THE PURITANS' USE OF SCRIPTURE
IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC

by

EDWARD E. HINDSON

submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of
DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY
in the subject
BIBLICAL STUDIES
at the
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA
Pretoria, R.S.A.

PROMOTER: PROFESSOR DR. F. E. DEIST

APRIL 15, 1984
I declare that *The Puritans' Use of Scripture in the Development of an Apocalyptic Hermeneutic* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Edward E. Hindson
DEDICATION

To my wife Donna
and our children:
Linda, Christy, Jonathan
THESIS ABSTRACT

The study of the apocalyptical phenomenon in biblical prophecy is an area of current investigation in biblical studies. The present dissertation utilizes the sociology of knowledge to investigate the socio-economic-religio-political milieu of the English Puritans in their development of an apocalyptical hermeneutic.

Medieval and Reformation backgrounds to the Puritan apocalyptic are traced from Wycliffe through Luther, Calvin, Knox, Bale, Bullinger and Foxe. The historic Protestant apocalyptic tradition was then adopted by the Marian exiles at Geneva and popularized through the extensive annotations of the various editions of the Geneva Bible. To these were added the speculations of such scholars as Napier, Ralegh, Brightman and Broughton.

In time, the millennialism of Alsted and Mede captured the Puritan imagination and became the predominant viewpoint as the Puritans adopted a "realized apocalyptic" which placed them within the apocalypse itself. Believing that the Battle of Armageddon had already begun they logically concluded that a righteous revolution of the saints was necessary to fulfill the purposes of God against the Antichrist.

During the height of militant millenarianism the Puritans maintained a significant influence upon British politics through the Long Parliament and the subsequent Barebone's Parliament. The Fifth Monarchists urged the Parliament to revolt against the monarchy, execute
the King and establish Christ's Kingdom on earth by force. However, at the height of their influence the Puritans became bitterly divided against themselves and their coalition fragmented into utter failure to impose their apocalyptic vision on the nation.

The apocalyptic tradition which the Puritans inherited fragmented into several diverse "apocalypisms" of such groups as the Levellers, the Diggers, the Fifth Monarchists, etc. Incapable of presenting a unified plan of action, the Puritan vision failed to translate into political reality and the cause was lost. After the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Puritanism lapsed into a part of the nonconformist tradition in English religion. In the end, it was Richard Baxter's postponed apocalyptic of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* which prevailed among the descendents of the seventeenth-century Puritans.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION: THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AND BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONE MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION BACKGROUNDS OF THE PURITAN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWO THE GENEVA BIBLE AND THE POPULARIZATION OF THE PURITAN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THREE THE GROWTH OF APOCALYPTICAL SPECULATION IN ENGLAND 1538-1640</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOUR MILITANT MILLENNIALISM DURING THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS 1640-1660</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION: THE PURITANS' DEVELOPMENT OF AN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PREFACE

The study of the apocalyptic phenomenon in biblical prophecy is an area of current investigation in biblical studies. Various methods have been suggested and debated to approach this topic. The present study utilizes the sociology of knowledge to investigate the socioeconomic-religio-political milieu of the English Puritans in their development of an apocalyptic hermeneutic.

Drawing upon the historic Protestant apocalyptic tradition, the Marian exiles popularized their apocalyptic hermeneutic through the annotations of the various editions of the Geneva Bible. This, in turn, led to increased speculation by apocalyptic scholars in regard to the fulfillment of the details of apocalyptic prophecies. In time millennialism became the predominant viewpoint as the Puritans adopted a "realized apocalyptic" which placed them within the apocalypse itself. Believing that the battle with the Antichrist had already begun, they logically concluded that a righteous revolution of the Saints was necessary to fulfill the purposes of God and bring in "Zion's Glory."

During the years of the Puritan revolution and its subsequent civil wars, the coalition of the Puritan Brotherhood fragmented and divided against itself. Weakened by their own fragmentation, the Puritans failed to enforce their eschatological vision upon England in the seventeenth-century. From the time of the Restoration the Puritan movement became a part of the nonconformist tradition in English religion.
It was never again able to influence English society and government as it had done in the years just before and just after the 1640s.

This dissertation has been written in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree D.Litt. et Phil. in Biblical Studies at the University of South Africa, Pretoria. My deep appreciation is expressed to Dr. F. E. Deist who served as my promoter and to Drs. Hofmyer and Vorster who served as readers. Dr. Deist's intense interest in apocalyptic hermeneutics was an inspiration and constant source of wisdom and clarity.

