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The present State of Europe compared with Antient
Prophecies;

# A SERMON,

PREACHED AT

THE GRAVEL PIT MEETING IN HACKNEY,

FEBRUARY 28, 1794,

Being the Day appointed for a General Fast.

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F. R. S. &c.

### WITH A PREFACE,

CONTAINING THE

Reasons for the Author's leaving England.

#### THIRD EDITION.

- B. Quo fugis? Expecta. Liceat condificere caufas Distidii. Tu nostra, puer, nisi fallor, amabas Pascua.
- P. Parce, Parens, damnare tuum.—Tibi lactior annis
  Tunc animus fuerat. Nunc intractabilis, afper.

  Petrarch on taking leave of his patron, the Cardinal Colonna.

Nos patriæ fines, nos dulcia linquimus arva.

Virgil.

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### PREFACE.

This discourse, and those on the Evidences of Divine Revelation, which will be published about the same time, being the last of my labours in this country, I hope my friends, and the public, will indulge me while I give the reasons of their being the last, in consequence of my having at length, after much hesitation, and now with reluctance, come to a resolution to leave this kingdom.

After the riots in Birmingham, it was the expectation, and evidently the wish, of many persons, that I should immediately fly to France, or America. But I had no consciousness of guilt to induce me to sly my country\*. On the contrary, I came directly to London, and instantly, by means of my friend Mr. Russell, fignished to the king's ministers, that I

\* If, instead of flying from lawless violence, I had been flying from public justice, I could not have been pursued with more rancour, nor could my friends have been more anxious for my fafety. One man, who happened to fee me on horseback on one of the nights in which I escaped from Birmingham, expressed his regret that he had not taken me, expecting probably some confiderable reward, when, as he faid, it was so easy for him to have done it. My friends earnestly advised me to disguise myself as I was going to London. But all that was done in that way was taking a place for me in the mail coach, which I entered at Worcester, in another name than my own. However, the friend who had the courage to receive me in London had thought it necessary to provide a dress that should disguise me, and also a method of making my escape, in case the house should have been attacked on my account; and for some time my friends would not fuffer me to appear in the streets.

-TUGS

was there, and ready, if they thought proper, to be interrogated on the subject of the riot. But no notice was taken of the message.

Ill treated as I thought I had been, not merely by the populace of Birmingham, for they were the mere tools of their fuperiors, but by the country in general, which evidently exulted in our fufferings, and afterwards by the representatives of the nation, who refused to inquire into the cause of them, I own I was not without deliberating upon the subject of emigration; and several flattering proposals were made me, especially from France, which was then at peace within itself, and with all the world; and I was at one time much inclined to go thither, on account of its nearness to England, the agreeableness of its climate, and my having many friends there.

But I likewise considered that, if I went thither, I should have no employment of the kind to which I had been accustomed; and the season of active life not being, according to the course of nature, quite over, I wished to make as much use of it as I could. I therefore determined to continue in England, exposed as I was not only to unbounded obloquy and infult, but to every kind of outrage; and after my invitation to succeed my friend Dr. Price, I had no hesitation about it. Accordingly I took up my refidence where I now am, though fo prevalent was the idea of my infecurity, that I was not able to take the house in my own name; and when a friend of mine took it in bis, it was with much difficulty that, after fome time, the landlord was prevailed upon to transfer

transfer the lease to me. He expressed his apprehensions, not only of the house that I occupied being demolished, but also a capital house in which he himself resides, at the distance of no less than twenty miles from London, whither he supposed the rioters would go next, merely for suffering me to live in a house of bir.

But even this does not give such an idea of the clanger that not only myself, but every person, and every thing, that had the slightest connexion with me, were supposed to be in, as the following. The managers of one of the principal charities among the Dissenters applied to me to preach their annual sermon, and I had consented. But the treasurer, a man of fortune, who knew nothing more of me than my name, was so much alarmed at it, that he declared he could not sleep. I therefore, to his great relief, declined preaching at all.

When it was known that I was settled where I now am, several of my friends, who lived near me, were seriously advised to remove their papers, and other most valuable effects, to some place of greater safety in London. On the 14th of July, 1792, it was taken for granted by many of the neighbours, that my house was to come down, just as at Birmingham the year before. When the Hackney association was formed, several servants in the neighbourhood actually removed their goods; and when there was some political meeting at the house of Mr. Breillat, though about two miles from my house, a woman whose daughter was servant in the house

contiguous to mine, came to her mistress, to entreat that she might be out of the way; and it was not without much difficulty that she was pacified, and prevailed upon to continue in the house, her mistress saying that she was as safe as herself.

On feveral other occasions the neighbourhood has been greatly alarmed on account of my being so near them. Nor was this without apparent reason. I could name a person, and to appearance a reputable tradefman, who, in the company of his friends, in the hearing of one of my late congregation at Birmingham, but without knowing him to be such, declared that, in case of any disturbance, they would immediately come to Hackney, evidently for the purpose of mischies. In this state of things, it is not to be wondered at, that of many servants who were recommended to me, and some that were actually hired, very sew could, for a long time, be prevailed upon to live with me.

These facts not only shew how general was the idea of my particular insecurity in this country; but what is of much more consequence, and highly interesting to the country at large, an idea of the general disposition to rioting and violence that prevails in it, and that the Disserters are the objects of it. Mr. Pitt very justly observed, in his speech on the subject of the riots in Birmingham, that it was "the effervescence of the public mind." Indeed the effervescible matter has existed in this country even since the civil wars in the time of Charles I. and it was particularly apparent in the reign of queen Ann. But the power of government under the former princes

of the House of Hanover prevented its doing any mischief. The late events shew that this power is no longer exerted as it used to be, but that, on the contrary, there prevails an idea, well or ill sounded, that tumultuary proceedings against Dissenters will not receive any effectual discouragement. After what has taken place with respect to Birmingham, all idea of much hazard for insulting and abusing the Dissenters is entirely vanished; whereas the disposition to injure the Catholics was effectually checked by the proceedings of the year 1780. From that time they have been safe, and I rejoice in it. But from the year 1791, the Dissenters have been more exposed to insult and outrage than ever.

Having fixed myfelf at Clapton; unhinged as I had been, and having loft the labour of feveral years; yet flattering myfelf that I fhould end my days here, I took a long leafe of my house, and expended a confiderable sum in improving it. I also determined, with the affistance of my friends, to resume my philosophical and other pursuits; and after an interruption amounting to about two years, it was with a pleasure that I cannot describe, that I entered my new laboratory, and began the most common preparatory processes, with a view to some original inquiries. With what success I have laboured, the public has already in some measure seen, and may see more hereafter.

But though I did not choose (notwithstanding I found myself exposed to continual insult) to leave my native country, I sound it necessary to provide for &y sons elsewhere. My eldest son was settled in a

business, which promised to be very advantageous, at Manchester; but his partner, though a man of liberality himself, informed him, on perceiving the general prevalence of the spirit which produced the riots in Birmingham, that, owing to his relationship to me, he was under the necessity of proposing a separation, which accordingly took place.

On this he had an invitation to join another connexion, in a business in which the spirit of party could not have much affected him; but he declined it. And after he had been present at the affizes at Warwick, he conceived such an idea of this country, that I do not believe that any proposal, however advantageous, would have induced him to continue in it; so much was he affected on perceiving his father treated as I had been.

Determining to go to America, where he had no prospect but that of being a farmer, he wished to spend a short time with a person who has greatly distinguished himself in that way, and one who from his own general principles, and his friendship for myself, would have given him the best advice and assistance in his power. He, however, declined it, and acknowledged some time after, that had it been known, as it must have been, to his landlord, that he had a son of mine with him, he seared he should have been turned out of his farm.

My fecond fon, who was present both at the riot, and the affizes, felt more indignation still, and willingly listened to a proposal to settle in France; and there his reception was but too slattering. However,

on the breaking out of the war with this country, all mercantile prospects being suspended, he wished to go to America. There his eldest and youngest brother have joined him, and they are now looking out for a settlement, having as yet no fixed views.

The necessity I was under of fending my fons out of this country, was my principal inducement to fend the little property that I had out of it too; fo that I had nothing in England besides my library, apparatus, and household goods. By this, I felt myself greatly relieved, it being of little confequence where a man already turned fixty ends his days. Whatever good or evil I have been capable of, is now chiefly done; and I trust that the same consciousness of integrity, which has supported me hitherto, will carry me through any thing that may yet be referved for me. Seeing, however, no great prospect of doing much good, or having much enjoyment, here, I am now preparing to follow my fons; hoping to be of some use to them in their present unsettled state, and that Providence may yet, advancing in years as I am, find me some sphere of usefulness along with them.

