

Increase Mather's
'New Jerusalem': Millennialism
in Late Seventeenth-Century
New England

Edited with an Introduction by
Mason I. Lowance, Jr. and David Watters

IN A RECENT issue of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, William L. Joyce and Michael G. Hall announced the identification of 'Three Manuscripts of Increase Mather,' housed in the Society's manuscript department.¹ We are pleased to present this edition of the most important of those manuscripts, the 'New Jerusalem,' an account of the events of the last days as Increase Mather interpreted the Book of Revelation. This document is particularly important for several reasons, primarily 'because, unlike other Mather writings about the millennium, this book deals not with events preceding the second coming, but with what life itself will be like during the thousand years.'² It is also crucial because the interpretation of scripture not only reveals what Increase Mather believed about the chiliad, or the thousand-year period of peace that would follow the Judgment, but also because the 'New Jerusalem' is a work of figural and symbolic significance. We may therefore gain from it an understanding of the metaphorical language employed to compose the vision

¹ William L. Joyce and Michael G. Hall, 'Three Manuscripts of Increase Mather,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976):113-23.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 122.

as Mather conceived it, and this, in turn, offers many insights into the theologian's application of biblical figures to the events of his own time. This document is also critical for historians of ideas who have sought to unravel the mysteries of millennialism as they were understood by commentators of the late seventeenth century in old and New England, writers like Joseph Mede, Thomas Brightman, John Davenport, Increase and Cotton Mather, and Samuel Sewall. Moreover, Mather's 'New Jerusalem' is filled with typological commentary, the systematic understanding of God's providential dispensations in cycles of historical prefiguration and fulfillment. Indeed, by correctly assessing the 'signs of the times' and relating current events to the patterns of biblical prophecy, a commentator was able to predict the future glory (or destruction) of New England by correlating type with anti-type.

It is, perhaps, in Mather's chiliasm, his predictions of the future millennium, that his most concrete and specific contributions to the American imagination may be measured. Closely associated with the development of the jeremiad, the Mather chiliasm placed the coming of Christ before the millennium in traditional premillennial fashion and looked forward to a literal resurrection of the saints. Moreover, he persisted in a view of the flowering of the saints in millennial glory at a time when many ministers were more pessimistic in their assessments of the end of the world. Joyce and Hall write that

Increase Mather's chiliasm is an important key to the understanding of his complex and often paradoxical character. Mather grew to adulthood in years when revolutionary millennialism in England was at its height. Brightman, Mede, and John Cotton, the father of Mather's future bride, were all his heroes and all charismatic prophets of the imminent rule of the saints on earth. Increase was himself in the British Isles at the time of the last, fanatic effort by Fifth Monarchy rebels to overthrow Cromwell and anticipate the second coming. Then came the Restora-

tion. For the rest of his life, Mather lived in a world of discourse where the literal promise of heaven on earth was steadily blurred over and made harmless. . . . John Eliot consented to having his blueprint of the radical millennium burned by the censor in Boston. The overthrow of Antichrist and the rule of the saints was no longer preached. Increase Mather, however, never gave up the vision.³

For Increase Mather, the literal and metaphorical meanings of scripture were fused in the working out of God's redemptive plan for mankind. Thus when other Puritan scholars were moving toward a wholly figural and metaphorical interpretation of those prophecies in Revelation and Isaiah, Mather held even more fervently to his view that there would be a literal restoration of the world following the Second Coming and Judgment. The conversion of the Jews, prophesied in Revelation and looked for as a sign of the imminent fulfillment of scripture promises, became for Mather a central symbol signifying the beginning of the end of the world. But if Mather viewed the millennium as imminent, he was more reluctant than some of his contemporaries to tie this vision to a particular date. 'Imminent, he explained on several occasions [writes Robert Middlekauff], meant sometime in the next few years; and one should not presume to calculate precisely the movement of the Lord.'⁴

In his early writings on the millennium, such as *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (London: John Allen, 1669) and *Diatriba de Signo Filii Hominis et de Secundo Messiae Adventu* (Amsterdam: Mercy Browning, 1682), Mather placed the coming Judgment and millennium in the future, and argued 'That there shall be a General conversion of the Tribes of Israel,

³ Ibid., pp. 120–21.

⁴ Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596–1728* (New York, 1971), p. 181. It is not central to an understanding of the 'New Jerusalem' to develop in detail the numerological scheme employed by the Mathers for predicting the date of the beginning of the millennium. However, both father and son relied heavily on William Whiston's *Essay on Revelation*, published in 1706 and reprinted many times thereafter.

is a truth which in some measure hath been known, and believed in all ages of the Church of God, since the Apostles days.' (*Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, C1.) Interpretations of Israel's salvation varied in Mather's time. Some commentators viewed the restoration of Israel as an event in the historical past, 'conceiving that there shall be no other calling of them, than what was at their return out of the *Babylonish Captivity*.' Like many of his contemporaries, Mather distinguished a 'spiritual *Israel b.e.*—such as in respect of faith and Religion—from a 'carnal or natural *Israel, b.e.* those that are by generation of the seed of *Jacob*, who was afterwards called *Israel*' (pp. 6–7). But if Mather declared that 'We must know there is a double *Israel* spoken of in the Scripture,' he was emphatic in his assertion that the national conversion of the Jews which would precede the millennium was to be a literal, historical event. The 'doctrine' of *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* argues 'That the time will surely come, when the body of the twelve tribes of *Israel* shall be brought out of their present condition of bondage and misery, into a glorious and wonderful state of salvation, not only spiritual but temporal' (p. 12). This central doctrine, which places the millennium in the future and specifies that the Jewish nation will be converted prior to its arrival, is corroborated by Mather's insistence that the events of scripture are typological foreshadowings of contemporary events. 'That deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus* out of *Babylon*,' he says, 'was very wonderful, yet nothing so wonderful as this will be, as is evident, because that was but a Type of this, and therefore it is, that in many places in the Scripture, the very same expressions are used to signifie both that deliverance out of *Babylon* and this which is to come . . . ' (p. 77). And Mather's symbology is consistent with traditional views of exegetical hermeneutics; the type must remain inferior to the antitype, which succeeds it in historical time, and will eventually fulfill the promises implied in the typological adumbration: '. . . because that deliverance was a Type of this,

therefore this will be the more eminent and wonderful, for the Type must needs come short of the Anti-type' (p. 78).

This identification of New England as the antitype of Old Israel was not original to Increase Mather's eschatology; the sustaining of this myth into the later seventeenth century, however, was a remarkable mythic, literary, and theological achievement. Since the formulation of the Half-Way Covenant in 1662, New England ministers had stressed the declension of the New English Israel from her original errand into the wilderness, and Samuel Danforth, the Boston minister who first employed the term in his election sermon of 1670, *A Briefe Recognition of New England's Errand into the Wilderness*, echoed a tradition of jeremiads that culminated in Mather's own *Ichabod: or, The Glory Departing*, preached and published in 1702. Thus the public acknowledgment that New England could possibly fulfill the promises of scripture by becoming the antitype to Old Israel's typological prefigurations was an affirmation of the vision of the first generation, conceived in traditional prophetic terms and articulated through the exegetical methods conventionally employed to assert the correspondences between New England and the cycles of ancient history. Danforth's relatively early work is important because it distinguished between a *literal* restoration of Israel and a *figurative* fulfillment of the scripture promises. But Mather is insistent that the imminent events will include the real, historical, *spiritual* transformation of the Jewish nation:

It is evident, that the Tribes of *Israel* shall partake of a spiritual salvation, if we consider the visible Church estate which they shall be in after their conversion.

Albeit now there is no Church amongst the *Jews*, but the time is at hand, when God will erect many glorious Churches amongst them, and upon every dwelling place of *Sion*, and upon all the glory he will be a defence. And the Church polity which *Israel* shall then be under, will not be a carnal one (such as was from *Moses* to Christ) but a very spiritual polity, for they shall be no

more under Mosaical paedagogy, no more under the ceremonial Law (*Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 113).

In the 1690s while other Puritan exegetes were beginning to view the millennium and Judgment as a metaphorical prophecy, suggesting that the times were too corrupt to provide an appropriate setting for the spiritual peace and harmony suggested in the eschatological passages of scripture, Increase Mather held firmly to his belief that God would commence the last days with a restoration of Israel as a nation, both spiritually and temporally. He dismissed the declension in piety—which he acknowledged and used to theological advantage in *Ichabod: or, The Glory Departing* (1702)—by showing that ‘It is evident, that the salvation of *Israel* will be wonderful, if we compare it with those former deliverances which in the days of old have been vouchsafed unto the Tribes of *Israel*. It is indeed true, that God hath in former times bestowed more eminent and wonderful salvations upon the *Israelitish* Nation than upon any Nation in the world . . .’ (*Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, 1669, p. 77). He knew that ‘It will be in a time of very great trouble when *Israel* shall be saved’ (p. 34), but he argued that

Isa. 65.25. ‘*The Wolf* and the Lamb shall feed together, and the Lion shall eat straw like the Bullock, and dust shall be the serpents meat, they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain saith the *Lord*.’ Before the fall, the Wolf and the Lamb, the Bullock and the Lion could live quietly by one another, man was not subject to hurt by serpents or venomous creatures, there was not that enmity in any of the creatures to seek the destruction of one another. Even thus shall it be again: as *Adam* was a Type of Christ, *Rom. 5. 14*. So was *Adams* world, a Type of Christ, the second *Adam* his world, when he shall come to judge the earth (*Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, pp. 124–25).

Thus Mather’s anticipation of the forthcoming millennium is argued from the scripture types in a linear, historical movement toward the last days while his description, though brief,

of the millennial period is couched in the language of Old Testament prophecy.

These positions are corroborated by his *Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (London: R. Tookey for Nath. Hillier, 1709), until recently the clearest known statement of Mather's millennial beliefs. Written between 1692 and 1695, the *Dissertation* affirms the Second Coming, the resurrection of the elect in bodily form, the thousand-year reign of the saints and angels on earth, to be concluded by a general resurrection. Moreover, the *Dissertation*, like much of Mather's eschatological writing, argues against the allegorizing of scripture as a way of predicting the future. As he wrote when speaking of Richard Baxter, 'if Men allow themselves this Liberty of *Allegorizing*, we may at last Allegorize Religion into nothing but Fancy, and say that the Resurrection is past already. How much safer it is to keep to the Letter of Scripture, when for us so to do is consistent with the Analogy of Faith?' (p. 27). Mather surveys the history of millennial interpretations and concludes that 'It is a known, received Maxim among Divines, that in the Interpretation of Scripture we may not depart from the Literal Sense, if it will stand with the Analogy of Faith. For Men to make Allegories where there are none, is to obtrude their own Imaginations instead of Scripture. Now saith Mr. Mede (Fol. 943.) *The 20th of Apocalypse, of all the Narrations in that Book, seems to be the most plain and simple, most free of Allegory, and of the Involution of Propbetical Figures.* How can a Man then take a Passage of so plain, and ordinarily expressed Words as those about the *First Resurrection* are, in any other Sense than the usual and Literal' (*Dissertation*, p. 19). Thus he adopts the typological reading of Revelation as an extension of the literal sense, not to be confused with the allegorizing of the Apocalypse that has confused scriptural interpretation since the early days of the church fathers. The millennium, or chiliad, he cites, is literal and future, not meta-

phorical and past. 'If the Millennial Reign began a Thousand Years ago, then Christ's Reign on Earth and Antichrist's would be at the very same time, which cannot be' (p. 25). The pastoral visions of peace prophesied in Isaiah and restated in Revelation will occur following the Second Coming and Judgment of the world, after which there will be a general or 'Second Resurrection.'

The doctrinal positions of the *Dissertation* are important because they indicate how strongly Increase Mather defended the literal reading of scripture promises, which he identified with the typological or figural instead of the allegorical. While the *Dissertation* treats a specific portion of the apocalyptic vision, two documents explore the whole range of millennial expectations, tracing the history of reformed interpretation and declaring authoritatively that the thousand-year reign is soon to be expected. Curiously, the first of these documents, the 'New Jerusalem,' is a manuscript written in 1687 that has only recently come to light in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society.⁵ The second is the well-known treatise *A Discourse Concerning Faith and Fervency in Prayer and the Glorious Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*

⁵ See Joyce and Hall, 'Three Manuscripts,' pp. 113-23. The 'New Jerusalem' is in the hand of Cotton Mather, who was often the amanuensis for his father. In 'The Morning Star' (see pp. 64-84 in Mather, *The Excellency of a Publick Spirit* (Boston, 1702), Mather notes the exegetical difficulty confronting Reformation commentators who examined Revelation: 'There are many dark and difficult places in the *Scripture*, that formerly could not be understood, which of late have been opened with great clearness. And especially in this Book of *Revelations*. The first Reformers did very few of them search into it; and these few that did saw but a little. *Calvin*, though I believe he was the greatest interpreter that ever wrote on the Bible, yet he would not muddle with the Book of *Revelations*.' Increase Mather was less reticent, and he managed well a thorny exegetical problem in both the *Mystery of Israel's Salvation* and in the *Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*. Most exegetes stumbled over the problem of two resurrections but only one Judgment Day in Revelation. This problem lent credence to those who said the first resurrection was either at the crucifixion when the graves opened, or whenever grace came to the individual. Then the second resurrection was the general resurrection at the Judgment Day. Mather resolved this problem by making the Judgment Day 1000 years long (thus tying into the tradition of sabbatism). The elect are resurrected in the morning; the damned rise in the afternoon and are judged by both Christ and the saints. This is significant because it avoids a static millennium—time, an essential adjunct of human experience, lasts through the millennium only, ending with glorification in the third heaven.

(Boston, 1710), which Perry Miller has described as 'the finest of his Chiliastic hymns.'⁶ Both of these treatises affirm that Mather anticipated an imminent millennial kingdom and that he viewed the figures of scripture as types foreshadowing the Second Coming:

When this Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ shall come and prevail over the World, *There will be Peace and Tranquility throughout the Earth.* Psal. 72.7 . . . Not only Peace, but *abundance of Peace.* Such happy tranquillity as the like was never yet known in the World. One of Christs glorious Titles is, *The Prince of Peace,* Isai. 9.6. *Solomon* was a Type of Christ in this respect: His Name has *Peace* in the signification of it; God said to his Father David, *A Son shall be born unto thee, who will be a man of rest.* . . . What happy days of Peace did the Children of Israel enjoy in his days, and under his Reign, Typifying the Peace of Christs Kingdom (*Discourse*, pp. 51-52).

