

ANTIQUARY

The James Durham MSS IV: Lectures on the Revelation of John

INTRODUCTION

Since the last Antiquary entry on this subject, James Durham manuscript material continues to be discovered.¹ In May of 2019, as I began research and work on a new edition of Durham's lectures on the book of The Revelation of John, Matthew Vogan informed me that there was a volume of manuscript lectures on Revelation chapters 1–11, which may have been by Durham. However, the catalogue entry contained no attribution.² After some further correspondence and investigation, it was confirmed from the opening lines, that the notes were indeed a manuscript of the lectures given by James Durham, and not merely notes, but a fairly complete text of an early form of the lectures. The first lecture is dated February 6, 1653, which

1. This is the fifth in a series of articles pertaining to James Durham manuscript materials. See previous *Antiquary* instalments: "The James Durham MSS Held by Glasgow University," *The Confessional Presbyterian* v5 (2009); "The James Durham MSS Part II," v7 (2011); "A Transcription of James Durham's Sermon on Ephesians 4:11–12, taught before the Synod of Glasgow, October 5, 1652," v12 (2016); "The James Durham MS III: James Durham's 228 Sermons on Song of Solomon 2–8," v13 (2017). Since this was not conceived as an ongoing series, the reader will please pardon the inconsistent numbering of the articles.

2. Email and social media correspondence with Matthew Vogan, May 2019.

3. Durham was called to serve as minister in Glasgow Cathedral and began ministry there in October of 1652. He took up preaching on the Song of Solomon chapter 2–8, which he most likely completed late in 1655. It is clear then, that only a year into his ministry he began also to lecture on the Revelation of John, which he likely completed about May of 1655 (assuming one lecture a week and one week off every fifth week; see the biography and possible preaching schedule in *A Commentary upon the Book of the Revelation*, vol. 3 (Naphtali Press Special Editions, 2022 forthcoming). Thus, as John Carstares noted, Durham began his ministry in Glasgow by tackling two of the most "mysterious" books of Scripture at the same time. Carstares, preface, *Clavis Cantici* (1668).

4. The first volume of three planned of Durham's Lectures on Revelation appeared as the first volume inaugurating a new annually produced series of books titled Naphtali Press Special Editions.

5. My thanks to David C. Lachman for his assessment of the period and type of binding from the photograph. See also, David Pearson, *English Bookbinding Styles 1450–1800* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2014).

meant that these lectures likely were in the early original state before Durham reworked them for publication in the closing year of his life as he declined from the effects of tuberculosis.³ In the preface to the lectures, Robert Baillie noted Durham did not have time to polish the texts for publication, which might lead one to expect little significant variation between the 1653 manuscript and the 1658 published text. This proved not to be quite the case. As one would expect, the digressions, which are plainly stated to have been added for publication, are not present. However, many of the lectures appear to be significantly reworked. So the manuscript lectures appear to be "fair copies" or more probably copied from refined or "fair copies" of Durham's remarks taken down by one or more persons who were in the congregation. Over the following two years, photographs were obtained and much of the text and many full lectures were transcribed and presented in notes and appendices in the first two volumes of a new three volume edition of Durham's lectures on Revelation.⁴

The description of the manuscript is as follows: New College Library, Edinburgh. MS Rev 2. "REVELATION, Book of. [Commentary of Revelation ch. 1–11.] 4^o." Binding is a circa 1700 stationary binding in poor, but typical condition, in reverse English calf, with cover designs of two concentric frames joined at the corners made of tripled blind fillets.⁵ "No pagin. [c.400p..] Dated on p. 1: 6th Feb. 1653." Sadly, there is no history or indication of prior ownership of the volume that may have helped explain any relation to the published text.

There is a complicated mixture of two main handwriting styles with apparent evidence of gaps left and filled in by possibly different hands at points. There is at least one additional hand on one page. None of the handwriting is Durham's. The lectures on chapter one are all in Hand A (pp. 1–90). Hand B begins with the lectures on chapter 2 and run through the first lecture on chapter four (pp. 91–178). Hand A picks up and runs a long ways (pp. 179–342) with a possible brief reversion to Hand B but this is not certain (pp. 294–295). Hand C appears briefly on page 308. Hand B finishes out the volume (pp. 343–497). There are variations within the identified hands which may be due to tiredness, variation in ink, quills, etc., or just possibly additional hands doing the work. The writing is generally in one column of text per page. However, there is one interesting variation from that norm. Beginning at page 260, there are three pages where the writer switches to a double column text in some apparent effort to fill in a gap left for missing text to the point it reverts back to single column again. The inside column continues from the previous page and the text continues in the inside column to take up again on the next single column page. The outside columns have an out of sequence text, but no instruction where this text is supposed to fit in that lecture. The text is light to very faint on all three of the double column pages.

It is not certain what all this could mean other than that several individuals were helping to compile a full text for some purpose, such as personal use, or possibly for Durham's use. At this point, there is no evidence proving the use of this particular manuscript by Durham to produce his refined text for publication (e.g., clear editorial changes, text in Durham's handwriting, etc.).⁶

It is not the intent and quite impossible to present for comparison any significant amount of material from what these two volumes now in print contain (respectively 504 and 632 pages in length) and the text of MSRev2. However, to give a hint and to take an opportunity to present some content in a somewhat different manner, opportunity is taken to present several lectures from James Durham's Revelation lectures in a side by side comparison.

The first example of the types of changes James Durham made to the notes of his lectures on Revelation, is the second lecture on chapter two. This lecture is of interest because it is tied to documentation given in a life of Durham, noting that a manuscript of the lectures existed nearly 70 years after his death. In "A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author's Life" appended to the 1726 edition of the Revelation lectures, the biographer writes: "There is a manuscript copy of the lectures on the Revelation still preserved, which appears to be in the same words as he delivered them, and is the same in substance with that in print; only it has sundry observations, here and there, which are not in print; the most material one, it is presumed, will not be unacceptable to some readers to be here inserted."⁷ The text in the left column is the published text with the text of the observation given in the 1726 biography inserted, and on the right is the considerably different text of the same lecture in MSRev2. The reference in this lecture to "late confusions," relates to the fact that Durham ministered in Glasgow in the 1650s, which was the time of Cromwell's occupation, which brought an influx of the various ideas and sects that had been rampant in London. During the same period, the Scottish Church was rent by the Protester-Resolutioner schism, in which Durham attempted to play peacemaker and reconciler, to no avail. For information covering this period, see the introductions in *Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh, 1652–1657*, ed. William Stephen (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1921); *Johnston of Warriston's Diary*, vol. 2, ed. David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1919); vol. 3, ed. James D. Ogilvie (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1940); and see J. Ogilvie, "A bibliography of the Resolutioner-Protester controversy, 1650–1659," *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* (1930) 14:57–86. For a recovered history from various records long overlooked, see Kyle D. Holfelder, "Factionalism in the Kirk during the Cromwellian Invasion and Occupation of Scotland, 1650 to

1660: The Protester-Resolutioner Controversy," Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Edinburgh (1998).

Lectures two and three on Revelation chapter seven present some of the usual editing by James Durham to refine the text, by rephrasing, adding, or omitting material, such as the more direct, and often quite poignant, applications and uses directed to his Glasgow congregation. Less usual, they present a case where material in one lecture (lecture three) was removed and placed in another (lecture two) of the final published form of the text. With the omission of the uses and additional material in the observations, lecture three is shorter than most, and the remaining text is not significantly different than the manuscript. The one addition of any consequence is the addition of a reference to Bellarmine's *Controversiarum de Summo Pontifice*.

Another interesting lecture is the first lecture on chapter nine, which in MSRev2 has a short preamble that may have been the original first lecture on that chapter, but for some reason was very brief, followed by a second lecture labeled as lecture 1. The two texts were considerably revised for publication to form a single first lecture on chapter nine.

In the manuscript text, words inserted to help with the meaning are within square brackets and if italicized define the preceding word or words. A question mark [?, (?)] denotes hard to read letters or some doubt about the transcription of a word or words. Words that were underlined in the manuscript or words or phrases that ended with an unpaired closing square bracket ("]") are set in italics. A sword (†) indicates there was no underlining for emphasis in the original. All quotation marks have been added. Formatting, modernization of spelling, verb agreement, punctuation, etc., are updated without notice. Any crossed out text is that way in the original.

The published texts are the lectures as edited and presented in the first two volumes of Durham's lectures, published in the new series, Naphtali Press Special Editions: *A Commentary upon the Book of the Revelation Lectures on Chapters 1–3*, by James Durham (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, 2020), and *A Commentary upon the Book of the Revelation, Lectures on Chapters 4–11*, by James Durham (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, 2021).

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6. My thanks to the assistance of hand writing expert Evelyn A. Gillies, BSc MSc PhD FSSoc Dip MCSFS, who confirmed the identification of the two main hands, and the brief third and suggested reasons for the other variations.

7. "A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author's Life," in *Commentary on Revelation* (Glasgow: Printed by William Duncan, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Salt-market, in Gibson's-Land, M.DCC.XXXIX [1739]). Cf. *Collected Sermons of James Durham*, v. 2, 72 Sermons on Isaiah 53 (Naphtali Press and Reformation Heritage Books, 2017), pp. 41–42.

REVELATION, CHAPTER TWO, LECTURE TWO

4. *Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love.*
5. *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.*

The first example of the editorial changes made by James Durham to the notes of his lectures on Revelation, is the second lecture on chapter two. This lecture is of interest because it is tied to documentation given in a life of Durham, noting that a manuscript of the lectures existed nearly 70 years after his death.

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Our Lord Jesus is the faithful and true witness, who impartially testifies, both of what is right and what is wrong in His church. We have heard His commendation showing what was right. He began at that to make way for the other part of His testimony, which is to discover what was wrong, and it is set down in verse 4.

I. More generally by a transition from the commendation, *Nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee*; that is, “though all these things be true, and you be commendable in them, and I commend you for them;” yet there is a *nevertheless* added; “that is not all, there are some things wrong which I also take notice of, and will quarrel for, though there be many things right.” This shows: 1. Our Lord Jesus’ impartiality in taking notice of all, good and ill. And 2. It shows the extent of duty which consists in a universal respect to all His commands, and failing in some things may be as a dead fly in a box of ointment, to mar the savor of the rest [Eccl. 10:1]. And 3. That it is meet for believers to know their whole estate, their ill, as well as their good. Both are useful to them to be known, and both are represented by our Lord Jesus unto them. His commending of them alters not what is justly reprobable; His reproof prejudices them not in what is commendable. This way believers ought to take in reference to themselves. 4. It shows that even believers should take a reproof, as well as a commendation, especially when it comes from our Lord Jesus’ mouth; yea, though in many things they be right, yet should a reproof, notwithstanding thereof, be digested in anything wherein they are wrong.

II. The particular reproof is set down, *thou hast fallen from thy first love*. 1. By *love* here is not understood the object beloved, as it is said of widows (1 Tim. 5:12), who had cast off their *first faith*; it was not so here. **There was no public defection in matter of doctrine**, as the commendation preceding clears. 2. Nor is it necessary here to be understood principally of a decay of love in the habit itself, but in the exercise and fruits thereof, as is clear by the opposition following, *do the first works*, which points out the fault reproofed to have

Our Lord Jesus is the faithful witness and what testimony He gives may be leve [*left aside*] in the former part. He has been speaking to what was commendable in the church, and they are things right commendable in so far as concerns their outward way of administration. In the rest of the epistle, we have these four things more. 1. The intimation of a quarrel that was betwixt Him and her, for all the commendation He had given there, yet *nevertheless I have found somewhat against thee*. 2. The particular quarrel is laid down, *Because thou hast left thy first love*. 3. A direction what to do for remedy, *Remember therefore from whence thou art fallen and repent and do the first works*. 3. [*sic*] To make the direction and exhortation have the more weight, to tell them that He was serious and in sad [*serious*] earnest and that whatever they thought of their sin, He thought much of it, He adds a threatening, *else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place*, which in a word says that they should be no church. 4. And last in the threatening, [*lest*] He should be mistaken [*mistrusted*] as if He looked on their cure and delivery as [a] desperate condition, He tells them of some good things they had which He approved of, v. 6. *This thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate.*†

To make the words more clear, it may be ASKED, what is meant by their falling from or leaving of their first love?

ANSWER. By *love* here not [*sic*] understood not the object beloved. They had not altered their profession. **This was no public defection among them, as what is spoken of these widows, 1 Timothy 5:12**, who are said to have cast off their first faith; that is, the first profession of their faith and fallen away from it. That was not so with these Ephesians. They were professing the truth in purity and had discipline in exercise in thoro[e] [*throughout*]. 2. That which then is meant by falling from their first love is something inward. It is the grace of love in the heart and in so far as concerns their Christian walk that they were fallen from. And so, 1. Though they were outwardly zealous in the form of religion, yet they were fallen from the inward tender frame that once they had. 2. It is not

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consisted in the neglect of these, which is again removed by the performing of them; though we think there is a suitability between the habit and its fruits, as it is with the one, so is it with the other, and few acts and fruits do evidence the habit thereof to be cold and languishing. 3. Neither do we understand here by *falling* from their first love, a total falling from fruits, but comparatively a **falling from some former acts and degrees**, or their vigorous manner of acting from love, as they had wont formerly to do, called *first love* here, and afterwards, *first works*.

By comparing then this reproof with the commendation, we conceive it includes these three:

1. A falling from those duties wherein especially true love to God and charity to others consisted; that is, they were much in outward reformation, profession and zeal that way, but wanting [*lacking*] inwardly, heart-burning love and affection to God, and so in some measure were hypocritical in that their love within was not answerable to their profession without, but were more taken up in external fruits, than in the inward exercise of love, in so far agreeing with the Pharisees in that fault reproved, *Ye tithe mint, etc.*, but *pass over judgment and the love of God* (Luke 11:42).

2. As it looks to others it may say, though there was zeal in the external worship of God, yet there was great defect of that love, sympathy, and affection of one of them, with and to another that should be; this being ordinary, that love inflamed to God-ward, and love one to another, go together. And therefore, as it imports they had fallen from their former warm impressions of love to God, so also from their kindly affection one to another, and had fallen in part to be more in sacrifice and externals of worship, than in mercy and love one to another (Hosea 6:[6-]7; Matt. 12:7).

3. The third is a decay of love in the manner of doing duties, so that though they continued in the practice of former duties towards God, and towards others, yet in respect of love to God, as the principle acting them in such duties or affections towards others, they had much decayed, and therefore may be charged to have fallen from their first love, though they continued in the external performances because the former native vigor and life in those duties was decayed.

Whence we may gather that there may be many things commendable in a church or in a person, and yet there may be a secret quarrel between Christ and them, as Psalm 78 verses 34-36, compared together do show; yea, that there may be many things right in a believer in respect of externals, and yet a dissatisfaction to Jesus Christ in their secret condition. That this angel and many of these written to in this church were believers, this reproof clears, which supposes them once to have had love. That they have many things commendable,

the habit, nor any part of the habit of grace that they were fallen from, much less were they fully fallen from the estate of grace, but they were fallen from the actual exercise of grace in the measure and degree that once they were at. For it is not said they are fallen from their love simply, but from their first love, and so from their love not in respect of the habit, **but in respect of the degree** of it and in the fruits of love. Therefore, in the remedy which He prosecutes, He bids them do their first works. So their falling from their first love consists in these two things whereof they were guilty.

1. In a falling from these duties that especially did bear out their love to God and other of the people of God, and they were more taken up with duties that concerned the well being of their church, and their church-state and condition, than with the inward duties of holiness. They were zealous against corruptions creeping in amongst them and in taking order with corrupt men, and yet negligent in the duties of godliness and mercy, and we have a sin like the charge on the Pharisees [in] Luke 11:42. *Ye tithe mint and rue and all manner of herbs and pass over judgment and the love of God; these ye ought to have done and not left the other undone.*† And though we will not compare this church with the Pharisees, they being altogether hypocritical, yet the saints having hypocrisy in them, the heart coldrines [*coldness; lack of zeal*] may steal on them and [regardless] what they have in external duties, they may sit up [*become careless*] in more spiritual and inward duties and in the fruits of love toward God and their neighbor, and in some sort be as the Jews, more addicted to outward sacrifices than the works of mercy.

2. It consists in an inlaid [*deficiency*] in the manner of their doing duties, that though they had an outward zeal for religion, and an indignation against corrupt men that came in to corrupt it, a patience and stoutness in suffering for it, yet some corrupt principles stealing in upon them in so doing, and some coldrines of affection in the doing of duties called for from them, whether in the ministry to the people or in both ministry and people toward God and one another, these duties were not cleanly and spiritually carried on, and in this respect their first works are opposed in the manner of their discharge of them to their manner of performing duties now, as if He said, “Ye were sometimes wont to rebuke sin and feed my people out of love to me, but now ye are grown corrupt and fallen under a decay in that; therefore, do your first works. Remember love, warm your affection was once, and labor to regain that frame,” it being ordinary to believers at their first incoming to be warm in their love in doing duties to God and to another. In short, it is this, “nevertheless, for all that I have

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the former verse is clear; to wit, pure profession of truth, zealous exercise of discipline, diligence in doing, and laboring, patience in suffering, honesty in their end, *for Christ's name's sake*, and continuing in all these without fainting. Yet is there a *nevertheless* added, which may make hearts to tremble, and not to reckon their condition from external performances, and ought to put [*drive*] believers to it, to see how they will free themselves from this part of the challenge. 2. Our Lord Jesus especially takes notice of the love of His people, and is much swayed in His commendations and reproofs according as He finds it in exercise towards Him, and towards others. 3. Love within may be cold when folks' practices without look very hot, and upon the matter may be accepted of Christ. 4. Believers often at their first engaging to Christ, have their love more warm toward Him, and towards others, than afterward it will be; or believers ordinarily slip from that warmth of affection that accompanies their entry, and become more cold in their affections towards God and towards others; the first love continues not. 5. Backsliding and declining from what folk have been, either in profession or practice, is and will be a special article of Christ's charge. Hence is it that *hold fast* is so frequently repeated in the following epistles, not only to intimate what is our duty but also to evidence how ill the Lord takes declining when He finds it among His people—*If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him* (Heb. 10:38). 6. Every decay is a *falling* and hurts the work of grace proportionably as gross commissions do, and it is as impossible for a man to sit up [*become careless*] in the exercise of inward graces, and not to hurt them [*himself*], as for a man to fall from a height and not be wounded.

[OBSERVATION.¹ “Wonder not why God quarrels with Scotland; we need not say it is for corruption in doctrine or discipline, nor for our zealous going about it; that was not His quarrel with Ephesus. Therefore, He commends them for hating the deeds of the Nicolaitans. Neither is it his quarrel with us, but as it was **his quarrel with Ephesus**, that she was fallen from her first love, so it is with us. There has been much profession of love to God, and zeal for **him** in professors, and in the outward face of judicatories, **which we** are not to call in question, nor lay the quarrel on it. Our Lord Jesus would never

commended of in thee, there is something in thee that is not right. Though ye be zealous in externals, ye are short in the duties of mercy and in your charity to one another, neither are ye so warm in your love to Me, nor so single in doing duties as ye wont [*are accustomed*] to be.”

OBSERVE hence

That there may be many things commendable in a church or person, in a minister and people, and yet much hid peltry [*rubbish*] within, to speak so, much secret ground of quarrel for all that. It is a strong conmixion [*commingling*] that is like what will look to the commendation going before and compared with that which follows, *I know they works, and thy labor*, etc., *nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee.*[†] As Psalm 78: 34, 35, 36. There is a brave temper spoken of in the people, *when he slew them, then they sought him: and they returned and inquired early after God. They remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer.*[†] Yet there is added as God's censure; *Nevertheless, they did flatter him with their mouth, and they lied unto him with their tongues. For their heart was not right within.*[†] This was much unsound work within for as fair within as was without.

APPL. Wonder not why God quarrels with Scotland; we need not say it is for corruption in doctrine or discipline, nor for our zealous going about it; that was not His quarrel with Ephesus. Therefore, He commends them for hating the deeds of the Nicolaitans. Neither is it his quarrel with [against] us. But as it was **Ephesus's quarrel**,¹ that she was fallen from her first love, so it is with us. There has been much profession of love to God, and zeal for **God** in professors, and in the outward face of judicatories, **and which** we are not to call in question, nor lay the quarrel on it. Our Lord Jesus would never have quarreled Ephesus nor us for zeal and faithfulness.