As to the great odium that I have incurred, the charge of fedition, or my being an enemy to the conflictution or peace of my country, is a mere pretence for it; though it has been so much urged, that it is now generally believed, and all attempts to undeceive the public with respect to it avail nothing at all. The whole course of my studies, from early life, shews how little politics of any kind have been my object. Indeed to have written so much as I have

have in theology, and to have done so much in experimental philosophy, and at the same time to have had my mind occupied, as it is supposed to have been, with factious politics, I must have had faculties more than human. Let any person only cast his eye over the long list of my publications, and he will see that they relate almost wholly to theology, philosophy, or general literature.

I did, however, when I was a younger man, and before it was in my power to give much attention to philosophical pursuits, write a small anonymous political pamphlet, on the State of Liberty in this Country, about the time of Mr. Wilkes's election for Middlesex, which gained me the acquaintance, and I may say the friendship, of Sir George Savile, and which I had the happiness to enjoy as long as he lived.

At the request also of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Foshergill, I wrote an address to the Dissenters on the subject of the approaching rupture with America, a pamphlet which Sir George Savile, and my other friends, circulated in great numbers, and it was thought with some effect.

After this I entirely ceased to write any thing on the subject of politics, except as far as the business of the Test Ast, and of Civil Establishments of Religion, had a connexion with politics. And though, at the recommendation of Dr. Price, I was presently after this taken into the family of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and I entered into almost all his views, as thinking them just and liberal, I never wrote a single pamphlet,

pamphlet, or even a paragraph in a newspaper, all the time that I was with him, which was seven years.

I never preached a political fermon in my life, unless such as, I believe, all Dissenters usually preach on the fifth of November, in favour of civil and religious liberty, may be said to be political. And on these occasions, I am consident, that I never advanced any sentiment but such as, till of sate years, would have tended to recommend, rather than render me obnoxious, to those who direct the administration of this country. And the doctrines which I adopted when young, and which were even popular then (except with the clergy, who were at that time generally disassected to the family on the throne) I cannot abandon, merely because the times are so changed, that they are now become unpopular, and the expression and communication of them hazardous.

Farther, though I by no means disapprove of societies for political information, such as are now every where discountenanced, and generally suppressed, I never was a member of any of them; nor, indeed, did I ever attend any public meeting, if I could decently avoid it, owing to habits acquired in studious and retired life.

From a mistake of my talents and disposition, I was invited by many of the departments in France, to represent them in the present National Convention, after I had been made a citizen of France, on account of my being considered as one who had been persecuted for my attachment to the cause of liberty here. But though the invitation was repeated with

the most flattering importunity, I never hesitated about declining it.

I can farther fay with respect to politics, concerning which I believe every Englishman has some opinion or other (and at present, owing to the peculiar nature of the present war, it is almost the only topic of general conversation) that, except in company, I hardly ever think of the subject, my reading, meditation, and writing, being almost wholly engrossed by theology, and philosophy; and of late, as for many years before the riots in Birmingham, I have spent a very great proportion of my time, as my friends well know, in my laboratory.

If, then, my real crime has not been fedition, or treason, what has it been? For every effect must have fome adequate cause, and therefore the odium that I have incurred must have been owing to something in my declared fentiments, or conduct, that has exposed me to it. In my own opinion, it cannot have been any thing but my open hostility to the doctrines of the established church, and more especially to all civil establishments of religion whatever. This has brought upon me the implacable refentment of the great body of the clergy; and they have found other methods of opposing me besides argument, and that use of the press which is equally open to us all. They have also found an able ally and champion in Mr. Burke, who (without any provocation except that of answering his book on the French Revolution) has taken several opportunities of inveighing against me, in a place where he knows

I cannot reply to him, and from which he also knows that his accusation will reach every corner of the country, and consequently thousands of persons, who will never read any writings of mine\*. They have had another, and still more effectual vehicle of their abuse in what are called the *treasury newspapers*, and other popular publications.

By these and other means, the same party spirit which was the cause of the riots in Birmingham, has been increasing ever fince, especially in that neighbourhood; a remarkable instance of which may be feen in a Letter addressed, but not sent, to me from Mr. Foley, restor of Stourbridge, who acknowledges the fatisfaction that he and his brethren have received from one of the groffest and coarsest pieces of abuse of me that has yet appeared, which, as a curious specimen of the kind, I inserted in the Appendix of my Appeal, and in which I am represented as no better than Guy Fawkes, or the devil himfelf. This very Christian divine recommends to the members of the established church to decline all commercial dealings with Diffenters, as an effectual method of exterminating them. Defce's Shortest Way with the

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Burke having faid in the House of Commons, that "I was made a citizen of France on account of my declared "hostility to the constitution of this country," I, in the public papers, denied the charge, and called upon him for the proofs of it. As he made no reply, in the preface to my F.st Sermon of the last year, I said, p. 9, that "it sufficiently appeared that he "had neither ability to maintain his charge, nor virtue to retract "it." A year more of silence on his part having now elapsed, this is become more evident than before.

Diffenters.

Diffenters\*, would have taught him a more effectual method still. And yet this Mr. Foley, whom I never saw, and who could not have had any particular cause of enmity to me, had, like Mr. Madan of Birmingham, a character for liberality. What, then, have we to expect from others, when we find so much bigotry and rancour in such men as these?

Many times, by the encouragement of persons from whom better things might have been expected, I have been burned in effigy along with Mr. Paine; and numberless insulting and threatening letters have been fent to me from all parts of the kingdom. It is not possible for any man to have conducted himself more peaceably than I have done all the time that I have lived at Clapton. yet it has not exempted me not only from the worst fuspicions, but very gross insults. A very friendly and innocent club, which I found in the place, has been considered as Jacobine chiefly on my account; and at one time there was cause of apprehension that I should have been brought into danger for lending one of Mr. Paine's books. But with fome difficulty the neighbourhood was fatisfied that I was innocent.

As nothing had been paid to me on account of damages in the riot, when I published the fecond part of my Appeal to the public on the subject, it may be proper to say, that it was paid some time in the beginning of the year 1793, with interest only from the first of January of the same year, though the injury was received in July, 1791; when equity

<sup>\*</sup> A tract written in a grave ironical stile, advising to hang them allevidently

evidently required, that it ought to have been allowed from the time of the riot, especially as, in all the cases, the allowance was far short of the loss. In my case it sell short, as I have shewn, not less than two thousand pounds. And the losses sustained by the other sufferers far exceeded mine. Public justice also required that, if the forms of law, local enmity, or any other cause, had prevented our receiving sull indemnification, it should have been made up to us from the public treasury; the great end of all civil government being protection from violence, or an indemnification for it. Whatever we might in equity claim, the country owes us, and, if it be just, will some time or other pay, and with interest.

I would farther observe, that since, in a variety of cases, money is allowed where the injury is not of a pecuniary nature, merely because no other compenfation can be given, the fame should have been done with respect to me, on account of the destruction of my manuscripts, the interruption of my pursuits, the loss of a pleasing and advantageous situation, &c. &c. and had the injury been fustained by a clergyman, he would, I doubt not, have claimed, and been allowed, very large damages on this account. far, however, was there any idea of the kind in my favour, that my counsel advised me to make no mention of my manuscript Lestures on the Constitution and Laws of England, a work about as large as that of Blackstone (as may be seen by the syllabus of the particular lectures, fixty-three in all, published in the first edition of my Essay on a Course of liberal Education for civil and active Life) because it would be taken for granted that they were of seditious nature, and would therefore have been of differvice to me with the jury. Accordingly they were, in the account of my losses, included in the article of so much paper. After these losses, had I had nothing but the justice of my country to look to, I must have sunk under the burden, incapable of any farther exertions. It was the seasonable generosity of my friends that prevented this, and put it in my power, though with the unavoidable loss of near two years, to resume my sormer pursuits.

A farther proof of the excessive bigotry of this country is, that, though the clergy of Birmingham, refenting what I advanced in the first part of my Appeal, replied to it, and pledged themselves to go through with the enquiry along with me, till the whole truth should be investigated, they have made no reply to the Secend Part of my Appeal, in which I brought specific charges against themselves, and other persons by name, proving them to have been the promoters and abettors of the riot; and yet they have as much respect shewn to them as ever, and the country at large pays no attention to it. Had the clergy been the injured persons, and Dissenters the rioters, unable to answer the charges brought against them, so great would have been the general indignation at their conduct, that I am perfuaded it would not have been possible for them to continue in the country.