Throughout the *Discourse*, typological and prophetic figures abound. If they conform to the traditional linear and historical patterns established for typological exegesis, they incorporate into the *literal* reading of scripture a *figural* sense that derives from God's divine dispensation in scripture revelation. Mather makes this point extremely clear when he discusses the City of God, e.g.,

They of the City, viz., the Citizens of Jerusalem, who are by a Synecdoche put for all the Subjects of the Kingdom, shall flourish like the grass of the Earth, they shall increase and become very numerous and very happy. All these Expressions are used *Emblematically* to set forth the success of the Gospel, and the wonderful growth and flourishing Estate of Christ's Kingdom (*Discourse*, p. 14).

Christ's Kingdom to come is everlasting, and the Mathers declared its imminence against alternative evidence provided by contemporary ministers of the jeremiad, who saw in the future a bleak judgment with little hope for the 'new heavens

⁶ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Boston, 1963), p. 188.

and new earth' prophesied by Isaiah. The chiliasm of Increase Mather, beautifully preached from his exegesis of scripture figures, made him unusual in New England at the close of the seventeenth century. Ironically, the Mather declarations were supported by some of the more scientific explanations of the coming of the end of the world, such as Thomas Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* and William Whiston's *A New Theory of the Earth*, composed by a professor of mathematics at Cambridge, which argued that the world was about to be consumed by the advent of a comet.

The most intriguing of Increase Mather's chiliastic writings is the 'New Jerusalem' manuscript, because it treats the actual sequence of events during the millennium rather than academic arguments about the timing of the Second Coming or the possibility that the millennium has already commenced. For the 'New Jerusalem,' the future expectations of premillennialism are a given; 'the New Jerusalem, Mather wrote, would "excel the literal Jerusalem" in several ways: first, its maker and builder is God; second, only God's elect, members of the "mistical church," may inhabit Jerusalem and "miserable degenerates" would be excluded; third, unlike the Old Jerusalem which was destroyed, the New Jerusalem, the spiritual Jerusalem, "shall stand forever" as "an eternall excellence."'⁷ The crucial point developed in the document is that the New Jerusalem shall be a restoration and renovation of the earth, a fulfillment of that prophecy in Isaiah that a 'new heavens and a new earth' shall be joined together. Nothing, Mather argues, can evolve from the contemporary scene to fulfill this prophecy. Rather, the millennial state, like salvation, must come from heaven in a divine dispensation. 'When the new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven, it is saide that the heaven and the earth that now are, shall be no more, but a new heaven and earth: Rev. 21: 1, 2. There will then be a *new world*, another world wonderfully differing

⁷ Joyce and Hall, 'Three Manuscripts,' pp. 122-23.

from what this is at present where wee now live. And so will the resurrection world bee. It is in the Scripture saide to be another world. It is expressly distinguished from this present world' ('New Jerusalem,' p. 29).

The achievement of 'The New Jerusalem' manuscript is that it establishes Mather's position on the specific conditions of the millennial paradise and shows clearly his premillennial faith in the future perfection of God's society of saints. To those postmillennial believers who thought that New England would evolve into the City of God without the assistance of grace, Mather declares, 'It is in Vaine for men to *think* or dream of perfection before that day. 1 John 1: 8, *If wee say wee have no sin wee deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us.* There are none that have more sin in them, than they that say or Imagine that They have none att all' (p. 33). He is emphatic about the process of the millennial dispensation; the 'new heavens and the new earth' result from the descent of the 'New Jerusalem' from heaven to earth. On this point, Mather is insistent and repetitious: 'That the new Jerusalem doth Intend the resurrection world is further evident from severall things. First *In that when new Jerusalem doth come downe from heaven, there are such things to be done, as shall not be done untill the resurrection world shall begin*' (p. 28). 'Againe, when new Jerusalem comes down from heaven it is saide that the heaven and the earth that now are, shall be no more, but a new heaven and earth: Rev. 21: 1, 2. There will then be a *New World*, another world wonderfully differing from what this is at present where wee now live. And so will the resurrection world bee. It is in the Scripture saide to be another world. It is expressly distinguished from this present world, Luke 20: 34, 35. . . . *Wee look for a new heaven and a new earth* (a new world, that is for the Hebrews were wont to express the world by those tearmes of heaven and earth) *wherein righteousness shall dwell. Righteous ones shall be there*' (pp. 29-30).

The 'New Jerusalem' is to be a perfect society, one in which 'all faithfull Christians shall one day partake in the glorious priviledges and happinness, of the New Jerusalem which comes downe from heaven' (p. 25). In this respect, Mather takes John's vision quite literally, asserting that 'in Rev. 21: 2, 10, [John] had a vision wherein hee did behold the new Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven, whereas if it had intended the church triumphant in heaven only, it had been seen rather ascending to god in Heaven than descending and comming downe from god out of heaven' (p. 25). It is clear that the characteristics of the 'New Jerusalem' differ from those of the Church Triumphant 'in heaven above'; namely, it is to be an earthly rather than heavenly church, 'compassed bout [by] the nations of the world,' and it is to be a national and visible church. Above all, it is to be a literal and historical expression of God's Providence, an earthly manifestation of His Divine Dispensation that appears in perfection at the end of human time. It is therefore eternal and immortal, a victorious figure of God's triumph over evil: 'But the day is coming when *all the world shall become christ's kingdome* Rev. 11: 15. When the seaventh angel doth sound the trumpett, a Voice is heard from heaven saying *the kingdomes of the world are become the kingdomes of our lord and of his christ*. That will be a glorious day when there shall not be a kingdome in all this world, but it shall be christ's when all this world shall become christendome' (p. 55).

Doctrinally, this view is neither original to Mather nor unorthodox. However, that so affirmative a position on the coming of Christ's Kingdom should be expressed in 1687, when many of Mather's contemporaries were voicing the day of doom that would imminently arrive to destroy the corrupt world of Satan's kingdom, creates a paradox. Indeed, Mather's own jeremiads, such as *The Day of Trouble is Near* or *Ichabod*, would stress the other side of this future glory by emphasizing, in Jonathan Edwards's terms, that 'the future

punishment is unavoidable and intolerable.' Mather even titled one of his denunciatory treatises *The Wicked Man's Portion* (Boston, 1675).

The 'New Jerusalem' offers a superb view of Mather's use of figural language to prove his vision. We have seen that the literal interpretation of scripture provided his narrative with a descriptive authority, and that, following St. John's words, Mather anticipated a literal resurrection and a descent to the earth of the heavenly city. But several features of the treatise show that he followed closely the orthodox figurism of typological exegesis in order to give his interpretation the authority of scripture prophecy and to ground his vision in the revelation of God's will. First, he is very specific about the origins of certain important words, as seen in his primitive etymology of the term 'Jerusalem' itself: 'The notation which some give of the Name *Jerusalem*, is, from the Hebrew word, *Jare*, which signifieth to *fear*, and *Salem*, the original name of that city, As much as to say, *Fear Ye Salem*. In Salem is gods Tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Sion. Be therefore afraid to sett yourselves against Salem, where God and his holy Angels are, able in a moment to destroy all Salems enemies' (p. 21n). This trope stands in the margin of the text, an emendation inscribed in Increase Mather's own hand, as he was rereading the copy transcribed by his son Cotton. The passage Increase thereby amplified reads: 'That the way to be secure and safe whatever may become of the world. . . . They shall repaire thither as to a place of safty and security. The church of God is the securest place to be In, that possibly can be. So on the other hand, it is a dangerous thing for men to sett them selves against gods people. They sett them selves against Jerusalem and what be came of those that did so of old whilst It was a cittie beloved of God' (p. 21). The question of 'Jerusalem of Old' is answered through typological exegesis of the text, and Mather clearly shows how the early Jerusalem was but a figure of that which is to

come. *'If Jerusalem The most glorious cittie in the whole world was a tipe and figure of the church of god, hence then the church must needs excell in glorie. The antitipe must needs be more glorious than the Tipe. The substance must needs outdoe that which was but a figure and shadow of it'* (p. 14).

This is conventional reformed doctrine concerning typology. The verifiable historical figure must foreshadow, imperfectly, that substance of which it was but a shade. When the veil is finally lifted, and all resurrected Saints view eternal glory with what Edward Taylor called 'bodilie eyes'—not those soul's eyes made more perfect through regeneration and grace but those resurrected in bodily form—then the magnificence of God's Holy City would be manifest to those elected for salvation. Mather is quite specific about the differences between the typological figure of the Old Jerusalem and the fulfilling antitype of the New Jerusalem:

There are three things especially In which the church of god doth exceed and go beyond the old Jerusalem. The spirituall excels the Litterall Jerusalem. *First* in respect of the builder and founder of it. As for the old Jerusalem that was Built by men. There are disputes about the first founder of that cittie. Some think it was *Melchizedeck*, who is called the king of *Salem*, that was afterwards *Jerusalem*. To be sure it was some man. But as for the spiritual Jerusalem god hath laide the foundations Therof. Psalm 87.1. *His foundation is in the holy mountaines*. As for the church of god it is he that hath Laid the foundation therof. What shall one answer the messengers of the nations? That *god bath founded sion* (p. 15).

This proof is typical of Mather's method. The scripture text is the foundation for a prophetic assessment of contemporary times, and the Old Testament figures are methodically explored as prophetic synecdoches of the coming of the future kingdom. And Mather is very clear about the abrogation of the type that prefigured the New Jerusalem: *'As for the old Jerusalem: that hath been destroyed long ago. It was destroyed first by the Babylonians, and after it was rebuilt it was de-*

stroyed again by the Romans, and when about three hundred yeares after that Julian The Apostate out of his hatred of christ; and The christian name did Incurage the Jewes to build Jerusalem. . . . It was destroyed, by the Immediate hand of god from heaven . . . a mighty earthquake overturned all; so That there was not so much as a stone left upon a stone' (p. 18). The Old Jerusalem 'did miserably degenerate,' so that its godly perfection was no longer possible. Thus had New England degenerated in her 'errand into the wilderness,' so that now the saints could only hope for the coming of Christ's future kingdom, that 'new heavens and new earth' that would descend at the end of human time in fulfillment of the scripture promises. If the Puritans were to continue their imitation of Old Israel, a theocracy modeled on the revealed laws of God, then they could only, like Old Israel, look forward to the coming of the Messiah to redeem them and to establish a holy society out of the corruptions of contemporary life. Mather goes into great detail on this in both *Meditations on Death* and in *Meditations on the Glory of the Heavenly World*. He tells the saints it is obvious the millennium must come to rectify the present situation in which the church is downtrodden even in Boston.

Typology made this figural association possible; without it, the prophetic images of the Old Testament would be abrogated, condemned, pagan patterns of idolatrous degeneration. As Sacvan Bercovitch puts it, typology 'emphasizes the *imitatio*, it translates secular history, whether of individuals or of communities, into spiritual biography, and it recalls the tradition of the Saints' lives. . . . Typology recommended itself to the Reformers as an ideal method for regulating spiritualization, since it stressed the literal-historical (as opposed to a purely allegorical) level of exegesis, and then proceeded to impose the scriptural pattern. . . .'⁸

⁸ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, 1975), p. 36.

By extending the symbolic significance of scriptural typology to contemporary history, Increase Mather expanded the possibilities of biblical interpretation in New England. Although the typological method was used early in New England to assert the historical authority of the New English Israel, not all ministers were as convinced that New England would indeed usher in the long-awaited millennium. In fact, as an examination of Cotton Mather's uses of metaphor will show, the typological symbology of the late-seventeenth century was not fully shared even by this father and son. As Robert Middlekauff suggests, 'Cotton Mather never commented on this dream of his father. Typology remained for him a rhetorical device, not an instrument to be used in the analysis of history.'⁹ But for Increase Mather, writing of the 'New Jerusalem' or *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* only a few years earlier, 'Israel's future promised to be important in the end of the world: Christ's Second Coming and the destruction of Antichrist would be signaled by the salvation of the exiled Jews who would be gathered from the four corners of the world. Obviously New England would be affected by these last climactic events, and in the meantime she could profit much by Israel's example.'¹⁰

Mather's typological scheme was not inconsistent with the traditional premillennial reading of John's apocalyptic vision. But his insistence that a harmonious balance could be maintained between *litera* and *figura* continued the expanding possibilities of New England's sustained analogy between her experience and that of the Old Testament Israel. The typological method added prophetic dimension to the static figures of the First Dispensation and gave contemporary history a vital role in the continued history of the work of redemption.¹¹

⁹ Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, p. 211.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-8. Middlekauff puts the case for typology this way: 'In Increase's hand, typology became more than a technique for penetrating the puzzle of Scripture:

Thus Mather's historiography pivoted on the typological reading of the Old Testament, and his vision of the future redemption of the world was presented in the prophetic language of Israel's eschatological fulfillment. It was not, of course, the progressive historiography that later developed among postmillennial Calvinists like Jonathan Edwards, but it shared with Edwards a view of America's promise that was rooted in the figural language of the scripture types. It is the fulfillment of these harmonious correspondences through the evolution of providential history that forms the center of Mather's 'New Jerusalem' manuscript, and for those students of seventeenth-century millennialism and chiliasm, the publication of this important manuscript will be especially welcome.

EDITING PROCEDURE

The 'New Jerusalem' manuscript is in the hand of Cotton Mather, who often transcribed his father's originals into his own more legible hand, and it was corrected throughout by Increase Mather after the transcription had been completed. We do not distinguish Increase Mather's emendations in our text, but we encourage students of Mather's style to view the original manuscript in the American Antiquarian Society. It is difficult to distinguish upper- and lowercase 't' and 's' in

it became a method for understanding the history of his own time. . . . Intended to solve so much, typology created an ambiguity that always resisted Mather's best efforts at resolution. Good typologist that he was, Increase insisted that two Israels were referred to in Scripture, and by an extension of thought easy to make, he was led almost unknowingly to think of two New Englands. By two Israels, Mather meant first historical Israel, or as he sometimes called it, "carnal" or "natural" Israel. This was the Israel of Jacob, national Israel, the covenanted people whose literal history was told in the Old Testament. But there was another Israel as well. This was spiritual Israel. Like most Puritan divines, Increase believed that the term sometimes served as a kind of shorthand for those chosen for salvation by God. The Scriptures worked back and forth between these two meanings and so, naturally, did he. In the same manner, he sometimes thought of New England as the entire people in covenant with God, and as that small body of saints who had been chosen for salvation.' See also Mason I. Lowance, Jr., *Increase Mather* (New York, 1975), ch. 2.

