet Popery is increasing in several counties. There are Societies for the suppression of vice; yet crime is increasing; though, in some places, evangelical piety is also increasing, [just as when Christianity was making rapid progress in Judea, at the time when the Jews as a nation were more rapidly filling up the cup of their iniquity.] The world is supposed to contain 800 millions of human beings, which die and are renewed by their offspring in about thirty-five years; and as all children are born unregenerate, the same work of conversion is to be done over again every thirty years. With the present rate of operation and success, it would take more than 160 thousand years to bring about that state when all shall know the Lord, from the least even to the greatest." Inquiry p. 213. See also my Apology, Part First, p. 35.
Having dwelt so long on the history of our doctrine, in reply to the charge of the Christian Herald, that it is of Modern Origin, I can spare room for a few sentences only on the remaining Magazine which I have singled out for special exposure. I resume my personal address to you, the author of Millenarianism Indefensible, which, for convenience sake, I have for a considerable time suspended.

The notice of your first publication in the Christian Journal was so judicious and discreet, that your publisher did not find a suitable laudatory sentence which he might extract for his advertisement of your merits. The notice of your last production, however, is of a very different character. I know the writer of it to be a young student of excellent promise for the ministry; but, at the same time, I know him to be almost entirely ignorant of the state of the present controversy. And in the warfare of truth against error he must submit, pro bono publico, to be chastised by an older hand for being guilty of something like presumption in this matter—issuing his oracle to the Relief Denomination on a subject on which he is unqualified to give a decision. Amicus Plato, &c. And being, as I know him to be, fervently patriotic, I trust he shall receive the chastisement in a spirit of meekness.

"Whoever the author may be," says this critic in commendation of you, "he appears largely imbued with common sense—that rarest and best of all sublunary gifts."

Not only are these words intended for your praise, but their implication evidently is, that we, whom you oppose, are destitute of this precious quality. That Justin Martyr, Joseph Mede, "the most of the chief divines" of the Westminster Assembly, John Bunyan, Bishop Newton, Robert Hall, and some of the Relief Ministers, who do what they can for his Magazine, were, or are, devoid of common sense—that best of Christian graces—because they did not, or do not believe that the Day of Judgment will comprehend
only twelve hours by the steeple-clock, or twenty-four at most! A little common sense might have taught our friend, yours and mine, that, in the particular circumstances in which he exercises his critical vocation, he was not likely to commit with impunity this transgression of many excellent rules;—that besides the danger of some such castigation as the present, there was danger, that, though destitute of common sense, their instinct of self-preservation would induce those millenarians who had theretofore taken an interest in his periodical, to act in the very opposite direction of aiding it with their countenance and support. Do I threaten; or deprecate the discussion of this subject? I do not. But I call for justice; if it is to be discussed, let millenarians have page about with their opponents. The following is a specimen of the manner in which they will defend themselves.

The common sense for which this critic commends you, and of which by implication he condemns us as destitute, may mean one of two things:—

1st. When interpreting an author, to understand his words in their common acceptation. For instance, did we meet in any man's book with the declaration, that when he was travelling in North America, he saw a wild beast fifteen feet high, we would regard that interpreter as violating common sense, who would maintain that all this meant nothing more, than that when the person was making a tour through the Highlands of Scotland he saw a celt fifteen hands high. Now, according to this rule, we make our appeal to common sense, if she receive as her disciples men who maintain, that these words, "They shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and great glory," mean nothing more than that the Jews should see the advance of Titus and his Roman legions, as the instruments of divine providence, to the destruction of Jerusalem: or, that the coming of the Bridegroom of the Church
is the coming of Death: or, that the Stone struck the feet of the Image on the day of Pentecost, when those feet had as yet no existence: or, that the cleaving of the Mount of Olives (Zech. xiv. 4) signifies the diffusion of Christianity: or, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Zech. xii. 6. xiv. 9, &c.) signifies a great accession of converts to the Spiritual Church in America, in Hindostan,—any where, but Jerusalem itself: or, that the union of Judah and Ephraim (Ezek. xxxvii.) only means the harmonious association of the different sects of the Gentile Church: or, that the mountains of Israel whereon their fathers dwelt means the Heaven of Heavens: or, that the New Earth (2 Peter iii. 13) signifies the same ancient Heaven: or, that the New Jerusalem coming down from Heaven (Rev. iii. 12. xxi. 2) means the souls of the saints first taking possession of the same Heaven of Heavens at death, and afterwards their bodies taking possession of it on the Day of Judgment: or, that in these words of the Faithful and True Witness—"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,"—there is mention made of only one throne: or, that the throne of David (Luke i. 32) means the throne of the Eternal: or, that, when the Son of Man having gone into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom (Luke xix. 12) shall return and sit on the throne of his glory, (Matth. xxv. 31) he shall occupy it only for the space of twelve hours: or, that the saints having been judged themselves, shall, for the last six of these hours, be exalted to be assessors with Him in judging the wicked, and that in this shall be fulfilled such promises as—"He that overcometh and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations;"—and such expectations as—"Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood—and hast made us unto
our God kings and priests; and we shall reign on the earth!!”

Now, Sir, I do not charge any single person of your party with having invented or adopted the whole of the above interpretations—like to which there are many more;—but one gives us one of them, and another gives us another of them, so that there are few anti-millenarians who will not find a part of their creed in the course of the enumeration. At all events, there are more points of it than one, and some of these the most grotesque, which have been adopted by yourself; and for your advocacy of which our sagacious critic has given you a certificate as being a person “largely imbued with common sense.” Laudari ab erudito, quam jucundum!

2d. But, Sir, I suspect that the state of matters is much worse than this. I am apprehensive, that the critic intends to give you a character (and that you deserve it) for that kind of common sense which violates the common sense of grammatical interpretation, and endeavours to reduce the counsel of God to the comprehension of the natural man; so that even the infidel may receive it as something which is not improbable; or which, if it cannot resist the evidence that God will at some time interfere with the common course of things, is resolved, that this miraculous interference be deferred to such a distance, that the sceptic need not disturb himself about any thing of this kind being likely to happen in his day—he thinks he has enough if he has death in his path. If the common sense for which our friend commends you, be that of your holding a system so natural that it requires little exercise of faith in the wonderful, then be assured that he has witlessly praised you at the expense of your character as a pious man; and that, instead of such common sense being the rarest, it is truly the most common—not of gifts but—of evils: only he has qualified well, in saying sublunary,
instead of *celestial*. Abraham's praise—the praise which his God has recorded of him in the Scriptures, for our encouragement to imitate him as children—is, that "against hope he believed;" that is, in opposition to the dictates of common sense, he believed that God's promise, howsoever *unnatural* its intimations, would be literally fulfilled. Rom. iv. 18.

Do not misunderstand me, Sir, as making any particularly invidious reflection on the religious principles of yourself or your reviewer. I have already confessed, that I myself am strongly tempted by the same common sense to surrender myself to the prospects unfolded by the policy of man, in neglect of those unfolded by the oracles of God. This foul Neology widely prevails. Germany is not more afflicted by its perversion of the History of the Past than are Britain and America by its perversion of the Prophecy of the Future. "Where is the promise of his Coming, for since the Fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were," is descriptive of a state of mind which is not confined to the infidel world. The Church is infected with the spirit of limiting the Holy One of Israel, as if he had exhausted his wonders on the ages of old, and can have no display of his power in reserve to be put forth on the men of the present generation.

About the rest of your Reviewers I am less concerned. No wise man will felicitate himself much on his production being favourably mentioned in the critical notices of the Evangelical Magazine. Of the Presbyterian Magazine, and The Covenanter, I know nothing, except that their critics are grossly ignorant of the Millennial question, and, as ignorant persons usually are, exceedingly impertinent. At first I was considerably afflicted, by the manner in which the Orthodox Presbyterian exposed *itself*, imagining that it continued to be conducted by its original excellent
Editor. But I have since learned that this is not the case, and feel relieved.

Sir, this letter has not only extended in length far beyond what I at first proposed, but has not reached the point which I originally designed should form the main subject of discussion, viz., the principles of interpretation. I design, however, that you should soon hear from me again. In the mean time—if the principle on which you proceeded to write against millenarianism was, that it must be a false system, unless fully embraced in the Westminster Confession; or as professed by only a few, and those not respectable, I call on you to review your decision and arguments, having taken your position on that ground which I have opened for you, and standing on which you will perceive, that, so far as human authority is concerned, the weight of orthodoxy is on our side of the question. On this advantage, however, I do not insist: I shall be content, if the millenarianism of other times be simply used for neutralizing the influence of the anti-millenarianism of the present, so as to allow the mind a free and unbiassed Protestant judgment on the deliverances of the Statute Book.

May God defend and deliver us both and our friends, at once from the dominion of man over our faith, from the delusion of our own fancy, and the stubbornness of our pride in adhering to any error after we have committed ourselves before the world. May He Himself be our Teacher, opening to us by the Spirit of his Son, the scriptural mystery of his Kingdom, from its foundation on the Cross to the Manifestation of the children of God; when He who is our Life shall Appear; and when those who love his Appearing shall be made like Him, for they shall see Him as He is. Give me sincerity, O Lord, in praying for its being hastened!
In the course, Sir, of having my attention directed so closely to the abusive spirit in which we have been treated by others, I have learned to regard you as comparatively a candid and courteous opponent; so that with my anger considerably moderated from what it was when I wrote the first two pages, I subscribe myself, whoever you may be,

Your well-wisher,

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

Glasgow, Laurieston, Nov. 1833.
APPENDIX.

Note A.

1st. List of eminent Millenarians since the Reformation.

"There has been no age of the Church in which the Millenium was not admitted by individual divines of the first eminence." Encyclopædia Britannica. On referring to the Article, it will be seen that the writer speaks of primitive millenarianism.

Menno Simon. A native of Friesland. He was originally a Popish priest; but joined the Reformation in 1536. As he himself confesses, he had been a notorious profligate, (as John Bunyan and John Newton once were,) but being reformed himself, his eloquence and zeal made him a fit instrument for the reformation of others. His labours, sufferings, and success, form the subject of one of the most interesting pages of the history of the Christian Church. He commenced with redeeming the remains of the followers of Muntzer from their delusion and disorder; among other things, rectifying their views of the millennium according to the primitive standard. The Mennonite Church extended widely and rapidly under the care of its founder; and, containing, as it did, many of the most pious people of the times of the Reformation, should have received a more honourable notice than this Appendix affords, in the sketch of the history of our doctrine. Whether the Mennonites of the present day, who abound in various countries of Europe, and in America, are millenarian in faith, I do not know. Mosheim speaks as if those of Germany were so at the time he wrote. From the account, however, given of the sect in general, in Adam's Religious World Displayed, I am apprehensive, from his silence on this subject, that, like their other Baptist brethren, they have degenerated from the hope of the Kingdom. I recommend the whole case to the study of those of our millenarian friends who have oppor-
tunities for the investigation. I know nothing of it but from the authorities I have mentioned.

John Piscator, a German divine, who lived at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. See next author.

John Henry Alsted, Professor in the University of Herborne. He was a divine of great erudition. (See Encyclopædia Brit.) His Treatise, De Mille annis, appeared in 1627; and was translated into English by William Burton, and published in 1643. It is exceedingly interesting in this respect, that we learn from it, that it was the doctrine of the majority of the divines of his time, that not only was the millennial season past, but that "the Last Judgment was even at the door"; so that they accounted the opinion of the futurity of The Thousand years a very dangerous one, as having a tendency to make men secure. (p. 77.) It is with the combating of these views that the Treatise is principally occupied. Alsted, however, like several of those whose names follow, enjoyed the light of the Kingdom but imperfectly. He did not believe, but rather controverted, the doctrine of our Lord's Personal Reign on Earth. He only believed in the literal nature of the First Resurrection, but in this he believed decidedly; and, moreover, opposed Piscator's view, as given in the following extract from that other learned divine's Commentary on the Revelation:

"The singular happiness of the Martyrs of Christ, who before these Thousand years endured persecution, is their Resurrection, which shall be before the general Resurrection, and their Reign in Heaven with Christ for a thousand years, before the Resurrection of the rest." On which Alsted makes these remarks:—"In this exposition the literal interpretation is rightly urged. But, that he says, the Martyrs shall reign with Christ in Heaven for those thousand years cannot be proved out of the text. Nay, the contrary may thence be proved; because the Resurrection of the Martyrs is part of the happiness of the Church here on earth.—See also Revelation v. 10, where the Saints in Heaven, among other things sing thus:—And we shall reign upon the earth." Burton's Trans. p. 61.

Should our opponents say, that, in consequence of those two eminent men having denied the doctrine of the Lord's Personal Reign, and even limited the First Resurrection to the Martyrs,
we are not entitled to take the countenance of the name of either of them, I ask, do they, as anti-millenarians, rejoice in their brotherhood?

Joseph Mede. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. He was born in the year 1586, and died in 1638. He refused preferment that he might enjoy leisure for study. His writings, collected into one large volume folio, are a great treasure of piety and learning. Dr. Twisse, Moderator of the Westminster Assembly, was one of his pupils in the interpretation of Prophecy.

William Twisse, D.D., Thomas Goodwin, D.D., Stephen Marshal, Jeremiah Burroughs, Herbert Palmer, Joseph Caryll, and Peter Sterry—all chief divines of the Westminster Assembly: in which Assembly there were many more express millenarians. See Letter, pp. 11—24, and Appendix, Note C.


John Tillinghast. From this acute writer's work, Knowledge of the Times, I give a specimen of the style of the Fifth-Monarchy-men.—The work is addressed To the Faithful Witnesses of Christ, within the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from the author's study in Trunch, the 4th day of the 9th month. 1654.