I could, if I were fo disposed, give my readers many

many more inflances of the bigotry of the clergy of the church of England with respect to me, which could not fail to excite, in generous minds, equal indignation and contempt; but I forbear. Had I, however, foreseen what I am now witness to, I certainly should not have made any attempt to replace my library or apparatus, and I foon repented of having done it. But this being done, I was willing to make fome use of both before another interruption of my pursuits. I began to philosophize, and make experiments, rather late in life, being near forty, for want of the necessary means of doing any thing in this way; and my pursuits have been much interrupted by removals (never indeed chofen by myself, but rendered necessary by circumstances) and my time being now fhort, I hoped to have had no occasion for more than one, and that a final, remove. But the circumstances above mentioned have induced me, though with great and fincere regret, to undertake another, and to a greater distance than any that I have hitherto made.

I profess not to be unmoved by the aspect of things exhibited in this Discourse. But notwithstanding this, I should willingly have awaited my fate in my native country, whatever it had been, if I had not had fons in America, and if I did not think that a field of public usefulness, which is evidently closing upon me here, might open to more advantage there.

I also own that I am not unaffected by such unexampled punishments as those of Mr. Muir and my friend Mr. Palmer, for offences, which, if, in the eye of reason, they be any at all, are slight, and very insufficiently proved; a measure so subversive of that freedom of speaking and acting, which has hitherto been the great pride of Britons. But the sentence of Mr. Winterbotham, for delivering from the pulpit what I am persuaded he never did deliver, and which, similar evidence might have drawn upon myself, or any other dissenting minister, who was an object of general dislike, has something in it still more alarming\*. But I trust that conscious inno-

\* I trust that the friends of liberty, especially among the Dif-

fenters, will not fail to do every thing in their power to make Mr. Winterbottom's confinement, and also the sufferings of Mr. Palmer and his companions, as easy to them as possible. Having been assisted in a season of persecution myself, I should be very ill deserving of the savours I have received, if I was not particularly desirous of recommending such cases as theirs to general consideration. Here difference in religious sentiment is least of all to be attended to. On the contrary, let those who in this respect differ the most from Mr. Winterbottom, which is my own case, exert themselves the most in his favour. When men of unques-

posite direction.

The case of men of education and restection (and who act from the best intentions with respect to the community) committing what only state policy requires to be considered as crimes, but which are allowed on all hands to imply no moral turpitude, so as to render them unsit for heaven and happiness hereafter, is not to be consounded with that of common felons. There was nothing in the conduct of Louis XIV. and his ministers, that appeared so shocking, so contrary to all ideas of justice, humanity and decency, and that has contributed more to render their me-

tionable integrity and piety suffer in consequence of acting (as such persons always will do) from a principle of conscience, they must command the respect even of their enemies, if they also act from principle, though they be thereby led to proceed in an opcence would support me as it does him, under whatever prejudiced and violent men might do to me, as well as fay of me. But I see no occasion to expose myself to danger without any prospect of doing good, or to continue any longer in a country in which I am so unjustly become the object of general dislike, and not retire to another, where I have reason to think I shall be better received. And I trust that the same good Providence which has attended me hitherto, and made me happy in my present situation, and all my former ones, will attend and bless me in what may still be before me. In all events, The will of God be done.

I cannot refrain from repeating again, that I leave my native country with real regret, never expecting to find any where else society so suited to my disposition and habits, such friends as I have here (whose attachment has been more than a balance to all the abuse I have met with from others) and especially to replace one particular Christian friend, in whose absence I shall, for some time at least, find all the world a blank. Still less can I expect to resume my favourite pursuits, with any thing like the advantages I enjoy here. In leaving this country I also abandon a source of maintenance, which I can but ill bear to lose. I can, however, truly say, that I

mory execrated, than fending such men as Mr. Marolles, and other eminent Protestants, who are now revered as saints and martyrs, to the gallies, along with the vilest miscreants. Compared with this, the punishment of death would be mercy. I trust that, in time, the Scots in general will think these measures a disgrace to their country.

leave it without any resemment, or ill will. On the contrary, I sincerely wish my countrymen all happiness; and when the time for reflection (which my absence may accelerate) shall come, my countrymen, I am consident, will do me more justice. They will be convinced that every suspicion they have been led to entertain to my disadvantage has been ill sounded, and that I have even some claims to their gratitude and esteem. In this case, I shall look with satisfaction to the time when, if my life be prolonged, I may visit my friends in this country; and perhaps I may, notwithstanding my removal for the present, find a grave (as I believe is naturally the wish of every man) in the land that gave me birth.

## FAST SERMON,

FEBRUARY 28, 1794.

REPENT YE, FOR THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN IS AT HAND! MATT. iii. 2.

This was the great burden of the preaching of both John the Baptist and of our Saviour. But as that kingdom of beaven, the approach of which they announced, and which, by our Saviour's direction, is the subject of our daily prayers, is not yet come, but much nearer than it was in their time, there must be a greater propriety in urging this exhortation at present, than there has ever yet been. It is nothing but repentance that can prepare finful men (and all men are more or less sinners) to derive any advantage from this kingdom, in which Christ and the faints shall bear rule; that new state of the heavens and of the earth, in which righteousness only will dwell. And being a fecond time called upon by our rulers to humble ourselves before God, on account of the calamities we already feel, and those that we have reason to fear, and repentance being the

the only means of averting his anger, and procuring a ceffation, or mitigation, of his heavy judgments, I shall take this opportunity of urging it, from that very critical and truly alarming situation, in which almost the whole of Europe now finds itself, and this country of ours, as having most at stake, perhaps more than any other.

If we can learn any thing concerning what is before us, from the language of prophecy, great calamities, fuch as the world has never yet experienced, will precede that happy state of things, in which ' the kingdoms of this world will become the 'kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ;' and these calamities will chiefly affect those nations which have been the feat of the great antichristian power; or, as all Protestants, and I believe justly, suppose, have been subject to the see of Rome. And it appears to me highly probable, as I hinted in my last discourse on this occasion, that the present disturbances in Europe are the beginning of those very calamitous I therefore think there is a call for unufual feriousness, and attention to the course of Divine Providence, that when 'the judgments of God are abroad in the earth, the inhabitants thereof may learn righteousness,' so as to be prepared for whatever events the now rapid wheels of time may difclose. Let us then, my brethren, make a serious Let us look back to the antient prophecies, and compare them with the present state of things around us; and let us then look to ourselves, to our

own

own fentiments and conduct, that we may feel and act as our peculiar circumstances require.

The future happy state of the world, when the Tews shall be restored to their own country, and be at the head of all the nations of the earth, was first diffinctly mentioned by Isaiah, and other prophets who were nearly cotemporary with him; but it was first denominated the kingdom of heaven, and announced as to be administered by the Son of Man, or the Messiah, by Daniel. It was, however, by other prophets, given to a descendant of David. All Christians consider Jesus as this descendant of David, or the promifed Messiah. The mistake which the Tews were under, arose from their wholly overlooking the fuffering state of the Messiah, and imagining that his first coming would be that mentioned by Daniel, in the clouds of beaven; and consequently that his kingdom would commence on his first appearance.

Jesus, knowing himself to be the Messiah, never denied that, at a proper time, he would appear as a king; nor could there have been at that time any uncertainty about the meaning of the term king. When Pilate asked Jesus if he was a king, he acknowledged it, and added that he was sent to bear witness to that, as well as to other truths; though, to obviate the jealousy of Pilate, and the Roman government, he said that his kingdom was not of this world; so that it did not interfere with the governments which then existed in the world, being that

kingdom of beaven which was to take place hereafter, and to be exercised upon maxims very different from those of the then existing kingdoms.

Jesus also said that, when he should reign, his apostles would reign with him, and that they should fit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Ifrael.' Paul also said, that 'the saints shall 'judge the world.' And it is remarkable that, in the original prophecy of Daniel, the administration of this kingdom of heaven is not faid to be wholly confined to one person, but to be extended to many, Dan. vii. 18. 'The faints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for 'ever, even for ever and ever;' ver. 27. 'And the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the faints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all do-'minions shall serve, and obey him,' or rather, obev it.'

That this will be a proper kingdom, though a kingdom of righteousness, the object of which will be the happiness of the subjects of it, is farther evident from the other kingdoms which are to be overthrown in order to make way for it. For had it been that purely spiritual kingdom which some suppose, what occasion was there for the destruction of the other kingdoms; since they would not have interfered with it, but might have subsisted at the same time?