Cotton Mather's hand, so we have been arbitrary in some cases. Also, we have eschewed the use of [*sic*], given the irregularity of both Mathers' spelling, and we have emended the text only when necessary to clarify the sense of a passage.

Increase Mather's use of scripture texts presents some interesting problems. The general inaccuracy of his citations seems to indicate a habit of quoting from memory or his own translations, and he often conflated wording from the King James Version and the Geneva Bible, while paraphrasing some texts to reinforce his arguments. Mather also translated many Old Testament texts from the future to the present tense, thus emphasizing the prophetic immediacy of the Scriptures. Where Mather misnumbered a text, we provide the correct citation in the text; where he misquoted or paraphrased, we call attention to this fact in a footnote. In modifying the text we have observed the following principles:

(1) Capitalization at the beginning of sentences and punctuation at the end of sentences have been regularized.

(2) Conventional abbreviations (*y^e*, *y^r*, *o^r*, *wth*, *w^{ch}*, *ō*, *m̄*) have been expanded.

(3) The ampersand and *e* become *and* and *et* unless occurring in the form *&c.*

(4) Catch words and running titles have been eliminated.

(5) Asterisks indicate an addition by Increase Mather which was probably intended for printing in the margin. Angle brackets ⟨⟩ indicate an emendation by the editors. To indicate pagination of the manuscript, a bracketed figure appears at the beginning of each new manuscript page, thus: [17].

The editors wish to acknowledge with gratitude the generous assistance and thorough work of William L. Joyce, curator of manuscripts at the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Joyce and his staff have for several years been processing documents under a grant from the National Endowment for

the Humanities, and they continue to bring to light previously unknown documents in the Society's rich collection of manuscript holdings, not the least of which are these seventeenth-century documents. Professor Lowance would also like to thank the Society and the Endowment for a six-month-long NEH Fellowship that he held in Worcester while editing the 'New Jerusalem.'

A discourse

Concerning the glorious state of the church on earth under the New Jerusalem. The Coming and Kingdom of christ. Shewing that the works of God declare those things to be near, delivered in several sermons. To which is added a dissertation Concerning the future Conversion of the Jewes, Answering the objections of the Reverend and Learned Mr Baxter, and mr Lightfoot and others, with an enquiry into the first Resurrection¹

By Increase Mather, President of Harvard Colledge in Cambridge, and preacher of the gospell at Boston in New England

Dan. 12.4. But thou, o daniel, shut up the words, and Seal the Booke, to the Time of the End: Many shall run . . . to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased.

Lekamini gratus, Salus dei idem et cum adegitare aqual(e). Adagium Judaicum²

¹ *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of The Jewish Nation* (possibly Boston, 1695 or 1696; London, 1709) was written ca. 1695 in response to Richard Baxter's *The Glorious Kingdom of Christ Described and Clearly Vindicated* (London, 1691). In dedicating this volume to Mather, Baxter wrote, 'I am so far from disliking a true Confutation of this (or any Error that I shall publish) that I therefore direct these lines to you, to intreat you, to write (whether I be alive or dead) your Reasons against any momentous or Dangerous Error which you shall here find. . . .' [Kenneth Ballard Murdock, *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan* (1925; reprint ed., New York, 1966), p. 267]. Richard Baxter (1615–91) was an eminent Presbyterian divine, author of *The Saints Everlasting Rest* (1650), *A Call to the Unconverted* (1658), and other influential works. For his friendship with Mather, see Murdock, pp. 266–67. John Lightfoot (1602–75), noted Hebrew scholar, defended the Presbyterian position in the Westminster Assembly and the Savoy Conference. His works on the Temple, *The Temple Service as it stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (London, 1649), *The Temple, especially as it stood in the Dayes of our Saviour* (London, 1650), and 'The Fall of Jerusalem' in his *Harmony, Chronicle, and Order of the New Testament* (London, 1655), would have been known by Mather. Lightfoot bequeathed his books to Harvard College [*The Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (1892–93; reprint ed., Oxford, 1937), 11:1108–10].

² 'Thanks be, the same Health of god and with the offered vessel. Jewish Proverb.'

Rev 3, 12 *The name of the City of my god new Jerusalem which comes downe out of heaven from my god:*³ The words which have been now read, are the words of the lord Jesus christ, who doth Incourage faithfull christians, by very gracious prommisses; There are in this verse two things prommissd unto every such one. *Ist.* The lord Jesus christ doth assure him that he will make him an everlasting pillar in the temple of his god. *As for him that overcomes, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my god and he shall go out no more.* There were Pillars in Sollomons temple. Two Pillars named Jachin and Boaz:⁴ They were removed from Thence, and carryed to *Babylon*; but (saith christ) as for The faithfull christian, he shall be a Pillar in the spirituall temple and fixed there forever. *2ly.* Christ doth heer Prommise the inscription of a glorious name. And under that there are three particulars Contain'd. *Ist.* Saith the Lord *I will write upon him the name of my god*, that is he shall be knowne to be one that belongs to *god*. Such a glory shall be upon him as that all The world shall one day see and say, *That is a child of god.* *2ly* The name of the city of god, The new Jerusalem that Comes downe out of heaven from god. *3ly* Christs new name shall be written upon him. The first of these particulars; as allso all the preceeding verses in this chapter hath been opened and applied amongst you many years (about 15 yeares) ago.⁵ I then for

³ Rev. 3.12: 'Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is new Jerusalem*, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him my new name.*'

⁴ See 1 Kings 7.21; 2 Chron. 3.17.

⁵ For the relationship of these sermons to the 'New Jerusalem,' see William L. Joyce and Michael G. Hall, 'Three Manuscripts of Increase Mather,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86(1976):120: 'Internal evidence makes it clear that it was written between 1692 and 1695. "New Jerusalem," however, was never published. Mather remarked in the introductory paragraph that the essay derived from several sermons on Revelation 3, and that some fifteen years earlier he had expanded on the verses preceding that chapter. We know from another source [the notebook calendars that Mather kept of his sermons, now housed with the Mather Family Papers at the American Antiquarian Society] that Mather gave a long series of at least eighteen sermons on Revelation 2 between April and October in 1672. This suggests a date of 1687 for the first composition of "New Jerusalem."'

a special reason desisted at These words; but shall now proceed, Therafter because by the signs of the times it is evident that the day is approaching when new Jerusalem shall come downe out of heaven. As for the over Commer, christ will write the name of This Citty of god upon him. The meaning, is, that he shall have a right unto the priviledges of that Citty. That whatever glory, whatever happiness doth belong unto a citizen of the new Jerusalem, The overcoming christian shall have a share, a partnership Therin. [2] By The new Jerusalem, The church, The people of god Is intended; for that the old Jerusalem was a tipe and figure Therof, So then there are two doctrines to be insisted on. 1. That Jerusalem was a Type, or figure of The Church of god. 2. That faithfull christians shall one day partake in all The glorious priviledges and happinesses belonging to the new Jerusalem that Comes Downe from god out of *heaven*. To begin with The first of these doctrines, namly, *That Jerusalem was a Tipe or figure of The church of god*: Jerusalem is called the citty of god In Psalms 48:8 *As wee have heard so wee have seen In the citty or our god.*⁶ Thus allso is the church called. In Heb 12.22 it is said to be *the citty of the living god*. There is a double Jerusalem. The litterall and the spirituall Jerusalem. Thus doth the apostle distinguish, *galla 4.25,26 Jerusalem that now is which is in bondage with ber children, and that Jerusalem which is above that is free which is the mother of us all.*⁷ When The apostle speakes of *Jerusalem which is above* he does (as a Learned writer has well observed) express himself in that which was the language of the Jewes, Who did use to speak of *the upper* and The lower Jerusalem. *The upper Jerusalem*, was *mount Sion*. That was the Jerusalem *above*, and

⁶ Ps. 48.8: 'As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it for ever. Seläh.'

⁷ Gal. 4.24-26: 'Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agär. For this Agär is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children. But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.'

that was an Eminent tipe of the church of *god*. The catholick mystical church is the mother of all true believers, There is no true believer but is a member of that church.** The church is stil'd *The Heavenly Jerusalem*. Heb. 12.22. For that They that are truly belonging to the church of *god* Their names are written in heaven, and they are [3] Borne from heaven, by the regenerating grace of *god* descending into their *Soules*. Also Their Conversations are In *heaven*: Jerusalem is sometimes taken for both of *these* both the Litterall and Spirit Jerusalem. Zechar: 8 22. *Many nations shall seek The lord of hosts in Jerusalem.*⁸ Though the litterall Jerusalem is not to be excluded, yet that which is spirituall, is chiefly intended *there*, and so it is in very many scriptures. The enquiry then heer will be, *In what respects was Jerusalem a tipe or figure of the church of god?* In what respects *was it so?* For Answer first. *The dwellers in Jerusalem had The word of god Vouchsafed to them.* Isai 2,3. *Out of Sion Shall go forth the law, and the word of the lord from Jerusalem.* This was that which made Jerusalem to be The happiest cittie in all the world. Psalms 147: 12 *Praise thy god o Jerusalem,*⁹ he gives diverse Reasons why they should praise *god* but the principal is that which is last mentioned in the two last verses of the psalm, *he showes his word to Jacob his statutes and Judgments to Israell he bath not dealt so with any nation.* They had the written word of *god* among them in that cittie to Instruct them in the way to eternal life and how they might Serve *god*, So as to find acceptance with *him*. And besides that, they had the word preached. There were many prophets in *Jerusalem* and on that account it is called *the valley of vission* Isai 22.1. A valley for that a good part of The cittie was in a *valley* (Though some on mountaines and the whole cittie was compassed Round

** The Hebrews write the Word *Jerusbal'aiim* in the dual number, because the city consisted of two parts, the one superior to the other.

⁸ Zech. 8.22: 'Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord.'

⁹ Ps. 147.12: 'Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion.'

about with *mountaines*) a valley of *vission*, because it was a place [4] Where The word of god was plentifully *dispenced*. *Prophesie* is called *vission* in the Scripture; and The *prophets* are called *Seers*. Hence allso Jerusalem is stild *the citty of truth* Zechar 8:3. Because there the truth was made knowne. There the word of god which is the word of Truth was *taught*. Butt thus now it is as to the church of god. Where The church is there the word of the lord is. The church in these dayes hath all the written word of *god*, The scriptures of the old Testament as fully as ever Jerusalem had, and the scriptures of the new Testament also. And in the church of god his word is publickly taught by those that god raises up in the several ages of the church and makes dispencers thereof. Hence 1 Tim 3:15 the church is said to be *The pillar and ground of truth*; The pillar because the truth is to be seen and read of all There: As of old edicts, proclamations etc. were Fixed unto pillars: that they might be read of *all*. So are the saving truths of *god* fixed and fastned to his church that all may see *them*. And *the ground of truth*. The seat of truth. The word is *ῥοπαίωμα* signifying The *basis*, the Suporter of truth. The truths of the gossell shall never fall to the ground as long as god hath a church in the world to support them: whereever there is a particular church there all the truths that do concern or are necessary unto salvation are to be seen and read of *all*. [5] But then there is a prommise made to the catholick church *Isai 59 20* When the lord saith *his word* and his spirit shall not depart from *it*. The word of god with The spirit of god will abide there forever. 2ly. *Jerusalem was the place where the worship of god was solemnised according to divine Institution*. *Isai 33 20* (33.21). *Sion the citty of our Solemnities*. There, was the worship of god Solemnised. Hence Psalms. 122,4 it is said of Jerusalem, *That Thither the Tribes did go up, The tribes of the lord to give thanks to his name*.¹⁰ And thence

¹⁰ Ps. 122.4: 'Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the Lord, unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the name of the Lord.'

Jerusalem is stil'd *the towre of the flock* Mich 4.8. The people of god were wont to flock thither to worship befor him. There were some parts of divine worship that could not be performed in any other place but only at Jerusalem. Hence Neh 1,9 and in many other Scriptures, it is saide that god hath chosen *Jerusalem to place his name there*. The like is not affirmed of any other cittie. The lords name was placed there, and there only. There were solemn services That could not in any other place be attended, Temple worship, *sacrifices*, etc. might not be in any other place but Jerusalem.** When Jeroboam and the ten tribes observed Religious solemnity in other places they did exceedingly provoke god. [6] So did the samaritanes when they attended Temple worship in mount gerizim and not at Jerusalem.¹¹ In The discourse between The lord Jesus christ and the woman of samaria, John 4.20 (4. 22) she objected the fathers worshiping in that mountaine, against the jews saying that men ought to worship at *Jerusalem*. Christ told her that *Salvation is of the Jews*, intimating that The Jewes said right that Jerusalem was the place of gods worship and that the samaritanes did offend in worshiping in *that mountain*. But sutably hereunto the church of god is the seat And subject of all divine institutions. 1 Cor 12.28 *God hath sett in his church* prophets, appostles, teachers.¹² The church of god is the subject and seat of officers and ordinances. There is no divine institution or gospell ordinance but may be enjoyed In the church. And some parts of gospell worship can be enjoyed no where els. Although morall *worship* may be where there is no church: [7] Such as preaching, hearing, praying *etc*. There is instituted worship that cannot be elsewhere, but in the church of *god*. The Sacraments

** To teach the Jewes that that was but one way to find acceptance with God, viz by chosing of which the temple at Jerusalem was a type.

¹¹ See 2 Kings 17.29-32.