'But now, as it was the great master-piece of Satan's policy at the time of Christ's first Coming, when he set up his Spiritual Kingdom, to put that generation of men altogether upon looking after the Outward kingdom, drawing them thereby to a neglect of that kingdom, which they in that day ought specially to have attended to: So is it his great engine of policy in the days a little before Christ's second Coming, when now Christ is indeed and in truth entering into the world to set up his Outward kingdom, to turn the eyes of this generation altogether upon the Spiritual kingdom, drawing them thereby off from the Outward, hereby cunningly holding forth one truth as a bait to allure from another, and endeavouring to draw the hearts of men from the Great Truth of the Generation, by presenting them with some other truth, every way as glorious, considered in itself, (the time and season only, which is still the thing that adds beauty to Generation-truth, set aside,) as the truth itself of the Generation.'

Our opponents may be assured that, if they are pious men, they will derive far more spiritual profit from the fifth-mon-
archy pleading of John Tillinghast, if they can lay their hands on his works, than either from the misrepresentations of David Hume, or the caricatures of Walter Scott. He is an angel of light compared with either of them. I do not apologise for the errors of those Fifth-monarchy-men of England, any more than I do for those of the Covenanters of Scotland. But if there were many of them like John Tillinghast, they shall soon have their hopes realised in the First Resurrection; when many of their enemies and traducers shall sleep on till raised in the Second, to suffer the penalty of the Second Death.

John Bunyan. Born 1628; died 1688. I think it probable that his name appears in the list of forty-one who subscribed the Baptist Confession presented to Charles II., part of which is given at page 60. For although he was committed to Bedford gaol in the same year, it was not till the month of November, whereas the Confession was presented in March. Whatever may be the case, the author of The Pilgrim's Progress was a Millenarian. Let the following extracts from his Exposition of the First Ten Chapters of Genesis bear witness:—

'God's blessing the Sabbath day, and resting on it from all his works, was a type of that glorious rest that saints shall have when the six days of this world are fully ended. This the Apostle asserteth in that 4th chapter to the Hebrews, "there remaineth therefore a rest, (or the keeping of a Sabbath) to the people of God," which Sabbath, as I conceive, will be the seventh thousand of years, which are to follow immediately after the world hath stood six thousand first. For as God was six days in the works of creation, and rested the seventh, so in six thousand years he will perfect his works and providences that concern this world. As also he will finish the toil and travail of his saints, with the burden of the beasts, and the curse of the ground, and bring all into rest for a thousand years. A day with the Lord is as a thousand years; wherefore this blessed and desirable time is also called a day, a great day, that great and notable day of the Lord, which shall end in the eternal judgment of the world. God hath held this forth by several other shadows, as the sabbath of weeks, the sabbath of years, and the great jubilee.' Works, Vol. VI. p. 301.

Again.—' None ever saw this world as it was in its first creation, but only Adam and his wife; neither shall any ever see it until the Manifestation of the children of God; that is, until the redemption or resurrection of the saints. But then it shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' Vol. VI. p. 329.
Again.—' Adam, therefore, as a type of Christ, reigned in the church almost a thousand years. The world, therefore, beginning thus, doth show us how it will end; namely, by the Reign of the Second Adam, as it began with the Reign of the First. These long-lived men, therefore, show us the glory that the Church shall have in the Latter Day, even in the seventh thousand year of the world, that Sabbath when Christ shall set up his kingdom on earth according to that which is written, "They lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

They—Who? The Church of God; according also as it was with Adam. Therefore, they are said by John, to be holy as well as blessed. In all which time the wicked in the world shall forbear to persecute, as did also the brood of wicked Cain, in the days of Adam, Seth, &c. Hence, therefore, in the first place, the dragon is chained for these thousand years. *Vol. VI. p. 359.*

Again.—' Jude observes, that he (Enoch) was the seventh from Adam, clearly intimating, as I conceive, that by him God pre-figured the resurrection and end of the world; and intimating that in the seventh great day of the world this resurrection should be; each generation from Adam being a type of a thousand years. So that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, was a type of the seventh thousand in which the Lord will reign with his Church a thousand years. There are two things in Enoch which incline me to this opinion. First, he crieth out, Behold the Lord comes, and then is translated that he should not see death:—the right posture and end of those that shall live at the day of God Almighty; and that shall, like Enoch, be found walking with God, when the Lord shall come from Heaven.' *Vol. VI. p. 364*

There is more of the same nature ready for quotation; but I have surely extracted enough to establish for Bunyan a millenarian character, whatever may be thought of his illustrations.—John Bunyan! exclaim the magazine-critics, Who cares for his opinions? He was not possessed like us of a University or Academical education. He was an idle dreamer. And, as the Guardians of the Church, we caution the people against his absurdities!

*Drue Cressener, D.D.* Of his work, Demonstration of the First Principles of the Protestant Application of the Apocalypse, I know nothing, except from Towers' Illustrations of Prophecy, and Mr. Cuninghame's tract, The Political Destiny of the Earth. The extracts given there, however, are sufficient evidence of its great value. It was published in 1690.
Thomas Burnet, D.D. A Scotchman; but educated for the Church of England, and a Professor of Theology in Cambridge. His work, Telluris Theoria Sacra, contains some fancies, especially respecting the original state of the earth, and the origin of Gog and Magog, which detract from its excellence; but there is much in it of a substantial and valuable character. The first part of it was published in 1680, the remaining part in 1689. His other work, De Statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium, cum Appendice De Futura Judæorum Restauratione, is also in many respects a production of great learning and interest. It was published posthumously in 1727. Both works have been translated; the first at the request of Charles II., who was delighted with its genius and scholarship. 2 vols., price 10s.*†

Sir Isaac Newton. Born 1642, died 1726. "The first of philosophers," says Gibbon, in speaking of him, "was deeply skilled in critical and theological studies." Although the particular object which he had in view in writing his Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, did not lead him to discuss the millennial question at length, yet the work contains sufficient evidence of this illustrious individual having been millenarian in his views. His Observations on Daniel have been lately published separately, price 10s.;* those on the Apocalypse are reprinted in the first volume of the Investigator.*

John Gill, D.D. One of the chief lights of the Baptist Church. The University of Aberdeen, greatly to its honour, spontaneously gifted him with the Doctorate, on account of his great learning. Both in his Commentary and his Body of Divinity his millenarianism is declared. But the following are quotations from his Three Sermons On the Present and Future State of the Church:—

'There will be a Resurrection of the bodies of the saints. 'The dead in Christ, who died in union with him, shall rise first. 'They will have the dominion over the wicked in the morning of the Resurrection, [Psal. xliv.] who will not rise until the end of that day. There will be a thousand years' distance between the Resurrection of the one and the other; hence the Resurrection of the just, as that is named [Luke xiv. 14.] in distinction from that of the unjust, is called the First Resurrection.' p. 89.

† Wherever the asterisk occurs in this Appendix, it indicates that the work may be obtained at Mr. Begg's shop.
There will succeed New Heavens and a New Earth which God has promised, [Isaiah lxv. 17.] and which, the Apostle Peter says, saints look for according to his promise, [2 Ep. iii. 13.] and which the Apostle John had a vision of [Rev. xxi.] In this New Earth Christ will descend and dwell. Here the tabernacle of God will be with men, and he shall dwell with them. This will be the seat of Christ's personal reign. Here he will reign before his ancients gloriously.—This will be the day of the Lord, which is as a thousand years, and which thousand years will be as one day. At the close of these years Satan will be loosed again, and the wicked dead will be raised.' pp. 91, 92.

The Sermons from which I have made these extracts must have once been popular, and I should think in Paisley too: for it is the fifth edition which lies before me, printed in that town, in the year 1794.

Dr. Gill's millenarianism is the more remarkable in that, since the days of Origen, no commentator, unless we except Cocceius, has indulged so extravagantly in figurative and spiritual interpretations. Even in these Sermons the predictions of the Restoration of Israel are all etherealized into predictions of the prosperity of the Gentile Church. His system is consequently marred by many imperfections. He was born in 1697, and died in 1771.

Charles Daubuz. A native of France: Brought to England in his childhood by his mother, who, as a Protestant, fled hither from persecution in 1686. He was educated at Cambridge, and afterwards presented to the vicarage of Brotherton, Yorkshire. Besides being an eminently pious man, his Commentary on the Revelation contains evidence of his having been a scholar of the first rank. The celebrated Bentley held him in high esteem on account of his critical sagacity. A competent judge, the author of the Illustrations of Prophecy, pronounces him one of the most masterly interpreters of symbolic language. It is strengthening to find such a one arguing strenuously for the literal nature of the First Resurrection. His Commentary was published shortly after his death, in 1720, in one large volume folio, price 40s.*

There is an affecting account of him in the Illustrations of Prophecy, vol. I. p. 77.

Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol. With Mede and Newton for our companions, we are surely entitled to be something more than not ashamed in pleading for a literal interpretation of the
First Resurrection. The Bishop's Dissertations were published in 1754. New edition, in one volume, price 7s. 6d.*

John William Fletcher. A native of Switzerland, born in 1729. Took orders in the Church of England in 1757: and in 1760 was presented as Vicar to the living of Madeley, Salop. Although his Letter to Wesley, written in 1755, and preserved in Vol. IX. of his works, professes to give an account rather of the millenarianism of a friend [who was he?] than of himself, yet he obviously is of the same mind. As they respect the memory of John Fletcher, and are grateful for the signal services he did to their cause, I beseech the members of the Methodist communion to give millenarianism, at least an unprejudiced hearing; that will not diminish their spirituality which increased Fletcher's. Neither need they fear, that thereby their zeal in their missionary work would be allayed. That work is at present pursued in an idolatrous spirit, when they assign it an extent of instrumentality which is not destined for it by the Lord. Would they not be given still more zeal did they view it in a Scriptural light? I refer to the First Part of my Apology, in which there is inserted part of an address which I delivered at a meeting of one of their Societies. I shall afterwards say something of John Wesley himself. Fletcher's Letter is inserted in Vol. II. of the Morning Watch.

Thomas Hartley, A.M., Rector of Winwick, Northamptonshire. Author of Paradise Restored: or, a Testimony to the doctrine of the Blessed Millennium, published in 1764. An excellent abridgment of this valuable work has been lately published by Tims, Dublin, with the title, The Restitution of all Things, price 3s.* This author is to be distinguished from Dr. Hartley, author of the Observations on Man; though he also was millenarian in his views.


Augustus Toplady, A.B. A minister of the Episcopal Church, and a celebrated Calvinistic controversialist. The following para-
graph occurs in his Sermons, entitled, Jesus seen of Angels, and God's Mindfulness of Man: published in 1771:

'One branch of their [angels'] business will be to gather the dust of his elect from the four winds of heaven.—They perhaps will, when Christ gives the signal, set fire to the world and regulate that conflagration which shall issue in the New Heavens (i.e. a new body of air) and New Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Whether angels will share in the glory of the millenary state, or whether that reign will be peculiar to Christ and his redeemed people is not, I believe, clearly revealed. [See Heb. ii. 5.] But this we can make no doubt of, when the millennium is over, and the Second Resurrection (the resurrection of the unjust) has taken place, &c., angels and saints will for ever see and admire, love, worship, and resemble Him that sitteth on the throne.' p. 47.

Robert Hort, A. M., Rector of Temple Michael, and Chaplain to the Archbishop of Tuam. Author of a Sermon on the Glorious kingdom of Christ upon Earth, preached at Christ Church, Dublin, 1747. This is an excellent elementary discourse. New edition, 1s.*

Elhanan Winchester. An American divine who visited this country about the year 1788. He laboured zealously, both as a preacher and an author; and returned home in 1792. His Lectures on the Prophecies that remain to be fulfilled, were published in 1790. Though I am decidedly opposed to the doctrine especially characteristic of the theology of this celebrated individual, yet I would feel that I had acted an unjust part were I not to acknowledge that I have derived both pleasure and instruction from his Prophetic Expositions. Even in these there are several interpretations of important points which I do not receive, but they contain much that is correct, luminously and forcibly expressed. Winchester's universalism can surely afford no ground for scorning his millenarianism, to those who rejoice in the ant millingarianism of Origen, the father of that heresy, as an evidence that our doctrine was not universally professed by the primitive church.

Edward King, F.R.S. and A.S.S. Author of the Essay on the English Constitution and Government, and several other Works of great merit. The following passage occurs in his Remarks on the Signs of the Times, published in 1798; a Supplement to which was published in 1799:
On the one hand, the Jews would not apprehend or believe the words of holy prophecy written concerning our Lord's First Coming, in his state of deep humiliation and suffering, being dazzled with bright apprehensions of what was written concerning his Second Coming, his Coming in Glory; and, on the other hand, the Christian world are now in the contrary extreme, too backward, I believe, to apprehend what is really written in the same words of holy prophecy concerning his Second Coming upon earth in glory, being blinded by their constant habit of contending against the Jews chiefly for the former, and by the presumptuous mystical application which has taken place, by means of applying those holy words that relate to the latter, merely to the fancied prosperity of the Christian Church on earth; though such a fancied prosperity is a misapplication of the words, in direct contradiction to all the warnings of our Lord himself, and of his holy apostles.' pp. 26, 27.

M. de Noé, Bishop of Lescar, France;—of course, a bishop of the Church of Rome.

Many modern authors, especially M. de Noé, bishop of Lescar of our own days; and more recently Father Lacunza, a Spanish Jesuit, have advanced much beyond the point insisted on in the present discourse. They have considered themselves able to prove that, in the times appointed by Providence, there shall be an Advent of Jesus Christ, which shall precede by many ages the end of the world and the general judgment;—that at this epoch the kingdom of Jesus Christ shall establish itself over all the earth in a manner visible and sensible. This opinion has gained ground widely in these latter times. It has been maintained by many acute divines, as we read in the Bibliotheque Religieuse, (for the 22d July, 1818;) and M. de Noé advances striking evidences of it; after which the editor of that periodical thinks there is no room left for doubt.