1. This is the text of the Observation as given in the biography of 1726. It does not appear in the finalized lecture, but is put here to easily compare it to the version in *MSREV2*. In *A Collection of Some Memorable Things in the Author's Life* appended to the 1726 edition of the Revelation lectures, the biographer writes: “There is a manuscript copy of the lectures on the Revelation still preserved, which appears to be in the same words as he delivered them, and is the same in substance with that in print; only it has sundry observations, here and there, which are not in print; the most material one, it is presumed, will not be unacceptable to some readers to be here inserted.”

1. Here, the bolded text notes the minor differences between the version given in the 1726 biography of Durham and in *MSREV2*. The changes are not out of keeping with what an editor may have done, though it may also be the case that the text came from a different and perhaps more refined manuscript.

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have quarreled Ephesus nor us for zeal and faithfulness. But if we look to **his quarrel with Scotland**, it is defection—not an outward defection from the truth and purity of doctrine, nor from the external duties of religion, but an inward defection, a declining in the exercise of grace. We have not been so careful to keep up the exercise of grace before God, as to be seen of men. 2. There is a declining in love, **especially love** to God, and love to one another, which may be seen in our walking uncharitably and untenderly. 3. A defection in the manner of performing duties; our fasts have not been from a right principle, our censures not in love to the **souls of the people**; much roughness and untenderness in drawing them forth. **The duty may be commendable**, but the principle **from which it flowed** may be a ground of quarrel. Therefore, look upon this epistle as if Christ were writing a letter to Scotland; and **in His letter, saying**, “for as much purity and zeal as ye have, yet ye are fallen from your first love; much of your love, warmth, and tenderness is away; there is a declining and defection from grace in the exercise of it, or from that which seemed to be grace.” **this will be found to be** our sin before God. The state we are in looks so like Ephesus, whether we compare the outward state of our church **with that** before these late confusions came in, some things **among** us being commendable, like unto the **commendable things** here; or whether we look to our inward distemper, or whether we look to God’s threatening to remove our candlestick, which is the threatening applied to this sin of declining in love, **that should** make us all take with [own] our guilt, and make use of the warning, and would to God we could make right use of it. Certainly, we are called to look on this letter as directed to **Scotland as to Glasgow**; the sin is ours; the duty is ours; and the threatening does also belong to us. And if there **be anything commendable**, it is more in outward form **than reality**. **Believers are liable to** this declining from their first love, though not from their steadfastness, and may have a deep hand in drawing on the strokes here threatened; **therefore, let them so much** the more guard against it.”]

Verse 5. **Follows the direction** which our Lord prescribes as the duty suiting their case, and the threatening wherewith He backs it. The direction has three steps, everyone of them making way for another. The first is, *Remember from whence thou art fallen*. That is, “advert and consider how it is with you,” be it [as it] was at the beginning; that so by reflecting upon themselves, and comparing their present condition with what is past, they might be brought to take up their own condition. In sum, it implies that there had been in them an inadvertency unto and forgetfulness of their own condition for a time, which had made them without challenges slip into and continue in that backslidden condition. Unto this, *remembering*

But if we look on **Scotland’s quarrel**, it is defection—not an outward defection from the truth and purity of doctrine, nor from the external duties of religion, but an inward defection, a declining in the exercise of grace. We have not been so careful to keep up the exercise of grace before God, as to be seen of men. 2. There is a declining in love, **especially in love** to God, and love to one another, which may be seen in our walking uncharitably and untenderly. 3. A defection in the manner of performing duties; our fasts have not been from a right principle; our censures not in love to the **souls of people**; much roughness and untenderness in drawing them forth. **The duty commendable**, but the principle **it flowed from** may be a ground of quarrel. Therefore, look upon this epistle as if Christ were writing a letter to Scotland; and **which letter saying**, for as much purity and zeal as ye have, yet ye are fallen from your first love; much of your love, warmth, and tenderness is away; there is a declining and defection from grace in the exercise of it, or from that which seemed to be grace: **this will be found** our sin before God. The state we are in looks so like Ephesus, whether we compare the outward state of our church **with it** before these late confusions came in, some things **amongst** us being commendable, like unto the **things commendable** here; or whether we look to our inward distemper, or whether we look to God’s threatening to remove our candlestick, which is the threatening applied to this sin of declining in love, **that it should** make us all take with [own] our guilt, and make use of the warning; and would to God we could make right use of it. Certainly, we are called to look on this letter as directed to **Scotland and to Glasgow**; the sin is ours; the duty is ours, and the threatening does also belong to us. And if there **be anything to be commended**, it is more in outward form than in **reality**. Always professors may be, **yea believers, are capable of** this declining from their first love, though not from their steadfastness, and may have a deep hand in drawing on the strokes here threatened; **therefore much** the more guard against it.

Follows the direction He gives them, for He never gives a conviction of sin, but He gives a direction on the back of it. And the direction is to us as to them in these three steps. 1. Remember from whence² thou art fallen, which implies 1. An inadvertency [*inadvertence*] and forgetfulness in their condition, wherein they were fallen. They [did]³ not observe how they were fallen under the decay. Therefore, He

2. There are some small holes in the upper left of the page affecting a few letters and words. The damage appears original since the same hand appears to have tried to write around the damage. The word “whence” is written above “thou.”

3. The missing “did,” due to the page damage, has been written interline above “not.”

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is opposed, which takes in not only a simple act of memory but a sensible exercise of the conscience and affections also, following upon their reflecting on themselves; like the word, *Thou shalt remember thy ways*, etc. (Ezek. 16:61).

The second part of the direction is *repent*. This is the fruit and end of the former, relating also to what was past, that not only they should look upon their own ways, but that their eye should affect their heart, for the upstirring of them[selves] in the exercise of repentance—which includes these two:

1. A kindly indignation against their sin and against themselves for their sin, so as in some part they avenge God of themselves in the judging and censuring of themselves in the behalf of God, as it is in 2 Corinthians 7:11.

2. It takes in an inward and outward change of their way for the time to come, which is ever a fruit of true repentance; when the party is brought not only to confess but to forsake their sin, as the words following clear in the third direction; which is, *do the first works*. This relates unto the time to come. That is, that what once they had been at in the performance of worship to God, and in duties one to another in the manner, as well as in the matter, and were now fallen from (as we hinted at in the reproof), that they should, by all means, set themselves to recover the same, this being a native fruit and companion of repentance, carefully to abstain from the evils and perform the duties which they have been most touched within the challenge. These three go well together, and notably prescribe the remedy of a soul backslidden from liveliness to deadness, and directs to the recovery of their former state, which will not be attained by lazy prayers and fainting complaints, but by serious upstirring and exercise of these three: *self-searching*, *repentance*, and *practice*, and that in the native order as they lie.

More particularly from the several directions, OBSERVE: 1. That as forgetfulness of our own condition and not reflecting on ourselves is the great cause of much declining and backsliding in heart, and of continuing therein, so upon the contrary, self examination, and remembering of our own way, and reflecting on ourselves, is a notable means to prevent decay and to entertain a good frame, as also to further the exercise of repentance and to recover a frame when it is lost. 2. Believers may fall into that neglect. 3. When believers become negligent, they decline in part, though not wholly. 4. When believers fall, they are to take the same way for their recovery. 5. Believers may be under great decay, and yet not take great notice of it, nor from whence they are fallen; yea, it implies further, that where the decay is within and the carriage fair without (as here), it is hard to get them convinced of it.

From the second step of the direction, *Repent*, etc.
OBSERVE 1. That repentance is a duty incumbent even to

puts them to remember it. It is a sad thing when folks fall in defection and do not know of it, do not observe nor discern it. And yet 2. This is incident even to believers, especially when folks keep up the outward form, it is then hard to convince them of inward declining. 2. It implies a collecting of themselves to find out their own case, and this is the first step to folk's recovery and a great help to recover, and our Lord presupposes this as that without [which] He expects no amendment. Therefore, these are put together and go ordinarily together: accuracy in folk's walk and diligence in searching, and by, on the other hand, security and neglect of searching goes hand in hand. It were telling many of us to be remembering what we are fallen from and what we are like to fall in. Sober searching is the like of tenderness as the neglect of searching ^and tenderness^4 goes hand in hand. It were telling many of us to be remembering what we are fallen from and what we are like to fall in. Sober searching is the light of tenderness, and the neglect, of searching opens a door to declining. 3. It implies and imports that it will take folks a collecting of themselves, a remembering and searching and exercise of mind and judgment to find out their declining and other ills. Sin is so deceitful and steals on so subtly, especially inward sins of the kind and being [that] fairdet [*painted*] over with shows and natural fruits, formality and the like, that it is not easily discerned.

Second step of the direction is *Repent*, which is the end of their remembering. He would have them gathering their sins and putting them before them to the end they may repent them. By repentance here, we understand these two acts. 1. An inward [act] in reference to what is past, heart sober searching being made of ills, then to judge and condemn itself, viewing* these ills till it loathe them, grieving and mourning for them.*5 This is that Job has, chap. 42[:5-6], *Since I saw thee, I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes,*†

4. The words appear interline above "goes hand" in a much lighter ink. The caret ^ symbol denotes such interline text.

5. As with the recto of this page, the text appears to be written around the two small holes in the paper, with the asterisk denoting the holes that exist between the words.

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believers (1 John 1:8). 2. That it is called for wherever there is sin, even of omissions, as here. 3. But **especially where there is declining**. 4. Change of practice, where there has been sin, will not be sufficient if repentance for what is past does not accompany it.

From the **third step**, *Do the first works*, OBSERVE: 1. That believers' first works are often more commendable than these which come after. 2. There may be great difference in the same works on the matter, even of the same person in Christ's account. 3. Works, and works lively gone about, are called for from believers. Christ Jesus was no legal preacher;² yet He requires both repentance and works from these Ephesians.

The third thing in this epistle is the threatening or certification wherewith this direction is pressed (which does the more confirm the former doctrine): *or else I will come unto thee quickly, and remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent*. In which words we are to consider: 1. The thing threatened. 2. The persons threatened. 3. The certification upon which it is pronounced. 4. The person threatening. 5. And lastly, the speediness or suddenness of His performing what He threatened.

1. The thing threatened is the *removing of the candlestick out of its place*. By *candlestick* is understood the church (1:20). Therefore, by the removing thereof must be understood the unchurching of them, so that Ephesus now a church, and candlestick, should have that removed and not be continued a church. This is in effect like that in Zechariah 11 of the Lord's breaking the two staves and refusing to feed that people any more. This is a sad, though a just threatening, which may put us to inquire wherefore the Lord thus threatens this angel and church, besides *beyond* any other? Especially considering they were not the worst (as was seen in the commendation), why then is she threatened? And how usually the Lord executes this shall be spoken unto when the words are opened.

2. The person threatened is most especially and immediately the angel, as is clear by using of the singular number, *thy candlestick* and "I will come to *thee*," etc. And with him, we conceive that the threatening {most} respects those who were really believers in that church because especially the charge

setting out his weightiness for his miscarrying. 2. It implies both an outward and inward act for the time to come, not only a weightiness for what they had done amiss but a mending of faults they have been given to. But this is more fully set out in the following words.

3. The **second [sic third] step** of the direction is, *do the first works*, which is the great end of repentance. To be stirred up to reformation and steadfastness in well-doing. Remembering brings to repentance, and repentance brings to reformation.

APPL. If Christ were charging us with a sin, it would be for falling from first love, and if He were calling for a duty, it would be to remember from which what we are fallen, to repent, and do our first works. It were good we were collecting ourself, though many of us has ever had but little, yet we will find this is a declining from it, and nothing affects us. We are not only fallen from love but from that awe and dreadour [*fear, dread*] of God that should be on the heart. Remember this and other things, repent, and do our first works.

The third thing in this epistle to be spoken of is a threatening, *else I will come unto thee quickly and remove thy candlestick [out] of his place*, where we have this threatening and two or three circumstances. 1. The threatening, *I will remove thy candlestick*.[†] 2. The circumstances are the causes of the threatening and⁶ 2. The persons threatened, 3. The suddenness [*suddenness*] of His performing of the threatening, and 4. The condition on which it is made. *Except thou repent*.

For the threatening itself, it is the removal of the candlestick. 1. The candlestick is the church of Ephesus. So it was expounded [in] chapter 1, verse ult. [*last verse*], no[t] the persons of which the church was made up of simply, but the ordinances of Christ professed by persons submitting to them and walking under them some way suitable to them. 2. The removing of the candlestick is God's threatening to make them no church. It is not to transport [*exile; remove*] the persons locally, but it implies these three. 1. His transporting of His ordinances, especially the ministry from them, for the [*their*] being His church was not as they were so many men and women, as they were men and women professing his gospel. His enchurching [*making a church*] of them made them a church, and as removing the gospel and His ordinances from them made them no church. Therefore, [in] Matthew 21[:43], He tells the Jews the kingdom of God shall be taken from them. What was that? It was God's removing the gospel from them by sending His ministers from them to the Gentiles. Acts 13:46. It was the visible transferring of the kingdom of God from them to the Gentiles, and

2. Legal preacher—one that preaches justification by works, by one's own obedience to the Law of God.

6. The numbering is inconsistent with what follows. From here the outline and text differ significantly from the 1658 text on the left

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of falling from the first love and direction of doing the first works agrees to them. The threatening also of removing the candlestick would be most laid to heart by them. Thus Christ usually threatens, yea, corrects His own when He lets others slip (Amos 3:2). Neither does He here so particularly charge and threaten the heathens for refusing the gospel nor yet the false apostles or Nicolaitans for open abusing it, as He does this zealous angel. The reason is not because He loves them less, but because their sins come nearer His honor and He is more affected with them, and because He minds their good, He judges and chastens them, lest they should be condemned with the world (1 Cor. 11:32); whereas He suspends His judging of the rest, and bestows not a reproof upon them until judgment altogether surprise them.

3. The certification upon which this great judgment (which is greater than either sword, famine, or pestilence) is threatened is, *except they repent*: by which we may gather the necessity of repentance in itself, and its acceptance by Jesus Christ, not as if there were any merit in it to deserve or any moving impulsive virtue in it to persuade Him to pity (as humiliations use to [commonly] persuade men). He is not capable of such motives. Nor yet as if He had any delight in the saddening and exercising of His people; but that He may show the peremptory connection between repentance and pardon, which in the order of salvation He has laid down, thereby to make the sinner know something of the ill of sin and worth of grace: which is the reason why the preaching of the gospel ordinarily begins with this. By *repentance* here, we do not understand strictly the grace of repentance as it is contradistinguished from faith, much less any natural or worldly sorrow, which may be in a hypocrite. But we take it as it comprehends the whole work of conversion and faith in Jesus Christ (as sometimes it is taken, Matthew 4:17 compared with Mark 1:15) because it is proposed here as the way to prevent wrath which is due for sin, which cannot be done without faith.

4. The fourth thing to be considered is the person threatening. *I will come*. "I, Jesus Christ, who walks among the golden candlesticks; I, the Lord of the vineyard" (Matt. 21:40, 41). This is mentioned, first, to let us see Christ's absoluteness and sovereignty over His churches to dispose of them as He pleases, that ministers and people may learn to hold their church being of Him. Secondly, To hold forth Christ's peculiar authority in churching and unchurching, and that peculiarly, this belongs to Him. There is no man, nor enemy, nor persecution, etc., can loose the relation of a church in its being, but Christ Jesus, or they as ordered by Him.

5. The fifth is, *I will come quickly*; yea, and *unexpectedly*, as the word imports. This is added to show that Christ's threatenings are in earnest and that hearers would not dally with them.

so the removal of the candlestick there is Christ's threatening to the church and not to the town of Ephesus, and it says this: 1. That, however, the town should be inhabited with men and women, yet not under the notion and relation of a church to Him. 2. He removes the candlestick from a people when He lets loose error and corrupts the purity of the doctrine, which is an essential mark of the church of God, and the foundation on which the church is built. Ephesians 2:20. *Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets*. And so when He threatens to remove the candlestick if it be not by removing the ministry, yet He may do it by suffering in His secret justice the ministry to be piece and piece [gradually] corrupted, whereby it comes to pass that these who were His people become not to be His people, and she that was the wife becomes a harlot. And if we look here, the threatening performed on Ephesus, it is long since become no church. And how? They became first heaps of error, and now that place is turned in a seat to the Mohammed. For the doctrine of the gospel in the purity of it, being the ground on which a church is built, when the doctrine in the purity of it is overturned and corrupted, that church cannot stand as a church. 3. He removes the candlestick by the in letting of confusion, or in suffering people to give themselves up unto it, so that though no public enemy should be to waste them or mar the ordinances amongst them, yet they be [by] their abusing the liberty of the gospel granted them and by their secret itching after novelties, gave themselves up to delusion, and as the Jews broke themselves off by unbelief, and when they despised the gospel were given up to follow fables, so doth the Lord deal with many here who receive not the truth in love. Hosea 2:2. *Plead with your mother, for she is not any wife, neither am I the husband.*[†] And the reason is because she has given up herself to whoredom. It was not so much God's giving her a bill of divorce or [sic? as] her now giving up herself to a way of whoring from God.

APPL. We have reason to fear God's threatening to remove our candlestick all these ways. Yea, mints⁷ are made already of it. That He will remove ordinances, let loose error and confusion come in, yea, is not error letten loose and confusion come to a great height already?

2. The circumstances accompanying the threatening are 1. That He will come and do it *quickly*. It was for some hundredths of years ere Ephesus was casten off, yet He says He will do it quickly. 1. Because when He threatens to remove, He would have a people taking the alme [Sc. allum; i.e., medicine] hot, that it may the more work upon them. 2. Because

7. *Mints*: either as in a bodily motion made when about to strike a blow or as in beginning to essay an endeavor (*DSL*).

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It shows also how easily He can overturn a church and make no church of it. He has often gathered churches quickly, and can He not dissolve them when they look to be in their prime? Who, having read the commendation of Ephesus in the former verses, would have expected such a threatening in the close?

The words now being opened, we may ENQUIRE first: *How this threatening of un-Churching a church useth to be [is commonly] executed?*

ANSWER. We conceive it does not necessarily imply the overrunning, wasting, and destroying of such a city or land that it should be no city, but that it should be no church. Sometimes indeed, God will even by such a means bring about this thing threatened. But here we take it to hold out some other thing than if He had threatened sword or pestilence upon them. It is the same upon the matter with that in Matthew 21:43. *The kingdom of God shall be taken from them*, etc., which was Christ's word to the Jews, and is especially these ways brought to pass:

The first is sinful; that is, when a church sells themselves to false doctrine which overturns the foundation: in which sense the Lord denies Ephraim to be His wife (Hosea 2), because of her spiritual whoredoms whereby she had broken her tie. Thus a people may be said to unchurch themselves by their unbelief, confusions, and errors (inconsistent with the foundation), according to that in Isaiah 50:1. And in Romans 11[:20], the Jews are said to have broken themselves off by their unbelief.

The second way is penal; that is, when the gospel has not fruits among a people, the Lord removes the light and His ordinances from them, takes down His hedge from about them, and (as it were) sends them a bill of divorce, refusing to own them afterwards as a church: not by giving them up to outward enemies' oppression (which for a time they may be free of), but by ratifying their own sentence of rejecting of the gospel, as it is in Acts 13:46. And thus, the kingdom of God was translated from the Jews, and they became no church when the gospel was taken from them and sent unto the Gentiles.

A third way may be mixed, partly sinful, partly penal—a people upon the one side not receiving the love of the truth, and therefore upon the other side God gives them up to strong delusion, whereupon they proceed from evil to worse in the believing of lies, as it is in 2 Thessalonians 2:10. However, this is certain, this flourishing Church of Ephesus has now long since been a proof of this truth; for error growing to an height, and delusion and ignorance following upon the back of despising the gospel has brought that church into the estate that it is now into.

He would have His judgments looked on as at the door, especially when people are in a sin that deserveth that they should be execute[d] against them.

2. Circumstance is the cause, implied in the word, *else*; that is, "if thou remember not from whence thou art fallen if thou do not repent and do the first works, I will do it." It is remarkable that our Lord props [*marks*] out the church and threatens her with the removal of her candlestick, which He does to none of the rest so directly. But it gives us this lesson, that when folks have a profession of religion and miskens [*are unconcerned with*] the power of it, our Lord will sooner remove the gospel from them, nor [*than*] He will remove it from those who have less of the form and more of the power.