¹² 1 Cor. 12.28: 'And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.'

of the New Testament baptisme and the lords supper can not be administered to any but such as are The cittizens of the spirituall Jerusalem; They cannot be administred to Them without profaning the name of god. *3ly Jerusalem was the royall cittie.* It is said of sollomon Ecles. 1. 1, that he was *king in Jerusalem*, thus the lord Jesus—he is king in the spirituall Jerusalem *Rev 15 3* he is *the king of saints*. All that doe belong unto the spirituall Jerusalem They are the saints of *god*, and the lord himself he is king over *them*. The kings of Israell did reside, They had theire ordinarie constant habitation in Jerusalem. After Davids time it was so, David and the kings succeeding him did dwell there. Isai 29. 1: Jerusalem is called the *cittie where David dwelt*, and in divers Scriptures it is tearmed *the cittie of David*. So the church of god is the cittie of the lord Jesus christ, the true David, it is the cittie where Jesus christ doth *dwell*. He therefore is said to walk in the midst of his church even as a man doth walk up and down in the house where he *dwells*. The church of god is that Sion which the psalmist speaks of: [8] Psalms 132 vers 13 (13–14) *the lord hath desired it for his habitation, There will I dwell There shall be my rest forever*¹³ saith the Lord: god did not rest forever in the litterall sion, but he doth rest forever in the spirituall sion, there will be his dwelling place even forevermore. There is his settled abode. The kings of israel had There thrones in Jerusalem, They were to be seen in theire glory sitting on thrones of Judgment there, Psalms 122 5 *There are the thrones of Judgment the thrones of the house of David*.¹⁴ The like now is to be affirmed with respect to the church of god, the lord hath his throne there. He is in the midst of his church, even as a king upon his *throne*. There he sits upon his throne, To heare what petitions his servants

¹³ Ps. 132.13–14: 'For the Lord hath chosen Zion; he hath desired *it* for his habitation. This *is* my rest for ever: here will I dwell; for I have desired it.'

¹⁴ Ps. 122.5: 'For there are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David.'

shall present unto him: and to direct them what to doe that their petitions may be granted. And so a particular church which is a part of the catholicke church is a little Jerusalem; and god and christ hath his throne there. Rev 4 11 (4.10) *The elders fall downe before him that sits upon the throne.*¹⁵ In a church assembly the lord is sitting upon a throne. And thence it [9] Is that there are so many holy angels attending in church assemblies. Wherever the lord hath his throne there angels attend him: and In church assemblies. *4ly Jerusalem was a very populous cittie of people.* Lam. 1.1. How doth *The cittie that was full of people* sit solitari.¹⁶ Jerusalem was a cittie full of people, There were hundreds of thousands of Soules that did belong to that *cittie*. And thus concerning the church of god, The spirituall Jerusalem, There are many that doe belong to it, there are more cittizens belonging to the spirituall Jerusalem Than there are stars in heaven. That as Rebecas brethren did wish concerning *her* In Gen 24.60 *be thou the mother of thousands of millions*, So the spirituall Jerusalem. That Jerusalem that is the mother of all that believe on the lord Jesus christ, is the mother, of thousands and of millions. And therefore In Rev 7. John saw not only an hundred and fourty four thousand Seal'd ones of all the twelve tribes of Israel, but besides those in vers 9 *Hee saw a great multitude which no man could number and they were cloathed In white robes.*¹⁷ All the cittizens in the spirituall Jerusalem are cloathed In white robes, and there is a great multitude of them which no man can number. [10] *5ly Jerusalem was a united cittie.* There was an happy and delightfull union as to that citty and the Inhabitants therein. Psalm 122 3

¹⁵ Rev. 4.10: 'The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne, saying. . . .'

¹⁶ Lam. 1.1: 'How doth the city sit solitary, *that was* full of people.'

¹⁷ Rev. 7.9: 'After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.'

*Jerusalem is built a cittie compact together*¹⁸ uniforme as our singing psalms *hath it*. It is spoken with respect to what Jerusalem was In davids time. There was one part of the cittie that the Jebusites did Inhabit till david expel'd them, and the other part the children of Israel did Inhabit, and then there were two Religions among the Inhabitants. The Jebusites had a heathenish Idolatrous Religion.¹⁹ But in davids time they were all of one and the only true Religion. Thus the church of god is one. The lord Jesus christ, hath but one mystical bodie, as it is said *my dove is one*, that one is an *only one*. All true believers that belong to the lord Jesus christ, and that doe belong to the heavenly Jerusalem, They are all of one Religion Ephe 4:4 (4.4-5): *There is one faith*.²⁰ As to matters of faith, as to the substantials of Religion They are all one; They doe all of them unite in worshiping the same god and that through the same mediator Jesus christ 1 cor 8,6: *to us there is one god the father, and one lord Jesus christ*: And they are all partakers of one and The same spirit, The same spirit hath quickned them, hath regenerated and [11] Sanctified them all, and doth act and breathe In them all, And therefore they all do desire and breath after the very same thing. *Psalm 73:25. Whom have I in heaven but thee and there is none on earth that I desire besides thee*. That is the spirit that is in every one that belongs to the spirituall Jerusalem. The thing they all desire is union and Communion with the blessed god. They all pray wish and most earnestly desire that god may be glorified, this is the spirit that breaths in them all. That spiritual union which is in the misticall bodie of christ is seal'd confirmed and declar'd by the sacraments of the new Testament as the Appostle shewes 1 cor 12, 12,13²¹ as

¹⁸ Ps. 122.3: 'Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact together.'

¹⁹ See 2 Samuel 5.6-7.

²⁰ Eph. 4.4-5: '*There is one body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; One Lord, one faith, one baptism. . .*'

²¹ Mather loosely paraphrased this text.

(saith he) There are many members and but one bodie, so is christ, *that is christ mysti⟨cal.⟩* Though it consist of an infinite number of believers, yet They are all but *one bod⟨ie.⟩* Wee (saith he) are all baptised into one bodi⟨e⟩ and all drink of the same spirit, when we are at the lords Table. As there are many graines of corne That go to make the bread, yet it is but one bread though there are many graines of corne in It, thus all the believers in ⟨the⟩ world: [12] Are but one mysticall body of the lord Jesus christ. *6ly Jerusalem was a beautifull glorious cittie.* It is an expression in the Scripture *Comly as Jerusalem Cant. 6,4.* It was famed and renowned, throughout the world on the account of its being a beautifull and very glorious cittie. Lam. 2.15. *Is this the citty that men did call the perfection of beutie?* This is true of the *mysticall church* of god. It is *the perfection of beutie:* and shall at Last appeare soe before the whole earth. There is an Internall beutie In the church of god which though the world can not see carnall eyes can not see it the lord sees and is delighted to behold it. Psalms 45,13. *The kings Daughter Is all glorious within, The king hath greatly desired thy beutie*²² it is there said, yea and the day Is coming when there will be an externall beutie, a visible glory on the church of god. In the day when New Jerusalem shall come downe from heaven than as Isai 60:2. The glory of the Lord *shall be seen upon thee,*²³ That day is coming. In the *7th and last place, Jerusalem was a walled Cittie.* It had a strong wall for the defence of those belonging to it, [13] As citties usually have. A cittie sometimes hath severall Walls, for the securitie of the Inhabitants That dwell within those walls. Thus the church of god Isai 26:1: *wee have a strong cittie, god shall appoint Salvation for walls.*²⁴ The lord himself is a strong wall about his church and people

²² Mather conflated Ps. 45.11, 13.

²³ Is. 60.2: 'For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.'

²⁴ Is. 26.1: 'In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah; We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks.'

In The world. Psalms 125,2. *As The mountanes are round about Jerusalem, so the lord is round about his people*, to defend them. And there are the angels of god that are as a wall to this cittie of god. It is saide of the New Jerusalem Rev 21,12 *that the cittie had a wall great and high, and there were angels at the gates of the cittie*²⁵ for the defence of It. That cittie must needs be well defended that hath all the angells of heaven for the defence of it, and this is True concerning, the cittie of god I am speaking of: all the angels of heaven are Employed for the defence of it. Heb 1,14. *Are they not all ministring spirits sent forth to minister for the heirs of salvation?*²⁶ There is not any one citizen that belongs to the spirituall Jerusalem, but he is surrounded with angels. Psalms 34:7 *The angell of the lord: Encamps round about them that fear him.* The devills know this, and are Troubled at it. [14] Therefore Satan saide to god concerning Job: Job 1 10 *thou hast made an hedges about him.*²⁷ There were angels that god had sett about him. So god hath made a wall round about his people. The citzizens that belong to the cittie of god, a wall of angels are round about them. And in That respect Jerusalem might be saide to have *a wall of fire round about it* Zechar 2:5.²⁸ When Elisha was at Dothen The mountaine was full of horses and charrots of fire,²⁹ that is to say angels that did so appeare unto which that text in Zachary seems to allude. In these respects you see how Jerusalem of old was a fitt figure to represent the church of god in all after times. And thus for The doctrinall handling of the truth. Use.1. For the use of it First. *If Jerusalem The*

²⁵ Rev. 21.12: 'And had a wall great and high, and had twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels, and names written thereon, which are *the names* of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.'

²⁶ Heb. 1.14: 'Are they not all ministring spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation?'

²⁷ Job 1.10: 'Hast thou made an hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he hath on every side?'

²⁸ Zech. 2.5: 'For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her.'

²⁹ See 2 Kings 6.13-17.

most glorious cittie in the whole world was a tipe and figure of the church of god, hence then the church must needs excell in glorie. The antitipe must needs be more glorious than the *Tipe*. The substance must needs outdoe that which was but a figure and shadow of it. [15] And there are three things especially In which the church of god doth exceed and go beyond the old Jerusalem. The spirituall excels the Litteral Jerusalem. *First* in respect of the builder and founder of it. As for the old Jerusalem that was Built by men. There are disputes about the first founder of that cittie. Some think it was Melchize-deck, who is called the king of *Salem*, that was afterwards *Jerusalem*.³⁰ To be sure it was some man. But as for the spirituall Jerusalem god hath laide the foundations Therof. Psalm 87.1. *His foundation is in the holy mountaines*. As for the church of god it is he that hath Laid the foundation therof. What shall one answer the messengers of the nations? *That god hath founded sion*: wee may say of this cittie as the apostle saith concerning heaven Heb. 11,10. *It is a cittie whose maker and Builder is god*.³¹ It is god that by his owne infinite Power and wisdome, hath framed this cittie and raised it up, out of the ruins of mankind. None but a god of infinite Power and wisdome [16] Could raise such a cittie in and upon a ruined world, It is god That hath laide the corner stone in this building, Jesus christ is the corner stone therin: and god hath laide in sion that corner stone. 1 Peter 2 4: He is (that is christ) a living stone disallowed of men, but *chosen of god*, so then no man is to have the glory of building this citty, but only god; and the man christ Jesus who is god: and he hath built This cittie for the honnour of god his father. As citties have sometimes been built for the honnour of this or that king whose names they bear. As for the honnour of *Allexander* the great Allexandria in Egypt and Antioch in Syria for the

³⁰ See Heb. 71.1.

³¹ Heb. 11.10: 'For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.'

honnour of Antiochus—etc: Thus, Jesus christ hath built this cittie for the honnour of god his father. As in the text, I will write upon him (the overcomer) the name of my God and the name of the cittie of my god, Jesus christ hath built the new Jerusalem and hath written the name of god thereon; hath erected it to be an eternall monument, to the praise and glorie of god his Father. Every stone and pillar in that building has christ caused to be layd (to) the mortal honor of his Father. [17] *2ly As for the old Jerusalem that did missorably Degenerate Isai 1;21. how is the faithfull cittie become an harlott, Righteousness did Lodge In ber but now murderers,*³² So then that cittie is degenerated, but this cittie of god cannot Doe so. The misticall church is that which cannot prove Apostate. Though particular churches may, so as to lose their church estate, as we see in the churches in Asia, where once were an Faithfull people, but now there lodge murderers in all those places, where churches did sometimes flourish, but then as to the true Catholick church which is invisible that cant degenerate. That church doth consist, of the elect of god, and they shall never degenerate. Tis sayd in Matt 24:24. They shall Decieve if Possible the elect: So then it is impossible gods elect shall be *deceived*. Though others may appostatise, They shall never appostatise from the Truth. The Apostle sayth there were some that had erred concerning the truth, nevertheless *the Foundation of god stands sure*. The foundation of god, The people of god, true believers whose salvation is built upon electing grace as a sure unchangable foundation, they shall not fall away, but shall stand, what ever temptations They may be assaulted with, They are of god and cannot be overThrowne. [18] *3ly As for the old Jerusalem; that hath been destroyed long ago.* It was destroyed first by the Babylonians, and after it was rebuilt it was destroyed again by the Romans, and when about three hundred yeares after

³² Is. 1.21: 'How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers.'

that *Julian* The Apostate out of his hatred of christ; and The christian name, did Incourage the Jewes to build Jerusalem. The Historians that write of those times, give a mervalous account of it.³³ It was destroyed, by the Immediate hand of god from heaven, That the tooles men wrought with, were consumed, with fire from heaven, and a mighty earthquake overturned all; so That there was not so much as a stone left upon a stone. Thus then the old Jerusalem hath been overturned, and utterly destroyed. But the spirituall Jerusalem shall not be so; that shall stand forever. Matt 16;18: *I will build my church saith christ, and the gates of hell shall not prevaile* against it. Let earth and hell, wicked men and devills; doe there uttmost, there worst for the destruction of the church of god, yet that church shall stand when they shall all perish, And this is more than can be said of any other cittie that is or ever was In the world. The proud Romans, [19] Were wont To say of their citty *Roma invicta et aeterna* Roma That citty that can never be overcome, That citty that shall be eternall. So were They wont to boast of that mighty citty; the greatest and strongest that has bin in the world. But it hath been overcome; it hath been sacked several times, and burned with fire. And That that is seen of it at this day; is but about a tenth part of what old *Rome* was: And The day is hastening when that shall be burned with fire too, and never heard of more. But now this citty I am speaking of, shall last throughout eternall generations. Isai 60,15. *Thou shalt be an eternal excellencie and the Joy of many generations.*³⁴ This church of god that Jerusalem was a tipe of; shall be made an eternall excel-

³³ Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus (331–63) encouraged the reconstruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. 'In the last quarter of the 17th century, when a religious reaction under the Duke of York was in prospect, a number of pamphlets were published in which Julian figured largely. The most important was *Julian the Apostate: being a short account of his life, the sense of the primitive Christians about his succession and their behaviour towards him; together with a comparison of popery and paganism*: London, 1682' [*A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, eds. William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1882), 3:486].