This important notice of the state of prophetical study in France, and of the testimony borne there for our Lord's Royalty, I have translated from the Work of a Papist, on the Restoration of Israel—before the piety and close Scriptural reasoning of which I have felt my dull and cold-hearted Protestantism heavily rebuked. Let them who may thus scorn me for speaking of a Papist's piety be informed, that there are others besides members of the Church of Rome, whose christian discipleship I would feel disposed to question, were I to measure them merely by their ecclesiastical system. The Tract which I have quoted, was published in the year 1818, (Paris, Chez Poteey, rue du Bac, No. 46,) with the title, 'Discourse on the Promises contained in
the Scriptures, and which concern the People of Israel: in which the Conversion and Recall of the Jews are considered as the resource and hope of the Church.' The copy which lies before me is peculiarly interesting in this respect, that it was ordered from Paris on the recommendation of a friend, whose attention was directed to the Work by Alexander, Emperor of Russia! *There is an imperial* testimony against the deadness to prophetic truth with which many of our Protestant pastors afflict both themselves and their Churches. "Thou must prophesy before kings," was once the rule for ministers of the gospel; is it now inverted? must kings prophesy before them?

*Emmanuel Lacunza.* Born in South America, in 1731. He was educated by the Jesuits, and became a member of their society in 1747. On the expulsion of his order from that country, he came to Europe, and took up his residence at Imola, in Italy, where he lived in retirement and study, and died in 1801. His wonderful work, The Coming of the Messiah in Majesty and Glory—wonderful, when we consider its intrinsic excellence; more wonderful when we consider it as the production of a Jesuit—was originally written in the Spanish language, in the feigned name of Juan Josafat Ben-Ezra, a converted Jew. At first it was secretly circulated in manuscript. But advantage was taken in 1812 of the short administration of the Cortez to have it printed in Spain, in 3 vols. 8vo. An abridgment also in 2 vols. was printed in the Isle of Leon. Even after it was suppressed, on the restoration of the old regime, such copies as escaped the observation of the public authorities were read with avidity in private. *There are millenarians in Spain.*—It made its way into France in the form of an abridgment, and has been much read there. *There are millenarians in France.*—In 1816 an edition of 1500 copies in 4 vols. 8vo. was printed in London, by an agent of the Buenos Ayres government, for circulation in the Spanish colonies. *There are millenarians in South America.*—In 1827 it was translated into English by Mr. Irving, and published in two closely printed octavo volumes. An abridgment has lately been published in Dublin, 9s.* There are thousands of millenarians in Great Britain and Ireland, who rejoice in the light of this holy Jesuit's testimony, raised in the very bosom of the Church of Rome. It is necessary, however,
to state, that, like the works of Pascal and Fenelon, it is to be read with careful discrimination, as being the work of a Papist.

Alexander Pirie, Minister at Newburg, Fife. This is one of the most acute and independent in thought of our Scotch divines. I am uncertain which party has the honour of his name; but I remind the members of the Relief Denomination, that they are indebted for Hutcheson to his liberalizing ministry and private intercourse. It was he who emancipated our champion from the bondage of the covenants, and trained him so as to be qualified for writing that masterly work, The Nature and Genius of the Messiah's Kingdom. The works of Pirie, in 6 vols. 12mo., 14s.* are of a miscellaneous character. The first volume, however, is entirely occupied with prophecy; and, although in some respects erroneous and deficient, yet presents, so far as I know, the best systematic view of millenarianism which was given previously to the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The Editor of Bibliotheca Sacra. This Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures, printed for James Morrison, Perth, in 2 vols. 8vo., in 1826, is of no common-place character. To a considerable extent it is a compilation; but besides that the compilation is made with much research and sound judgment, it contains many original Articles and Observations of great value. Under the words Church, and Resurrection, specimens may be seen of its excellent millenarianism.

William Cuninghame, Esq. of Lainshaw, Ayr. This eminent prophetical interpreter properly occupies the first place in order of time, as well as in value of argument and illustration, among those who during the last twenty years have agitated the millennial question. So early as 1813, in the first edition of his standard work, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse,¹ he declared for the doctrine of the Premillennial Personal Advent. I shall enumerate his works in the order of their original publication.

1st. Remarks on Levi's Dissertation, addressed to the Jews, 8vo., 1810. 2d. A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse, 8vo., 1813; third edition, 1832, 14s.*—The chapter on the Order of Events by which the millennium will be introduced, contains a speculation which deeply interested the mind of Robert Hall. 3d. The Apostasy of the Church of Rome, 8vo. 1818; second edition, 12mo. 1833, 2s. 6d,* with an
Appendix vindicating the Protestant interpretation of the Man of Sin from the attack of Mr. Burgh. 4th. Letters and Essays on the Conversion and National Restoration of Israel, 8vo., 1822, 8s.* 5th. Critical examination of the Prophetic arrangement of Mr. Irving and Mr. Frere, 8vo., 1826, 4s.* 6th. Strictures on Mr. Frere's General Structure of the Apocalypse, 8vo., 1827, 1s.* 7th. A Summary View of the Scriptural Argument for the Premillennial Advent of the Messiah, 8vo. 1828; second edition, 12mo., 1833, 10d.;* with a Preface containing Strictures on the tract, entitled, The Time of Christ's Second Coming identified with the Day of Judgment, by the author of Millenarianism Indefensible. 8th. Letter to the Editor of the Edinburgh Theological Magazine; with Remarks on Dr. Hamilton's Work, 8vo., 1828; will soon be re-printed in 12mo. 9th. A Critical Examination of Faber's Sacred Calendar, 8vo., 1829, 6s.* This Work finally confirmed Robert Hall as a millenarian. The criticism on Acts iii. 21, is peculiarly convincing. 10th. A Review of Dr. Wardlaw's Sermon on the Millennium, 8vo., 1830; second edition, 12mo. 1833, 1s.* with Strictures on certain anti-millenarian passages in the Doctor's Sermon on Civil Establishments. There is another name, of high standing in the religious world, which this Review was a principal means of gaining for our cause. I am not at liberty to mention it; but the happy fruits will presently appear. 11th. Strictures on Mr. Irving's Lectures on the Apocalypse, 8vo., 1831, 3s.* 12th. Strictures on Mr. Maitland's four Pamphlets, vindicating the Protestant application of Prophecy to the Papacy, 8vo. 1832, 2s.* 13th. The Political Destiny of the Earth as Revealed in the Bible, 12mo., 1833, 6d.* This is an excellent elementary and popular Tract.—Besides the pieces thus enumerated, Mr. C.'s correspondence with various periodicals would, if collected, form an interesting volume. I can spare room for referring only to his controversy with Mr. Faber in the Christian Observer, which commenced in the year 1807, on the part of Mr. C. with the signature Talib. (Vol. VI.)—Not only is there no other author from whom so accurate views may be obtained of the particulars of the millenarian system; but there is no other from whom an inquirer will learn so well what is the state of the whole of the question in reference to unfulfilled, and, to a great extent, fulfilled prophecy, at the present day.

Lewis Way. A Minister of the Church of England. His work entitled, Thoughts on the Scriptural Expectations of the Church, originally appeared in the form of Letters, with the signature, Basilicus, in the Jewish Expositor, 1820. They have been printed separately; third edition 1828., 3s.* They are of a high order of Scriptural exposition and criticism; and gave a great impulse to the study of millenarian truth. In 1824 he published Palingenesia; The World to Come. Though written
in verse, this work contains much accurate exposition of the Scriptures. He has also published an excellent sermon on the Convictions and Expectation of Job. Second edition, 1s.*

*John Bayford, Esq., F.A.S. Author of a work entitled, Messiah's Kingdom. 10s.* This valuable dissertation was also published in 1820, and united with the Letters of Mr. Way in effecting that modern excitement on the subject of our Lord's Advent, which, it is to be hoped, shall not subside till the expectation is realized. The same author has published a Letter to the Rev. John E. Drummond, in reply to his censures on Modern Millenarianism. 1824, 1s. 6d.*

*William Burgh, A.B. A Minister of the Episcopal Church, Ireland. Along with many others, I deplore the course which the speculations of this author have latterly taken in endeavouring, in company with Mr. Maitland, to disprove the justness of the application of several such prophecies as that of 2 Thess. ii. 3—12, to the apostasy of the Church of Rome; and to resolve them into predictions of an antichrist who is on the eve of being manifested, and who shall practise his enormities for three and a half literal years. Nevertheless, I cannot avoid acknowledging the excellent service which he has done for the millenarian cause by his anonymous tract, The Coming of the Day of God, published so early as 1821. Second edition, 1826, 1s. 6d.*

*John Fry, Rector of Desford. Author of a work entitled, The Second Advent; or, the Glorious Epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ: being an attempt to elucidate in Chronological Order, the Prophecies both of the Old and New Testaments, which relate to the Approaching Appearance of the Redeemer, &c. Published in 1822, in 2 vols. 8vo., 28s.* I regard some of the interpretations as being strained and fanciful; but the work contains much correct and interesting elucidation of the Scripture. *Ubi plura nitent,—non ego paucis offendar maculis.*

*James Hartley Frere, Esq. Though this author is an avowed millenarian, yet I do not know that he has published any thing specifically on the Advent of our Lord, and the Reign of his Saints. His various works are principally engaged with the precursory events and judgments. My principal reason for noticing him is, that he initiated the next author in the study of prophecy.

*Edward Irving.* This celebrated preacher and writer com-
menced his career as an interpreter of prophecy in 1825, in a discourse preached before the Continental Society, which he published in 1826, with the title, Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God. These pages which I write, show how deep is the ignorance of those persons who suppose either that Mr. Irving was the inventor of the millenarian system, or even the first to influence this modern excitement. He was comparatively late in the field. Even the Discourse just noticed is but partially millenarian. It was not till Christmas, 1826, that he began to proclaim the nearness of the Advent. Nevertheless, by the force of his genius and indefatigable zeal he gave a great additional impulse to the study.† Independently, however, of his errors

† Those who deny that the genius of Mr. Irving is of a very high order, show that they are entirely destitute of it themselves. There is no theological writer of this century, not even Hall and Chalmers excepted, whose works would furnish a volume of extracts so rich both in tender and sublime sentiments and descriptions. The following words of Erskine, spoken in defence of one of his clients, are very applicable to Mr. Irving’s case:—“It is the nature of every thing that is great and useful, both in the animate and inanimate world, to be wild and irregular, and we must be content to take them with the alloys that belong to them, or live without them.”

Even many who declaim against what are truly errors in his teaching have properly no right to do so, because they condemn them on improper principles, and fall into errors themselves of nearly equal magnitude. In the case of the alleged Spiritual Manifestations, for instance, the greater number mock at them on the principle that the time for any miraculous endowment of the Church is necessarily past for ever—limiting God, when he has made no such limitation of Himself in His Word. And again, in the particular case of the alleged gift of Unknown Tongues, many mock because the persons themselves do not understand their own utterances. Whereas, it is clear as sunshine, that there were inspired persons in the Corinthian Church in this very predicament. (See an interesting Paper on the subject in the Morning Watch, Vol. IV., translated from Ernesti’s Opuscula: and also Platt’s Thoughts on 1 Cor. xiv.) I too condemn these scenes; but had I no objections but those which are made by the most of those who scoff at them, if I did not believe, I would at least not decide against them.

Respecting the controversy on the qualities of the Human Nature of our Lord—that man is either ignorantly or perversely guilty of slander, who represents Mr. Irving as teaching that the Saviour either did commit sin or was capable of committing it. What he teaches is, First, That His flesh was such weak and disordered flesh as that of his
on the subject of the qualities of our Lord's human nature, and his delusion on the subject of the alleged spiritual manifestations, fallen mother; and not such undegenerate flesh as that of Adam before he was cursed for transgression. Secondly, That in this weak and disordered flesh, along with the unfavourable external circumstances in which mankind are now situated, there was more temptation for the soul of Christ, than there was for that of Adam in his original condition. Thirdly, That the soul of Christ was sustained against this force of temptation by the power of the Holy Ghost, so that he was enabled to present himself without spot to God, (Heb. ix. 14); and that without this sustentation his humanity would have sunk under the force; but that with it it was impossible he could fall. Whence Mr. Irving infers not only the acceptableness of the Redeemer's sacrifice, but the ability of those who by faith are united to him, so as to have the same Spirit in them which was also in Him, to withstand all the temptations of the weakened and disordered flesh, and the adverse external circumstances of the Fall. Now, had Mr. Irving proceeded no farther than this, there would have been little in his teaching on this subject with which I would not have agreed. And in opposing him on these points, a number of his opponents have not only uttered much absurdity—when they maintain that there was no difference between Our Lord's flesh and that of Adam in his innocent state;—but much heresy, when they speak as if any creature-thing (which Christ's soul was) could sustain itself in purity without divine aid.

I am suspicious, however, that Mr. Irving has transgressed these orthodox limits. Amid much impressive representation of Christ's Holiness in Flesh, as the Form, Fountain-head and Assurance of Holiness in Flesh, passages occasionally occur from which I find it difficult to avoid concluding that he holds, that in the soul, considered by itself, of that human nature which our Lord assumed into union with the divine, there was originally a proclivity to sin, as well as temptation in the flesh;—that although he denies, and with vehemence, that he believes that there was historically a moment of time when such proclivity had dominion, in consequence of the instantaneous possession of the Holy Ghost; that he yet sometimes argues as if there was mathematically a point when this proclivity had existence, and which required to be consumed by divine influence. Whether Mr. Irving holds this gross heresy or not, he has at least given occasion by the language he has employed for suspecting that he does.

