

Cotton Mather's 'Problema Theologicum': An Authoritative Edition

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Introduction

I. BACKGROUND

COTTON MATHER (1663–1728) is perhaps most commonly associated with the Salem witch trials of the 1690s. He was the grandson of two leading Puritan divines, Richard Mather and John Cotton, and the son of Increase Mather, perhaps his era's most influential New England minister and intellectual. Cotton Mather was himself a man of considerable attainments, being a minister, theologian, medical scientist, natural philosopher, biographer, and historian. He published nearly 500 treatises, sermons, and books and was elected to membership in the Royal

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Society of London. Mather's intellectual interests were many, and he corresponded with leading theologians and scientists on both sides of the Atlantic.¹

'*Problema Theologicum*' is one of the few surviving pamphlets written by Cotton Mather that has not been published. It has been in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society since Isaiah Thomas's purchase of the remnants of Mather's library from his granddaughter, Hannah Mather Crocker, on November 11, 1814. The 'Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather's Library purchased by Isaiah Thomas and by him Given to the American Antiquarian Society' includes in its list of manuscripts, '*Problema Theologicum*. An Essay concerning the Happy State expected for the Church upon Earth, &c. In a Letter. Written in Dec. 1703, and as it appears by Cotton Mather, to the Rev. Mr. Noyes in Salem. Both names are obliterated. In the begining is an Address which begins "May it please your Excellency," small 4to, 90 pages.'

Mather's scientific and theological inquiries served to inform

1. Some of the sources for information on Cotton Mather's family, career, and correspondence are: Sacvan Bercovitch, 'Cotton Mather,' in *Major Writers of Early American Literature*, ed. Everett Emerson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); Ralph and Louise Boas, *Cotton Mather: Keeper of the Puritan Conscience* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928); *Diary of Cotton Mather*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols. (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, n.d.); Thomas J. Holmes, *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of his Works*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940); George Lyman Kittredge, 'Cotton Mather's Scientific Communications to the Royal Society,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 26 (1916): 18-57; David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer 1663-1703* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Babette M. Levy, *Cotton Mather* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979); Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York: Harper & Row, 1984); Silverman, ed., *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Samuel Mather, *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D. D. & F.R.S.* (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1729). Some helpful sources on the life and work of Increase Mather are: Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather 1639-1723* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988); Hall, ed., 'The Autobiography of Increase Mather,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71 (1962): 271-360; Mason I. Lowance, Jr., and David Watters, 'Increase Mather's New Jerusalem: Millennialism in Late Seventeenth-Century New England,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 87 (1977): 344-405; Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1586-1728* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Kenneth B. Murdock, *Increase Mather: The Foremost American Puritan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925); William J. Scheick, ed., *Two Mather Biographies: 'Life and Death' and 'Parentator'* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1989); Julius Herbert Tuttle, 'The Libraries of the Mathers,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 20 (1910): 269-356.

his biblical worldview of a divine Creator actively involved in the history and affairs of the world. According to orthodox Christianity, this world is moving to an ultimate day of judgment and redemption when a new order—the kingdom of God—will be fully realized in heaven and on earth. This Christocentric cosmology, common to the reformed tradition of which Mather was a part, was biblical, teleological, and ultimately knowable. If the precise arrival and sequence of the eschatological events were disputable among men, the general and in some cases specific signs of the End were discernible to those who could read the divine revelation in the books of nature (through science) and of religion (through Scripture). Within this physico-theological framework, Cotton Mather sought to recognize the grand events of the Apocalypse and to understand their natural mechanisms. Rather than being a scholarly or esoteric endeavor, Mather's lifelong 'pursuit of the Millennium' (to borrow Norman Cohn's phrase) was fundamental to his understanding of God, Man, and the Puritan experience in America.²

Earlier generations of scholars have explicated a Puritan errand into the New World wilderness as a paradigm of Puritan eschatological expectations and most often have treated the millennialism of Cotton Mather as a repetition of his father's views or judged it to be significant primarily as a function of Puritan psychology and religious rhetoric. In recent years, Mather's eschatology has been the object of renewed scholarly interest. Studies of Mather's millennialism and its relationship to Puritan history, theology, and psychology have placed his eschatology both in a wider and a different intellectual context.³

2. For a valuable study of medieval European apocalypticism, see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

3. For some representative treatments, see Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Sacvan Bercovitch, 'Horologicals to Chronometricals: The Rhetoric of the Jeremiad,' *Literary Monographs*, ed. Eric Rothstein, vol. 3 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975) and *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Mason I. Lowance, Jr., 'Typol-

Mather's eschatological views appear throughout his long career of sermons and publications and provide the main topic of several of his primary works. Not only is his *Magnalia Christi Americana; or The Ecclesiastical History of New-England* (London, 1702) written within the framework of Mather's teleological assumptions, but both his unpublished treatise on the Bible, 'Biblia Americana,' and his eschatological magnum opus, 'Triparadisus,' are the culminations of a lifetime of eschatological inquiry. The *Magnalia*, written at about the same time as 'Problema Theologicum,' shares with that treatise the conviction that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent, and it is, as one scholar put it, the best literary expression 'of the attitude that directed Mather throughout his life, namely, the identification of his own life with the history and prospects of his native land.'⁴ Mather's use of a typological method in comparing the saints of the Bible with the saints of New England not only gives his historiography the cautionary and hortatory functions of the jeremiad, but it also develops the idea of the spiritual decline of New England Puritanism and the question of Puritan self-perception.⁵ These same elements underlie Mather's 'Biblia Americana,' in which the liter-

ogy and the New England Way: Cotton Mather and the Exegesis of Biblical Types,' *Early American Literature* 4, no. 1 (1969): 15-37; James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977); Cecelia Tichi, 'The Puritan Historians and their New Jerusalem,' *Early American Literature* 6 (1971): 143-55; Philip Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984); Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); John Stuart Erwin, *The Millennialism of Cotton Mather: An Historical and Theological Analysis* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990); Reiner Smolinski, 'Israel Redivivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England,' *New England Quarterly* 63 (Sept. 1990): 357-95, and *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, in press).

4. Levin, *Cotton Mather*, 253-54.

5. The ideas of a Puritan errand into the wilderness, spiritual declension, and the rhetorical origins of Puritan self-perception (all of which quickly boil down to theological questions of hermeneutics and philosophical questions of epistemology) have been well discussed in the scholarship of this century. For the high points of the discussions, see Miller's *Errand into the Wilderness*, Bercovitch's *American Jeremiad* and *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, and Lowance's *The Language of Canaan: Metaphor and Symbol in New England from the Puritans to the Transcendentalists* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

Problema Theologicum
An ESSAY,

[Chap. Matter]

Concerning the HAPPY
STATE Expected
for the
MANKIND upon EARTH;
Endeavouring

to Demonstrate that the
SECOND COMING

of the
Lord JESUS CHRIST,
will be at the
BEGINNING of that
HAPPY STATE.

With some Thoughts upon the CHARACTERS
and APPROACHES of it

In a LETTER to

*Confitemini Regnum nobis promissum
In alio Statu, utpote post Resur-
-rectionem. Tertull.*

Fig. 1. Title page of 'Problema Theologicum' styled by the copyist. 190 x 163 mm. American Antiquarian Society.

ary and theological issues of biblical (particularly prophetic) interpretation and the identification of the true people of God intersect in the eschatological fulfillment of God's promises. Given its length (six folio volumes) and the length of its composition (begun in 1693 and unfinished at Mather's death), 'Biblia Americana' is both a daunting biblical commentary and a valuable record of Mather's conception of the relationship of Scripture to contemporary events. Much of the text of 'Problema Theologicum' is reproduced in 'Biblia' (ms. 667-82), with revisions and cancellations making comparison of the two documents useful in tracing the development of Mather's eschatology.

Written between 1712 and 1727, 'Triparadisus' is Mather's definitive exposition of millennialism, and it is against this massive work, in particular, that the 1703 epistolary essay 'Problema Theologicum' can be compared in order to indicate the development of significant aspects of Mather's eschatology. In 'Triparadisus,' Mather treats at length the hermeneutic problems that underlie biblical prophecies about the End Times and systematically reveals those tenets of his premillennialism that have changed since he expressed his views in 'Problema Theologicum.'⁶

The theological debate concerning the Second Coming of Christ and the paradisaical reign of peace on earth is at least as old as the Old Testament prophets. But the specific question of Christ's Parousia and the thousand-year period of prosperity for the saints of God gained particular interest as Protestant Christians began to consider the Reformation in 1517 as a major reference point in the chronology of the End Times and identified the Roman Catholic Church with the Antichrist as prophesied in Daniel, Revelation, and other biblical books. Despite biblical admonitions that Christ would return as a thief in the night, inter-

6. As noted above, Mather's 'Triparadisus' is now available to scholars in Reiner Smolinski, ed. *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995). I am grateful to Dr. Smolinski for sharing this edition with me while in typescript. However, because I did not have access to a paginated, typeset copy, I have made all page references to his *An Authoritative Edition of Cotton Mather's Unpublished Manuscript 'Triparadisus,'* 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1987).

preters tried to determine the time and place of these eschatological events, and some millenarians expected the End by 1700.

Chiliasts have developed their interpretation of the Millennium primarily along two lines. The postmillennial view holds that the thousand-year peace was inaugurated in the early days of the Christian church and was not a literal thousand-year period but rather a figurative or metaphorical expression of God's rule on earth through the church. The Second Coming of Christ would, therefore, conclude the Millennium. Following St. Augustine's promulgation of this position, postmillennialism was the predominant view sanctioned by the established (Roman) church until the Reformation. Postmillennialism, with the attendant expectation of the progressive improvement of mankind during the thousand years, gained widespread approval among Protestant Americans after Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century. As one scholar has reasoned, postmillennialism engendered an 'optimistic activism' in believers who had no pre-Advent tribulation to fear. Such an optimistic view of the future (the argument goes) contributed to the theological liberalism and utopianism that developed in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America.⁷ The second position, premillennialism, holds that the thousand years of peace on earth will be inaugurated by the Second Coming of Christ and also dates to the early days of the church. Premillennialism tends to a literal interpretation of the thousand-year period and watches for prophesied events, rather than the moral progress of mankind, to indicate the cataclysmic beginning to the Millennium. In comparison to postmillennialism, the premillennialist outlook is generally considered to be passive, requiring endurance and watchfulness before the Second Coming begins the Chiliad. But as James West Davidson cautions, historians should be wary of explicating the psychological motivations and resulting behaviors of pre- and postmillennialists based on generalizations and the classifications

7. C. C. Goen, 'Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology,' *Church History* 28, no. 1 (1959): 38-39.

of behavior that postmillennialists made of premillennialists and vice versa.⁸ Mather himself was noted not only for his premillennialism but for his active participation in the spiritual and secular improvement of his world.

During the seventeenth century in England, millenarianism gained popularity, as can be seen in some of the number of sermons published in refutation of it. The Hebraist and theologian John Lightfoot (1602–75), in a sermon on Revelation 20:1–2 preached before the House of Commons in 1645, refers with disapprobation to the popularity of premillennialism.

But I must doe more then barely tell you, that the glosse and exposition upon this prophecy which hath got the deepest root and the highest seate in the hearts and estimations of very many in these times, and carrieth the greatest cry with it, is the opinion of the Chiliasts of old, refined by the Millenaries alate, which take this matter about the thousand years, strictly and exactly according to the very letter. An opinion so strange to mee that I must confess I could not but make it a sad omen and presage a good while agoe what opinions we should fall into in time, when such an opinion as this could bee so swallowed downe and entertained as I saw it was.⁹

In the same forum in the same year, the independent divine William Strong (d. 1654) refers to Revelation 20:12 and notes that some understand this to be a literal reference to the day of judgement and that others understand it 'to be spoken of the day of judgement, but by way of allusion.' He cites the English millennialist Thomas Brightman (1562–1607) as one who takes this prophecy as a figurative allusion.¹⁰ Despite the disfavor given to chiliasm due to the appropriation of millenarian rhetoric by Fifth Monarchists during the Civil War period of the 1640s, premillennialism remained a valid theological thesis. For a brief time some

8. James West Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977), 276–80.

9. John Lightfoot, *A Sermon Preached before the Honorable House of Commons: At Margarets Westminster, upon the 26. day of August 1645. being the day of their solemm Monethly Fast* (London, 1645).

10. William Strong, 'Ἡμέρα Ἀποκαλύψεως. *The Day of Revelation of the righteous Judgement of God. Delivered in a sermon Preached to the Honorable House of Commons, at Margarets Westminster, at their late solemm Fast, December 31. 1645* (London, 1645), 3.

millenarians looked for Oliver Cromwell to be a significant agent in hastening the Millennium as he extended tolerance to Puritans, suppressed the Irish Catholic revolt in 1649, and began the Western Design of 1655 to free the Spanish Caribbean from papal influence. But, as Christopher Hill has suggested, the logical and emotional tendency of laymen looking for Christ's Second Coming to rectify what political action cannot solve leads them to reject their ruler and/or to withdraw from political activism.¹¹ After the restoration of Charles II, the censure of Puritans and Nonconformists effectively stripped them of political influence, so that even the 1688 Revolution that brought the Protestant William III to power did not significantly restore the strength of those congregations. In effect, religious dissenters fared poorly under the burden of worldly success and a general decline towards skepticism and Lockean materialism that undermined not only spirituality but also the political relevance of religion. As Hill notes, '[i]n 1693 a clergyman who proclaimed that the Second Coming was imminent was regarded as a psychological case, and not as a heretic or a political subversive.'¹² By the end of the century, the politically revolutionary implications of millennialism had largely dissipated, and the doctrine resumed primarily a theological interest in England.

In New England, however, Puritanism in general and millennialism in particular retained a vitality and influence that persisted throughout the eighteenth century and beyond. While English Puritanism suffered following the Restoration, New English Puritanism maintained through its clergy a large measure of political and social influence. The sermons and jeremiads of Increase and Cotton Mather's generations continued to be based upon the nearness of the Millennium and to provide an impetus to missionary activity, individual and corporate reformation, and a way of making sense of political events, the course of history, and the

11. Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1961), 168.

12. Hill, *Century*, 295.

Puritan way. For Cotton Mather and many of his colleagues, the millennial question remained pressing and acute. At the end of the seventeenth century in New England, the interest in this theological problem remained sharp among Cotton Mather and many of his colleagues. 'Problema Theologicum,' as Mather's specific argument for a premillennial Second Coming of Christ and a literal thousand-year reign of peace before the final establishment of God's kingdom in heaven and on earth, is a valuable record of his views around the turn of the century.

2. SOME ASPECTS OF MATHER'S ESCHATOLOGY

Cotton Mather's premillennialism was an important element of his Christianity throughout his life and throughout a large part of his writings. Many of his published sermons and treatises are in some way dependent upon his view of the End Times and of the location of the church along the prophetic and teleological time line. In the course of his career of eschatological inquiry, he modified some aspects of his hermeneutics and his millennialism, but kept to his basic premillennialist perspective. 'Problema Theologicum' indicates what may be called his early position on major premillennial tenets and provides a doctrinal landmark by which his later views and expectations may be measured.

As Increase Mather put it in 1669: 'One of those great and glorious things which the world, especially, the people of God in the world, are in expectation of at this day, is, *The general conversion of the Israelitish Nation.*'¹³ This national conversion was widely expected in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because of a popular reading of Romans 11, in which is made a promise that 'all Israel shall be saved' after the Gentiles have had a chance to come into the Church of God. This interpretation, given renewed appeal by Joseph Mede, was embraced by Increase Mather, who wrote *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation Explained and Applied* in response to the self-proclaimed messiahship of Shabbatai Zvi in

13. Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applied: or, A Discourse concerning the General Conversion of the Israelitish Nation* (London: John Allen, 1669), 1.

1660. Before Zvi professed a conversion to Islam a few years later, Mather and others had renewed their interest in the status of the Jewish people in the End Times and the expectation of their general conversion before the Chiliad. He also published *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (London, 1709) to explicate and defend further the doctrine. Yet, as Iain Murray points out, acceptance of a general conversion of the Jews as foretold in Romans 11 does not necessarily require a premillennialist interpretation of the Chiliad of Revelation 20.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the question of the Jewish conversion was fundamental to premillennialist thought because it not only provided a specific indication of the approach of the Millennium, but it also required the identification of the true people of God.

In 'Problema Theologicum,' Cotton Mather follows Mede and Increase Mather's expectations of a conversion of Jews and argues that this event will occur at the end of the Fourth Monarchy (Daniel 2 and 7) and at the end of the Second Woe (Revelation 9). Mather, along with a great many other Protestants (and some rabbis) of his age, identified this Fourth Monarchy as Roman and considered the Pope of the Roman Catholic Church to be the Man of Sin or the Antichrist whose downfall would indicate the Millennium's arrival. Mather and others identified the Second Woe as the Turkish hegemony that arose in 1300 and that was expected to fall 397 years later at the Second Coming. Among such harbingers of the premillennial Second Coming as the fall of the Roman Antichrist and the decline of the Turkish empire, the national conversion of the Jews was perhaps the bellwether. In 'Problema Theologicum,' Mather alludes to the definitive character of this doctrine when he exults that, although premillennialists were formerly called fanatics for expecting a national conversion of the Jews, now the 'Generality of Good and Wise men are come over to that Fanaticism' [ms. 24].

The crux of Mather's assertions and argument for a national conversion is that it will precede or attend the Second Coming

14. Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 81-82.

and that it has not yet occurred. Therefore, one must both look and work for its arrival and efficacy. To this end, Mather published *The Faith of the Fathers* (Boston, 1699) as a catechism to help Jews recognize Jesus as the promised Messiah. In addition, he took sharp interest in historical and contemporary accounts of prominent and large-scale conversions. References to converted Jews such as the physician Ludovicus Carretus or the story of Gregentius and Herbanus were readily available in his father's above-mentioned books as well as the other literature on the topic.¹⁵ Mather's commonplace books in the American Antiquarian Society record many of these conversion stories that he cites throughout his writings.

Mather expected a premillennial conversion of the Jews throughout his life, but his understanding of this prophecy underwent a fundamental development late in his career. By the time he was nearing the end of his statement of eschatology in 'Triparadisus' (1712-27), he had come to a major change in his views of the Jewish conversion and indeed of End Times chronology. Instead of the *future* conversion of which he wrote in 'Problema Theologicum' and other writings,¹⁶ Mather came to accept the *preterite* interpretation that God had positively determined the elect and followed Hugo Grotius, Henry Hammond, and others, who argued that the conversion foretold in Romans 11 had already occurred in the early years of the church when most of the believers were Jews who accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah.¹⁷ To Mather's later eschatology, this meant that the national conversion was no longer to be looked for—the Second Coming could occur unimpeded because this last remaining sign had already been given.

Mather recorded in his *Diary* that in June of 1724 he had a mystical insight by which he was 'now satisfied, that there is nothing to hinder the immediate Coming of our Saviour, in these

15. Increase Mather, *Mystery*, 5.

16. See, for example, *The Heavenly Conversation* (1710) and *Things to be More Thought upon* (1713).

17. See Grotius and Hammond discussed below in Section 4 of my introduction.

Flames, that shall bring an horrible Destruction on this present and wicked World, and bring on the New Heaven, and the new Earth, wherein shall dwell Righteousness.'¹⁸ By 1726/27, Mather was writing of his mistaken expectation of a future national conversion in 'Triparadisus': 'I was myself a very long While in your Opinion. Alas, I was a very Young Man; I understood not the True Israel; I Recant; I Revoke; and I now make my most public Retraction.'¹⁹ Here Mather indicates that the determining factor is the identification of the Israel of Romans 11. As Samuel Mather (1706–85) summed up his father's late eschatology in *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather*: 'The holy People of the Prophecies is found among the Gentiles, the surrogate Israel. The New Testament seems to have done with a carnal Israel.'²⁰ Mather made this change public beyond his manuscript 'Triparadisus,' for after his death his old friend Samuel Sewall wrote to Cotton's son, Samuel: 'I have one unhappiness befallen me, vizt., Dr. Cotton Mather's vehemently insisting on the Conflagration, so that he seems to think there is no general Calling or conversion of the Jews, Or that it is already past and gone. I desire patiently to wait till our blessed Lord Jesus Umpire the Difference.'²¹

This basic shift in Mather's eschatology was attendant upon another change from the views he advocated in 'Problema Theologicum.' In 'Problema,' Mather understands the Scriptures to foretell a literal, bodily resurrection of martyred believers at the premillennial Second Coming of Christ. This First Resurrection, prophesied in Revelation 20, will populate the New Jerusalem of the Millennium with 'Raised Saints,' who will rule over a New Earth peopled by 'Saved Nations' [ms. 67]. However, this interpretation raises several difficulties, one of which Mather addresses at length.

18. Cotton Mather, *The Diary of Cotton Mather*, 2 vols., 2:733.

19. Cotton Mather, 'Triparadisus,' 529; 205.

20. Samuel Mather, *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather*, D.D. & F.R.S. (Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1729), 144.

21. Samuel Sewall, 'The Letter-Book of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 2 (Boston, 1888), 263.

Because of the widely-accepted premillennial reading of 2 Peter 3, in which a terrible, apocalyptic fire is foretold, Mather is faced with the question—how will the Saved Nations be saved if the world is deluged in flames at the Second Coming?

Following Joseph Mede, Increase Mather, and others, Cotton Mather understood this prophecy to mean that the Millennium would be ushered in by a literal fire. In 'Problema Theologicum,' Mather rejects the allegorical interpretation (of Grotius and others) that views the Petrine Conflagration to refer only to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. and 'the New Heavens and the New Earth, to mean the New Administration of things among the Christians under the Gospel' [ms. 75–76]. Joseph Mede had postulated a partial rather than a global conflagration and suggested that America might be a refuge and staging ground for Satan's army during the Conflagration and the Millennium, a suggestion irksome to patriots like Samuel Sewall, Nicholas Noyes, and Cotton Mather. Sewall expected not only that America would be free of Satanic control but that the New Jerusalem of the Millennium would be on the American continent.²² Noyes's *New-Englands Duty and Interest* included in its running title the advertisement of hope in the 'latter dayes . . . that America in General, & New-England in Particular,' may have a part in the Millennium, and he argues this point at length in that treatise. Mather did not accept the idea of an American hell, but neither did he claim for America the geography of the New Zion.²³ Increase Mather also expected a partial premillennial fire as well as a global postmillennial fire that would attend the Day of Judgment. As Cotton Mather puts it in 'Problema Theologicum,' the Conflagration will be 'Partial, and Liesurely, & Progressive' [ms. 78]. By centering on papal Rome, extending for 200 miles and then perhaps moving some unknown distance beyond, the Conflagration will destroy the Antichristian Roman rule and still allow escape for the Saved Na-

22. Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* (Boston, 1697), 3.

23. See 'Problema' ms. 68, where Mather rejects Joseph Mede's thesis and says, 'I that am an American, must needs be Lothe to allow all America still unto the Devils Possession, when our Lord shall possess all the rest of the World.'

tions. These Saved Nations, essentially composed of Gentiles, were of particular interest to Mather and other millennialists because they identified the contemporary church with the Saved Nations. Therefore, the status of the Saved Nations in the events of the Apocalypse, their escape during the Conflagration, and their prosperity during the Millennium were directly related to Puritan New England, promising to conclude any Puritan declension and any errand into the wilderness with a glorious reward.

Cotton Mather continued to be vexed by the question of a partial conflagration and the status of the Saved Nations. In his 1710 *Theopolis Americana*, he considers a global conflagration (48). In *The World Alarm'd* (Boston, 1721), he seems to follow Thomas Burnet's *The Sacred Theory of the Earth* (London, 1684) and suggests a possible mechanism for the Conflagration, citing subterranean fires stoked by the Second Coming. Finally, in 'Triparadisus,' he rejects a partial conflagration for a single, premillennial, global conflagration.²⁴ This renunciation of his earlier view was made possible by Mather's discovery of a solution to the problem of the Saved Nations. In a diary entry from June 21, 1724, Mather notes that he has read an anonymous treatise, *Good things to come* (1675), that accounts for the safety of the Saved Nations at a premillennial, global conflagration by their being caught up into the air at Christ's Parousia and translated from carnal to glorified bodies. Following the Conflagration, these *Changed Saints* are restored to the New Earth over which rule the Raised Saints, who are those martyred believers resurrected at the beginning of the Millennium. This 'rapture' provided the solution that, combined with Mather's new acceptance of a preterite conversion of the Jews, allowed him to conclude that there were no longer any signs required before the Second Coming would inaugurate the thousand-year Happy State.²⁵

24. Cotton Mather, 'Triparadisus,' 529-30.

25. I am indebted to Reiner Smolinski for alerting me to the role that the treatise *Good things to come, or a setting forth of some of the great things that will temporize and take place when our Lord Christ shall come again, mentioned in the Holy Scripture . . .* by P.G.B. (London, 1675) played in Mather's eschatology. Dr. Smolinski treats this point more fully in his

3. THE GENESIS OF 'PROBLEMA THEOLOGICUM'

In 'Problema Theologicum,' Cotton Mather's premillennialism follows the course indicated by chiliasts such as John Henry Alsted (1588–1638) and Joseph Mede as well as Mather's father, Increase, whose expositions of End Time events such as the National Conversion of the Jews, the Conflagration, and the characteristics of the New Heaven and New Earth helped delineate significant points of doctrine.

The immediate motivation for the composition of 'Problema Theologicum' was Nicholas Noyes's (1647–1717) request for Mather's elucidation of premillennialism. Mather described his epistolary essay to Noyes as 'A brief Scheme of the Millennium, as bounded with Two Resurrections, according to my Understanding of that Mystery: professing Yourself yett unresolved about it' [ms. 1–2]. Noyes, teacher of Salem Church, was one of several clergy and laymen who shared with Mather an interest in prophecy and eschatology. In 1698 Noyes had preached and published *New-Englands Duty and Interest*, in which he is especially concerned with the role of America in the Apocalyptic events and in which he elucidates a method of biblical interpretation that recognizes '*Prophesie is History antedated; and History is Postdated Prophesie.*'²⁶

Noyes was also conversant with Judge Samuel Sewall (1652–1730), who was educated in theology at Harvard and who was president of the Corporation for Promoting the Gospel in New England, which continued the missionary efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England first established by Parliament in 1649. Sewall was very interested in millennialism and endeavored to engage colleagues such as the Mathers, Noyes, and John Wise (1652–1725) in debates about the End Times. In 1697 Sewall published *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica*, which set forth his millennial expectations. Sewall's *Letter-Book* and *Diary*

edition of 'Triparadisus,' *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995), and to this I refer the reader.

26. Nicholas Noyes, *New-Englands Duty and Interest To be an Habitation of Justice and Mountain of Holiness* (Boston, 1698), 43.

give evidence of his enthusiasm for fostering discussion of this subject. In his *Letter-Book*, there is a memorandum dated November 28, 1699, of his letter to Mr. N. Noyes concerning Noyes's *Antithesis to Res Antichristiana, &c*, which Sewall evidently had borrowed. Sewall mentions having the following week a debate that Noyes should attend since he will be in Boston.²⁷

Sewall was particularly interested in the role of America during the End Times. The eminent Cambridge professor of Greek and theologian Joseph Mede had postulated in *Clavis Apocalyptica* (London, 1627) that America might be the refuge of Satan's armies during the Conflagration that was to begin the Apocalypse. William Twisse (1578?–1646) wrote to Mede for clarification about America in the Apocalypse. Mede rejected the idea that America might be the refuge of the Saints during the Conflagration and/or the last persecutions of the Saints by the Antichrist, thinking it more likely to be the camp of Gog and Magog. Samuel Sewall notes in *Phaenomena* that 'Problematical Questions do circulate; and this was set up by Dr. Twisse above Ninety years ago.'²⁸ Sewall rebutted this idea at length in his *Phaenomena* and sought to win his New England colleagues to the same convictions.²⁹ In 1713 Sewall wrote to Cotton Mather for publishing advice concerning a treatise about the signs of the End Times. He mentions the passage of more than thirty years since they spoke of it, thus indicating that Sewall and a young Cotton Mather had discussed the topic in the early 1680s.³⁰

Sewall was evidently communicating often with Noyes, delivering a newly-printed copy of *Phaenomena* to Noyes in Salem.³¹ Ever

27. Sewall, 'Letter-Book,' 1:289–90.

28. Sewall, *Phaenomena*, 17.

29. *Letter-Book*, 1.196–99. Sewall corresponded with John Wise and Thomas Bridge, among other New Englanders. He wrote to John Wise: 'You have exceedingly gratified me in being, I think the first, who has moved any Question to me, or favoured me with an objection.'