³⁴ Is. 60.15: 'Whereas thou hast been forsaken and hated, so that no man went through thee, I will make thee an eternal excellency, a joy of many generations.'

lencie. Use. 2. *2ly The Second Inference, hence wee may see, that it is good being a friend; and dangerous being an enemy of the people of god.* It is Jerusalem, and therefore good to be a friend to it. The way for a man blessed, is to be a friend to gods people. Balaam could say so when god inspir'd him. Numb. 24.9 [20] He saith of the people of god, They shall be blessed that bless thee; and They shall be cursed That curse thee. This is the way for a man to prosper. Psalms 122 *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem; They shall That love thee.* Sometimes carnall men; that have little of religion in them, yet are good willers To gods people; and they bring a blessing on themselves by Their being so. As cant 6:9 *The queens and concubines do praise her*³⁵ carnall ungodly persons sometimes speak well, and do kind offices for the people of god and by so doing; bring a blessing on themselves. So did *Cyrus*, and divers other kings of persia; and so *Alexandr* surnamed the great.³⁶ Zechar 9.8. *The lord Encamp about his house because of the armie that passeth by.*³⁷ Namely *Alexander* with his victorious Army. God sett an armie, an host of angels To defend his people There. And then *Alexander* Instead of doing any harm to Jerusalem shewed great favour to it, [21] after which god prospered him In his expeditions and wars so as the world was astonished at it. You see that to show respect and kindness to the people of god is the way to prosper, but especially to be such a friend; as to be one of them. That's the way to be secure and safe whatever may become of the world. Isai 14 last *God hath founded sion; and the poore of the people*

³⁵ Cant. 6.9: 'My dove, my undefiled, is *but* one; she *is* the *only* one of her mother, she *is* the choice *one* of her that bare her. The daughters saw her, and blessed her; *yea*, the queens and the concubines, and they praised her.'

³⁶ See Is. 41.2-4; 44.28; 45.1; 46.11; Ezr. 1.1-11; 4.3-5; 5.13-17; 6.3-5; 2 Chron. 36.22-23. After the fortress of Tyre fell in July, 332 B.C., Alexander bypassed Jerusalem in his march to Egypt. There are legends concerning a visit by Alexander to Jerusalem to make sacrifices in the Temple [*The Cambridge History*, eds. J. B. Bay, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock (Cambridge, 1927), 6:374-76].

³⁷ Zech. 9.8: 'And I will encamp about mine house because of the army, because of him that passeth by.'

shall trust in it. They shall reppure thither as to a place of safty and security. The church of god is the securest place to be In, that possibly can be. So on the other hand, it is a dangerous thing for men to sett themselves against gods people. They sett themselves against Jerusalem and what became of those that did so of old whilst It was a cittie beloved of god? ** In the days of Jehoshaphat many Enemies combin'd against Jerusalem, utter ruine came upon them which occasion it seems the 83 Psalm was written:³⁸ And In hezekiahs time Senacherib with a mighty armie came against Jerusalem. God sett his angels a work and they did destroy In that armie an hundred and fourescore and five Thousand In one night.³⁹ Thus when men sett themselves against the people of god; They do but bring the amasing Judgments of god upon themselves. [22] Zech 12:2,3 *I will (saith god), make Jerusalem; a cup of trembling and a burdensome stone to all nations that shall sett Themselves against it, They shall be cutt In pieces:*⁴⁰ Enemies think to make but one draught of Jerusalem; to swallow Downe the church of god at one draught but They Drink downe theire owne bane; Jerusalem becomes a cup of trembling: They think to heave it out of the way; but It is like mens heaving att a mighty stone; and the stone comes trembling against them, and crushes them to death. Thus it is when men sett themselves against The church of god They ruine themselves. Though great nations and strong nations Do it: The greatest nations and mightiest Kingdomes, and monarchies that have been In the world; have been ruined by this very thing; in that They have sett themselves to ruine the

** The notation which some give of the Name *Jerusalem*, is, from the Hebrew word *Jarē* which signifieth to *fear*, and *Salem*, the original name of that city, As much as to say, *Fear ye Salem*. In Salem is gods Tabernacle, and his dwelling place in Sion. Be therefore afraid to sett yourselves against Salem, where god and his holy Angells are, able in a moment to destroy all Salems enemies.

³⁸ See 1 Kings 22.

³⁹ See 2 Kings 19; 2 Chron. 32; Is. 36-37.

⁴⁰ Mather paraphrased Zech. 12.2, 3.

church of god: Has it not bin Thus in our dayes? Who have been the two great persecuters in our dayes? Truly, the house of *Austria* and The French king. How hath the house of *Austria* [23] Been blasted by the signall rebukes of god on the emperour of *germany* and on the Spanish dominions? And the French king, what a cruel persecuter hath he been?⁴¹ And now wee hear that in one yeares time he hath lost a Million of his subjects by famines and pestilences That god hath sent among, them, besides those That have fallen by the sword, In the wars yet continuing and what ruine god may yet bring upon him That shall astonish The whole world a little time will show it.** Use. 3. *In the last place*, heer is ground of *exhortation* to church members: *Doe you approve yourselves as those that dwell in the citty of god, are concerned to doe?* Oh! you *whose feet stand within thy gates O Jerusalem*, look to yourselves, you dwell where god himself Dwells, and therefore are concerned to look well to your feet, and hence the ground wheron you stand is holy ground. You that are church members, there is a speci(al) presence of god, and of Jesus christ the son of god, where you are. Then are you not concerned to look well to it, that you be not only of the visible but of the Invisible church of god? That being of the visible you may be allso of the invisible and heavenly Jerusalem. Who shall stand in thy holy place? Who shall come into thy holy mountaine? [24] He that hath cleane hands and a pure heart, you that are of that Jerusalem which is heer below It concernes you to Endeavour, to be like the Jerusalem above. The *new Jerusalem* is called *The boly Jerusalem* Rev 21,10. How Doe they In that Jerusalem, that is above with god? How Do they spend their time or their Eternity rather? Are they not

** It is marvellous to consider how the great persecuters of the church are at this day destroying one another.

⁴¹ Mather may have referred here to the Great Elector Frederick William, a staunch Protestant, who reacted strongly against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. See *The Cambridge Modern History: The Age of Louis XIV*, eds. A. S. Ward, G. W. Prothero, and Stanley Leathes (New York, 1908), 5:639-57.

allwais praising god, and serving god? They serve god day and night in his temple, and are before his throne, and he that sits upon the throne dwells among them, so then you that are of gods Jerusalem in the world should endeavour to be as like that as may be, be allwais serving and glorifying god. And then, when new Jerusalem shall come downe from god out of heaven, you shall partake in that glory. Whether you and I shall live to that day, when the whole world shall be astonished to see, new Jerusalem coming downe from heaven when the son of god shall appear, and when the armies of heaven shall come downe with him? I know not. But This I am sure of, If wee approve ourselves faithfull servants of Jesus christ, at that day, wee shall be blessed whether wee are in our graves ere then or no. Therefore it concernes every soule, to make sure that his name be written among the Living In Jerusalem. But of those things more heerafter if god will
 ———. [25]

(2nd Sermon)⁴²

Wee proceed now to the second doctrine *namly That all faithfull christians shall one day partake in the glorious priviledges and happiness, of the new Jerusalem which comes downe from heaven.* This doctrine may be explain'd and confirm'd In severall propositions. *First* one proposition, is, *That the new Jerusalem Is to be understood, concerning a state of the church of god on earth and not in heaven only.* There is such a glorious discription, of this Jerusalem in the two last chapters of the Revelation as that many have Interpreted it concerning the church triumphant In heaven only. And The truth is, that there are some expressions and passages therein that will recieve their full and everlasting accomplishment In *heaven* above forever; Nevertheless, it is not to bee understood only of the church triumphant In the highest heaven. The very

⁴² Increase Mather noted the beginning of each sermon at the top of the appropriate leaf; we have included these notes in the text in angle brackets.

expressions of the text Intimate otherwise, for it is said *To come downe out of heaven*, and John In Rev 21:2,10 had a vision wherein hee did behold the new Jerusalem descending from god out of heaven, whereas if it had intended the church triumphant in heaven only, it had been seen rather ascending to god in Heaven than descending and comming downe from god out of heaven. [26] There are such things affirmed of this citty of god as cannot be said of the church Triumphant in heaven above. It is said of this beloved citty that the nations that are upon the earth, shall compass it about, Rev 20.9. They cannot compass about that Jerusalem which is in the highest heavens, and It is said of this Jerusalem Rev 21,24 That the *nations which are saved shall walk in the light therof, and that the kings of the earth shall bring their glory unto it*,⁴³ expressions that cannot be used of the church triumphant In heaven. You can't say of that Jerusalem, that the nations that are saved do walk in the light therof, or that the kings of the earth shall come and bring their glory unto it. And it is said of the new Jerusalem In Rev 22.2. that there is a tree in it *whose leaves are for the Healing of the nations*,⁴⁴ so that after Jerusalem comes downe from heaven, there are nations that must be heald, which can't then be meant otherwise than of a state of the church in this lower Visible world. In this Jerusalem *the tabernacle of god* is said to be with men and he to dwell among them Rev 21,3. Now that is an expression that doth more properly belong unto that presence of god which is with his church heer below than unto that triumphant In heaven throughout the dayes of eternity. That of a Tabernacle Doth rather respect the former than the latter. [27] This is one proposition for clearing the Truth. 2ly Another proposition, is, *that the church of god will be in its new Jerusalem state at The resurrection of the Just*. It is saide that the

⁴³ Rev. 21.24: 'And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it.'

⁴⁴ Rev. 22.2: '. . . and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.'

name of the new Jerusalem shall be written *upon him that overcomes* so that there must be a finall Victory over Enemies before this new Jerusalem descends from heaven, and the last enemie which is to be overcome is that of death. Att the resurection heaven will come downe upon this earth, all the Inhabitants of heaven will come downe heer below. All the Angells In heaven, and all the saints In glory will Then come downe from god and appeare in This lower world. Then the church of god will be in a most heavenly state indeed, the saints of god will be all heavenly, in every respect heavenly, nay there very bodies will than be Celestiall bodys, heavenly bodies. God will make them to be so 2 cor 5:1,2. The Appostle there shoves that this earthly house must be dissolved, that is the bodyes of gods children, that therei soules now dwell In as in a house, an earthly house the body is, and It must bee dissolved by death, but (saith he) wee have *a building of god*, another house that is to say, the bodies that our soules shall dwell In after the resurection [28] And which at last shall dwell In the heavens eternally, and we earnestly desire to be cloathed upon with *our house which is from heaven*. That is to say those Celestiall bodies, that our soules shall be cloathed with, at the resurection, these come downe from heaven as being new made by the *allmighty* power of the *god of heaven*. And that the new Jerusalem doth Intend the resurection world is further evident from severall things. First *In that when new Jerusalem doth come downe from heaven, there are such things to be done, as shall not be done untill the resurrection world shall begin. As now*, all the Judgments design'd for this evill world must come downe before that day, all the vialls of the wrath of god be pourd out on the world before that day. Hence Rev 21 9,10 John saith that an angell that had the vialls full of the seaven *last plagues* shew'd unto him the new Jerusalem, Intimating that this new Jerusalem will not come downe from heaven untill the last plagues, the last viall of the wrath of god that shall come on this present world, is pour'd

forth. Now [29] the seaventh Viall doth bring in the great day, the seaventh Viall puts an end to the world that now is as to its present state. Rev. 16,17 It is said the seaventh angell did Poure his Viall on the aire and then there was a Voice heard from heaven, saying, *it is done*. Now there is an end of the world, now it is done, all is done that god had determined to be done, untill this world should come to an end as to Its present state. Now the mysterie of god is finished, which he had declar'd to his prophets of old, of whi(c)h that of the resurrection from the dead is a speciall part. *Againe*, when new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven it is saide that the heaven and the earth that now are, shall be no more, but a new heaven and earth: Rev 21:1,2. There will then be *a new world*, another world wonderfully differing from what this is at present where wee now live. And so will the resurrection world bee. It is in the scripture saide to be another world. It is expressly distinguished from this present world. Luke 20: 34,35 Saith christ there, *the children of this world* they marry, and are given in mariage, but they That shall obtaine *that world* and the [30] *Resurrection from the dead*, They that shall obtaine that glorious state which the world of gods children shall be In at the resurrection from the dead, They neither marry nor are given In mariage. So that the resurrection world is a new world, the apostle Peter calls it so. He calls it a new world or *a new heaven and a new earth*, 2 Peter 3:12,13. The heavens and the earth which now are they shall perish. Nevertheless, *wee look for a new heaven and a new earth*, (a new world that is for the Hebrews were wont to express the world by those tearmes of heaven and earth) *wherin righteousness shall dwell*.⁴⁵ Righteous ones shall be there. And thee appostle paule cals it by the name of the *world to come*. Heb 2:5 He *hath not put the world to come into subjection to the*

⁴⁵ 2 Peter 3.13: 'Nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.'

angels, saith the apostle there, *the world to come*,⁴⁶ namely *the world which shall be after the resurrection*. This is the world to come, and is not put into subjection to the angels as this present world is, for Indeed the saints of the new Jerusalem, shall doe that which The angels Doe now. In the world to come after the resurrection, the saints of the new Jerusalem shall have that power over [31] The nations which the angells have over the world at this day. The apostle sais it is not to be put into subjection to the angels, but to christ and his saints. 2ly It is farther evident *In that the new Jerusalem state is a state of perfection*, and therefore a state that will be after the resurrection of the Just, for untill that There will not be perfection in any man, or in any church in the world, but in that church there will not be one hipocrite. Rev 21. last. *There are none to be there but such whose names are written in the book of life*,⁴⁷ so then none but such as belong to the election of god are in the New Jerusalem: when as it is otherwise with the visible church, as to its present state in the world. There are hipocrites In the purest churches upon the earth. In Matt 25 it is said that the Kingdome of heaven, is the visible church, is like unto ten virgins wherof five were wise and five foolish. So that in Virgin churches in the most pure reformed churches In the world, In churches that are not defil'd with the superstition and Idolatries of the times yet there are foolish Virgins there, hipocrites there. For hipocrites are very foolish, for them to go about to dissemble with god [32] and for them to put a cheat upon their owne soules Is inexpressible folly, yet such there are In the purest churches. And thus will it be untill the great day, The Judgment day. Matt 13, 30 It is said that *the* Wheat and the tares must grow together till the harvest. The meaning, is, that there will be

⁴⁶ Heb. 2.5: 'For unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world to come, whereof we speak.'