In the first vision of Nebuchadnezzar, interpreted by Daniel, this future kingdom of heaven is reprefented by 'a little stone, cut out of a mountain without hands,' which fmote the image representing the preceding kingdoms, Dan. ii. 34. and brake it to 'pieces,' when itself 'became a great mountain, filling the whole earth.' In the interpretation of this vision, ver. 44, it is faid, 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven fet up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom ' shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces, and confume all these kingdoms, and it 's shall stand for ever;' evidently in the place of the other kingdoms. It is, therefore, an institution adapted to answer the purpose of them, but in a much better manner.

This kingdom, however, a kingdom of truth and righteousness, will not be established without the greatest convulsions, and the violent overthrow of other kingdoms. Every description, figurative or otherwise, of this great revolution, clearly implies violence, and consequently great calamity. The little stone smiting the image, and breaking it in pieces, is far from giving an idea of a peaceable revolution, but one that will be effected with great violence, and in a short time. The following language is peculiarly emphatical. 'Then was the iron, the clay, 'the brass, the silver, and the gold,' (all the materirials of which the image consisted) 'broken to pieces together, and became as the chaff of the summer

floor, and the wind carried them away, and no place was found for them; and the stone that fmote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.' In the interpretation it is said, ver. 44, 'that this new kingdom shall break in pieces, and consume all the other kingdoms.'

The fame awful conclusion may be drawn from the language used in the corresponding vision of Daniel himself, in the first year of Belshazzar, in which the four great empires, which in Nebuchadnezzar's dream had been represented by the four metals, of which the image that he faw confifted, are represented by four beasts, and the last of them is faid (Dan. vii. 11) not to die a natural death, but to be flain, and moreover, his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame. As, in the former vision, the ten kingdoms, into which the last, or the Roman empire was to be divided, were represented by the ten toes of the image; in this vision of Daniel they are represented by the ten horns of the last beast. These are said to be ten kingdoms, or thrones, and these thrones are said to be cast down, Dan. vii, q. clearly implying violence in their diffolution.

In the language of prophecy, great, and especially sudden revolutions, in kingdoms and states, are frequently represented by earthquakes; and also the supreme powers on earth by the sun, moon, and stars. And, in agreement with the preceding view, suggested by Daniel, the prophet Haggai, who wrote after him, to comfort his countrymen in their low and

and distressed circumstances, and gloomy prospects, when they were erecting a poor and contemptible temple, compared with that of Solomon, them, that the glory of the latter bouse, meaning, I am perfuaded, not the house they were then building, for that was taken down by Herod; nor yet that of Herod, but the last house, the glorious temple described by Ezekiel, as to be built after the-return of the Jews to their own country, should be greater than that of the former house built by Solomon. Haggai describes the great revolution that is to precede it in the following manner. Hag. ii. 6. For thus faith the Lord of Hosts, Yet once it is a 'little while, and I will shake the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land, and I will fhake all nations, and the defire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, faith the Lord of Hosts. The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former, faith the Lord of Hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith ' the Lord of Hosts.' What can be this peace, but the future peaceful and happy state of the world under the Messiah? and what can be this shaking of the nations, that is to precede it, but great convulsions, and fudden revolutions, fuch as we fee now beginning to take place?

The last great power that is foretold, as to arise among the ten kingdoms into which the Roman empire is to be divided, is represented by the *little born*, which is said to arise after the ten, signifying, I

doubt not, the Papal power. It is faid, Dan. vii. 20, to have eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his sellows, which made war with the faints, and prevailed against them, until the antient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High, and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom. This power, in the interpretation of the vision, is said to be one that should speak great words against the Most High, and to wear out the saints of the Most High, and to think to change times and laws. It is added, They shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time, the very period for the duration of the great antichristian power in the Revelation.

When the termination of this last power is defcribed, it is said, ver. 26, 'The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end,' which clearly implies nothing of a peaceable nature, but something exceedingly violent and calamitous.

This is, no doubt, the fame awful period that is fpoken of in the last chapter of Daniel, ch. xii. ver. 1.

And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people, and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the

dust of the earth shall awake.' For that the refurfurrection, at least in part, will take place at the commencement of this great period, is agreeable to the uniform language of scripture on the subject.

All the prophecies in the New Testament concerning the fall of Antichrist, and the commencement of the proper kingdom of heaven, and of Christ, exactly correspond with those which I have quoted from the Old Testament. The second coming of Christ is represented by the apostle Paul, 2 Thes. i. 7, as an event exceedingly awful, and dreadful to the wicked. He will be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in slaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God.

That the great antichristian power is to be deftroyed at this second coming of Christ, and not properly before, and therefore that its final destruction will be sudden, is evident from what the same apostle says afterwards, 2 Thes. ii. 8. 'Then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, even him whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness, in them that perish;' characters sufficiently evident of the church of Rome.

The account that is given, in the book of Revelation, of the commencement of the last great period, signified by the blowing of the seventh trumpet, when

when the kingdoms of the earth are to become the kingdoms of our Lord Jesus Christ, Rev. ii. 15, is immediately preceded by the third, and probably far the greatest of the three wees, the first of which was occasioned by the conquests of the Saracens, and the second by those of the Turks, as the order of the events described under the preceding trumpets evidently implies. And the state of things at this time is described in the following emphatical language of the four and twenty elders, who are faid, on this occasion, to fall on their faces, and to worship God, Rev. xi. 17. 'We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty, who art, and wast, and art to come, because thou hast taken to thee thy great power and hast reigned. And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead that they must be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward to thy fervants the prophets, and shouldest destroy them that destroy the earth \*.'

We have here a wonderful concurrence of great events, and among these is the anger of the nations, followed by the destruction of them that have destroyed the earth. Now how has the earth been destroyed by the men who have destroyed it, but by desolating wars, and the destruction that has thereby been made of mankind? In like manner, then, may we con-

<sup>\*</sup> On this subject I refer my readers to two sermons lately published by the Rev. Elkanan Winchester, entitled The Three Woe Trumpets, deserving the serious consideration of all Christians, who are attentive to the signs of the times.

clude that those destructive powers will themselves be destroyed, probably by one another, in those wars which the apostle James says arise from men's lusts, the lust of ambition and revenge. And when, my brethren, have we seen, or heard of, such anger and rage in nations, such violence in carrying on war, and such destruction of men, as at this very time? It is thought that the last campaign only has destroyed many more men than all the eight years of the American war, and probably more than the long war before it; and from the increased armaments of the belligerent powers, and their increasing animosity, it is probable that the approaching campaign will be more bloody than the last.

What has more eminently contributed to deftroy the earth, than the antichriftian and idolatrous ecclefiaftical establishments of Christianity, that have subsisted in these western parts of the world; many more persons having been destroyed by Christians, as they have called themselves, than by Heathens? And do we not see one, and one of the principal, of those establishments already, and completely, destroyed?

A more highly wrought picture of the destruction and slaughter of men, that will precede this glorious period in which 'God will take to himself his 'great power and reign,' we find in the 19th chapter of the Revelation, which describes the triumph of the saints on the occasion. 'After these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven,

faying, Alleluia, Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God; for true and right are his judgments. For he hath judged the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his fervants at her hand.' That this has a connexion with the fecond coming of Christ, appears from what immediately follows, ver. 11. And I faw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, and he that sat upon him was called faithful and true, and in righteoufe nefs he shall judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns, and he had a name written which no man knew but he himself. And he was clothed in a vefture dipped in blood, and his name is called THE WORD OF GOD. And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean; and out of his mouth goeth a sharp fword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of ' iron, and he treadeth the wine-press of the fiercee ness of the wrath of Almighty God. And he hath on his vesture, and on his thigh, a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.

That there will be literally great flaughter of men on the occasion, is clearly indicated in what follows, figurative and hyperbolical as the language is, ver. 17. 'And I saw an angel standing in the sun, and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the sowls that sly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather

gather yourselves together, unto the supper of the great God, that ye may eat the slesh of kings, and the slesh of captains, and the slesh of mighty men, and the slesh of horses, and them that sit on them, and the slesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

The same is evident from the account of the pouring out of the third vial, Rev. xvi. 14, &c. And the third angel poured out his vial on the rivers and sountains of water, and they became blood. And I heard the angel of the waters say, Thou art righteous, O Lord, who art, and wast, and shalt be, because thou hast judged thus. For they have shed the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy.

That this great flaughter will be made on the deftruction of the antichristian power, called in this book the beast, supported by the kings of the earth, is evident from the next verses, ver. 19. 'And I saw' the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together, to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army. And the beast was taken, and with him the salse propet, that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These were both cast alive into a lake of fire

burning with brimstone. And the remnant were stain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse,

' which

which sword proceeded out of his mouth, and all the fowls were filled with their flesh.'