3. Circumstance is the persons threatened. "I will come against *thee* and I will remove thy candlestick;" that is, "I will remove from you both ministers and people in Ephesus." OBSERVE. That it is especially the declining of professors that hazards the removal of the candlestick, when they fall from their first love with Ephesus, become dead as Sardis or lukewarm as Laodicea. It is not the Nicolaitans or false apostles the threatening goes out against, but against the minister and people. If there be anything of God in a number in church, this is much of the weight of the candlestick, with staying or removing that lays upon them. 1. Because it was for their sakes, the gospel was sent, and therefore, if they make not use of it, no wonder He remove it. 2. Because whatever welcome the gospel has of others, He expects that it should have weight with them. The Nicolaitans cared not for removal of the gospel; therefore, they are miskent [*ignored*] in this threatening, and He will have ministers and people taking it to them.

4. Take these three things further from this threatening. 1. In general, that believers may and should be threatened from the Word of the Lord as well as others. If they may, they may be threatened and reproved. Here our Lord both reproves and threatens them. 2. They may be reproved for want of love and also threatened for it when they have outward zeal and diligence in duty, we had need both of humility and soberness of spirit, both to give and take warnings and there is need of it. 3. There is no greater judgment can be threatened to a church nor [*than*] removal of the candlestick. There is no more special and eminent threatening can be given to a church nor people in a church.

USE. To lay more to heart this threatening. One of two. Either God is not threatening Scotland with this judgment, with the removal of ordinances, or at least the marring of them and interrupting ministers in their duty, the contrary whereof is too palpable, or else we think it an exceeding light judgment and plague, and would to God this were not as palpable. And will our Lord threaten with that which He would not have

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For the second QUESTION, *Why the Lord peculiarly threatens the Church of Ephesus with these punishments?*

ANSWER. It is not because His discontentment was more with her than with other churches. 1. But it is likely they thought outward honesty and reformation enough for their church estate, and that there was no cause of fear of unchurching, so long as they continued pure in profession and zealous in purging, etc. And therefore, to beat down this conceit, and to show the necessity of power as well as of form [cf. 2 Tim. 3:5], for continuing of a church estate, He subjoins this threatening of unchurching, especially to this church. 2. Because these here threatened would lay more weight on this threatening, and be more affected with shoring [*threatening*] to be unchurched than with either sword or pestilence, etc. The Lord therefore applies wisely that which He thinks most conducive to this end. 3. It is likely their outward church estate was something thought of [*admired*] by them, and the external frame of ordinances in purity, and that of discipline in vigor, might be rested on, and too much esteemed of, especially by the ministers (it being too ordinary for men to think too much of external forms). The Lord, therefore, in this threatening touches the fault that might stick secretly to them, even in their zealous prosecuting of external reformation. 4. Because He would have all men knowing the respect He has to sincerity and the influence which the exercise or not exercise of grace has upon keeping or losing [*losing, forfeiting*] of external privileges. Therefore does He so threaten this church, when no outward cause of such controversy seems to be before men.

If it be ASKED further, *Why this church is called the angel's?* For *Thy* has reference to the *angel*, and by the *candlestick* is meant the church itself. Or 2. *How this becomes a threatening to the minister, it being more like a plague upon the people?* Or 3. *How the people can be plagued for a sin in their minister?*

1. We shall consider the first by itself after we have gone through this epistle [See Excursus 6, vol.1, page 197].

2. And now to the second question we say, this threatening becomes his plague. (1) Because of his interest in them and affection to them. Nothing can come on a people but it affects the minister; their stroke is his. Yea, often it is sorer which is on them than what is on himself. *Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended, and I burn not?* was Paul's touch of the infirmities of the people (2 Cor. 11:29, 30). (2) It is the nearest stroke [there] can be on a minister, to be stricken in his charge or blasted in his ministry, etc. In this, he is smitten as a minister in things peculiar to a minister. Other strokes are common to all men. Yea, thus to be smitten in the unchurching of his flock, is striking at his crown and his joy (1 Thess. 2:20); for a faithful minister will so account it. (3) It is probable it was some contentment to him to see things go right

folks scaring at? Certainly not. And if He would have folks scaring at this judgment, shall folks be ready to welcome it as no judgment? Know if God would threaten you with any ill turn, it is the removal of your candlestick. It is more than if He threaten you with sword, famine, pestilence. And for you to say, "let Him even be doing; we will be little the worse; whether we have threatening or want it, or whatever threats to us," it is despising of the gospel and Christ's warning of such a judgment. Therefore, make use of the gospel while ye have it, and live under the gospel, hading [*holding*] not(?), take of it. Ye know not when God may take it from you and if God shall remove it in less or more. It will be the sharper challenge that there was little use made of it while ye had it, little dealing with Him for preventing the removing of it.

End of lecture in MSREV2

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in his outward ministry, censures to be weighty, discipline vigorous, the people to give him credit and countenance, etc., without reflecting on his own spiritual condition, or aiming at the inward warming of love in the hearts of his people, but thought all well, and who but he that had such a well-ordered church? The Lord, therefore, threatens to take that ground of boasting or self-pleasing from him. It is a sad thing when a minister cannot carry even[ly] when things go well, and cannot look to himself and the people also, and be humble when he is countenanced: want [*lack*] of this spills [*ruins*] many hopeful beginnings in ministers' hands. And this relation, *thy*, is particularly mentioned here to make the threatening touch him the more; it is not *the candlestick*, but *thy candlestick* which was to be removed. For there be two things that make a thing to be in esteem with men, and the loss thereof to affect them. The first is that it be in itself *το αγαπητον*; that is, a thing lovely and desirable. The second, that it be *το ιδιον*; that is, a thing which is a man's own; these two going together, that it is both an excellent thing in the self and withal a man's own when once evil befalls that thing, it does exceedingly press a man. Now both these are here: a *golden candlestick*—there is its excellency in itself; and *thy candlestick*—there is the angel's interest and propriety in it. Both are set down to affect him the more. And indeed a church being in its blossoming and rising condition, and all things seeming to go well therein, even then, to be threatened thus cannot but greatly affect the heart of a faithful minister.

3. To the third [question], *How can people be punished for minister's faults?*

ANSWER. If they were altogether innocent, it might seem hard. But when they also are guilty; yea, and it is likely here under the same guilt, there is no wrong, but it is the correcting of two by one whip, both minister and people, for their formality and resting in outward forms without power [cf. 2 Tim. 3:5]. (2) Though people in one particular be innocent, yet a minister's fault may occasion a plague on the people, who are guilty by other sins, even as the fault of a magistrate, as we may see in David's numbering the people and God's plaguing him in the people for it, though they were in much free from that particular sin, and as sheep—what had they done? So when a people's outward profession or observance to the ministry and ordinances become the ground of a minister's pride or boast, they may by some confusion be put through other [*bewildered; disoriented*],³ and so his pride and glory is stained, and their hypocrisy and formality punished. Even as on the other side, a people's vanity of their minister may have influence on the Lord's blasting of him, that it may be seen [that] all flesh is grass. Which consideration ought to make

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ministers and people walk respectively one to each other, yet soberly, lest the Lord be provoked against both.

From this threatening OBSERVE: 1. That no church or minister has a lease of a church state [*existence as a true church*] and the gospel if they abuse it. Ephesus is now no church; yea, Israel was broken off. 2. It is one of the greatest threatenings that can be, to be unchurched; sword and pestilence are not like it. 3. It may surprise a church in a very flourishing outward condition, if love be wanting. 4. Nothing has more influence in procuring of judgment than coldness in love to God and others. 5. The estate, good or ill of God's own people, has most influence on the continuing or removing of the gospel. It is not for the guilt of Nicolaitans or false prophets that this is threatened, but for their sin who once had love. 6. Repentance and diligence has great influence to prevent such a threatening. 7. Ministers and people may have much influence on one another's good or ill condition, and sometime we may read our own distemper and scourge in the distemper of one another.

End of lecture in the 1658 published text

REVELATION, CHAPTER SEVEN, LECTURE TWO

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

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

Lectures two and three on Revelation chapter seven present some of the usual editing by James Durham to refine the text, by rephrasing, adding, or omitting material, such as the more direct, and often quite poignant, applications and uses directed to his Glasgow congregation. Less usual, they present a case where material in one lecture (lecture three) was removed and placed in another (lecture two) of the final published form of the text. With the omission of the uses and additional material in the observations, lecture three is shorter than most, and the remaining text is not sig-

3. *Put through other.* "Through other": "confusedly; promiscuously" (Jamieson); "put through other": "confused" (Wright). Durham's meaning is less clear here than in other instances where he uses the term (see *Collected Sermons: 61 Sermons* [2017], pp. 89, 253). While it seems odd to say the people were confused by some confusion, Durham often pairs close synonyms, frequently pairing an English word with an archaic Scottish colloquialism. The upshot here is that through some confusion caused by the prideful pastor, the church falls from their former outwardly commendable profession.

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nificantly different than the manuscript. The one addition of any consequence is the addition of a reference to Bellarmine's *Controversiarum de Sumo Pontifice*.

We have had some little view of that sad condition which the church was to be into [*in*], by the storm of heresy from all airths [*directions*] blowing upon her. Which storm, we conceive, foretells the rising of the Arian, Macedonian, and other heresies, but especially the rise and growth of Antichrist and the church's defection under him. 1. Because these *winds* did immediately set upon the church after her freedom from open persecution, and so falls in the very same time unto which this prophecy belongs. 2. Because the event being compared with the prophecy will be found exceedingly agreeable to it; yea, the scope of this being to show the next great trial of the church after the close of open persecution, it must be understood of these foresaid errors and defection, which are the second means used by the devil to undo the church. 3. What we said in the former lecture, clearing the scope of this prophecy to be God's guarding of His people against that storm which comes by the trumpets and beast (chapters 8, 9, and 13), does also confirm this, that the storm here principally meant is that defection under Antichrist, seeing this seal is particularly to guard against it, which comes with power and lying wonders (2 Thess. 2[:11]).

II.¹ We come now to consider the consolation which the Lord gives unto His people to guard and comfort them against that storm. It has two parts, as is said. The first shows God's care of them before the storm comes; the second expresses their happy outgate [*deliverance*] from it. The first is from the second verse unto the ninth, and the second from the ninth verse² unto the close of the chapter.

The first consolation is described in these four: 1. The instrument of it. 2. His going about it according to His commission. 3. The persons whom this consolation concerns. 4. Lastly, The event is observed to be answerable to what was intended, all being sealed who were designed to be exempted by God.

1. The instrument (verse 2). He is called *another angel*, etc. He is described in three: (1) That He is an *angel*. (2) *Ascending from the east*. (3) From His office or trust, that He *had the seal of the living God*.

(1) By *angel*, we understand no created angel but Christ Jesus, the Angel of the Covenant, called *Michael* in chapter 12.

1. Division I was covered in the first lecture on chapter seven.

2. The 1658 first edition text reads, "from the third verse," which both the shorter London and longer Edinburgh errata sheets instructed to read "9. ver. for 3." All subsequent editions (who most of the time ignored both errata) made this correction, the mistake being an obvious one.

We heard in the former verse of the Lord's revealing the coming and approaching of some vehement storm on the world and on His church. The four winds were ready to blow from all airths. And the storm being great, being to be by power and wonders. 2. Thess. 2. The overspreading of error in the church especially by that strange delusion that were to be in the days of Antichrist, wherewith many thousands were to be ruined away, men might question if any should stand, if God have a church in the world, and also faint at the hearing of it. Therefore, the Lord presents a twofold consolation for confirming and strengthening His people against it. The first of them is set down in the first part of the chapter to v. 9, holding forth the Lord's care, of the Lord's exempting them from the hurt of the winds by setting His seal on them. He seals and guards them¹ and keeps them free of being seduced and led away. The second part of the consolation is from the ninth verse to the end, wherein He comforts John and others of His people from the happy outgate and comfortable days they should have when these days of confusion and error were by.

The first part of the consolation has three things in it. 1. The minister of it. *I saw another angel*,[†] etc. 2. His executing of his commission that he was sent for. He cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea. 3. These to whom it concerns and on whom it was executed or the sum(?) of its execution and charge *hurt not the earth and the sea, nor the trees till we have sealed the servants of our Lord in their foreheads*.[†] And the number that were sealed is first generally set down, v. 4, and then this general number is proportioned and distributed among 10 the tribes of Israel from v. 4 to v. 9.

The imminency of the hazard being represented in the first verse, the consolation has two parts. 1. The sealing and marking of the elect and setting them without the reach and hazard of these blasts, v. 2 and 3. And 2. The number of the persons sealed in the rest of the words.

1. The sealing is set out by the instrument, another angel, described. 1. Wherefrom he came. 2. His office. 3. His executing of it carefully. 4. His errand. 5. On whom or in reference to whom He had commission. 1. This angel we conceive to be Jesus Christ. 1. Because of His office. He has God's seal, the seal of the living God. He is as it were the great keeper or chancellor to Him in taking a care of the elect committed to Him. 2. Because He cries on and commands the other angels and they take orders from Him.

1. A short section of different handwriting begun at the end of the last lecture ends here.

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For {1} It is Christ who chiefly takes part with the elect and provides so that none can pluck His sheep out of His hand, and with His angels fights against the dragon and his [angels] (chapter 12). {2} Because the keeping of the seal of the living God (as great Lord-keeper or chancellor under Him) belongs only to the Mediator. {3} In the words following, He cries authoritatively and gives order to the other angels who were overseers of the judgment, by which it appears to be some eminent angel unto whom these properties do agree, which is none other but Jesus Christ, though He may have other angels employed under Him, as it is in chapter 12.

(2) He is said to *ascend from the east*, either alluding unto Christ's names of *sun, light, star, morning*, etc., showing that as all light comes from the east, so all comfort comes by Christ, who seasonably and refreshfully manifests His care of His church, as the rising of the sun after darkness—in which respect, in Matthew 24:27, Christ's coming is spoken of as lightning from the east—or it may be in allusion to that entry of the temple upon the east, by which only the prince was to ascend (Ezek. 44:2, 3), whereby may be signified who this is who thus comes into His church in a sovereign, princely way.

(3) He is said to *have the seal of the living God*, to show His immediate trust under Him (the keeper of the seal among men being next unto the king) whereby He has absolute power to exempt from trials or not; which is, upon the matter, equivalent to that of His having the keys of the house of David committed unto Him.

2. His manner of executing His office, or trust, is expressed in these three: (1) In that He is said to *cry with a loud voice unto the four angels*, etc. By which is held forth: {1} His authority in commanding. {2} The imminency of the hazard that made Him cry to have it prevented. {3} Carefulness in Him to have it for a time restrained.

(2) The second thing in the execution is the parties to whom He cries, that is, to the *four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea*. By which we may gather: {1} That the commission of these angels was not principally to restrain judgment, but to execute it. {2} That there is a power and authority derived from God, even in these judgments whereby the earth is hurt. {3} That angels are subject to our blessed Lord Jesus, not only in receiving of their commission but in the execution of it. They cannot act but by orders from Him. {4} That He cries first to them and to all of them, shows both His care of His people—when they are not minding their own hazard, He is providing for them—and also His wisdom in taking the right way in manifesting of it.

(3) There is the matter of His cry in verse 3, saying, *hurt not the earth*, etc., till we have *sealed*, etc. Which words hold forth: {1} Christ's great design in His coming and suspending

2. He is said to come from the east, either alluding to Christ's names and titles He gets, as that He is called the Sun of Righteousness, the Morning Star, etc., to show that as all light comes from the east and rises there, so all comfort comes from Him out of that air, so to speak, and He brings it as seasonably, refreshfully, and invincibly as light comes from the east. And compare this with Math. 24:27, Christ's coming is spoken of as light coming from the east or it is in allusion to the ascending and going up to the temple, where the east entrance was reserved to the king to enter in by, [and] may show who He was that came into the church by this door.

3. This office is signified in this, that He is said to have the seals of the living God (whereof see on the first verse). It points at a special authority and trust committed to Him and to rest in Him. He has all power given to Him, He quickens whom He will.

4. His errand or commission is to *seal these* who were exempted from this judgment, which seal we conceive to be not the putting of any visible or new discernible character on them, but sufficiently to take care (and to instruct He did so) for the elect's safety, it is that, 2 Tim. 2:19, a special providing for the security of the elect. And His executing of it seems to be, in effect, Christ's purpose not so much to put us to search for any particular mark, as to look upon His decree appointing and His providence and care executing, to point out that none of the elect should be led away with the spite of error and delusion that was to come. 2. That their not being led away depended not so much on themselves as on His watching over them and (as we showed the last day) seems to be an allusion to that of Exod. and Ezekiel 9. He means they shall be as free from the plague that was coming as the Israelites were when the Egyptians were smitten.

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this judgment; it is the safety of His people. {2} We may see His peremptoriness in ordering all things in reference to that end. This judgment is not simply discharged, for afterward it may hurt the earth, but it is so bounded and ordered, and that peremptorily, as not to blow or hurt till God's people be provided for it, and that they may be kept from the hurt of it. The restriction *until*, etc., bears out this.

3. The objects about which this care is taken are *the servants of our God*, so-called, not as all creatures are, nor as some special ministers are, but as such who by special compact and agreement have given up and covenanted themselves to be so, and in their conversations carry suitably to that engagement. Thus all Israel, especially true Israel, are called the Lord's servants (Lev. 25:55), in opposition to idolaters who worshipped other gods; and thus, true servants are described by this, that they desired to fear His name (Neh. 1:11), in opposition to hypocrites, who say and do not. In sum, by *servants* are understood such as adhere to God in a declining time and do not enslave themselves to Antichrist with the rest of the world, as it is in chapter 13. He says, *of our God*, because Christ, as Mediator and Head of the body, stands in a joint relation to God with His people, as it is in John 20:17, *my God*, and *your God*, etc., which is a special consolation unto them and marked here as a special privilege.

4. The effect of the execution of His commission is marked in verses 4–8, wherein His faithfulness in sealing of the elect is set down, (1) Generally in the number itself and of whom they were (v. 4). (2) More particularly, they are distributed in the verses following. The scope of all which is to show: {1} The exactness of this angel's performing of what was entrusted to Him. {2} That none [are] missed who were in His roll. {3} To show that it was the very persons designed of God, and therefore, they are marked here and there of several tribes, and not indistinctly together. That circumstance in verse 4, *and I heard the number of them that were sealed*, is added to show the certainty of John's record, he being, as it were, an ear-witness thereunto.

That we may more particularly take up the meaning of this, we are to inquire: i. What is meant by Israel, out of whom these are said to be marked? ii. What is meant by the particular distribution of them in so many tribes and so many thousands of every tribe?

i. By Israel and the tribes thereof,³ sometimes in Scripture are understood the Israelites who were come of Jacob according to the flesh. This is the most proper and usual meaning. Sometimes, again, by Israel is understood the church of God

3. This section is revised from material that is in the manuscript version of the lecture three on chapter seven in *MSREV2*. For easier comparison, that text is presented here within {braces} on the right.

5. The object of this care or these in reference to whom He had commission, *the servants of our God*,[†] not servants as all creatures are, nor as some special ministers are, but by compact agreeing and giving themselves up to be so and bidding by(?) the agreement, as Nehemiah was and other godly that he takes in with himself, Nehemiah 1:11. They are called *the servants of our God*[†] in opposition to idolaters and worshippers of false gods. 2. In opposition to hypocrites and formal professors who say and do not good and so gives not obedience and cannot be called servants devoted to Him.

6. His faithfulness in executing His trust appears in two things: 1. In that He prevents the letting loose of the judgment on these; it was appointed for till He had done what He came for. *He cried to the four angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth*,[†] which crying imports great danger and imminency of great danger to the elect, if these judgments should get loose before they were provided for and guarded against them. 2. It imports authority in Him that thus commands. And 3. With all carefulness in improving this authority, that they be not hurt. He is, as it were, affected with the hazard, and as in fear for them, He cries to prevent the hazard.

The second part or evidence of His care is implied in the verses following, where the number is set down, signifying it was done and was done completely, and upon the persons particularly that it should have been with that discretion was called for. There was an hundred forty and four thousand, and these not confusedly marked, but of the several tribes the due number. These, Revel. 14:3, are called such as were redeemed from the earth and we shall speak more particularly to them when we come to the following words.