But have any of his opponents met him at this point satisfactorily? So far as I have seen, and I have read not a little on the subject, not one of them has opened the true fountain of solution. How is it that neither party, in this controversy, has touched the question of the communication of the human soul; when yet on reflection it will appear to be essential to the settlement of the dispute? I can spare room only
there is not one, even of his works on prophecy, which I can un-
qualifiedly recommend. His system of Apocalyptic interpretation,
adopted in its outline from Mr. Frere, has been repeatedly de-
monstrated by Mr. Cuninghame to be radically erroneous. And
yet, on the other hand, there is not one of these works which
does not contain much truth vigorously and invigoratingly illus-
trated. Even where his system is false, his declamations are
often deeply impressive. The Preliminary Discourse to his
Translation of Ben-Ezra is peculiarly valuable. O! si sic omnia.
Altogether his labours in this matter have little which will match
them in the annals of literature. When he commenced the trans-

for a sentence of a very general nature on the subject; but am prepared
for an ample discussion.

No human being, I maintain, receives his soul from his parents in
the manner in which he receives from them the rudiments of his body.
Those who believe he does, must hold the doctrine of materialism. I
believe that the soul is produced directly by the fiat of the Almighty,
whose decree, in counselling the formation of man, was, that a spirit
should be created in connexion with every act of corporeal conception;
(although I would not enter into dispute with any one who would
argue that it is not communicated till an advanced state of the fœtus,
or even, not till birth.) Proceeding thus directly from the hand of
God, the soul must in every instance be originally pure. Otherwise,
God would be the author of sin. (If the intrinsic force of this reason-
ing does not satisfy some persons, let me inform them, that it is the
doctrine of Jonathan Edwards, whose authority I believe will go
farther with some Protestants, priding themselves in their orthodoxy,
than either reason or the plain letter of revelation. I am prepared to
be judged for making this charge, by the Head of the Church.) But
although the soul thus proceeds pure from the hand of God, yet in the
case of those who descend from Adam by ordinary generation, it is
involved in impurity, in consequence of its being united, so as to form
one person with a frame of flesh which is judicially under curse, and
in which it is denied the sustaining influences of the Holy Ghost,
until obtained through union with the Redeemer.—On the other hand,
in the case of our Lord, in consequence of his supernatural and divine
parentage on the side of his Father, even in respect of his humanity,
there was no judicial curse obtrusive of the Holy Ghost taking im-
mediate possession of his soul; not for the purpose of removing from it
any evil, but of sustaining it pure amid all temptation. Thou who
art at once my spotless Sacrifice, my Head of holy Influence, and my
Crown of Exaltation, how long wilt thou delay thy Coming to termi-
nate our contentions!
lation he was a very insufficient Spanish scholar—his heart was bruised with severe domestic bereavement—his health was impaired—he continued to preach on the Lord's day. And yet he translated the bulky Spaniard—wrote the extensive and weighty Preliminary Discourse—and put all through the press, in less, it would appear, than nine months. "I was well convinced," says he, "that the health which I most needed was the healing waters of the Holy Spirit, which I thus made bold to solicit by devoting myself to his service. And certainly the labourer was not disappointed of his hire. I prevented the dawning of the morning, and I envied the setting in of the shades of the evening to labour in my work: and when my eyes and hands failed me because of my weakness, the helper whom God hath given meet for me served me with hers; and so we laboured to bring this labour of love to completion, purposing to offer it to the church as our Christmas offering." Let hundreds who assign no limits to the contemptuous manner in which they speak and write of Mr. Irving look at this picture, and blush when it rebukes their own imbecility and sloth. There yet remains something worthy of notice, respecting the translation of Ben-Ezra. The profits of its sale were devoted to the aid of the Spanish Refugees. Let this generosity of Mr. Irving cover, in the estimation of the friends of liberty, the multitude of his sins as an advocate of that doctrine so unscriptural, and so unworthy of a Scotchman especially—the doctrine of Passive Obedience.—Will the Lord restore him to us disabused of his delusions? I would have more hope that He will, if I had less dark views of the professed Church having degenerated so far as to be denied such a signal blessing.

Mr. Irving's works on Prophecy are,—1st. Babylon and Infidelity foredoomed of God; second edition, 1828, 12s.* 2d. Translation of Ben-Ezra, with Preliminary Discourse, 2 vols. 8vo. 1827. 3d. A Tract on the Signs of the Times. 4th. A Discourse on the Evil Character of these our Times, proving them to be the "Perilous Times" of the "Last Days;" 1828, 12s.* 5th. Discourses on Daniel's Vision of the Four Beasts; 1829. 10s. 6d.* 6th. Lectures on the Book of Revelation; 4 vols. 12mo., 22s.* With a number of Papers in the Morning Watch, on the Old Testament Prophecies quoted in the New.

George Cruly, A.M. and H.R.S.L. A Minister of the Church of England. This eminent literary character declares for the
millenarian view of Rev. xx., in his work, entitled, A new Interpretation of the Apocalypse of John, published 1827; second edition, 1828, 12s.*

The Hon. and Rev. Gerard T. Noel, A.M., Richmond. Author of a Brief Inquiry into the Prospects of the Church of Christ, in connexion with the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ; 1828, 8vo., 9s.* The Christian and gentleman, the scholar and divine, are all combined in a high degree in the authorship of this work. A second edition has been published, 1830, 12mo., 5s.,* without the Appendix, which contains a critical examination of our Lord's words to the Penitent Thief.

Edward T. Vaughan, A.M., late Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester. Author of the Church's Expectation; a Sermon on the Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, with Notes and Appendix; 8vo., 5s. 6d.* Preached 1827; published 1828.

William Marsh, A.M., Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester. Author of a Few Plain Thoughts on Prophecy, particularly as it relates to the Latter Days, and the Future Triumph of the Church of Christ; second edition, 3s.* Also of a Sermon on the Morning Star and Millennial Day, 1829, 6d.* The first of these is a very useful publication.

Hugh M'Neile, A.M., Rector of Albany, Surrey. This eminent preacher published an excellent Tract, entitled, The Times of the Gentiles, in 1828, 6d.* And Popular Lectures on the Prophecies relative to the Jewish Nation, in 1830, 7s.*

Charles S. Hawtrey, late Minister of the Episcopal Chapel of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. He published anonymously a Sermon on the Nature, &c. of the First Resurrection, with an Appendix containing large extracts from Mede, Newton, &c. By a Spiritual Watchman; third edition, 1830, 1s.* In the Appendix he gives an excellent millenarian extract from Essays on the Proper Lessons of the Church of England, by William Wogan, Esq. I know nothing of this author and his work, except from that extract; and this incidental notice of them must suffice. Mr. Hawtrey also published a small work, entitled, The Premillennial Advent of Christ, 1828, 2s.* In this publication, Mr. Cuninghame's Views of the Order of Events first appeared, as communicated to Mr. H. in a letter.
Henry Drummond, Esq. There are few publications to which I have been so much indebted as to this author's Defence of the Students of Prophecy, in answer to the attack of Dr. Hamilton. Published in 1828, 3s.* Mr. D. also acted a principal part in the publication of the next three works.


The various Speakers in the Dialogues on Prophecy; being the substance of Conversations at recent Conferences of Ministers and Laymen, for the Consideration of the Church's Hope and Prospects; 1828, 3 vols. 34s. 6d.* These conferences were held at Mr. Drummond's house, Albury park. An interesting account of the manner in which they were conducted may be seen in Mr. Irving's Preliminary Discourse to his Translation of Ben-Ezra. From the nature of the work it will be inferred, that it must contain many crude opinions. But the circumstances which produced this, also elicited many striking truths.

John Tudor, the Editor of the Morning Watch; and its various Contributors. This celebrated periodical commenced in March 1829, and concluded in June 1833. It greatly disappointed the expectations of many of the students of prophecy, for it involved itself so deeply in the controversies on the Human Nature of our Lord, and the Spiritual Gifts as to make the elucidation of Prophecy a matter of only secondary concern. Nevertheless it contains a number of Articles on this subject of great value; and I received the announcement of its conclusion nearly with as much sorrow as joy; 7 vols. 85s., or 18 separate Parts.*

Mrs. Barbara Ann Simon. The Answer which this excellent lady, while sojourning with one of the aboriginal tribes of America, wrote to a correspondent of the Christian Spectator, has been re-published in this country in the form of a Tract, entitled,
Reply to an Objector to the Literal Interpretation of the Promises; 1829, 3d.* She has also published an interesting volume, entitled, The Hope of Israel: Presumptive Evidence that the Aborigines of the Western Hemisphere are descended from the Ten Missing Tribes of Israel; 1829, 10s.*

[Although I have need to make haste, yet I go out of my way for a moment to recommend her instructive and impressive book, A View of the Human Heart, 10s.,* in which this heart, in a great variety of states of evil and good possession, is illustrated by engravings, the passions and affections being represented by clean or unclean animals. The device is ingenious and well executed. It is an excellent book for a drawing-room table. And let the ladies who frequent that chamber of mirth and ease, examine if their hearts are possessed of any of that principle of love by which Mrs. Simon and her husband are actuated, who have left the refinements of civilized life behind, and returned to dwell among the Indian tribes as their enlighteners and counsellors.]

Mrs. Sherwood. When the influence which this lady sways over the minds of the youth of this country is considered, her millenarianism will appear to be of great importance. She has published an excellent little work on the subject, entitled, The Millennium; or Twelve Stories designed to explain to young Bible Readers the Scripture Prophecies concerning the glory of the Latter Days; second edition, 1830, 2s.*

I am happy to be put to the trouble of causing an alteration of the types, in announcing another admirable work by this lady, entitled, The Latter Days; 1833, 4s. 6d.* It contains a powerful exposure of the unscriptural opinions of those who believe or teach, that the world is to be reformed, otherwise than by the Coming of the Master.

Charlotte Elizabeth, is another female author of great influence with youth, who holds millenarian views. I am sorry, however, that I know of nothing from her pen on this subject, to which I can refer, except her poem, Signs of the Times, published in the 1st vol. of the Dublin Christian Herald: but that is a gem of great value.

The Author of Jerusalem, an admirable juvenile work, published in Dublin, 1828, 1s.,* is also, I suppose, a female. At all events its millenarianism, in describing the future prospects of the Holy City, is exceedingly refreshing.
When citing female witnesses, may I ask, what are the opinions of the Author of *Lily Douglas* on this subject? In her *Jerusalem Destroyed*; second edition, 1830, 3s. 6d.* she has borne good testimony thus far, that Israel shall be restored to the land of their fathers.

*J. L. Jackson, A.M.* A Minister of the Church of England, Dorsetshire. A number of years ago, this author published anonymously a good essay, entitled, *The Millennial Church, by Clericus Dorcestriensis.* The third edition is enlarged by an additional essay on the Holy Catholic Church; 1880, 3s.*

*His Serene Highness Charles, Landgrave of Hesse.* In 1829, this pious prince delivered an interesting millenarian speech at a meeting of the Sleswick and Holstein Bible Society. Having made a short review of the dissemination of the Scriptures from the foundation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, he proceeded as follows:

"Can we repress our astonishment when we look at the past time so utterly irreligious, in which the Bible especially as the only true foundation of the Christian religion was derided, ridiculed, and almost entirely rejected; and at the excellent use now made of the Divine Book, to scatter the light of the gospel over the whole earth? Can we fail to perceive in it the wise direction of Providence? Does not the thought enter your mind—Is not his Second Coming, spoken of by our Lord to his disciples, now near, since the sign appointed by him has appeared? Matt. xxiv. 3, his disciples asked him, "What will be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world?" And Jesus answered, and said unto them, (verse 14) "The Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come." The disciples considered the coming of the Lord as the end of this world and the commencement of a new, in which, seated on twelve thrones they should reign over the twelve tribes of Israel. In Rev. xx. 4, an account is given of these thrones, and of a First Resurrection of those who had lost their lives for the witness of Christ, and these, adds John, "lived and reigned a thousand years." From this has been taken the idea of a millennium. But in the 5th verse, mention is made of a Second Resurrection of the dead. The world also will continue and not come to an end."

The Prince of Hesse, says my authority, is a very old and very worthy man—imbued with deep religious feeling. In the expectation of the Second Advent he is very sincere, talking of
It is at once certain and near. He is father to the reigning queen of Denmark, and nearly related by the mother's side to the royal family of England. The province of Angelin, the father-land of the Anglo-Saxon race, forms part of his paternal domains.—There is a venerable millenarian. Although there be a point or two in his speech in which I do not agree with him, I am sorry my limits do not admit of inserting it entire. It may be seen in the Christian Instructor, Vol. XXIX., June 1830, translated and communicated by a correspondent who was given a copy of the original, in German, by the Prince himself, of whom he gives an interesting personal account.

James A. Begg, formerly of Paisley, now Bookseller, Glasgow.