My sincere appreciation is also expressed to Mrs. Karen Schon and Mrs. Mildred Livesay who typed the original manuscript and to the librarians of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, and Liberty Baptist Seminary, Lynchburg, who offered extensive assistance in every area of research. A word of thanks is also due to Dr. James I. Packer and Dr. George Marsden who gave helpful insights and suggestions. Thanks also to my family for their constant encouragement in this project.

Edward E. Hindson
Lynchburg, Virginia
April 15, 1984
INTRODUCTION

THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AND BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

The multidimensional character of the human enterprise dictates the complexity of the scholarly assessment to articulate man's understanding of truth. In the liberal theology of the nineteenth-century issues were evaluated in historical terms. In neo-orthodoxy, following Bultmann, issues were conceived in existentialist terms. More recently, linguistic philosophy raised the issue of how language functions to create human meaning. Still further, the sociology of knowledge challenges our understanding of the whole issue of hermeneutics even further.


4. On the significance and development of the sociology of knowledge see K.H. Wolff, "Introduction to Fifty Years of 'Sociology of Knowledge,'"
cal task is much more complex than simply trying to deduce a few rules by which to read the Bible.

In the sociology of knowledge the issue is raised about the social context of the interpreter as well as the text he is interpreting. Thus, the science of hermeneutics must treat as problematic the social context of the observer, as well as the social context of the author. 5 Thus, the interpreter becomes an ingredient in the total look of translating the message of one era into another era. This is especially true of twentieth-century attempts to interpret biblical passages that are millennia old. The task is what Rohrbaugh calls translating an agrarian Bible into an industrial age. 6 Thus, hermeneutics becomes more than just translating words of one language into the equivalent words of another language. The purpose of biblical hermeneutics sets as its goal the translating of a culturally conditioned meaning of one society into the culturally conditioned meaning of another society. For example, Samson's leaving the wedding festivities (Judges 14:19-20) had


5 K. Mannheim, Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), p. 61, states: "To understand the 'spirit' of an age, we have to fall back on the 'spirit' of our own - it is only substance which comprehends substance."

6 R.L. Rohrbaugh, The Biblical Interpreter: An Agrarian Bible in an Industrial Age (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978). He wrestles with the issue of the social and historical dimensions of preunderstanding in relation to the contrast of agrarian and industrial societies. He takes a detailed approach, using the methodology of the sociology of
a completely different connotation in that ancient culture than it would in ours today. We would consider the couple still married, but they did not. In fact, we tend to superimpose our whole conception of marriage upon the text.

I. "Meaning" of a Cultural Context.

A. The Meaning of Words.

One of the vital issues in hermeneutics is that of understanding the meaning of words used in another culture. For example, the word "compromise" has a much more positive meaning to the British than it would to Americans (even though both use the same English word). Thus, it is necessary to examine the entire process by which a word attains a certain meaning in a particular culture. The term, "redemption" had definite social and economic meaning in ancient Israel, whereas in our culture today it is generally viewed as being entirely theological. 7

The biblical interpreter is attempting to understand language that is often more than two thousand years old. In so doing he struggles with a gap of understanding between the modern world and ancient society, as well as an existential gap as to the significance to our generation of the meaning of the text. Does a word or term that had meaning in one society have meaning in our society? If it does, how can we best express


that word or term in our language? Different cultural contexts caused the translators of the Geneva Bible (1560) to refer to the "covering" of the fig leaves as "breeches" and for the translators of the Authorized Version (1611) to read "aprons." 8

B. The Meaning of Ideas.

The major task in understanding the phenomenology of language is not to determine what a word says but what idea it conveys. 9 Therefore, the gap between the interpreter and the biblical text cannot be bridged by historical criticism alone. While that is part of the necessary process, it stops short of asking what the words (properly understood) meant then as well as what they mean now. Under what circumstances does the particular text have relevance today? For example, cultures in which women wore head coverings readily accept I Corinthians 11:3-15 as binding upon them, whereas Western cultures readily explain away the text as culturally irrelevant. 10

From the standpoint of preaching, the task of the theologian-preacher is to proclaim what the text proclaims in a manner that is ideologically


10For example, see F.W. Grosheide, Commentary on the First Epistle
significant to his audience. Thus, the critical understanding of the text alone does not necessarily give us the intended meaning of the text. Therefore, the whole process of traditional biblical criticism must change in order to allow God to speak through the medium of the text. 11 Thus, the interpreter himself becomes a vital link in the entire process of getting the text to the congregation.