{In the general account we have two things to be cleared. 1. What is meant by the tribes of Israel here. 2. What is meant by this definite number.

1. By Israel and its tribes is sometimes meant literally Jacob's posterity according to the flesh and so its often to be understood in the Old Testament, and sometimes in the New. Sometimes by it is meant the church and people of God professing Abraham's faith or the spiritual seed and posterity of Abraham and Jacob, and so it is taken frequently in the New Testament, as Gal. 3:29, and chap. 6:16, peace be upon them

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under the gospel, who profess the faith of Abraham, of whatever nation and people they be of, as in Galatians 3:29 and 6:16, etc., called Israel: 1. Because they are a spiritual seed to Abraham, who is the father of all them that believe. 2. Because they are admitted to the same essential privileges and promises which the Israelites once had (Rom. 11:17, 24), they are engrafted in the same olive tree, and now in Christ Jesus, there is neither Jew nor Gentile. 3. It is frequent to set forth the worship of the New Testament under the names of that which belongs to the Old, and to style the gospel-church by the name of Jerusalem which is above [Gal. 4:26], and therefore, it is agreeable to this, that the professors of the New Testament should pass under the title of Israel, especially in this prophecy, in which the old titles are so frequently applied unto the new state of the church. We conceive, the last, to wit, the spiritual seed of Abraham, or the gospel-church, to be meant here by the tribes of Israel, and not Jews by nature only, and that besides the former general reasons, upon these three considerations:

1. Such are understood by Israel here, as were to be kept free from Antichrist's pollution. Now, these are not only Jews but mainly Gentiles, as the event and time to which it is applicable evinces. 2. If by this sealed number of a 144,000, we are to understand all these who during Antichrist's tyranny shall be kept free of his pollutions, and if they are to be contradistinguished from the plurality of the church who wonders and goes a-whoring after the beast, then they cannot understand them to be Jews only, but the pure part of the church of whatsoever nation they be. But the former is clear, to wit, that by these are to be understood all the pure part of the church, as contradistinguished from Antichrist's followers, as will appear: (1) By comparing the end of their sealing here with 9:4 and 13:8; for they that are sealed here, are the servants of our God, to wit, all who adhere to Him. (2) The end of their sealing is to keep them from that defection whereinto all others not sealed are involved, as the effect clears. (3) These that are passed by are left open to this storm, and carried away with it; therefore, this sealing must take in all the elect during that time, of whatsoever nation they be, seeing no elect can be understood to be unsealed, and so left open to this storm, as is clear in chapter 9:4. They must therefore be understood under the name of Israel, who are thus sealed.

2. It will further appear by comparing this with chapter 14:1-4, where these 144,000 are particularly mentioned as the virgin-church, distinguished from the adulterous world, and that at the turn of Antichrist's dominion, as if it were particularly recorded, that notwithstanding of Antichrist's tyranny and the world's defection with him, yet all whom God had appointed to life were kept from that defection, and therefore, this number

that walk according to this rule of seeking to attain righteousness through faith and upon all the Israel of God. So Jerusalem above is the church of the Gentiles set out under the name of the church of the Jews and they are so called for these two reasons: 1. Because of their being admitted to these same essential privileges and to be heirs of the same essential promises that once the Jews had. Now ye are engrafted in the olive tree in their room, Rom. 11, and in Christ Jesus, Jew and Gentile, all are one. Gal. 3:28. 2. Because of Abraham's getting the title of being the father of all the faithful and he being the father of all believers, those of his faith are all children, all Israel of God.

Now, we take Israel and its tribes here not to be Israel in the letter but Abraham's spiritual seed, or the church of the Gentiles under Antichrist in the time of this storm that was to blow, called Israel according to the phrase of the prophet's under the Old Testament from wherein many things in expressions are borrowed in this book. The New Jerusalem, etc. The reasons why we take it for are three: 1. Considering the time that this relates to, to that time wherein Antichrist was to be a plague to the world, such are and must be here intended, as were to be kept free from Antichrist's pollution: and these were not Jews only, but Gentiles also and mainly the church of the Gentiles. 2. Because all the number to be kept free and exempted, they are, chap. 14:1, 2, 3, reckoned to be or comprehended under this hundred forty and four thousand, alannerly [*solely*] who are then found with white garments, the redeemed kept free from pollution, who had not defiled themselves with women, that is, with spiritual fornication, and all others went a-whoring after the beast. 3. They are distinguished from the great number, v. 9, and though Jews or Israelites here be opposite to that great number of all kindreds, nations, people, and tongues, yet the opposition is not in respect of their kind or national kindred, but of the number, that is, the church of the Gentiles should be but a few number under the dominion of Antichrist in comparison of the huge number she should come to after the ruin of Antichrist, when the vials should be poured out and there should be a new calling in of the Gentiles out of all kindreds and nations, which should be as a new resurrection from the dead after this storm and strait. The church should be numerous beyond what she was under it, as the church of the Gentiles compared with the Jews, but as Israel, though as the sand of the sea, a remnant only should be saved, so here.

2. What is meant by this definite number of one hundred forty four thousand set down together here. ... For there is here a definite and a certain number for an indefinite and uncertain, and it holds out these three things. 1. That though the number should be great that should be carried away, yet

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must comprehend all such (being a definite for an indefinite) who during his tyranny should be kept free; and therefore it is not to be astricted [*limited*] unto the natural Jews.

3. The distinguishing of Jews here from that innumerable company (v. 9) of all nations, does clear this; for they are distinguished, not in respect of nation or kindred, as if by each of them were set forth some part of the gospel-church contemporary one with the other, but in respect of diverse successive states of the church, belonging to diverse times, as that, however the gospel-church immediately after the Christian religion shall obtain liberty and authority, shall be brought unto great straits and reduced to a few number (as God's church was in the days of the Old Testament), yet it shall afterward break forth and flourish among all nations, so that the church, in the latter days, shall be as far extended for number and diversity of people beyond what the church shall be under Antichrist, as the gospel-church was at its first spreading, extended beyond the church of the Jews. And therefore, the whole pure professors of the church, during this storm, being comprehended under these that are sealed out of the several tribes, it cannot be astricted unto the natural Jews.

That this comparison and opposition of Jews with Gentiles, or the smaller number with the greater, does belong to several states of the church, will appear by this: that these sealed ones are living in the time of a storm and great tribulation, and while as pure profession, and professors of Jesus Christ are exceedingly rare, as the scope here and the places formerly cited in chapter 9:13–14 clears. That innumerable company again, are remarkable for their number and are said to have come out of great tribulation (as if now the storm were passed) as victors and conquerors having palms in their hands. This innumerable company, therefore, must denote a following outgate of the former storm, and so by each of them, some condition of the whole gospel-church, and not of Jews or Gentiles severally, is typified.

ii. The second thing to be cleared is wherefore the number is so peremptorily determined and particularly distributed in several tribes? *ANSWER.* 1. By what is said, it may be seen that this definite number is indefinitely to be understood,⁴ not as if they were just so many in all or in every tribe alike. But 2. For these reasons: (1) To show that they were particularly determined by God and known to Him. (2) That though the defection was universal and great, yet there should

God had them exactly numbered, particularly determined and known that should be kept. He had such a set number in particular; so many and no more; all the rest should go a wrong gate [*way*] and these only should be kept free. 2. That though the defection was universal and great, yet there should be a considerable number reserved, 144,000, as He had 7,000 in Elias's time that did not bow the knee to the image of Baal, when he thought there was none; so should it be here; a competent and considerable number though inconsiderable in comparison of the rest of the world. 3. That though it should be a considerable number in itself, yet in comparison of the rest of the world but small and inconsiderable. What was twelve thousand of a tribe and so many out of all the tribes of Israel[?] This is to let us see how far error should prevail, that the whole world was to follow the beast and [his] story shows us the truth of this. In the days of Antichrist's dominion, the Lord had some witnesses, some to preach and some to profess His truth, yet they were few in comparison of them that worshipped the beast and received his mark and were carried away with the seduction of the time.

4. This section until the observations, is revised from material that is in the manuscript version of the next lecture (lecture three on chapter seven) in *MSREV2*. The 1658/2000 editions omit the numbering of the third point (3). The Edinburgh errata instructed to add the third point, which was only done in the 1660 and Sanders 1680 editions.

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be a considerable number reserved, as was of 7,000 in Elias' days. (3) That yet in comparison of the whole world that was to follow the beast, that number was to be very small, as it is said in Isaiah, *Though the number of Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet but a remnant shall be saved* [Cf. Isa. 10:22].

More particularly, this number is proportioned amongst the tribes to show: 1. That God not only numbers them in gross and in common together but has the very particular and individual persons, who are constituent of that number, marked and determined (to say so) both *numero numerante* & *numero numerato*. 2. To show God's sovereignty and good pleasure in choosing some of every kindred and tribe, and His care in providing for them whom He has chosen, of whatsoever tribe they be.

We come to the particular distribution or proportioning of this number among the tribes, vv. 5, 6, 7, 8. There is so many to every tribe, which is also a definite number for an indefinite. 1. To show they were numbered of God as well in respect of the individuals and particular souls that were to make up the number, as in common both (as they say) *numero numerante et numero numerato*.[†] 2. To Show God's sovereignty and care in choosing some of every kindred and His providing for them of what tribe soever, of one, as well as of another. }

OBSERVE. 1. That error oftentimes brings the church, yea, the saints, into the greatest hazards. What makes Christ cry so and make all this business? It is to mark the elect, which supposes them to be in great hazard. Yea, that *if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived* (Matt. 24:24), shows it comes near the march [*border; line*], even as near as *possible*; yea, often there is more fear and hazard to the elect's spiritual estate by error than there is by persecutions, yea, by gross sins and temptations to them, as murder, adultery, etc., and more are taken off their feet by the one than by the other because it comes under some pretext of holiness and piety. In which respect it is said, *the devil*, in this temptation, *transformeth*

OBSERVATIONS.

1. *OBSERVE*, in general (from Christ's care and crying, which imports the hazard was not small), that the blowing of winds of contrary doctrines is a great hazard to the church and people of God. Error has great power with it and takes many away and brings God's own often in great peril. It is implied here clearly in that Christ takes such great care to prevent it and so few are kept from it, as it is said, chap. 13, the whole world wondered after the beast. The spirit of delusion that comes with error is so strong that if it were possible the elect should be deceived, Math. 24. Many shall follow them. 1 Tim. 4:1. Partly this is from the nature of error that drives strongly. It hath a spirit and power and is accompanied with signs and

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himself in an angel of light (2 Cor. 11[:14]). Believers had need to be watchful against all evils, but in a special manner against this; it is no little difficulty in a corrupt time to stand it out.

OBSERVE. 2. The greater the danger be, Christ has the greater care. This makes Him cry and come down, whereas no such particular act of His is marked when the church was suffering (chapter 6). He had rather kept them from sin than suffering; yea, often error hurts more than suffering does.

More particularly, *OBSERVE:*

1. Christ is the great overseer of what concerns His people; none can hurt, but as He gives orders. All that execute judgment are in a dependency on Him, which is a great consolation to His people. 2. He is never so angry at an ungrate [*ungrateful*] world as to forget one elect; in the midst of this storm, He remembers them. So had God respect to one Noah in the old world, and to one Lot in Sodom. They could do nothing who were to execute that judgment till he were set free. 3. God has some elect and a church under the greatest defection, even seven thousand when Elias thinks there is not one, which should make us wary in censuring times and places to be altogether ungodly. 4. No elect shall be finally seduced; that is not possible (Matt. 24[:24]). 5. That impossibility of final seduction depends not on themselves, but on God's decree and care in sealing them and preserving them from it, which makes it true always, *the election hath obtained*, and none but they, *for the rest were blinded* (Rom. 11:7). 6. If it be *ASKED*, why these sealed ones, who are the elect, are called

wonders. 2. Thess. 2. And partly because it is commissioned in God's judgment to punish a light and unthankful world.

USE. To let you see it is no light trial that we are under, but a storm that blows vehemently from all quarters. Therefore, so often in Scripture it is told us that in the last times many shall make desertion and the whole world should fall from Christ and take them to Antichrist. 2. Think not light to stand against error. Christ thinks not so and experience has proven strong, able, and well qualified men have been carried away when they have not been humbled and watchful. Therefore, watch and be upon your guard.

2. *OBSERVE*, the more the danger and hazard be, Christ hath the greater care of His own and particularly in no danger more than in the danger of error and spiritual judgments. Then He cries and comes hastily and seals His own and will not have the earth hurt till they be sealed, which in prosperity, when there is not such a strait, He does not. His bowels then are most affected, for He knows this hazard endangers their spiritual condition most and His love and wisdom suits His oversight to the straits of His people, and He would have them knowing this for their consolation. Hence, though there be sad storms, chap. 6, and their blood is spilt, yet His care is not so particularly marked, because this danger hazards their precious soul more than martyrdom. This of error pollutes their garment, when that of martyrdom washes it. Besides, that He is honored by the one and dishonored by the other.

Use. 1. It serves to encourage us in this time and to teach us to lippin [*trust*] ourselves to Christ's care. 2. As Christ thinks much of this hazard and trial because souls are in hazard, so let us think much of it.

3. More particularly: 1. From Christ's description, *OBSERVE*, that Jesus Christ has the great oversight of that [which] concerns His people and has a hand, gives orders, even in these things that are their their [*sic*] sharpest and sorest trials. The government is on His shoulder and this is a part of it. All power in heaven and earth is given to Him [Isa. 9:6; Matt. 28:18]. He is the keeper of the great seal and contrare [*contrary*] to His orders, a puff of wind cannot blow, a notable evidence of His authority and a notable consolation to His people, considering how He uses His power and authority. We need not fear these blasts that He has the guiding of.

2. *Hurt not the earth and the sea till we have sealed,*[†] etc. *OBSERVE*, that Jesus Christ is never that angry at the most unthankful, nor never that furious in executing wrath on the world, but He is ever mindful and careful of His own, and so orders the judgment in timing it and circumstantiating it as may be most consistent with their safety. As in punishing the old world He provided for ^Noah^, when He destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, He remembered Lot, and did nothing

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servants of our God? I ANSWER, it is a description of the elect from their holiness, a fruit and effect of their election; and to clear it, there is a two-fold seal (2 Tim. 2:19). One, known to God, *He knows who are His* by decree. The other is the fruit and evidence of the former, and in these come to age, never separated, *Let them who name the Lord depart from iniquity.*

In this last respect, they are called servants of God, for these reasons, which are so many grounds of DOCTRINE:

1. That wherever election is, there is, or will be, holiness and obedience as a fruit of it; holiness and obedience is a proof of election as to men, or to one's own conscience; they are of equal extent. Hence in Ephesians 1:4, we are elected to be holy. Let not these things that God conjoined be separated.

2. None but these who are servants to God in some real manner can promise to themselves any benefit of election or freedom from any plague, and especially from this plague. In Ezekiel 9, these are marked only who were mourning for the abominations of the rest and keeping themselves free. Losing a good conscience makes shipwreck of the faith (1 Tim. 1:19). Let none plead for any benefit of election whatsoever without this.

3. All that in some measure honor and obey God, are kept from evil, and may promise to themselves immunity, as far as is requisite, when others cannot. *If a man purge himself from these things, he shall be a vessel of honour, reserved for the master's use* (2 Tim. 2:21).

4. Holiness has many advantages; it is the best guard against errors, to receive the truth in love. It has often an outward protection, as in Lot, Noah, etc. Psalm 34. *The angels pitch their tents about them.*

till they were secured. Yea, Gen. 19, the angels were limited with that clause in the commission, "we can do nothing till thou be gone." And needs any then fear judgments in His hand[?] Error goes not by guess. He guides it. Fury is not in Him. Isaiah 26. He has a special eye on the safety of the meanest and hovers His judgments till they be provided for. And if we had eyes to mark it, had not God had a special hand in our spiritual and temporal plagues, they had come to a greater height ere now.

3. OBSERVE, that God has some elect and a church in the darkest times of corruption, even in Antichrist's prevailing, though not discernible to men, a remnant here, an hundred and forty and four thousand, in Elias's time, seven thousand [1 Kings 19:18]—an election according to grace. Still so it was ever. The gates of hell do not so far prevail against the church, but still there is and shall be one, and neither one storm nor other can undo one soul. USE. Though this should not foster security, yet it may and ought to strengthen the faith of God's people.

4. OBSERVE, that no elect can be nor shall be finally seduced, that, Math. 24, is impossible; however, they may in some things, some of them, slip; yet He guides them and they are recovered. That will ever hold true, Rom. 9 [*sic* 11:7], the election hath obtained it, though the rest were blinded.

5. OBSERVE, the security and steadfastness in the elect proceeds not from anything in themselves, either grace or watchfulness or worth, but from Christ's care making and keeping the difference by His seal. It is not their grace but His keeping life in their grace. It is not their own strength but His reservation. *I have reserved to myself seven thousand.*† Oh, the elect shall not be seduced, Math 24. The election obtains. Rom. 9 and 11. The weight of their preservation is laid on their election and His preservation that the glory may be entirely to Him and they may have no ground of boasting but of humility.

6. If it be ASKED, why these sealed ones who are the elect are called servants of our God[?] ANSWER. It is a description of the elect from their holiness, a fruit and effect of their election. And to clear it, there is a twofold seal, 2 Tim. 2:19, and known to God, He knows who are His by His decree. 2. Is the fruit and evidence of the former and in these come to age; never separate from it, one time or any; that is, let everyone that names or owns Christ as his depart from iniquity. In this last respect, they are called servants of God, for these reasons which are so many grounds of doctrines:

1. That whatever [*sic* wherever] election is, there is holiness and obedience as a fruit of it. Holiness and obedience are a proof of election as to men or to one's own conscience. They are of equal extent. Hence, Ephes. 1:4, we are elected to be holy and let not His things that God conjoins be separated.

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2. None but these who are servants to God in some real manner can promise to themselves freedom from any plague and especially from this plague, Ezek. 9. These are marked only who were mourning for the abominations of the rest and keeping themselves free. Losing a good conscience makes shipwreck of the faith. 1 Tim. [1:]19. Let none plead for any benefit of election whatsoever without this.

3. All that in some measure honor and obey God are kept from evil and may promise to themselves immunity as far as is requisite, when others are not. 2. Tim. 2:19, 20[-21]. If a man purge himself from these things, he shall be a vessel of honor reserved for the master's use.

4. Holiness has many advantages. The best guard against error is to receive the truth in love. It has often an outward protection, as in Lot, Noah, etc. Ps. 34. The angels pitch their tents about them: they may expect all the blessings in Scripture and His presence and care, preservation and providence over them in all things.

5. *Our God.*† *OBSERVE*, Christ and we have but one God. John 20:17. *I ascend to my father and your father and to my God and your God.*

Lastly, God has still a care of His servants.

The sum of all of Christ's care be much worth to souls and it is a vantage to have it be stirred up to holiness as we would be sure of it. As ye would be kept free from the snares and judgments of the time and have peace in yourselves, be servants of our God. Give up yourselves to Him and fear Him, as ye would have a suitable meeting, and though most part do not believe this doctrine now, yet when that day comes that is spoken of, Mal. 3, when He shall make up His jewels, it shall be known and a clear difference shall be seen between them that feared God and him that feared Him not, between them that served Him and them that served Him not, and that it shall be well with the righteousness and better take a lesson beforehand than out of defiance experience when ye cannot mend it.

OBSERVE 5. Christ and we have but one God. John 20:17. *I ascend to your Father and my Father, and to my God and your God.*

6. Lastly, God has still a care of His servants. The sum of all is this: if Christ's care be much worth to souls, and it be advantage to have it, be stirred up to holiness as ye would be sure of it; and, as ye would be kept free from the sins and judgments of the time, and have peace in yourselves, be servants of our God, and give up yourselves to Him.

REVELATION, CHAPTER SEVEN, LECTURE THREE

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

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

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

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

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

As already noted, this short lecture in final form of what it contains is similar to the manuscript text, and is more notable for its omissions. Some of the text in *MSRev2* was revised and placed in the previous lecture, and the Uses and additional material in the Observations were also omitted

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The fourth verse contains the particular number of these that were sealed, a certain number in both the reckonings for an uncertain. The scope of it is the more effectually to bear out the consolation for strengthening the faith of God's people by such a particular numeration. 1. It is summed in verse 4, whereof was spoken before. 2. It is distributed amongst the tribes in verses 5–8.