⁴⁷ Rev. 21.27: 'And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither *whatsoever* worketh abomination, or *maketh* a lie: but they which are written in the Lamb's book of life.'

hipocrites In the church of god, as well as sinceer professours of Religion, even *to the end of this world*: untill the harvest come. But then It will be otherwise: then there will not be one hipocrite in the lords citty, In the lords Kingdome. In the 41 verse of that chapter, it is said, there shall be taken out of christs Kingdome *all that doe Iniquity and that do offend*.⁴⁸ There will not so much as one worker of Iniquity, be found in all That Kingdome or in any part of the holy Jerusalem which shall then come downe from heaven. And as for the new Jerusalem, as there will be no sinners there, neither will there be any sin Rev 21,27. There shall in no wise enter into that citty *any thing that doth defile*, and therefore no sin, (for whereever sin comes it doth defile). And thus It will be at the resurrection. When the Judgment day begins, then the saints of god shall be wholly free from sin. [33] It is in Vaine for men to *think* or dream of perfection before that day. 1 John 1:8, *If wee say wee have no sin wee decieve ourselves and the truth is not in us*. There are none that have more sin in them, than they that say or Imagine that They have none att all. But now in the resurrection-world It will be thus. There will be no sin among the saints of god at that day, hence the Appostle speaks as in Phillipians 3: 11,12 *if (saith he) by any meanes I might attaine unto the Resurrection of the dead*.⁴⁹ That was the Thing he aimed at; he would feign have been as holy as the saints of god shall be at the resurrection of the dead, *not as Though I were already perfect, or bad already attained*, Intimating that at the resurrection of the dead there will be perfection. And then That petition will be granted to the full which every true believer doth pray now. Matt 6:10 *Thy will be done in earth as It is done in beaven*. Believe me! such a day is comming, and the lord god hasten It, when the will of god

⁴⁸ Matt. 13.41: 'The Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity.'

⁴⁹ Phil. 3.12: 'Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect. . . .'

shall be done by men on earth with as much perfection, as It is done In heaven, now, by the angels In heaven, or saints In glory. But this will not be untill The resurrection of the Just and then It shall be. [34] *3ly In the new Jerusalem, all the unhappy effects of sin are removed.* The curse and all the fruits of It are the unhappy effects of sin. In the new Jerusalem there is an end of the curse, and all the signes, fruits, and effects of the curse of god for the sin of men. Rev 22:3 It is saide that In this new Jerusalem *there shall be no more curse.* There the curse is clearly gone: and therefore there will be no more misery there, no more affliction there, which is the fruit of the curse. The afflictions men Indure in this world, the miseries of this Life are some parts of the *curse.* It is vaine for men to hope to Escape affliction in this world. Untill the new world shall come, gods owne children must be afflicted: the dearest child god hath upon earth, cannot live without affliction in this evill world. Heb 12:8 If saith the appostle *you are not chastened which all are partakers of;*⁵⁰ you are not sons, you are not gods children. They are all partakers of chastening dispensations of his providence one way or other. [35] The *Laodicean* christians were a company of Formalists, meer formall professours of Religion, That had a form of godliness without The power of It, and They escaped some persecutions and afflictions, that others had Experience of and from thence concluded that they were the best church In all *Asia.* But mark what christ saith Rev 3.19 *as many as I love I rebuke and chasten.*⁵¹ You think because you are not chastened as others are, you are dearer to christ than they. No, It is not so but all other churches are dearer to christ *than* you are, and they are rebuked and chastened when you live at hearts ease. So then afflictions will attend the people of god whilst this world continues, but In the new Jerusalem It is otherwise.

⁵⁰ Heb. 12.8: 'But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons.'

⁵¹ See Rev. 3.13-19.

Rev 21,25 *There shall be no night there.* It is all day and no Night there, no night of any affliction whatsoever. It is all light, all Joy without any sorrow, therefore in the 4th Verse of that chapter It is saide of this *new world*, this new Jerusalem, that there shall be *no more sorrow nor any more paine nor any more crying.*⁵² And Just so will it be with the church of god after the resurrection. The dayes of mourning will then be ended. [36] Isai 52, *Awake o Jerusalem put on thy beutifull garment, sbake thyself from the dust.*⁵³ Even so when the saints of god shall awake out of the dust at the last day, then Jerusalem shall putt on her beutifull garments, then her mourning attire shall never bee seen on her any more. And the children of god are subject unto death, and will be so while this world shall indure, but now after the resurrection as there shall be no sorrow, no curse, so no death: which is another thing which is a part of the curse. They shall never dye any more tis said Luke 20,36 *They are like unto the angels, neither can they dye any more, being the children of god and the children of the resurrection.*⁵⁴ When They shall be begotten anew as it were, by the power of god In respect of the resurrection, they shall not dye any more. Hence tis said 1 cor 15,52 (1 Cor. 15.52-54) *The dead shall be raised Incorruptible this mortall shall putt on Imortality, then,*⁵⁵ and this now is allso saide concerning the new Jerusalem, that the citizens of that citty of god shall not dye, there shall be no death among them, Rev 21,4 *no more death*, and thence it is said that *the tree of life is there* [37]

⁵² Rev. 21.4: ' . . . and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain.'

⁵³ Is. 52.1-2: 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean. Shake thyself from the dust.'

⁵⁴ Luke 20.36: 'Neither can they die any more: for they are equal unto the angels; and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection.'

⁵⁵ I Cor. 15.52-54: ' . . . the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal *must* put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.'

Rev 22,2. Why is the tree of life there? To Intimate, that the Inhabitants of that citty shall never dye: as Adam in paradise if he had kept the commandment of god, he should have eat of the tree of life, and so have lived forever. Thus in the new Jerusalem there is the tree of life. They that are there shall live forever. *4ly In the new Jerusalem there is a glorious presence of god and of the lord Jesus christ.* It is an observation of some of the Jewish Rabbies and a true one, that Ezechiels citty discribed In the later end of his prophesie, Is to be Interpreted concerning that Jerusalem that is above. Now the name of that citty is *The lord is there!* Ezechiel 48. last: The name whereby It is called is *Jebovah Shamaⁿab* The lord is there! Why is it called, the lord is there? But because of the glorious presence of god there, such as was never In any citty or place in this visible world since the world began. And thus it is said of the new Jerusalem. Rev 21 23 There is no need of the sun to Inlighten it in the day or the mone by night, *for the glory of the lord shall Inlighten It and the lamb shall be the light thereof:*⁵⁶ there is the lamb, there is christ to be the light therof. [38] And It is saide the cittizens of that citty *shall behold his face* Rev 22,4. They shall see his face. Believers whilst in this world they doe not see the face of the lord Jesus christ, but at the resurrection they shall see him. Psalm 17 ult: *When I awake I shall be sattisfied with thy likeness.*⁵⁷ He meanes at the resurrection when his body shall awake out of the sleep of death, then he shall be sattisfied with beholding the lord Jesus christ. And In 1 John 3,2 It is said when he shal appeare wee shall be like him for *wee shall see him as he is*, so It will be when christ appeares to Judg the world and raise the dead. Believers shall see him as he is, as now he is In his state of glory, shall they then behold him! This was Jobs faith, thou-

⁵⁶ Rev. 21.23: 'And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof.'

⁵⁷ Ps. 17.15: 'As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness.'

sands of yeares ago. Job 19,25. I know saith he that my redeemer lives att the latter day, the day of Judgment. In the resurrection, he shall stand upon the earth, and I shall In my flesh see god, see christ *who* is god, I shall see him with these eyes.⁵⁸ So that The saints shall then behold the lord Jesus christ, *they shall see his face* as It is saide, concerning those in the new Jerusalem. [39] Thus you see when It is that new Jerusalem shall come downe from god out of heaven. It will bee at the great day, at the resurrection of the Just. In a word, there is a state that the church of god shall bee In differing from what now It is, and allso from what It shall be after the resurrection of the wicked, and the finall Judgment of the last day. This I take to be the new Jerusalem state. Thus for the second proposition. *3d pp The third proposition is, that, all Faithfull christians shall partake In the glory and happyness of the new Jerusalem.* Whoever overcomes shall be a partaker heerof, whoever overcomes, the name of the citty of god, shall be written upon him. He shal be knowne to be one of the blessed cittizens of that Jerusalem. This is evident First *from the prommise of the lord Jesus christ.* In that christ hath promised this to all overcomers, so all Victorious christians he he hath prommised that they shall have the priviledges of this citty. Christians are all Ingaged In a spirituall warfare. They are all of 'em souldiers, christs souldiers. Hence the appostle [40] to Timothy 2 tim 2,3 tells him he should *Indure bardness as a good souldier of Jesus christ.* There are especially three Enemies that believers have to conflict with namly, *sin, satan, and the world.* They then that approve themselves faithfull to the commands of the lord Jesus christ, In fighting and overcoming these Enemies, They that will chuse to dye rather than submitt to the will of these Enemies, christ hath promised to them that the priviledges that are peculiar to the new Jerusalem that comes downe from heaven shall be theires. *As now,* one priviledge that belongs to the saints of the new

⁵⁸ Job. 19.25-27.

Jerusalem Is that of Immunity from the second death. Rev 20, 6 *Blesed Is he that bath part In the first resurrection, over him the second death shall have no power.*⁵⁹ This prommise Is made to all overcommers. Rev 2,11 *He that overcomes shall not be hurt by the second death. Another glorious priviledge belonging unto the cittizens of the new Jerusalem is that they shall reign with the lord Jesus christ, as in that place but now mentioned Rev 20. When christ shal have his glorious Kingdom over all the world, [41] They shall partake with him. They shall be Joyful Heirs with him. Now this is prommised to all overcomers. Rev 3,21 He that overcomes shall sitt with mee upon my throne,*⁶⁰ and therefore all the saints of god say Rev 5,10 *We sball reign on earth.* Not only In heaven through eternity, but on earth. After the resurrection It will be so. 2ly The lord Jesus christ hath not only promised that It shall be thus (and he having promised it They are sure of It, he is the faithfull Wittness, the amen) *but 2ly he knowes particularly who they are.* He hath a particular knowledg of every one that belongs to him, there is not any one that belongs to the new Jerusalem but christ knowes them by name. Not any man, not any woman, but the lord Jesus christ knowes what there names are, and therefore John 10,3 It is said that *he calls his sheep by name.*⁶¹ The lord Jesus christ hath theire names all written downe in a book, they are all written downe In christs booke, hence Rev 13,28 (Rev. 21.27) you read of some whose *names are written In the lambs book of life.* The lamb hath a book and there are names written In It, as In a great citty there Is a book wherin the names [42] of those that are free men, that are Denisons of the citty are Registred. Others may not pretend to the priviledges of the citty, of the corporation. Even so, christ hath names of those that are cittizens of the heavenly

⁵⁹ Rev. 20.6: 'Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power.'

⁶⁰ Rev. 3.21: 'To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne.'

⁶¹ John 10.3: '... he calleth his own sheep by name.'

Jerusalem, and wee may be sure that he will never suffer any one name, of those that are his faithfull ones to be out of that book. Rev 3,5 As for him that overcomes *I will not blott his name out of the book of life.*⁶² I will not do that saith he, but I will confess his name before my Father, and the holy Angells. Christ at the day of Judgment, In the resurrection world will say before all the angells In heaven, this is my faithfull servant, one that did over-come, and one that therefore belongs to the new Jerusalem. Christ will not lose so much as one of them all. As In John 18,9 It is said of *those given to him he lost none*⁶³ not so much as one of all that are given to the lord Jesus christ. As the cittizens of the new Jerusalem, they whose names are written In the lambs book of life, they are all given to him. [43] He will not lose so much as one among them all. *3ly The saints now on earth and those now In heaven, they are of the same spirituall Corporation.* They are all of the same citty, They are all of the same society, the same communion. As In the litterall Jerusalem, they that did dwell In the lower part of the citty In the valley, had the priviledges of the citty, of right to them belonging, as well as those that did dwell in mount sion, that Jerusalem above. *Thus it is heer,* as for the saints of god on earth They are fellow cittizens with those In heaven, and although they dwell In the lower part of Jerusalem, In a Valley, In a Vale of teares, they belong to this citty of god, as well as those of the heavenly sion. Hence the appostle saith as In Heb 12,22⁶⁴ *We are com* unto the citty of the living god, the heavenly Jerusalem, the Innumerable company of angells, the spirits of Just men made perfect, and to god the Judg of all, to Jesus the mediator of the New Covenant, to the blood of sprinkling that speakes better

⁶² Rev. 3.5: 'He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels.'

⁶³ John 18.9: 'Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.'

⁶⁴ Mather paraphrased Heb. 12.22-24.

things than the blood of Abel. He doth not say we *shall* com
 [44] (Though that is true) but wee *are* come. In respect of
 our state wee are come, wee are stated Into the priveledges
 and glory and happiness belonging to such, we are admitted
 now into that society, to be of that citty where the angels are,
 where god sits upon the throne, where Jesus christ the son
 of god, is interceeding for his people. Wee are admitted into
 that citty, so that the saints on earth, and those In the glory
 of *heaven* are but one family, one and the same family of god.
 Ephes 3 15 Saith the appostle I bow my knees to the father of
 our lord Jesus christ of whom *the whole family In heaven and
 on earth is named*. They are all butt one family, only one part
 of the family is yet on the earth, and the other part of the
 family Is gone before to heaven, hence they must all partake
 in the same glorious priveledges, that belong to them All.
 [45]

(The Third Sermon)

Use. We proceed now to make some application of the doc-
 trine which hath been insisted on. And *First* by way of *Infor-*
mation In Severall Particulars. Inf. 1. In the first place wee
 may heer see *that the soules of saints departed are In heaven*,
 otherwise they could not be saide to come downe from
 heaven, if they were never there. When men dye there soules
 do not dye with them. Although the bodies of all men are
 mortall, their soules are Immortal. In Eccles 12 7. *the dust It
 shall returne to the earth as it was, but the spirit, the soul that
 doth returne unto god that gave It,*⁶⁵ to be disposed of by him
 unto an everlasting state either In happiness or misserie, ac-
 cording as a man shall at death be found Interested in the
 lord Jesus christ or otherwise. As for righteous men when
 they dye they go To [46] Dwell In the everlasting citty of
 god. In Luke 16,9. *when they faile* that is to say, when They

⁶⁵ Eccles. 12.7: 'Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.'

cease to be in this world, *They are Recieved into everlasting habitations.*⁶⁶ And hence the appostle speaking concerning the Inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem, he doth mention not only an Innumerable company of angels but *the spirits of Just men made perfect*, In Heb: 12:22,23. So that when Just men dye, their spirits, their souls doe not dye, their soules go into the Jerusalem which is above, and there are they made perfect, there, they are perfectly freed from all sin and sorrow. And therefore the saints departed, are saide to be with the lord. 2 cor 5,8 *Being absent from the body wee are present with the lord.*⁶⁷ When the soules of believers are in a state of separation from their bodies they are then with the lord. Now the lord is in heaven—they are therefore said to be with christ. Paul did desire to dye In Phillip 1,23 that so he might *be with christ*. Now christ is at the right hand of god In heaven. Hence the scripture speaks concerning *things In heaven, that are reconcil'd by the blood of the cross of christ* In Coll 1,20.⁶⁸ What are those things in heaven [47] That christ's blood hath reconcild? The soules, *the spirits of Just men mad perfect*. And Its noted concerning the antichristian generation, that they doe blaspheme those that dwell In heaven. In Rev 13,6, *Idolatry* It is called *blasphemie*. The antichristian generation does Idolatrously worship Angels, and also saints departed, the soules of saints departed, thus are they said to blaspheme those that dwell In heaven. So then the soules of believers departing this life, they go to heaven to dwell there. And they are quickly there, they fly thither as upon the wings of eagles, yea, with the wings of holy angels, as tis said of lazerous he dy'd *and the angels carryed him into abrahams*

⁶⁶ Luke 16.9: '... when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting habitations.'