The principal work of this author is, A Connected View of the Scriptural Evidence of the Redeemer's Speedy Personal Return, and Reign on Earth, with his Glorified Saints, during the Millennium;—Israel's Restoration to Palestine;—and the Destruction of Antichristian Nations. With Remarks on various authors (Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Wardlaw, &c.) who oppose these doctrines. This admirable compend of Scripture proof on these various subjects, with pointed remarks and illustrations, has been of eminent service to the millenarian cause: popularly, no other book has done so much. Besides having run through three editions, and nearly a fourth since 1829, it has been translated into the German language, and is either reprinted, or about to be so in America. Though sold very cheap, (4th edition, 1831, 4s.*) its sale has realized a considerable sum for Religious Societies, to which Mr. B. has generously devoted the profits. His other works on Prophecy are, Letters to a Minister of the Gospel, (Dr. Symington, Paisley,) on his and other Interpretations of our Saviour's predictions of his Return, recorded in Matt. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, containing a minute examination of these Prophecies, and exhibiting the evidence they contain that Christ's Coming in the Clouds of Heaven is Personal and near at hand, 1831, 3s. 6d.* I assured Mr. Begg from the beginning, that our opponents would fix on his objectionable interpretation of the Winter and Sabbath-day mentioned in Matt. xxiv. 20, and by holding it up to ridicule, endeavour to discredit the whole of this masterly work; and it has happened as I predicted. Letter VII. has been peculiarly efficient in producing conviction of the truth of our system.—An ingenious, if not satisfactory Essay on the Heresy of Hymeneus and Philetus concerning the First Resurrection; reprinted from the Morning Watch, 4d.*—The Scriptural argument for the Coming of the Lord at the commencement of the Millennium. A tract, extracted from the Connected View, second edition, 3d.*
William W. Pym, Vicar of William, Herts. Author of Thoughts on Millenarianism, 1829; third edition, 1831, 1s. 6d.*

John Hooper, Curate of Westbury, Wilts. Author of The Doctrine of the Second Advent, briefly stated. 1829; second edition, 1830, 6d.* Also, of The Present Crisis; considered in relation to The Blessed Hope of the Glorious Appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; 1829, 6d.* Both of these are good tracts.

Samuel Madden, A.B., a Minister of the Episcopal Church, Ireland. Author of an excellent work, entitled, The Nature and Time of the Second Advent of the Messiah considered; 1829, 2s. 6d.*

Edward Newenham Hoare, A.B., Minister of the Episcopal Church, Ireland, Limerick. As editor of the Christian Herald, a Magazine chiefly on subjects connected with prophecy, this pious and talented gentleman has laboured with much success in disseminating millenarian truth. The Magazine is published in Dublin, it was begun as a monthly, but is now continued as a quarterly publication. The 4th volume is just concluded:* The first two volumes are peculiarly valuable. Four volumes 24s.* Quarterly Nos. 1s. 6d.

Francis Synge Hutcheson, an Irish gentleman. Has published, 1st. A Letter to the Christian Examiner, on the opposition manifested by many in these days to the study of the prophetical parts of the Word of God; 1830, 1s.* 2d. Second Letter to the Christian Examiner; 1830, 1s. 6d.* 3d. Remarks on the Study of Prophecy, from 2 Peter i. 19—21; 1830, 1s.* This is a masterly writer. The second of these pamphlets contains an excellent defence of the Fathers.

John M. Campbell, late Minister of Row. His Four Sermons on the Patient Waiting for Jesus' Coming may be had separately from the rest, 1s.* They were preached in 1830.

In chronological order my own Apology for Millennial Doctrine in the Form in which it was entertained by the Primitive Church falls to be noticed* in this place. I began to proclaim the nearness of the Redeemer's Advent, towards the end of 1828, but Part First of that Apology was not published till April 1830.
Part Second, 1831, 2s.* The present publication casts me still farther into arrears for Part Third.

Pierre Mejanel. This pious Frenchman has published a very good summary view of our system, The True Millennium, second edition, 1831, 6d.* Also a work in the French language, entitled, Sur les derniers convulsions du monde perissant; 5s.*

T. W. Franklin, A.M., a Minister of the Church of England. He has published a good Sermon, entitled, The Kingdom of God; 1830, 6d.*

Joseph Tyso, a Minister of the Baptist denomination. Author of an Inquiry after Prophetic Truth, relative to the Restoration of the Jews, and the Millennium; 1831, 7s. 6d.* This work is valuable, especially for its explanation of particulars of the Restoration of Israel, and their Re-establishment in the Land of Promise.

The late Robert Hall. Notwithstanding of our having frequently asserted, that this illustrious individual entertained our opinions the two last years of his life, few will believe us, as if millenarianism were something too absurd for having been believed by his great mind. If this be the ground of their scepticism it is a very insufficient one; for there have been others as learned, as judicious, and as pious, as was he, who were his predecessors in this faith. An extract from his Essay on The Spiritual condition and Prospects of the Jews, written in 1826, will show how his mind was prepared for the reception of our system:

'These views are, in my humble opinion, confirmed by the tenor of the prophetic writings, which seem on various occasions to recognise a relation as all along subsisting between the Supreme Being and the Jews, previously to the period of their accession to the Christian Church. It appears to me evident, from ancient prophecy, that the scene of the future conversion of the Jews is their own land, where it is probable from Zechariah, that a supernatural interposition of the Messiah will take place in their favour, that he will suddenly reveal himself to them as a nation, and thus effect the accomplishment of the remarkable prediction recorded in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters of that prophecy.' Hall's Works, Vol. IV. p. 471.

There is more in the same interesting Essay which I shall afterwards have reason for quoting, but the above is sufficient for showing, that, even in the year 1826, he was far advanced t.
wards that fulness of millenarian faith to which, according to the testimony of his acquaintance, he afterwards attained, and in which he died. Part of that testimony may be seen in Thorp’s Preface to The Destinies of the British Empire; and in the 2d edition of Mr. Cuninghame’s Review of Dr. Wardlaw’s Sermon, p. 58. If more is necessary it can be easily produced.

The late William Thorp, the only Minister among the Independents, that I know of, who in these last days has borne witness to the truth of the doctrine of the Kingdom. There is a great redeeming power, however, for their denomination in the name of Thorp. Our cause sustained great loss by the premature (for us, premature) decease of this eminent man. His work, The Destinies of the British Empire, published in 1881, is a rich earnest of what would have been the fulfilment of his promise, had he lived to perform it, when in the Preface he holds out the prospect of his publishing a more particular account of the Millennial Kingdom.

Thomas Pell Platt, Esq., F.S.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. This excellent gentleman’s name is familiar to all who are acquainted with the history of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He has published two admirable pamphlets, the first entirely, the second chiefly, on prophetical subjects. The one, The Literal Interpretation of Scripture Enforced; 1831, 1s.;* the other, Thoughts on Certain Old Testament Prophecies Interpreted in the New Testament, &c.; 1832, 1s. 6d.* The former of these Tracts consists chiefly of Strictures on certain passages in the Sermons of the Rev. D. Wilson, in the course of which an interesting examination occurs of Heb. ii. 5—11.

Philip Hirshfield. Author of a good work, entitled, Strictures on the Past History and Future Prospects of the Jews; second edition, 1833, 2s. 6d.*

The Editor of The Investigator, or Monthly Expositor and Register on Prophecy; a London Publication conducted by a Minister of the Episcopal Church. The first Number was published, August 1831. In the course of the work, many papers of great merit have appeared in it. The Letters of Abdiel are especially valuable. In consequence, however, of the Editor having pledged himself too liberally in the Prospectus, for the inserting of communications, some have been given a
place which do little credit to the work. The price of the various Numbers varies from 6d. to 1s.* The Expositor is another monthly publication conducted by the same Editor, accommodated to those who do not understand criticisms on the Greek or Hebrew originals. Nos. from 3d. to 6d.* The first volume consists of a republication of the Letters of Abdiel.

Lieut. G. H. Wood, author of The Believer's Guide to the Study of Unfulfilled Prophecy; 1831. 3s.* This is a useful publication, being of the same nature as Mr. Begg's Connected View.

John E. Sabin, A.B., Rector of Preston, Bisset. Author of a treatise, entitled, The Judgment of the Quick; 1831, 3s.,* and another, entitled, The Kingship of Jesus; 1832, 6s.* Both of these works are meritorious.

Nicholas Armstrong, B.A. of Trinity College, Dublin. Though this eloquent preacher has experienced an afflictive fall from popular favour, in consequence of having united with Mr. Irving in his doctrine in reference to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, yet I know they are not a few who remember his ministrations with thanksgiving to the Lord, when he appeared in Glasgow as Agent of the British Reformation Society. Even at that time he was millenarian in his views, though prevailed with by his friends to give them as little prominence in his speeches and discourses as his conscience would permit, lest he should prejudice the particular cause which he was commissioned to agent. (Think of Protestants being offended at the testimony, that the Lord shall destroy the Man of Sin with the brightness of his Coming!) I do not know of any thing which Mr. Armstrong has himself published on this subject. But there is a volume of Sermons by him and Mr. Irving, taken in short hand by Harding, to which I refer for a knowledge of his views; 8s.*

John Cox, author of A Millenarian's Answer of the Hope that is in him; second edition, 1832, 6d.* This is an excellent tract. I infer that the writer is a member of the Baptist denomination, endeavouring to restore his brethren to the faith of their forefathers.

The Editor of The Christian Record, a London Monthly Journal, dedicated chiefly to the investigation of Prophecy. The
first Number was published, January, 1833. Several good millenarian articles have appeared in it in the course of the year. Nos. 1s. each.*

* Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, A.M., M.R.I.A., Rector of Kilcoleman. Author of a work, entitled, The First Resurrection Considered, in a Series of Letters, occasioned by a Treatise of the late Rev. H. Gipps. Dublin; 1833, 6s.* I have not seen this publication, but infer it will be profitable, from several papers in the Christian Herald, under the head, Typical Facts, which I understand were communicated by this author. He has also published a tract, warmly recommended by the Editor of the Herald, entitled, The Deluge, a Type of the Conflagration; 1832, 1s. 6d.*

Edward Bickersteth, Rector of Walton. I knew of this pious and influential Minister and writer being a millenarian at the time I made the enumerations of names contained in pp. 10 and 19; but did not consider myself warranted to insert his, since I knew of his opinions only from the report of friends. Within these few days, however, he has openly declared himself on our side, by the publication of Four Sermons, on Preparedness for the Day of Christ; 1833, 1s. 6d.* To the genius of Hall let there be added the sanctity and judiciousness of Bickersteth, and what cause will appear better recommended to this age by human authority than that for which we plead?

Anonymous Publications. A Cry from the Desert; in Two Parts, 1828, 1s. 6d.*—Christ's Appearance the Second Time, for the Salvation of Believers; second edition, 1829, 2s.*—Reply to a Brother's Address on the Millennial Reign; 1830, 1s.*—Thoughts on the Second Appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the author of Observations on the Song of Solomon; 1831, 2s.*—Enoch's Prophecy; 1831, 2d.*—The Scripture doctrine of the Second Advent of Christ: An Essay read before one of the Associations of the Edinburgh Young Men's Society; 1833, 6d.*—The Second Coming of the Lord; the True Hope of Believers, and only Triumph of the Church; Dublin; 1833, 2s. 6d.*—The Kingdom of Heaven, as Delineated in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel; 1833, 6d.*

J. A. Brown. I have omitted the mentioning of this author in
the proper place. His Even-Tide, or Last Triumph of the Blessed and only Potentate; 2 vols. 18c.* was published in 1823. His other principal work is, The Jew, the Master-Key of the Apocalypse; 1827, 5s.* These works contain some useful matter. But, whereas several millenarians have allowed the race of Abraham too little in their system, this author claims for them by far too much.

*Joseph Hussey, of Cambridge. This is another witness whom I have omitted to adduce in the proper place. I know of him only from Cox's Answer, who says of him that he is the most staunch millenarian author with whom he has ever met, and gives as specimens of his views some extracts from his work, The Glories of Christ.

*Peter Borthwick. This person's prostitution of his elegant and not powerless gifts in the advocacy of a most infamous cause, made me at first resolve to suppress his name. I have, however, relented, in the hope he may repent of the evil. His Reply to various criticisms in the newspapers on the Lectures of Mr. Irving, delivered in Edinburgh in 1828, was of considerable service. He has also published a Brief Statement of the doctrine of Holy Scripture concerning the Second Advent; 1832, 3s. 6d.* Besides, a few papers appeared in the Morning Watch communicated by him; and he has edited Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on Daniel, with the citations translated, and notes; 1832, 10s.* Are there any to whom his name is a stumbling block when associated with millenarian doctrine? let me remind them, for their recovery, of our old friends, the most of the chief divines of the Westminster Assembly.

*William Alleine, minister of the Gospel. A few days ago I was favoured with the perusal of a volume containing two admirable treatises by an author of this name. The first entitled, The Mystery of the Temple and City described by Ezekiel, unfolded; the second, Some Discovery of the New Heavens and New Earth. Their millenarianism is nearly faultless. The volume was published in London; 12mo., 1697.

In addition to the authors I have mentioned, I learn from Adam's Religious World Displayed, that Mr. Eyre, Mr. Kett, and Dr. Priestly, have contended for the Personal Reign of Christ on Earth. With respect to Dr. Priestly, it was as it should
be. Anti-millenarianism had the benefit and credit of his zealous advocacy in the days of the madness of his heresy; and it was toward the end of his life, when he had made some return to a state of right mind, that he embraced the primitive faith, so far as the nature of the Millennial Kingdom is concerned.

There are probably some other millenarians of consequence (I trust there are many) whose names or works, through my ignorance of them, do not appear in this list. Let the circumstances, that I live in a very dead city of dead Scotland—dead to the doctrine of the Speedy Coming of the Lord for blessing and vengeance—where, until very lately, the few who entertain the Hope, were obliged to order almost every book on the subject which they wished to see, from London or Dublin—let this circumstance, and the other, that our Millenarian Magazines do little in the way of announcing the publications of the brethren, be my apology for any deficiency which may be detected in my enumeration.

2d. Authors who, although not Millenarian, hold parts of our system which are generally reprobated.

I have a great collection of materials for this part of my testimony against the prevailing unbelief and ignorance: but I must content myself with a selection.

First. That this earth shall not be annihilated, but only changed, and made a suitable habitation for the glorified saints.