The scope of the distribution, besides what is said is, by continuing the manner of speech used under the Old Testament, of Israel, tribes, Jerusalem, etc., to hold forth the Gentiles' privilege of being grafted in the Jew's room, and that God kept the same way with them as with Israel, having admitted them to that same covenant.

{It will not be meet nor needful to inquire after mysteries in the number or names. It is likely the Lord, giving His church the title of Israel, follows the reckoning of twelve tribes and multiplies that by twelves, which comes in whole to that number one hundred forty and four thousand.} ¹ We shall only touch these things as considerable: ₁

In the former part of this chapter, we heard of a sore storm that was ready to blow on the church and of Christ's care to provide for His own elect ere it came, out of His earnest carefulness, crying to have it prevented, that the winds may not be let loose to blow till they be provided for and secured, lest they should be endangered and hurt.

From the fourth verse to the ninth, we have the number of them that were sealed. 1. Generally set down, v. 4. And 2. More particularly distributed or proportioned among every tribe, vv. 5, 6, 7, 8, out of every tribe so many to make out that number.

The scope of it is the more effectually to bear out the consolation for strengthening the faith of God's people by such a particular enumeration and to comfort them against the coming storm by holding forth Christ's care of them and the scope of the distribution, besides what is said by continuing the manner of speech under the Old Testament of Israel, tribes, Jerusalem, to hold forth the Gentiles' privilege of being grafted in the Jews' room and that God kept that same way with them, as with Israel, having admitted them to that same covenant.

{In the general account we have two things to be cleared.¹ 1. What is meant by the tribes of Israel here. 2. What is meant by this definite number.

1. By Israel and its tribes is sometimes meant literally Jacob's posterity according to the flesh and so its often to be

1. At this point material is skipped, now placed in the prior lecture. See point 2 in the prior lecture two. Text in the final form different from the manuscript is in ₁ lower markers, ₁ and material omitted from the text of *MSRev2* is in ¹ upper markers. ¹

1. These two points, except for the lines within braces in point two were revised and used in the prior lecture two.

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understood in the Old Testament, and sometimes in the New. Sometimes by it is meant the church and people of God professing Abraham's faith or the spiritual seed and posterity of Abraham and Jacob, and so it is taken frequently in the New Testament, as Gal. 3:29, and chap. 6:16, peace be upon them that walk according to this rule of seeking to attain righteousness through faith and upon all the Israel of God. So Jerusalem above is the church of the Gentiles set out under the name of the church of the Jews and they are so called for these two reasons: 1. Because of their being admitted to these same essential privileges and to be heirs of the same essential promises that once the Jews had. Now ye are engrafted in the olive tree in their room, Rom. 11, and in Christ Jesus, Jew and Gentile, all are one. Gal. 3:28. 2. Because of Abraham's getting the title of being the father of all the faithful and he being the father of all believers, those of his faith are all children, all Israel of God.

Now, we take Israel and its tribes here not to be Israel in the letter but Abraham's spiritual seed, or the church of the Gentiles under Antichrist in the time of this storm that was to blow, called Israel according to the phrase of the prophet's under the Old Testament from wherein many things in expressions are borrowed in this book. The New Jerusalem, etc. The reasons why we take it for are three: 1. Considering the time that this relates to, to that time wherein Antichrist was to be a plague to the world, such are and must be here intended, as were to be kept free from Antichrist's pollution: and these were not Jews only, but Gentiles also and mainly the church of the Gentiles. 2. Because all the number to kept free and exempted, they are, chap. 14:1, 2, 3, reckoned to be or comprehended under this hundred forty and four thousand, alanerly [*solely*] who are then found with white garments, the redeemed kept free from pollution, who had not defiled themselves with women, that is, with spiritual fornication, and all others went a-whoring after the beast. 3. They are distinguished from the great number, v. 9, and though Jews or Israelites here be opposite to that great number of all kindreds, nations, people, and tongues, yet the opposition is not in respect of their kind or national kindred, but of the number, that is, the church of the Gentiles should be but a few number under the dominion of Antichrist in comparison of the huge number she should come to after the ruin of Antichrist, when the vials should be poured out and there should be a new calling in of the Gentiles out of all kindreds and nations, which should be as a new resurrection from the dead after this storm and strait. The church should be numerous beyond what she was under it, as the church of the Gentiles compared with the Jews, but as Israel, though as the sand of the sea, a remnant only should be saved, so here.

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2. What is meant by this definite number of one hundred forty four thousand set down together here. {It shall not here be needful to engage after mysteries in the number or names. It is likely the Lord, giving His church the title of Israel, follows the reckoning of twelve tribes and multiplies that by twelves, which comes in whole to this number of 144,000.} For there is here a definite and a certain number for an indefinite and uncertain, and it holds out these three things. 1. That though the number should be great that should be carried away, yet God had them exactly numbered, particularly determined and known that should be kept. He had such a set number in particular; so many and no more; all the rest should go a wrong gate [way] and these only should be kept free. 2. That though the defection was universal and great, yet there should be a considerable number reserved, 144,000, as He had 7,000 in Elias's time that did not bow the knee to the image of Baal, when he thought there was none; so should it be here; a competent and considerable number though inconsiderable in comparison of the rest of the world. 3. That though it should be a considerable number in itself, yet in comparison of the rest of the world but small and inconsiderable. What was twelve thousand of a tribe and so many out of all the tribes of Israel[?] This is to let us see how far error should prevail, that the whole world was to follow the beast and [his] story shows us the truth of this. In the days of Antichrist's dominion, the Lord had some witnesses, some to preach and some to profess His truth, yet they were few in comparison of them that worshipped the beast and received his mark and were carried away with the seduction of the time.

We come to the particular distribution or proportioning of this number among the tribes, vv. 5, 6, 7, 8. There is so many to every tribe, which is also a definite number for an indefinite. 1. To show they were numbered of God as well in respect of the individuals and particular souls that were to make up the number, as in common both (as they say) *numero numerante et numero numerato*.[†] 2. To Show God's sovereignty and care in choosing some of every kindred and His providing for them of what tribe soever, of one, as well as of another.}

Now for the reckoning of the tribes and the order of them, three or four things are to be observed.² 1. That in this order the age is not kept and the children of the bond and free woman are promiscuously named to let us see that in Jesus Christ there are neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, and that external privileges are of no value here. Gal. 3:2. Judah is preferred and first named and Ruben, though the firstborn, is passed by. 1. To show ^that^ the relation to Christ, who was of the tribe of Judah and of whom David was, casts the balance. 2. Because Ruben lost his birthright by defiling

2. This section, until the observations, with revisions, is what was retained in the final form of the lecture.

1. That in the order, the age is not kept and children of the bound and free-woman are promiscuously named, to let us see, that in Christ Jesus, there are neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, and that external privileges are of no value (Gal. 3:28). 2. Judah is preferred and first named, and Ruben, though the firstborn, passed by: (1) To show that relation to Christ, who was of the tribe of Judah, and of whom David was, casts the balance and is the main privilege. (2) Ruben lost his birthright by defiling his father's bed, and Simeon by his killing the Shechemites, whence it is clear that guiltiness cuts men off from privileges and has a broad and long tail

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of curses for a long continuance (Gen. 49:3, 4). (3) Neither Dan nor Ephraim are mentioned, but for Ephraim, Joseph is named. Dan is also omitted in 1 Chronicles 1:3, 4 [*sic* chaps.1–9] when all the other tribes are reckoned in their genealogies, so also Ephraim and Manasseh in Deuteronomy 33. It would seem for these reasons \perp (for that conceit of omitting Dan here, because Antichrist is to come of him, is a groundless fable, and rejected by Bellarmine, lib. 3, *de Pontif.* cap. 12,² who expounds the Scriptures ordinarily, alleged for proving that in a different sense) $_$: {1} To show God's sovereignty manifesting itself especially in His passing-by of some and reckoning others in His roll, no less guilty. {2} To conform the number to the ordinary reckoning of Israel by twelve tribes and no more, wherefore still one is omitted in the former reckonings. This number had not been kept if Dan had been numbered when Levi also is mentioned. {3} Dan was soon overtaken with idolatry; so was Ephraim (Judges 1:18 [*sic* chapters 17–18]). Therefore, [they were] not meet to be mentioned among these, or as types of these who were to be kept clean from that sin. {4} Levi is mentioned here, though not in the dividing of the land of Canaan, to show that though God allows not much temporal estate on His ministers, yet will He not pre-judge them of His protection under straits either spiritual or temporal nor of the victory over them.

These are all who are sealed of the numberless multitude, and this equal number amongst the tribes is not to be understood as if all were equal in respect of the effect; but: 1. To show it is indifferent to God to take of this or that nation now, as there was to Him no difference amongst the tribes of Israel. 2. That there is need of a special and particular care, and that He conforms His care so, not in gross and common, but particularly taking notice of them to a definite sum. Hence:³

OBSERVE. 1. From the complexness of this sealing and number, and from the name that these sealed ones gets, to wit, that they are called the tribes of Israel, that believers under the New Testament are God's Israel, engrafted in their room and served heirs to all their essential privileges and promises, and heirs of Abraham, as believers were under the Old Testament; whatever typical promises were peculiar to that people, we are not to claim, yet certainly these privileges or promises that belonged to their eternal wellbeing, or were necessary to their spiritual growth and happiness here, believers under the

2. Bellarmine, "Controversiarum de Sumo Pontifice, Liber Tertius," *Opera Omnia* 2 (Paris: Vives, 1870), pp. 31–33. This reference is one of the few additions of substance from the version in *MSRev2*.

3. The text omitted from these *OBSERVATIONS*, which includes the *USES*, is noted in upper markers in the manuscript text.

his father's bed and Simeon by his killing the Shechemites, guiltiness will draw on the loss of any privilege and has a broad and long tail of curses for a long continuance. Gen. 14:9 [*sic* 49:3, 4].

3. Neither Dan nor Ephraim are mentioned, but for Ephraim, Joseph is named and Dan is also omitted, 1 Chron. 3, 4, etc., when all the other tribe are referenced in the genealogies. So also is Ephraim in Deut. 33. It would seem for these reasons 1. To show God's sovereignty under the New Testament kything [*appearing*] especially in His free passing by of some and writing others in His roll, who are at least no less guilty. 2. To conform the number to the ordinary reckoning of Israel which would have been more if Dan had been numbered when Levi is also mentioned. 3. Dan was soon overtaken with idolatry and so was Ephraim, Judges 18, [and] therefore not meet to be mentioned among these who were to be kept clean from idolatry.

4. Levi is mentioned here, though not in the division of the land of Canaan. Though God allow not much temporal estate on His ministers, yet will He not prejudge them of His protection under straits either spiritual or temporal, nor of victory over them.

These are all who are sealed of, an innumerable multitude and this equal number amongst the tribes is not to be understood as if all were equal in respect of the effects, but: 1. To show it is indifferent to God to take of this nation or that now as there was to Him no difference amongst the tribes of Israel. 2. That there is need of a special and particular care of His people and that He conforms His care so, not in gross and in common, but particularly taking notice of them and providing for them.

*OBSERVATIONS.*³

1. From the complexness of this sealing and number and from the name that these sealed ones get, that they are called the tribes of Israel, *OBSERVE*, that believers under the New Testament are God's Israel, engrafted in their room, are served heir to all their essential privileges and promises, are heirs of Abraham as believers under the Old Testament were, whatever temporal promises were peculiar to that people, yet certainly these privileges or promises that belonged to their eternal wellbeing or were necessary to their spiritual growth and happiness here, that believers under the New Testament are sealed heirs unto Gal. 3:29. *If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise,*[†] Γ That is, it is enough to prove you Abraham's seed if ye be Christ's and that all essentials wherein

3. The text in Γ upper markers, ∇ which includes the *USES*, was omitted from the final form of this lecture.

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New Testament are served heirs thereunto. *If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise* (Gal. 3:29).

OBSERVE. 2. Folks may be partakers of many outward privileges, and yet these not secure them from an approaching plague if they be not partakers of spiritual privileges besides. Israel were all God's people and children; to them pertained the adoption and covenants in respect of external administration, and so it was with the church of the Gentiles which succeeded; but *They are not all Israel, who are of Israel; neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children, neither is he a Jew who is one outwardly* (Rom. 9:6[-7; Rom. 2:28]).

OBSERVE. 3. That Christ's care is very special of His elect; wherever they are, He takes notice of them. In all their difficulties, He has a special and peculiar eye over them. He does not gather them by heaps, but one by one (Isa. 27:12). Not by

they were blessed beyond other nations belongs to you. And it is on this ground that, Heb. 12:24, the church of the New Testament is called the congregation of the firstborn, all heirs the [sic? of] mount Zion. This privilege we now enjoy. The partition wall is taken down by Christ, who has made of two one. Ephes. 2. And it is a great privilege if we could think of it and should engage our hearts to Christ, who has rent the veil and given us access to the holy place and set up His tabernacle amongst us, and has given us this blessing and mercy without burdening us with ceremonies and beggarly elements with much more liberty and largeness than ever the Jews had. ¶

2. ¶ Though the church of the Gentiles be called Israel, yet few of every tribe are sealed, *OBSERVE*, outward privileges and interest in God's house, or a title among His people, will not keep folks on their feet in a trial of error, nor when folks are not answerable to these privileges; it will not always make them or prove them to be partakers of His special favor. Dan here is laid by, though a tribe. Or take it thus: ¶ Folks may be partakers of many outward privileges and yet these not secure them from a coming plague, if they be not partakers of spiritual privileges besides. Israel were all God's people and children; to them pertained the adoption and the covenants in respect of external administration, and so it was with the church of the Gentiles which succeeded, but, Rom. 9:6, *they are not all Israel who are of Israel; neither because they are the seed of Abraham are they all children, neither is he a Jew who is one outwardly, ¶ nor is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh, but he is a Jew who is one inwardly and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter, whose praise is of God and not of men.* † Rom. 2:28, 29. It is not baptism that makes everyone a Christian. Isaiah 10:22, 23, Rom. 9:27. *Though Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant only shall be saved.* † Many are called, few are chosen. One of the grounds [soil] in the parable of the sower brings out fruit only. Many are brought in to the floor of the visible church, but the chaff bears more bulk nor [than] the corn.

USE. Judgment here nor hereafter, it is but few that are here sealed for good.

USE. 2. Learn to be humble at such a time, when the wind of error blows from all airths. Who knows but if the storm of error come to a height, they will come to a few number that will stand out and walk without defiled garments. Within these few years there were few in the three kingdoms but they were polluted with Antichrist, and we have the same nature in us and are inclined to be carried away with the same spate [of error] as they were. ¶

3. *OBSERVE*, that Christ's care is very special of His elect. Wherever they are, He takes notice of them. In all their difficulties He has a special and particular eye over them. He does not gather them by heaps but one by one. Isaiah 27:12.

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guess, but by special designation. He sees to their preservation. *He calleth His sheep by name, and leadeth them out* (John 10:3). The most inconsiderable of them are provided for and sheltered from this storm. This is much for the consolation of believers, and it is the very end why this numbering and sealing is set down here, to tell that not only Christ has a care of all believers in general, but of every one of them in particular.

OBSERVE. 4. That sealing and defending against declining or defection in error is no common privilege. They are marked, here one and there one, who are made partakers of it, a few of some tribes, and of some none, to show the singularity of this mercy, and to point, as at our Lord's care, so also at His sovereignty who pitches upon whom He will, to preserve from the trials of the time. It is not because they are better than others, but their through-bearing⁴ lies in His purpose about them and His sealing, discerning, and differencing of them from others.

Lastly, there are but very few, considering the multitude that perishes, that shall be kept free and saved in such a trial. It will be a rare thing to stand when the storm of error blows. Many shall follow the pernicious ways of false teachers (2 Pet. 2:1, etc.). If it were possible, the elect should be seduced (Rev. 13; [Matt. 24:14]). The world wonders after the beast. So that it concerns us to be humble, watchful, and on our guard, _□ that we be not led away with the error of the wicked. _□

Not by guess but by special designation. He sees to their preservation. John 10:3. He calleth His sheep by name and leadeth them out. The fecklessest [i.e., most inconsiderable] of them are provided for against this storm. This is much for the consolation of believers and it is the very end why this numbering and sealing is set down here, to tell that not only Christ has a care of all believers in general, but of every one of them in particular [□] and every particular believer may apply to himself Christ's care of His church in general. If thou have the testimony of a good conscience that thou art endeavoring to walk attending to the rule of the new creature, thou may apply this consolation to thyself, and say "He will seal me." O but they may have much quietness and peace in ill times who have committed themselves to Christ's care, who takes compt and inspection of the fecklessest of [^]in[^] the flock, and if one be a-missing, He leaves the ninety and nine and goes and seeks that which was lost. Math. 18:12. *I will sift the house of Israel [...] as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not one grain fall to the earth.* [†] Amos 9:9. There is no such keeper as He He [sic] is, the faithful and good shepherd. [‡]

4. *OBSERVE,* that sealing and defending against declining and defection in error is no common privilege. They are marked here one and there one, who are made partakers of it. A few of some tribe and some of none, to show the singularity of this mercy and to point as at our Lord's care, so also at His sovereignty, who chops [chooses; pitches] on who He will to preserve from the trials of the time. It is not because they are better nor [than] others, but their throughbearing lies on His purpose about them and sealing of them, [and His] discerning and differencing them from others.

[□] *USE.* To learn all humility. 1 Cor. 4:7. *Who makes thee to differ from another and what hast thou, O man, but what thou hast received and if thou has received it, why dost thou glory as if thou had not received it[?]* He that stands take heed lest he fall [1 Cor. 10:12]. We have little reason of boasting. If God let the weight of attention come on any of us or leave us to wrestle with it in our own strength, we will appear in our own colours [colors]⁴ and go as soon down the wind as any other. [‡]

Lastly, there are but very few considering the multitude that perishes, that shall be kept free and saved in such a trial. It will be a rare thing to stand when the storm of error blows. Many shall follow the pernicious way of false teachers. 2 Pet. 2:1. If it were possible, the elect should be seduced. Revel. 13. The world wonders after the beast. So much the more be humble, watchful, and on our guard.

4. *Through bearing:* "a means of extricating from a difficulty; or of doing some difficult work" (Jamieson).

4. *Color:* 3. *fig.* Outward show, semblance, or appearance, esp. as intended to mislead or disguise; a pretence or pretext (*DSL*).

REVELATION, CHAPTER NINE, LECTURE ONE

1. *And the fifth angle sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit.*
2. *And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit.*
3. *And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power.*
4. *And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree; but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads.*
5. *And to them was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man.*
6. *And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them.*
7. *And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men.*
8. *And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions.*
9. *And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle.*
10. *And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months.*
11. *And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.*

As noted in the introduction, This is the only chapter and lecture which has an unnumbered preamble, as it were. Judging from the opening of the subsequent lecture one, this was actually the original first lecture given before the congregation of the Inner Kirk. As for its brevity, it may be Durham had limited time or preparation time for some reason. That it is not numbered but left in place in MSRev2 and that the significant divergence of the two texts begins in the lecture numbered “Lecture 1,” raises interesting speculation. Why would a mere hearer drop the numbering for instance? The 1658 form of the lecture is considerably refined, revised, and lengthened, which may indicate Durham was not happy with his performance of either the short unnumbered or the numbered text. It is estimated this lecture took place around the latter part of February of 1654. At the same time, from the little dating there is, it is known that Durham was preaching about the tenth or eleventh sermon on Song of Solomon chapter six and was preaching on Colossians chapter three in the afternoon service.

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Revel. 9:1, 2.

The fifth angel sounded here, where the first of the greatest woes is brought in. Of what dreadful nature it is, the woes that are prefaced to the sounding of it may declare. It will concern the opening of all to consider of what woe this judgment speaks particularly, and to what it relates. It is more largely described than any of the former because the temptation of it was most dangerous, and the effects thereof of more concernment to the church.

1. The object of this judgment is the same church or Christian world, whereupon the effects of the former trumpets

The fifth angel sounded here, where the first of the greatest woes is brought in. Of what nature it is, the woes that are prefaced to the sounding of it may declare. It will concern the opening of all to consider of what judgment this woe speaks particularly, and to what it relates. It is more largely described than any of the former, because the temptation of it was most dangerous, and the effects thereof of more concernment to the church. And for clearing of this we say: 1. It is not any temporal judgment by armies as the sixth trumpet holds forth, one of a mixed nature such as came by the Saracens, for that would not be so far greater than the former woes of

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did fall. For these last three do signify greater degrees of wrath upon these who had despised and abused the former lesser woes.