30. Sewall, 'Letter-Book,' 2:22.

31. *Diary*, 1.373. In his *Diary* entry for February 3, 1703/4, Sewall notes that he lent to Mr. Neh. Hobart a book by Forbes on the Revelation and told him: 'I was like to have some Bickerings with Mr. Noyes; and he should be the Judge of the Controversy. I set up this Problem, that Christ set his Right Foot on the New World; his Left, on the Old. Rev. 10. Pray'd him to assign otherwise if he saw convenient' (1:496–97).

seeking to broaden the Apocalyptic discourse, Sewall proposed that a debate topic concerning America's place in the End Times be put to Harvard graduates as part of their 1696 commencement exercises. When this was rejected, Sewall 'printed a pretty many copies of this Question . . . and sent them to learned Men of my Acquaintance who gave me long and elaborate Answers by way of Opposition.'³²

Foremost among those colleagues was Increase Mather, who was perhaps the earliest and strongest influence on the development of his son's premillennialism and whose sermons and writings passed on the tradition of millennial speculation. Increase was acquainted with Richard Baxter, the English Puritan whose *The Glorious Kingdom of Christ* (London, 1691) advocated an allegorical, preterite Millennium rather than a literal, future Millennium. Mather's *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* had treated the topic in 1669, but when his esteemed friend Baxter seemed to abandon the literalist camp by turning allegorist, Increase responded with *A Dissertation on the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation*, although he waited until Baxter died before publishing this opposition in 1709.³³

In May of 1683, following the example of the Royal Society of London, Increase Mather and several colleagues formed the Philosophical Society, a club devoted to the consideration of scientific advances.³⁴ Cotton Mather would have been privy to these writings and meetings even in his youth, and his familiarity with his elders, Noyes and Sewall, indicates the thoroughness of his involvement in the theological and scientific debates of the era.

4. THE INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT OF 'PROBLEMA THEOLOGICUM'

Cotton Mather wrote 'Problema Theologicum' primarily as an

32. Sewall, 'Letter-Book,' 1:227-28.

33. His *Dissertation*, although published in London in 1709, bears a dedicatory epistle dated 1695.

34. See Michael G. Hall, ed., 'The Autobiography of Increase Mather,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 71 (1962): 307 and Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England*, 2d. ed., rpt. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), 225.

exposition of the premillennialist doctrine that Christ's Second Coming will inaugurate a thousand-year reign of peace on earth. In addressing specific cruxes of this thesis, he bases his argument upon literal interpretations of prophetic Scriptures, interpretations that he contrasts with allegorical readings. This opposition of hermeneutic methodologies had profound implications not only to the theological problem at hand but also to the contemporary intellectual challenge to the authority of the Bible. Within this wider context, *'Problema Theologicum'* illustrates the role that eschatology played as a proving ground of biblical accuracy and authority.

Throughout the histories of the Jewish and Christian faiths, difficulties have attended the interpretation of sacred texts, particularly those accounts of the beginning and the end of the world. Traditionally, claims of divine inspiration of the Scriptures were accepted, and problems in historical and prophetic texts did not call into question the essential trustworthiness of the Bible. In the seventeenth century, however, the development of natural science, textual criticism, and philosophical skepticism contributed to great changes in the relationship between knowledge, faith, and the Bible. Scientific inquiry and discoveries in astronomy, geology, and mathematics were providing natural explanations for what had been considered supernatural events. Advances in Oriental language studies and developments in textual criticism called into question the origin, transmission, and reliability of the Bible. At the same time, secular interpretations of the Bible and the growing eminence of reason rather than revelation as the standard of knowledge challenged the primacy of scriptural authority. As one scholar has stated, the complex problems of the time 'all spring from one two-sided question, "What are the grounds of inward faith and of external authority?"'³⁵

Some of the best thinkers of the age were engaged in answering this question. Hugo Grotius, Thomas Hobbes, Benedict de Spin-

35. Douglas Bush, *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth-Century 1600-1660*, 2d. ed., rev. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 335-36.

oza, Isaac Newton, Richard Simon, Thomas Burnet, William Whiston, and Anthony Collins are a few of the philosophers, scientists, and theologians who contributed to the discourse. Much of the debate centered on biblical accounts of historical and physical events, but part of the discourse turned upon prophetic events. Arthur Quinn, in his essay 'On Reading Newton Apocalyptically,' recounts the story of the English theologian John Dury and the French philosopher René Descartes agreeing that the growing skepticism was causing an intellectual crisis in their time. Each man offered what he considered to be the strongest response to this challenge: Descartes looking to mathematics, Dury to the study of Bible prophecy. 'Within the context of the seventeenth century,' writes Quinn, 'the study of prophetic history was as plausible a way to resolve the skeptical crisis as mathematics.'³⁶ In effect, despite difficulties posed by natural science, textual criticism, or intellectual skepticism, the demonstrated fulfillment of eschatological prophecy could validate the Scriptures as divinely inspired and authoritative.³⁷ As Sir Isaac Newton noted in his posthumously published *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John* (London, 1733), 'the event of things predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by providence.'³⁸ If the study of Bible prophecies was a formidable defense against the skeptical *Zeitgeist*, the question of how to interpret justly became a fundamental concern of Bible exegetes.

Within biblical hermeneutics, two general methods of interpre-

36. Arthur Quinn, 'On Reading Newton Apocalyptically,' in *Millenarianism and Messianism in English Literature and Thought 1650-1800*, ed. Richard H. Popkin, Clark Library Lectures 1981-1982, no. 10 (New York: E. J. Brill, 1988), 179.

37. As Richard H. Popkin writes: 'Millenarianism was a vital intellectual and spiritual force, which enjoyed great intellectual respectability up to the end of Napoleon's reign. . . . To appreciate one of its high points is to see it as the union of the new science and a defense against religious skepticism. . . . serious, intellectualized millenarianism outlasted the Restoration and established a framework within which serious, scientifically oriented intellectuals could interpret the great political upheavals at the end of the eighteenth century.' 'Foreword,' in James Force, *William Whiston: Honest Newtonian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xviii.

38. Sir Isaac Newton, *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St. John*, 2 vols. (London, 1733), 2:251-52.

tation provide the logical limits of prophetic exegesis. A literal interpretation of Scripture refers to the sense that is most direct, simple, and obvious. It is generally synonymous with the grammatico-historical sense, which is based on the language and historical context of the text. This is essentially the same method applied to the interpretation of non-biblical books. In contrast, an allegorical interpretation bypasses the common meaning of words in favor of a metaphorical (or figurative or non-literal) sense as a text's primary meaning. This method has often been subdivided into other distinctions of meaning (such as mystical, tropological, moral, or spiritual, etc.) and, like the literal method, has a long tradition in biblical hermeneutics.³⁹ In particular, doctrinal disputes about millennialism have long been based upon these fundamentals of interpretation. Mather cites a few instances in 'Problema Theologicum,' noting that Nepos, the third-century bishop of Arsinoe (Egypt), wrote a defense of chiliasm entitled *A Confutation of Allegorical Expositors*. Dionysius of Alexandria, Mather says, wrote a rebuttal to Nepos that denied the Millennium by denying both the canonicity and the Johannine authorship of Revelation [ms. 13]. In addition, Mather refers to Eusebius's record that early opponents of millennialism tended 'to Deny the Divine Authority, both of Revelation, and of 2 Peter; because the writers of those Books, it seems were Chiliast' [ms. 13-14]. It is this tendency of allegorical expositors to diminish biblical authority and deny fundamental tenets of Christianity that occasions Mather's opposition.

Mather understands his literal hermeneutic to provide not only a plausible defense of premillennialism but also a necessary rationale for Christianity. For example, in explicating Revelation 20:4, Mather asserts that 'the Twentieth Chapt^r of the Revelation, is, all doubtless, the most free from Allegory, and from the Involution of Prophetical Figures' [ms. 59]. Mather informs his interpretation by reference to the logical Law of Opposites and argues

39. Harry Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching,' *Speculum* 4 (1929): 283.

that, since the next verse 'indisputably' refers to a literal and corporal Second Resurrection after the Millennium, the reference to the First Resurrection in the preceding verse logically and grammatically also indicates a literal and corporal resurrection [ms. 60]. This First Resurrection of martyred saints, Mather writes, must be either a spiritual, political, or a literal and corporal one. 'But it is not a Spiritual, nor a Political Resurrection,' he asserts, rejecting as untenable the interpretation that the Martyred Saints are resurrected in their successors, not in their own persons [ms. 61]. This, he says, would be 'a very dangerous thing, yea, very destructive unto the Consolation of the ffaithful, to suppose the Promises unto the Overcomers, to be fulfilled only unto other People, that shall rise up after them.'

Mather acknowledges the heretofore prevailing Augustinian view of the Millennium that understands the thousand-year peace to be spiritually fulfilled in Christ's rule over the Church in the time between his First and Second Advents and that understands the First Resurrection of Revelation 20:5 to be a reference to spiritual regeneration rather than to corporal rebirth. Nevertheless, Mather claims to have the testimony of the early church to support the literal interpretation of the premillennialist doctrine. 'Primitive & Orthodox Christianity, was for a Literal & Corporal Resurrection, and not a mere Spiritual, or Political One, at the Entrance of the Chiliad.' He cites Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Papias as testifying to the apostolic endorsement of this view, noting that Irenaeus dedicated a chapter to prove that the relevant Scriptures 'could not admitt of Allegorical Expositors' [ms. 64].

Another example of the importance of a literal and eschatological interpretation to Mather's argument is seen in his defense of a literal and corporal Second Coming of Jesus Christ. In arguing for a literal and visible Second Coming of Christ, Mather says he and his addressee are 'fortified against all that has any Tendency to Quakerism' and will 'not receive meer Spiritual and Mysticall Dispensations, as the full accomplishment of that Word, 1 Thess. 4.15.16' [ms. 6]. Another pivotal text is Matthew 24:29-31. Mather

argues that 'The Son of Man's Coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and Great Glory' means the Second Coming. He says, '[I]t is a Thing Dangerous, and Destructive unto the Christian Faith, to have it Expounded otherwise; It leaves the Second Coming of our Lord, utterly impossible ever to be proved by any one Text in all the Bible' [ms. 28]. Again Mather cautions against the logical and spiritual implications of allegorical interpretation: 'But it is enough, to Observe, that if we foolishly & Sinfully Allegorize away, such an Expression as, The Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven, from the Litteral Sense of it, (which the Angels of Heaven themselves, who will very much make a part of those Clouds, have taught us to Give, Acts 1.9.11) we are left wholly in the Clouds, about any Second Coming of the Lord at all, and shall never be able to prove it from any Text in all the Bible' [ms. 39]. The essential point, Mather argues, is not the defense of premillennial doctrines of the First Resurrection or of the Second Coming; the essential point is the dangerous and destructive implication of allegorical interpretation to basic Christianity. If fundamental tenets of the Christian faith can be dismissed as mere allegories without actual and bodily realities, then the very ground of Christianity is swept away.

Despite Mather's assertions and argument, the forthrightness of the distinction between literal and allegorical interpretation is somewhat obscured by the rhetoric of theological discourse and by the inherent difficulty of eschatological prophecy. Because a pejorative connotation has often been given to the term 'allegorical,' it has occasionally been misapplied to an opponent's hermeneutic. This is sometimes the case in 'Problema Theologicum,' where Mather rejects as allegorical not only non-literal interpretations but also interpretations that are literal but non-eschatological. However, because the consideration of predictive prophecy raises questions of time, symbol, and typology, interpretation is complicated beyond the mere identification and rejection of allegorical readings.

The chief advocate of the allegorical hermeneutic was Hugo

Grotius (1583–1645), whose method Mather characterizes as allegorical because it primarily applies prophecies to their historical contexts with only the possibility of a secondary and non-literal application to eschatological events. Grotius, the renowned Dutch theologian and legal scholar, advocated this preterite-contextual method as the true literal interpretation because, in the words of his chief defender, Henry Hammond (1605–60), Grotius's method is based on the assertion that in the Prophets 'there is one immediate completion of each Prophecy among the Jews of or near that time, wherein it was written, another more remote and ultimate concerning Christ, or the times of the Gospel.' This 'first or literal sense' was usually neglected by other expositors; therefore Grotius emphasized it.⁴⁰ This second, remote, and Christological sense was in some ways even more literal than the first, contextual sense because it resulted in a teleological and physical fulfillment, Hammond conceded, but the secondary sense nevertheless was 'indeed mystical, because veiled under the first.'⁴¹

Grotius's preterite-contextual method was disturbing to orthodox interpretation, and Hammond took pains to clarify his teacher's method, arguing that Grotius did not deny a secondary, messianic, and eschatological sense to prophecy, but that he emphasized the primary, historical fulfillment. Nevertheless, in 'Problema Theologicum' Mather cautions against the Grotian method and its implications. For example, Mather cites 'the feeble Essayes of Hammond, and Lightfoot, and Baxter, (& of John Calvert, from whence the famous writer last mentioned, chose to take his objections)' as being insufficient to dissuade 'the Generality of Good and Wise men' who expect a National Conversion of the Jews [ms. 24]. In fact, Grotius and Hammond did not deny a literal conversion of the Jewish nation but argued that it has already taken place in the early years of the Church. Mather's interpretation of a conversion of the Jewish nation, which he characterizes in 'Pro-

40. Henry Hammond, *A Second Defence of the Learned Hugo Grotius, or A Vindication of the Digression concerning him, from some fresh Exceptions* (London, 1655), 81.

41. Henry Hammond, *A Continuation of the Defence of Hugo Grotius in an Answer to the Review of his Annotations* (London, 1657), 86.

blema Theologicum' as literal, actually is distinguished from his opponents by virtue of its *future*, rather than its literal, fulfillment. It is this eschatological (and at times typological and messianic) orientation more than its literalness that distinguishes Mather's hermeneutic from those of his non-chiliasm opponents.⁴²

Mather recognized the difficulty and danger of interpreting prophetic Scriptures. In addressing 'Problema Theologicum' to Nicholas Noyes, Mather confesses that he is not 'altogether without some Awfull sense, that by Rash and wrong Interpretations of the Sacred Scriptures, a Man may be more Guilty than he is aware, (and before he is aware,) of breaking the Commandment, which forbids our Taking the Name of God in Vain' [ms. 2]. Nevertheless, he is confident that 'the Oracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, about his Coming & Kingdome, are not so utterly Unintelligible, that we have any cause to throw them aside' [ms. 3]. In fact, Mather acknowledges the validity of non-literal interpretation, and an example of this typological, figurative, or allegorical hermeneutic is seen in his exposition of *The Book of Numbers* as a text supporting the expectation of a Jewish national conversion—'Miriam was a Type of the Church of Israel.' Even as her leprous condition kept her separated from the people of God until the seventh day (Mather argues), so the Jewish nation will not be restored to the community of God's people 'untill the approach of the Seventh Day, or the blessed Sabbatism.' Even as Moses and the Israelites did not continue in their journey to the promised land until Miriam was restored, so the Church of God will not advance and enter the Kingdom of God until the national conversion of the Jews takes place [ms. 26]. Likewise, Mather interprets the conversion of the Apostle Paul as a type of the Jewish national conversion and he cites 1 Thessalonians 1:17 as evidence that Paul himself interpreted his conversion thus. In 'Problema Theologicum,' Mather concedes the validity of the typological method in some cases, but does not conclude thereby that New England is the

42. See Section 2 of my introduction above for a discussion of some implications of the identity of the 'true Israel' and the Jewish national conversion.

anti-typical New Jerusalem or that the Puritans are the true Israel.⁴³

Those whom Mather disapprovingly refers to in 'Problema Theologicum' as allegorists—Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, and Baxter—actually interpreted prophecies as being fulfilled literally in historical events near the time the prophecies were given. The allegorists understood prophecies about a national conversion of the Jewish nation (Romans 11) and a conflagration (2 Peter 3) as having been fulfilled in early church times. Thus, two major harbingers of the Second Coming and the Millennium had already arrived. Such preterite interpretations opposed Mather's premillennial argument that these signs were yet to be fulfilled before the beginning of the thousand-year peace.

When, in later years, Mather came to accept some of the preterite interpretations of former opponents such as Grotius, Hammond, Lightfoot, and Baxter, he did so in the spirit of intellectual honesty and in alliance against the greater threats of deism and skepticism. He effectively changed the expectations of his eschatology and the assumptions of his historiography. With all obstacles to the Millennium removed, the Second Coming could truly occur at any moment, without a Jewish conversion, without a threat to the Saved Nations, without an American hell. Christ could come upon a sleeping world like a thief in the night whether New England was declining or reviving. When, in 1703, he wrote 'Problema Theologicum,' it was not only within the broader intellectual and hermeneutic context but also in order to clarify and defend specific aspects of premillennialism.

5. EDITORIAL NOTES

The American Antiquarian Society owns the ninety-five-page manuscript of Cotton Mather's 'Problema Theologicum.' Although a version of the document was evidently prepared for

43. For a discussion of Boston as the New Jerusalem, see Smolinski's 'Israel Redivivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England,' *New England Quarterly* 63 (Sept. 1990): 357-95.

printing, no published versions or other manuscripts exist. However, portions of 'Problema Theologicum' are reproduced in Mather's 'Biblia Americana' (ms. 667-82) and throughout his *Trip paradisu* (particularly in 'The Third PARADISE').

Physical Aspects

The small manuscript, 190 mm high by 163 mm wide, is sewn through eight holes, six of which are used to bind the spine with two passes (the third and seventh holes from the top not having any stitches around the spine). A piece of paper, approximately 26 mm x 38 mm and marbled in gold, green, and red, is bound under the fourth hole from the top, as is a smaller piece of very worn paper. The marbled paper and the smaller, worn piece appear to be all that remain of a cover (or covers). The paper in the manuscript bears a watermark called 'London' that was used in Boston in 1703.⁴⁴

The title page is torn along the bottom, with up to 10-mm missing. There is a 10-mm horizontal tear from the right side edge, 66 mm from the bottom edge. The second page (unnumbered) is inserted between the single-fold conjugate leaves of the title page (verso and recto) and ms. 1 and 2. This is the letter to 'Your Excellency' that Mather added after cancelling his address to Nicholas Noyes. This letter is held in place with two wafers of red wax or glue. Portions of the title page have been torn away, thereby exposing the wax. The lower wafer is completely pulled away from ms. 1; the upper wafer still holds.

The letter is inserted askance, and the right edge overhangs the right margin of the subsequent pages. Therefore, the right edge of the length of the letter is torn and ragged. Nevertheless, the context makes textual reconstruction reliable. The verso of the

44. An example of this shield and dagger watermark is located in the Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (archived as w53.165.49). See Thomas L. Gravell and George Miller, *A Catalogue of Foreign Watermarks Found on Paper Used in America 1700-1835* (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1983), 5, 37-38, 228.

title page exhibits offsets of the cancellation strokes made on the ms. 1 address to Noyes.

There is foxing on all pages of the manuscript, most notably along the bottom edge and bottom right corners of the sheets. In no case does the foxing obscure any text.

Dating of the Manuscript

Although the manuscript is dated 1703, it should be noted that internal evidence indicates that Mather may have begun the document before the turn of the century and that he was revising it at least until 1708. Between the initial addressing of his epistolary essay to Nicholas Noyes and the cancellation of that address and the re-addressing of it to 'Your Excellency,' the issue of chiasm may have become moot as a point of dispute or persuasion between Mather and Noyes. More likely, as Mather's intention changed from writing an essay to be shared for debate among his New England colleagues to one of publishing for a wider audience, he changed the treatise's salutation.⁴⁵ Such a goal would usually require a dedication to a more eminent person such as a Governor. Throughout the manuscript, informal references to 'You' (the reader) are revised to more formal references. The absence of references to the 1693 witchcraft trials (as evidence of the death throes of Satan and the nearness of the End Times) suggests that the trials have occurred and are deliberately not mentioned in order to avoid negative associations to Mather's premillennial argument. In a *Diary* entry for 15.d 11.m Saturday 1703 (Old Style January 15, 1703), Mather writes that

About this Time, I finished a Large Discourse about y^e Blessed Chiliad, at y^e Desire of the Minister of Salem. I Entituled it, Problema Theologicum. Or, An Essay, concerning the Happy State Expected for y^e Church on Earth in y^e Latter Dayes; Endeavouring to Demonstrate, That the Second Coming of o^r Lord Jesus Christ, will be at y^e Beginning of that Happy State; With some Thoughts about y^e Characters & Approaches of it.

45. See ms. 86, where Mather refers to possible objections to his argument arising from those readers less charitable than the initial addressee (Noyes). This suggests that Mather initially wrote expecting Noyes to share the document with others.

I Sent it afterwards unto a Bookseller in London; with some Alteration of y^e Title-page.⁴⁶

In 1706, he records that

At this Time also, I bestow'd more adapting Circumstances for the press, upon a Treatise, which I composed three or four Years ago, about the blessed Kingdome dread *Chiliad*. And I now sent it away unto an eminent Bookseller in *London*, that if the Lord of that Kingdome shall please, it may be published. The title which I now gave it, was to this Purpose: PROBLEMA THEOLOGICUM. *An Essay, to Demonstrate a Truth of Great Importance in the Hope and Life of Christianity; but hitherto too little received or understood by the Christian world. Or, unanswerable Demonstration, that the second Coming of our Saviour from Heaven, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which we are to expect for the Church upon Earth. And the true Doctrine of the Chiliad so explained, as to answer and remove the Prejudices which have usually encumbered it.*⁴⁷

A marginal reference to Herman Witsius (1636–1708) in which he is described as 'one of the most admirable men at this day living in the world' was subsequently revised again so that 'at this day living' is cancelled and 'lately' is inserted [ms. 22]. This seems to indicate that Mather was still revising this manuscript copy of 'Problema Theologicum' at least as late as Witsius's death in 1708. No publication of 'Problema Theologicum' in London has been found.

Finally, Mather also makes reference in 'Problema Theologicum' to the imminence of the Second Coming in the 'Present Century.' By this I take him to mean the eighteenth century, perhaps even before the 1736 date one might deduce from the chronology of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*.⁴⁸

Editorial Rationale

Because 'Problema Theologicum' is a source text whose audience is primarily scholars and specialists, I have employed inclusive methods in establishing an authoritative edition of the document.

46. *The Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1:502.

47. *The Diary of Cotton Mather*, 1:571.

48. See ms. 88–89 and notes 133 and 204. See also Increase Mather's similar discussion of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* in his *Mystery*, 26.

I have provided in Appendix A a list of authorial emendations and in Appendix B a record of most of my editorial interventions.

I have standardized the paragraph indentation as well as word and line spacing. I have retained the capitalization of the manuscript. In those cases where capitalization is unclear, I have compared like letters and depended on my experience with the handwriting to inform my judgment. Changing the double f ('ff') to a capital 'F' is one editorial emendation that, in hindsight, might well have been made; however, as the sense of the text doesn't suffer and current time constraints prevent this emendation, the double f appears in the text as it does in the manuscript. I have retained Mather's variations of spelling, and punctuation, except where noted in Appendix B. The varieties of capitalization, spelling, and punctuation do not obscure the sense of the text, and sometimes reveal subtleties of his logic or intent. Although this rationale might also argue for similar treatment of line and word spacing in the manuscript, the limitations of typography prevent such a transcription.

I have not expanded Mather's contractions and abbreviations, which are few. Except for abbreviations of biblical books, the most common abbreviations are as follows:

y ^e	= the	w ^t	= what
o ^r	= our	w th	= with
Yo ^r	= Your		

I have not reproduced ornate initial letters or the long *s* of the manuscript, but have employed modern typefaces. I have used a Greek alphabet font to reproduce Mather's Greek, but have occasionally hand-drawn characters for which I had no typographical equivalent. I have retained Mather's underscoring and have indented paragraphs where he has. Occasionally, Mather used an equal sign '=' to hyphenate. I have reproduced his usage (for example on ms. 38 'Lord = MESSIAH'). Otherwise, I use a modern hyphen '-'. I have not recorded end-of-line divisions. End-of-line hyphens are a result of typesetting the transcription and are not in the original manuscript.

The lengthy, authorial cancellations on ms. 1-2 and 90-91 seem to be of sufficient importance that I kept them in the text and noted them in Appendix A.

Editorial Apparatus

I use the following typographical characters to indicate authorial revisions and editorial intrusions.

- |*| = illegible word cancellation
- |. | = illegible letter cancellation
- | | = legible cancellation
- { } = reconstruction
- {?} = questionable reconstruction
- > < = marginal insertion
- < > = interlinear insertion

Manuscript pages are indicated as [ms. (1)]. Otherwise, all square brackets [] are Mather's. I have not retained catchwords, appearing at the end of a manuscript page and indicating to a typesetter the beginning word of the following page, but have recorded them in Appendix B.

[ms. recto]

Problema Theologicum.
 An ESSAY,
 Concerning the HAPPY
 STATE Expected
 for the
 CHURCH upon EARTH;
 Endeavouring
 to Demonstrate that the
 SECOND COMING
 of the
 Lord JESUS CHRIST,
 will be att the
 BEGINNING of that
 HAPPY STATE.
 With some Thoughts upon the CHARACTERS
 and APPROACHES of it.

In a LETTER.

Confitemur Regnum nobis promissum
Sed alio Statu, utpote post Resur-
-rectionem. Tertull.¹

[ms. verso *blank* except for offset cancellation marks from ms. 1]

1. Tertullian (Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus) (c. 155–c. 222) was a Carthaginian theologian. The quotation is a conflation from *Adversus Marcionem* 3. 24: *Nam et confitemur in terra nobis regnum repromissum, sed ante caelum, sed alio statu, utpote post resurrectionem, in mille annos in civitate divini operis Hierusalem caelo delata. . . .* 'For we do profess that even on earth a kingdom is promised to us, but before we go to heaven, and in a different state, in fact, after the resurrection, for a thousand years in the city of God's building, Jerusalem, brought down from heaven. . . .' (Evans 247).

[ms. recto]

May it please Your Excellency²

It gave me an Uncommon Sat{is}faction, when I was informed, That {a} Person of so much Erudition & Sagacity, {&?} such Superiour Sentiments, as Your Exc{el}lency, has upon the Encouragement o{f} One of the Greatest Literators in the Ag{e,?}³ applied his Mind unto the Study of those Divine Prophecies, which conce{rn} the Kingdome of God, that is to arrive wh{en} His Will is to be Done on Earth as it is in Heaven.⁴

On this agreeable Occasion, I could no{t} forbear addressing to Your Excellency {a} few of my Many Thoughts on that No{ble?} Subject: And tho' my other Employmen{ts} are so many and so heavy, that I shall be forced in my Essay, to use y^e Dispatch of th{e} He-Goat in y^e Visions of Daniel,⁵ (having but a very few Hours to Command for the Service,) yett, I hope, the Essay will procur{e} One Advantage for me.

I am not so Vain, as to imagine, that I am able in any Measure to Contribu{te} unto Your Excellencies Illuminations: B{ut,} Syr, You may to mine. And I am so Rude, as to ask, That if Your Excellenc{y}, [ms. verso] discover any Considerable Feebleness in my Arguing, You may at some time or other find the Liesure, as You will have the Goodness, to rescue me out of my Misapprehensions. Yea, tho' I have had the Honour of Engaging Two Governours,⁶ that were Men of Learning, to subscribe unto my Sentiments, yett the Least Intimation of a Dissent in Your Excellency from these Things, will be enough to Stagger me.

I remember, the admirable Comenius⁷ tells us, The Birth of Chiliasm was in Paradise; It was born in the ProtEvangelium there. There we find foretold a Perpetual War, between the Serpent and o^r SAVIOUR. There is foretold the Final Issue of y^e War, in y^e Destruction of y^e Serpent, and

2. This page, written in a different ink and inserted into the manuscript sometime after it was first bound, serves to replace the introductory address to Mr. Nicholas Noyes of Salem that was cancelled on ms. pages 1-2. The use of the title 'Excellency' and an internal reference to Mather's discussing this essay's topic with 'Two Governours' seem to suggest that this addressee is himself a Governor, possibly Joseph Dudley (1647-1720), who was Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1702 to 1715.

3. This reference is unidentified.

4. Matthew 6:10.

5. See Daniel 8.

6. These governors are unidentified.

7. Johann Amos Comenius (Komensky) (1592-1670), the Moravian philosopher and educator, interpreted God's promise in Genesis 3 of eventual defeat of the serpent by the descendent of Adam as a prophecy of the Millennium. 'Protoevangelium' refers to this earliest promise of salvation.

a Victory of o^r SAVIOUR. But Where is the Field of these Transactions? This is evidently the Earth; All the World knows & feels, that this o^r Earth is y^e Seat of y^e War. We desire then to know, whether after all, the Conqueror must Leave the Field unto His Vanquished Enemy? Whether the Conqueror do not forever chase the Vanquished Enemy out of y^e Field, Himself keeping the possession of it? pellis hostis in ultima usque antra sua, captivusque in carcerem mitti.⁸ This is y^e Sum of the Matter; This all that we Chiliasts do ask for; And the Truth appears not only Illustrated in it, but also very much Demonstrated.