The best of the Jewish Doctors and Commentators are clear on this point, but I pass them over with a reference to Mede and Homes for their testimony. Among Christian writers, Origen, the father of anti-millenarians, says, in his treatise against Celsus, 'we do not deny the purging fire of the destruction of wickedness, and the renovation of all things.'—Augustine says, in his treatise On the City of God, 'by a mutation of things this world will pass away, not by an utter extinction.' Whence, also the Apostle says, that "the fashion of this world passeth away;" and again, —' that the world changing into the better may openly be made fit for man when returned in the flesh into the better state.' Homes instances John Calvin as teaching the Restoration of the earth to its primitive condition from Isaiah xi. 6. On referring to the passage in the original, which is of considerable length, it no doubt strongly bears that appearance, but it is introduced and concluded by a spiritual mysticism which makes me question that Calvin was so far enlightened. John Bradford, who suffered martyrdom in 1555, in the last letter which he wrote to his friends, insists at great length, from Rom. viii. 19, on the Renovation of the whole earth. The whole of this interesting
letter may be seen in his writings, p. 225, published by the Religious Tract Society, London. Extracts are made from it in the Dublin Christian Herald, Vol. 11, p. 11, and in Wood's Guide. Matthew Henry says, on Rom. viii. 21, 'this lower world shall be renewed'—'the fire at the last day shall be a refining, not a destroying fire.' "Bishop Moss," says Adam, "who, in his Sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, seems to adopt the literal scheme, [of interpreting millennial prophecy] ventures to say, that 'the great scene of man's existence shall be closed as it began, in an earthly paradise.' "—And Dr. Macknight, in his notes on 2 Peter iii. 10, says, 'the passing away of the heavens and earth does not mean that they will be removed to another part of space, or that they will be annihilated; but, that, being burnt, their form and constitution will be changed, as the constitution or form of the old world was by the flood.'—I instance, however, especially the opinions of the principal English Reformers, as expressed in the Catechism of King Edward VI., and of the Westminster Divines, as expressed in their Annotations.

King Edward's Catechism was published by royal authority in the year 1553, bearing that it was laid before the king by a certain learned and pious man, (Burnet says, Cranmer; Neale says, Poynet, afterwards Bishop of Winchester,) and inspected by certain Bishops and other men of learning. I formerly noticed, that I once inferred from a passage in this Catechism, that those eminent men were fully millenarian, but that I have seen reason to give up this opinion. As that passage is, however, still of great importance, though not so great as I at first conceived, I shall insert it previously to producing the other which bears more directly on the subject at present before us. The Auditor when questioned on the Lord's Prayer, thus answers:—

'In the Second Part, we ask, that his Kingdom may come, For as yet we do not see that all things are subjected to Christ. We see not how the Stone is cut out of the mountain without human labour, which broke in pieces, and reduced to nothing the Image described by Daniel, that the only Rock, which is Christ, may occupy and possess the dominion of the whole world, bestowed on him by the Father. As yet, Antichrist is not slain; whence it is that we desire and pray that at length it may come to pass and be fulfilled; and that Christ alone may reign with his saints according to the divine promises; and that he may live and have dominion in the world, according to the decrees of the holy Gospel, and not according to the traditions and laws of men, and the will of the princes (tyrannorum) of the world.' To which the Master responds, 'God grant that his kingdom may come most speedily!'

The passage which refers to the Renovation of the earth, is as follows:—

'Master. The Sacred Scripture calls the end of the world the
consummation and perfection of the kingdom and mystery of Christ, and the Renovation of all things. Thus speaks the Apostle Peter, 2 Epistle, chap. 3,—"we expect new heavens and a new earth, according to God's promise, wherein dwelleth righteousness." And it seems agreeable to reason that the corruption, mutability and sin, to which the whole world is subject, should at length cease. Now, in what way, or by what kind of circumstances those things shall be brought to pass, I desire to hear of thee. Auditor. I will declare as well as I can—According to the testimony of the same Apostle, the heavens shall pass away as in a storm, the elements boiling (cæluantia) shall be dissolved, and the earth, and the works therein, shall be burnt up. As if he should say, The whole world, as we see happens with gold, shall be purged with fire, and brought back to its original perfection; imitating which, that lesser world, man, shall likewise be delivered from corruption and change. And so on man's account, for whose sake this greater world was at first created, being at length renewed, it shall assume an appearance far more pleasant and beautiful. Master. What then remains? Auditor. The last and general Judgment. For Christ shall come, at whose voice all the dead shall rise, entire in soul and body, and the whole world shall behold him sitting on the throne of his glory. Then, after the searching of the conscience of each, the last sentence will be pronounced. At that time the Sons of God shall perfectly possess that kingdom of immortality and eternal life, which was prepared for them before the laying of the foundations of the world, and shall reign with Christ for ever. But the ungodly who have not believed, shall be cast into eternal fire, decreed for the devil and his angels. I have translated all I have seen of this Catechism, and am unable to determine, whether the Kingdom prayed for in the first extract, be the same as that spoken of in the conclusion of the last. And whether the New Heavens and New Earth be a dispensation which precedes the Judgment, or form the kingdom of immortality after the Judgment. This, however, is obvious, that the earth is represented as to be, at one time or another, Renovated.

The testimony of the Westminster Divines, as given in their Annotations on the Old and New Testaments, (2 vols., folio, 25s.*) at the viii. chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, is as follows:—

Verse 19. The doctrine which he (the Apostle) delivereth from this verse to the 23d is, that as the world was not at the beginning in that state in which now it is, but by the sin of man came to be subject to a flitting and vanishing state, it shall at length be restored with the elect to a more suitable and glorious estate. Verse 20. The ground of this hope or expectation of the creature is, that having by reason of the fall of man...
'suffered for part of his malediction, when it shall come to pass
at the last day, that man shall be completely restored to grace
again, then all the steps and traces of that malediction shall be
utterly erased out of the world, as is declared, Isaiah li. 16;
lxxv. 17; lxvi. 22.'

I am not satisfied that these Annotators have interpreted this
particular passage in the epistle to the Romans correctly, when
they understand by the creature the whole physical creation.
And the principal purpose for which I quote their comment is to
show, that some at least of those men who framed the Confes-
sion, Catechisms, &c. of our Presbyterian Churches, (in which
work, let the Independents remember, their forefathers were active
assistants,) believed that this globe shall not be annihilated, but
Renovated, and made the habitation of the glorified saints. And,
consequently, that such of the members of those churches as
make a mock of millenarianism, so far as the belief of a physical
Renovation of the earth is an element of our system, act the
foolish part of discrediting their own standards, by treating as
fools the men who constructed them. See also the Annotations
on 2 Peter iii. 10, 11.

Second. That watching and waiting for the Coming of the Lord,
rather than watching and waiting for Death, are characteristic of a
genuine Christian profession.

There are two works on this subject which I recommend; the
one, a Practical View of the Redeemer's Advent, by James H.
Stewart, A.M., now of Liverpool, formerly Minister of Percy
Chapel, St. Pancras; third edition, 1828, 10s. 6d.* The other,
The Blessed Hope: being Two Sermons preached in Advent,
1829, by a Clergyman of the Church of England; 1830, 1s.*
In both of these excellent publications, Waiting for the Second
Coming of Christ in glory, as an event which may presently hap-
pen, is inculcated as a Christian duty, irrespectively of the millen-
nial question. Though I do not perceive how any person can
discharge this duty without being a millenarian, if he believe that
there shall be a millennium at all.

I summon attention, however, especially to the sentiments of
Martin Luther and Hugh Latimer, two of the most eminent
of the Reformers.

In Luther's Enarrations on the Gospels, &c., there occurs a
remarkable Sermon on Luke xxii. 25—34. Extracts from this
discourse were printed in London, in 1661, under the title, The
Signs of Christ's Coming, and have been reprinted by Lindsay,
Edinburgh, 1832, 2d.* In the course of an earnest inculcation
of watchfulness for the Advent, the Reformer thus expresses
himself:—

' For my part, I would compel no man to believe me, and yet
in this matter I will not yield up my judgment to any other,
namely, that the last day is not far off.'
Precisely in the same strain as the sentiments of Luther, are those of Latimer. In his third Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, having spoken of a 'Parliament in which Christ will bear the rule, and not men,'—"which the righteous pray for, when they say, Thy kingdom come, because they know, that therein re-formations of all things shall be had;"—he presently after has these words:—"Let us therefore have a desire that this day may come quickly; let us hasten God forward; let us cry unto him day and night, Most merciful Father, Thy kingdom come. St. Paul saith, The Lord will not come till the swerving from faith cometh; (2 Thess. ii. 3) which thing is already done and past: 'Antichrist is known throughout all the world. Wherefore the day is not far off;'—"so that (says he in his Sermons for the Second Sunday in Advent) it may come in my days, old as I am." He goes on: 'There will be great alterations in that day; there will be hurly burly, like as you see when a man dieth, &c. There will be such alterations of the earth and the elements, they will lose their former nature, and be endued with another nature. And then shall they see the Son of Man come in a cloud, with power and great glory. Certain it is that he shall come to judge; but we cannot tell the time when he will come.' Then quoting 1 Thess. iv. 17, to show that the living saints shall be wapt up into the air, and so meet Christ our Saviour, he adds, "all those, I say, who be content to strive and fight with sin, these shall in such wise be taken up into the air, and meet with Christ, and so shall come down with him again."—"I am strongly tempted to proceed with the quotation of more; but must desist, when I consider the manner in which these pages are increasing to threesfold what I originally intended they should be. I refer to an admirable paper by Abdiel, from which I have been quoting, Investigator, Vol. I. p. 170. Or the Expositor, Vol. I. p. 10.

On reading these extracts, some may be induced to ask, why I have not ranked Luther and Latimer among those who are regularly millenarians. The explanation is this, they believed the millennium was past, supposing it to have commenced with Constantine's elevation to the throne, and consequently, that the Final Judgment was at hand. "At the time of the Reforma-tion," says Dr. Watkins, "this notion was very prevalent;" and the consideration of it may cast light on the extract formerly given from King Edward's Catechism.

But although we do not obtain for our millenarianism all that recommendation which we wish we could from the sentiments of these illustrious men; yet we at least gain this—when we are scorned by fools for our expectation of the Speedy Advent of the Lord as being something, absolutely considered, premature for the disturbing of this sinful world in its youthful gaiety, we suffer it in company with men who can well bear a share of it. And, secondly, that when we are moved to watchfulness, (the
Lord grant we may be moved more rather by the prospect of the Coming of the Bridegroom, than by the Coming of Death, we are of the same spirit as those whose names shine the brightest in the annals of the Church. Is it not wonderful when we think of it, that Luther, instead of desiring that there should be a delay to see how the Reformation which he had been the means of originating should work, rejoiced in the Hope of the Speedy Coming of the Judge? How different it is with those who in a manner crave delay till an experiment shall be made with Missionary Societies and Political Reform!

Third, That the natural seed of Jacob shall be restored to the land of Palestine, and given pre-eminence over all the other nations of the earth.

It would occupy a page simply to enumerate the names of the eminent men who harmonize with us in this point, though not millenarian in faith. Besides, therefore, calling the attention, for a particular reason which some will understand, to the 8th Discourse of Dr. Mason of Wishawton, on the Divine Mystery, Romans xi. 25, 26, 27; and to Mr. Lorimer's excellent discourse published in Nos. 34 and 35 of The Scottish Pulpit, because he is a fellow-labourer with me in this city, where there are so few who do not grudge Israel a resting-place, a home, and a kingdom, I shall submit quotations only from two popular divines, who teach that the Restoration shall be effected by, or attended with Miracles.

Dr. Doddridge concludes his CCXXVIII Lecture, which is devoted to the proof of the national conversion of the Jews, and their restoration to the land of their fathers, with the following scholium:

‘How far the form of government and religion among the Jews may, upon their restoration to their own land, be changed from what it originally was, we cannot certainly say; but it is exceedingly probable, that so much of their ancient law will continue in force as can be reconciled with the force and genius of the Christian religion; and that God will raise up some divinely inspired prophets among them, with a full declaration of his mind and will, in reference to a variety of questions on which we have not light enough to decide; and some have thought [Doddridge does not sneer] that Elias, i.e. John the Baptist (of whom the Old Testament prophesied by that name) will then be raised from the dead, and bear a considerable part in the glorious work of converting and settling them.’

Thus far are we accompanied by the judicious Doddridge: but John Brown of Haddington, one of the chief fathers of the Secession, proceeds much farther. I intend afterwards to make use of the whole of the table contained in his Self-Interpreting Bible.
entitled, a Collection of the Prophecies which concern the Calling of the Jews, and the Glory which shall be in the Latter Day; but I shall content myself with giving a specimen of it at present.

III. Great miracles shall be wrought when Israel is restored, as formerly, when they were brought out of Egypt.—1st. Drying up the river Euphrates.—2d. Causing rivers to flow in desert places.—3d. Giving them Prophets.—4th. The Lord Christ himself shall appear at the head of them.

Till I have an opportunity of telling them more about it, let some of the admirers of this eminent saint, who boast of him as a principal ornament of their denomination, so digest this extract, as to learn to be more wary in the language they use concerning millenarians. They little know on whom it sometimes falls with condemnation.

Fourth. That the Millennium will not be introduced gradually and peacefully, but with desolating judgments inflicted on anti-Christian nations.

This is a subject than which there is no other for insisting on which millenarians have been treated with more scorn. It is especially on this account that we have been mocked with the appellation of prophets, always prognosticating evil in a manner unbecoming the Gospel of Christ. And yet, even more than in the case of proclaiming the national restoration of Israel, have we at this point the countenance of many eminent men who have not adopted our system, or are even decidedly hostile to it. Indeed to teach the gradual and peaceful introduction of the millennial era, without woful precursory judgments executed on Antichrist, is an extreme novelty which has grown up in the church within these thirty years. I shall therefore select only three individuals, all living authors, for being mentioned under this head.