![Diagram](image)

C. The Experience of the Interpreter.

It is now being recognized that the cultural milieu of the interpreter greatly affects how a text is used at a given period of time. 12 The

---


12 See the very perceptive study by C. Villa-Vicencio, "Israel: An Image of Captivity for Contextual Theology," in Theologia Evangelica, XIV, 2 (September, 1981), pp. 48-62, where he examines the use of the concept of "Israel" in both imperialist and liberation theologies, contrasting in the latter American, South African, Black and Latin American approaches.
hermeneutic framework of the interpreter affects his use of Scripture. For example, covenant theologians appeal to passages that seem to emphasize the unity of the people of God, whereas dispensationalists make a strong distinction between Israel and the Church. Accordingly, the former identify the New Testament Church with Old Testament Israel even when such identification is obviously forced. On the other hand, the latter limit Israel to a nationalistic identity only. While the covenant theologian finds the fulfillment of "Israel" in the Church, the dispensationalist finds it in the modern state of Israel!

The danger of any hermeneutic framework is the tendency to want to use only those proof texts or analogical examples which seem to prove our preconceived viewpoint. In Puritan theology, for example, apocalyptic expectation rose or fell with whoever was on the throne at the time.

---

Accordingly, Deist, op.cit., observes four characteristics of a hermeneutical framework: 1) It works unconsciously; 2) it looks obvious to the interpreter; 3) it posits new understanding in the perspective of existing understanding; 4) it views a text from one preferred angle.


See the excellent discussions of the impact of civil affairs upon Puritan apocalyptic expectation in P. Christianson, Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); K.R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); P. Toon (ed.), Puritans, the Millennium and the Future.
Therefore, the Antichrist figure was interpreted by the Roman Catholics as Protestant heretics, whereas, the Protestants were equally convinced the Antichrist had to be the pope and the "locusts" out of the bottomless pit had to be his agents: cardinals, bishops, priests, etc. 17 In more recent times, American Fundamentalists viewed themselves as the faithful remnant of the Church of Philadelphia, conveniently making the liberal "modernists" the lukewarm Church of Laodicea. 18

II. Self-Conscious Awareness of the Hermeneutical Process.

Knowing that one is both a product and a victim of his own cultural context does not, in itself, guarantee that he will approach a text properly. One must continue to analyze his own cultural framework and hermeneutical subconscious in order to approach the Bible as honestly as a human being can in light of the total tradition of the Church.

A. Self-Knowledge.

Every society has elevated its heroes on the same basis that was meaningful to the preservation of that society. 19 In time we tend to

---


19 For an example of this process in the Western world, see P. Kars- ten, Patriot-Heroes in England and America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). He traces the development of such heroes as Crom-
accept the criteria of elevation as legitimate. In fact, we ourselves reduplicate it. We accept some particular criterion and build our whole concept of reality and meaning upon it. Therefore, we must evaluate ourselves in order to understand our own biases and presuppositional beliefs which we bring to the Scripture. These biases (more than a lack of critical methodology) stand between the interpreter and the text.

B. Interpretive Critique.

The sociology of knowledge is not merely concerned with the causal nexus of textual contexts. Cause-effect parallels alone do not necessarily tell us why a certain people interpreted a text in a certain way. Properly understand, the sociology of knowledge is not merely a history of ideas, it is a prerequisite to the investigation of the meaningful character of social events. It demands the establishment of self-limiting, objective criteria by which to approach the texts of Scripture. It also demands that the same criteria control our application of those texts to our own time.

C. Cultural Complexities.

During the height of the Puritan era there were several cultural and political changes taking place in England which left their imprint on the reform movement. Rulers, whose religious convictions varied, rose and fell. While "Bloody" Mary Tudor, an avowed Catholic, was on the throne

well, Hampden, Sydney, Washington and Lincoln, showing the evolution from the historical person to the mythological ideal.

20 Even those who place the highest meaning on criticizing "meaning" develop what J.C. Ping calls Meaningful Nonsense (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966). He argues against all attempts to make "the language of faith" objectively meaningful.
many of the Puritans were in exile where they viewed themselves as the "Church in the Wilderness." When Elizabeth came to the throne she virtually had to be a Protestant by necessity since the Catholic Church never sanctioned her parents' marriage. Thus, during her reign Puritanism flourished even without her direct support. After her death James Stuart of Scotland came to the throne of England as a strong Protestant and Puritan apocalyptic expectation rose even higher. However, James remained firm in a middle course of accommodation between the various factions within the Church of England in order to unify his control over the entire nation. After his death, Charles I allowed Laud to persecute the Puritans and their patience wore thin as they once again viewed themselves as being under assault from the forces of the Antichrist.