This is what Your Excellency will permitt Your Servant now humbly to proceed upon. I say, Humbly; For

[ms. (1.)]

[To the Reverend
M^r N. |icholas| N. |oyes|;
in S. |alem|⁹

Tis true, the frequent mention of, the Kingdome, over heard in the Discourses of the Primitive Christians, when they mett with One another, brought them into Trouble, upon a suspicion of their Ignorant Enemies, that they might be hatching some Sedition, against the Roman Empire. With as much pleasure, but far more safety, has, The Kingdom often been mentioned, when I have had the Pleasure, of Discoursing (Semel in Anno)¹⁰ with my Excellent ffriend, in a Conversation managed, I hope, not altogether unlike that of the Primitive Christians, As in the Hearing of the Lord. And yett, while I have been free from all hazard of bringing any Trouble on myself, by that Conversation, I have brought upon myself some Labour; which also, if it may Gratifye so Learned, so pious, and so endeared a ffriend, will even cease to be a Labour. Tho' I have escaped the Danger of being thought Seditious, yett I have not altogether Escaped that, of being thought Erroneous. Or at least, my

8. Latin: 'It is customary that the enemy be cast into the most distant caverns and be sent to prison as a captive.'

9. This address to Noyes is cancelled from ms. 1 to ms. 2 where the uncanceled text begins: 'Syr, I am not insensible.' See Appendix A. Nicholas Noyes (1647–1717) was the minister of the Salem Church from 1683 until his death. His 1698 election sermon, *New-Englands Duty and Interest To be an Habitation of Justice and Mountain of Holiness* (Boston, 1698), gives some evidence of the interest he shared with Mather and other colleagues concerning God's kingdom and the Second Coming. It may be that Mather cancelled the address to Noyes and redirected the essay to 'Your Excellency' when he began to prepare the ms. for publication.

10. Latin: 'Once in a year.'

Opinion has had so much of Paradox in it, that You have Commanded me, (for the Desire, of such a friend, [ms. (2.)] has in it the Force of a Command), ever again to give You, A brief Scheme of the Millennium, as bounded with Two Resurrections, according to my Understanding of that Mystery: professing Yourself yett unresolved about it.

I shall forgett my Obligations, to One of the Charmingest friends I have in the world, if I do not now sett myself, by writing, more distinctly to Explain, and succinctly to Maintain, my Opinion, about that Blessed State of Rest upon Earth, for a Thousand Years, which Yett remains for the people of God.¹¹ Syr, I am not insensible, how much it becomes the Ablest and wisest of Men, to treat this Great Mystery with a Great Modesty; and how much more it becomes one of my very Low Attainments, to be more Modest, than most other Men, in Conjectures upon so sublime a Subject. Nor am I altogether without some Awfull sense, that by Rash and wrong Interpretations of the Sacred Scriptures, a Man may be more Guilty than he is aware, (and before he is aware,) of breaking the Commandment, which forbids our Taking the Name of God in Vain.¹² My Reading also, and my Judgment, (quod Sentio quam sit Exiguum),¹³ hath not yett rendred me worthy to carry after him, the Books, of him, who Composed, In prophetis nullus sum.¹⁴ And when I observe such a mighty Giant in Literature, as the Incomparable Bochart,¹⁵ when he [ms. (3.)] touches upon any thing Apocalyptically, to do no more than Touch, and go by, and say, Ενεχομεν, nec audemus quid quam definire,¹⁶ it even Cramps in me all Thoughts, of proposing any thing on that, which is even the Thick Darkness, and in the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Apocalypse; or at least, of doing it in any other Language than the Pyrrhonian.¹⁷ But yett, the Oracles of our Lord Jesus

11. From [ms. (1.)] above to 'people of God.' is cancelled in the manuscript. See Appendix A for additional information on these lines (5.2-6.6).

12. See Exodus 20:7.

13. Latin: 'because I know how feeble it is.'

14. Latin: 'I am nothing among the prophets.' Mather's reference is unidentified.

15. Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), French Huguenot theologian and philologist. His chief works are *Geographica Sacra* (2 vols., 1646, 1651) and the *Hierozoicon, sive Historia Animalium S. Scripturae* (2 vols., 1663). He was acquainted with Isaac Vossius (see ms. 27 and note 87).

16. Greek: 'Let us pause and then leave off.' Latin: 'and we do not dare to define anything.'

17. *Sanctum Sanctorum*: 'The Holy of Holies,' as it were, of the Apocalypse, or the innermost sanctuary of God's revelation. *Pyrrhonian* language is a reference to Pyrrhon of Elis (c. 360 - c. 270 B.C.), a Greek sceptic whose philosophy was characterized by the lack of assertions and conclusions.

Christ, about his Coming & Kingdome, are not so utterly Unintelligible, that we have any cause to throw them aside, as one did, of Old, the Satyrs of the obscure Persius, for their Obscurity.¹⁸ There is a blessing promised unto the Devout and Humble Studyes of the Faithfull upon the Oracles of this Prophecy;¹⁹ and tho' the Antichristian Apostasy,²⁰ under w^{ch} the World is yett languishing, still keeps us in a Dark place, yett, this prophecy is a Light, whereof we may discern something, if we give heed unto it; and the nearer we approach to the Time of the End, the more Light concerning it will break forth upon us, and by many running to & fro, our Knowledge about it will be encreased. I will therefore, with Prayers to the ffather of Lights²¹ for His Conduct in it, now Address myself to do That, unto which You have obliged me.

The Position, (or, if that may seem too imposing a Word, I will more Softly call it only, My Perswasion,) which I would humbly offer, is This; [ms. (4.)] That the Second Coming of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which, according to his Word, we Expect for his Church, upon Earth, in the Latter Dayes.

In our approaching to the proof of this my Perswasion, it is a Praeliminary, scarce needfull, (however 'tis allwayes Pleasant,) for to be mentioned;

That We, with all Christians, are Agreed in our Belief of, Two Comings of our Lord Jesus Christ. As there hath been his Coming in the Flesh, or, in mean, Low, abasing Circumstances, (which was a sort of Coming very distastfull unto the Jews that Sett up the false Christs, or Antichrists, in the primitive Times;) thus there shall be his Coming in Glory or, His being revealed from Heaven, with his mighty Angels, in flaming ffire, to take Vengence on them that Obey not his Gospel: (which is a Coming, that Still remains to Come.)²² We do, with unspeakeable

18. Most likely a reference to Aulus Persius Flaccus (34–62), a popular Stoic satirist whose writings, according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard. 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), were characterized by 'a bizarre mixture of cryptic allusions, brash colloquialisms, and forced imagery.'

19. Perhaps Matthew 24 or Mark 13.

20. According to many Protestants, the Roman Catholic Pope was the Antichrist, and that church the apostasy. See ms. 10–11, 19–20, and especially 41–42. See footnote 35 below as well as Psalm 86:9.

21. See James 1:17 and ms. 29 where Mather discusses the Shechinah, the glorious light attributed to God.

22. See 2 Thessalonians 1:7–8.

Consolation, consider our Lord, as under a Two-fold Exhibition. Our Lord has been once Exhibited, In the fform of a Servant, and Humbling Himself, with Obedience unto Death, even the Death of the Cross.²³ Our Lord shall be again Exhibited, Coming in his Glory, and Sitting on the Throne of His Glory, and having all the Holy Angels [ms. (5.)] with Him.²⁴ Our Apostle, You know, has thus given us the Summ of the Matter. Heb. 9. 28. Christ was once offered, to bear the Sins of many and unto them that look for Him shall He appear the SECOND TIME, without Sin, unto Salvation. You have doubtless, with Delight observed the intimations of this matter, in the Oracles of the Old Testament. Perhaps You may not be satisfied in the Cogency of that Citation, which You find brought for it, by that famous Christianized Jew, Ludovicus Carretus (the Story of whom, added at the End of Buxstorff's well-known Synagoga, is well worth Your perusing;)²⁵ even that, in, Psal. 96. 13. Rejoice before the Lord, for He Cometh, for He Cometh to Judge the Earth. He Cometh, is repeated, & it is at the Second Coming that He is to Judge the Earth. It is Enough, that when the modern Jews have Demanded of us, Where do You find, That the Messiah is to Come Twice? we have Answered them, That the Messiah must come to Suffer, and the Messiah must come to Tryumph. The Messiah must come according to Zachariah [Ch. 9. 9.] Lowly and Rideing upon an Ass; and He must come, according to Daniel [Ch. 7. 10.] and Sitt on a Throne that shall be a Fiery Flame; which necessarily implyes, a Twofold Coming. And the Jews themselves, not well understanding this Distinction, have invented a Figment, about a Twofold Messiah; A Messiah, the Son of Joseph, and a Messiah, the Son of David.²⁶ Briefly, we Look & long for, an appearance of the Lord JESUS CHRIST which will be so Visible that Every Eye shall see Him; and we are so sufficiently

23. See Philippians 2:7-8.

24. See Matthew 25:31.

25. Ludovicus Carretus is unidentified. Johann Buxtorf the elder (1564-1629) published *Synagoga Judaica* (Hanau, 1604). An English edition, *The Jewish Synagogue*, by T. Roycroft for H. R. and Thomas Young, appeared in 1657. See Increase Mather's reference to Carretus and Buxtorf in *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation. Answering the Objections of the Reverend and Learned Mr. Baxter, Dr. Lightfoot, and others. With an Enquiry into the First Resurrection* (London: Nath. Hillier, 1709), 5.

26. According to Jewish legend, Armilus is the anti-Messiah and son of Joseph doomed to die in the warfare before the advent of the Davidic Messiah. See Mather's reference to Christ's 'Davidical Kingdome' (ms. 46) and throne (ms. 86). For the same argument, see Increase Mather's *Dissertation*, 14.

[ms. (6.)] praejudiced, and fortified against all that has any Tendency to Quakerism that we shall not receive meer Spirituell and Mysticall Dispensations, as the full accomplishment of that Word,²⁷ 1 Thess. 4. 15. 16. There shall be a COMING OF THE LORD, wherein the Lord HIMSELF, shall descend from Heaven.

And, Syr I suppose, You will upon Easy term{s} grant me Another Praeliminary:

which is,

That we are to Expect an Happy State for the Church of God, upon Earth, in the Latter Dayes.

There is, an Holy Society of people upon Earth, who rely upon the Lord JESUS CHRIST for an Heavenly Blessedness in an other World, and who Embrace his Glorious Gospel, with a Resolution to Conform their Belief and Practise unto it, as the Rule which directs them, how to obtain that Blessedness. This Holy Society of Christians, united unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, as their Head, (tho' it be His Body, and the Dearly Beloved of his Soul,) ²⁸ He has in his own Sovereign Wisdom, & for the various and Marvellous Display of the Divine Perfections, chosen to keep it, hitherto, in feeble, narrow, Difficult, yea, Defective Circumstances. The Church, which is that Holy Society, has always been in a troublesome and a Militant Condition, albeit not alwayes under [ms. (7{.})] an aequall pressure of Troubles. But there is an Happy Time reserved for it, in the Latter Dayes of the World; Yea, Glorious Things are Spoken of Thee, O thou City of God!²⁹ Indeed, the Words of the Lord, shall be all found pure Words, and be all accomplished in that Seventh Age,³⁰ whereto the Twelfth Psalm refers, if we may credit the Syriac Title of it, which is, De adventio Christi.³¹ Then will the Lord

27. *Quakerism*, the Society of Friends founded by George Fox (1624–1691), was characterized by the rejection of formal sacraments, the assertion of the equality of mankind, and the absence of ministers or priests. Mather and other Protestants opposed the Quaker emphasis on personal revelation from God and the mystical and antinomian tendencies it fostered. See Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical history of New-England, from its first planting in the year 1620. unto the year of our Lord, 1698* (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1702), 7, xxix, 96–101, and Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, New Hampshire, and London: University Press of New England, 1980), 1–58.

28. See Jeremiah 12:17.

29. See Psalm 87:3 and Mather's *Theopolis Americana* (Boston, 1710).

30. See ms. 14, where Mather cites six references to thousand-year periods in Revelation 20 and suggests this may indicate that after six millennia the seventh or Sabbatical age will be the culmination of history.

31. Psalm 12, with its Syriac title 'Concerning the coming of Christ,' may be read as a

appear, The Lord God of the Holy Prophets, when those things are done, that must Shortly be done. All y^e Sayings of y^e Holy Prophets, will be then found the Faithful Sayings of God.

Certainly, the Church of our Lord, will see an Happy State, and on the Earth too, when it shall no more be termed, Forsaken, or Desolate, but shall be a Crown of Glory in the Hand of the Lord, and God shall Delight in it, and Rejoice over it, and Establish it, and make it a Praise in the Earth. But in the Sixty Second Chapt^r of Isaiahs prophecyes, we find such a happy State expressly promised.³²

In that Happy State of the Church, all the prophecyes conspire to assure us, A Wonderfull Enlargement of it. The Israellitish Nation is a Numerous Nation, even at this Day; (when to our Surprize we find near Ten Thousand of them, even at Prague, and more than Ten Thousand of them even at Rome, in the very midst of their Popish persecutors!)³³ And it will be much more so, in the Day which is at hand, When a Little one shall become a Thousand, and a Small one a Strong Nation.³⁴ All that Nation will be again received into y^e Church.³⁵ [ms. (8.)] But the Gentiles also, far and near, shall be brought in, to partake with them in those Blessings, with w^{ch} the Church will be highly favoured. We are certain, That all the Ends of the Earth shall Turn unto the Lord.³⁶ We are certain, That all Nations whom the Lord hath made, shall come and worship before Him.³⁷ We are certain, That the Church will become a great Mountain, that shall fill the whole Earth.³⁸ We have no room left for any uncertainty of this Event; ffor, the Mouth of the Lord himself, hath Spoken it!³⁹ There shall be no longer, such an unhappy Division of Mankind, as we see at present, when Mahometism is extended farther than Christendome, and paganism farther than either of them, and

messianic promise to deliver the oppressed and as a testimony that the promise is trustworthy. The Polyglot Bible as well as the developing study of Bible manuscripts and languages helped make available various Bible texts.

32. See Isaiah 62:3, 7.

33. Mather was very concerned with the status of Jews in the world and in particular their collective role in the kingdom of God. See also Friedman.

34. See Isaiah 60:22.

35. For the national conversion of the Jewish nation, see Romans 11 and the discussion in the introduction above (xiii-xvi).

36. See Psalm 22:27.

37. See Psalm 86:9.

38. See Daniel 2:35.

39. See Isaiah 1:20.

Christendom itself, is in many parts of it, little better than a revived paganism, and the very Empire of Antichrist.⁴⁰

A Glorious Character of the Happy State, which we expect for the Church, will be the Sanctity of it. The Church will one Day, enjoy a most advanced Purity in all its Administrations. Pure Doctrine, & pure Worship, and pure Manners and that Holyness which becomes the House of God forever.⁴¹ shall be then Reigning everywhere. Vanity and Selfishness will give way to an Universall Reign of Holyness. The wofull Imperfection yett cleaving to the Reformation itself, shall be reformed.⁴²

[ms. (9.)] They that know the Truth, shall not hold the Truth in so much Unrighteousness, as they have too Generally done. The Earth shall no longer be Corrupted by a Corrupt Clergy; but God will purify the Sons of Love: And the People too shall all be Righteous; there shall be hence forth no unclean among them. Yea, the Church will have HOLINESS TO THE LORD, in Conspicuous Capitals, written upon all the concerns of it. A vein of HOLINESS, will run thro' all the affairs of the World, instead of that Wickedness which now so much pollutes Humane Affairs.

And Unity will naturally follow as another Character of that Happy State which we expect for the Church: ffor from our unsubdued Lusts proceed all our Wars; our Contention is a ffruit, as well as a Sign of our Carnality. Alas, even while the Apostles were yett Living, the Astonishing presence of the Lord Jesus Christ with miraculous Gifts in the Church, did not prevent the sad Occasions for the report of, Divisions among them.⁴³ It was not long before y^e Church in the West, [under what a Lunacy! may one say, with an Eye to the Occasion of it!] fell to Excommunicating that in the East, about a Trifle.⁴⁴ The horrid Excommunica-

40. Cf. *Trip paradisis*, 92 (II. section iv) where Mather refers to 'Popery, which is revived Paganism.'

41. See Psalm 93:5.

42. Mather may have had in mind any number of Protestant sects, such as the Anglican Church, whose doctrine seemed insufficiently reformed.

43. Acts 15 refers to conflict between early Christians concerning circumcision and the acceptance of Gentiles into the Church. Paul's letters to the Roman, Corinthian, and Galatian Christians contain admonitions to avoid the factionalism and quarrels of which he has heard report.

44. The beginning of the great schism between the Western Church (centered in Rome) and the Eastern Church (centered in Constantinople) is usually traced to 1054, when Pope Leo IX forced Latin customs upon Greeks living in southern Italy. The patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, responded by closing Latin churches in Constantinople. Leo IX excommunicated Cerularius and condemned the Eastern Church's doc-

tions, and Haeretications wth which the Christians afterwards fulminated one an other, were the Scandal of Christianitye, on the Pagan Theatres. Protestants have been as feirce, as they; and Lutherans, and Calvinists, have treated one an other wth such Fierceness, that [ms. (10.)] the Jesuits looking on, have said, They ffight not like Men but like Devils.⁴⁵ The Differences in the Church at this Day, even about things, which the Imposers confess Indifferent, are a Lamentation, and will be for a Lamentation. But non si malè nunc, et olim Sic erit.⁴⁶ There will a Day come when God will give his people One Heart and one Way;⁴⁷ Yea, they shall all call upon the Name of the Lord, and Serve him, with one Consent;⁴⁸ And, The Lord shall be King over all the Earth, in that Day, there shall be One Lord, and his Name ONE.⁴⁹ We shall all be made free of the City of Philadelphia. There will be no Discord then, between a Zuinglius and a Luther.⁵⁰ Then will that Golden Age return, wherein the Multitude of Believers will be of One Heart and of One Soul, and great Grace will be upon them all.⁵¹

And from all these Glorious Characters of the Happy State intended for the Church, 'tis easy to deduce That, which Antichrist, at this Day, most falsely makes a note of the True Church; that is to Say, Prosperity. The persecution, which has in all ages, more or less, kept the Church as a Burning Bush, will be extinguished in the Ages to come; and there shall no Fire be kindled in that Sabbath which is to conclude the great Week of the World. There shall be no more any pricking Briar unto the Church, nor any grow- [ms. (11.)] ing Thorn, of all round about it, that have despised it.⁵² Satan, who has cast so many of the Saints into Prison, shall

trines of the Holy Spirit and of priestly marriage as well as the use of leavened bread in the Eucharist.

45. Between Lutherans and Calvinists there was disagreement about the real or the symbolic presence of Christ in the elements of the Eucharist. In addition, these groups held to different ideas about the primacy of the Church or the State.

46. Latin: 'But not if it is bad now, will it also be so in the future.'

47. See Jeremiah 32:39.

48. See Zephaniah 3:9.

49. See Zechariah 14:9.

50. The New Jerusalem of the Millennial Kingdom will be the city of brotherly love. The Swiss reformer Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531) taught that Christ's presence in the Eucharist is only symbolic, while the German reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546) rejected the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation but held that some kind of physical presence of Christ was in the elements of the Eucharist (consubstantiation).

51. See Acts 4:32, 33.

52. See Ezekiel 28:24.

himself be confined unto his own Infernal Prison; his Vicar shall bear him company in that Perdition;⁵³ and there shall be no Cains for that wicked One to inspire with Malice against the Righteous Abels. Nor shall there be such Wars among the Nations, as now horribly Glutt the Great, and Red Dragon, who is dayly sucking the Blood of the miserable mortals, whom he enrages against one another.⁵⁴ The Prince of Peace, a Greater than Soloman, will then Rule the World; and there will be a more perfect Peace among mankind, than, the, Totius Orbis aut Pax aut Pactio, observed, about the Time of our Lord's First Coming, even by a pagan Historian.⁵⁵ They shall beat their Swords into Ploughshares, and their Spears into Pruning-Hooks, and they shall not learn War any more; Tacticks will be no more Studyed, and y^e Iron Age expiring, Weapons of War will not survive it.⁵⁶ What shall I say? The Government of the World, will then be in the hands of None but Good Men: And, certainly, Good Things will then fill the World! Know we not that the Saints shall Rule the World? Said our Apostle. Yes, Blessed Apostle, we do know, That the Kingdome and the Dominion, and the Greatness of the Kingdome under the [ms. (12.)] whole Heaven, shall be given to the people of the Saints of the most high; ffor it is in the Books, of the most unerring prophecies.⁵⁷

In these few Characters of that Happy State, which the Church, upon our Earth, must arrive unto, I have kept my pen, hovering but near the Earth, and much below the Heavenly Circumstances, unto which it shall, anon soar, with more of Liberty. Here are some Things, (and but some of them neither, that all Christians must concur to Expect, or Else forgett very much of their Christianity.)

There is a Third praeliminary, which I Suppose, every one will grant me so easily, that I need only by the By to mention it. It is,

That the Happy State which we are to expect for the Church of God, upon Earth, in the Latter Dayes, will continue a Thousand Years.

53. See Revelation 20. Cf. also Mather's identification of the Pope as the vicar of Satan in ms. 3, 8, 10, 19-20, 41-42.

54. See Revelation 12:3.

55. See Isaiah 9:6, Daniel 9:25, and Luke 11:31. Latin: 'the peace of the whole world.' Mather's reference may be to Virgil's fourth *Eclogue*, where he predicts that the birth of a child to the Emperor Octavian will bring about a Golden Age.

56. See Isaiah 2:4 and Micah 4:3.

57. See Daniel 7:27.

Nepos, a man Eminent for Piety, and Industry, and Skill in Illustrating the Sacred Scriptures published a Book, to prove, That the Church of God was to enjoy an happy State, upon Earth, for a Thousand Years, which Book was entituled, ΕλεΓκω Αλληγοριζῶν, A Confutation of allegorical Expositors. The ffaithfull, which fell in with Nepos, were, by their adversaries themselves, admired, for their great [ms. (13.)] Understanding, Humility, and Moderation, and all the noble Vertues of Souls Refined from the common Dross of the World. But Nepos, with his followers, must by all means be confuted.⁵⁸ The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years reign of the Man of Sin was Coming so far on, that the Thousand Years Reign of our Saviour, must by all means have a Confutation. Dionysius of Alexandria, writes a Book against Nepos, which we find Jerom sayes, was written against Irenaeus; and for the better Credit of the Book, lett it pass, as being against Irenaeus (a Sad man was he!) too.⁵⁹ Well, and how must our Alexandrian Anti-Millenary gain his Point? Even by maintaining, That, The Book of the Revelations (which was the main Pillar and Buttress of Nepos's opinion,) was not written by John the Evangelist and Apostle. Truly there is no other way of resisting the Truth, concerning that Space of at Least a Thousand Years, intended for the Happy State of the Church, upon Earth, without not only Denying, The Book of the Revelation, to be written by the Beloved Disciple, but also Takeing away the whole Book of that Prophecy, wholly out of the Canon; which, I should be loath to do, if it were for nothing else, but a Line or Two in the Last Chapter of it.⁶⁰ It is to me, by the way, no little confirmation of the Chiliad, that the first opposers of it, were faign, (as you'll find in Eusebius;) to Deny the Divine Autho- [ms. (14.)] rity, both of the Apocalypse, and of the Second Epistle of Peter; because the writers of those Books, it seems were Chiliasts. Desperate Shifts! Miserable the Cause, that must be so shifted for!⁶¹

58. Nepos, a third-century bishop of Arsinoe, Egypt, was influential enough with this millennial book that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (died c. 264), held a three-day conference to rebut his teaching among the bishops of Egypt. As the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967) suggests, it may have been Nepos's 'Judaizing view of the Apocalypse' (338) as much as his chiliasm that brought opposition.

59. Irenaeus (c. 120–200), Bishop of Lyons and martyr, wrote *Adverses omnes Haereses: or Refutatione et Eversione falsae*, an attack on Gnosticism and millenarianism.

60. See Revelation 22:18–19.

61. Eusebius Pamphili (c. 260–c. 340), Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, says (*Hist. eccl.* 7.24, 25) that Dionysius refuted Nepos. In addition to organizing the above-mentioned conference against Nepos (note 59), Dionysius wrote a two-volume work, *A Treatise on the Promises*, in refutation to Nepos's *A Confutation of Allegorical Expositors*.

In the promise, of an Happy State for the Church, upon Earth, (in the Twentieth Chapt^r of the Revelation.) we have the space of a Thousand Years Expressly assigned for it, no less than Six Times over, in Six Verses together. And perhaps in that very Number of Repetitions, there may be a Mysterious Intimation, that the Rest then given to the Church of God, will make full amends for all the Troubles, which it endured in all the Six Thousands of Years, that must pass away, ere that Seventh, and Sabbath do arrive. God is delivering his Church out of Troubles for Six Millennial Periods; but under each of them, he would have us Comfort our selves, with the prospect of the Seventh, in which, no Evill shall touch it. But it is plain, That a Space of Nothing less than a Thousand Years must be allowed unto the Happy State of y^e Church, upon Earth. It is possible, I may before I have done find altogether Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years, to belong unto the Thousand; but if you will expound it Cubically, as many have done, I think, You'll do better than they, that have absurdly gone to subtract from it. [ms. (15.)] In the mean time, I know not which I should most admire, the Ignorance or the Profaneness of those flashy people, who count it a sufficient flout at a Man, as a very whimsicall sort of a man, Oh! He is one for the Thousand Years! May I here be allow'd a parenthesis? (It is a notable passage; Psal. 105. 8. He will Remember his Covenant forever, the Word He commanded to a Thousand Generations. If we will weigh the Scriptures, [Math. 22. 31. & Heb. 11. 16. & Rev. 21. 3.] we shall see, That the Covenant of the Lords being our God, is fullfilled in the most full sense of it, at our admission into the Heavenly City of God, where the Messiah will walk among us, after the Resurrection of the Dead. Now there is a Generation, or Period of Time, wherein this Covenant of God will be Remembred, and fullfilled. But what will be the Speciall Character of that Period? Quaere, whether we are not advised of it in the Text before us? The World where we sojourn, will not Endure a Thousand Generations; it has not yett endured a Fourth part of a Thousand. Indeed, if we take a Generation, in the signification of the Law, for Seven Years, then a Thousand Generations, are Seven Thousand Years; and it is as much as to say, As Long as the World stands. But in the Text now before us, the Word is not of the Plurall Number; it notes one Speciall Generation, or if You please, Revolution. I find one render it therefore, the First Age, (w^{ch} Bildad [ms. (16.)] sends Job to enquire after,) namely, That of

the Patriarchs, to whom the Lord gave the Covenant.⁶² Yea, R. David Kimchi renders it, Ad Duce[m] in Generatione, and expounds it of Abraham.⁶³ If we will Still have Aleph, to Signifye a Thousand; why may it not mean, the Millennial Generation? or, the Period, that shall have the Sabbaticall Character of the Blessed Thousand Years upon it, and the People of that Period? Moses, we know, sang, Psal. 90. 3. 4. Thou turnest man to Destruction, and sayst, return, Yee Children of men. Tis a Prophecy of the Resurrection. It followes, A Thousand Years in thy Sight, are as Yesterday, when it is past. There shall then be a Period of a Thousand Years, wherein the Lord will be a God unto his People, by residing among them, in the City of God, come down from Heaven hither; [Levit. 26. 12.] A thing of as much certainty, as if it were past already!

If these Hints be not liked of, I have already almost Banished them out of the Discourse, by making but a Parenthesis of them.

I know not whether You, Syr, will, but I know that some will not, so easily Grant me a Fourth Praeliminary, which yett seems easy to be proved; Namely, [ms. (17.)]

That the Thousand Years of that Happy State, which we are to expect for the Church, upon Earth, in the Latter Dayes, are not yett begun.

Some indeed, with Wickleff, Aretius, and Chytraeus, and others, have begun the Apocalypticall Thousand Years, at the Birth of our Lord;⁶⁴ Some, with Austin, Bede, and Pererius, and others, at the Death of our Lord;⁶⁵ Some, with Junius, Paraeus, and Broughton, and others, at the Destruction of the Jewish Policy.⁶⁶ And many more have begun these

62. See Job 8:8.

63. Rabbi David Kimchi (Kimhi) (1160?–1235?) was a renowned French Jew. Latin: 'to the leader in generation.'

64. John Wycliffe (c. 1330–84) was an English philosopher, theologian, and reformer condemned by Church officials for opposing the doctrines of transubstantiation and papal authority. Aretius Felinus is the pseudonym of Martin Bucer (1491–1551), German reformer, mediator between Luther and Zwingli, and professor of divinity at Cambridge University who published a book on the Psalms (1529) under his pseudonym. David Chytraeus (Kochhaffe) (1531–1600) was a Lutheran theologian and historian.