After this follows the description of the millennium. chap. xx. ver. 4. 'And I faw thrones, and they fat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God. and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their forehead, or in their hands, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection. On such the second death hath no power, but they shall be priests of God, and of Christ, and they shall reign with him a thousand vears.

To me it appears not improbable, that feveral circumstances in our Saviour's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the desolation of Judea, relate to this great and more distant period. For it was delivered in answer to a question put to him by his disciples, which respected both the events, on the idea of their being coincident. 'Tell us,' say they, Matt. xxiv. 3, 'when shall these things be, 'and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the age.' In answer to this, he says, first, as it is in Luke, whose account in this case seems to be the most orderly and distinct of any, chap,

chap. xxi. ver. 9. 'But when ye shall hear of wars, 'and commotions, be not terrified; for these things 'must first come to pass, but the end is not by and 'by. Then said he unto them, Nation shall rise 'against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pessilences, and fearful sights, and great 'signs shall there be from heaven. But before all 'these they shall lay their hands on you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and 'into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers 'for my name's sake.'

I am the more inclined to think that some things in this prediction have this farther reference, because in them Jesus expressly quotes the language of Daniel recited above, which unquestionably has this reference; as when he says, Matt. xxix. 20. 'There' shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no nor ever shall be: And except those days should be shortered, there should no sless be saved, but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.'

It feems still more evident that this prediction admits of this interpretation, from what follows, which exactly corresponds to the more antient prophecies. Mat. xxiv. 29. 'Immediately after the tribulation of 'those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon 'not give her light, and the stars shall fall from 'heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be 'shaken;' which are almost the very words of the prophet

prophet Haggai quoted above. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven. And

then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn. And

they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds

of heaven, with power and great glory. And he

fhall fend his angels with a great found of a trumpet,

and they shall gather together his elect, from the

four winds, from one end of heaven to the other."

That this great tribulation was a distant event, and did not respect the Jews, but the Gentiles, is probable from Jesus calling it, Luke xxi. 25, 'the 'distress of nations,' or 'the nations,' i. e. the 'Gentiles,' 'men's hearts,' he subjoins, 'failing them for 'fear, and for looking after those things which are 'coming on the earth. For the powers of heaven 'shall be shaken,' that is, there will be great convulsions, and violent revolutions, in kingdoms and states; 'And then shall they see the Son of Man 'coming in clouds, with power and great glory.'

That this tribulation is coincident with that which is to precede the restoration of the Jews, is probable from his saying immediately before, ver. 24, 'Jerussalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be suffilled,' that is, till it shall come to be their turn to be punished; the destruction of the Gentiles, who had oppressed the Jews, commencing with the restoration of that highly savoured nation.

Jesus farther says, Luke xxi. 22. 'These be the days of vengeance, that all the things which are written

written may be fulfilled.' Now the only days of vengeance particularly announced by the antient prophets, to which Jesus here alludes, relate to the judgments of God upon the Gentiles who had shewn enmity to the Jews, and especially in their opposition to their re-settlement in their own country.

There is nothing more clear in the whole compass of prophecy, as I have shewn on another occasion, than that after the destined period for the dispersion and calamities of the Jews, the heaviest of all the divine judgments will fall upon those nations by whom they shall have been oppressed; and this will involve almost all the nations of the world, but more especially those of these western parts, which have been subject first to the Roman empire, and then to the see of Rome.

Moses says, Deut. xxx. 7. 'The Lord thy God will put all these curses' (those which were threat-ened to fall upon them) 'upon thine enemies, and 'upon them that hate thee, and persecute thee.' Isa. xliii. 25. 'I will contend with them that contend with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own slesh, and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine, and all slesh shall know that I, 'Jehovah, am thy Saviour, and thy Redeemer, the 'Mighty One of Jacob.' Zeph. iii. 19. 'Behold at that time I will undo all that afflict thee.' Jer. xxx. 11. 'Though I make a full end of all the nations whither I have scattered thee, yet will I not

make a full end of thee, but I will correct thee in measure.' Ezekiel, speaking of the happy times that will take place on the restoration of the Jews, fays, chap. xxviii. ver. 26. Yea they shall dwell with confidence, when I have executed judgments ' upon all those that despise them round about them, and they shall know that I am Jehovah their God.' Laftly, Zechariah fays, chap. xii. ver. q. It shall come to pass in that day, that I will feek to destroy all the nations that come against Jerusalem. in Les

That there is to be a day of visitation for all the nations in this part of the world (all of whom have diffinguished themselves so by their oppression and massacre of the Jews) will now, I presume, be sufficiently apparent, if there be any truth in prophecy. You will therefore naturally ask, if there be any ground for thinking, that those judgments are now about to take place; if so, how long they will probably continue, and when will be the commencement of the glorious and happy times that are to follow.

That those great troubles, so frequently mentioned in the antient prophecies, are now commencing, I do own I strongly suspect, as I intimated the last time that I addressed you on this occasion; and the events of the last year have contributed to strengthen that suspicion; the storm, however, may still blow over for the present, and the great scene of calamity be referved for fome future time, though I cannot think it will be deferred long.

As to the precise time when the scene of calamity will

will terminate, and the proper kingdom of Christ will commence, he himself did not know, either before his death and refurrection, or afterwards. When he was questioned on the subject, he expressly faid, Mark xiii. 32, 'But of that day, and that hour,' knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.' When, after his refurrection, the disciples asked him, saying, Acts i. 6, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?' he replied, 'It is not for vou to know the times or the feafons, which the Father hath put in his own power.' It is enough for us to know the certainty of these great events, that our faith may not fail on the approach of the predicted calamity, confident that it will have the happiest issue in God's own time. For the same Being who foretold the evil which we shall see come to pass, has likewise foretold the good that is to follow it.

That the fecond coming of Christ will be coincident with the commencement of the millennium, or the future peaceable and happy state of the world (which, according to all the prophecies, will take place after the restoration of the Jews) is evident from what Peter said, in his address to the Jews, on the occasion of his healing the lame man at the gate of the temple, Acts iii. 19. 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the times of resreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord. And he shall send Jesus C 2

Christ, who before was preached unto you, whom the heavens must receive until the times of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. Now nothing is more evident than that the only period that can be called the time of the restitution of all things, or the paradisacal and happy state of the world, foretold by the antient prophets, will follow the restoration of the Jews to their own country. This, and nothing else, is the great burden of all antient prophecy.

That this will be a joyful event to the Jewish nation, when they will be convinced, perhaps by his personal appearance among them, that he is their promised Messiah, actually coming in the clouds of heaven, appears from what our Savieur himself says, Mat. xxi. 9. Luke xiii. 35. 'Verily I say unto you, 'ye shall not see me until the time come when ye 'shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of 'the Lord;' the very cry at which the Scribes and Pharisees were so much offended in the children, when Jesus entered Jerusalem. This very cry would then be that of the whole nation.

But though our Saviour could not fix the time of his fecond coming, or the commencement of his proper kingdom, he fufficiently forewarned his disciples of the signs of its approach, and of some circumftances that will immediately precede it, to which it certainly behoves us to be attentive.

Before this great event the gospel is to be preach-

ed to all the world. Mat. xxiv. 14. 'And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached through all the world, for a witness to all nations, and then shall the end come.' If by the whole world, we mean the Roman empire, this was accomplished before the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore may refer to that event. But it may have a farther reference, and now there is hardly any nation that has not had an opportunity of having the gospel preached to them; and the late wonderful extension of navigation, by which the whole of the habitable world has been explored by Christians, though this was by no means the object of the navigators, will, no doubt, be the means of carrying the knowledge of the gospel to a greater extent than ever; and the troubles of Europe will greatly contribute to the fame end. Times of trouble make men ferious. With these serious impressions on their minds many will fly to distant countries, and carry the knowledge of the gospel with them; and, it may be hoped, in greater purity, and consequently more worthy of their acceptance, than it has hitherto appeared to them.

Another preceding event, and of a more definite kind, is the great prevalence of infidelity, Luke xviii. 8. 'When the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith in the earth.' Now the prevalence of infidelity of late years has been very remarkable in all countries in which antichristian hierarchies have been established. And certainly all civil establishments of Christianity, in which power is claimed to prescribe

articles of faith, to make laws to bind the confciences of Christians, and inflict temporal punishments for the violation of them, are properly antichristian. For, as Christians, we are commanded to acknowledge no man master upon earth, since one is our master, even Christ.

Moreover, such absurd doctrines have been established by human authority, and such horrid punishments have been inflicted upon men for obeying the dictates of conscience, under all those hierarchies, protestant ones not excepted, that the minds of men have revolted at them; and, shocked at such enormities, have thrown off the belief and profession of Christianity altogether. This was long ago the case in Italy, where the enormities of the court of Romewere the most conspicuous; and many of the cardinals, and some of the popes themselves, are well known to have been unbelievers.