Cultural factors of this period included the rise of the gentry, the economic revolution of the middle class, the bourgeoisie support of the bishops, land-ownership struggles, etc. Religious factors included the rise of congregationalism, independency and millenarianism. Prior to the Civil War Puritanism arose within the accepted values of the society of Elizabethan England. However, during the Civil War the radicalization of Puritanism revealed its dynamic and revolutionary nature.

D. Logical Fallacies.

Initially the reformers were convinced that the Roman Catholic Church was indeed the Antichrist. However, when the Church of England continued to avow the episcopal form of government, Puritan interpretation shifted to viewing Archbishop Laud and the bishops as the agents of the Antichrist. Certain that they were living in the "last days" before the coming of Christ, the Puritans began to call for the forceful overthrow of the king, Laud and
the entire episcopal hierarchy in order to bring in the Millennium (the "Fifth Monarchy" of Daniel's prophecies). Thus, the historic apocalyptic view gave way to a militant millennialism which pinned its hopes to Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army. Godly Puritans were convinced that God wanted them to rid England of the papacy, the episcopacy and any other "rags of popery."

CONCLUSION

The greatest benefit of the application of the sociology of knowledge to biblical hermeneutics is its methodology of 1) self-criticism; 2) self-awareness; 3) self-clarification; 4) self-extension. It challenges the whole field of biblical hermeneutics to examine the cultural context from which the interpreter is coming, as well as the cultural context from which the biblical passage was written. It urges us to find some experiential consanguinity between author of the text and the contemporary interpreter. It takes interpretation beyond a merely historical exercise to a genuinely theological exercise in which the text can become truly significant for us today.

The methodology of the sociology of knowledge as a basis for understanding Puritan apocalyptic hermeneutics is followed throughout this study. The Puritans, and other early reformers, are viewed in light of

---

their social, cultural, political and religious contexts. Shifts in
their interpretive thought may often be traced to these influences in
their lives. Thus, every attempt is made to view the Puritans in the
context of their own times.
CHAPTER ONE

MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION BACKGROUNDS OF

THE PURITAN APOCALYPtical HERMENEUTIC

Biblical prophecy has been one of the prominent interests of Bible students for centuries. The Puritans were no exception to this interest in God's sovereign control of future events. Recent studies have clearly revealed the prominent place that eschatology played in Puritan thinking. ¹ It has also been clearly demonstrated that the Puritans' use of Scripture in developing an apocalyptic theory has continued to influence the evangelical Church even into the twentieth century. ² In times of persecution, whether social or political, the Church has always tended to increase her eschatological expectation and apocalyptic vision


²That similar eschatological interest continued long after the Puritan era has been thoroughly documented by T.P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1925
of the intervention of Christ in human history. In her excellent study of the Puritan apocalyptic vision, Katharine Firth observes: "Apocalyptic history is visionary history. It is concerned as much with projection of the future as with understanding the past." ³ Puritan eschatology grew out of the heritage of medieval eschatology and its influence upon the thought patterns of both the Renaissance and the Reformation. ⁴ In order to understand the Puritan Hermeneutic in interpreting eschatological passages, the Puritans themselves must be viewed in the context of their own times.

I. Christian England Prior to the Reformation.

Christianity has existed in Britain since Roman times. ⁵ While

(1979). He traces the evangelical view of the four monarchies in Daniel back to the Puritans' use of the same imagery.

³Op.cit., p. 251. She notes that as the Puritans believed they had found a pattern to past events, that pattern became a basis for speculation regarding future events. When early expectations of Christ's Millennial Kingdom coming immediately as a result of the Reformation faded, that expectation gave way to speculation. Christianson, op.cit., notes that it also gave way to a militant attempt to bring in the Kingdom.

⁴This has been traced in several studies, including R.K. Emmerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981); B. McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); M. Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); C.A. Patrides, Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). The later work provides well-documented connections between Pseudo-Dionysius, medieval scholasticism, Renaissance literature and Puritan eschatology regarding the order of angels, the dates of creation and the end of the world, numerology, the dimensions of hell, and the identification of the Turks as Antichrist.