⁶⁷ 2 Cor. 5.8: 'We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord.'

⁶⁸ Col. 1.20: 'And, having made peace through the blood of his cross by him to reconcile all things unto himself; by him, I say, whether *they* be things in earth, or things in heaven.'

bosome Luke 16:22.⁶⁹ An angell doth presently fly from earth to heaven, So doe the soules of believers when the houre of death does come. I Remember one of the martyrs when he was com to dye, and suffer at the stake, did express himself to this purpose. "Some (saith he) have given out, that I have had an opinion that the soules of men sleep untill the resurrection. I never did believe any such thing, but do Certainly know [48] that this very night my soule shall be with christ In heaven." That is the first Inference. Inf 2. *2ly* Wee may hence see, that *all the saints In heaven, shall come downe from thence, and make an abode in this lower world.* It will certainly be so, and therefore it is heer said, that New Jerusalem *doth come down.* It doth do so. It is spoken in the present tense: because of the certainty of the thing. It is as certaine to be so as if they were all heer. For the lord Jesus christ himself shall descend from heaven, *him must the heavens containe untill the time of the restitution of all things,* and when that blessed time of restitution, of all things comes, then will christ come down from that heaven which doth now containe him, and when he comes he will not come alone, but all his saints shall then attend him. In Zechar 14.5 the *lord thy god comes and all bis saints with him.*⁷⁰ Christ will come and all his saints with him. Enoch did prophesie of this before the flood as Jude doth observe in the 14 verse of Jude, *behold the lord comes with ten thousand of bis saints.* [49] And when they come downe heer into this lower world, they shall not be gone againe as soone as ever they come. When the cittizens of the new Jerusalem shall sitt Upon thrones: It will be the most august glorious day, that ever was since the creation, and wee may not think that it will be *a show only,* that shall be over againe as soone as It doth appeare. Wee may not suppose that the resurrection-world will vanish as soone as It doth

⁶⁹ Luke 16.22: '... the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.'

⁷⁰ Zech. 14.5: '... the Lord my God shall come, and all the saints with thee.'

appeare. In the new Earth righteous (and so righteous ones) shall not only be but *dwell* there. 2 Pet.3.13 That dwelling implies a Comodation, a long continuance on the Earth. Some may Indeed be apt to Imagine, that then the saints of god will chang for the worse, if they must chang heaven for earth, that they will be losers by their leaving heaven to come downe into this lower world. But they will be no losers thereby; for this world will at *that day* be another guest place than It is at *this day*. When the saints come downe from heaven, that which is the chief glory of heaven shall come downe with them. Namly the man christ Jesus, the humane nature of christ, that is the glory of heaven and that is the glory of the new Jerusalem. And the saints notwithstanding their coming downe from heaven at the great day, shall not be deprived of the beatificall Vision, as It is said concerning the angels of heaven [50] That *they do allwaies behold the face of god* Matt 18 10.⁷¹ Although the angels are often times heer below, notwithstanding, they doe alwaies behold the face of god. And so shall those in the new Jerusalem do, after that they are descended heer below, they shall still behold the glorious face of god. So than they shall not lose by their coming hither. They shall not be in a worse but a better estate than now they are in considering that their soules shall then be reunited unto their bodys. As now, when the lord Jesus christ, was dead, and layd for dead, part of three dayes and three nights in the grave, his soule was all that time in paradise, in heaven. Nevertheless, when christ did rise out of his grave, and did make his abode upon this earth for fourty dayes after his resurrection, he was not in a worse but a better state, than whilst he was in the grave, and his soule in paradise. So shall it be as to the saints of god, belonging unto the new Jerusalem. And therefore It is that the saints now In heaven They long for that day, They long for,

⁷¹ Matt. 18:10: '... in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.'

they pray for the resurrection of their bodies, they *now desire* it, as the apostle speaks [51] In Heb 11.16 the patriarchs *now desire* to be in that city which God hath prepared for them. They now desire that New Jerusalem may come down from heaven that they may partake in the glory of the Resurrection-world, but that is the second Inference. Inf. 3. *Thirdly* Wee may hence see that *the church upon earth shall be in a more glorious state than ever yet was knowne*. When new Jerusalem shall come down from heaven It will be so, Then the church of God will be as a bride adorned for her husband, then new Jerusalem shall put on her beautiful garments. Psalm 87: 2(87.3) *Glorious things are spoken concerning thee, O thou city of God,*⁷² glorious things are spoken, there are glorious prophecies and promises concerning this matter, prophecies and promises that the church of God upon earth shall have a very glorious day to it.

For the present, the lords people are the most despised, the most obscured, and the most hated, reproached people in the world, but It shall not be so allwaies. In Isai 62.7 *Jerusalem shall become the praise of the earth.*⁷³ The day is coming, when, all the earth shall think highly and speak honourably of The people of God. [52] There shall be *a church Triumphant upon earth*, as well as a church Triumphant In heaven forever and ever. The Lord says In Isai 60:13, (He) *will make the place of his feet glorious.*⁷⁴ The church on earth is the place of the lords feet, and this shall be made glorious. This is a subject worthy to be enlarged on. Wee shall therefore mention some particulars that do evince the truth of the *Inference* Now before us. *First The day comes when there shall be a glorious Inlargment of the church of God.* In Isai 60:22, *a little one shall become a Thousand, and a small one a strong nation.* Now the

⁷² Ps. 87.3: 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. Selah.'

⁷³ Is. 62.7: 'And give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.'

⁷⁴ Is. 60.13: '. . . I will make the place of my feet glorious.'

citty of god It is but a little citty compar'd with the rest of the world, but when New Jerusalem comes Downe from heaven It will be a Mighty citty. Therefore In Rev 21:10, the Angell Did shew unto John, *the great citty*. It is said, *the great citty the holy Jerusalem* and In the 16 Verse, it is said that the length and breadth of the citty is *twelve Thousand Furlongs*, and twelve thousand furlongs do make fifteen hundred miles. The length of the new Jerusalem, and the breadth of the new Jerusalem is said to be fifteen Hundred Miles, to Intimate To us [53] What a glorious Inlargement The church of god shall one day have. There shall be a great addition, a glorious accesion unto the church of god, by The conversion of The Jewish Nation. The prophets have spoken of this. Isaiah shewes that besides the restauration from babilon, that *in the dayes of the Messiah a second time* the scattered Nation of the Jewes shall be recovered.⁷⁵ And In hosea 3:5: it is said that *in the latter dayes* the dayes of the Messiah, *They shall seek The lord and david theire king*,⁷⁶ They shall become christians: Now if that nation were gathered together, they would be (as some have observed) the most numerous nation in the whole world. So then There shall be a glorious inlargment of the church of god upon earth in respect of the conversion of that nation. The apostle Paul Doth assert and prove this In the 11th of Romans. And in 2 cor 3:16, speaking of the Jewish nation he saith, *it shall turne unto the lord*. This conversion of the Jewish Nation will be a sign that new Jerusalem is coming down from Heaven. And besides that, there is to be a wonderfull conversion of the gentile nations: more then ever yet was since the world began. [54] Therefore god speaks to his church as in Isai 54 begining of it *Inlarg the place of thy tent, thou shalt brake forth on the right hand; and on the left the*

⁷⁵ See Is. 13-14.

⁷⁶ Hosea 3.5: 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king.'

god of the whole earth shall thy redeemer be called.⁷⁷ So that There is a time acoming, when in the *whole earth* shall owne the true god, shall owne the god of Israel. Never was there such a day as yet. In Mallachy.1.11 *my name saith god shall be great from the rising of the sun, to the going downe of the same and in every place incense shall be offered unto mee.* There are many places In the world where there is no incense offered unto god, and where the name of christ is not great, where never was one prayer made unto the true god, never one sermon preached about the name of the lord Jesus christ. But the day will come, when *in every place* his name shall be knowne and called upon. And this is according to Daniels vision and prophesie Dan 2:35. He there saw a little stone hewn out of the mountains without hands [55] (That is the Kingdome of the lord Jesus christ) and It became *a great mountaine and filled the whole earth.* Such a day shall bee when the Kingdome of christ, when the church of god shall fill the whole earth. Now that part of the world which beares the name of christian is but small compar'd with the rest of the world. Some have observed, That if the world should be divided into Into thirty parts, but five of those thirty are so much as in name christian at this day, so that *christendome*, (as it is called) is but a little part of the world. But the day is coming when *all the world shall become christs kingdome* Rev 11:15. When the seaventh angel doth sound the trumpett, a Voice is heard from heaven saying *the kingdomes of the world are become the kingdomes of our lord and of his christ.* That will be a glorious day when there shall not be a kingdome in all this world, but it shall be christs, when all this world shall become christendome when the kingdome shall be the lords all the world over. *But 2ly. The glory of the church of god doth consist chiefly in The purity and sanctity of it.* [56] The lords people are the most excellent on the earth, on the account of their sanctity. 16 Psalm and 3, *The saints are the excellent ones*

⁷⁷ Mather paraphrased Is. 54:2-5.

of the earth.⁷⁸ Now the day comes when there, will be more holiness throughout *the universall chur(c)b upon earth*, than ever yett was knowne. In Zephaniah 3:9 the lord will *turne unto the people a pure language*, there will be great purity, great holiness among the people when new Jerusalem doth come downe from heaven. No thing will be found there that hath a tendencie to make the church of god to be Impure, or any wais corrupt, or degenerate. *One Thing* that makes churches Impure is that of corrupting the worship of god with the Inventions of men. When men lift up theire tooles on the altar of the lord, They pollute It, but the day is coming, when there shall not be any humane Invention practiced in any church of god in the world. In Ezechiel 43:9 (43.8), men shall not sett up *theire thresolds, by gods thresbold, nor theire post by his posts.*⁷⁹ A great part of the antichristian appostacie hath been In the additions, that have been made unto the pure and holy Institutions of the lord Jesus christ. [57] The *churches* that are called *Reformed* have many of them attain'd unto, but a Very Imperfect Reformation in this respect, In that they do retaine among them things that christ never commanded, and that in the appostles dayes were never Practiced. But when New Jerusalem comes downe from heaven there will be no such things. Rev 21:14, There are twelve Foundations in that citty, *and the names of the twelve appostles written thereon.*⁸⁰ There shall be nothing antichristian or antiappostolicall in that state of the church.

Another thing that hath caused degeneracie in the church of god hath been a corrupt ministrie. It hath ever been so, *like priest like people*, prophaness did go forth into all the land from the prophets. In Jerusalem, In the dayes of *constantine*, or

⁷⁸ Ps. 16.3: '*But to the saints that are in the earth, and to the excellent, in whom is all my delight.*'

⁷⁹ Ezek. 43.8: '*In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name.*'

⁸⁰ Rev. 21.14: '*And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.*'

soone after those dayes there was a strong, generall, corruption all the christian world over, and a worldly, ambitious, self seeking clergie was the cause of it. When they became superstitious and prophane, the whole christian world did degenerate with them. The day is certainly coming when there will not be one superstitious priest found In all the world. Zeph 1,4 The lord will [58] *Cutt of the name of the chemarims, with the priests,*⁸¹ Mallachy 3:3 *He will purifie the sons of Levi. Againe,* when the members of churches are unholy the church Doth become degenerate, and is corrupted therby, but the day cometh when there shall be no such members found in the church of god. Isai 52,1, *Jerusalem shall be holy and strangers shall pass through no more.*⁸² Not one scandalous member will be found in the church upon earth. Zechar 14. last *There shall be no more a canaanite in the house of the lord.* Nay, the day Is coming, when there shall not be one unregenerate person found therein. Ezechel 44, 9 *None that are uncircumcised in heart shall come into the lords sanctuary.*⁸³ They shall be all godly that are of the church of god in that day. Isai 60,21 *Thy people shall be all righteous,* not some of them but all righteous. And therefore It is saide that in the new heaven, and the new earth, *righteousness shall dwell* 2 Peter 3,13 *righteousness,* meaning that righteous ones, (and none but righteous ones) shall dwell there. And the saints then as to degrees of grace shall far excell, what the most holy upon earth [59] May now pretend unto. Zechar 12,8 *He that is feeble as David and the house of david as the angell of the lord.*⁸⁴ What a glorious thing do you think will the church

⁸¹ Zeph. 1.4: '... I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, and the name of the Chemarims with the priests.'

⁸² Is. 52.1: '... O Jerusalem, the holy city: for henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean.'

⁸³ Ezek. 44.9: '... No stranger, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary.'