That this has long been the case in France, is what no person acquainted with that country the last sifty years will deny. It is now become more generally known, because it has had a better opportunity of shewing itself. That, in similar circumstances, the same, or something approaching to it, would not appear to be the case with us, is more than those who are acquainted with the state of things in this respect will vouch for.

When I was myself in France in 1774, I saw sufficient reason to believe, that hardly any person of eminence, in church or state, and especially in the least degree eminent in philosophy, or literature, (whose

(whose opinions in all countries are, sooner or later, adopted by others) were believers in Christianity; and no person will suppose that there has been any change in favour of Christianity in the last twenty years. A person, I believe now living, and one of the best informed men in the country, assured me, very gravely, that (paying me a compliment) I was the first person he had ever met with, of whose understanding he had any opinion, who pretended to believe Christianity. To this all the company affented. And not only were the philosophers, and other leading men in France, at that time unbelievers in Christianity, or deifts, but atheists, denying the being of a God. Nay Voltaire himfelf, who was then living, was considered by them as a weak-minded man, because, though an unbeliever in revelation, he believed in a God.

When I asked these gentlemen what it was that appeared to them so incredible in Christianity, that they rejected it without farther examination (for they did not pretend to have employed much time on the subject) they mentioned the doctrines of transubstantiation, and the trinity, as things too palpably absurd to require any discussion. It is, without doubt, the civil establishment of such Christianity as this, at which the common sense of mankind will ever revolt, that makes so many unbelievers of persons who will not take the trouble to read the scriptures for themselves, or who have not sagacity or patience to see through the salse glosses that have been so long put

upon them. These systems, and the blindness and obstinacy in the governing powers, in rejecting every proposal of reforming the most palpable abuses, and the most manifest oppressions, make unbelievers much faster than all rational Christians can unmake them.

Nothing, however, can ever counteract the fatal influence of fuch corrupt Christianity, as is supported by these hierarchies, which are also intolerably expensive and oppressive, but the exhibition of rational Christianity, with its proper evidence, by unitarian Christians. But these are yet so sew, compared with the bulk of Christians, who are trinitarians, that superficial observers, as unbelievers in general are, who judge by the great mass, pay but little regard to their representations.

Happily, this infidelity is, in its turn, destroying those antichristian establishments which gave birth to it; and when this great revolution shall be accomplished, genuine unadulterated christianity, meeting with less obstruction, will not fail to recommend and establish itself by its own evidence, and become the religion of the whole world. True Christianity stands in no need of the aid of civil power.

This was the idea of the great Sir Isaac Newton, as appears from the evidence of the excellent Mr. Whiston, in the following passage of his Essay on the Revelation, 2d edition, p. 321. "Sir Isaac Newton had a very sagacious conjecture, which he told

Tr. Clarke, from whom I received it, that the " overbearing tyranny and perfecuting power of the " antichristian party, which hath so long corrupted "Christianity, and enslaved the Christian world, "must be put a stop to, and broken to pieces by the " prevalence of infidelity, for fome time, before pri-" mitive Christianity could be restored; which seems " to be the very means that is now working in Eu-" rope, for the fame good and great end of Pro-"vidence. Poffibly he might think that our Sa-"viour's own words implied it: When the Son of "Man cometh shall he find faith on the earth? "Luke xviii. 8. See Constitut. Apost. vi. 18; "vii. 32; or possibly he might think no other way " so likely to do it in human affairs; it being, I " acknowledge, too fadly evident, that there is not " at present religion enough in Christendom, to put " a ftop to fuch antichristian tyranny and persecution, " upon any genuine principles of Christianity."

The concluding observation of Mr. Whiston appears to me to be very just. It seems probable that no Christians, not even the freest, and boldest, would ever have done what was necessary to be done, to the overturning of these corrupt establishments of Christianity, that unbelievers have lately done in France.

This great event of the late revolution in France appears to me, and many others, to be not improbably the accomplishment of the following part of the Revelation.

Revelation, chap. xi. 3. 'And the same hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the scity fell, and in the earthquake were flain of men (or literally, names of men) feven thousand, and the

' remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to God.'

An earthquake, as I have observed, may signify a great convulsion, and revolution, in states; and as the Papal dominions were divided into ten parts, one of which, and one of the principal of them, was France, it is properly called a tenth part of the city, or of the mystical Babylon. And if by names of men, we understand their titles, such as those of the nobility, and other hereditary distinctions, all of which are now abolished, the accomplishment of the prediction will appear to be wonderfully exact. It is farther remarkable, that this passage immediately precedes what I have quoted before concerning the nations being angry, and the wrath of God being come, for the destruction of those who have destroyed the earth.

It is farther remarkable, that the kings of France were those who gave the Popes their temporalities, and the rank they now hold among the princes of the world. And it is foretold, Rev. xvii. 16, that 'those ' kings who gave their power and strength unto the beaft, these shall hate the whore, and shall make

her defolate and naked, and shall eat her slesh, and burn her with fire. For God has put it in their

hearts to fulfil his will, and to agree to give their

kingdoms unto the beaft, until the words of God

May we not hence conclude it to be highly probable, that what has taken place in France will be done in other countries? But the total destruction of this great antichristian power seems to be reserved for the fecond coming of Christ in person, by the brightness of whose appearance, and not before, he is, according to the apostle Paul, to be completely destroyed. And with this view, as well as others, every Protestant Christian should say, 'Come, Lord Jesus, ' come quickly.' In the mean time, let us attend to the folemn admonition in the Revelation xviii. 4. I heard a voice from heaven, faying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her fins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her fins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities \*.'

<sup>\*</sup> That the opinion here advanced, concerning the danger of the civil powers of Europe, in consequence of their connexion with antichristian ecclesiastical systems, has been long entertained by me, may appear from the following extract from my History of the Corruptions of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 484. "It is no-" thing but the alliance of the kingdom of Christ with the king-"doms of this world (an alliance which our Lord himfelf ex-" pressly disclaimed) that supports the grossest corruptions of "Christianity; and perhaps we must wait for the fall of the civil " powers before this most unnatural alliance be broken. Cala-" mitous, no doubt, will that time be. But what convulsion in "the political world ought to be a subject of lamentation, if it " be attended with fo defirable an event? May the kingdom of "God, and of Christ, (that which I conceive to be intended "in the Lord's Prayer) truly and fully come, though all the "kingdoms of the world be removed in order to make way for e it."

As the fecond coming of Christ will be during the general prevalence of infidelity, fo it will be fudden, and most unexpected. This is the language of our Saviour himself, Mat. xxiv. 37. As the days of Noah were, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be. For as in the days before the flood, they were eating, and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage, unto the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not till the flood came, and took them 'all away, fo shall also the coming of the Son of 'Man be.' Luke xvii. 28. 'Likewise, also as it was in the days of Lot. They did eat, they drank, they bought, they fold, they planted, they builded. But the same day that Lot went out of Sodom, he rained fire and brimstone from heaven, and deftroved them all. Even thus shall it be when the 'Son of Man is revealed.' The apostle Paul also fays, 1 Thef. v. 2. 'Yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord fo cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say peace and ' fafety, then fudden destruction cometh upon them, 'as travail upon a woman with child, and they shall f not escape.

But sudden and unexpected as the coming of Christ will be, it will be most conspicuous. Speaking of his return, he says, Mat. xxiv. 26. 'If they shall fay unto you, Behold he' (i. e. the Messiah) 'is in the desert, go not forth. Behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east; and shineth even unto the west.

west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.' As the afcent of Jesus was conspicuous, and probably leifurely, fo will be his defcent. While the disciples were viewing him as he ascended, we read, Acts i. 10, 'two men stood by them in white sapparel, who also said, Ye men of Galilee, why ftand ye gazing up into heaven? This fame Jesus, who is taken from you into heaven, shall so come in 'like manner as ye have feen him go into heaven.' Here is no figurative language, no ambiguous expression. Neither is there in what the apostle says concerning the refurrection of the virtuous dead, which will take place at the coming of Christ, which, in the Revelation is called the first resurrection, I Thefair, 14. 'If we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also who sleep in Tefus shall God bring with him. For this we say unto you, by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, and remain unto the coming of the Lord, 's shall have no advantage over those who are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ 's shall rise first. Then we who are alive, and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and fo shall we ever be with the Lord.' Again he fays, I Cor. xv. 51. 'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump. For the trumpet shall found, and s the

the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

The certainty of this great catastrophe should be a sufficient motive with all Christians, who, as such, entertain no doubt with respect to the fact, to keep it constantly in view, and to regulate their whole conduct with a view to it. But if we apprehend it to be in a stricter sense of the word really near, which, from the present aspect of things, I own I am inclined to think may be the case, our attention is drawn to it in a most forcible manner. Did we really expect to fee this great event, viz. the coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven, we should hardly think or speak of any thing else; and the present commotions in the political world, extraordinary as they certainly are would appear as nothing in comparison with it. What would otherwise be great, would, with respect to this, feem exceedingly little, and infignificant.