Dr. Hamilton. After the manner in which I have been obliged, in defence of the truth, to treat the misrepresentations of this, in many respects, worthy minister of the Gospel of Christ, I rejoice in having an opportunity of relieving the censure a little by quoting with approbation, for the instruction of the admirers of his anti-millenarian rhapsody, the following paragraph from the Preface to his Treatise on the Duties, &c. of the Christian Life, published in 1830. And let me inform those of my readers who are strangers to him, that Dr. Hamilton, although a minister of the Established Church, is an ardent political reformer, so that it can be no tory or conservative prejudice against the people’s vindication of their rights which dictated these sentiments:

‘The language of the prophets intimates, that the clearing of the world from the abominations of Popery, and of Infidelity, in its different forms of Unitarianism, and gross profigacy and
impiety, will be accompanied with unparalleled carnage and devastations. The time fixed in the pages of prophecy for the duration of Antichrist, if it has not wholly elapsed, is at least at the point of expiring. The events foretold as preparatory for the overthrow of that dreadful usurpation have almost all taken place: while the distracted state of the religious public in Britain, and the agitated condition of the Continent seem to indicate the approach of some awful crisis. In this critical season, the serious and prayerful attention of the reader is earnestly requested to the truths stated in the following pages.

By adopting the principles which they inculcate; if the reader cannot prolong and increase the prosperity of the nation, he will at least deliver his own soul, (what does the remaining part of this sentence mean as coming from an anti-millenarian?) and secure a refuge in which he shall be hidden in the day of the Lord's anger.

Moreover, I am glad to learn from the same Treatise, p. 66, that Dr. Hamilton interprets Rev. xxi. 3, and surely, therefore, Rev. xxi. 4, also, as belonging to millennial days.

James Douglas, Esq. of Cavers. I must content myself with referring, without quotation, to the two tracts by this eminent author, Thoughts on Prayer at the Present Time, and The Prospects of Britain; as containing prognostications of wo nearly as gloomy as any which have proceeded from the millenarian school. And he also, be it remembered, is a political reformer of very decided tone.

The Author of The Natural History of Enthusiasm. This powerful writer has been lauded by the Reviewers with a lamentable want of discrimination. There are few sections of his history in which his Mania against Enthusiasm has not led him to discredit features of genuine piety and virtue. At present it is chiefly with his section on Prophetical Interpretation that I am concerned. And I appeal to those who have read it with care, if there be not passages in it, in which this Layman takes upon him to rebuke those who watch the Signs of the Times, whereas the Lord rebuked the Pharisees for not watching them; and in which he deprecates the people's study of prophecy, whereas an Apostle has said, that they would do well to take heed to it as unto a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn. Nevertheless, before he was permitted to send forth his errors to the world, there was drawn forth from him by a better Spirit than his own, (I am so much of an enthusiast as to think so) the following paragraph, with which as an antidote, his volume is concluded:

There is yet another line of argument, wholly independent of the two that have been pursued above, in which the general spread of true religion might be made to appear an event not very remote—namely, the argument from prophecy. But be-
sides, that the subject is by far too large and serious to be treated hastily, the time is not arrived in which it might be discussed with the calmness it demands. Yet in passing this subject, it may be suggested to those who, notwithstanding that they admit the truth of Christianity, constantly deride genuine piety whenever it comes in their way, that though the apparent course of events seems to indicate a gradual improvement, such as would give time to oppugners to choose the wiser part, and to range themselves quietly in the train of the conquering religion, the general tenor of Scriptural prediction holds out a different prospect, and gives great reason to suppose, that the final triumph of the Gospel is to be ushered in by some sudden and vindictive visitation, which shall arrest impiety in its full career, and deny for ever the then impenitent, the option of making a better choice.

All this, however, is comparatively nothing; language has no meaning if, by the time he writes No. XIII. in his succeeding work, Saturday Evening, he has not approached so nearly the enthusiasm of the doctrine of The Kingdom, as to represent it possible at least, if not probable, that The Last Conflict of Great Principles shall be decided by the Personal Advent of the Bridegroom. I wait for his declaring himself fully millenarian. What does he mean, when he says, that the time has not yet arrived in which this subject may be discussed with calmness? Has Mr. Irving agitated him to such a degree? And according to his own showing, is not delay dangerous to himself, and unfaithful to his friends? Let him come over to us, and we shall disabuse him of his march-of-intellect, political-reform, and missionary-society enthusiasm, and qualify him for disabusing others of these unscriptural fancies.

Fifth. That in the Millennial age the government of the world shall be a Theocracy—God manifesting himself as he did of old in the Shechinah.

This opinion which approximates as nearly to millenarianism as possible, without being millenarianism itself, has been entertained by several eminent divines. I shall quote only two of them.

The Rev. William Lowth, father of the Bishop of that name, and learned Commentator on the Minor Prophets. At Zech. xiv. 4, he makes the following remarks:

"The glory of the Lord, that is, the Shechinah or symbol of God's presence, when it departed from the city and temple, settled itself upon the mount of Olives. (Ezek. xi. 23.) So, when God shall return to Jerusalem, and make it the seat of his Presence again, it shall return by the same way it departed. (See Ezek. xliii. 2.) We may add, that when the Lord ascended, from the mount of Olives, the angels told his disciples, be
'should come again in like manner, that is, in a visible and glorious appearance at the same place.'

George Stanley Faber, B.D., Rector of Long Newton. Anti-millenarians affect to rejoice much in the opposition which this undoubtedly learned but unsteadfast author has given to our cause. Dr. Hamilton appears to be enraptured with him. And yet the truth is, that in consequence of the number of important points in which he harmonizes with us, and opposes them, if he must needs be claimed by any party, he should be ranked with ours. In his Treatise on the genius and object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations, he thus expresses his opinion:—

'As a present Jehovah was alike manifested between the cherubim at the gate of Paradise, and between the cherubim in the Levitical sanctuary; so there are passages which seem not obscurely to intimate that in the last age of the Christian Church, a similar manifestation of the Incarnate Word, radiant in all the divine effulgence of the Shechinah will take place in the holy mountain of God. Here, as from a throne, there is some reason to believe that the Man-Jehovah will preside oracularly, a visible spiritual king over his obedient people, until the world be finally devastated by a deluge of fire, as it was heretofore submerged under a deluge of water.' Vol. I. p. 22. See also his Horae Mosaicœ, Vol. II. p. 33—38; and his General and Connected View of the Prophecies relative to the Conversion, Restoration, Union, and Future Glory of the Houses of Judah and Israel; the Progress and Overthrow of the Antichristian Confederacy in Palestine; and the ultimate general diffusion of Christianity, (2 vols., second edition, 1809, 10s.* Vol. II. p. 308, at Zech. xiv. 4.

It is true that Mr. F. has latterly rather receded from millenarianism than closed with it. But even in his Sacred Calendar, (1828,) after all the manner in which he has sophisticated the argument in opposing the doctrine of our Lord’s personal Premillennial Advent (which sophistry, Robert Hall being judge, has been triumphantly exposed by Mr. Cuninghame,) he returns to occupy his old ground with as much partiality as decency will possibly permit.

'The utmost, I think,' says he, 'that can be supposed, consistently with the general tenor of prophecy, respecting Christ’s Second Advent, is, that during the millennial period, there may possibly shine forth, as of old, the glory of the Shechinah in the temple of the restored and converted Jews at Jerusalem. To this supposition, as a conjecture, I am not disinclined; though its truth, I apprehend, is incapable of antecedent demonstration. We can only say, that as various prophecies may seem to intimate some such matter; so it would in itself, be perfectly agreeable to the analogy of the two former Dispensations. Patriarchism and Judaism, each, during its earlier period, had
'the permanent glory of the Shechinah. Whence we might infer that Christianity, during its best and most triumphant period, would not want the same perpetual and sensible attestation of the divine presence.' Vol. III., p. 475.

I leave our opponents themselves to judge, if they have much reason to congratulate themselves on Mr. Faber being harmonized with them in opinion. What is the Shechinah now? Is God manifested otherwise than in the glorified humanity of his Son?

Authors Miscellaneously.

John Napier, Lord of Merchiston. I mention this author, that I may contradict the statements which have been made concerning him by some of our friends. When they rank him among millenarians it is a great mistake. He believed, however, writing as he did in the year 1593, that the Coming of the Lord finally to judge and renovate the earth was near at hand, and inculcated earnest waiting for Him. His Treatise, is entitled, A Plain Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John. No one need trouble himself to get a sight of it. And yet it must have been popular in those times. The English edition which I have seen is the fifth; (small 4to., Edinburgh, 1645,) besides, it was translated into the French and Dutch languages, and went through several editions in both. Whence, see that waiting for the Revelation of the Lord from Heaven, was widely one of the principles of the piety of the Reformed Churches.

Dr. Henry More. This learned writer, belonging to the Church of England, struggles hard to get quit of the prediction of a literal Resurrection, in the first part of the 20th chapter of the Apocalypse; but at length concedes, that those who have been beheaded for the witness of Jesus shall enjoy it, so as to reign with Christ over the earth for the thousand years from Heaven, as the seat of power. The passage may be seen extracted in Sargent's Essay on The Premillennial Advent.

Samuel Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph. The prophetical interpretations of this learned prelate respecting the overthrow of the Apostate Faction—at the Restoration of Israel—by the Second Advent of our Lord, almost warrant us to claim him as a millenarian. His first three Sermons contain an indignant rebuke of those who interpret figuratively the prediction in Matthew, xxiv., &c., of the Coming of the Son of Man as having been fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem; and synchronizes it with the Restoration of the Jews. See Sermon iii. p. 25, edition 1827.—In Sermon v. p. 41, The marriage of the Lamb, he says, 'is a public reconciliation with the original wife, the Hebrew Church, become the mother of Christendom, notified by the ceremony
of a re-marriage.'—'The season of this renewed marriage is the Second Advent, when the new covenant will be established with the natural Israel.'—Christ indeed already exercises his regal office in the care and government of the Church, but the Second Advent is the season when his glory and majesty will be openly manifested to the whole world, and the Jews visibly reinstated in his favour.'—In his note on Psalm lxi. 5, 'The restoration of the Jews,' says he, 'will be one of the first things at the season of the Second Advent. It will be accomplished in the very dawning of that day "when the Sun of righteousness will rise with healing on his wings."'—And, recurring to Sermon iii. he thus expresses himself, 'Our Lord will come,—he will come unlooked for, and may come sooner than we think.'

J. Bicheno, A. M. Newbury. This acute writer on the prophecies, who contributed so much to the advancement of the study, has in his admirable Treatise, The Restoration of the Jews, the Crisis of all Nations, (2d edition, 1807, 5s.*) so expressed himself in favour of the Premillennial Personal Advent and Reign of our Lord on Earth as probable events, that there can be little doubt he would have been fully millenarian had he lived to have the sympathy of so many brethren in entertaining views to the consideration of which he so powerfully summoned their attention.

Dr. William Van Mildert, present Bishop of Durham.—'Respecting the millennium or reign of the saints for a thousand years,' says this eminent individual, 'there is room for great variety of conjecture. Whether, with the earlier Fathers of the Christian Church, and some eminent expositors of modern times, we are to expect that a resurrection and triumph of the saints shall precede the general and final resurrection; or whether we hold with others that it is not to be a reign of persons raised from the dead, but a renovated state of the church, flourishing glorious for a thousand years, after the conversion of the Jews, and the flowing in of all nations to the Christian faith, it is not necessary to determine. The former interpretation seems to offer the least violence to the language of Scripture, and is supported by great authorities.' Sermon xii. Vol. i. p. 457.

Charles Simeon of Cambridge. This eminent preacher and divine, pleads in his Horae Homileticae, from Deut. xxx. 4—6. for the national restoration of the Jews to the land of their fathers. And according to Mr. Platt, (Thoughts, p. 37), he has lately been preaching that it is probable there will be a renewal of miracles at that time. But I refer especially to a Sermon by him, reported in the Pulpit, No. 341. Discoursing of the Millennium, he remarks, 'Above all it will be a season when God will manifest himself on earth, almost as he does in Heaven itself. Some think that Christ will reign on earth during the whole Millennium. But without acceding to that opinion, I think it
clear that he will manifest himself on some special occasions, as once he did upon Mount Tabor in his Transfiguration; and so bright will be his glory that the moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed when the Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously. —

Again: —'To such a degree will the constitution of men be strengthened that a person at the age of a hundred years shall be accounted only a child; and if he die at that early age he shall be judged as cut off prematurely by a judicial act of God's displeasure. [Isaiah lxv. 20.] In truth the whole system of things will appear like a new creation,—a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.' —I wish the venerable preacher would advance a little farther; but being of such authority for the pulpit, I rejoice that he has gone this length; and knowing as I do that there are some persons to whom he frequently administers much relief, I call upon them, as they would not be regarded as acting an inconsistent and ungrateful part, to cease from their anti-millenarian scorning, since much of it falls on him to whom they are so deeply indebted for easy weeks and respectable Sabbaths.

POETS' CORNER.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; The Relief Synod; Mr. Greville Ewing; Dr. Wardlaw; and Mr. Christopher Anderson. What communion, some will ask, is it possible that all this array of orthodoxy can have with millenarianism? Let their incorporation of Dr. Watts' paraphrase of Rev. xxi. 1—8, in their respective Psalmodies, answer. As slightly improved by the Assembly, the 2d and 4th verses stand as follows: —

'From Heaven the New Jerusalem comes,
All worthy of its Lord;
See all things now at last renew'd,
And Paradise restor'd! —

'The God of glory, down to men
Removes his bless'd abode;
He dwells with men; his people they,
And He his people's God.