2. The Christian world is obscured by the trumpets, and the Antichristian brought in its place, as was said at the entry to the trumpets. For the Antichristian world is in being after the sixth trumpet, when the vials begin; it must, therefore, have attained that being under the trumpets, and especially under the immediate foregoing trumpets, seeing the seventh finds it at its height, and so consequently, the Christian world (i.e., the pure church) must be decaying under these trumpets, where the Antichristian comes to its being (seeing two of these worlds cannot consist together); yea, the church must be lowest and decline most under these trumpets, wherein Antichrist grows most, and comes to the greatest height, as under these first two great woes it must be. Whence we may gather: (1) That the church is here the object of this plague. (2) That Antichrist must grow under these trumpets, and particularly under this, it being a further step of the same kind of plague, and the sixth finding idolatry under Antichrist at a height, which it plagues, it must then grow here. (3) This first great woe brings spiritual plagues and tyranny upon this world by this king and his armies, who advance that idolatry. The sixth brings temporal judgments on the same persons for whoring from God and receiving this idolatrous worship. _

For further clearing of this, we say: 1. It is not any temporal judgment by armies (such as the sixth trumpet holds forth, to wit, one of a mixed nature), such as came by the Saracens, for that would not be so far greater than the former woes of that kind, as is said. 2. These locusts are but called *as horses*, or like horses, not horses themselves (v. 7), as is expressly said of these under the sixth trumpet, thereby *giving* us to know that there is something of their nature signified, rather than *what is literally* expressed. 3. Their power is not *to kill*, as in the sixth trumpet, but *to hurt* men and torment them spiritually, and not to kill them bodily, as verse 3. 4. These are secluded and exempted from this plague that were sealed and marked, *to wit*, the elect, God's servants; but these were not excluded *from* temporal plagues (as appears in chapter 11), *nor* from that of the Saracens. *Often* they share most under these, and these marked ones are *all* such as were written in the Lamb's book (13:8), *who* yet did partake deeply of outward afflictions. *5.* These troubles (chapter 11) belong expressly to this trumpet, though *continuing* under the sixth, *and* contemporary with it; *yet* *they* belong not to it, but to this. For these troubles are upon the saints by way of persecution; the sixth has judgment *on* ungodly professors *by* way of justice. 6. All the circumstances will clear this further, as the means by whom: *a star*, his *opening*

that kind, as is said. 2. These locusts are but called *as horses*, or like horses, v. 7, not horses themselves, as is expressly to be seen under the sixth trumpet, thereby *letting* us know that there is something of their nature signified, rather than literally expressed. 3. Their power is not *to kill*, as in the sixth trumpet, but *to hurt* men and torment them spiritually, not to kill them bodily, as v. 3. 4. These are secluded and exempted from this plague that were sealed and marked, but these were not secluded from temporal plagues, as appears, chapter 11. Often they share most under these, and these marked ones are such as were written in the Lamb's book, chap. 13:8. 5. These troubles, chap. 11, belong expressly to this trumpet, though *lasting* under the sixth, yet belong not to it, but to this. For these troubles are upon the saints by way of persecution. The sixth has judgment by way of justice. 6. All the circumstances will clear this further, as the means by whom, a star, his *a-loosing* the bottomless pit, the darkening of the sun, etc., as after will appear. For these locusts darken light and obscure truth, which shows it is an ill springing up from within the church.

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the bottomless pit, the darkening of the sun, etc., as after will appear. For these locuſts do darken light and obscure truth, which shows it is a ſpiritual evil on religious things, ſpringing up from within the church, which alſo answers the ſcope of theſe trumpets beſt, as is ſaid.

2. We ſay further, the riſing and diſcovering of Antichriſt and the fall of the Roman biſhops, from heaven to earth (though not at firſt at their height) is the very thing foretold here and muſt be ſo. (1) Because it is clear that the beaſts mentioned in chapter 13, are to be underſtood of him, and ſpeak of the riſe of Antichriſt particularly, as may then be made out; but this agrees to that and is the very ſame war, and event, though in different expreſſions. For {1} The ſame perſons are overcome by both, to wit, theſe that are not ſealed. {2} The ſame perſons are exempted from both, to wit, theſe ſealed ones (9:4, 13:8, and 14:1, etc.). {3} The ſame mark keeps both free, the ſame ſeal of God. {4} And the number is the ſame, comparing chapter 7 in that number and 14:2.

(2) That the eleventh chapter and theſe troubles do belong to the Antichriſt, it is clear, verſe 7, the witneſſes are to be killed by the beaſt, and what beaſt but that in chapter 13 (which aſcends out of the bottomless pit, as the locuſts do here) and that in chapter 11 belongs to this trumpet, appears from verſe 14, where it is ſaid, the ſecond woe is paſt, and the third woe comes quickly. Then, all preceding that belongs to the firſt or the ſecond woe; but not to the ſecond, as has been ſaid; therefore, to the firſt, which indeed in this event is contemporary with the ſecond, to wit, the ſixth trumpet. It may be alſo further cleared from the circumſtances, conſidering the time, riſe, and progreſs, and by comparing it with the fifth vial, which is poured out (chapter 16) on the beaſt's ſeat. And this order is obſerved in all: what is built of Antichriſt's kingdom by the trumpets, is overturned by the vials, and in that ſame order. It would then appear, that ſeeing the fifth vial overturns his throne, that it was ſettled by the fifth trumpet.¹

3. A third reaſon is, if that ſtorm againſt which the one hundred forty and four thouſand in chapter 7 are ſealed, be the ſpiritual defection of the church under Antichriſt, then that which is held forth by this trumpet is ſo alſo; for both relate to the ſame ſtorm. But that in chapter 7 is to be underſtood of Antichriſt's reign, as the greateſt evil the church was to meet with, after heatheniſh perſecution; therefore, this muſt be ſo

2. We ſay, the riſing and diſcovering of Antichriſt and the fall of the Roman biſhops, from heaven to earth, though not at firſt at their height, is the very thing foretold here, and muſt be ſo. 1. Because it is clear that the beaſts mentioned, chap. 13, are of him, and ſpeak of the riſe of the Antichriſt particularly, as may then be made out; but this agrees to that, and is the very ſame war. For 1. The ſame perſons are overcome by both, to wit, theſe that are not ſealed. 2. The ſame perſons are exempted from both, to wit, theſe ſealed ones, chap. 9:4, and chap. 13:8 and 14:1, etc. 3. The ſame mark keeps both free, the ſame ſeal of God. [4.]¹ And the number is the ſame, comparing chap. 7 in that number and chap. 14.

2. That the 11 chapter and theſe troubles do belong to the Antichriſt, it is clear, v. 7, the witneſſes are to be killed by the beaſt, and what beaſt but that, chap. 13, and that beaſt aſcends out of the bottomless pit, as the locuſts do here, and that, chap. 11, belongs to this trumpet, appears from v. 14, where the ſecond woe is paſt, and the third cometh quickly. The ſecond is paſt, that is, *is come*. Then, all preceding that belongs to the firſt, or the ſecond, but not to the ſecond, as has been ſaid; therefore, to the firſt. It may be alſo further cleared from the circumſtances, conſidering its time and riſe and progreſs and by comparing it with the firſt vial poured out, chap. 16, on the beaſt's ſeat, v. 7, is the ſame that is, chap. 13:8. The kingdom is one and they ſupport and through [*push forward*], and fight under one banner and perſons, [with] the woman, the poor forſaken church. The reaſon why we mark this is because it ſerves to clear the ſeries of the ſtory and fix us upon ſome time for giving us ſome insight in that which is coming, as well as in what is paſt.¹

1. After this paragraph, the reſt of this lecture has been ſignificantly revised and enlarged, and though ſimilar content as in the manuſcript appears, the two texts do not tract as cloſely as in the ſeveral previous lectures.

1. The manuſcript does not number this as point four, which is done in the 1658 text.

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also. What was said upon chapter 7, for clearing the scope of that place, will confirm both these propositions.

4. This spiritual kingdom described here must either be applied to the kingdom of Antichrist and that hierarchy, or it must be applicable to some other (seeing it is some spiritual plague arising within the church). But there can be no other thought of, to whom this description can agree, and in whom this spiritual woe (exceedingly beyond any mentioned by the former trumpets) can be fulfilled, but the kingdom of Antichrist; therefore, that must be understood here.

Again, it being clear that it is one and the same world or church which is overturned by the first six trumpets, and it being clear that the sixth trumpet following finds idolatry in the visible church (which is {the world plagued by it}). It must, therefore, follow that this defection to idolatry (which is)² a character of the Antichrist's defection) must have increased under this fifth trumpet immediately preceding, seeing it was not during the former four.

Lastly, it may be confirmed further by comparing this chapter with 2 Thessalonians 2, by which we will find that this plague mentioned here is the same spiritual Antichristian delusion prophesied of there, for in every material thing they agree. As 1. The instrument: there is one sitting in the temple of God, as having place in the church of Christ; here is a star falling from heaven, intimating the same thing. 2. There, he is called *ὁ ἀντικειμενός*, as opposite to Christ, and *ὁ ὄς τῆς ἀπωλείας*, or the son of perdition; here he is called *ἀπολλών*, or the destroyer, as opposed to Christ, who is called a Savior; as also (chapter 17 of this prophecy) he is said to go *εἰς ἀπολλών*, or to destruction, himself; for Antichrist, as Chrysostom observes in that in 2 Thessalonians [2:3] is called the son of perdition, because he shall occasion the destruction of many and shall himself be destroyed. 3. They agree in respect of these whom they plague (2 Thess. 2:10), it is only³ these that shall be damned whom that delusion carries away; here (v. 4), it is only these who are not marked, that is to say, who are not written in the Lamb's book of life (13:8) and so also it seizes only finally upon the reprobate. 4. There, they are given up to strong delusion to believe lies; here, they are carried away with fornications, idolatries, and other errors, and are so hardened therein, that although they be plagued for these by the sixth trumpet, yet they repent not. 5. That delusion in 2 Thess. 2[1:11] has its rise from the devil, verse

2. The text between braces was omitted in the 2000 edition.

3. The 1658 text reads "it is also." The errata instructed, "only for also." The 1660 mistook the instruction again, and inserted "only for" in front of "also." The eighteenth-century editions do not make the correction. Anderson, Sanders, and the 2000 have the corrected reading.

Revel. 9:1, 2., etc. Lecture 1.

「Ye remember the last day we showed that this first woe of these three great woes did especially and particularly relate to the rising and highining [*heightening*] of the kingdom of Antichrist, all the circumstances being compared with the 11 and 13 chapters of this book. We pass the two reasons we gave before and come to a third.⁷²

That this is Antichrist's kingdom and reign may be cleared by comparing this place with 2 Thess. 2 and Revel. 17 in these four. 1. It is a star, a member of the church, and an eminent one, falling from church authority to earthly pride, so exalting himself piece and piece till he come to be a great king. 2. It is clear by his name; he is called a destroyer as Christ is called a Savior, whereby he is opposed to Him and this *απολλών* [*Ἀπολλύων*] is called by the apostle, 2 Thess., *υὸς [υἱός] ἀπαώλειας [ἀπωλείας]*, filius perditionis, and Revel.17, he goes [to] his *απολλειαν [ἀπόλειαν]*, destruction] and that singular *οαντικειμενος [ὁ ἀντικειμενος]* and that son of perdition can be no other so properly as this destroyer, et contra. 3. They agree in these whom they plague. Here it is these who are not marked and all of them in 2 Thess. 2:10, it is these all that shall be damned. 4. There they are given up to strong delusion to believe lies, and mighty signs are done by that Antichrist to delude the world, so here they have fornications, sorceries, idolatries, which are plagued under the sixth trumpet, yet they go on.

We take it then for granted that that Roman hierarchy or ecclesiastical monarchy is set out here, not as in one man's person more than Antichrist is, or than the beast is to be understood, nor as if it were at a full height at the first, but in a series it grew piece and piece till publicly this great king appeared in his pomp, for these three last woes comprehend the story for a longer time any of them than the former, and are distinct woes every one of them differing from another,

2. At this point from the beginning of the text titled lecture 1, the text diverges from the 1658 published form of the material for the first lecture on chapter nine.

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9, and is carried on with mighty signs and wonders; here, it comes from the bottomless pit and is carried on by the devil's special minister, who, therefore, is said to have the key thereof, and is not without mighty signs and lying wonders, as is clear from chapter 13, following, where the same kingdom is under another consideration described. From all which considerations we may gather:

1. That each of these trumpets does not contain the story of an equal time or number of years; for the matter contained in any of the last three trumpets, will be found to be of longer continuance than all the first four, which (added to the greatness of the matter contained in them) may be the reason why they are differenced from the former four, as the greater woes.

2. It appears also that by the fifth and sixth trumpets, we are to understand different evils and enemies; and so they cannot both be applicable either to Antichrist only or Mahometans only.

3. We may gather also that this kingdom and army, with the furniture wherewith they are provided, and the effects which follow upon their tyranny, are not properly to be understood of external battles and bodily evils, but figuratively, as representing some great spiritual hurt on the church and her ordinances. These expressions, *they are like horses, and had breastplates, as it were breastplates, etc.*, whereby they are expressly differenced from the trumpet following, wherein expressions that are properly to be understood, are used, do intimate this.⁴

4. Supposing (which afterward from 11:13 and 17 will be more clear) that the Roman hierarchy, complexly taken, is the kingdom of Antichrist, and that the deluding of the world by them is the very delusion prophesied of [in] 2 Thessalonians 2, it will necessarily follow that this Romish Antichristian kingdom (whereby the visible church has been long brought in[to] bondage) is the very same set forth by this trumpet.

To come more particularly to the description of this kingdom (for a kingdom it is) as it is set down in the words, in its rise and growth, we will find it many ways insisted upon: 1. A star falls from heaven, and becomes earthly; upon that again follows corruption of doctrine, whereupon does arise a rabble of superstitious churchmen, whose work is to propagate and support the dominion of their king, as his care is to strengthen and increase them, there being such mutual concernment in the standing or falling of each to other.

which would not well be if the fifth and sixth trumpet were either both expounded of Antichrist's or the Mahometans' kingdom. The degrees of its progress is first by the star's fall and becoming earthly. From it proceeds corrupt doctrine. From that again, as its brood, a superstitious rabble of churchmen, who growing to pomp and dignity, worldly, prove exceedingly strengthening and supporting to their king and monarch, who as upon pillars is raised, advanced, and enlarged in his dominion by them and they were helped at first by him, their being such a circle between him and them in their standing and falling.

4. The 1658 text reads, "and do intimate this," which the errata instructed, "*dele* and." All editions corrected this, except that the 1799 set "do" as "to."

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Verse 1.⁵ The first particular described is the fountain and great instrument of all this spiritual plague; that is, I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth. That by star is meant some person; the words after do clear. To him; that is, to the star was given, etc. That it must be some church officer is also clear from 1:20 from our Lord Jesus His own exposition: and considering what power this star has in the world, it must hold forth some eminent church officer. By heaven is understood here (as frequently in this book) the visible church, which is the heaven wherein Christ has placed apostles, pastors, and teachers as stars to give light because the church is furnished with heavenly privileges, heavenly light of doctrine, and ought to be of heavenly conversation in respect of the rest of the world. By earth is understood earthliness, or the rest of the world, as contradistinguished from the church, which the opposition clears; and thus earth signifies worldly designs, worldly grandeur, corrupt doctrine, liker [more like] to that of heathens than that of Christ, carnalness in conversation, and such like. For this earth is something contradistinguished from, and opposed to, the heaven formerly mentioned. To fall here from heaven unto earth signifies a declining from the one to the other. And so in sum, the meaning of this part of the verse will be, "I foresaw the defection of some eminent church officer (who once had place in the visible church) from Christian simplicity, purity, and holiness in doctrine and conversation, to a religion and way of living by superstitions, idolatries, and external pomp, becoming rather the men of the world, and liker⁶ [more like] their way than a minister of Christ."

By this phrase also (*I saw a star fall*, etc.) is implied: 1. Not only a declining and defection, but such a declining as makes him that was before a star in heaven, to cease from being considered in that relation, and afterward to be accounted as but eminent amongst the men of the world, because of their worldly earthly-like religion and worship. Upon which ground, the followers of this Antichristian kingdom are called Gentiles (11:2). 2. This phrase imports a visible and palpable step of this defection: the star is not now falling, as was in the former chapter, but it is fallen. And *I saw it fallen*, says John, implying an observableness in it. 3. It imports that after the fall of this star, and defection of this eminent church officer, he continued still in the account of a star among the men of the world: he is called a *star*, even after his fall, though indeed,

[V. 1] The progress of this kingdom (such a kingdom as it is) is set out and described in these particulars. 1. The fountain of it all is a fallen star from heaven to earth; that is, a person, for he gets the key of the bottomless pit, and an eminent churchman or church bishop becoming earthly, leaving the purity of heavenly doctrine and worship and betaking him to human traditions and superstitions, borrowed from the world and external pomp, whereby he appears like one upon the earth amongst the rest of the world in their way, rather than in Christ's or the church's. So it appears who he was from whence he fell and whither to, the earth. And he is held forth in the power that is given him. The key of the bottomless pit, not as Christ has it, chap. 1:18, nor as the devil has it, but as his deputy from whom he gets his power, chap. 12, even from the dragon. He having before the keys of heaven while he stayed there, now he continues to exercise [*exercise*] power as yet and more than ever he did. But it is quite contrary. He mistakes his key and turns from heaven to hell, to be a minister of Satan, and, as it were, to trade for the devil and in God's secret judgment, efficacy and gifts and lying wonders are allowed him for prosecuting his point and that with success, 2. Thess. 2. The world is given up to believe lies that follow and worship and submit to him. This cannot be meant of Mahomet. He was never a star of heaven.

5. Compared to the manuscript, this lecture generally follows the same sectional outline by verse number but has been revised and expanded greatly at various places.

6. There was a hole or defect in the original from which a copy was made to use for the 2000 edition, which allowed the underlying text to show through, and "liker" was rendered "procure."

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and in John's account he be but a fallen star and earthly, as having, indeed, forfeited his former church relation.

The second thing described is the power given unto this fallen star. And to him was given the keys of the bottomless pit. Keys signify in Scripture, authority, and power. By the bottomless pit is meant hell, as is unquestionable. Christ is said to have the keys of hell and death, that does signify His supreme authority (1:18). The devil is said to have power and to give it to the beast (13:2, 4), because in God's secret wisdom and justice, the execution of His judgments in part is committed to the devil, and he is employed as supreme head of the wicked therein, and for that cause is said to have a throne and is permitted to rule over the children of disobedience. Here, this star partakes of this authority, not as Christ has it (for now, being fallen from heaven, he has lost relation to Him), nor in that same degree as the devil does, but as deputy and lieutenant to him, who in God's secret justice furnishes him with this power, as from 13:2, 4 is clear. In a word, while he was in heaven, he exercised Christ's authority, and in that respect, had the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Now, being fallen, he continues to exercise authority, and to retain a key, but of a quite contrary nature, to wit, of the bottomless pit, and to serve another master, to wit, the devil, as the exercise of his authority tending now to the advancement of ignorance, darkness, superstition, and idolatry in the church, and being assisted with the power of hell for that end. For as Christ's ministers are said to have keys from Him, and when they warrantably exercise them, it is the opening of heaven, so promoters [promoters; advancers] of heresy, being ministers of Satan (2 Cor. 11[:14–15]), though they think it not, of whom Antichrist is the chief, he has the key of the pit, that is, an authority not allowed by Christ, nor from above, and the opening of the pit with the key is the putting of that assumed power in execution; such is spreading of corrupt doctrine, called, therefore, doctrines of devils (1 Tim. 4:1), and authorizing men to propagate these without Christ's call, who are, therefore, called ministers of Satan. This key is said to be given him, which does not imply a warrantable call, but 1. The great change which followed upon his fall, and the exercise of his power in respect of what it was he gets now another key in his hand. 2. An usurpation of the person acting, and promoting the designs of hell, in a way of authority, as if that key had been entrusted to him. 3. It implies a prime ministerial office (to say so), which he has from the devil, who does account of, and acknowledge him, as primely subservient to his designs, and a subordination of this key-bearer unto him, who has given him this trust, chapter 13:2. 4. Lastly, it implies a wise and just, though a secret, overruling providence of God, ordering this subordinate authority of Antichrist for

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His wise ends, as He does the dominion of the devil, whom He permits sovereignly (as it were) in respect of the other to bear a kind of rule.