65. St. Augustine (354–430) was the Bishop of Hippo. 'The Venerable' St. Bede (c. 673–735) was an English Bible scholar and author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (731). Benito Pereyra (c. 1535–1610) was a Spanish Jesuit Bible scholar.

66. Francisco Junius (1545–1602) was a French Huguenot. David Pareus was a German Lutheran theologian, Bible scholar, and professor at Heidelberg, whose *Operum Theologicorum* (Venice, 1678) was owned by the Mathers, according to Julius Herbert Tuttle, 'The

Years, at the enthroning of Constantine. Alcasar brags, that he was the Inventor of the Computation last mentioned; but when he brags what a wound he had given to the cause of the Protestants, by his Invention, methinks, it might have made such men as Willet, and Brightman, and Cartwright, than which the World never had sounder Protestants, a little more Shye of being Led into it.⁶⁷ Others that find these Opinions (and one would wonder that any Considerate Person should not find them so,) Encumbred with insuperable Difficulties, do choose to begin these Years, at the Reformation, very near Two Hundred Years ago. But the same answer will refute them all.⁶⁸ And yett I can scarce prevaile with myself, to give them any other Answer than This; That [ms. (18.)] they are all of them so absurd, that they are scarce worthy to be answered. Nor could I have imagined, that it had been possible for such great men, to have been overtaken with such Absurdities; if I had not seen Grotius, a man for his Learning as great as almost any man, fall under an infatuation aequall to theirs; which it may be I shall Remember to mention, before I have concluded this Dissertation.⁶⁹ One would have thought, that Common sense might have taught all Good men, That the Church of God has never yett seen the Happy State intended for it. Say, O Yee

Libraries of the Mathers,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 20 (1910): 341. Hugh Broughton (1549–1612) was an English divine and Hebraist who was interested in Scriptural chronology, the link between American Indians and the Lost Tribes of Israel, and English translations of the Bible. He was a close friend and tutor to the Cotton family. The destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. was considered by some millennialists as a possible *terminus a quo* for the Millennium.

67. Constantine, the first Christian Emperor of Rome, was enthroned in 321 A.D. Ludovicus Alcasar's *Vestigatis arcani sensus in Apocal.* (Antwerp, 1614) opposed Protestant teachings about a papal Antichrist. Andrew Willet (1562–1621) was an English nonconformist cleric whose theology included anti-papist teachings but was neither Puritan nor Anglican. His son, Thomas, became the first mayor of New York. Thomas Brightman (1562–1607) was an English Puritan cleric and Bible commentator who claimed he wrote his exegesis of Revelation (*Apocalypsis Apocalypseas*) under divine inspiration. He also wrote an *Explication of Daniel* and argued the Pope was the Antichrist limited to 1290 years/days of rule. Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) was an English Puritan Bible scholar and polemicist.

68. See *The Diary of Cotton Mather*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, American Classics (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, n.d.), 1.262 and note 2: 'Breefly, I have many Years ago published it, as my Opinion, that the *Antichrist* entred his *last Half-Time*, at the *Half-Reformation* in the former Century, and that about an hundred and eighty years from thence, would bring us to a *new Reformation*, vastly exceeding the former. Now, I live to see in 1697. greater Tendencies to the *new Reformation*, than there were to be seen in 1517. for the *Half-Reformation*, then begun.'

69. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) was a Dutch legal and Bible scholar. Mather opposes Grotius' method of Biblical interpretation. See ms. 38, 49.

People of God, are wofull Ignorance, and Corruption, and Contention, & Oppression, the marks of the Happy State that You Look for? Common sense, I am sure, may tell us, that the Church has hitherto had most, if not all of those marks upon the State of it, in all Ages, to this very Day. However, from a Thousand Things which there are to prove, that the Thousand Years are not yett begun, I will single out One, that I should think, might for ever overwhelm the Contrary opinions; And that is This.

If Satan were never yett for a Thousand Years, bound up from Deceiving the Nations, then the Blessed Thousand Years [ms. (19.)] are not yett begun.

For the Binding up of Satan, from Deceiving the Nations any more; yea, and this for no less than a Thousand Years together, is y^e very Character of the Blessed Thousand Years.

But Satan was never yett, for a Thousand Years, bound up from deceiving the Nations.

If any man will Deny the Assumption, he will have the Dolefull Experience of all Ages, to Confute him. Lett any man assign, if he can, the Time when Satan has been bound up from Deceiving the Nations! much less can he show a Time of Satan bound for a Thousand Years, or, for a fifth part of the Time. To say, That there has been a Time, when Satan has been in part bound up, and restrained from Deceiving some Nations, is to say, Nothing to the purpose. For there has allwayes been such a Time as That. Satan has alwayes been under a partial restraint; No Time that is past can be Distinguished from any other, by that Character. To beginn the Age of Satans binding at any of the ffour Periods, proposed before the Reformation,⁷⁰ is to make Satans Binding a long while contemporary with Antichrists Reigning. What Protestant will Deliberately assert such monstrous inconsistencies? Or if it were possible, yett what Happyness, [ms. (20.)] I wonder, were it for the Nations to be Deceived, not by Satan, but by his Viceroy Antichrist? If we Begin that Age, at the Reformation, tis a Thing that Labours under the same hardship. And more than so. We find, That Satan is not Bound, untill y^e Apocalyptcall Beast, and his ffalse Prophet, are cast alive into a Lake of Fire, burning with Brimstone.⁷¹ Papal Rome, Thou knowest that this is not yett ac-

70. The proposed beginning points for calculating the thousand-year period of restraint on Satan are at the birth of Jesus, at the death of Jesus, at the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. or at Constantine's enthronement in 321 A.D. See ms. 17.

71. See Revelation 19:20-20:10. The writer sees the beast and the false prophet thrown

complished. Or, if the Happy State of the Church be arrived, wherein the Nations are no more to be Deceived, what is become of the Jewish Nation? That Nation we are sure, is to have no little share in the Happy State of the Church; You, are to Rejoice, O Yee Nations, with that People.⁷² But, that Nation we are sure, is horribly Deceived, and by Satan too, unto this Day. And how many other Nations (even the most upon the face of the Earth) are still Deceived; Lett Brierwoods Enquiries, and Pagets Christianography, yea, and all the Modern Travellers, come in as Witnesses.⁷³ Yea, if we shutt out, from our Consideration, the Nations that are Deceived, either with Polytheism, or wth Mahometism, we shall see Satan still the Deceiver of many Nations that pro- [ms. (21.)] -fess the Name of him, who is The Way, the Truth, & the Life.⁷⁴ Read the horrid accounts of the Russians, written lately by Crull, of the Abysinians, written by Ludolphus, of the Mingrelians, written by Sr John Chardin, and of the Greek Churches, and the Armenians, written by Rycaut and Smith, and Lett any Sober Christian say, if he can, Satan is bound up from Deceiving the Nations!⁷⁵

into a lake of fire and brimstone and sees Satan also bound for a thousand years, after which time he is loosed to deceive the nations once more before his final destruction.

72. See Deuteronomy 32:43.

73. Mather, whose interest in the Church universal is well attested throughout his sermons and writings, wrote in *Shaking Dispensations* (Boston, 1715) of the testimony of the 'Modern Travellers, who are far from Fancies and Whimsies, and at the same time of the most unspotted Veracity' (10). Cf. also his *An Advice, To the Churches of the Faithful*. Edward Brierwood (Brerewood or Bryerwood) (1565?-1613) was an English antiquarian and mathematician. His *Enquiries touching the diversity of Languages and Religions throug the cheife parts of the world* was published posthumously by his nephew in London, 1614. Ephraim Pagitt (Pagit) (1575?-1647) was an English writer who published *Christianography, or the description of the multitude and sundry sorts of christians not subject to the pope* (London, 1635).

74. See John 14:6.

75. Jodocus Crull (d. 1713?) was a German physician who settled near London, an elected but non-sustaining Fellow of the Royal Society, who published *The Antient and present State of Muscovy, containing an account of all the Nations and Territories under the Jurisdiction of the present Czar, . . . with sculptures* (London, 1698). Ludolphus is unidentified. Sir John Chardin (1643-1712) was a French traveller who published an account of his journeys East in *Journal du Voyage . . . de Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales* (London, 1686) with concurrent English translation. In 1711 the final three volumes were published (Amsterdam), as was his translation of *La Relations des Mingrelians* by J. M. Zampi. Sir Paul Rycaut (1628-1700) was an English traveller and Fellow of the Royal Society (1666). He wrote the essay 'The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678' and published *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, containing the Maxims of the Turkish Politie, the most material points of the Mabometan Religion . . .*, 3 vols. (London, 1668). Smith is unidentified. See Cotton Mather's *American Tears upon the Greek Churches* (Boston, 1701). See Revelation 12:9.

Behold, the fearful Abominations of Popery, covering the biggest part of Europe wth Pitchy Darkness, and the Desolations which the Papists have made upon the Protestants, by Cruell and Bloody Persecutions, which have left them not half so Numerous and Powerfull at this Day, as they were an Age ago.⁷⁶ And again say, O Sober Christian, if it be possible, Satan is bound up from Deceiving the Nations. The Jews have a remark, that no Hallelujahs occur in the Book of God, untill, The Sinners be Consumed out of the Earth, and the Wicked be no more. The blessed Thousand Years, will be the Age of Hallelujahs; (consider how far the Hallelujatic Psalms may refer to it);⁷⁷ But we see it not, while the Sinners and the Wicked, are every where so rampant as now they are. But I have spent more Lines, upon such a Gross Opinion, than it can deserve. If I meet with [ms. (22.)] any man, that will insist upon it, for my part I am ready to give him over, as uncapable of any Tollerable Conversations, upon the Affairs of the Apocalypse.

All that I will add upon it, is this; perusing lately the works of that brave man Jacobus Alting (the greater Son, of that very great man, Henry Alting;) I find, that he had in his Neighbourhood a Displeased Collegue, one Maresius, who published Articles against him, for being a Chiliast; and particularly for holding, Ligationem Satanae absolutam intelligi, in the Twentieth Chapt^r of the Apocalypse.⁷⁸ M{r.} Alting, in an Answer which he makes to his Collegue, (who it seems would not allow any Happy State for the Church on Earth, but what should alwayes be Checquered, with operations of Satan;) does irrefragably, and abundantly Demonstrate, That The Thousand Years of Satans Binding, are not yett begun; and unto him I referr those who can want any Proof of it; who particularly observes, That whatever things are said in the Scripture to be done by Satan Loosed, are at this Day, and every Day, doing among the Nations. Yea, One of the most admirable Men Lately in the World,

76. Mather refers to the Catholic Counter-Reformation and such persecutions as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of the Protestant Huguenots in France on the night of August 23/24, 1572, and the massacre of Protestants in Ireland in 1641.

77. The Hallelujatic Psalms are (generally) those that open or close with this liturgical expression that basically means 'praise be to God.' Psalms 104-106, 111-113, 115-117, 146-150 are examples.

78. Jacob Alting (1618-79) was a German Hebraist and author of *Fundamenta punctuationis linguae sanctae sive grammatica Hebraea* (Amsterdam, 1654) and *Compendium grammaticae Chaldaeo-Syriacae* (1667). Henry (Heinrich) Alting (1583-1644) was a German Protestant divine. Maresius may be Samuel Des Marets (1599-1673), author of *Chiliasmus enervatus, ad D. P. Serarium* (1664). Latin: 'that the absolute binding of Satan is understood.'

namely Dr Witsius (a Professor at Leyden,) tho' he don't in all things come up to our Doctrine of the Chiliad, Yett in his Exercitationes on the Lords Prayer, finds himself compelled unto this Confession. Mille Annos Ligati Satanae in Ecclesiae Historia non invenio; {nun?}quam {enim?} tam diu Ligatus fuisse videtur Diabolus; neque Regnum illud Mille Annorum de Aeterno Christi Regno, in Caelis Exponere audeo.⁷⁹ And I find Mons^r Jurieu triumphing in y^e Concurrence of so Great a Man, to Such Essential Strokes of o^r Doctrine.⁸⁰

[ms. (23.)] But now being somew^t prae^pared for it, we will proceed unto our main Position, in the proving of which, there will be a Redundant Proof given to all of our Praeliminaries. The Persawsion whereto I hope we shall have the Honour and Pleasure of seeing a very Valuable Person Proselyted, as the most of the more Learned, and Studious men, who of Late Consider these Things, will be his ffellow-Proselytes, is, This;

That the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at or near the Beginning of the Blessed Thousand Years, w^{ch} we Look for.

I wish they that will not be thus perswaded, would be so Charitable as to give me their Help, in Answering, the ensuing Arguments.

The First Argument

That which will be Immediately after the Long Tribulation under which the Jewish Nation is now Languishing, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which we Expect for the Church in the Latter Dayes.

[ms. (24.)] But the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be Immediately after the Long Tribulation, which is yett lying on the Jewish Nation.

Therefore.—

Wee Look for a Conversion of the Jewish Nation. Tho' in Selnecker's Time, they were called Fanaticks who looked for such a Thing, yett now the Generality of Good and Wise men are come over to that

79. Herman Wits (Witsius) (1636–1708) was a Dutch Reformed theologian. Among his relevant works is *Exercitationes sacrae in symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur; et in Orationem Dominican*, editio tertia (Amsterdam, 1697). Latin: 'For I do not find in the history of the church a thousand years of Satan's binding; for the devil never seems to have been bound for so long; and I do not dare to praise to the skies that reign of a thousand years of the eternal reign of Christ.'

80. Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) was a French Calvinist and millenarian. He published *L'Acomplissement des prophetes, ou la delivrance de l'Eglise* (Rotterdam, 1686), English ed., 1687.

Fanaticism.⁸¹ The Eleventh Chapter to the Romans, and the other promises, that It shall turn unto the Lord, will be an ungainsayable assurance for a Conversion of the Jewish Nation, still to be looked for, notwithstanding the feeble Essayes of Hammond, and Lightfoot, and Baxter, (& of John Calvert, from whence the famous writer last mentioned, chose to take his objections) to perswade us out of this Comfortable Hope.⁸² And the Conversion of y^e Jewish Nation will be accompanied, with a Wonderfull Salvation, from the miserable Circumstances of Dispersion & Captivity, w^{ch} are now upon them. Some of the promises given to the Jewish Nation, are, That They shall be far from Oppression, and, That there shall be peace extended unto them Like a river, and, That they shall not see Evill any more, but Sorrow and [ms. (25.)] mourning shall flee away from them. None of which are yett fully accomplished.⁸³ But if you would see this matter handled unto Your Satisfaction, I refer you to a Book entituled, The Mystery of Israels Salvation, which I suppose You have in Your hands; A Book which (tho' written by one under Thirty Years of Age,) when the famous Caryl had read it, he said, It is a rare thing to behold a Conjunction of so much Learning and so much Goodness, as the Author of that Book had exemplified.⁸⁴

The short of the Proposition before us, is, That the Happy State,

81. This is possibly a reference to Nik Selnecker (1528–92), a German theologian.

82. John Lightfoot (1602–75) was an English Hebraist and theologian who held that no national conversion of the Jews was to be looked for because many Jews had already become Christians in the early days of the Church (the preterist interpretation). He wrote *The Harmony, Chronicles, and Order of the New Testament . . . With an additional Discourse concerning the Fall of Jerusalem and the Condition of the Jews in that Land afterward* (London, 1655). Henry Hammond (1605–60) was an English millenarian who held to a preterist view of the national conversion of the Jews. He published *Practical Catechism* (1644), *Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament* (1653) as well as *Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius* (London, 1655) and *Continuation of Defence of Hugo Grotius in an Answer to the Review of his Annotations* (London, 1657). Richard Baxter (1615–91) was an English nonconformist. He wrote *The Glorious Kingdome of Christ* (London, 1691). See Increase Mather's *Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (London, 1695), in which he answers the objections of Baxter, Lightfoot, and others. Also see Reiner Smolinski's 'Israel Redivivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England,' *New England Quarterly* 63 (Sept. 1990): 357–95 and chap. 2 in his *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, in press). Mather probably refers to James Calvert, who wrote *Naphtali; seu, Collectiones theologicae cum tribus ingentibus dubiis* (London, 1672). Cf. Increase Mather's *Dissertation* 1, 6–7.

83. See Isaiah 54:14, 66:12, and 51:11.

84. Increase Mather published *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* in London, 1669, and Cotton Mather closely follows his father's arguments and bibliography. Joseph Caryl (1602–73) was an English Bible expositor and nonconformist minister. His best-known work may be his *Commentary on the Book of Job* (1651–56; 1676–77).

which we expect for the Church, on Earth, will bring with it, a Glorious Deliverance of the Jewish Nation, from the Tribulation, which for its Rebellion against y^e Lord-Messiah, 'tis fallen into. Of Lord Messiah foretold a Dark state of Rejection, to come upon the Jewish Nation, for their impious rejecting of him; and he makes the Character of that state, A Great Tribulation: and the Time of it, he calls, The Dayes of Vengeance, wherein the Jews shall be led away Captives, into all Nations. The Jewish Rabbies, in the Midrasch Tillin well enough make the Tenth Psalm a Description of it.⁸⁵ But how long, must this Tribulation continue? He has told us, Luke. 21. 24. Untill the Times of the Gentiles be fullfilled; that is to say, untill the End of the Roman Monarchy. But, be it when it will, The Jewish Nation coming [ms. (26.)] out of the Long Tribulation, which it's unbelief has procured unto it, will be one of the first things, to come to pass at the arrival of that Happy State which we expect for the Church upon Earth. It cannot be Imagined that the Happy State which we Expect for the Church can arrive, and the Jewish Nation long remain in its Tribulation.

I suppose, by the way, That this may be the Mystery of Miriam's Leprosy. Miriam was a Type of the Church of Israel. For her not acknowledging of Moses, her punishment was to be shutt out of the Camp, with a Leprosy upon her, untill the Seventh Day. But we read, Num. 12. 15. The people journeyed not, untill Miriam was brought in again. The Church of God must be retarded in its progress, towards its Happy State, untill Excluded Israel be restored; And this restoration will not be, untill the approach of the Seventh Day, or the blessed Sabbatism. You will not like this Hint the worse, tho' I tell you, tha{t} I took it first from Ferus, a mild Papist; (the most honest one, perhaps that Ever was,) but be the more surprised at it.⁸⁶

Well; but our Assumption is, That the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be Immediately after the Tribulation [ms. (27.)] which is now upon the Jewish Nation comes to an End. And, that you may not count this a praesumption, I must now demand your Attention to the Words of our Saviour; Matth. 24. 29, 30, 31. Immediately after the Tribulation of those Dayes,—The Stars shall fall from Heaven,—

85. See Luke 21:22. *Midrash Tillim (Tebillim)*, a rabbinic collection of expositions of the Psalms, have been frequently published since 1512.

86. This is possibly a reference to George Ferus (1585–1655), a French controversialist and philologist, or to Johann Ferus (1494–1554), a German commentator.

[which, some think, is actually and Litterally done, as often as blazing Stars are Exhibited to our Sight,] and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and then shall the Tribes of the Land mourn; and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and Great Glory; and He shall send his Angels with a great sound of a Trumpet, and they shall gather together His Elect, from the four Winds, from one End of Heaven to the other.

I do affirm That the second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, is the thing praedicted in these Words.

Indeed, there have been various Interpretations of, The Sign of the Son of Man. The ffathers, and the Papists do generally carry it for, a Sign of the Cross. But, why may not, The Sign of the Son of Man, mean, (as Vossius and Willet, & Mede, and Strong do carry it,) The Son of Man Himself, appearing as a Sign?⁸⁷ There is nothing more usuall than such a Genetivus Speciei in the Language of the Hebrews.⁸⁸ Agreeably, the Two other Evangelists have it only so; [Mark. 13. 26. and Luke. 21. 27.] Then shall they see the Son of Man Coming. And we are to remember [ms. (28.)] That the Son of Man, at his Coming, will be very notably, a Sign unto the World. Our Saviour doubtless in this expression alludes to y^t prophecy; Isa. 11. 10. 11. In that Day He shall stand for an ENSIGN of the people—and it shall come to pass in that Day, that y^e Lord shall sett His hand again the Second Time, to recover the remnant of His people which shall be left.—The allusion of repairing to an Ensign, is continued in the Speech of our Saviour, concerning the Angels with a great sound of a Trumpett gathering together His Elect unto Him. However, whether we can agree upon the meaning of, The Sign of the Son of Man, or no, I beseech You to tell me ingenuously, whether The Son of Man's Coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power and Great Glory, be not the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. I do affirm,

87. Isaac Vossius (1618–89) was a native of Leyden, a classical and biblical scholar interested in chronology and physical science. Andrew Willet, D.D. (1562–1621), an English biblical scholar and opponent of Catholicism, published *Synopsis Papism: that is, a General View of Papistrie wherein the Whole Myserie of Iniquitie and Summe of Antichristian Doctrine is Set down* (London, 1592). Joseph Mede (1586–1638) was a prominent English biblical scholar noted for millenarian theology and mystical divinity. He was not strictly Anglican nor Puritan, but he saw the Pope as the Antichrist. His *Clavis apocalyptica ex innatis et insitis Visionum characteribus* (Cambridge, 1627) was very influential to millenarian thought. William Strong (d. 1654) was an independent English divine who wrote *Clavis Apocalyptica ad incudem revocata* (London, 1653) and published eschatological calculations.

88. Latin: 'thing in the genitive case.' This is my translation of this grammatical term.

That it is never to be expounded otherwise; and that it is a Thing Dangerous, and Destructive unto the Christian Faith, to have it Expounded otherwise; It leaves the Second Coming of our Lord, utterly impossible ever to be proved by any one Text in all the Bible.

You will not be displeas'd, if, by the way, I offer You, as Clear a Thought as I can about, the Clouds of Heaven.

There is a certain bright Cloud of Heaven of quite an other Consistence, than that w^{ch} drops our ordinary Rain upon us. That Cloud was filled with the Light & Fire [ms. (29.)] wherein the Son of God, chose to Lodge, as in a Covering, from the Beginning, that so he might therein exhibit Himself with an agreeable Majesty unto His People. 'Tis the same that was called, The Shechinah; and it (or part of it,) was of old seen by the People of God, on several great Occasions: Even from the Time of Adam in Paradise, unto y^e Time of John Baptist at Jordan. Behold, a Key to very many of the Sacred Oracles! The great God has chosen to dwell in this Light, which no man can approach unto; and I can bring You Good Jewish Authority for it, (if You will take any such to be Good), that Light is the only Creature that is by Name (and with a repetition of its Name,) in the History of the Creation, particularly called, Good; because unto, the Generall Head of Light, belongs that Illustrious and Caelestiall Matter, on which the God of Heaven has putt this peculiar Dignity. The Shechinah, in short, was an Amazing Splendor of Light breaking out of an Heavenly Cloud, which was called, The Glory of the Lord. Angels doubtless attended it; and those Angels which Especially are called, The Angels of the Presence.⁸⁹ The Shechinah Exhibited with more of Astonishing Majesty than it had ever yett appeared in, will be The Clouds of Heaven, wherein the Son of Man is to make his Descent unto us.

I will, choose rather to incorporate it, into the Argument, which we are now managing, than to make a New One of it. If the Conversion of the Jewish Nation shall not Long praecede the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, then the Second Coming [ms. (30.)] of the Lord, will not be at the Conclusion of the Blessed Thousand Years: but if not at the Conclusion, then at the Beginning of it. Yea, if it be not long after

89. As Mather explains, the Shechinah was a visible sign of God's presence and glory, manifested as a brilliant light. Note also Mather's reference to the Christ's pre-Incarnation appearances within the Shechinah. See 1 Timothy 6:16; Isaiah 63:9; Exodus 24:17; Matthew 3:16, 17:1-7. Cf. also Increase Mather's *Angelographia* (Boston, 1696).

the Conversion of the Jewish Nation, it must then be at least near to the Beginning of the Blessed Thousand Years. But the second Coming of the Lord, shall be not Long after the Conversion of the Jewish Nation. There is a famous Text for this purpose; in the Words of Peter to the Jewish Nation. Act. 3. 19. Repent, and be converted, to the blotting out of yo^r Sins, that so the Times of Refreshing may Come from the Presence of the Lord. The Greek, ὅπως ἂν ἐλθῶσι{,} properly signifyes, That so they may Come{.} Tertullian rendred it, Ut Superveniant, and there are the Syriac and Arabic & Ethiopic Versions to Countenance it. The Repentance, the Conversion, the fforgiveness of the Jewish Nation, would, we see, be immediately ffollowed with those Times of refreshing, which the Church of God shall enjoy att and by the Presence of the Lord. That the Conversion of the Jewish Nation will be not Long before the Second Coming of the Lord, seems intimated, in the Expression of the Latter Dayes, [Hos. 3. 5.] and of the Eleventh Hour [Math. 20. 7] whereby the Time of it, is denoted in the Divine Oracles; as well as in that prophecy, [Isa. 24. 22. 23.] After many [ms. (31.)] Dayes they shall be visited; and it soon followes, The Lord of Hosts shall reign before his Ancient People Gloriously. When it is said, Our Help is in the Name of the Lord which made Heaven and Earth; It is a notable Thought w^{ch} the Jews themselves have upon it; The Lord permitted Six Dayes to roll away while He made Heaven & Earth; even so, they say, The Lord will not appear for their Help, till towards the End of the Sixth Millenary; ffor a Thousand Years is wth the Lord, as One Day. But Then! their Soul will Escape as a Bird out of the Snare of the ffowler.⁹⁰ Yea, our Lord Jesus Christ hath very plainly intimated unto the Jewish Nation, [Math. 23. 39.] That when they shall come to own Him, and say, Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord; it should not be long before they should See Him again. And The Apostle Peter seems to intimate, [2. Pet. 3. 9.] That the reason why the Day of the Lord, is delayed, is, that so the Jewish Nation might first come to Repentance. If then they would Come to Repentance, the Day of the Lord would soon Dawn upon the World.⁹¹

90. See Psalm 90:4; 124:7; 2 Peter 3:8.

91. The Day of the Lord is mentioned in a number of biblical passages (notably Isa. 13:6–13; Joel 1:15, 2:1, 3:4, 4:14; Amos 5:18–20; Obad. 15; Zeph. 1:17–18; Mal. 3:23) usually referring to a near day of punishment and doom to the wicked and of the establishment of universal justice, as noted in *Encyclopaedia Judaica: Das Judentum in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Verlag Eschkol, 1930; Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971–72), 5: 1387. Mather

In fine; to putt it beyond all doubt; the Holy Daniell having particularly mentioned the Resurrection of the Dead, which is to be at the Second Coming of the Lord; we are assured by the Oath of the Angell [Dan. 12. 7.] That when the Time for the Scattering of the Jewish Nation should be accomplished, it should not be long before All these Things be finished.

Indeed there are shrewd intimations in the Scriptures, that the Conversion of the Jewish Nation shall be rather Att and By [ms. (32.)] the Appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, than Long after it. Our Apostle Paul was Converted, by a Visible Appearance of our Lord; and he intimates, [1. Tim. 1. 17.] That He was a pattern to them that should hereafter Believe.⁹² Hereafter, it seems, the whole Jewish Nation shall come to believe in such a manner, as had a Pattern in him. Except You Limitt it Especially unto this, how could our Apostle say, In me FIRST, Jesus Christ shews forth all Longsuffering? There were others Converted unto Christianity before Paul, both among the Jews, and among the Gentiles too; & as great Sinners as he, who experienced the Longsuffering of the Lord, as well as he.⁹³ Our Lord sayes of the Repenting Jews, [Zach. 12. {10.}] They shall Look on me, whom they have pierced{.} Why not wth a Corporall, as well as a Spiritual View of Him? 'Tis a very true observation of the Excellent Hottinger; Pessimè Christianismo consuluerunt illi, qui justâ et Gravi sine Causâ, Literales Scripturae expositiones repudiarunt.⁹⁴ I am sure, the Apostle John quoting that very prophecy, applies it Litterally, unto a Visible Exhibition of our Lord: [Rev. 1. 7.] Behold He cometh wth Clouds; and every Eye shall see Him, and they also which peirced Him; and all Kindreds of the Earth shall wail because of Him. When we are told that, all Israel shall be saved, and ungodlyness be turned away from Jacob, it is not for nothing that we are also told, [Rom. 11. 26.] Then there shall come out of Zion, the Deliverer; [ms. (33.)] Out of Zion, that is, out of Heaven.⁹⁵

considers 2 Peter 3:10 to be a continuation of this prophecy and a particular application to the pre-millennial Second Coming.