⁵For a complete religious and social history of England during this period see D.L. Edwards, Christian England: Its Story to the Reformation
very little is known of the planting of the Christian Church in Britain in those days, there can be no doubt as to its actual existence. Two third-century writers, Origen and Hippolytus, briefly mention the existence of Christianity in Britain in the earliest times. The clearest early evidence comes in the record of the acts of the Council of Arles in 314, which refers to the Bishops of York, London, and Lincoln specifically. The fact that this party traveled to an official meeting of the Roman Church is clear indication that they were already well established in Britain at that time. Later, in 325, when the emperor Constantine summoned the Council of Nicaea, the British were numbered among its attendants. Sometime after the fall of Rome to the barbarians, the theological views of Pelagius of Britain became sufficiently accepted to precipitate a doctrinal crisis within the Roman Church. Throughout the subsequent centuries of Christian growth in Britain the Roman Catholic Church grew to eventual dominance. In these years of transition, primitive Celtic Christianity was virtually confined to the monasteries. However, by the seventh century, papal legates were visiting England regularly as a result of Pope Gregory's attempt to woo the Anglo-Saxons fully within the boundaries of the Roman Catholic Church. In time, the Romano-British Church emerged with an identity all its own.

A. Early Medieval Period.

The establishment of a successful Christian monarchy from the time of Alfred the Great virtually guaranteed the succession of the Roman

---


6For the details of this period see P. Meyvaert, England Before
Church in England during the Middle Ages. However, Anglo-Saxon England suffered more from its political failures than its military defeats. It eventually took the efforts of William the Conqueror to impose law and order on the country in the eleventh century. The church benefited greatly from the establishment of civil law and prospered in its own welfare during the subsequent centuries of the medieval period. For the most part, the bishops of medieval England were enthusiastic supporters of the king, whom they viewed as "crowned by God." This was not merely because most of them owed their appointments to him, but rather because England's Christian monarchy was viewed as a "sacred trust" from God Himself. Though the Norman conqueror had little personal regard for the pope, the Normanization of church leadership during that time was inevitable, further linking the English church to Rome. This became the era of bishops, friars, and cathedrals. It also became a time of early apocalyptic speculation.

As early as the time of Augustine, Bible commentators had observed the significance of the number three (3) as the most sacred of all numbers. In time theologians attempted to superimpose the number three on every aspect of the universe: celestial, terrestrial, and sublunar

---

the Norman Conquest (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 15-34. He notes that of the 800 letters of Gregory which are preserved in the Vatican, 30 of them deal with the mission to England.


9See the comments of Patrides, op.cit., pp. 6-30; 64-82. For a thorough discussion of Augustinian angelology, see E. Lamirande, L'Englise celeste selon Saint Augustin (Paris, 1963), ch. IV.
(even on hell itself). Using an analogical mode of thought, elaborate correspondences developed into analogies between the divine, the human, and even the political realms of life. In time the number seven (7) emerged with similar significance. Elaborate estimates for the date of creation were also calculated during the Middle Ages (see chart), with Archbishop James Ussher (4004 B.C.) eventually being the most accepted.

Suggested Dates for Creation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3928 B.C.</td>
<td>Matthieu Beroalde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3947 B.C.</td>
<td>Johann Heinrich Alsted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3948 B.C.</td>
<td>Albert Otto Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3949 B.C.</td>
<td>John Gregory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3950 B.C.</td>
<td>Theobald Meuschius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3951 B.C.</td>
<td>Cornelius van den Steen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3960 B.C.</td>
<td>Hugh Broughton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3962 B.C.</td>
<td>David Chytraeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3963 B.C.</td>
<td>John Carion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3967 B.C.</td>
<td>William Perkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3969 B.C.</td>
<td>Francisco Vicente de Tornamira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3974 B.C.</td>
<td>Heinrich Bullinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3984 B.C.</td>
<td>Robert Bellarmine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000 B.C.</td>
<td>Jacques Cappel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4004 B.C.</td>
<td>James Ussher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4022 B.C.</td>
<td>Benito Pereyra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4032 B.C.</td>
<td>Sir Walter Raleigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4051 B.C.</td>
<td>Henri de Sponde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4089 B.C.</td>
<td>Giuseppe Biancani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 See the extensive studies of V.F. Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning and Influence on Thought and Expression (New York: Macmillan, 1938); and F.F. Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929).

11 Patrides, op.cit., p. 79ff., traces its development through the Middle Ages to its popularization by John Donne in the seventeenth century. Donne also emphasized the importance of combining seven with ten (70) and pointed to Moses' seventy elders, Adonibezek's death after killing seventy kings, the seventy-year Babylonian Captivity, etc. Cf. also A.B. Van Os, Religious Visions: The Development of the Eschatological Elements in Medieval English Religious Literature (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1932).