⁸⁴ Zech. 12.8: '... he that is feeble among them at that day shall be as David; and the house of David shall be as God, as the angel of the Lord before them.'

of god be in the resurrection world? When the Marriage of the lamb doth come! It shall be presented to him *a glorious church without spott or wrinkle, or any such thing, holy and without blemish* Ephes 5,27. *3ly There shall be a blessed unity amongst the people of god.*⁸⁵ The saddest thing that hath happened in the world, (one of them) hath been those unhappy Differences that have fallen out among, professours of the name of the lord Jesus christ. While the appostles were yet living, their wisdome and Authority had a great Influence in keeping the churches In peace. Nevertheless, there was some thing of this evill in their dayes. 1 Cor 11,18 *I beare* (saith the appostle) *that there are Divisions among you.* There were so, very uncomfortable Divisions, unhappy schismes, one was for Paule, another for peter, another for appollos and the like. But much more after the appostles were all dead, then The churches had furious contentions, about meer trifles, and notions which had no foundation in the Scripture. The churches in the West did persecute [60] and excommunicate Those of the east for not observing easter as they would have them. And in after ages, there were such contentions among those that did profess the name of christ that the heathen did on that account expose them to contempt in their stageplayes, and on publique theatres. In these latter ages, although the *Reformation* hath been like *a sea of glass* in respect of the purity of doctrine, yett It hath been, *mingled with fire* in respect of the contentions They have had among themselves Rev 15 3. What contentions have there been between *Lutheranes* and *Calvinists* to the infinite scandall of Religion and of the Reformation? I remember a wicked Jesu-ite saith of them, “that if a man Doth read the books that the *Lutherans* have writt against the *Calvinists*, he would think that he did not see men quareling with men, butt devills fighting with devills.” Thus have they exposed themselves

⁸⁵ Ephes. 5.27: “That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish.”

to the reproch of the common Adversarie. But the day comes when there shall bee no more of this, no more Differences and contention between good men. [61] And a blessed day will that bee, when all good men shall be of the same Judgment, and one in affection. Jeremiah 32,39 God will give his people *one heart and one way to Serve him* and Zepha: 3,9 *They shall serve the lord with one consent,*⁸⁶ with one shoulder. They shall Joine their strength together to promote the Interest of god. There shall be no Contention among them, but this, who may Serve god best and glorifie his name most. Zechar 14:9 *There shall be one lord and his Name one in all the earth.* When there are contentions among christians It proceeds from two causes especially. *One*, is, their Ignorance. One thinks this is truth, and another thinks that is truth, and then they fall to contending about It. It is for want of light. Ay, but when new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven there will be no want of light. The day is hastening when this dark world shall be full of glorious light. Isai 11 9. *The knowledge of the lord shall cover the earth, as waters the sea.*⁸⁷ What an abundance of waters are there in the sea. Why such an abundance of knowledge shall one day cover the earth. And men sha'nt be in the dark concerning what is truth. Isai 54 13 [62] *Thy children shall be all taught of god, and great shall be the peace of thy children*⁸⁸ when they are all taught of god. Then there will be great peace, then there will be an end of Differences, and unhappy Dissentions among them. *Another thing* that the contentions of christians proceeds from, is, deficiencie in the grace of love. In that the grace of love as well as all other graces are Imperfect in them, but that grace will come to a glorious perfection when the church of god is

⁸⁶ Zeph. 3.9: ' . . . they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve him with one consent.'

⁸⁷ Is. 11.9: ' . . . the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'

⁸⁸ Is. 54.13: 'And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children.'

in Its new Jerusalem state. It was much That paule spake to the Thessalonians. 1 Thess 4,8 (4.9) *Touching brotherly love you need not that I write unto you, saith he, for you are taught of god to love one another*, so will it be much more when the church shall be in Its new Jerusalem state. Then there will be no need to call upon men to love one another. They will be all taught of god so to doe. It was well sayed by one of the German Divines, that in Heaven *Lutbero cum Zwinglio iam optime Convenit*, so in the new Jerusalem, *Luther and Zwinglius* will be as good friends as can be. Among the cittizens there, will be no thing butt love and perfect agreement. *4thly. The day coms when the church of god shall be no more a subject of persecution.* Of old the lords people might kindle no fires, viz. no fires to do any servile work by on the sabbath day, which might as some conceive notifie this truth unto us, that in the glorious sabatisme, the rest that yet remaines for the people of god, there shall be no more fires either of contention or persecution. They shall no more destroy in all the lords holy mountaine, therefore is It saide Isai 33,20 *thine eyes shall behold Jerusalem a quiet habitation.* Seldome hath Jerusalem been a quiet habitation for any long time together. Seldome hath the church of god had any long time [63] of rest heer in the world. Butt it hath been like to moyses's bush. Exod 3,2 The bush was on fire, it did burne and yet was not consumed. The church of god hath been that bush, that hath been on fire these five Thousand yeares and more, only god by wonderfull providences, hath kept it from being consumed. When The lords people were in egypt, There, were they oppressed and persecuted. After they came into the land of canaan, they did not rest *long*. Their neighbour Princes did oppress and tiranise over them, and sometimes their owne kings did persecute the godly partie among them. And in babilon the church was oppressed and persecuted, and after that by the Grecian kings. *And* in the dayes of the new Testament, the church hath been a subject of persecution, as much as in the

dayes of the old. There were the ten primitive persecutions; after that the Arian persecution, and last of all the Anti-christian persecution, under which the people of god, have been suffering more or less for above these 12 hundred yeares, so that the church might well speake as In, cant 1,6, *I am black the sun bath looked upon mee, my mothers children were angry with mee*, black with the fire sun of persecution, and not only professed enemies, but *mothers children* have persecuted the church of god. *Mothers children*, they that have made a profession, of the same christian Religion, and of the same protestant, Religion, have persecuted those that have been deare to the lord Jesus christ. But the day comes when there shall be an end of this. Rev 7:16 Neither shall *The sun shall Light on them nor any heat*,⁸⁹ no heat of any persecution. [64] For when New Jerusalem comes downe from heaven The two grand Authors of persecution, shall be disposed of in hell. *The first great Author of persecution* is the devill. He is on that account called a *red dragon*. Now then the devill shall be laide in chains and be shutt up in the bottomless pitt and that *for a thousand yeares*. When of old, some were saying, now wee shall have happy dayes since the Emperor is become a christian, one of the ancients replied, I doubt wee shall have troublesome times for all that for the devill is not turned a christian. When new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven allthough the devill will not become a christian, he shall be bound so, as that he shall not be able to disturb those that are christians. *The other great Author of persecution*, is the devills eldest son, *Antichrist*. As long as the devill hath a *Vicar* at *Rome* the glorious times prommised to the church of god are not to be expected; but as for that beast, he shall be given to the burning flame. The fire shall consume him, that fire in which the lord shal be reveal'd from heaven, as *Daniel*, *Paule* and *Jobn* have all foretold. And then comes a glorious and a peaceable time for gods church heer upon earth. These things

⁸⁹ Rev. 7.16: '... neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat.'

do answer that which is the great objections of the Jews against Christs being come. They argue thus, in their books; and I have heard it in discourse with Jewes sometimes. Mesias cant be come, for we find in our prophets that when messias comes there will be peaceable times in *the* world,⁹⁰ whenas we see since Jesus of nazereth came, there have been troublesome times. There have been since that as great persecutions in the world as ever was since the world began; but they consider not, that there is a *first coming* and *second coming* of the lord Jesus christ. His first coming was to be in a state of humiliation, and therefore his church [65] his people during that dispensation must be under humbling providences also, but when christ shall come the second time, his reign will be as peaceable, and far more glorious then ever the Jewes did Imagine. Acts 3,19 There shall be *times of refreshing from the presence of the lord.*⁹¹ Those times of refreshing doe imply an absolute deliverance from all persecution. *5ly The day comes when the church of god, shall not only have liberty and freedome from persecution, but dominion allso.* How plaine and how exprest is that scripture Dan 7,27 where it is said *that the kingdom and the dominion under the whole heaven shall be given unto the people of the saints of the most high.*⁹² Not the dominion *In heaven* but *under heaven*, and under *the whole* heaven, under the whole cope of heaven, upon all this earth. It shall be in the hands of the saints of the most high. The New Jerusalem shall rule the world, *the first dominion shall be unto that tower of the flock* as *Micah* hath prophesied chap 4 verse 8.⁹³ As the great Citty *Babilon* hath ruled the world in

⁹⁰ See Is. 32.

⁹¹ Acts 3.19: 'Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.'

⁹² Dan. 7.27: 'And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High.'

⁹³ Micah 4.8: 'And thou, O tower of the flock, the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion; the kingdom shall come to the daughter of Jerusalem.'

its corrupt estate so shall the great citty Jerusalem rule the world in Its glorious estate. Know ye not that the saints shall Judge the world? Men have mistaken notions generally concerning the day of Judgment. They think that thereby is intended only vengeance and the execution of Judgment on the wicked, and that is one thing Intended; it will be a day of perdition unto ungodly men, but another thing intended thereby, is, *the power of Judicature* that shall be putt into the hands of the saints of god. Rev 20 4 *I saw thrones and they sat on them, and Judgment was given to them.* Power of Judgment was given to them, (of these things wee may have occasion to speak farther, from the next words, where christ saith concerning the overcomer, that he will write upon him his new name. His new name is, the lord of lords and king of kings). [66] His saints shall partake with him in that glory another day. Wherefore he saide to his appostles matt 19,28 that when he shall sitt on the throne of glory they shall sitt upon thrones Judging the tribes of Israel. This honnour have all the saints. *But In the sixth and last place The happy estate of the church of god that shall begin when New Jerusalem comes downe from heaven will continue.* It is saide of that citty that *It is foure square* Rev 21 16. The citty did lye foure square denoting the Fixed and unchangable state of happiness, that the church of god shall then be in. Some-times the church hath had a glorious day; but that sunshine hath not lasted long. So It was when *Constantine* a Zelous christian was made emperoure of the world, then It was saide, *now is come the kingdome of god and the power of christ* Rev 12.10.⁹⁴ But soon did the clouds returne, dark and dismall clouds did overspread the face of the whole church of god dispersed in the world. But after new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven *the sun shall sett no more.* There shall never be any persecution heard of. Psalms 10,17 (10.18) *The men of the earth shall no more oppress.* Ezechiel

⁹⁴ Rev. 12.10: ' . . . Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ.'

28.24. *There shall be no more a grieving thorne and a pricking briar to the house of Israel of all that are round about It.*⁹⁵ No more affliction of this or that kind to the lords faithfull ones. Isa 60,20 *The dayes of thy mourning are ended tis saide.*⁹⁶ And after the Judgment is over, the cittizens of the New Jerusalem shall returne to heaven againe with crownes of everlasting Joy upon their heads, according to That scripture In Isai 35 last *they shall [67] Returne to sion with singing and with everlasting Joy.*⁹⁷ By these things then you see, that the church upon earth shall one day be a glorious city. Use. Exh. In the last place therefore by way of *exhortation*. Hence *let every soule endeavour after a well grounded assurance that christ will write upon him the name of the new Jerusalem.* And this should men the rather be concerned to doe, for that there are vast multitudes that never had nor ever shall have that glorious name written upon them. When the new Jerusalem comes downe from heaven, there are many that shall not have an entrance given to them into the city of god. Rev 22 15 *Without, :ie: without the new Jerusalem, without are dogs and whoremongers and liars.*⁹⁸ No prophane person, no hypocrite shall have admission into that city, but the gates therof will be shutt against them forever. Whoever shall dye in a state of sin, shall dye in his prophaness, shall dy in his hypocrisie, shall dy in his unregeneracie will never come within that glorious city. And many that have thought They should have admission therinto will find themselves miserably and eternally disappointed. Many that have been In the Jerusalem heer below, of the Visible Jerusalem, will not be found in that Jerusalem which is above. Many that have been of the visible

⁹⁵ Ezek. 28.24: 'And there shall be no more a pricking brier unto the house of Israel, nor any grieving thorn of all that are round about them.'

⁹⁶ Is. 60.20: '... the days of thy mourning shall be ended.'

⁹⁷ Is. 35.10: 'And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads.'

⁹⁸ Rev. 22.15: 'For without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.'

church of god upon this earth, will not be of the glorious church that shall be heer at the great day, and shall after that returne to live with christ forever and ever. Therefore are men and women highly concerned to labour after a well grounded assurance concerning this matter. *You will say but how may wee know that the name of the new Jerusalem is written upon us, or that Our names are written and Inrolled there?* Lett mee but ask you two or three Questions and I conclude. *First. Where are your hearts?* [68] Are your hearts on the earth or in heaven? Are you indeed heavenly minded? Will no thing short of heaven quiet your hearts? Will not a portion in this world satisfie you without assurance, of a portion In heaven? Are your affections sett, not on the things that are heer below, but on the things that are above where christ is? That is a sign that your names are (If it be so indeed, if your hearts are there). It is a blessed sign that your names are there also. *2ly. Do you desire and endeavour to live such lives as they In the heavenly Jerusalem do?* They in the heavenly Jerusalem, do live unto the glory of god. As tis saide of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob They all live to god* In 20 of luke and 38,⁹⁹ in respect of their soules they are now living unto god. And how is it with those that are in that Jerusalem whi(c)h is above, and must shortly come downe from heaven? How do they live? Are they not much in communion with god? Do they not delight in communion with God? And is it so with you? Are you much in prayer, and much in praises? And so you delight in conversing with god, as they in heaven above do? They serve the lord day and night in his temple, And they live as those that see god. Do you doe so? Are you carfull to do so? The saints in heaven, they are allwais rememdring that the eye of god is upon them. Is it so with you? And bo you endeavour in all your wayes and words and thoughts to approve yourselves as in the sight of god? And would you be glad to be as holy as the saints after the resurrection shall

⁹⁹ Mather paraphrased Luke 20.37-38.

be? Can you say after the holy appostle Phill 3:11, *If by any meanes I may attaine unto the Resurrection of the dead?* Would you be glad to be as pure from sin as gods children shall be after the resurrection from the dead? [69] Though you fall short Inexpressibly, do you aime at that? And desire that? Truly that is a good signe. *Lastly, do you long for the day, when New Jerusalem shall come downe from heaven?* That is a sign that you belong to that glorious citty. Rev 21 17 (22.17) *The spirit and the bride say come.* If thy soule Doth say, *come,* it is a good sign that the spirit of god, that the spirit which is in the bride of christ is in thee. Dost thou long then for the coming and the Kingdome of the lord Jesus christ? If thou shouldest understand that christ would come downe from heaven this day, and begin the great day of Judgment, if thou shouldest know that christ would come downe from heaven before tomorrow? Would thy heart within thee leap for Joy? And doth thy spirit within thee say *come Lord Jesus come quickly?* If It be so with thee if thou dost love and Long for The appearing of the lord Jesus christ, then The word of christ to thee this day, is, That he will give a crowne of righteousness unto all that love his Appearing.

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