92. See Acts 9, where Saul (later Paul) of Tarsus, a Pharisee and persecutor of Christians, was converted by a blinding appearance of Jesus on the road to Damascus.

93. See the account of Paul's conversion in Acts 9.

94. This is possibly a reference to Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1620–67), a Swiss Protestant theologian and Hebraist. Latin: 'Those treat Christianity worst who repudiate literal interpretations of Scripture without just and weighty reason.'

95. See Isaiah 59:20–21.

But it seems now to Clog our Argument wth some Encombrance; And I seem to betray too much Inconstancy and Uncertainty; while I bring some of the Divine Oracles, to intimate that the Second Coming of our Lord, may be not long after the Conversion of Israel; & then bring others, to intimate, That the Conversion of Israel, shall be Att and By, the Second Coming of the Lord. I confess, there is a Difficulty in it, which I am willing to leav[e] Undecided; and the Decision of it one way or other is not necessary, to Gain our Point: Either way our Argument will hold. Nevertheless, You easily see, that if the Conversion of Israel, must be Att and By the Coming of the Lord, we might very safely say, It will not be Long before it. I am sensible, that many Learned Men, do probably Conjecture, a Transient appearance of our Lord, for the Conversion of Israel, a little before His Appearing, for a more Constant Residence, to Rule and Judge the World. This Conjecture finds no little Countenance, from that Wonderfull History, concerning the Conversion of many Thousands of Jews, among the Homerites in Arabia, (after the Disputation between Gregentius & Herbanus) a Little after the Dayes of Julian. I suppose You may have perused that History, not only as Quoted by Mede and Hornbeck, & others but as published by it self; it is well worth Your perusall; and pardon me, if I add, (withou{t} [ms. (34.)] staying here to give You any Reasons for that Thought,) I Think, tis no Romance.⁹⁶ But I will shutt up this matter, with relating the Conversion of Constantine the Great, (who was indeed the Great, and One of the Greatest and Wisest and Bravest Men that ever lived,) and Leave

96. For views on a transient appearance of Christ, see the following works: Peter Buckley, *The Gospel-Covenant* (London, 1651), esp. 3–24; John Cotton, *A Brief Exposition with Practical Observations upon the whole Book of Canticles* (London, 1655), esp. 185–86; three prefatory epistles in Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applied: or, A Discourse concerning the General Conversion of the Israelitish Nation* (London: John Allen, 1669) and his *Dissertation*; Joseph Mede, *The Works of . . . Joseph Mede*, 4th ed. (London, 1677), 758, 761; Nicholas Noyes, *New-Englands Duty and Interest* (Boston, 1698), esp. 4–9, 26–32; Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* (Boston, 1697), esp. 29–31, App. 16–24; Samuel Willard, *The Fountain Opened: Or, The Admirable Blessing plentifully to be Dispensed at the National Conversion of the Jews* (1700). For the story of Gregentius and Herbanus, cf. Mede, *Works*, 767–68, and *Sancti patris nostri Gregentii Tephrensensis Archiepiscopi disputatio cum Herbario Judaeo* (Lutetiae, 1586). According to Mede, during a debate concerning the Messiahship of Jesus between Gregentius, Archbishop of Tephra (Arabia), and Herban, a Jewish leader of that city, Christ appeared in the sky and struck blind all unbelieving Jews. Their sight was restored after they submitted to baptism. The account by the Dutch theologian and controversialist Johannes Hoornbeek (Hornbeck) (1617–66) is unidentified. Flavius Claudius Julianus ('Julian the Apostate') (332–363) was Emperor and a persecutor of Christians. See also Increase Mather's *Illustrious Providences*, 186.

it unto Yo^r own Reflections. The Father of that Admirable man, was a Christian; and he himself being invited by the Senate of Rome, to rescue them from those Tyrants, whose frequent Plotts agains{t} his Own Person, he had before this, miraculously defeated, resolved, that in this Glorious Undertaking, he would rely only upon the God whom his ffather Worshipped, and earnestly prayed unto Heaven, that he might have the Knowledge of Him, and a Succour from Him; He was here upon, like Paul, honoured with a Caelestial Vision; wherein he saw, over the Sun, at mid-day, this ffigure, ✕, made wth a Light of a Golden Coloure. This figure was Composed of the Two first Letters of ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ,⁹⁷ and had a Resemblance of the Cross also; but it might be called, A Visible Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; With this Inscription, τϚ τω νικα.⁹⁸ The whole Army, which was then upon the March with him, saw the Same; as, 'tis attested, not only by Theodoret, and Socrates, and Sozamen, [ms. (35.)] at some Distance, but also by Artemius, who Testifyes, that he himself likewise, was an Eye-Wittness of it; and by Eusebius, who affirms, that he had it from Constantines own Mouth, with a Solemn Oath to the Truth of it. Constantine applied himself with great Concern unto the Christians, for the meaning of these Things; who took the Occasion, so to preach Christ Crucifyed, and His Religion unto him, as to Confirm him in it. Perhaps, this one Story, well Considered, may help to solve our Difficulty.⁹⁹

Will Inquisitive and Judicious Men consider an Astonishing Poem, composed, not by Moses, but by the Messiah Himself, the Lord of Moses? It is there wished, O, That they would Consider their Latter End! Why may we not by, Their Latter End, understand the Mercies Laid up for the Paenitent and Believing Israelites in the Latt^r Dayes? Then, that Vine of Sodom, that is, the Church of Rome, which is in the

97. Greek: 'CHRIST'

98. Mather employs an unusual Greek character here.

99. Theodoret (c. 393–466) was the Bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria, biblical exegete and controversialist, who wrote a church history from Constantine to 428. Socrates (c. 380–c. 450) continued Eusebius's church history from 305 to 439 and was the primary source for Theodoret and Sozomen. Sozamen (Sozomen) (d. c. 450) wrote a church history from 324 to 439. Like Socrates, he was a lawyer in Constantinople. Artemius is unidentified. See Luke 21:25 and Paul's conversion in Acts 9. See Tertullian's reference in *Adversus Marcion*, 3.24, to the city of God appearing in the air over Palestine and seen during an army expedition of Severus against the Parthians. See also 1 Corinthians 1:23. Mather offers the story as suggesting a transient appearance of Jesus as a possible mechanism for bringing about the national conversion of the Jews.

Apocalypse called, Sodom, and the Destruction whereof is there Called, a Vintage, and the Religion whereof is here, as well as there called, The Poison of the Dragon; It shall be confounded: and the true Rock of Israel shall be acknowledged. The whole Song, we are sure, is a Glorious Prophecy;¹⁰⁰ By the same Token, when our Lord sayes, Luke, 21. 24. These are the Dayes of Vengeance, that all things which are [ms. (36.)] Written may be fullfilled: by the Things {w^{ch}} are Written, or Lord means, what is Written in the Song, that is now before us, to which You will find our Lord there all along alluding. Well; when the Lord comes to recover his Israel from the long Vengeance upon them, tis not only said, The Lord shall judge His People, but it is also said, Deutr. 32. 39. See now, that I Kill, and I make Alive. I believe, R. Isaac¹⁰¹ is in the right of it, when he sayes, This is a Prophecy of the Resurrection from the Dead. Now is the Time, that the horrible Sword of God shall devour fflesh, and Antichrist, even from the King, to the Slave of the Enemies, (for so I read, what we render, ffrom the beginnin{g} of Revenges upon the Enemy.) shall be destroyed. And then follows the Time for that Acclamation, Rejoice, O Yee Nations, with His People.¹⁰²

The Second Argument

That which will be at the Beginning of the Kingdome under the whole Heaven to be given unto the People of the Saints of the Most High, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be Expected for the Church of God, upon Earth.

[ms. (37.)] But the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the Beginning, of the Kingdome under the whole Heaven, to be given unto the People of the Saints of the Most High.

Therefore.—

You are sensible, that this Argument is taken from the Seventh Chapter of Daniel.

Behold the fforce of it!

I need not ask You to Grant, that the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth, takes not place before the Beginning of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven, to be Given unto

100. See Deuteronomy 32:29–32. See also Deut. 31:30 for identification of Moses as singer. See Revelation 14.

101. Rabbi Isaac is unidentified.

102. See Deuteronomy 32:42–3.

the People of the Saints of the Most High. I do utterly renounce all pretense to dispute with Persons of so much Ignorance or Perverseness in these Points, as to make such a matter Disputable.

What I have to prove is, That the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, will be att the Beginning of this Kingdome. And You shall see it proved from several assertions, that lye plainly in the Chapter now before us.

I. The Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven, with a Kingdome given unto Him, certainly implies the Second [(ms.(38.)) Coming of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, or his Coming to the Judgement of the World. It was very strangely done of Grotius to make, The Son of Man, here signify nothing but the Roman People. And it is the more Unaccountable in him, inasmuch as he says, in his Comment on that place in the Gospel, that our Saviour does refer unto these Words of Daniel, when He says, Math. 26. 64. Hereafter shall Yee see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven. I am willing enough to receive D^r Bisterfields Interpretation, of, One like unto the Son of Man, by y^e clouds of Heaven brought near to y^e Ancient of Days, or as it may rather be rendred, The Appointer of Times.¹⁰³ Lett it be y^e Lord = MESSIAH, who is, The Appointer of Times. Now as y^e Time Appointed by Him, for y^e Kingdom under y^e whole Heaven to be given unto y^e Saints does come on, The Thrones are (not, cast down, but) pitch'd down, and a Fiery Stream issues from thence upon o^r World. Now, that this is to be at y^e Second Coming of o^r Lord, I argue so: It is this very coming of y^e Ancient of Days, with a fiery Stream coming forth from before Him, and Thousands of Thousands ministering unto Him, foretold by Daniel, that our Apostle Paul took to be, [2. Thess. 1. 7. 8.] The Revealing [(ms. (39.)) of our Lord Jesus from Heaven, with his Mighty Angels, in Flaming Fire. And surely, No Man will be so profane, as to deny, that this is the Second Coming of our Lord. We have the Expression repeated in the New Testament; but it still means the Second and Glorious Coming of our Lord, unto the Judgement of the World. Thus Matth. 24. 30. The Coming of the Son of Man Himself in the Clouds of Heaven, is, Att the End of the World, and, Att the Day and Hour which no Man knowes; but which all Men know, is no other than the Day of Judgement. And it is to be, att the Time, when the Angels are to be sent forth, for the

103. Johann Heinrich Bisterfield (d. 1655) was a German divine and theologian.

Separating of the Elect from others; which Discriminating Act, is to be, Math. 13. 49., Att the End of the World. [Compare Math. 16. 27. & Math. 25. 31. & 1. Thess. 4. 16.] But it is enough, to Observe, that if we foolishly & Sinfully Allegorize away, such an Expression as, The Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven, from the Litteral Sense of it, (which the Angels of Heaven themselves, who will very much make a part of those Clouds, have taught us to Give, Act. 1. 9, 11.) we are left wholly in the Clouds, about any Second Coming of the Lord att all, and shall be never able to prove it from any Text in all the Bible.

II. The Exhibition of y^e Ancient of Days, & y^e Thrones erected for {Himself?}, with y^e Fiery Stream issuing from Him, is to be when the Kingdome of Antichrist comes to it's End. Every Body now knowes that the Four Beasts, which Daniel saw come up from the Sea, are the Four Empires;¹⁰⁴ whereof, the First, [ms. (40.)] like a Lyon, was the Babylonian; The Second, like a Bear, having Three Ribbs in his Mouth, was the Persian, Consisting of the Persian, the Median, and the Chaldaean; The Third, like a Leopard, with The Wings of a Fowl, and Four Heads, was the Graecian, which with incredible Celerity overwhelmed the Persian, and was then divided into Four Kingdomes; but that the Fourth, (which nameless one, if I should say, 'twas a Boar, or Swine, I should have the General Apprehension of the Jews, with their application of the Eightieth Psalm unto it, on my Side,) is the Roman Empire, if Austin in his Book, De Civitate Dei, will not Satisfye us, I suppose the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelations will. I will not here detain You, with R.-Soloman's Nice observation, That the, How Long? repeated ffour Times, in the Thirteenth Psalm, (as, the Ungodly repeated ffour Times in the First Psalm,) had an Eye to the ffour Monarchies.¹⁰⁵ We are at present concerned with none but the Last of them; the very Temper and Period whereof is by the Spirit of Prophecy admirably painted out unto us, in the Fourteenth Psalm; [how agreeably by the Apostle Quoted unto the Romans!]¹⁰⁶ Ten Horns are assigned unto this Beast; And it is admirable that not only the Roman Empire, while Pagan, was divided into Ten Provinces, (whereof read the Notes of the Incomparable

104. See Daniel 7 and Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Daniel 2.

105. See Psalm 80:13, Augustine, in *De Civitate Dei*, interprets the fourth beast of Daniel 7 to be the Roman Empire. Cf. Revelation 13 to Daniel 7:7-8, 11, 19-26. Rabbi Solomon and the location of his commentary on Psalm 13:12 are unidentified.

106. See Psalm 14:1-3 and Romans 3:10. See also Psalm 53, esp. 1-4.

DuMoulin, if You please, at leisure,)¹⁰⁷ but also when the Northern invasions broke the Roman Empire in peices, after it became [ms. (41.)] Christian, there were Ten Kingdomes that arose out of the ruins of it. These Horns, the Midrasch-Tillin understands by, The Horns of the Wicked, that sometimes our Psalms have spoken of. The Ten Sons of Haman, doubtless, were Types of 'em!¹⁰⁸ Well, there came up among them, a little Horn, before whom three of the first Horns, were plucked by the Roots. Behold, the Bishop of Rome, and his Kingdome, in most lively Colours! He was att first a little Thing; Yea, as late as the Dayes of Marcellus, the Bishop of Rome, he was not very big, when Maxentius the Emperour honoured him with the Office of Cleansing his Stables. By Diverse accidents and Strategems, this Little Priest att length became the Monarch of the West, assuming y^e Style of, The Vicar of Christ: [which, by y^e way is the very English of the Word, Antichrist!]¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, he could never subjugate unto himself, all the Old Roman Empire, or any more portion of it, than the Proportion of Three to Ten. Yett, it is also remarkable, that he takes away a Third Part of the Estates, and Powers, and Jurisdictions, belonging to each of the Ten Kings under his Influences; Yea, and he particularly overthrew, and swallow'd up Three of their Kingdomes, namely, that of the Greeks in Italy, that of Lombardy, and that of Germany.¹¹⁰ The Eyes of a Man in this Little Horn, and the Mouth Speaking Great Things,¹¹¹ [ms. (42.)] and his Thinking to Change Times & Laws¹¹² are so plainly fullfilled in the Papacy, (w^{ch} is but the Roman Empire in the Second and Spirituall Edition of it,) that if Old Porphyrie were now living, he would Blaspheme y^e Seventh Chapter of Daniel, as he once did the Eleventh, that it must

107. Pierre du Moulin (1568–1658) was a Huguenot and professor of philosophy and Greek at Leyden. He published *Vater seu De Praecognitione futurorum et Bonis Malisque Prophetis* (Leyden, 1640).

108. See Psalm 75:10 and the Book of Esther, which tells of Haman, a wicked prime minister during the reign of the Persian king, Ahasuerus (commonly equated with Xerxes I) who ruled 485–465 B.C. Haman was an enemy of the Jews as were his ten sons, who were hung for their treachery.

109. Pope Marcellus I, Bishop of Rome (308–309), was exiled from Rome by Emperor Maxentius (306–312) in an effort to end conflict between Marcellus and Heraclius. According to 5th-century legend, Maxentius turned Marcellus's main church into a stable, and Marcellus died from the exertions of cleaning the stable.

110. Mather may be referring to the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards, judging by a parallel passage in *Tripuradibus* [ms.III,xii,129].

111. See Daniel 7:8, 20.

112. See Daniel 7:25.

needs be no Prophecy, but an History, written after the Things were accomplished.¹¹³ That which I demand of You, now to observe, and Concede, and Confess, is This; That the Reign of this Antichrist continues untill the Ancient of Dayes do Come, and Judgment be given unto the Saints of the Most High, & the Time come that the Saints possess the Kingdome, and the Judgment shall sitt. These are the Express Words of the Prophecy;¹¹⁴ So that I may well speak in this Cogent Style, and say, I demand Yo^r Consent. The ffourth Beast, must keep in Play, till his Body be Distroyed, and given to the Burning fflames: which will be att the Kingdome, Yea, by the Coming of our Saviour. Tis when AntiChrist has Continued a Time, and Times, and the Dividing of Time, (that is 1260Years,) Then, and not till Then, is there given to One like y^e Son of Man Coming with the Clouds of Heaven, such a Kingdome, that all People shall serve [ms. (43.)] Him, and the Kingdome under the whole Heaven shall be given to the People of the Saints of the most High.¹¹⁵

III. The Ancient of Days thus exhibiting Himself, is to sett up that ffifth Kingdome, under which there will be enjoyed the Happy State, w^{ch} is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth. You have, doubtless, compared our Seventh Chapter of Daniel, wth the Second; and You see ffour Kingdomes, under all of which the Condition of the Church upon Earth, is far from that Happyyness, w^{ch} we look for, which we wish for. For the ffourth Kingdome, very peculiarly, is one y^t makes War with the Saints, and prevailes against them. And this ffourth Kingdome, tis most certain, is the Roman Monarchy. All the Jewish Rabbies, both before and after Christ, for Nine Hundred Years after the Giving of the Prophecy, did so understand it; untill att last, the ffear lest Christianity should prove att last, the Kingdome of the Son of Man, destroying the ffourth Beast, made them desirous of having it understood, for a part of the Graecian

113. Porphyry (c. 232–c. 303) was a Greek neoplatonist philosopher. He wrote a 15-volume treatise *Against the Christians* (c. 268) and considered prophecy of far distant events to be irrelevant to Daniel. Jerome (early 5th century) synopsisizes Porphyry's view in the introduction to his commentary on Daniel, saying that Porphyry attributed Daniel to someone living in Judaea during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (king of Syria, 176/5–163 B.C.) and that this writer did not predict coming events but narrated past ones relating to the time of Nebuchadnezzar (king of Babylon, 605–562 B.C.).

114. See Daniel 7:18, 22, 26–27.

115. See Daniel 7:25. The prophetic equation of 'a time, times and the dividing of time' is commonly treated as 360 years (time) plus 720 years (times) plus 180 years (dividing of time) = 1,260 years of Antichrist's rule.

Monarchy. Wherein some Unhappy Christians, who frequently are as bad as the worst of the Jewes, and serve the worst intentions of the Jewes, do shamefully Lick up their Spittle. This [ms. (44.)] is well known, that all the Primitive Christians, att least untill Jeroms Time, near a Thousand Years after the Prophecy was Given, did concur in the True Opinion about the ffourth Beast; Ergo dicamus; (quoth he,) quod omnes Scriptoros Ecclesiastici tradiderunt, "Lett us therefore say what all Ecclesiastical Writers have delivered; that in the End of the World, when the Kingdom of the Romans is to be destroyed, there shall be Ten Kings, who shall divide the World among themselves; and there shall be an Eleventh little King, that shall arise, and overcome Three of those Ten Kings." Yea, the most Eminent writers in the Church of Rome itself, are forced for to allow, that the ffourth Kingdome, is the Roman. Tis the irresistible Evidence of the Thing, that Compels them, to Confess, with Maldonat, The ffourth Kingdome is the Kingdome of the Romans; and so, (saith he,) all take it to be. And with Malvenda; That the ffourth Beast is the Roman Empire, is certain, and agreed upon, by all that profess the Name of Christ.¹¹⁶

Now, I hope, 'tis plain enough, that what immediately succeeds the ffourth Kingdome, will be the Fifth. And the Special Character of y^e Fifth Kingdome [ms. (45.)] is, To be the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Kingdome of the Saints; a Kingdome that shall never be destroyed: and a Kingdome that shall be possessed by the Saints; when all Dominions shall serve and obey the Lord.¹¹⁷

O Saints, You cannot Imagine, that You shall see an Happy State on Earth, untill the arrival of this Kingdome. Well; Att and ffor the Establishment of this Kingdome, upon the ruines of the opposing Monarchies, we find, That The Son of Man Comes in the Clouds of Heaven. Tis the Second Coming of the Son of Man that must accomplish it.

Lett it here come in, as no other than a Succedaneum to the Argument, which we are upon.¹¹⁸ If the Fifth Kingdom, under which the Happy State arrives which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth, be the same with the promised Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ upon

116. Mather translates Jerome's quotation. Juan Maldonado (Maldonat) (1534-83) was a Spanish Jesuit who wrote *Commentarij in Propbetas quatuor. Jeremiam, Baruch, Ezechielem, & Danielelem* (Lyons, 1606). Tomas Malvenda (1566-1628), a Spanish Dominican, wrote *De Antichristo libri XI* (Rome, 1604).

117. See Daniel 7:27.

118. Succedaneum is a rare variant of 'substitute.'

Earth; we may then conclude, that the Happy State of the Church arrives not, untill the Appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But the Fifth Kingdome, which brings on the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, is the Same with the promised Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ upon Earth; or, that which, to distinguish it from His Essentiall, and Providentiall, & Ecclesiasticall Kingdome, (which He always maintains, even [ms. (46.)] in the midst of His Enemies,) has been sometimes called, His Davidical Kingdome.¹¹⁹

There is no Quaestion about the Assumption. All that appears Quaestionable, is, the Consequence, in the Proposition. But it will no longer be so, if we can show, from the Divine Oracles, That the promised Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, arrives not untill His Appearing. And I think, I can show such a Thing; It is where we read, 2. Tim. 4. 1. The Lord Jesus Christ shall Judge the Quick and the Dead, att his Appearing, and His Kingdome. You see, the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus Christ comes at His Appearing; and that we may not lose the sense of that Word, in any Allegoricall, Dispensational, mysticall Appearing, we are expressly told, It is His Appearing to Judge the Quick and the Dead.

And now, You know the Conclusion.

Pardon me, if I pursue this point a little further, with a return to the Greatly Beloved Prophet, whose Visions, have been instructing us.¹²⁰

If there must be a Resurrection from the Dead, about the Time when the Son of Man comes to Destroy the Kingdome of Antichrist, and sett up the Kingdome of y^e Saints, Then the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ will be att the Beginning of y^e Happy State which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth.

[ms. (47.)] How can this be Contested, when 'twill, I hope, generally be granted me, First, That the Resurrection of the Just, will not be till the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; and, next, That the Happy State of the Church on Earth, will not Beginn, untill the Kingdome of Antichrist be destroyed, and the Kingdome of the Saints be sett up.

I assume now; But there must be a Resurrection of the Just, about the Time, that the Son of Man Comes to Destroy the Kingdome of Antichrist, and sett up the Kingdome of the Saints.

It will presenly be Evident.

¹¹⁹. As the Messiah descended from the house of David, Jesus is to return as conquering king.

¹²⁰. Mather continues his exposition of the prophet Daniel below.

The Period that must run out, under the Kingdome of Antichrist, & before the Kingdome of the Saints, is here expressly stated; A Time, Times, and an Half; or, Twelve Hundred & Sixty Years. Now, tis as Expressly declared, [Dan. 12. 7.] That the Time, Times and an Half will End, att y^e End of the Wonders, contained in the Prophecy, about the ffour Monarchyes; and att the Beginning of the ffinal Deliverance w^{ch} the People of God are to have out of their Afflictions. But it is as Expressly Declared, also [Dan. 12. 2.] That at That Time there shall be the awaking of the Many Dead, even of the Many that Sleep in the Dust: (first) of some, to Everlasting Life; (afterwards) of some, to Shame [ms. (48.)] and Everlasting Contempt. And certainly, This is as Good as an Express Declaration, That the Second and Glorious Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, is, THEN to be Looked for.

The Third Argument

That which will be att and for the Destruction of Antichrist, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State w^{ch} is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth.—

But the Second Coming of o^r Lord Jesus Christ,

will be at and for the Destruction of Antichrist.—

Therefore. —I Suppose, no man of any Consideration in these matters, will ask for any Proof of the Proposition in this Argument. Who, that ever Considered this Point, will Imagine, That the Happy State of the Church can come on, before the Destruction of the Antichrist, whose Character it is, To scatter the Power of the Holy People? Or, that after the Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years allowed for the Reign of Antichrist, there will run a Thousand Years more, before his Destruction. This we know, that att the binding of Satan, that he should no more deceive the Nations, in the very beginning of the Blessed Thousand Years, we find the Beast and the false Prophet [ms. (49.)] Cast into the Lake of ffire burning with Brimstone; w^{ch}, if, it import not, the Destruction of Antichrist, I know not w^t can be of any such Importance.¹²¹

It is the Assumption that must be proved, and You will give me the Cause.

Come then, and lett us Consult the Oracle. The Express words of the Apostle are, 2 Thes. 2. 8. That Wicked One shall be revealed, whom the

¹²¹. See Revelation 20:10.

Lord shall consume, with the Spirit of His Mouth, and shall destroy with the Brightness of His Coming.

There is, att this Time of Day, no Quaestion to be made among sound Protestants, who should be, The Wicked One, whose coming into the World is here foretold unto us. The Man of Sin, or, one supereminently sinfull, who is foretold here, to rise out of the fall of the Roman Empire & to do wonderfull things, but to be Destin'd for Perdition, can be no other than the Bishop of Rome. All the Attempts of Grotius and Hammond, for to sett up an other Monster, as here intended, are but monstrous Flights at Absurdity.¹²² Who can be meant by him, That showes himself, that he is a God; but the wretch of whom Sylvester de Petrâ Sancta, published a Book to prove, he is deservedly called God?¹²³ And of whom the Wretched Idolators do not stick to speak in that Style, Dominus Deus noster Papa? Who can be meant by, Him that opposeth himself unto God, & above Him, and exalteth himself above all [ms. (50.)] that is called God; but the Pope, who claims the Power of Dispensing with the Lawes of God? and the rest of the Bigotted Papists, as well as Perron, and Vasquez, and Andradius, affirm it, no Error, to think, that he can do so?¹²⁴ Yea, Bellarmino proceeds to such a Degree of Sottish Impiety as to Challenge for the Sott, Potestatem faciendi de peccato non-peccatum, et de non-peccato peccatum. I will not impose upon a Thorough Protestant, the trouble of reading the Marks of our Apostles Wicked One, Demonstrated in the Bishop of Rome; wherein he is all-ready so highly Satisfied.¹²⁵

All the Quaestion before us, is, What should be the Coming of the Lord, the Brightness whereof, is to Destroy this Wicked One? Certainly, it can be no other than the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The plain Desig{n} of our Apostle, is to Satisfy the Thessalonians, that the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, was not so near, as was by

122. See ms. 18, 37.

123. Pope Sylvester II (c. 940–1003) was called Sylvester of the Holy Rock and was Pope from 999 to 1003.

124. Latin: 'our Lord God the Pope.' See 2 Thessalonians 2:3–4. Jacques Davy Duperron (1556–1618) was a French cardinal. Gabriel Vasquez (1549?–1604) was a Spanish Jesuit theologian and teacher. Diego Andrada De Payua (1528–75) was a Portuguese theologian and writer noted for his support of papal authority.

125. Robert Francis Bellarmine (1542–1621) was an Italian cardinal, Jesuit theologian, and apologist of papal authority. His major work is *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos* (Ingolstadt, 1586–88–93). Latin: 'the power of making a non-sin out of a sin, and a sin out of a non-sin.'

some of them suspected, and as a Passage in his former Epistle had Occasioned in them some suspicion. His Discourse Begins, Now we beseech You, Brethren, by the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together unto Him. The Translation should be amended; and, certainly Flacius Illyricus has offered us a Good amendment of it. He says very truly, That the Praeposition, ὕπερ , which we translate BY, should be translated, ABOUT [ms. (51.)] or, UPON; denoting the Matter here treated of. We beseech You, Brethren, Concerning the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. And so Luther, in his vulgar Version, has carried it.¹²⁶ And what is the Thing that our Apostle does beseech his Thessalonians thus, concerning the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ? This, That they would not mistake him, as if he took the Day of Christ, for to be at hand: A mistake which might have unhinged their Conversation, in many Instances, and caused them to take many inconvenient Measures. To satisfye them, that the Second Coming of o^r Lord Jesus Christ was not so near, as they might imagine, he tells them, that there must be first revealed that Wicked One, the Antichrist, who is to sitt for the Temple of God [so both Jerome and Austine carry it,] as being himself the Temple, or, Calling himself, The Church; and whom the Lord will destroy with the Brightness of His Coming.¹²⁷ The Coming of the Lord here can be no other than His Personal Coming; ffor 'twas the Personal Coming of the Lord, about w^{ch} the Thessalonians were solicitous. The Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the ffirst verse of the Chapter, is evidently his Personal Coming. To assume the Liberty of making His Coming in the Ninth Verse, to be only a Mystical Coming (& that meerly because we will have it so!) 'tis to assume a Liberty, of putting upon the Sacred Scriptures that Waxy Character, which, You know who, reproach them withall. Lett it be Considered, that our Apostle in his Assurance of this Matter, has a referrence to the Prophecy, about the slaying of the Wicked, in the Eleventh Chapter of Isaiah. [ms. (52.)] Lett it also be Considered, that in that Prophecy, 'tis also said, In that Day our Lord shall be an ensign of the People; which is by our Lord himself, so interpreted, [Matth. 24. 30.] Then shall appear the Sign

^{126.} Mather explains the context of the text (2 Thessalonians 2) and garners support for a different translation. Flacius Illyricus (Matija Vlacic) (1520–75) was a German theologian, professor at Wittenberg, and Hebraist. His works include *Clavis Scripturae sacrae* (1567) and *Glossa Compendiaria in NT* (1570). Martin Luther translated the New Testament into German in 1522.