12 For a much more detailed chart, see Patrides, op.cit., pp. 55-
The obvious refusal of medieval scholars and Renaissance chronologists to date the creation earlier than 4100 B.C. was an attempt to keep within the idea that world history would only last a total of six thousand years. This calculation was based upon a Jewish tradition that divided temporary history into Three Eras and Six Ages, the earliest formulation being ascribed by the Talmud to the Tanna debe Eliyahu ("the School of Elijah"). 13 A typical Renaissance version read:

The world shall last sixe thousand yeeres;  
Two thousand thereof shall be a vacuitie (emptinesse);  
Two thousand the Law shall continue;  
And the dayes of the Messiah shall make out two thousand more. 14

Eventually the Six Ages were distinguished as:

1. Adam to Noah
2. Noah to Abraham
3. Abraham to David
4. David to the Babylonian Captivity
5. Captivity to Christ
6. Christ to Last Judgment 15

57. He notes that by 1660 William Winstanley reported that Ussher had left a "Work acknowledged by the learnedest men of this age." F.C. Haver, The Age of the World: Moses to Darwin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959), p. 83, notes that in 1661 William Howell adopted Ussher's date as the basis for his chronology in his massive world history. Later, he observes, Ussher's chronology was incorporated into the margins of Bishop William Lloyd's study Bible in 1701. From there it eventually became popularized in America in the Scofield Reference Bible (1909).


15 See C.A. Patrides, "The Grand Design of God": The Literary
With the eventual endorsement of Augustine, Isidore of Seville, and Bede, this idea became entrenched in medieval thinking. It was later paralleled to the six days of creation, based on the equation of II Peter 3:8 ("one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day"). Thus, it was observed that man was created on the sixth day and Christ (the Second Adam) came in the Sixth Age. This "excellent mystery" transfixed orthodox thinkers from the Medieval Era, through the Renaissance to the Reformation. Eventually, the concepts of the Three Eras and the Six Ages were conflated (since they both totalled 6,000 years) by Martin Luther. The title page to his *Supputatio Annorum Mundi* (1541) reads:

ELIA Propheta.

Sex milibus annorum stabit mundus.

Duobus milibus inane.

Duobus milibus Lex.

Duobus milibus Messiah.

Insti sunt Sex dies hebdomadae coram Deo.

Septimus dies Sabatum acternum est.

Psalm 90. Et. 2 Pet. 2.

Mille anni sicut dies unus.


16Emmerson, op.cit., pp. 11-33 discusses at length the development of the parallel of the ages of history to the six days of creation in medieval thought noting that: "The theory of the six ages is a perfect example of how the Christian interpretation of history encourages commentators to find types and prophecies of the very end of the world in the Old Testament descriptions of the very beginning of the world" (p. 16).

The medieval belief that the six days of creation corresponded to the six ages of human history was widely accepted. Isidore (c. 560-636) followed Augustine in the chronology of his *Etymologiae*. He modified the fourth age to include Moses and, thus, set the pattern for the chronologies of historians and theologians throughout the Middle Ages. Bede (c. 673-735), the father of English history, followed Isidore's scheme in providing the most elaborate theory of the six ages of world history. He paralleled the morning and evening of the days of creation to the six ages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>&quot;Morning&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Evening&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>Paradise</td>
<td>The Fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>Faithful Patriarchs</td>
<td>The Flood &amp; Babel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>Promised Land</td>
<td>Earthly Kingdom: Saul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>Glory of David &amp; Solomon</td>
<td>Babylonian Captivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>Return &amp; Rebuilding</td>
<td>Antiochus &amp; Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>Incarnation of Christ</td>
<td>Appearance of Antichrist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the twelfth century, commentators such as Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075-1129) and Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), interpreted the Apocalypse as outlining all church history. This idea was later expanded by Anselm of Havelburg (d. 1158) who eventually influenced the further development of this concept by Joachim and John Bale. Anselm saw in the seven seals of Revelation, the seven ages of church history. He paralleled the sixth

---

18 Emmerson, op.cit., pp. 17-18. He notes that: "These periods were organized according to a numerical pattern based on scripture that explained the past while once again emphasizing Antichrist's major role in the future eschatological crisis."

seal/age to a time of trouble when the Antichrist was loosed and the seventh seal/age to an era of heavenly bliss on earth.