Verse 2. The exercise of this power is set down with three effects following thereupon (vv. 2, 3). And he opened the bottomless pit; that is, as he was employed by the devil and permitted by God to assume an authority for the advantage of hell, so did he instantly exercise his power for that end, and left nothing unassayed for bringing superstition and idolatry out of the bottomless pit. Where it was formerly restrained, now it is letten loose, as appears by the effects; the first whereof is, there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace. What is to be understood by this smoke, the second effect following upon this, to wit, darkening of the sun and the air, will make it appear. For by sun and air are understood here, the light and purity of the doctrine of Christ, which shined clearly and comfortably in the primitive church. The third part of this light was smitten by the fourth trumpet (8:12). Now, by this fifth trumpet, this darkness spreads, and the whole sun and also the air is darkened, which holds forth a greater degree of corruption in doctrine than was under the former. It began then, but now is at a height. This being then the meaning of darkening the sun and air, this smoke, which brings forth this effect, must be these corrupt and superstitious doctrines and increasing of human traditions and ceremonies, whereby the light of the truth of God was obscured. This is compared to a great smoke: 1. Because error and superstition, though it seems to be something sib [akin] to devotion (as smoke is to fire), yet is really not only without light and heat but also is onerous and hurtful, as smoke is. 2. Because the darkness which error and superstition infers upon the truth of God, does not corrupt it in itself, more than smoke can darken the sun; but does by ceremonies and traditions darken it to us, as great smoke does the sun to onlookers. Again, this smoke is said to be as of a great furnace from the bottomless pit, to show that the defection of Antichrist consists not in one particular error, but (as it were) an inundation of errors ascending together. 2. To show that whatever the authors pretended, yet the rise of these superstitions were from hell, as in the forecited place, 1 Timothy 4:2, 3, superstitious traditions and errors concerning meats and marriages (doctrines much esteemed of among papists) are particularly by the apostle attributed unto devils.

Verse 3. The third effect following upon these two. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, a vermin (as it were), engendered by the former corruptions; these, as being of special concernment in the Antichristian kingdom, are largely and particularly described. That these locusts were men; yea, that they were pretended churchmen, promoters

V. 2. The second thing he is described in is in his exercising [*exercising*] his power or key, that he boasts of it; it is in opening the bottomless pit, v. 2, out of which come forth two effects, the one flowing from the other. *There arose a great smoke like a furnace.* What this smoke is we may know, first, by its darkening the light, which in part eclipsed before, is now fully obscured by a general inundation, as it were, of corruptions and errors. Both sun and air are darkened, nothing is light, and what conveyed light too is darkened. 2. By from whence it came; errors about marriage and meats specially agreeing to the Roman church are called by the apostle, 1 Tim. 4:1, 2, 3, doctrines of devils, etc.

V. 3. The third is the effect of this smoke; they are locusts, afterward so described, as we may easily conjecture them to be the many invented orders of the Roman church to propagate and uphold that hierarchy. The two similitudes of smoke and locusts holding forth: 1. The nature of error and these doctrines to be hurtful and wasting of truth and practice, as

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of errors and superstition, appears from this, that they stand in subordination to Antichrist, and in a monarchic way are governed by Abaddon (v. 11), and must, therefore, be servants suitable to such a master, and members conform[ed] to such a head. They are said to come out of the smoke, because oftentimes corruption of doctrine begets corrupt teachers to promote the same, as we see in Jeroboam (2 Chron. 11:14, 15). And the rejecting of sound doctrine and heaping up teachers after men's own lusts (2 Tim. 4:3), are put together; for a spirit of error loves to innovate in respect of officers, as well as doctrine, and by it, people are some way disposed to strange teachers; and also for promoting new tenents, they are necessitated to make use of them. However, the scope and sum of the prophecy is thus: that the beginning of Antichrist's kingdom shall be by an eminent church officer, who, falling from the right exercise of ministerial authority in subordination to Christ, to be a promover of the devil's designs, and subservient to him, he shall bring in such abundance of ceremonies, superstitions, and errors upon the church which shall obscure the clear doctrine and simplicity of the gospel, whereby numbers of false teachers and orders shall be established, which our Lord Jesus has never warranted.

They are compared to locusts: 1. Because of their number, as Antichrist shall bring in many errors, so shall he multiply teachers, who shall live and converse together in the world like swarms of locusts. 2. To set forth their nature, and that both in respect of their worthlessness, and also of their hurtfulness unto the church, this being the nature of locusts to consume and destroy where they come, so that a land pleasant like Eden before them is brought by them to a desolate wilderness (Joel 2:3, etc., compared with Joel 1:4). These orders and teachers shall even do so with the church; yea, the increasing of them is marked here, as a part of Antichrist's superstition, as a fruit of former corrupting of doctrine, and as a midis [means] to carry on that corruption to a height; by which we may see, that the altering or inventing of new officers in the church is of no little concernment. By these locusts, we conceive clearly to be held forth the many invented orders, and superstitious rabble of these called the clergy of the Church of Rome, who not being plants of our heavenly Father's planting, but purposely brought in to promote and support the worldly grandeur of that hierarchy, and did flow⁷ from superstitious principles brought in upon the church, and so are to be accounted as locusts, having their rise from the bottomless pit, which their description will more fully clear.

locusts make a pleasant land before them dark, Joel 2 and 3. So do they with the church. 2. Their number and great abundance of both breaking out from these orders, being not plants of our Heavenly Father's planting, but being a suitability between their doctrine and the preachers of it, the one breeding from the other, by which what power this star had appears, to wit, fair access to invent new worship and ceremonies and to appoint propagators for it.

These locusts are in many particulars described. 1. Their noisome nature and commission that was given them to hurt and sting as scorpions, that is, in a more dangerous and oblique way than they seemed to do, scorpions hurting more dangerously and yet more subtly than locusts. Their hurt is beyond their appearance. They look despicable-like, but they hurt not so. They have a poisonous way of killing not by open death.

7. The Edinburgh errata reads, "and did flow," which was already the reading of the text. Perhaps the reader making the errata misread the "flow" as "slow" with a long "s" (f).

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The first part of their description (besides their rise already spoken of) is the power that was given them, which is these four ways set forth: 1. Generally, in verse 3, *unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power, etc.* Scorpions are a dangerous and subtle sort of serpents; these look like locusts but sting like scorpions; that is, dangerously and subtly, their hurt being beyond their appearance, by their cunning instilling poisonous doctrine. *Their having of power given them*, does not import lawful authorizing of them, but as was said of their head in verse 1, they want [*lack*] no commission, but that is given them by the *angel* of the bottomless pit, who does formally authorize and create these orders, and prescribes rules unto them, so that even his officers and ministers have order among them, and assume not commission and calling (although to superstitious orders) of themselves. This is fully made out in the pope's way of founding, creating, commissionating, etc., by his bulls, patents, and other writs (as they give them names) of all orders, whereof many hundreds are in that kingdom; all which have their dependence on him, owe their being to his authority, and are regulated by the laws and commissions given them from him.

Verse 4. 1. The second way how their power is described is in verse 4, where their commission is bounded and ordered in these two respects: (1) In respect of these they shall not hurt; *it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, etc.*, whereby is understood (as is clear by the opposition following) the elect or sealed ones. This command comes not from their immediate superior, to wit, the angel of the bottomless pit, but proceeds from the Lord's sovereignty, in order to the fulfilling of what was foretold in chapter 7. (2) Again, the proper objects unto whom their power reaches are set down, to wit, *but only these men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads*; that is, these who are not elected. Here the end of Christ's sealing and the advantage of it does appear, and also who they are upon whom the delusion of Antichrist has full victory.

Verse 5. 3. Their power or commission is described further in a twofold limitation. (1) *And it was given to them that they should not kill them*; that is, that their plaguing of men should not be directly by taking away the bodily life (as the horsemen under the sixth trumpet have in verse 18) but must be understood of another sort of plague as afterward. If any say that Antichrist is said to kill ([chapters] 11, 13, 17), and so, how can this be said of him? Answer. We may consider Antichrist in a twofold respect: first, in respect of the elect; second, in respect of hypocritical professors in the church. In respect of the first, Antichrist is here limited from killing them spiritually, but in these places, he is permitted to kill them bodily. On the contrary, again, in respect of the second,

2. The commission of these locusts has a threefold limitation or restriction: 1. In respect of the object that they hurt, it is only these men that are not marked, not the elected. They rage and prevail against these appointed to perdition or who are to perish. Their deceit prevails only against them. 2 These. 2, v. 10. Antichrist seduceth not the elect. Math. 24.

2. Even these they have under their power, their liberty or commission is not to kill them, as trumpet 6, but to torment them, and that with a very great torment, not from outward woundings but from inward stinging, as when a scorpion stings a man, by which appears the anxiety and comfortlessness of their doctrine. It would never quiet a conscience and all their donations,³ pilgrimages, whippings, purgatories, etc., being put in place of faith in Christ and that sun of righteousness darkened, what advantage followed to all these poor souls they prevailed with[?] They were miserably tormented with

3. Here and in the published form of this lecture, Durham uses notation [Sc. endowment] and donation, interchangeably.

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Antichrist does not take away the bodily life of these that submit to him, but he proves a spiritual plague unto them. Now, if we consider him in the first sense, as he kills⁸ the elect, Antichrist is not the plague of the world, but in the second sense, as souls are endangered by him, and therefore, this being a threatening of sending him as a plague to the hypocrites of the church, his proper commission in reference to them is only set down. 2. This limitation may be put in to show the proper work of these locusts, which should not be professedly to take away bodily lives themselves (from which, as to its act, the Romanish clergy does superstitiously pretend to abstain, although they be deep in bloody contrivances), but that their native work should be the destroying of souls. The second limitation in this verse is in respect of the time; it is not forever, but for *five months*. We understand it indefinitely for a considerable long time, yet a time that is bounded by the Lord and will have an end, as in Ezekiel 39:12, seven months are to be taken also. It is probable that particularly five months are mentioned because ordinarily, locusts continued to destroy during five months, as it is written of them, for beginning in April, they died in September. If we should aim to be more definite in applying this time, it would but prove more troublesome and uncertain than satisfying or edifying.

4. The last thing wherein their power or commission is described is in the nature of the plague itself; that is, it was not that they should kill men, but that *men should be tormented*, etc. This torment in the greatness of it is aggregated [*aggravated*] by a similitude in the end of the fifth verse, *their torment was as the torment of a scorpion*, which is a grievous, dangerous, and vexing torment.

Verse 6. The second aggravation is from the effect of this: *men shall seek death, and shall not find it, and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them*. In sum, it is this: their anxiety shall be so great as shall make them weary of their life (as we see often good men wish for death under great anxiety of spirit, not as death is considered in itself, but as usually it is accounted an end to present vexations, as Job and Jonah), and yet death shall not prove comfortable to them; but *death* (that is, a quieting death which they desire) shall flee from them, and thoughts of death shall breed a new terror to them. For

8. The 1658 text reads, "as he corrupteth," which the errata instructed, "killeth for corrupteth." The 1660, again, simply inserted the language of the instruction and reads, "as he killeth for corrupteth the Elect." Anderson made the correction, while Sanders and the eighteenth-century editions did not.

the doctrine of merit and indulgences and could never get true quietness in it, but the more disquietness, hanging heaven upon works, these conscience[s] being once wakened and all put in fear, and the commanding of so many ceremonies, holy days, works, etc., brought all in bondage. The doctrine also of uncertainty of salvation to one's sense or knowledge and uncertainty of perseverance kept still in fear, especially when they had nothing but outward multiplied forms and afflictions of the flesh in will-worship to comfort themselves with. No marvel their sorrows be multiplied that hasten after other gods, Ps. 16:2. Histories express the torments of their poor confessionists that might keep up nothing from them under pain of damnation, and the multiplying of their monasteries and donations for soul masses and purgatories is evident. One notable example is in our own story. 3. It is limited in respect of time. It is not forever, but for *five months*, which we would understand indefinitely and Ezek. 39:12, seven months shall they be in burying ^of^ them, to wit, a good time, or a long time in respect of us, though not in respect of God, yet not always[s]; there should be an end of this blasting of all by these locusts. Probably five months are mentioned because ordinarily locusts, they endured so long, for beginning in April they died in September. So these being called locusts for their hurt and number, destroying all, some resemblance also of continuance is held forth in this. Then tormenting the world has an end, though long to us, they continue as locusts and consume the best time of the year, till the winter be approaching and till harvest, so they will be when they shall be all gathered together. And if we should be definite in numbering so many years, it will be more fashious [*troublesome*] and uncertain considering the variations of stories, nor satisfying.

V. 6. This torment is aggregated, v. 6. That the terrors of conscience, the native product of popish doctrine, shall be so stinging, that death to many will be more **terrible** tolerable if by it they could eschew that vexation, but they shall not obtain it; but the bondage lies still upon them; the fear of purgatory follows.

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understanding this, two things are to be observed: 1. That it is not bodily torment which the text speaks of, but spiritual anxiety and inward vexation of spirit, and that such as natively flows from the practices and doctrine of these locusts. For (1) This torment is on the friends and native subjects of this kingdom, whom these under-officers do not pretend willingly to torment. (2) Their power is not to kill bodily, and therefore, not to torment bodily.

2. The second thing to be observed is that nothing does more natively breed anxiety and spiritual torment than the principles contained in the popish doctrine and propagated by these who are signified by these locusts. And therefore, seeing the spreaders of such doctrines as breed anxiety and vexation of spirit, and can never satisfy nor quiet a conscience, must be understood here, we can more warrantably apply it to none than to underlings of the popish clergy and other propagators of that kingdom. Where these things are clear: (1) That their doctrine is apt of itself to breed this vexation of spirit, such as the innumerableness of their ceremonies, holy days, doctrine of merit of works, and uncertainty of grace and salvation, perfection of holiness, and fulfilling of the Law of God, with the great yoke of will-worship and superstition, which cannot but bring the zealots of these traditions under much bondage. (2) This is clear, that by their principles, there is no quieting of a conscience once wakened. What can their penances, pilgrimages, satisfactions, indulgences, invocation of saints and images, and such like, do to the sprinkling of a heart from an evil conscience? There needs no more proof of this than to read the writings of some of their casuists and to consider the many dotations given for soul-masses, after death, because the conscience could never be quieted here. (3) We will find also both these made good in experience. Histories are full of instances of the heartless and comfortless life and anxious death of many members of that body, which God has blessed to some, for constraining them to flee over these things to the alone grace of God in Christ Jesus. (4) Yea, does not their doctrine pursue men till death, and after death to torment? Their peremptory exacting of auricular confession of all sins (and that under the pain of damnation), their founding of the man's confidence upon the pope's pardon, the priest's absolution, his own penance and holiness, or the virtue of some sacrament (yea, sometimes of some idolatrous invention, as the mass, etc.), according to their principles conferring grace by the working of the work (as they call it) and such like, cannot furnish the soul with solid confidence. Besides, the fear of purgatory does weaken that hope, or expectation of ease, which otherwise men might have from death; in this sense, though they seek death, yet it flees from them, and they obtain not their desire by it, and their vexation dies not.

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Verse 7. Again, in the seventh verse, he returns to the particular description of these locusts. 1. In their appearance or shape; *like horses*; that is, strong, and swift, and stout, as *prepared unto battle*. So Gregory before spoke of priests [p. 293], calling them *Sacerdotum exercitus* to usher in Antichrist. They are compared to *horses prepared unto battle* because of their courage and expediteness in undertaking and prosecuting their designs and because of the success which followed them, who, as a conquering army do prevail over the world, which is not armed against them. For which causes, these locusts are compared to horses and armies (Joel 2[:25]). 2. They are said to be *crowned with crowns like gold*, to set forth their outward grandeur and seeming stateliness and authority, which is not so indeed, though it appeared to be so, and therefore, said not to be gold, but *like gold*. In a word, they are like kings in pomp and armies in strength. This agrees well to their cardinals, bishops, and others of the clergy of the Church of Rome. 3. *They have faces as the faces of men*; that is, a pretended affableness and sociableness in their conversations, thereby to insinuate themselves by rational pretexts upon the affections of men, yet being indeed nothing less than they pretended.

4. They are said to *have womens' hair* (v. 8), which holds forth an effem-inateness and vain delicateness in their disposition and carriage, and a whorish way of decking themselves, and alluring others to their fornication, for which this kingdom is called the *great whore* (chapter 17).

5. Their teeth were as the teeth of lions; that is, cruel and ravenous, notwithstanding of the former appearances, devouring the souls of these that are subject to them, the bodies of these that oppose them, and the goods and estates of both, like those in Matthew 23[:14-]15, who devour widows' houses, and that under pretext of long prayers. The horses mentioned in verse 17 have lions' heads; here, they have only lions' teeth with the faces of men and hair of women. The reason of the difference is, although both agree in cruelty and destroying, yet the popish clergy (signified here) do more subtly and covertly destroy souls. Therefore, are they described by lions' teeth only, which are not so obvious to sight. The Turks, again (of whom the sixth trumpet speaks), do more manifestly appear what they are; therefore, are described as lions' heads.

V. 7. In the 7 verse, he returns to the description of these locusts: 1. In their appearance or shapes, *like horses*, that is, strong and swift, and stout, and as prepared unto battle. So Gregory before spoke of priests and sacerdotum exercitus to usher in Antichrist. 2. They are crowned *as with gold*, not so indeed, but in show, in great pomp, dignity, and honor, and credit. Such were their cardinals and bishops and such are these of their orders. 3. They have *men's faces*, a condescending, insinuating way of winning in upon men, upon pretext of reason, affection, piety, etc.

4. They have *womens' hair*; that is, effeminate dispositions and whorish ways of decking themselves and setting out their strumperies for alluring poor men to their fornications as they are for that called the great whore, chap. 17, and said to be arrayed in purple. They teach lies in hypocrisy and are wolves in sheep's clothing, having horns like the lamb but the dragon's mouth.

5. *Their teeth is as lions'*, that is, ravenous and devouring of the souls of these that are subject to them, of their bodies and lives of these that opposes them, and of the goods and estates of both. They devour widows' houses under pretext of long prayers. See Math. 23:14.

If it be asked, how they are here said not to have power to kill and, chap. 11, they kill and, chap. 17, they are blood guilty? Answer. Godly men and elect are exeemed [*exempt*] from their hurt spiritually, but not bodily. Reprobate men and women which are their own prey, are exeemed from bodily death but not spiritual. Now as Antichrist is a plague, he is sent and has commission alone against these that submit to him, that receive not the love of the truth. He is but accidentally the godly's scourge; these he is properly commissioned against. His power is to torment not professedly to kill, as the sixth trumpet does.

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Verse 9. He proceeds to describe these locuſts in their defensive and offensive arms; they are ſaid *to have breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron, and the ſound of their wings was as the ſound of chariots of many horſes running to battle*. The firſt part ſhows their ſecurity from all danger and the advantage they had in their war; there was no hurting of them more than there is of hurting horſemen well-armed with armor of iron. The ſecond part of the verſe ſhows the horrible noiſe and terror wherewith they proſecute their deſigns when they find oppoſition, ſo that armies with horſemen and chariots are not more horrible nor violent in their encounters than they are. In the application to the clergy of the Church of Rome, both theſe may be made good by the many privileges and immunities which they poſſeſs, whereby they are exempted from dependence on all monarchs but their own, by the dread of excommunications and thunderings of church cenſure. While they keep the keys of heaven and purgatory, they were not only free of fear or hurt from others, but alſo when they met with oppoſition from emperors and kings, did with ſuch clamor and violence ſo proſecute them, that no enemy or army has been for a long time ſo terrible as they, making the world aſtoniſhed with the ſtupendouſneſs of their pretended power. The effects of this have been often found, as hiſtories do witneſs.