^{127.} See 2 Thessalonians 2:8.

of the Son of Man in Heaven, and they shall see the Son of Man Coming in the Clouds of Heaven, with Power, and great Glory. When this is well Considered, You will see the Matter Come under a further Confirmation and Establishment. And then, Syr, go read the Eighteenth Psalm, with a Golden Key putt into Y^r hands, to come at the main Intention and Accomplishment of it.¹²⁸ There is an Illustrious Prophecy concerning o^r Lord Jesus Christ; Psal. 110. 6. He shall Judge among the Nations, He shall fill the Dead Bodies. Tis a Prophecy of the Resurrection of the Dead. The Resurrection shall be accomplished by the Lords Filling y^e Dead Bodies of His People. When y^e New Testament gives an Account of the Resurrection, tis in these Terms; [Eph. 1. 23. with 2. 1.] He Fills all in all; and you who were Dead in Trespasses & Sins. Well, But when must be y^e Time of this Revolution? It must be at y^e Time when y^e Lord shall wound y^e Head over many Countreyes; that is to say, At the Destruction of Antichrist.¹²⁹

I will only add this Curiosity. Viccars, in his Laborious Decapla on the Psalms, quotes an ancient M.S.S. of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, which putts this Title on the Ninth Psalm; {Astondit?} quod Christus Adventu suo, oppressurus est Antichristum.¹³⁰ And indeed, I know not how many of the Ancients do make the Ninth Psalm a ffuneral Song upon the ruin of Antichrist. They do well in it! Now, turn to the Psalm, and You will find, THEN is the Time, when the Lord has Erected his Throne for Judgment, and He shall Judge the World in Righteousness, and the Wicked shall be turned into Hell.

The Fourth Argument

That which will be Quickly after the final Ceasing of the Turkish Hostilyties against Europe will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God, upon Earth.

[ms. (53.)] But the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be Quickly after the final ceasing of the Turkish Hostilyties against Europe.

Therefore. —

You are sensible, that the Holy Apocalypse Entertains us, with Seven

^{128.} See *Triparadisus* 167–225, where Mather applies 'A *Golden Key to open the Sacred Prophecies*' to the doctrines of the Incarnation, the adoption of Gentiles into God's family, and the Conflagration.

^{129.} See Psalm 110:6.

^{130.} Viccars (Niccars?) is unidentified. Latin: '[illegible] that Christ at his coming will defeat the Antichrist.'

most Considerable Dispensations of Judgment upon the Roman Empire, to make way for the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth; and it exhibits them, under the Notion of so many Trumpetts, all sounding like the Cornetts for Seven Dayes about Jericho of old, untill the fall of the Romish Jericho. The Three last of these, are emphatically called, Wo-Trumpetts, because of their being more wofull to the Roman Empire than the rest.¹³¹

Now, You will allow me, and indeed, I scarce know, who will not allow it, That the Second Woe, is the Turkish Empire, which began to play it's reakes upon the Roman Empire, in the Tenth & Eleventh Century; and att last, in the ffifteenth, siezed Constantinople itself into it's hands. It is admirable, Yea, tis charming, beyond admiration, to see how punctually the notes of the Second Wo, are all found upon the Turkish Empire. There were ffour Sultanies, or Kingdomes, of Turks, actually existing in the Year 1080. about the Confines of the River Euphrates. And these continuing thus in their Confinement, without any notable advancement upon the Roman Empire, for about an Hundred and ffifty Years together, might very agreeably be called, [ms. (54.)] Four Angels bound in the great River Euphrates.¹³² Att last, uniting under One Sovereign, in the Ottoman ffamily, they have ever since, proved such a Plague unto the Antichristian World, as it had never before felt, since its Coming into the World. It was a most expressive thing to call them Horse-men. In the Visions of Daniel, the King of Graecia is called, a Goat, partly because the Graecians were of old called by a Name, Agiades, which has Wild Goats, in the signification of it. And the Turks might well be called Horse-men; for they came out of Persia{,} and Perse signifies, An Horse; Yea, and they have sometimes come into the field with Two or Three Hundred Thousand Horse.¹³³ But what need I mention the proofs of our uncontested Interpretation, which finds the Turks in the Second Wo? If any Man go to Deny it, I will bring horrible Canon to play upon him, and see whether he can stand before the Mouths of such a roaring and Thundering Argument. You guess my meaning all-ready! That the very Arms used by the Turks, are here described by the

131. See Revelation 8, 9, and 11. Mather follows with his exposition on the Second Woe-Trumpet, which the (Islamic) Turkish Empire plays out its last reaks (wanton tricks or deceptions) on the Roman Empire. See Mather's *Things to be Look'd for* (Boston, 1691), 31 for a similar passage.

132. See Revelation 9:14.

133. See Daniel 8.

Spirit of Prophecy. Tis said, Out of their Mouths issued ffire & Smoak and Brimstone: It refers to Gunpowder, w^{ch} the great Guns which discharge it; invented not long before the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, who there made the first extraordinary use of it.¹³⁴

Now no Man will dream, or att least he must be much asleep, who shall dream it; that the Church can see its Happy Dayes, while the world is groaning, and bleeding under [ms. (55.)] the Turkish Hostilities. The Turkish Moon must go Down, e're the Church come out of its Night, or hear it said, Thy Light is Come. Yea, there are Three Assertions written with Sun-Beams in the Prophecy of this Matter, which will immediately Compel us to the Conclusion, that I am all this while a Coming at.

I. When the Turkish Hostilities have plagued Christendome, for little more than Three Hundred and Ninety Seven Years, the Second Wo is to pass away. Of these Wofull Turks, 'tis foretold, Rev. 9. 15. They were preapared, for an Hour, & a Day, and a Month, and a Year, to slay the Third part of Men. They were to be alwayes in Readyness, as it were at an hours warning, to Execute the Vengeance of Heaven; but they must continue Executing of it for Three Hundred and Ninety Six or Seven Years; a Term exceeding that for any of the former Plagues upon the Roman Empire. Att the Expiration of this Term, y^e Second Wo is to pass away; which (to me) does not necessarily imply a Totall Ruine of the Turkish Empire; but only a ceasing of its Hostilities; with a Peace or Truce; and other enfeebling Circumstances upon it, that shall render it uncapable of reviving those Hostilities.¹³⁵ The Saracen Empire, which was the first Wo, did, as such, pass away, and cease to torment the Roman Empire, after those Locusts had for Twice five Months, been playing the Harpies upon y^e Roman Empire, [ms. (56.)] and left off giving Torment unto it, near Two Hundred Years before the Last End of their making some Figure upon the face of the Miserable Earth.¹³⁶ Pardon my freedome, if I venture upon so much further particularity, as to add; Tha{t} in all Probabilyty, not long after the Year 1300, began the Period for the Second Wo; and the Dispensations of Heaven towards the Turk-

134. See Revelation 9:17. The Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II, used cannon to lay siege to and overtake Constantinople in 1453.

135. At the hands of European powers allied against it, the Ottoman Empire was forced to sign the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699.

136. Muslim subjects of the Caliph (7th century) were called Saracens by Christians.

ish Empire, about the year 1697: are such as notably Harmonize wth our Conjecture. But then, what is to Come Quickly? Tell me not, That the Second Coming of our Lord, is yett above a Thousand Years off! No, I have better News for You, than so.¹³⁷

II. When the Second Wo is passed away, then Quickly arrives the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. What can be more plainly praedicted? Rev. 11.14. The Second Wo is passed; and behold, the Third Wo Cometh Quickly. This Third Wo is the same wth the Seventh Trumpett; and the Time of it, is expressly Called, The Time of the Dead, that they should be Judged.¹³⁸ Now the Phrase of Judging the Dead, is always applyed unto the Day of Judgment, and unto nothing Else, all over the New Testament: nor was it ever used in any other sense, in all the first Ages of Christianity. To render this the more assured, it is here explained, By Giving a Reward unto them; which implyes a Change of the State of the Dead, themselves, by the Reward given to their ffaithfullness; and this can be no other than the Reward Given them att the Day [ms. (57.)] of Judgment. I will insist upon the Demand; That the Time of Judging the Dead, be Confessed, the Time of the Day of Judgment, and the Time for the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. And I will use the Words of D^r. Cressenor; "To make the Phrase of, Judging the Dead, to signify here, as some do, only the Revenging the Cause of the Dead, is to Change the signification of a very peculiar, and Generally known, Expression, into a meer uncommon acceptation of it; and to do that, wthout some Great Necessity for it, is the way to License Men to Allegorize all the Articles of our Beleif away."¹³⁹

III. Att the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, arrives the Time, that the Kingdomes of this World become the Kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ. What can be more Express? The Kingdomes of this World, becoming the Lords, and, the Time of Judging the Dead are

¹³⁷. After 1697 came and went without the arrival of the Second Coming and the Millennium, Mather refigured his calculations for a Second Coming in 1716.

¹³⁸. See Revelation 11:18.

¹³⁹. Drue Cressener, D.D. (c. 1638–1718) published several sermons on chiliast themes, particularly *A demonstration of the first principles of the Protestant applications of the Apocalypse with Appendix. The consent of the ancients concerning the fourth beast in the VIIth chapter of Daniel, and the beast in the Revelations* (London, 1690) and *The Judgements of God upon the Roman Catholick Church; in a prospect of several approaching revolutions, in explication of the Trumpets and Vials in the Apocalypse, upon principles generally acknowledged by Protestant interpreters* (London, 1689).

Joined in the same Doxology.¹⁴⁰ Now, the Happy State expected for the Church of God upon Earth, is not for to be expected until the Kingdoms of this World become the Lords. You can't but feel the force of this reasoning, and see what will be the Conclusion. Again, we find, the Oath of an Angel for it, Rev. 10. 7. In the Dayes of the Voice of the Seventh Angel, when he shall BEGIN to sound, the Mystery of God shall be finished. That Mystery is not finished, but in and By the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. But the Seventh Angel, who Summons in the King- [ms. (58.)] domes of this World for to be the Lords, will Begin to sound sure, Quickly after the Sixth has done sounding; and not leave a long Space of a Thousand Years to run out between them. And Now, again; See what will be the Conclusion! Once more; We find an Apostle thus reasoning; Rom. 14. 10, 11. We shall all stand before the Judgment seat of Christ; for it is written, I Live, saith the Lord; Every knee shall Bow to me, & every Tongue shall Confess to God. When the Kingdoms of this World become the Lords, Then 'twill be that Every knee shall Bow, and every Tongue shall Confess to Him; or, as the Prophet Isaiah, from whom the Passage is quoted, hath it; When all the Ends of the Earth shall look unto the Lord and be saved, and Men shall say, in the Lord I have Righteousness & Strength. But, sayes our Apostle, this will not be till we stand before the Judgment seat of Christ. And Now, once more; See what will be the Conclusion! Truly, T'will be no other than This; That the Happy State expected for the Church on Earth, will not arrive, until the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

If in the management of this Argument You find it insinuated, that this is QUICKLY now to be looked for, I hope, it rejoices Your Holy Soul to have such a thing insinuated. The Insinuation will but render the Argument the more welcome unto an Holy Soul, whose breathings are, Come, Lord Jesus, Come QUICKLY!¹⁴¹ [ms. (59.)]

The Fifth Argument

That which will be at the First Resurrection, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth.

But the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the

140. See Revelation 11:15-18, where the 24 Elders sing praises (or doxologies) to God.

141. The penultimate verse of John's Revelation reads: 'He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'

First Resurrection.

Therefore.—

We find the Thousand Years of the Happy State for the Church upon Earth, to begin with what is Called, The First Resurrection. To approach the matter then without Ceremony, or Circumlocution; if the First Resurrection must necessarily and unavoidably be understood, of a Litteral & a Corporall Resurrection, all the World will grant that the Happy State of the Millennium does begin with the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The proof of this, will prove all, that I am Contending for. Now, the Twentieth Chapt^r of the Revelation, is, of all, doubtless, the most free from Allegory, and from the Involution of Prophetical Figures; [how agreeably!] as describing indeed that Age and State, wherein all things relating to the Kingdome of God, will be most clearly understood. Particularly, That the First Resurrection, which Beginns the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, is no Allegory, lett us consider some Demonstrations. [ms. (60.)]

First; The Law of Opposites, will put it beyond all Opposition, and Contradiction. We know the Law; In omni Legitimâ Distributione, membra inter se opponuntur Sub eodem genere. Here is a Distribution of Dead men Living again; Some, att the Beginning of the Thousand Years; others, not untill the Thousand Years are Finished.¹⁴² But the Latter then Live again, as to their Bodies; and therefore so must the fformer too. That the Second Resurrection, is not Metaphoricall, tis Indisputable; for then, The Dead, small and Great, shall stand before God, and be Judged according to what is written in the Books.¹⁴³ Hence, therefore, we need not, nay, and may not, make a meer Metaphor of the First. It would be a Violence upon the Common Law of Speaking, if, [Dead,] and consequently, [Living from the Dead,] should not here signifye still the Same thing; when they lye so near together, (and might, if Rob. Stephens had pleased, have lien in the same verse!) They Lived and reigned with Christ, a Thousand Years; but the rest of the Dead, lived not again, till the Thousand Years were finished. An Antanaclasis (occurring sometimes, I know, in the Apostolical writings,) would here be no manner of Elegancy. What I hold is, That in y^e same sense do some of y^e Dead Live again at [ms. (61.)] the Beginning of the Thousand

142. See Revelation 20:5. Latin: 'In every legitimate distribution, members are opposed among themselves under the same type.'

143. See Revelation 20:12.

Years, that the rest of the Dead, Live again, when the Thousand Years are finished. And I hold it, because I don't see, how I can, without going against All sense, Lett it Go.¹⁴⁴

Secondly; The First Resurrection, must be either a Spiritual one, or a Political One, or Else a Litteral and Corporal One. But it is not a Spiritual, nor a Political Resurrection. What remains is, what we would have. Some have with a Wonderfull Absurdity, taken the ffirst Resurrection to be a work of Sanctification upon the Soul. I could wish, that our Preachers, would be more wary of such Interpretations, and Impertinancies! How is the work of Sanctification upon a Soul, followed with Living and reigning a Thousand Years? Or, will there ever be a Thousand Years in this World, wherein there shall be no work of Sanctification produced upon a Soul? Is a Death in Sin, the First Death? Or, when and where are the Thousand Years, to which a work of Sanctification is peculiar? In a Word; How is it possible to be said, That Men were beheaded for the Wittness of Jesus, and for the Word of God; and after this they were Converted unto God?¹⁴⁵ I think, I did well, to call this, A Wonderfull Absurdity! But, some Expositors of more waryness, make the first Resurrection, to be a thing of the same kind, with the Resurrection of the Wittnesses, Elsewhere Spoken of; and as haveing thus much intend-
[ms. (62.)] ed in it, "That when Antichrist is destroyed, the Church then shall be Delivered from the Death of Affliction, and continue in a state of Glorious rest and peace for a Thousand Years before the Day of Judgment, wherein Men shall be ruled by the Lawes of the Lord Jesus Christ, and none but Saints will have power in their Hands."

This Opinion of the Thousand Years, is a Thousand Times more likely than the Absurd one, that went before it. But yett, it will not Do! It implies that the Martyred Saints, Lived again, only in their Successors, not in their own Persons; whereas, a Resurrection, as the word itself imports, is of the Same; and it were a very dangerous thing, yea, very destructive unto the Consolation of the ffaithfull, to suppose the Promisses unto the Overcomers, to be fulfilled only unto other People, that

144. I am indebted to C. Freeman Keith for identifying Rob. Stephens as Robert Estienne (1503–59), the French scholar-printer whose innovative 1551 edition of the Greek-Latin New Testament numbered not only chapters but also verses. See Revelation 20:4a–5b. The *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) gives as the primary meaning of 'antanaclasis' a figure of speech in which the same word is used in different and particularly contradictory senses.

145. See Revelation 20:4.

shall rise up after them. No; They are the very Individual Sufferers for our Lord, that are to Rise and Reign with Him. Furthermore, They are Blessed and Holy & the Second Death shall have no power over them, that have a part in the First Resurrection.¹⁴⁶ But will a meer Political Resurrection advance persons to such Blessedness & Holyness? Or, will there be a Time, when there shall not be a Reprobate in this World for a Thousand Years together? No, The Tares will be with the Wheat, untill the Coming [ms. (63.)] of the Lord.¹⁴⁷ Besides; will all the Dead have a Political Resurrection, at the End of the Thousand Years? This Political Resurrection, implies that the People of God shall enjoy a full Prosperity, & a Sole Dominion in this Present World, for many Ages. No, No; The Scriptures of Truth tell us otherwise; They tell us, of this Present Evill World, & of the Persecution, and the Tribulation, which must ever attend us in it, even till the Arrival of the Kingdome of God; & of our Sufferings during this Present Time, even untill the Creation shall be Delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, that is now upon it, and untill we come to the Redemption of our Bodyes, at the Resurrection of the Just. The Kingdome that we look for is in, The World to Come; and tho' we look to reign over the Earth, it will not be accomplished untill there be a New Earth, wherein shall Dwell Righteousness.¹⁴⁸ The last Dayes of this World will be Perillous Times; We may not imagine that a Thousand Years of the Last Dayes will not be perillous. When the Emperour Domitian enquired, concerning y^e Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, when and where it was to be sett up, the Nephewes of Jude, who was y^e Brother of o^r Lord, answered, It was not an Earthly, but an Heavenly Kingdome, and it would not be sett up, till the End of this world.¹⁴⁹

Finally; Primitive & Orthodox Christianity, was for a Literal & Corporal Resurrection, and not a mere Spiritual, or Political One, at the Entrance of the Chiliad. Indeed, since Antichristianism has prevailed, the Doctrine of the First Resurrection, with the Millennial Reign, has been Condemned for Haeresy. Baronius calls it Haeresy; tho' A Lapide, more modestly says, Tis an Errour; An Haeresy, he durst not call it,

146. See Revelation 2:11.

147. See Matthew 13:24-30.

148. See Romans 8:18-23.

149. See 2 Timothy 3:1. Caesar Domitianus Augustus was Roman Emperor from 81 to 96. The source of Domitian's inquiry and the reply of Jude's nephews is unidentified.

because, (quoth he) it was never Condemned by any Council. If this Opinion be Haeretical, the Fathers, and Martyrs of the Primitive Times were Haereticks. Jerome was One of the First, who sett himself against this Opinion; but yet, he sayes, He durst not condemn it, because many Ecclesiastical Doctors & Martyrs have taught it.¹⁵⁰ In the First, and Second Century, it was opposed by none but Haereticks, that wholly denied any Resurrection at all. There can be nothing more full than the Words of Justin Martyr, [ms. (64.)] who tells Trypho the Jew, that not only himself but whatsoever Christians were (ὀρθογνώμοι κατὰ πάντα χριστιανὸι) thoroughly orthodox, did beleive the Resurrection, and the Thousand Years of the New Jerusalem, as the Prophets Isaiah, and Ezekiel had foretold.¹⁵¹ For Isaiah Speaking (sayes he) of the Time of these Thousand Years, sayth, There shall be New Heavens, and a New Earth. Hee adds; One of Ours, whose was John, One of the Twelve Apostles of Christ, in the Revelation, exhibited unto him, has foretold, that they who Beleive on our Christ, shall continue a Thousand Years in Jerusalem, and after that shall be the universall Resurrection, and the Judgment. Now, that this Learned and holy Man, who lived within Thirty Years of the Apostle John, should affirm that, All Orthodox Christians did then Beleive a Particular, Litteral and Corporal Resurrection, att the Beginning of the Thousand Years, and after that, a Catholick Resurrection of all together, as his Words are; This is enough to Confirm us in the Beliefe, that this Doctrine was received, even from the Apostles themselves! Iraeneus was Contemporary with Justin, and was himself also a Martyr. Now, he does assert such a Resurrection as we have been pleading for, and employ a whole Chapter, to prove, that the Divine Oracles by him alledged for it, could not admitt of Allegorical Expositions; and he sayes, that the Elders, who knew the Apostle John, declared, that they received this Doctrine from him, and that John was taught it by our Lord Jesus Christ himself. In some Editions of Irenaeus, the five last Chapters of his Fifth Book, Against Haeresyes, are left out; and

150. Caesar Baronius (1538–1607) was an Italian cardinal, church historian, and Vatican librarian. Cornelius a Lapide (Cornelius van den Steen) (1566/7–1637) was a Jesuit theologian and Bible commentator of Flanders, who wrote the oft-reprinted *Commentaria in omnes Divi Pauli Epistolas* (Antwerp, 1614). The source of the reference to Jerome (c. 347–420) is unidentified.

151. Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165) was an early Christian apologist. In his 'Dialogue with Trypho,' he emphasized the New Testament fulfillment of the Old Testament. He also taught a form of millenarianism. Mather translates the Greek as, 'Christians thoroughly orthodox'.

Fevardentius confesses, [ms. (65.)] that he Beleives the reason was, because therein Irenaeus discovers himself to be a Chiliast.¹⁵² Behold, an other Evidence, that this Doctrine has nothing short of Apostolical Tradition to recommend it unto us! No less men than Papias, (if not Polycarp also!) whom the Arianish Eusebius, after all his unjust Reflections on him, for weakness of Judgment, owns to have been a Saint of God, were those, who received this our Doctrine of the First Resurrection, from the very Apostles themselves.¹⁵³ But they who will not receive this Doctrine, generally think themselves arm'd with a sufficient Praejudice, and Objection against it, in that unaccountable matter; When the Thousand Years are expired, Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the Nations, which are in the ffour Quarters of the Earth, GOG and MAGOG, to gather them to gether to Battle, the Number of whom is as the Sand of y^e Sea; and they went upon the Breadth of the Earth, and Compassed the Camp of the Saints about; and ffire came down from God out of Heaven and devoured them.¹⁵⁴ Our friends think they have almost as many reasons to militate against our Opinion of the First Resurrection, as there are to be Souldiers in the Army of Gog & Magog. In short; It is impossible to Conceive, say they, Who and where should be the Gog and Magog, at the End of the Thousand Years, if our Lord Jesus Christ must Come, and the Dead Saints rise, at the Beginning of the Thousand Years. When the Messiah, who is the Sun, shines upon the World, no wonder that the Wild beasts are layd down in their Dens,¹⁵⁵ that they ever come out, and breake forth, and appear abroad again, This indeed is Wonderfull; and unto many it seems Incredible! On the other side, if the Oracles of God assert, That a Thing shall come to pass, One would think, [ms. (66.)] it should rather become us to rest satisfied, tho' we (Shallow Creatures that we are!) cannot Conceive, How it shall come to pass. If this may be allowed for a sufficient objection, against the First Resurrection, We cannot conceive how something should be fulfilled, that is foretold, of the Things that are to Come after

¹⁵². For Irenaeus, see note 59. Francois Fuardent (1539-1610) was a French patristic scholar and controversialist.

¹⁵³. Papias (c. 60-130) was Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor. He was known as a student of Polycarp and as a millenarian, and his work on the oracles of Jesus exists only in quotations in Irenaeus and Eusebius. St. Polycarp (c. 69-c. 155), Bishop of Smyrna and martyr, said to have known those who had seen Jesus. Most likely, Mather refers to Eusebius (d. c. 342), Bishop of Nicomedia and a leader of the Arian cause.

¹⁵⁴. See Revelation 20:7-9.

¹⁵⁵. See Job 37:8; Psalm 84:11; Malachi 4:2.

it; there may be the same against any Resurrection at all; ffor a Resurrection of the Dead, is full of Inconceivable Difficulties, which Every man Living must resolve into the Apostles Conclusion, God does in it, as it pleasieth him! In the propheticall parts of the Scripture, we particularly, and Continually encounter with Indissoluble Difficulties, untill the Prophecyes come to be their own Expositors, in their Accomplishments. If any Gentleman had Come to Abraham, about four hundred Years before the Deliverance of his posterity from an horrid Servitude in Egypt, he would with a Strong Faith have uttered his Expectation of such a Thing; Not Staggering at the Promise of God, but being fully perswaded that what God had promised, He was able to perform.¹⁵⁶ Well, but if his ffriend had proceeded; Syr, Can You satisfye me, which way, a feeble handfull of People shall be able to make head against a Mighty Kingdome; or, what shall be the facilitating Circumstances of their March out of Egypt; What their Order; what their Number; who their Leader; which way they shall be Led; and what Miracles will be wrought for them? He must have Answered; Indeed, Syr, Here I am still in as much Darkness, as I was in my Deep sleep, when the horror of great Darkness fell upon me. Now, why may not I be allowed the like Answer? [ms. (67.)] I Strongly Beleive, That after the Second Coming of our Lord, and the First Resurrection, there will be Two Sorts of Men in the World; There will be in the New Jerusalem the Raised Saints, who will be aequal to the Angels, and will indeed be the Angels, the Teachers, and the Rulers of the New World; [A World accommodated with Wise Governours, who shall shine like the Bright Stars of the Firmament!] and there will be the Saved Nations, who will walk in the Light of that New Jerusalem, and be under y^e Influences of that City of God. After the world has been in this Condition a Thousand Years, there shall be a strange Attempt from Hell, against that Holy City; The Enemies of God shall return at Evening, and make a Noise like a Dog, and go round about y^e City; (which Words of the Psalmist, I use on this Occasion, because R. Obadiah Gaon, applies them to Gog and Magog;) ¹⁵⁷ But the Attempt shall be blessed with a sudden Confusion from Heaven. I am now asked,

¹⁵⁶. See Romans 4:20.

¹⁵⁷. See Psalm 59:6. Rabbi Obadiah Gaon is unidentified. As Professor Malinda Snow has indicated to me, *gaon* means 'wise man' or 'intellectual prodigy'; since Jews did not have surnames in the European and Gentile tradition before modern times, 'Gaon' was probably a name of respect to Rabbi Obadiah rather than his actual name.

Who and whence will be the Wretches that shall make this Attempt? But unto myself, Tis Answer Enough; any Servant of God may Give this Answer; More than four hundred Years before this matter comes to pass, I shall probably be able to give some account of it. And in the Mean Time, if the matter were to have been putt even among the Quaeries, of the famous Father Cotton the Jesuite, it is questionable whether the Leader himself of Gog and Magog, would have been able to have answered all the Quaestions that might have been putt concerning it.¹⁵⁸ If the Curious Enquiries of Men, will not yett be satisfied without some further account; we will not give that of Mons^r Poiret in his L'OEconomie Divine; that the Gog and Magog, will be the Devills and the Damned, who will be lett loose out of Hell, at the End of the Thousand Years, to make a furious but fruitless assault on the Glorified Saints of y^e New Jerusalem.¹⁵⁹ [ms. (68.)] One would have expected such a Fancy rather in a poem of Miltons, than in a Treatise of Divinity. Nor will we give that of M^r. Mede; That the American Hemisphaere will escape the Conflagration, and that the People there (who if they were Originally Scythians; may well enough be called, Gog and Magog;) shall not be concerned in the Blessedness of the Thousand Years, but that the Suggestions of the Devil shall dispose them to make an Invasion upon the Blessed Circumstances of the People, to which they shall then have an Envy. I that am an American, must needs be Lothe to allow all America still unto the Devils Possession, when our Lord shall possess all the rest of the World. I pray, Lett not Stephanus Pannonius be Stoned, for saying, Futurum tandem ut Americanis purum Dei Evangelium Praedicetur.¹⁶⁰

I shall only sett before You, What has been done already, without pressing upon You the Advice that Cyrus, in Xenophon, gave to his Children; ἐκ τῶν προγεγεννημένων μάθασατε, Learn from the Things

158. Pierre Coton (1564–1626) was a French Jesuit controversialist, preacher, and writer. For a similar passage, see *Triparadisis* 464–65.

159. Pierre Poiret (1646–1719) was a French theologian whose *L'OEconomie Divine, ou systeme universel et demonstre des oeuvres et des desseins de Dieu envers les hommes* (Amsterdam, 1687) was published in an English edition, *The Divine OEconomy* (London, 1713).