What then, my brethren, is the practical inference that we should draw from finding, or even suspecting, ourselves to be in this situation, the kingdom of heaven being at hand, but to repent, and by a change of heart and of life to be prepared for it; that when our Lord shall return, and take an account of his servants, we may be sound of him without spot and blameless, and not be ashamed before him at his coming? Seeing, as the apostle Peter says, we look for these things, what manner of persons ought we to be, in all holy conversation and god-sliness.

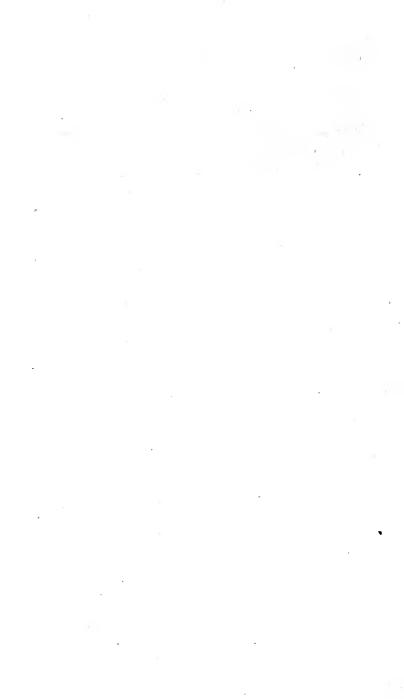
The aspect of things, it cannot be denied, is, in the highest degree, alarming, making life, and every thing in it, peculiarly uncertain. What could have been more unexpected than the events of any one of the last four years, at the beginning of it? What a total revolution in the ideas, and conduct of a whole nation! What a total subversion of principles, what reverses of fortune, and what a waste of life! In how bloody and eventful a war are we engaged, how inconsiderable in its beginning, how rapid and wide in its progress, and how dark with respect to its termination! At first it resembled Elijah's cloud, appearing no bigger than a man's band; but now it covers, and darkens, the whole European hemisphere!

Now, whatever we may think, as politicians (and with us every man will have his own opinion, on a subject so interesting to us all) I would, in this place, admonish you not to overlook the hand of God in A the great scene that is now opening upon us. Nothing can ever come to pass without his appointment, or permission; and then, whatever be the views of men, we cannot doubt, but that his are always wife, righteous, and good. Let us, therefore, exercise faith in him, believing that though 'clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are for ever the habitation of his throne.' All those who appear on the theatre of public affairs, in the field, or the cabinet, both those whom we praise, and those whom we blame, are equally instruments in his hands, and execute all his pleasure. Let this reflec-

tion, then, in our cooler moments, (and I hope we shall endeavour, in all the tumult of affairs, to make these as many as possible) lead us to look more to God, and less to man; and consequently, in all the troubles in which we may be involved, repose the most unshaken confidence in him, and thence in patience possess our own souls, especially when it is evident that it is wholly out of our power to alter the course of events. If we be careful so to live as to be at all times prepared to die, what have we to fear, even though, as the Pfalmist says, the 'earth be removed, and the mountains be carried into the ' midst of the sea?' Whatever turn the course of things may take, it cannot then be to our disadvantage. What, then, should hinder our contemplating the great scene, that seems now to be opening upon us, awful as it is, with tranquillity, and even with fatisfaction, from our firm persuasion, that its termina-tion will be glorious and happy?

Lastly, the more there are who indulge these enlarged and just views, who cultivate a sense of piety to God (which will always lead us to suppress resentment, and to promote goodwill towards men) the more savour, in the righteous administration of Providence, will be shewn to the country in which they shall be found God, we know, would have spared even Sodom, if so many as ten righteous men had been sound in it; and our Saviour, alluding, as I am inclined to think, to these very times, which seem to be approaching, says, that sor the elect's sake they

will be shortened.' For our own sakes, therefore, for the sake of our friends, of our country, and of every thing that is dear to us in it, let us attend to the admonition of my text, 'to repent, for the 'kingdom of heaven is at hand.' It is 'righteous' ness that exalteth a nation', and 'sin' only is the 'reproach,' and will be the ruin, 'of any people.'



## APPENDIX.

Having originally got the leading ideas that are enlarged upon in the preceding discourse from Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man, a work published in 1749, I think it may not be amiss to subjoin to it some extracts from that work, as, from his authority, the serious apprehensions with which I have, ever since I read it, been impressed, will receive more weight, than they could acquire from any person, who, writing in these times, might be supposed to be particularly influenced by the aspect of them, and by his own situation with respect to them. I wish likewise by this, as well as every other means, to direct the attention of my readers to that most excellent work, to which I am indebted, if I may so say, for the whole moral conformation of my mind.

"How near the diffolution of the prefent governments, generally or particularly, may be, would be great rashness to affirm. Christ will come in this sense also as a thief in the night.' Our duty is therefore to watch and to pray; to be faithful stewards; to give meat, and all other requisites, in due season, to those under our care; and to endeavour by these, and all other lawful means, to preserve the government, under whose protection we live, from diffolution.

.folution, feeking the peace of it, and fubmitting to every ordinance of man for the Lord's fake. No prayers, no endeavours of this kind can fail of having some good effect, public or private, for the prefervation of ourselves and others. The great dispenfations of Providence are conducted by means that are either fecret, or, if they appear, that are judged feeble and inefficacious.-No man can tell, however private his station may be, but his fervent prayer may avail to the falvation of much people. But it is more peculiarly the duty of magistrates thus to watch over their subjects, to pray for them, and to fet about the reformation of all matters civil and ecclefiastical, to the utmost of their power. Good governors may promote the welfare and continuance of a state, and wicked ones must accelerate its ruin."

"The facred history affords us instances of both kinds, and they are recorded there for the admonition of kings and princes in all future times." V. ii. p. 368.

"There are many prophecies which declare the fall of the ecclefiaftical powers of the Christian world. And though each church seems to flatter itself with the hopes of being exempted; yet it is very plain that the prophetical characters belong to all. They have all lest the true, pure, simple religion, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men. They are all merchants of the earth, and have set up a kingdom of this world, abounding in riches, temporal power, and external pomp. They have all a dogmatizing spirit, and persecute such as do not receive

receive their own mark, and worship the image which they have fet up. They all neglect Christ's command of preaching the gospel to all nations, and even that of going to ' the lost sheep of the house of 'Ifrael;' there being innumerable multitudes in all Christian countries who have never been taught to read, and who are in other respects also destitute of the means of faving knowledge. 'Tis very true that the church of Rome is 'Babylon the great and the 'mother of harlots,' and of the 'abominations of the earth.' But all the rest have copied her example more or less. They have all received money like Gebazi; and therefore the leprofy of Naaman will cleave to them, and to their feed for ever. And this impurity may be confidered, not only as justifying the application of the prophecies to all the Christian churches, but as a natural cause for their downfall. The corrupt governors of the feveral churches will ever oppose the true gospel, and in so doing will bring ruin upon themselves." P. 371.

"As the downfall of the Jewish state under Titus was the occasion of the publication of the gospel to us Gentiles, so our downfall may contribute to the restoration of the Jews, and both together bring on the final publication and prevalence of the true religion. Thus the type and the thing typisied will coincide. The first fruits and the lump are made holy together." P. 375.

"The downfall of the civil and ecclefiaftical powers must both be attended with such public calamities, as will make men serious, and also drive them from the countries of Christendom into the remote parts of the world, particularly into the East and West-Indies; whither, consequently, they will carry their religion, now purished from errors and superstitions." P. 277.