It was also during the early Middle Ages that the idea developed that Enoch and Elias (Elijah) would return, since they never died, and convert the Jews (as the two witnesses) and eventually be martyred by the Antichrist. In turn, they would rise again and return to heaven in triumph over the Antichrist. This interpretation was greatly influenced by the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter* (c. 135), the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (c. 300), and the *Apocalypse of Elijah* (c. 450). It was also further popularized by the common acceptance of the Sibylline Oracles as inspired prophecy. 20

B. Late Medieval Period.

The eventual development of apocalyptic prophecy grew more intense in the late Medieval Era and the early Renaissance Era. 21 Beyond Judaism and the Christian Church, lay an unprecedented age of blessing and prosperity. The present condition of the Roman Church came under criticism and attack from the apocalyptic writers of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries (Figure 1).

1. Otto of Freising (1111-1158).

Otto was the pupil of Hugh of St. Victor, who influenced him to write a history of the two cities (City of Man and City of God)

---


The coming of Antichrist in the seventh age of the world. From Hartmann Schedel's Liber Chronicarum (Augsburg, 1497). Belief in the approaching end of the world was widespread in the later Middle Ages. Schedel here depicts the appearance of true and false preaching, as prophesied in Scripture, and the persecution of the righteous by Antichrist and his legions. Schedel believed that the righteous, who are here defended by the archangel Michael, would remain locked in battle with Antichrist for four and one-half years before the millennium began. The reform movements and councils of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries heightened expectations of an imminent, decisive confrontation between good and evil, thus encouraging such apocalyptic beliefs. Scholars have also related the social conservatism of the Lutheran Reformation to its founder's belief that the world's end was near.
described by Augustine. However, unlike Augustine, he equated the city of God with the Roman Catholic Church and wrote an apocalyptic history from the viewpoint of paralleling the Church and the Empire. He made constant use of passages in Daniel and Revelation to support his interpretation. He viewed Daniel as predicting the rise of the Roman Empire (the fourth monarchy) and Revelation predicting the struggle of the Church in three definite stages: 1) from the time of Christ until Constantine; 2) the Millennium of Satan's bondage; 3) the final forty-two months of world history.

While Otto viewed the Millennium as being an indefinite period of time, he firmly established the idea of the eventual collapse of the Holy Roman Empire, which Protestants later viewed as the fulfillment of prophecy. Thus, Otto's greatest contribution to the apocalyptic scheme of later Protestant theology was the reintroduction of the literal relevance and fulfillment of prophecy. His synthesis brought together universal history and scriptural expectation in the development of a biblical eschatology.

2. Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202).

Without a doubt Joachim was the most influential of all medieval thinkers in the area of apocalyptic eschatology. Unlike Otto, he saw a consistently literal expectation of the fulfillment of prophecy through-

---


23See the lengthy discussion of Otto's influence upon Reformation eschatology in Firth, op.cit., pp. 3-31.
out the ages of Church history. 24 He viewed the seven seals of the Apocalypse as predictive of seven ages of Church history. He saw the last stage of the "Age of the Spirit." It would be a time of peace and prosperity prior to the final cataclysm. His ideas were taken to an extreme by the Fraticelli who attempted to bring in the Third Age by revolution.

Joachim's view was augmented by the adaptation of the old third-century Midrash indicating the length of human history to be 6,000 total years: 2,000 from creation to Moses; 2,000 under the Law of Moses; 2,000 for the Age of the Messiah. 25 The idea of dating the length of human history came into the Protestant tradition through the translation of the Talmud made by John Reuchlin and published in Vienna in about 1520. Reuchlin's great-grandnephew, Philip Melanchthon, included it in a Protestant text known as Carion's Chronicle (1532).


Wycliffe (or Wyclif, Figure 2) became known as the "Morning Star of the Reformation" because many of his views were similar to those of


25 The prophecy comes to us in translation in the Babylonian Talmud. The version now extant was printed in 1598 from a copy dated 1186. See
the later Reformers. 26 He became extremely popular with the Puritans, and his system of eschatology was well accepted by them. Wycliffe followed the hermeneutical principles developed by Nicholas of Lyra and his followers, who believed that the biblical prophecies did not predict the stages of Church history, but rather preferred an allegorical interpretation of the continual conflict between Christ and the Antichrist. 27 This struggle was typical of the sufferings of the Church throughout all ages and warned the damned of their final judgment and comforted the elect with their final triumph over evil. 28