160. Mather is thinking of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Cf. Joseph Mede's *Clavis Apocalyp-tica* (note 87 above). Stephanus Pannonius is unidentified. Latin: 'At last it will come about that the pure Gospel of God is predicted to the Americans.' See also Reiner Smolinski's discussion in 'Israel Redivivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England,' *New England Quarterly* 63 (Sept. 1990): 357–95, and in *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather*, chapters 3 and 4.

that have been done already; for I know, you do allready think, what he adds, This is the best way of Learning.¹⁶¹

There was a Time when the LORD, attended with a Multitude of the Heavenly Host, made a Visible and a terrible Descent upon mount Sinai, and the Prophecy of Enoch (as Moses, in using the Express words of it, intimates,) received its first Accomplishment: Behold, the Lord comes with His Holy Myriads, to give Judgment against all Men, and Convince all the Ungodly among them, of all the Ungodly [ms. (69.)] Deeds which they have ungodlyly Committed. He did it in the Law, which condemns all ungodlyness.¹⁶²

The very God of Israel, visibly exhibited Himself in an humane Shape, unto a Select Number of the People. They Saw Him, and saw his Magnificent Chariot, tho' they were not raised out of the Condition, wherein Eating and Drinking should be necessary to sustain them.

A Caelestial and Glorious CLOUD, filled with Angels of an astonishing Brightness, about their great LORD, not only covered the Top of Sinai, but also the Neighbouring Mountains, of Seir, & Paran, for many Leagues together. And this was beheld, by above Three Millions of People.¹⁶³

A People who therewithall heard that VOICE of GOD, at which the very Pillars of Heaven do Tremble; They heard the Ten Commandments uttered by a Voice full of Majesty; They heard astonishing Trumpetts & Thunders, demanding Attention, between each of the Commandments.

Here was a City, or, if you will, an Army, Come down from God, (yea, with Him,) out of Heaven; and here was a Nation that had opportunity to walk in the Light of it. The Exhibition Continued for a Considerable while together.

One would have Thought it impossible for this Nation, to cast off the Religion of God, or to have rose up in Rebellion against Him. In less than Forty Dayes Time, they did it; they did it!¹⁶⁴

While the Angels of the Highest, were but retired a little Higher from them, and hardly, be sure, not wholly, Retired out of their Sight, [ms. (70.)] they fell into the Idolatriy of the Golden Calf; which has an

161. Xenophon (c. 428/7–c. 354 B.C.) was a Greek historian, among whose works are the *Anabasis* and *Cyropaedia*.

162. See Jude 14, 15.

163. See Exodus 24:9–11 as well as Exodus 19 and 20.

164. See Exodus 24:18.

Ounce of it, not only in all their Calamities, but also in all our Apostasies. Why, Satan was loosed, and he went out, and Deceived the Nation; And, alas, what won't People do, when the Devil is in them!¹⁶⁵

This People had extraordinary Appearances of God among them, afterwards, for fforty Years together; whereof the most Notable, was a mighty Regiment{t} of ANGELS, visibly hovering over them, defending them like a Cloud, by Day, and enlightening them like a Fire, by Night. And these, or, the like Angels miraculously in every Twenty four hours, (except on the Sabbath,) rained an Infinite Quantity of Bread, sweet like Honey, & white like Pearl, from Heaven upon them.¹⁶⁶

These things were Praelibations of what shall be done in the Millennium.

Was it now possible under such an awfull Approach of Heaven unto them, to venture upon the Doing of the least Criminal thing in the World? Certainly, their frequent and froward and wicked Murmurings, were Criminal Enough. But I can tell of a more horrible thing done among them; I had it from the Prophet Amos. Multitudes among them continually then carried about them, Little Tabernacles; (portable & pocketable Boxes) consecrated unto the Sun, who was their Moloch; and unto Saturn, who was by the Persians, called, Chium, or, A great Master, and by the Egyptians called, Remphan, probably the same wth Remphis, [ms. (71.)] a potent King mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, afterwards Deified. By engraving the Character of the Star, on little Shrines, wth Magical Ceremonies, they thought, the Spirit of the Star, made his Descent thereinto, and resided there to do Good Offices for them. Osiris was considered by them in their Moloch, (the Soul of whom they did suppose retired into the Sun,) as giving, (according to Mercurius Trismegistus){,} Health and Strength to Travellers. And Saturn, was considered (which you will find mentioned in Plautus) as the author of Prosperity to Travellers, and of Good entertainment for them.¹⁶⁷ Now, for Travellers thus awfully in the View of Heaven, to act like the Children

¹⁶⁵. See Exodus 32.

¹⁶⁶. See Exodus 40:34-38 and Exodus 16, esp. verse 26.

¹⁶⁷. See Amos 5:26. Diodorus Siculus (fl. last half of 1st century B.C.) was a Greek historian who wrote a history of the world from creation to Caesar's Gallic Wars (54 B.C.). Mercurius Trismegistus was a Roman god of traders, equivalent to the Greek god Hermes, and known as 'the scribe of the gods.' Traditionally, 42 sacred 'Hermetic' books contained the wisdom of mankind, and his name became a popular pseudonym for occult and alchemic writings. Titus Maccius Plautus (c. 250-184 B.C.) was a Roman writer of comedies. Osiris was an Egyptian god of the underworld who represented the deceased pharaoh.

of Laban, (with their Teraphim for their Journeyes,) rather than like the Children of Jacob!—What can there be in the Actions of Gog and Magog, more unaccountable, than, w^t You have already seen in the Actions of an Israel? Tho' the Pentateuch do not so particularly give us the report, yett we have it reported by David, and by Stephen, and above all by Ezekiel, That the Israelites in the Wilderness, under the most Immediate Eye of Heaven, that ever was known, wallowed in Gross miscarriages, and in Idolatries, that carried an horrible Defiance of Heaven in them. Even in the very Wilderness, when they had Heaven Miraculously exhibited every Hour before them, the People Rebelled against God, walked not in His Statutes, despised His Judgments, greatly polluted His Sabbaths, and defiled themselves with Idols.¹⁶⁸

[ms. (72.)] The Nations in the neighbourhood heard of the Divine Presence among this People; the Terror thereof amazed them. One would have Imagined, they should all have come in, and besought, that they might be under the Instruction, and Government, and mercyfull and Heavenly Influences, of the GOD, who had so mercifully come down from Heaven, among the Poor Children of Men. Their Neglecting of so Great Salvation were impiety enough, if there had not been any more, to deserve all the Exterminations ordered for them. But, Satan was let loose to Deceive the Nations: A Rahab, and a few Gibeonites are found Believers, among the Canaanites; the rest, the Number of whom, was the Sand of the Sea, did gather together, & Compass the Camp of the Saints, and assault the Beloved People, untill there Came from God out of Heaven, the Tempest, which Devoured them.¹⁶⁹ And yett, Even the Reliques of the Devoured Nations repented not; Satan being Loose, held them still fast Bound in their Ignorance and Unbelief.

Then Lett Gog & Magog no longer
Scandalize You!

The Sixth Argument

That which will be att the Arrival of the New Heavens, and the
New Earth, wherein shall Dwell Righteousness, will be

168. See Genesis 31, where the history of Jacob's flight from his father-in-law is recorded. One of Jacob's wives, Rachel, stole her father's household gods (Teraphim). Psalm 78, and Ezekiel 20:3. In Acts 7:36–43, Stephen, the first Christian martyr, recounts the history of Israel's rebellion in the wilderness.

169. See Joshua 6 and 11. Rahab helped Joshua and the Israelites take the Canaanite city of Jericho. A small number of Gibeonites made peace with the Israelites as well. See also Revelation 20:7–9.

[ms. (73.)] at the Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church of God upon Earth.

But the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be at the Arrival of the New Heavens, and the New Earth, wherein shall Dwell Righteousness.

Therefore — . —

You will now, without my Calling upon You, make a Noble flight, with, a Beraean Disposition,¹⁷⁰ to examine the Words of the Apostle Peter, 2. Pet. 3. 10. 11. Expecting and Hastening the Coming of the Day of God, wherein the Heavens being on fire, shall be Dissolved, and the Elements shall melt with fervent Heat. Nevertheless we, according to His Promise Look for New Heavens and a New Earth, wherein Dwelleth Righteousness.

I suppose, No Man upon Earth looks for the Happyness of the Church upon Earth which is promised, untill we shall see the New Earth wherein shall Dwell Righteousness, which is also promised. That these Two Things are Contemporary, surely tis to all men Unquestionable. Indeed the Two Things are One; and the very Essense of that Happyness, will very much consist in this Righteousness. The Promises of the Faelicity intended for the Church upon Earth, and the Promises of the Renovation w^{ch} the Earth must undergo, in and by & for that Faelicity, alwayes proclaim, that One does not arrive before the Other. This is a Truth so evident, that the Men who are affraid of the Truth inferred from it, which is now Irresistibly [ms. (74.)] going to break in upon us, endeavour to keep it off, with as Odd an assertion [I think, I may say so,] as has been ordinarily heard of. They are surprised wth a Conflagration praeludious to the New Earth, and they are sensible, that some Occurences accompany the Conflagration, w^{ch} must by no means be allowed, at the Beginning of the Churches Happy State upon Earth.

What shall we do in this Perplexity? Do? Why, Lett us assert, that the New Earth takes place before the Conflagration, wherein the Earth and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up. Such Confusion is necessary to stave off the New Jerusalem! It will never do. 'Twere a Shorter way, to Cashier the whole Epistle from our Canon, with an ουκ εκδειαθηκον, as we know who did of Old. — Sed via Crimen habet.¹⁷¹ And if that were

170. See Acts 17:10-12.

171. The Greek is difficult, but my translation is '[It has] not been revealed.' Latin: 'But the way has a flaw.'

done, Still the Two last Chapters of Isaiah, are in the Volumn of the Book! Lett us look upon the Words again. The Heavens and the Earth which ARE NOW, are kept in store, reserved unto Fire, against the Day of Judgment and Perdition of Ungodly Men.¹⁷² Well; The Conflagration comes, and, The Day of God, when the Heavens being on ffire, shall be dissolved, and the Elements shall melt with ffervent Heat. What will then become of all the Promise, about an Happy State for the Church upon Earth? Nevertheless we, according to His Promise Look for New Heavens [ms. (75.)] and a New Earth, wherein shall Dwell Righteousness.¹⁷³ I beseech You, Syr, whereabouts are we? If the New Earth takes place before the Conflagration, then 'tis not the Earth that NOW IS, but it is the New Earth, which is kept in store, reserved unto Fire against the Day of Judgment. But if Isaiah sayes of the New Earth, It shall remain, I am satisfied, that Peter would not say, It shall be Destroyed. It seems then; Tis not the Earth made subject unto Vanity, but that which is delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, that is to be sett on fire. Not the Earth wherein Dwells little but wickedness, but the Earth wherein Dwells nothing but Righteousness, that is to fall under the Burning Vengeance of God. Away! Away! To say, The Earth which now is, is reserved for ffire; Nevertheless, tis not this Earth, but the New Earth which we look for, that the ffire shall fall upon:—To putt such a Gloss upon the Scriptures, meerly because of our praeconceived Antipathy to some Truths, w^{ch} are hard to be understood, it is to putt them into the ffire: I wish, it be not a near approach unto a fault, which we find rebuked, before the Chapter is out.¹⁷⁴ Alas, why will men so abuse the writings which the Angels Admire?

Or, Lett us expound the Prophecy before us, concerning a fiery Destruction Coming on the Church and State and City of the Jews; and the New Heavens and the New Earth, to mean the New Administration of things among [ms. (76.)] the Christians under the Gospel. But now, see whether this Exposition will stand. I doubt it will prove some of the Stubble that is to be burnt in the Fire. For, Briefly; That y^e the Day of God, whereon Fire is to dissolve y^e Heavens and y^e Elements, cannot be y^e meer Burning of Jerusalem, is Evident from this; That y^e people of

172. See 2 Peter 3:7.

173. See 2 Peter 3:13.

174. 2 Peter 3 concludes with a caution against errors caused by unstable and wicked teachers.

the Christians under the Gospel. But now, ^{see} whether this Exposition will stand. I doubt it will prove some of the Stacks that is to be burnt in the Fire. For, Briefly; The New Earth of Peter, is doubtless the same with the New Earth of John. But the New Earth of Jerusalem, is Antichrist, nor till the New Jerusalem comes down from Heaven; and there is nothing that is of Gold; and there is no Night, or any more Death, or Pain, or Sorrow. When every Stone is burned, we must come to this; That the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, soon in the New Earth, will not place till the Conflagration, even this Conflagration which is to be at the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

That if the Day of God in Heaven is to dissolve the Heavens and the Elements cannot be renewed, Burning of Jerusalem, is evident from this; That if the people of God can be to be born a great City, which will be out with it, not only to look, but also to long for the Day, our Lord Jesus Christ himself wept at No, for, No; when every Stone is burned, we must come to this; and I shall be as a direction of the way, not place till the Conflagration, even this Conflagration which is to be at the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. I wonder to find One who has said that the Second Coming of our Lord, will be at this Conflagration, there needs no more proof but this; It is called expressly, The Day of the Lord, which will come as a Thief in the Night; and the Coming of the Day of God. And it is evidently, the same with the Coming of the Lord, about the Stack which we are of, our apostles had been just before discerning. And I pray, what Conflagration have we to look for, before the Coming of the Lord?

That the Second Coming of our Lord, will be at this Conflagration, there needs no more proof but this; It is called expressly, The Day of the Lord, which will come as a Thief in the Night; and the Coming of the Day of God. And it is evidently, the same with the Coming of the Lord, about the Stack which we are of, our apostles had been just before discerning. And I pray, what Conflagration have we to look for, before the Coming of the Lord?

Instead of any further arguing, my best way to gain my point, will be to betake myself unto explaining of it. and for to put in a true Light, the Difference between the NEW HEAVENS, and the NEW EARTH, which our Apostle invites us to take notice; but

Fig. 2. Page 76 of the copyist's text of 'Problema Theologicum' with a lengthy marginal note in Cotton Mather's hand. American Antiquarian Society.

God are directed, not only to Look, but also to Long, for the Day. Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself wept at y^e Forethought of that Lamentable Day; and shall we imagine it recommended as a Direction of Importance in Christianity, to Long for it? I wonder to find One very Learned Man, once and again quote this, as a notable Invention of another.¹⁷⁵ You may add; If this had been y^e Day, about y^e Delay whereof y^e Apostle was not a Little Sollicitous to Satisfy y^e Minds of y^e People of God, what need he have offered Considerations, upon Supposal of its being yett a Thousand Years off? This Day, was at y^e Writing of this Epistle, within Three or Four Years of its Arrival. Besides, The New Earth of Peter, is doubtless the same with the New Earth, of John. But the New Earth of John, takes not place, till after the Destruction of Antichrist, nor till the New Jerusalem comes down from God out of Heaven; and there is to be seen a Great City, whereinto there entreith nothing that Defyleth; and there is no Night there, or any more Death, or, Pain, or, Sorrow.¹⁷⁶ No, Syr, No; When every stone is turned, we must come to this; That the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, even in the New Earth, takes not place till the Conflagration, even the Conflagration which is to be at the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

That the Second Coming of our Lord, will be at this Conflagration, there needs no more proof but this; Tis called expressly, The Day of the Lord, which will come as a Theif in the Night; and, The Coming of the Day of God. And it is evidently, the same with The Coming of the Lord, about the slackness whereof, our Apostle had been Just before discoursing. And, I pray, what Conflagration have we to look for, before the Coming of the Lord?¹⁷⁷

Instead of any further Arguing, my best way to gain my Point, will be to betake my Self unto Explaining of it. And for to sett in a true Light, the Difference between the NEW HEAVENS, and the NEW EARTH, whereof our Apostle invites us to take notice; but [ms. (77.)] whereof scarce any Interpreters have took any due Notice; This would be at once to rescue the True Doctrine of the Chiliad from all the Praejudices against it, which many have hastily run away withall.

175. Once in *A Defense* and again in *A Continuation of a Defense*, Henry Hammond quotes Hugo Grotius's interpretation of 2 Peter 3:10-11 as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

176. See Revelation 21:2, 27, 23-24, 4.

177. See 2 Peter 3:9-10.

It is here said, According to His Promise, we look for New Heavens, & a New Earth.¹⁷⁸ Let us look on that Promise. There we find, concerning the Inhabitants of the New Earth, Isa. 65. 21. They shall build Houses and Inhabit them, and they shall plant Vineyards and eat the fruit of them; and they shall have an Offspring that shall be Blessed of the Lord. Unto the raised Saints we can allow no such Earthly Circumstances. No, They neither Marry, nor are given in Marriage; but are aequal unto the Angels, and are the Children of God, being the Children of the Resurrection.¹⁷⁹ In the New Heavens therefore we shall find them to be more gloriously Circumstanced.

I will be free; I will freely tell You my Expectations. An exhibition of things, as they were, at our Lords Transfiguration, has encouraged them.

First; I Expect, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST will very shortly make His Descent, according to His Promise: The Lord our God will come, and all His Holy Ones with Him. The Day is at hand, — O our God, our God, hasten thou the Day! [ms. (78.)] when, The Lord himself shall Descend from Heaven wth a shout, & the Voice of the ArchAngel, and with the Trumpett of God; and the Dead in Christ shall rise First.¹⁸⁰ There are a Thousand Reasons, to Beleeve, that many Thousands which are now Alive, may Live to see this astonishing Revolution. Tho' the Day and Hour be not precisely known to us, we may Reasonably Beleeve, that it will be before the Present Century be expired.¹⁸¹

Secondly; I Expect, That the Exhibition which our Lord Jesus Christ, is going to make of Himself, will be in those Flames, which will produce a tremendous Conflagration upon this Lower world; The Righteous Lord, from His Throne in the Heavens, will rain Snares, Fire, & Brimstone, and an horrible Tempest, upon the Wicked Antichrist, who has been destroying the Foundations. But this Conflagration, wherein God pleading wth a miserable World by Fire, the Slain of the Lord will be many;¹⁸² (and as the last Words of David intimate, 2. Sam. 23. 7. Antichrist shall be utterly Burnt wth ffire, on the Sabbath;) will not presently be Universal: 'twill be Partial, and Liesurely, & Progressive. I

178. See 2 Peter 3:13.

179. See Matthew 22:30, Mark 12:25, and Luke 20:35.

180. See 1 Thessalonians 4:16.

181. I.e., the 18th century. Cf. Mather's chronology in ms. 88. I take Mather to mean that the once-expected date of 1697 has passed, and he now expects the Second Coming early in the 18th century (1716).

182. See Psalm 11:6 and Isaiah 66:16.

will not count the Authority of Lactantius Good enough to satisfye You, That Quaedam Nationes relinquentur, ut a Justis Triumphentur.¹⁸³ We have a greater, which tells us, Isa. 66. 19. of, Nations that shall Escape; and Rev. 21. 24. of, Saved Nations.

[ms. (79.)] The first Efforts and Effects of this Conflagration, will doubtless be upon Italy, the Sodom that is the Seat of Antichrist; and we have it intimated, That the Desolation made by it, shall extend, Rev. 14. 20. By the Space of One Thousand & Six Hundred furlongs; or Two Hundred Miles: Never did the world see a Vulcano one Hundredth Part so horrible as this, if it should extend no further, in the Day of the Lord that shall burn like an Oven.¹⁸⁴ How far it shall proceed, we do not know; But after it has done it's Work upon the Roman Territories, Dan. 7. 12. The Rest of the Beasts have their Lives prolonged for a season: The Earth of old occupied by the Babylonian, and Persian, and Graecian Kingdoms, will yett remain untouched. Nor is it uneasy to conceive, how the Conflagration of some Territories may produce an incomparable Fertility, and Salubrity to the remaining. But for that, I leave You to Dr. Cresseners Philosophical and Conjectural Speculations.¹⁸⁵

Thirdly; I Expect, That our Lord JESUS CHRIST, with His Raised Saints, will then possess those Regions of the Air, which are now the High Places held by the Prince of Power of the Air. And at some Agreeable Distance from the Earth, He will have in those Vast and Bright Clouds, w^{ch} He brings with Him, that City of God, which Abraham and the Holy Patriarchs and Pilgrims of old, looked for;¹⁸⁶ the City whereof the Seventy Second [ms. (80.)] Psalm intimates, that it shall consist of Raised Saints; the Holy Jerusalem, Come down into the New Heavens, wherein there shall be the Glory of God, and the Throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, & His Servants shall serve Him & shall see His Face. More particularly, Psal. 68. 34. 35. His Excellency will be over Israel, and His Strength will be in the Clouds, and, O God, thou wilt be terrible out of thy Holy Places.

Quaere; Whether at this Time there shall not be fullfilled what is foretold, in the Twenty fifth Chapter of Matthew, wth a particular and

183. Lucius Caelius Lactantius Firmianus (c. 240–c. 320) was a Christian apologist. Latin: 'Certain nations will be abandoned in order that they be triumphed over by the just.'

184. See Malachi 4:1.

185. For Drew Cressener, see ms. 57 and note 139.

186. See Hebrews 11.

peculiar transaction, of less extent, than that more General Process upon all the Dead, after the End of the Thousand Years?¹⁸⁷ A Transaction wherein only the Professors of Christianity (as Gregory Nazianzen seems to Think,) will be concerned?¹⁸⁸ That is to say; That at the Coming of o^r LORD, One of the first things to be done, will be to call the Members of Christian Churches before Him, Or, the Nations professing of Christianity, to be Examined, (and this Especially about their Kindness to the Suffering Saints of God, in the horrible Persecution preceding this Revolution,) in order to a Determination of their State, under the New Jerusalem that is to follow; either to take their part in the Glories [ms. (81.)] of that City, and Kingdome, for the Thousand Years to Come, or to be exiled into the wretched Condition of them that are to be without. I find some excellent Persons of this Opinion; and the Opinion will be not a little fortified, by Considering, That the Fifty Eighth Chapter of Isaiah gives us a Key to the Twenty Fifth Chapter of Matthew. But—

Uterius Inquirendum.¹⁸⁹

Fourthly; I Expect, that, Att, and By, & On, this Illustrious Revolution, those Nations w^{ch} are to walk in the Light of the New Jerusalem, and be the Inhabitants of the New-Earth wherein shall Dwell Righteousness, will be turned unto Righteousness. The Conversion of those Nations, and their Communion wth the New Heavens, will Elevate them to a most Admirable Pitch of Holyness: perhaps the least of it will be, that in their whole Conversation they shall be as Holy as the Inspired Saints of Old were, in the minutes of their Inspiration from the Holy Spirit of God. The Earth shall then also be rescued from the Curse, that is now upon it, and be restored unto Paradisaic Prosperity; or, as the Psalm, that speaks of this Time, does intimate; The Earth shall yeild her Increase.¹⁹⁰ But it is intimated in the Scriptures of Truth, as if the Nations in the Remoter Skirts of the World, will not be under so high a Dispensation of Christianity, as those that ly nearer to y^e City of God, & under its more Direct and Shining Influences. The Rulers of the New World, may have more Occasion to Employ a Rod of Iron among the Nations, and

187. See Matthew 25:31-46.

188. St. Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389), known as 'The Theologian' and one of the 'Cappadocian Fathers.'

189. Latin: 'We must look further.'

190. See Psalm 67:6.

break them to Shivers as the Vessels of a Potter; and Execute Punishments upon them, and y^e Judgment which in the Hundred & forty ninth Psalm, is written of.¹⁹¹

Quaere; How far Sin shall be extinguished and Extirpated among the Righteous, by whom the New Earth is [ms. (82.)] now Inhabited?

Answer; Tis One of the, Things hard to be understood. But y^e Second Adam Surely can by His Good Spirit, thoroughly purge His Children from the Poison which the First Adam has convey'd unto y^m.¹⁹²

Fifthly; I Expect, That the Intercourse between the New Heavens and the New Earth, will then be very Wonderfull.

The City of God in the New Heavens, (as y^e Apostle John, has informed us,) will be foursquare, extending Twelve Thousand Furlongs; or, Fifteen Hundred Miles.¹⁹³ It will be seated over the Land of Israel, which will now again be possessed by the Israelitish Nation. The Cloud & Fire shall be over the Assemblies of Zion [Isa. 4. 5, 6] Here will Athanasius find, the Μοναχ τῶν αγιων, The Mansions of the Saints, in the Heavenly World; which he takes to be meant by that of the Psalmist; Psal. 149. 5. Lett the Saints sing aloud upon their Beds.¹⁹⁴ There shall then be Two Jerusalems: Johns New Jerusalem, in which there is No Temple; and Ezekeils new Jerusalem, in which there shall be a Temple. The Ancients ingeniously apply the Hundred & Twenty Second Psalm to one of these.

The Raised Saints, who when they shall Renew their Youth, (at the Redemption) shall be like the Eagles, and mount up with Eagles Wings, (which the Jewes take to be the Prophetic Phrase for the Bodes of the Resurrection;) These will be the Angels of this New World:¹⁹⁵ For, [Heb. 2. 5.] [ms. (83.)] Unto the Angels hath He not putt in Subjection, the World to Come, whereof we speake. What the Angels now do more Invisibly, while the Wheels of this World are turning, the Raised Saints, Receiving a Kingdome that cannot be moved, will more Visibly do in that World to Come. Then they that have been ffaithfull in improving their Talents, will be made Rulers over Cities; & then, overcomers will

191. See Psalm 2:9. See also Revelation 2:27; 12:5; 19:15.

192. The Second Adam refers to Jesus Christ.

193. See Revelation 21:16.

194. Athanasius (c. 296–373) was Bishop of Alexandria and a theologian of orthodoxy against the Arian heresy, which denied the deity of the Son of God.

195. See Isaiah 40:31.

have Power over Nations.¹⁹⁶ The Dead Bodyes of the Saints will be filled, (and they shall sitt with the Lord Jesus Christ in the Heavenly Places), and the Lord shall by Them Judge among the Nations. They may be very patient in the mean time, if by Tests, & a Spirit of Malignity in the World, against y^e Godly Party, they be shutt out generally from any Share in the Government of this present World. God is by y^e Sufferings of this present Time admirably praeparing His Patient, & Faithful, and Holy Servants, to bear their part in y^e administration of a Government, whereto He will call them, in the Glory that is to be Revealed.¹⁹⁷ In the New Jerusalem will be the Stars, of whom 'tis said, The Lord tells their Numbers, He calls them all by their Names. Tis a notable Stroke of R. David Kimchi, that the Stars are the Just, of whom Daniel sayes, They shall turn many to Righteousness.¹⁹⁸ It shall be as easy for the Saints of the New Earth to Converse with the Saints of the New Heavens, as it was for Abraham or Moses to Converse with Angels.

In the Seventh Chiliad, men shall be like Enoch the seventh from Adam. Tho' they shall have Sons & Daughters, Yett they shall walk with God; God will take Pleasure in them; and they shall see no Death, but be Translated from the New Earth to the New Heavens, when God shall see the Proper Time for it.¹⁹⁹ The Jewes do accordingly understand, The [ms. (84.)] World to Come, when they find, The Land of the Living, mentioned in the Divine Oracles; for, This Present World is, they say, rather, The Land of the Dying.

Quaere;—Whether the Saints found Alive at the Second Coming of the Lord, will be Then immediately Changed, and Caught up, unto the City of God in the Air; or, stay to take the same fate, wth such as are to be called Home unto the Lord, by His Coming?

Again; Quaere;—Whether the Translation of the Later Saints will be during the Thousand Years, personally and successively from Time to time carryed on; or, be all at once at the End of the Thousand Years?

Answer. These also are some of the, Things Hard to be understood.

Thus will things be carryed on, wth a most Glorious Administration for a Thousand Years together! I have given, but the Main Strokes of the

196. See Jesus's parable of talents (in Matthew 25:14 and Luke 19:12) and also see Revelation 2:26.

197. See Isaiah 40:5; Romans 8:18; 1 Peter 4:13; 5:1.

198. For Rabbi David Kimchi, see note 63. See Psalm 147:1-4 and Daniel 12:3.

199. See Jude 14; Hebrews 11:5; Psalm 147:11; 149:4.

Scheme; and I will only say this upon it; There is This to Recommend it, That now we may go Read the whole Bible wth a Key in Our hand, that will unlock Ten Thousand Passages in it; and the more we Read, and Think, and Search, and Compare one Thing with an other, the more we shall find the Whole Bible favouring of it. Nor does there arise from it, the Least Shaddow of any Damage to any one Article of the Faith Once Delivered unto the Saints.

[ms. (85.)] I was Thinking to have Stamp'd a Sabbatical & Millennial Character upon my Discourse, by Concluding with, A Seventh Argument. And yett I have so many remaining, that it would have troubled me, to have told, which I should best have Singled out.