"That worldly-mindedness, and neglect of duty in the clergy, must hasten our ruin, cannot be doubted. These are 'the falt of the earth,' and the 'light, of the world.' If they lose their favour, the whole nation, where this happens, will be converted into one putrid mass. If their light become darkness, the whole body politic must be dark also. The degeneracy of the court of Rome, and fecular bishops abroad, are too notorious to be mentioned. They almost cease to give offence, as they scarce pretend to any function or authority besides what is temporal. Yet still there is great mockery of God in their external pomp, and profanation of facred titles; which, fooner or later, will bring down vengeance upon them. And as the court of Rome has been at the head of the great apostasy, and corruption of the Christian church; and seems evidently marked outin various places of the fcriptures, the feverest judgments are probably referved for her. But I rather choose to speak to what falls under the observation of all ferious, attentive persons in this kingdom. The fuperior clergy are in general, ambitious, and eager in the pursuit of riches; flatterers of the great, and subservient to party interest; negligent of their ownimmediate charges, and also of the inferior clergy, and.

and their immediate charges. The inferior clergy imitate their superiors, and in general take little more care of their parishes than barely what is neceffary to avoid the censure of the law. And the clergy of all ranks are, in general, either ignorant, or if they do apply, it is rather to profane learning, to philosophical or political matters, than to the fludy of the scriptures, of the Oriental languages, of the fathers, and ecclefiaftical authors, and of the writings of devout men in different ages of the church. I fay this is in general the case; i. e. far the greater part of the clergy of all ranks in this kingdom are of this kind. But there are some of a quite different character; men eminent for piety, facred learning, and the faithful discharge of their duty, and who, it is not to be doubted, mourn in fecret for the crying fins of this and other nations. The clergy, in general, are also far more free from open and gross vices, than any other denomination of men amongst us, physicians, lawyers, merchants, foldiers, &c. However, this may be otherwise hereafter. For it is faid that in some foreign countries the fuperior clergy, in others the inferior, are as corrupt and abandoned, or more fo, than any other order of men. The clergy in this kingdom feem to be what one might expect from the mixture of good and bad influences that affect them. But then, if we make this candid allowance for them, we must also make it for persons in the high ranks of life, for their infidelity, lewdness, and fordid self-interest.

And though it becomes an humble, charitable and impartial man, to make all these allowances, yet he cannot but see, that the judgments of God are ready to fall upon us all for these things; and that they may fall first, and with the greatest weight, upon those, who, having the highest office committed to them in the spiritual kingdom of Christ, neglect it, and are become mere 'merchants of the earth,' and 'shepherds that feed themselves, and 'not their flocks.' P. 450.

"These are my real and earnest sentiments upon these points. It would be great rashness to fix a time for the breaking of the storm that hangs over our heads, as it is blindness and infatuation not to see it; nor to be aware, that it may break. And yet this infatuation has always attended all falling states. The kingdoms of Judah and Ifrael, which are the types of all the rest, were thus infatuated. It may be, that the prophecies concerning Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Egypt, &c. will become applicable to particular kingdoms before their fall, and warn the good to flee out of them. And Christendom in general feems ready to assume to itself the place and lot of the Jews, after they had rejected their Messiah, the Saviour of the world. Let no one deceive himfelf, or others. The present circumstances of the world are extraordinary and critical, beyond what has ever yet happened. If we refuse to let Christ reign over us, as our Redeemer and Saviour, we must be slain before his face, as enemies, at his fecond coming." 455.

To these passages from Dr. Hartley, I shall add another from an excellent Sermon preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, December 13, 1793, the day appointed for the commemoration of the Benefactors to that Society. p. 13, &c.

"Nature recoils with horror at the spectacle now presented by their unfortunate country [France]. Under the guidance, however, of divine revelation, the contemplative mind may discern the signs of these times, and the hand of Providence directing the madness of the people. The oracles of truth, when foretelling the perfecutions to be endured by Christians, assure us, 'He that killeth with the ' fword, must be killed with the sword.' They have shed (faith the angel) the blood of saints and prophets, and thou hast given them blood to drink; for they are worthy. Destruction awaits the perfecutor. And it must excite our astonishment to see vestiges of this righteous dispensation in what is passing before us. Lyons is recorded in early history, as the spot where a company of Martyrs glorified God. Lyons is now devoted, and its name erased from the memory of man. Paris once streamed with the blood of the Hugonots: Paris hath fince been dyed with the flaughter of that court and clergy, which infligated the unutterable deed."

"Let us, too, be honest in declaring, whether if the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the revocation of the edict of Nantz, or a Spanish act of faith, were dictated by the spirit of Antichrist; the deprivation of the Two THOUSAND ejected Ministers; the feverities which forced our countrymen to take refuge in the wilds of America, and the two religious conflagrations which have disgraced our own days, demonstrated the presiding influence of a mind like that which was in Jesus."

"One particular in which the prophecy appears to enlighten us, is the fate of the Gallican church. The revolted city of the apocalypse is supposed to represent the Antichristian community established in the European territory of the western Roman empire, still subsisting in its pollarchical and dismembered state. Of this city it is written, that the fall of a tenth part would a short time precede that of the rest; and that its overthrow would be accompanied by an earthquake, and the destruction of feven chiliads of the names of men. As France was one of the ten kingdoms founded on the ruins of the western empire; as violent commotions are now agitating the political world, from the Borysthenes to the Atlantic; as feven classes have lately been deprived of their privileges and titles; the curiofity of the Christian scholar is beyond measure excited; and will be gratified with the discovery of various circumstances which will confirm his faith; but which a defire of brevity obliges me to refer to his private confideration. One question, however, I cannot help proposing; that if we be of that chosen people who have in truth come out of Babylon, who partake not of her fins, and merit not her plagues, why should we appear

appear unprepared, or difinclined, to comply with the angelic mandate, and begin, at least, some prelude to that song of triumph, 'Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles, and prophets, for God hath avenged you on her.'

"The legislators of France are Deists! While they expatiated freely in every region of useful feience, they were enjoined to "take for granted" those controversial matters of religion, their fore- fathers had some good reason for adhering to \*." They were not permitted to distinguish the doctrines of our Lord from those of their church. Their mind arrived at maturity in some points, disdained the puerilities on which they dared not speculate; and rejected the gospel, on account of the meretricious dress in which it was introduced to them."

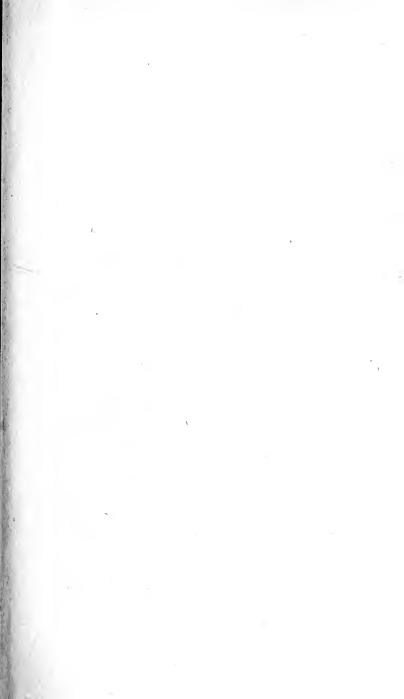
"The legislators of France are deifts! Much as we may lament their infidelity in their private capacity, we rejoice that, as lawgivers, they are unbelievers. Indifferent alike to all professions, and all sects, they will not form an unnatural alliance with one, nor proscribe all others with civil incapacities, imprisonment, and death. Every persuasion will enjoy their equal and wise protection; and genuine Christianity, undisguised with absurd consessions, and not made contemptible by ridiculous ceremonies, will exert her

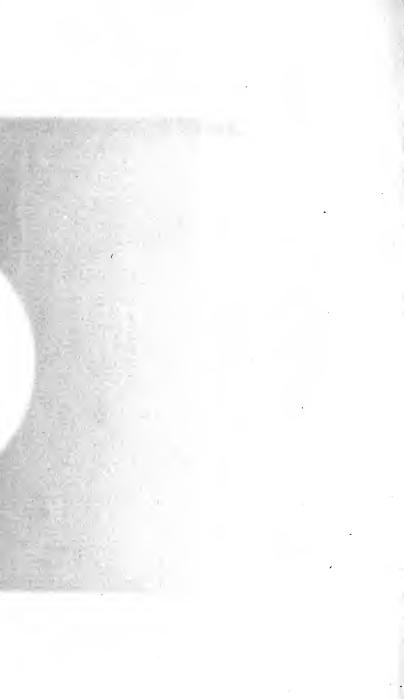
<sup>\*</sup> This is quoted from a speech of Dr. Milner, Vice-Chansellor of the University of Cambridge, on the trial of Mr. Freud.

proper energies; will present to the understanding of the individual her miraculous credentials of prophecies completed in our time; and gain her establishment, not in word, but in deed; not in the civil code, but in the heart; not as a necessary engine of the state, but as the truth, and the way to eternal life. Superstition will no longer "rear her mitred front in "their courts and parliaments \*;" but the dominion of Christ, triumphant in that country, will be an earnest of his obtaining the 'heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possible."

\* Alluding to Mr. Burke's encomium on the Church of England.

THE END.





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