Although I believe that the xxi. and xxii. chapters of the Apocalypse reveal a millennial scene which will open and widen into an eternal one, yet I do not insinuate that the paraphrase, as contained in these collections, is of a millenarian stamp. If I thought it was, I would have given the collectors a higher niche in the Temple of Orthodoxy. That they make it refer to the Eternal state entirely, is evident, from the place it occupies in
the arrangement of the three individual collectors; and from the verse with which it is concluded in the collections of the Assembly, and of the Relief Synod. But what I lose one way I gain another. When referred to eternity, I must say I would regard that man as acting dishonestly who would deny that the Paraphrase represents the eternal abode of the saints to be this earth renovated, with God manifested upon it—of course, in the glorified humanity of Christ. In those churches, then, where this Paraphrase is received and sung, (I know some of the Secession churches receive it likewise,) let all scoffing at the faith of millenarians cease, so far as we believe that this earth is to be renewed, and that Christ and his glorified saints will dwell upon it: Between these churches and us, it is only a question of time, How soon shall these things be accomplished, or commence their fulfilment?

Observe, therefore, in relation to this question of time, that Dr. Watts has concluded the Paraphrase to which I have already referred with the following stanza:

'How long, dear Saviour, O how long
Shall this bright hour delay!
Fly swifter round, ye wheels of time,
And bring the welcome day.'

This stanza has been adopted by Mr. Ewing, Dr. Wardlaw, and Mr. Anderson, with the exception that the first two have changed swifter into swiftly, rather for the sake of good grammar, I should suppose, than with the view of changing the meaning. I therefore put in my remonstrance as before;—Is it possible that a man should pray that the Coming of the Lord be hastened when he is convinced that the Millennium intervenes? Or if it be possible, will piety permit the desire that those thousand years of bliss may be shortened; which desire is logically involved in the prayer for a speedy Advent, on anti-millenarian principles?

The General Assembly of the State Church escape the force of this remonstrance by having substituted another conclusion for that of Watts; but they do so at the expense of being charged with showing despite to the words with which the Apostle closes the canon of inspiration: for there can be no doubt that the stanza of Watts is designed as a Paraphrase of the longing response to the intimation of the Bridegroom that he will come quickly.—My brethren of the Relief Synod have acted (unwittingly I trust) a still more unscriptural part. In the Old collection, Watts' conclusion was retained; but in the New they have adopted the apocryphal one of the Assembly; and that too in circumstances (when they were reducing the Assembly's edition to its original dimensions) in which the canonical gives a better connexion than the apocryphal, and is equally good poetry.
appeal to them in all affection and earnestness if that system can be correct which makes them decline holding communion with the Apostle in one of his most fervent aspirations.

Nor is this all; the same collectors of sacred poetry for Congregational Psalmody have all adopted that other paraphrase by Watts, of 2 Tim. i. 12, where the expression of the Apostle's hope evidently refers to his Resurrection-reward. Observe then how the last stanza runs:

' Then will He own his servant's name,
Before His Father's face;
And in the New Jerusalem
Appoint my soul a place.'

Now there is room for dispute, whether this New Jerusalem signifies literally a city, or a state or condition of felicity. But room for dispute there is none, that it signifies a state of happiness enjoyed somewhere, in one place or another. And let the Scripture answer, if there is room for dispute that at the time of the saints receiving their resurrection-reward, that place shall be this earth. I appeal not so much to the xxi. chap. of Revelation as to chap. iii. 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.' My appeal then is this, Do not those who prescribe that paraphrase for being sung, and those who sing it, commit themselves to the doctrine that it is down on this earth the saints shall enjoy their Resurrection-inheritance? I need not to be told that there are other paraphrases and hymns in these various collections which represent this inheritance to be the Heaven of Heavens; but it is not my part to reconcile men's inconsistencies; and till these inconsistencies be removed by themselves, let them cease from objecting inconsistency to millenarians.

Dr. Watts. Besides these two paraphrases which others have adopted into their collections, the version of the xii. Psalm by this eminent Christian Poet, indicates that he held communion with millenarians in the spirit of waiting for the speedy Revelation of Christ. He entitles it "Complaint of a General Corruption of Manners; or the Promise and Sign of Christ's Coming to Judgment." After describing the corruption of manners, evidently of his own times, he thus proceeds:

' Lord when iniquities abound,
And blasphemy grows bold,
When faith is hardly to be found,
And Love is waxing cold,—"
'Is not thy chariot hast'ning on?  
Hast thou not giv'n this sign?  
May we not trust, and live upon,  
A promise so divine?

"Yes, saith the Lord, now will I rise  
And make oppressors flee;  
I shall appear, to their surprise,  
And set my servants free."

The third line of the first of these stanzas evidently refers to Luke xviii. 8, "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find Faith on the Earth?" Consequently, the appearing spoken of in the third stanza must signify His Personal appearing to Judgment.

John Milton. Twice in the course of Book xii. does the author of Paradise Lost sing of the earth as to be renewed and made a habitation for the glorified saints. It is enough that I quote his words on the first occasion, on which he introduces the idea. In giving an outline of our Lord's history, having represented him as resuming his seat at God's right hand, he thus proceeds:

"And thence shall come,  
When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,  
With glory and power to judge both quick and dead  
To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward  
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,  
Whether in Heaven or earth; for then the earth  
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place  
Than this of Eden, and far happier days."

The other passage may be seen by consulting line 548.—We also find this fervent invocation in his Prose Works—Animadversions on the Remonstrants' Defence:

"Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the Earth! Put on the visible robes of thy Imperial Majesty! Take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed Thee!—For now the voice of thy Bride calls Thee; and all the creatures sigh to be renewed."

Milton was not a millenarian; he believed that the millennium was past before he was born; but he waited for the speedy Advent of the Redeemer, when he should appear to judge mankind and renovate the earth. He was of a kindred spirit to ours.

William Cowper. Let any person read the Sixth Book of the Task, and judge if I have not done injustice to the memory of this chief of Christian Poets by omitting his name in the enumeration of those who were truly millenarians.—The splendid
passage to which I refer—piously and scripturally, as well as poetically splendid—commences thus:—

"The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which Heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung
Whose fire was kindled at the prophet’s lamp.
The time of rest, the promised Sabbath comes;
Six thousand years of sorrow have well nigh
Fulfill’d their tardy and disastrous course
Over a sinful world; and what remains
Of this tempestuous state of human things
Is merely as the working of a sea
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest;‡
For He—whose car the winds are, and the clouds
The dust that waits upon his sultry march,
When sin hath moved him and his wrath is hot,
Shall visit earth in mercy; shall descend
Propitious in his chariot paved with love;
And what his storms have blasted and defaced
For man’s revolt, shall with a smile repair."

Then after a few lines on the tempting sweetness of the prophetic harp for a poet, he proceeds with a description of the repaired earth; various parts of which it is impossible to apply to a scene to be realized after the Final Judgment. I quote part of his description of the New Jerusalem:—

"Behold the measure of the promise fill’d!
See Salem built, the labour of a God!
Bright as a sun the sacred city shines;
All kingdoms and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light; the glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
And endless her increase. *
*
*
Her report has travelled forth
Into all lands. From every clime they come
To see thy beauty, and to share thy joy,
O Sion! an assembly such as earth
Saw never, such as Heaven stoops down to see."

Then after luxuriating a while longer on the physical as well as moral beauty of the scene, he thus pours forth his aspiration:—

"Come then, and, added to thy many crowns,
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
Thou who alone art worthy! It was thine
By ancient covenant, ere nature’s birth;
And thou hast made it thine by purchase since,
And overpaid its value with thy blood.

† This is wrong; a more troublous scene than any which the world has yet experienced shall usher in the reign of peace."
Thy saints proclaim thee King; and in their hearts
Thy title is engraven with a pen
Dipp'd in the fountain of eternal love.
Thy saints proclaim thee king; and thy delay
Gives courage to their foes, who, could they see
The dawn of thy last advent, long desired,
Would creep into the bowels of the hills,
And flee for safety to the falling rocks.

I trust these specimens will induce some of my readers at least, to peruse the whole of the description of this truly sacred poet.

The following interesting notice I extract from the Investigator, Vol. I., p. 114. I do not know whether it should be ranked with the testimonies borne to the personal reign of Christ on earth before, or only after the Final Judgment.

"A new Monthly Periodical, called, The Watchman, chiefly devoted to the subject of Prophecy, has appeared at Paris. Speaking of a society of pious women still existing there, who are followers of the Jansenists, well known to hold sentiments which approximate to evangelical Protestantism, the Editor says:-

"But what is very remarkable in the history of this little body, consisting of about a hundred persons, is, that they have received and cherished from their ancestors an indubitable persuasion of Christ's Second Coming to establish his personal reign upon the earth. And so evidently do they hold this doctrine to be revealed in the Scriptures, that when they heard of the gospel being preached by a valuable and faithful Swiss minister, now in Paris, they declined to hear him preach, because they were informed he did not believe in the visible and personal reign of Christ upon the earth. Their argument was, that if he knew the Gospel at all, he should not have been left in ignorance of that great truth so clearly revealed in it.""

Additional. W. Sherwin, Minister of the Gospel. Author of a work, entitled, The True Good News, published in 1676. Two excellent extracts from this work in the Investigator, Vol. III., p. 156, prove the author to have been a regular millenarian.

I close this protracted note, with the expression of my conviction, from the manner in which authorities have multiplied on me since I commenced the inquiry, that were I to pursue it, I might increase the testimony twofold. But I have surely produced enough to make some persons blush for their imprudence,
that they have spoken and written about millenarians and millenarianism in the manner they have done; and to make others, who have been induced by the ignorant sneers of impertinent Magazine-critics and ill-informed preachers, to dismiss the system as unworthy of examination, reflect, that, after all, there may be something in it to which they had done well to take heed.

Note B.

To have introduced the Assembly's Exposition, as given in the Catechisms, of the Second Petition of the Lord's Prayer, would have rendered the paragraph at page 13 too complex, and I therefore deferred it till the present occasion. In the Shorter Catechism it stands as follows:

'In the second petition, (which is, Thy Kingdom come,) we pray, That Satan's kingdom may be destroyed; and that the kingdom of grace may be advanced; ourselves and others brought into it, and kept in it; and that the kingdom of Glory may be hastened.'

Now, I maintain, that this hastening of the kingdom of Glory signifies in the view of the framers of the Catechism, the hastening of the Advent of the Lord to establish that kingdom. I argue this, not only from their Confession and Directory, but especially from their Larger Catechism, in which the corresponding clause runs thus:—'We pray—that Christ—would—hasten the time of His Second Coming; and our reigning with Him for ever.' But although it were proved, that the Catechism which is put into the hands of our children, does not direct them to pray for the Speedy Personal Advent of the Lord, this would signify little, so long as it is undeniable, that in their other Catechism, the Westminster Divines inculcate this strain of prayer on such as have made some proficiency in the knowledge of the grounds of religion.

I therefore appeal as before, if it be possible to do so on anti-millenarian principles; or supposing it to be possible, if it would be consistent with piety. See pp. 11—21, and p. 117.

Not only, however, do I agree with the Westminster divines, that the Second Petition refers to that kingdom which shall be manifested at our Lord's personal Advent: but I believe that it refers to that kingdom alone, and that when they have treated it as also referring to the kingdom of grace, as distinguished from that of glory, they have improperly perplexed and burdened the exposition. At page 105, we have already seen that the Reformation Catechism of King Edward represents the matter in this light. And to what I have already quoted from Latimer I add the following sentence:—'That man or that woman, that saith these words, Thy kingdom come, with a faithful heart, no doubt desireth in very deed that God will come to Judgment an
'amend all things in this world.' Independently of the doctrine taught here of the world's renovation, if the Reformer's exposition be correct in reference to the Lord's coming, I do not see how anti-millenarians can consistently deny that they are shut out by their system from praying the Lord's Prayer, unless they abridge it of the Second Petition.

Note C.

I have stated in the text at page 23, that the Westminster Assembly, in consequence of the discordant materials of which it was composed, was oftentimes reduced to act on the principle of mutual compromise—so that it is doubtful if there was one member of it, who could with perfect integrity subscribe what he himself had a hand in framing as standards for the covenanted uniformity of religion for the three kingdoms! I originally intended in this Note to support this statement with evidence from Baillie's Letters; and also to show from the same source how various perverse external influences both of the Parliament and Army affected their decisions. Besides, I intended to quote the various testimony which he bears to the learning, piety, and abilities of Twisse, Marshal, Goodwin, and Palmer—as being in truth the men who acted the most conspicuous and important part in the Assembly's proceedings. To such an extent, however, have my pages multiplied that I must refrain; not without the view, however, of discussing the subject at large in a separate publication. There are some Protestants who have need of the medicine.

Note D.

It is recorded in the Talmud, that both Rabbi Simai, and Rabbi Gamaliel (Paul's teacher) argued for the Resurrection of the dead, from the promise made to Abraham, renewed to Isaac, and confirmed to Jacob, that the Lord would give the land of Canaan for a possession, not only to their seed, but also to themselves: But they had no possession in it before they died; therefore, reasoned these Hebrew Doctors with force, they must be raised from the dead to enjoy it. *Mede* has applied this principle, so as to cast much light on our Lord's reply to the Sadducees, recorded in Matthew xxii. 31, 32. See his Works, Book IV. Ep. 43. Also, Book III., p. 579.
Note E.

Under this Note I designed to consider the state and grounds of Augustine's opposition to millenarian doctrine, but am prevented by want of room.

Since I wrote the sentence at the beginning of page 65, The Reformed Presbytery have performed the orthodox feat. They have excommunicated one of the members of their Paisley Congregation, for holding millenarian doctrine in its simplest form. Well, if it is their own church, they have a right to do with it what they please. An account of the case, I understand, will be presently published by the aggrieved party. When what I have stated in the text is considered, it will be an interesting document in ecclesiastical history.

FINIS.