Whether This;

If the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, which must last a Thousand Years, be not yett begun; and yett the Second Coming of our Lord, cannot be a Thousand Years off;

Then the Second Coming of our Lord, will be at the Beginning of the Happy State, which is to be expected for the Church upon Earth.

But, as the Happy State of the Church upon Earth, which must be a Thousand Years, is not yett begun, so the Second Coming of our Lord, cannot be a Thousand Years off.

Therefore. — Or, Whether This;

If the Martyrs of Thyatira, (for Instance,) must have Power over the Nations, & Rule them;²⁰⁰

Then the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, (at the Resurrection of those Martyrs,) will be att the Beginning of the Happy State of the Church, to be expected upon Earth; [or, while there are yett Nations to continue Ruled in the World.]

But the Overcoming Martyrs of Thyatira, must have Power over the Nations, & Rule them.

Therefore — . —

[ms. (86.)] Many other Arguments would offer themselves, no less Cogent than these; But I wave them all, in Expectation, that I may have an Argument offered me, of my having Truth on my side, in, The Spirit wherewith an Opposition to it will be managed. For, tho' I know, I shall see nothing but Candor, and Calmness, and Goodness where I now

200. For Martyrs of Thyatira, see Revelation 1:11 and 2:18-27.

address; yett they that write against these things, often do it, with so much Satyr, or Slander, (or, with the Unhappy Emblem of, A Fire accompanied with Darkness),²⁰¹ as to Strengthen a Praesumption that there is a Truth in what they make their Opposition to.

A very Defective Treatise about, The Thousand Years, lately entertained me wth a very Good Observation; "That many a Gracious Heart has decryed the Personal Reign of CHRIST, on the Throne of His ffather David, as an Errour that yett shall have a Glorious Part in that Reign, and have the Lord fullfilling to them that Word of His, which is then to have it's fullfillment, Isa. 32. 4. The Heart of the Rash shall understand Knowledge."²⁰²

However, it would not be amiss, if the Servants of God, would be very Temperate & Moderate and Cautious, in appearing against a Thing, which now gains exceedingly upon the Beleef of the most Learned and Pious Men, as a Truth of God; and if it be a Truth, [ms. (87.)] will gain more and more. Fierce Opposers may come to Change the Minds.

A Late Lutheran Minister, namely G. Laurentius Seidenbecherus, wrote a Book which he calls, Problema Theologicum de Regno Sanctorum in Terris Millenario. But tho' the Book be Composed wth much Modesty, a Lutheran Consistory Condemned it as Haeretical, and the Author was fulminated wth an Excommunication. Seidenbecherus falling Sick, desired that he might Speak with the Vicar who had Excommunicated him, to whom he said, that he should now Dye of his present Sickness, but the Vicar should quickly follow him. Within a few Dayes, the Vicar fell Sick, and then, with great Horror he often cryed out, Laurentius has written y^e Truth! Laurentius has written the Truth! and so he Expired.²⁰³

But, How long shall it be to the End of these Wonders? Or, To the Beginning of the Happy State w^{ch} we Expect for the Church in the Latter Dayes? Perhaps, It would puzzle any man Living, to prove, That the Second Coming of our LORD, may not surprise the Sleeping World Immediately, or, that it cannot arrive, even while You have this [ms. (88.)] very Dissertation Concerning it in your hands. God help me to

²⁰¹. Reference is unidentified.

²⁰². The treatise and author are unidentified. Both the maternal and paternal genealogies of Jesus have been traced to King David and contribute to his denomination as the Davidic Messiah.

²⁰³. Seidenbecherus is unidentified. The Latin title of his book reads: *The Theological Problem of the Thousand Year Reign of the Saints on Earth*.

Live under the Power of such Apprehensions! But however, There is all the Reason Imaginable, to Think, That from the Beginning of the Captivity, w^{ch} the People of God underwent in Babylon, to the Beginning of the Millennium, which will bring us all out of all Captivity, there are to Roll along, Two Thousand & Three Hundred Years. The last Period of this long Space, is to be the Reign of Antichrist, which is for Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years; To which there are to be added Thirty Years, (which make them 1290,) and Forty Five Years, (which make them 1335.) In which Latter Years, there Come on the great works assigned for the Latter Dayes, & the Temple of God is Cleansed. Between the Years of our Lord, 440, & 450, there is a Coincidence of more than an Hundred Things to satisfye One, That Then began The Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years, allotted unto the Reign of Antichrist. By this account, the Present Century should not run on long, before the Expiration of that Black Period; Yea, and it may be expired, before Men make much observation of it.

The Sabbatical Millennium is the Sabbath of the World. Now the Sabbath [ms. (89.)] among the Jewes allwayes began in the Evening of the Sixth Day, and so a part of the Sixth Day was also a part of the Sabbath. About the Middle of the Present Century, the World will want between Two and Three Hundred Years, of being Six Thousand Years Old; Tho' indeed by the Chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, it will be of that Age in A.C. 1736. When Mr Medes Computation for the Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years of Antichrist, from the Deposition of Augustulus, the Last Roman Emperour, will also expire.²⁰⁴ The Tradition of this Worlds lasting Six Thousand Years is very Venerable; I could almost call it Scriptural, as well as Ancient; The Christian Fathers as well as the Jewish Rabbies are full in it; and even Austin himself, tho' he were no Chiliast, imbibes the Opinion. Yea, the Apostle Peter seems to Countenance it.²⁰⁵ But, the Time is to be Shortened for the Sake of the Elect.²⁰⁶ The Number of between Two and Three Hundred Years, is to the Seventh Millennium, as the Evening of the Sixth Day to the Sabbath. Adding it unto the Thousand Years, it will render them as many above Twelve Hundred, as to aequal the Reign of the Saints, in Duration, to that of Antichrist.

204. Romulus Augustulus (fl. 475) was the last Emperor of the West.

205. See 2 Peter 3:8.

206. See Matthew 24, esp. verse 22. Also see Mark 13:20.

[ms. (90.)] |But thus far I have endeavoured the Satisfaction of my Excellent friend. If I proceed any further, I shall overwhelm him, rather than Satisfye him. This is, I suppose, the Longest Letter (but one) that ever I wrote in my Life; and in Length sufficiently Transgressing the Lines and Rules of an Epistle which according to Seneca, should not, Implore manum Legentis.²⁰⁷ But if upon the perusal, he find the Truth on my side, such a sincere Lover of Truth is hee, That he will yeild himself a Glad Captive to it, Tho' its Chariott should be drawn, by the Pen of One Every way his Inferiour; and as hee will not Count the Reading of such a Tedious Essay, to be a Toyl, no more will I, the Writing of it. He most obligingly makes a particular mention of me, in the prayers with which he Dayly perfumes his Holy Study; If he still Count me in an Error, he will oblige me, by adding This Petition to the Rest, that ascend from him, on my behalf, That God, would more enlighten His Poor Servant, in the Mysteryes of His Kingdome.²⁰⁸

[ms. (91.)] And now, tho' Paulinus the Bishop of Nola, very severely Chid Sulpicius Severus, for subscribing his Letter wth Your Servant, [Imitari praestantem in Omnibus mihi Fraternitatem tuam timui, quia tutius Credidi vere Scribere; Cave Ergo posthac, SERVUS in Libertatem Vocatus, hominis, et Fratris, et Conservi inferioris SERVUM te subscribere:]²⁰⁹ Yett my Excellent Friend will Give me Leave to subscribe myself,

Truely, & Allwayes,
Your Servant,
|Cotton Mather|

Boston Dec. 25.

1703.²¹⁰

[ms. (92.) blank]

207. Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger) (c. 4 B.C.—65 A.D.) was a Roman Stoic philosopher. Latin: 'Beg the hand of the reader.'

208. Mather refers to the Biblical metaphor of prayer rising like incense to God.

209. St. Paulinus (353/4—431) was Bishop of Nola. Many of his letters to well-known Christians of his era survive, as do 13 of his letters to Sulpicius Severus (c. 360—c. 420), Latin historian and Christian. Latin: 'I was afraid to imitate your brotherliness to me, which excels in all respects, since I believed it better to write truly; beware therefore after this—called "Servant" though free—of signing yourself the servant of a man and a brother and an unworthy fellow slave.'

210. Ms. 90 and 91 are cancelled.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF AUTHORIAL CANCELLATIONS
AND EMENDATIONS

Given the uniformity of ink and the brevity of most of the authorial cancellations and emendations, it is difficult to distinguish with confidence between those corrections made by Mather and those by his amanuensis. Unless otherwise noted, I treat authorial cancellations and emendations as coming from Mather's hand.

I have noted the page-line reference followed by the lemma, followed by a left-opening bracket. For more complicated emendations, I have given descriptive textual notes.

I have used the following symbols and abbreviations.

- |*| = illegible word cancellation
- |. | = illegible letter cancellation
- | | = legible cancellation
- { } = reconstruction
- {?} = questionable reconstruction
- > < = marginal insertion
- < > = interlinear insertion

- 366.4 His] his Mather wrote over the lower case 'h'
- 366.4 His Vanquished] His |many Conquered En|
- 366.5 the Vanquished] the |En| Vanquished
- 366.8 lemma. This is all] 'This all that we Chiliasts do ask for;' added in margin with a caret directing its insertion after 'Matter;'. I have supplied the author's missing 'is' as noted in Appendix B.
- 366.10 permitt Your] permitt |me not to pr| Your
- 366.13-367.10 lemma. |To| 'To... God. |' is cancelled in the text with wavy vertical lines from top to bottom of the pages in the same manner that the concluding passage of the epistle is cancelled on 428.1-27. I have kept this cancelled passage in the text because its length and function as the epistle's original address seems to warrant its inclusion.
- 366.14-15 Mr N. N.; in S.] Mr. N|icholas|N|oyes|; in S|alem|
- 366.29 being thought] <thought>
- 366.30 being thought] >thought<

- 367.7 do not] do |n'|
 367.10 God. Syr,] God. |Now,|
 367.25 thing on] thing <on>
 367.25 and in] and <?> This marginal insertion is illegible.
 367.26 Apocalypse] Apocalypse with 'i'
 367.27 than the] than |that of|
 367.27 Pyrrhonian] Pyrr<h>onian
 368.1 Coming] coming It appears that the amanuensis wrote a capital 'C' over the lower case 'c'.
 368.1 Unintelligible] It appears that the capital 'U' was written over a lower case 'u' and that the third 'i' was written over an 'a'.
 368.3 Persius] It appears that the 'ius' were written over 'ias'.
 368.3-4 promised unto] promised <unto>
 368.4 unto the] unto |to|
 368.9 to & fro] to |.|
 368.14 humbly offer,] humbly |Lay before You| <offer,>
 368.22 Christians, are] Christians, <are>
 368.22 Agreed] It appears that a capital 'A' is written over a lower case 'a'.
 369.13 Carretus] 'arretus' written over unintelligible initial spelling.
 369.18 of us,] of |You| <us>
 369.19 Twice? we] Twice? |You| <we>
 369.22-23 lemma. and Sitt] 'and Sitt . . . Flame;' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after '[Ch. 7. 10.]'.
 369.23 Flame; which] Flame; |With the Clouds of Heaven;|
 369.26 Briefly, we] Briefly, |You| <we>
 369.28 and we] and |You| <we>
 370.2 that we shall] that |You will| <we shall>
 370.6 And, Syr] And, <Syr>
 370.11 is, an] is, |(You know it and serve it, and Love to <do>so)|
 370.11 who rely] The last letter of 'rely' is written heavily over the original spelling and is followed by an unintelligible, single-letter cancellation.
 370.16 be His Body, and] be <His Body, and>
 370.27-371.1 lemma. Then will] 'Then will . . . God' added at the end of a paragraph with the rest of the addition written in the margin.
 370.27-371.3 lemma. of the] of the . . . Sayings of God.' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'The Lord God'.
 371.19 highly] hig <h>ly
 372.25-26 lemma. [under what] '[under what . . . of it!]' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'West,'.

- 372.27 about a Trifle.] about <a Trifle.> |another.|
- 373.24 have] It appears that the final two letters of 'hath' were written over with 've'.
- 373.25 shall] It appears that the final two letters of 'shalt' were written over with 'll'.
- 374.9 Time of] Time |T| of
- 374.16 the World?] the Earth,|
- 374.19 of the] of <the>
- 374.27 Suppose, every one] Suppose, |You| <every one>
- 375.12 Dionysius] The first 'i' is written over a 'y' and the 'y' in the middle of the word is written over an 'i'. The letters 'o' and 'n' are redrawn.
- 375.13 lemma. better Credit] 'better Credit of the' added interlinearly, with a caret directing its insertion at the beginning of the line before 'Book'.
- 375.25 that] tha |p| <t>
- 376.19 May I] <May I> |Will You|
- 376.20 be allow'd a] <be> allow'd |of| a
- 376.22 If we] If |You| <we>
- 376.23 we shall see] <we shall> |You will| see
- 376.31 a Fourth part] a |Fifth| <Fourth> part
- 376.31 if we] if |You| <we>
- 376.36 if You please,] if You <please,> |will|
- 376.36 the First] the |first| >|first|< <First>
- 377.6 we know] |You| <we>know
- 377.14 If these] If |You don't like| these
- 377.14 lemma. be not] 'be not liked of,' added between lines, with a caret directing its insertion after 'Hints'.
- 377.14 I have] |hat| Possibly the amanuensis began writing 'hath'.
- 377.16 Syr,] <Syr,>
- 377.24 Austin] Austin |e|
- 378.15 almost] <almost>
- 378.16 shall Remember] shall |mention|
- 378.19 Say, O] Say, |oh|
- 379.3 tell us] tell |You| <us>
- 379.21 Deceiving some] Deceiving |the| <some>
- 379.30 If we] If |You| <we>
- 380.13 the horrid] the |Dolefull| >horrid<
- 380.16 Rycaut] The 'y' is written over an 'i'.
- 380.16 lemma. Lett any] 'Lett any Sober Christian' added between lines, with a caret directing its insertion after 'and'.

- 380.16 if he can] if <he> |You| can
- 381.1 the fearful Abominations] the |horrid| <fearful> |*| Abominations
- 381.3 have] <have>
- 381.5 lemma. O Sober] 'O Sober Christian,' added between lines, with a caret directing its insertion after 'say,'
- 381.5 if it be possible] if |You can| <it be possible>
- 381.11 now] <now>
- 381.12 it can] it |*| <can>
- 381.26 referr those who] referr |You, if You| <those who>
- 381.29-382.8 lemma. One of] 'One of the . . . Strokes of o^r Doctrine.' added in the margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after 'Yea,'
- 381.29 Lately] <Lately> |at this day, living|
- 382.4-5 invenio . . . tam] Two Latin words within this phrase are illegible.
- 382.11 I] I |would|
- 382.11-13 lemma. I hope] 'I hope we shall . . . Person' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'I |would|'. Mather accidentally repeated the word 'I' in his marginal addition, and I have removed it from the text.
- 382.13 Proselyted,] preceded by |fain have You to be |
- 382.14 be his] be |Your| his
- 382.14 ffellow-Proselytes,] ffellow-Proselytes, |(as I am informed,) <is, This;>|
- 382.19 I wish] |If you will| <I wish they that will>
- 382.19 perswaded, would] perswaded, |You must,| <would>
- 382.20 me their] me |Your| <their>
- 383.10 They shall] They |s| shall
- 383.15 entitled,] |*|This cancelled word appears to be a misspelling of 'entitled'.
- 384.8 make] make |s|
- 384.27 mild] <mild>
- 385.1 some think,] <some think,>
- 385.11 ffathers,] ffathers, |you know,|
- 385.12-13 lemma. (as Vossius] '(as Vossius . . . carry it,)' added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after 'mean'.
- 386.29 I will,] |If| I will,
- 387.2 but] <but>
- 388.22 qui justa] qui |ju| justa

- 388.25 [Rev. 1. 7.] [Rev. 1. |. | 7.]
- 389.17 Gregentius | Greg |. | <e> ntius
- 389.17 Herbanus | Herb |. | <a> nus
- 389.17 the] the |.
- 390.5 rely] rely |. | It appears that the 'y' is written over another letter and that a fifth letter has been thoroughly blotted out next to the 'y'.
- 390.23 Will Inquisitive and Judicious Men] Will |my| Inquisitive and Judicious |Friend|
- 390.23 Men] >Men<
- 390.24 the] <the> Messiah
- 391.20 of the] of |the| the
- 392.9 Him, certainly implies] Him, |is no other than| <certainly implies>
- 392.11 was very strangely] was |most wickedly and profanely| <very strangely>
- 392.13 he sais] he |*|<sais>
- 392.16 lemma. Heaven. The Jewes] 'The Jewes were so far in the sight of it, That it would have been Blasphemy, for to assign this Glory of being, The Son of Man, Coming in the Clouds of Heaven, unto any but the CHRIST. What a double and a deep dy'd Blasphemy then is thine, O Grotius, to assign this Incommunicable Glory, unto a Thing, which neither thou, nor anyone else <ever> took to be the Christ? But what we have now to maintain, is, That the Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven, is no other than the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' cancelled by author and marginal insertion made.
- 392.16-18 lemma. I am] 'I am willing . . . very coming of y^e Ancient of Days' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.'
- 392.16 to receive] to |admitt of|
- 392.17 Man, by] Man, |.
- 392.25 Days, with a] Days |It was this very Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven |,
- 392.26 foretold] |. |foretold
- 392.28 Jesus from] Jesus |Christ|
- 392.33 Himself] >Himself<
- 393.10-11 lemma. The Exhibition] 'The Exhibition . . . from Him' in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'II.'

- 393.10 erected for] erected |from|
 393.11 from Him, is to be] from Him |the Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven, with a Kingdome given to Him |,
 393.23 us] |You| <us>
 394.14 lemma. [which, by] '[which, by y^e . . . Antichrist!]' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'The Vicar of Christ:'
 395.2 accomplished.] accomp |she| lished.
 395.9 and] & and
 395.12 to One like y^e] to |y^e| >One like y^e<
 395.13 Coming with] Coming |in|
 395.17 III. The] III. |The Coming of the Son of Man in the Clouds of Heaven|
 395.17 lemma. The Ancient] 'The Ancient . . . Himself' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'III.'
 396.31 If] >If<
 398.6 the Beginning] the |{beg?}|
 398.20 I] >I<
 399.11 de] >de<
 399.18 Vasquez] Vasque |e|z
 399.21-22 upon a Thorough Protestant,] upon |You| <a Thorough Protestant>
 399.23 wherein he is] wherein |You are| <he is>
 400.13 have unhinged] have |happened|
 401.4 Syr,] <Syr,> |my ffriend,|
 401.5 Key] Key |.|
 401.6-15 lemma. There is] 'There is . . . Antichrist.' added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after 'Accomplishment of it.'
 401.8-9 of the Dead] |from| of the Dead
 402.12 beyond admiration] beyond |all|
 402.18 might very] might |b|
 402.32 a] <a>
 402.32 Argument] Argument |s|
 403.6 Church] Chu <r> ch
 403.23 its] <its>
 404.27 become] become |s|
 405.14 I Live] |.I Live
 405.18 whom] <whom>
 406.24 The] The |n|

- 407.12 work of] | >work of< | <work of>
- 408.22–27 lemma. When the] ‘When the . . . this world.’ added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after ‘perilous.’
- 409.8 Justin] Justin |e|
- 409.27 it,] <it>,,
- 411.24 Wise] It appears that the lower case ‘w’ was written over to make a capital ‘W’.
- 411.30 Dog,] Dog, |s|
- 412.3 Answer] Answer |s|
- 413.1 I know] I |do| |al|
- 414.22 Siculus] Si |. | culus
- 415.8 an] |and| <an>
- 415.17 GOD] It appears that this word was ‘God’ until all letters were made capitals.
- 416.30 Why,] >Why,<
- 417.23 hard to] hard |to| <to>
- 417.32–419.10 lemma. That y^e] ‘That y^e . . . Besides,’ added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after ‘Briefly;’.
- 419.1 God are] God |were|
- 419.3 we imagine] we | {say?} |
- 419.5 another. You] another | Besides|
- 419.8 Considerations,] Considerations, |*| |. |
- 420.11 free; I] free; |with You;|
- 420.28 Conflagration] Conflag <r>ation
- 421.9 Hundredth] Hundre<d>th
- 421.13 Lives prolonged] Lives |*|
- 421.14 Babylonian] Babylonian |s|
- 421.17 that, I] that |Speculation|
- 422.29 lemma. But] ‘But it is intimated in the’ added between lines. The insertion continues in the margin.
- 422.29–423.3 lemma. Scriptures] ‘Scriptures . . . written of.’ added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after the interlinear insertion on line 29 reading ‘But it is intimated in the’.
- 423.2 them, and] them, |*|
- 423.4 Quaere; How] Quaere; |Whether all| <How far>
- 423.4 be extinguished] be |wholly|
- 423.6–7 lemma. But] ‘But . . . by His’ added between lines, with the insertion being continued in the margin.

- 423.7-8 lemma. Good] 'Good . . . unto y^m.' added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after the interlinear insertion of line 7 ending with the word 'His'.
- 423.11-12 lemma. (as] '(as . . . us,)' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after 'Heavens,'.
- 423.14 Cloud] Cloud |s|
- 423.15 [Isa. 4. 5, 6]<[Isa. 4. 5, 6]>
- 423.18 Beds. There] Beds. |[Isa. 4. 5, 6]
- 423.32 then,] >then,<
- 424.3 among the Nations] <among the> |many|
- 424.3-9 lemma. They] 'They . . . Revealed.' added in margin, with a double caret directing its insertion after 'Nations.'
- 424.5 out generally] out | {from all places?}|
- 424.8-9 Government, whereto] Government, |*,|
- 424.10-11 their Numbers] their | all by|
- 424.33 given, but] given | You|,
- 425.2 now we] now | You| <we>
- 425.2 in Our] in | Y| Our
- 425.3 more we] more | You| >we<
- 425.5 we shall find] <we shall> | You will|
- 425.23 (for Instance,)] <(for Instance,)>
- 425.28 Ruled] Rule<d>
- 425.29 Thyatira] Thyatira The 'i' was written over the second 'y'.
- 425.36-426.1 lemma. where] 'where . . . often' added in margin, with a triple caret directing its insertion after 'Goodness'.
- 426.1 often do it] often | in all replies of Yours, yett I do not know, but some others, to whom the manuscript may be exposed, may reply upon it; And if they|
- 426.1 so much] <so much>
- 426.2 or Slander] or |wth|
- 426.3 Darkness,) as to Strengthen] Darkness,) |it will be but|
- 426.3 as to Strengthen] <as to Strengthen> with a caret directing its insertion after Darkness,).
- 426.3 that there] that |I am in the Right.|
- 426.3-4 lemma. there] 'there . . . to.' added between lines.
- 426.7 of CHRIST] of | Chri|
- 426.21 Excommunication] Excom<∞>unication This symbol is written over the 'm'; I take it to indicate a doubling of that letter.
- 426.23 to] <to>
- 427.4 all Captivity,] <all>
- 427.11 more than] <more than>

- 428.1-27 lemma. But] ['But . . . Dec. 25. 1703.'] is cancelled in the text with wavy vertical lines from top to bottom of the pages in the same manner that the introductory address to Nicholas Noyes is cancelled on 366.13-367.10. I have kept this cancelled passage in the text because its length and function as the epistle's closing seem to warrant its inclusion.
- 428.3 (but one)] <(but one)>
- 428.5-6 lemma. which] 'which . . . Legentis.' added in margin, with a caret directing its insertion after Epistle'.
- 428.10 Tedious Essay] Tedious | a]
- 428.25 Mather's signature is so thoroughly cancelled that the paper has torn away from part of it.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF EDITORIAL EMENDATIONS

I have noted the page-line reference followed by the lemma, followed by a left-opening bracket. For more complicated emendations, I have given descriptive textual notes.

I have used the following symbols and abbreviations.

- |*| = illegible word cancellation
 |.| = illegible letter cancellation
 || = legible cancellation
 { } = reconstruction
 {?} = questionable reconstruction
 > < = marginal insertion
 < > = interlinear insertion
 del. = deleted
 aft. = after

- 364.3 'Cotton Mather' is written in pencil in the left margin, evidently by an archivist. I have del. it from the text.
- 364.18 'to CM' is inserted aft. 'In a Letter', evidently by an archivist. I have del. it from the text.
- 365.10 tho'] tho'' The double apostrophe appears to be a misstroke. I have deleted it from the text.

- 365.16 ask,] ask,,
 366.8 Matter;] Matter,;
 366.8 This is] This all
 366.1-2 'Mr. Nicholas Noyes in Salem' is written in pencil to the right of the address heading the page. This is evidently the work of an archivist.
 366.3-5 'N. B. This work is not in the handwriting of of the Rev. Cotton Mather.' is written in pencil below the above-mentioned inscription to the right of the address heading the page. This is evidently the work of an archivist.
 368.15 I del. the catchword 'That'.
 370.21 I del. the catchword 'an'.
 373.24 I del. the catchword 'ing' and the hyphen at the beginning of ms. 11.
 375.26 I del. the catchword 'rity' and the hyphen at the beginning of ms. 14.
 379.9 The amanuensis began writing the 'a' of the word 'are' on this first line of ms. 19 before continuing the indentation of the previous page.
 381.21 Mr.] The letter following the capital 'M' in the manuscript is undecipherable; 'My' is another possibility.
 382.8 I del. the catchword 'But'.
 382.11-12 I hope] Mather accidentally repeated 'T' in this marginal addition; I have removed it from the text.
 382.24 I del. the catchword 'But'.
 384.30 I del. the catchword 'which'.
 386.32 I del. the catchword 'of'.
 387.17 I del. the catchword 'Dayes'.
 388.8 I del. the catchword 'the'.
 390.15 I del. the catchword 'at'.
 391.23 I del. the catchword 'But'.
 392.27 I del. the catchword 'of'.
 396.3 I del. the catchword 'is'.
 396.7-12 lemma. 'Lett] "Lett . . . those Ten Kings.'" The manuscript indicates the beginning of the quotation with a single quotation mark (like modern apostrophe) and the same mark in the margin before the first word of each line of the quotation. I have not included these marginal marks. I have added a single quotation mark to the end of the quotation where the manuscript had none.
 402.18 I del. the catchword 'Four'.

- 403.7 I del. the catchword 'the'.
- 404.16 I del. the catchword 'of'.
- 404.20–25 lemma. 'To make] "To make . . . away." The manuscript indicates the beginning of the quotation from Dr. Cressener with a single quotation mark (like modern apostrophe) and the same mark in the margin before the first word of each line of the quotation. I have not included these marginal marks. I have also added a single quotation mark to the end of the quotation where the manuscript had none.
- 405.9 I del. the catchword '-domes' at the end of ms. 57 and the hyphen at the beginning of ms. 58.
- 406.16 I del. the catchword 'First;'.
407.20–21 I del. the catchword 'ed' at the end of ms. 61 and the hyphen at the beginning of ms. 62.
- 407.21–25 lemma. That] "That . . . Hands." The manuscript indicates the beginning of the quotation with a single quotation mark (like modern apostrophe) and the same mark in the margin before the first word of each line of the quotation. I have not included these marginal marks. I have also added a single quotation mark to the end of the quotation where the manuscript had none.
- 408.8 I del. the catchword 'of'.
- 410.10 it,] <it>, It appears that a comma was already present when 'it,' was added between the lines. I have deleted one of the commas from the text.
- 411.30 Dog, Dog,s, It appears that the word was 'Dogs,' and that when the 's' was cancelled, another comma was added. I have deleted one of the commas.
- 413.32 I del. the catchword 'they'.
- 415.18 the] thei It appears that this was a misstroke. I have emended the word to 'the'.
- 415.32 I del. the catchword 'at'.
- 417.9 I del. the catchword '&'.
- 420.16 I del. the catchword 'when'.
- 423.32 Talents, Talents, It appears that one of these commas was a misstroke, and I have deleted it from the text.
- 426.6–11 lemma. 'That] "That . . . Knowledge." The manuscript indicates the beginning of the quotation from *The Thousand Years* with a single quotation mark (like modern apostrophe) and the same mark in the margin before the first word of each line of the quotation. I have not included these marginal marks. I have

also added a single quotation mark to the end of the quotation where the manuscript had none.

426.15 I del. the catchword 'will'.

426.21 Excommunication] Excom< ~~∞~~ >unication This symbol is written over the 'm'; I take it to indicate a doubling of that letter.

426.23 him, to] him,, <to> The second comma appears to be a misstroke of the caret that directs the insertion of 'to'. I have deleted the second comma from the text.

428.5 Epistle] Epistle. Mather did not cancel this period when he made the marginal insertion that follows 'Epistle'; I have deleted this period from the text.

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