The tenth verſe does continue the deſcription of theſe locuſts in three particulars more. The firſt is, *they had tails like unto ſcorpions*. *Tails* do hold forth the flattering and fawning humor of falſe teachers (Iſa. 5:19 [*sic* 9:15?]), who inſinuate themſelves by flatteries and lies, as dogs (to whom they are compared) do with their tails. 2. It is ſaid *there were ſtings in their tails*; that is, not only their mouth and head were hurtful, but their tails. That which ſeems moſt pleaſant to others, and is moſt delighted in, does often prove moſt noiſome and hurtful to them. Such fair words and pleaſant ſpeeches of corrupt men have ever a ſting in them, tending to the ſeduction of the ſimple (Rom. 16:18). 3. Their continuance is deſcribed: *their power was to hurt men five months*. This was formerly ſpoken of in verſe 5 and is again repeated here, either becauſe it was mentioned formerly by way of limitation, that they ſhould torment no longer than the time appointed; here it is to ſhow their continuance, which ſhall be till the appointed time come; or it is doubled to confirm the faith of God's overruling providence in timing both the riſe, continuance, and cloſe of this dreadful plague. This verſe, alſo being particularly compared with verſe 19 following, will alſo clear the plagues threatened by theſe two trumpets to be of diſtinct and different natures.

V. 9. Again, v. 9, theſe locuſts are well defended, not with breastplates, but as it were ſo, that is, ſafeſly,⁴ what by immunities from all monarchs, having their own ſpecial privileges given them, and exempted from the bondage all were under by excommunications, etc. So it appears in ſundry hiſtories, where they ſet on, they prevailed, but for a long time were free of all hoſtility, for ſomething by all theſe expreſſions is underſtood: cruelty by teeth, ſtrength by prieſtplates [*sic* breastplates], ſubtlety by men's faces, though not ſo indeed, but figuratively they made a great and dreadful noiſe when they were provoked, as in England and elſewhere.

V. 10. A further deſcription is ſet down, v. 10, that they had *tails*; that is, flatteries and lies, Iſaiah 9:15. The prophet that teaches lies is called the tail and with theſe tails they hurt and torment by their corrupt doctrine. In the ſixth trumpet, v. 19, theſe have power in their tail. Mahomet has falſe doctrine to poiſon ſome, but not only hurt they with their tails, as the locuſts here, nor chiefly, but they have heads alſo wherewith they hurt, which theſe locuſts do not. And ſo there is a clear difference between theſe and the ſixth trumpet.

4. *Safe*: Not in danger, not liable to be harmed, with an assurance of ſafety, ſecure (*DSL*).

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Lastly (v. 11), Their government is described in three, 1. Contrary to that of locuſts in Proverbs 30:27, it is monarchic: *they have a king over them*; that is, although they be many and various and different among themselves, yet are they all subordinate to one supreme head, who exercises absolute and independent authority over all the rest, and who lives in royal state and majesty in the world, having uncontroverted and illimited power within that kingdom, and has all others in subordination to him. It is impossible to indigitate [*point to*] any other by this than the pope. 2. This monarch is described by his office, which is to be *the angel of the bottomless pit*, which holds forth two things: (1) That he is a servant to that kingdom of darkness, one commissioned and sent in embassy from it, for its behoof, and so is not to be understood of the devil himself, who is not properly sent, but sends from the pit. (2) It holds forth an eminent trusty and singular messenger of that kingdom, therefore, called (by way of eminency) *the angel* of the bottomless pit, and therefore, cannot be applied to ordinary false teachers. In a word, he is the same *star* that fell from heaven in verse 1 and got the key of the bottomless pit, and the same *beaſt* mentioned in chapter 13, to whom the dragon does especially give his power and commission as his great deputy and vicar in the backslidden church; and therefore, he is said in 2 Thessalonians 2, to come after the working of Satan, etc. 3. This king is described from his name, which is set down both in Hebrew and Greek, *Abaddon*, and *Apollyon*, a name suitable to such a king and kingdom. His name in both signifies a destroyer, or to destroy, partly because, actively, he destroys and partly because he is to be destroyed. It is set down both in Hebrew and Greek because (1) He usurps over all the church and proves a destroyer both to Jews and Greeks. (2) Because, in due time, he is to be destroyed by both, as we will see [in] chapters 16 and 19, and also because the Lord would have him known to be so, both by Jews and Greeks, as Pilate caused [to] write the title above Christ in diverse languages. Our blessed Lord Jesus had two names, one, *Jesus*, in Hebrew, and *Christ* in Greek, both which hold Him forth to be a Savior. This king will be satisfied with no less honor and extent of government, yet is described by these titles to be of a quite contrary nature. It is not to be thought that this king should assume such an odious title, or that any such should be attributed to him by his followers, but that, indeed, he shall be such, as this title describes; that is, a most horrible waster and destroyer of the church of Christ.

This, all alongst, is applicable to the papal kingdom, whereof the pope is head, unto which shortly we have hinted the application of it, which stands sure upon the preceding grounds and suppositions. For further confirming whereof we

V. 11. Lastly, v. 11, their government is described contrary to that of ordinary locuſts, Prov. 30:27; it is monarchic. 2. What sort of king have they? He is called the angel or special minister of the bottomless pit; that is, the devil's vicar. He that hath his power from the dragon and comes after the working of Satan, 2 Thess. 2. 3. His name in the Hebrew and Greek in imitation of Him who is Jesus in Hebrew and Christ in Greek, is as we show before, suitable to such a king and kingdom now come to a height and to be seen as an archenemy to Christ, and a destroyer both to Jews and Greeks, this holding out the growth and height of Antichrist's tyranny, his public assuming of such universal authority is not unfitly looked on as the most special and palpable step of its founding, though it was underhand working before.

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shall: 1. In few words, resume some general properties of and considerations concerning this plague here described. 2. We shall lay down a little view of the public rise, progress, nature, etc., of the papal kingdom: from which two we shall leave the application, by way of conclusion, to be gathered.

1. The object of this plague is the visible church and hypocritical professors in it, who are not appointed and marked for eternal life. It is the same Christian world and light of ordinances, which is darkened and destroyed by it, which was weakened by the former trumpets. (2) The nature of it is spiritual, corrupting the ordinances of spiritual life and bringing with it destruction to immortal souls. (3) The extent of it is universal, over the face of the whole visible church, the actors in it are churchmen, once by their places having power and authority in the church of Christ. In time, it breaks out in a spiritual kingdom and hierarchy, and upon a pretended ecclesiastic account, assuming great power and authority, it does breed and is supported by swarms of church officers. The time of its public appearing to be a kingdom in an established form will be found to be about the year 600; for it follows immediately the fourth trumpet, which continued the story of that time, and does immediately precede the rise of the Mahometans, which from the 700th year forward is at a height, and grows, as the exposition of the following trumpet will clear. This plague carries along with it much corrupt doctrine; yea, brings again idolatry into the Christian church, as we will see in the close of this chapter, and especially such corrupt doctrine as overturns the comfortable and quieting grounds of the gospel. It brings also to the world great store of newly created orders for promoting these doctrines and supporting that kingdom, who both by covered subtlety and violence carry on their designs, and many such other particulars.

2. Now, for the second thing propounded, if we will take a view of the papal kingdom, what will we miss? That it is a kingdom under one absolute monarch with most illimited power, having dominion over the church, being begun and carried on by churchmen, having corrupted the doctrine of the gospel, and brought idolatry again into the church are all evident. I shall instance but these three particulars: (1) The nature of the doctrine and errors brought in by them, which, though exceeding agreeable to nature, yet exceeding opposite to the way of grace, and therefore, cannot but necessarily and natively be destructive to the solid consolation of souls, and beget fearful horror in the hearts and consciences of poor sinners, so that sometimes the greatest promoters of them have been forced to abandon these principles under challenges. And their greatest disputants are constrained to acknowledge this. We have one instance in Bellarmine (*de justis*. lib. 3 [sic

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5], cap. 7),⁹ who, after his long dispute of indulgences, merit of works, etc., seeks to sum up all in three assertions. The first whereof attributes merit unto works; the second allows men to confide in their own merits; yet as distrusting this foundation so largely contended for, he adds a third proposition, *propter incertitudinem propriae justitiae & periculum inanis gloriae, tutissimum est fiduciam totam in sola Dei misericordia & benignitate reponere*. So that in end for uncertainty of man's proper righteousness and hazard of vainglory, he accounts it most safe to place our whole confidence in the mercy and goodness of God allanerly [*only*], and gives this reason, if man has no merit (he says) he should not confide; if he has (which yet is uncertain), it is no hurt or loss to flee only to God's mercy. In which one assertion we may see: {1} The uncomfortableness of that doctrine of merit that can never comfort solidly because, at the best, it is uncertain. {2} We may see the hazard of it to foster pride and vainglory. {3} We may see the disquietness of it, by which sinners can never be secure, till they have fully renounced it. Suárez also does homologate [*speak in the same way as*] Bellarmine in this.¹⁰ And yet, this doctrine of merit is a prime fundamental tenet of that church, but has often disappointed the defenders of it when they had most need of comfort, and has made them prize the doctrine of faith in Christ Jesus in their death, who often thought it absurd in their life, as particularly is written of Charles the Fifth, after his laying by of public things in the world and his retiring of himself to a monastery.

(2) The second instance is in the abundance and variety of their religious orders, as they are called (which take up a main part of the description of this kingdom). There are at least thirty-five orders reckoned, each whereof, for the most part, will comprehend many thousands, besides their bishops and other members of their hierarchy. The number of the monasteries belonging to these orders are reckoned by some to be 225, 044, as is observed by Alsted in his *Chronology*,¹¹ all which have their origin by the pope's authority, hold their dependency on him alone, and are vigorous instruments, specially devoted to the upholding and promoting of his designs.

(3) Lastly, a more particular considering of its rise and public appearance, which was about the same time, to wit, anno 600, and its growth and manner of proceeding afterward will make out this, which was shortly thus:

9. Bellarmine, "Controversiarum de Justificatione, Liber Quintas," *Opera Omnia*, volume 6 (1870), page 359.

10. Cf. Francisco Suarez, "Commentaria ac disputationes in tertiam partem D. Thomae," disp. IV, sect. VIII, §26, in *Opera Omnia*, vol. 17 (Paris: Vivies, 1860), p. 153.

11. Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Thesaurus Chronologiae, Editio quarta limatior & auctior* (Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1650), p. 416.

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After the three-hundredth year, when the church possessed peace, pride soon infected her officers, whereby there was ambitious desires after preeminence amongst these who should have been most free of that vice. Rome had many advantages for this end, and her bishops improved them well, as has been hinted in the exposition of the former trumpets; yet did never one of them usurp a settled superiority, or the title of Universal Bishop or headship over the church, till Boniface the Third assumed it, about the year 606. Which was upon this occasion: after the seat of the empire was translated from Rome to Constantinople by Constantine, that bishop was privileged with all the privileges which Rome enjoyed by her being formerly the seat of the Emperor's court, even as that city was named New Rome, and made fellow in all privileges unto Old Rome; from this, many contentions followed, as is before hinted [p. 292–293]. While the Emperor's court constantly continued there, the bishops of Constantinople would not be content with equality but assumed a superiority, and a title suitable to it, of Universal Bishop. This, John, Bishop of Constantinople, did a little before the year 600, while Mauritius possessed the empire, who did countenance him, it is likely, out of respect to the place where his court resided. This usurpation was generally ill taken, and written against, especially by Gregory, Bishop of Rome, who did presage the revealing of Antichrist not to be far off when men durst be so impudent to take that style, which no apostle ever usurped. Upon some occasion, the emperor's army, mutinying, did choose one Phocas (a base, vile wretch) emperor, who, having killed all Mauritius' children before him, did afterward kill himself. Unto this Phocas did Gregory of Rome make addresses, by commissioners and epistles, grossly flattering him, and abusing that place of Daniel 4, of God's changing and transferring of empires, as he had done that for the good of His church, in removing a tyrant and setting up such a religious prince as Phocas was, as may be seen in his epistles (Lib. 11 [sic 13], Epist. 36, 44, and 43).¹² By this means, Phocas came to favor the bishops of Rome, and what out of envy towards Mauritius' name, and what to ingratiate himself in the West by the Bishop of Rome's means, some few years after (while Boniface, who was at first Gregory's commissioner to Phocas, possessed the see) he passed an edict, willing and declaring Rome to be acknowledged for the supreme see, and

If we take a little view of history, it will confirm this. The growth and rise of this kingdom we take from Phocas, his beginning to reign, being a centurion, a vile, cruel, unclean, tyrannous fellow, he arose in a mutiny of the soldiers and made himself their head, and after killed the emperor, Maurice, having first killed his wife, and all his children before his eyes. Unto this treacherous villain Gregorius sent his letters beginning with *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and made use of that place in Dan. 2 and 4 of God's transferring kingdoms at His pleasure, out of base flattery to ingratiate himself to him, in hatred of Maurice, who took John, Bishop of Constantinople's part against him, swayed to countenance that treachery (because conducing to his point of advancing himself and his see) as a special act of providence for the church's good in setting up such a religious prince and taking away such a tyrant, as is in his Epist. lib. ii, Epist. 36, 44 and 45. And he dying, Boniface the third, who succeeded Gregory (John only for a little space intervening), who was then commissioner to Phocas, he obtained anno 606 from that emperor an absolute command by which Rome and its bishops were declared head and universal bishop of all other churches, a little after pronounced and confirmed by the said Boniface in a counsel of 62 bishops at Rome. And although that was by many long

12. Letter 43 is given as 45 in *MSREV2* (see page 581). The three letters normally raised concerning Gregory's "tone of high compliment" are numbers 31, 38 and 39 in *NPNF2*, volume 13, pp. 99–101. See the editor's comments, *ibid.*, Prolegomena, p. xxviii. See *Epistola XXXI Ad Phocam Imperatorem*, *XXXVIII Ad Phocam Imperatorem*, and *XXXIX Ad Leontiam Imperatricem*, in Migne, *PL* 77, columns 1281, 1287, and 1288.

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the bishop thereof for supreme and Universal Bishop from that time forth. This decree, Boniface the Third, within short time caused ratify and pronounce in a Lateran Council of 62 or 72 bishops, and although it wanted [lacked] not much contradiction then, and was never fully acknowledged by all the East churches, yet from that time did this great Roman hierarchy receive its public rise, and that mystery which long had been working, was obstetricated and brought forth by such a midwife, as this infamous Phocas, anno 606, as is said. At this time and after (as Platina says, in vitæ Bonifacii tertii),¹³ this pope and others did put in their decrees, Sic volumus & jubemus,¹⁴ and says that the reason of preferring Rome was because the emperor was still styled Romanorum Imperator, wheresoever he resided.

Immediately after this, the light of the Word wonderfully decayed, traditions were obtruded, all public worship was to be performed in Latin, the Scriptures were kept up [*kept away*] from laypeople (as they called them), litanies, liturgies, and masses were brought instead of the Word and preaching, and in effect, all reformations consisted in building churches and monasteries and enriching them with great dotations. Plurality of mediators and worshipping of saints and angels were brought in (especially this was in Vitalian's time, about the year 666), heathenish superstitions and ceremonies were brought again into the church, the temple called Pantheon (formerly dedicated to all the heathen gods) was now opened and dedicated to all saints (this was in Phocas and Innocentius, their time[]); images were set up in the church, and appointed to be worshipped, which occasioned great confusion in the church. And although it was long resisted by the emperors of the East and by several councils both in the East and West, yet was it afterward established by the second Council of Nicea. This second Council of Nicea was held, anno 781 or 788. This worshipping of images was mightily opposed by Leo Isaurus, Constant. Compran. [Constantine (V) *sic* Copronymus],¹⁵ and other emperors of the East, who for that were excommunicated by the popes. At last, Irene, a superstitious cruel woman, obtaining the government after her husband's death, the foresaid Council of Nicea did conclude this image-worship. It sat first down at Constantinople, but the people, being enraged at this their design, they were forced to remove it to Nicea. It is marked by *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses*, out of old writers, that these emperors urged the removing of images, that that scandal might not lie before the Saracens, that

contradicted, and the East churches never submitted to it, yet thence he took strength and grew a king, being fully discovered according to Gregory's prediction to be Antichrist's forerunner and to be now like an earthly monarch, emitting his mandates from thence into the world. 2. At this time, all worship was to be discharged in Latin, the Scripture kept up from people, so Vitalian and Gregorious, his commissions abroad, and litanies, liturgies, and masses instead of the Word and preaching, religion and light wonderfully decayed, reformations were in building churches and abbeys, making great donations, debates for setting up idols and images in churches, excommunications against the emperors of the East for their resisting, invocation of saints, plurality of mediators found out, that heathenish church before being to all gods called Pantheon is opened and dedicated to all saints, that none may be missed, and many other such things. 3. Religious orders (as they were called) increased and the ordinary monks are made predicants to enlarge this kingdom and their number and their riches in chief [*above all*], all their dependence being on the pope and all their study to maintain him. 4. All power incorporates in that king to do what he will, send souls to hell, and there is none to say what dost thou? To dispose of bishoprics, to depose kings, and dispose of their kingdoms, and to decide all questions of whatsoever nature sovereignly and arbitrarily without erring. 5. They were fierce and cruel in their onsets, torture these are subject to them, violent in their way, thundering noises against opposers, so that often they have brought down kings, emperors, commonwealths, and made them stoop to them till they trampled on them as in [his]story is clear, which can agree in all circumstances so well to none as to the Roman clergy and their head. Here the complex kingdom is described and, chap. 13, the head thereof is insisted on. 6. This also was the remarkable change that went immediately before Mahomet's rise, who succeeds in the sixth trumpet.

Observe, what sin has brought upon the most of the world and what we are obliged to God for vindicating us from that yoke and restoring us to the liberty of the sons of God. Make right use of it and pity them that are under this tyranny.⁷

End of the manuscript version

13. Bartolomeo Platina, *Vitæ Pontificum* (1479; Coloniae Agrippinæ: Petri Cholini, 1626), pp. 79–80.

14. So we will and command.

15. For his iconoclasm, Constantine V later received from opponents the derogatory name Copronymus (dung-named).

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Christians worshipped idols. This Council of Nicea was also withstood by Charles the Great and Ludovicus Pius.

At this time also, the pope grew exceedingly to a height, not only of censuring bishops and disposing of bishoprics, but also deposing kings and disposing of their kingdoms at his pleasure, supremely and sovereignly to decide all questions whatsoever, and that without all possibility of erring. In a word, in everything so absolute, as he might lead millions of souls to hell, and none might say to him, “what doest thou?” And all this with wonderful violence and terror to any who should in the least contrary the same, which things are not only practiced by the Head of this Antichristian kingdom, but also are owned and maintained by these his forementioned armies to be due to him (as from many particular instances, and their general principles might be made out). All which being put together (especially by the intelligent who are acquainted with their practices and writings), it may be confidently concluded (which was asserted in the introduction to this chapter) that the popish kingdom is the very kingdom, the pope the very king, and the angel of the bottomless pit, the popish clergy the very locusts and armies, and their doctrine the very noisome smoke of the pit, which are here somewhat darkly, but exceedingly fully and appositely [*appropriately*] described.

We shall say no more for use of all, but:¹⁶ 1. That we would bless God, who has so clearly discovered to us this abomination that makes desolate. And 2. We would bless Him further, that He has freed us from this tyranny under which a great part of the Christian world does lie and by which our own predecessors were sometimes kept in bondage. 3. It would provoke us to improve the light and liberty of truth which He has conceded to us and to welcome the soul-comforting doctrines of the free grace of the gospel. O, what great odds is there between the dispensations of the gospel which we enjoy and that which our fathers lived under! And therefore, how much more is required of us? And how much greater will the condemnation of these be, who shall ungratefully perish under this light? 4. Lastly, let it stir us up with holy indignation against this contagion of popery. Ought we to think this a light and indifferent matter, which the Lord has threatened as so great a woe to the visible church, and which he does so significantly delineate in the hellish nature and hurtful effects of it? And let us commiserate the deplorable condition of many thousands of poor souls, captivated under this tyranny, and stung with the poison of these scorpions, who yet cry not when they are bound. And let us cry mightily to God to break this covenant with death, and to bring this agreement with

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hell to an end, that the oppressed captives may be let go free, and the temple may be opened in heaven, and that He may take to Him His great power and reign, that the kingdoms of the earth may become the kingdoms of the Lord and of His Christ. Even so. Amen.

CHRIS COLDWELL ■

16. Compare these uses to the single brief closing observation in the text in *MSRrev2* on page 582.