Wycliffe was the first to identify the Roman Catholic Church, and the pope in particular, as the Antichrist. 29 Therefore, he is also viewed as the father of the apocalyptic tradition in Protestant historiography. To be sure, other identifications of the Antichrist persisted during the Middle Ages. Some used the Antichrist figure to describe heretics (like Wycliffe himself). Such was the thought of this lyric


27 Reeves, op.cit., pp. 315-317, notes that Nicholas's views were used in fourteenth-century Oxford debates to counter those of Joachim. On the relationship of Nicholas's commentaries to Wycliffe's eschatology, see the observations of the Swedish scholar, S.L. Fristedt, The Wyclif Bible (Stockholm: Fristedt, 1953), pp. 73-89.

28 This same thought is developed by J.P. Martin, The Last Judgment: In Protestant Theology from Orthodoxy to Ritschl. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963), pp. 28-86. He notes that the proof-text approach of the Puritans and Pietists was based upon the scholasticism of the late Middle Ages. Cf. also L. Morris, The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment (London: Tyndale Press, 1960).

29 His De Papa (1379) is included in H.E. Winn (ed.), Wyclif, Select English Writings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), pp. 66-74. He wrote: "The Pope is Antichrist heere in ereth, for he is agens
by Sebastian Brant:

St. Peter's bark now lists and pitches.
I fear she will be food for fishes.
The waves are pounding at her ribs.
No wonder if her timber gives.
Seldom is the truth now heard,
For men pervert God's Holy Word,
Twist the Scriptures to their mind
And leave the truth of God behind.
Forgive me if your nose I grip.
Antichrist is in the ship...
In closing let me this indite.
Our faith resembles much a light
When the wick is nigh to go,
Spits and sputters, burning low.
Seeing the like I'm bound to say
We're not far off the judgment day. 30

Another early Antichrist figure was the Turk (personified) or the Turks (in general) as the infidel enemies of Christ and Christendom. 31 In his early days, Luther himself preferred this interpretation, but later changed his mind. 32 At one point he even suggested the Turk was Gog and the pope was Magog. Ultimately, he came to the same conclusion as Wycliffe, even publishing a commentary on the Apocalypse by a disciple of Wycliffe, named Purvey.

II. The Protestant Reformation.

Though many of the early Reformers paid little attention to esca-


32 On the influence of Myrconius's letter of 1529 quoting from a fifteenth-century commentary on the Apocalypse by the Franciscan monk
ology, it eventually became a major theme in their writings. The publication of Dürer's woodcut illustrations of the Apocalypse in 1498 (Figure 3) kept the imagery and symbolism of the Apocalypse alive for Protestantism. By 1530 Luther changed his mind about the legitimacy and significance of the Apocalypse. In 1531 Bullinger replaced Zwingli and wrote a very popular commentary on the Revelation. In 1532 Melanchthon published the first Protestant work of history in the apocalyptic tradition. By 1536 the Munster revolt was actually provoked by the radical apocalyptic views of Melchior Hoffman.

1. Martin Luther (1483-1546).

In 1529, amidst his struggles with Catholics and radical Protestants alike, Luther received a letter from Myrconius quoting fragments of a late-fifteenth century commentary on the Apocalypse by a Franciscan monk, John Hilten, see the comments of Firth, op.cit., p. 11ff., and Headly, op.cit., pp. 244-249.


34 Heinrich Bullinger, A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalypse of Jesus Christ (Basel: in Latin, 1556, and English, 1561).

35 Carion's Chronicle by John Carion. It was revised by Melanchthon, Camerarius and Corvenius from a rough draft. Headly, op.cit., pp. 110-112, traces Luther's interest in prophecy to this document.

Albrecht Dürer's powerful woodcut *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*. Death is on a bony horse, War: shoulders scales, Sickness waves his sword and War draws his bow. The people are trodden underfoot.
named John Hilten. In his commentary, Hilten identified the Turk with Gog and predicted an invasion of Germany by the Turks. By Luther's time such an invasion loomed as a very real possibility. Interestingly Hilten also had predicted that about 1516 a man would rise up and reform the Church and overthrow the papacy! By November of that year Luther identified the Turk as Gog and the pope as Magog. 37 As early as June 1520, Martin Luther (Figure 4) had identified the pope as "the real Antichrist of whom all the Scripture speaks" in his work On the Papacy at Rome.

In 1530, when Luther revised his preface to the Apocalypse in his German Bible he emphasized the dignity and significance of prophecy. 38 It now seems almost certain that Luther borrowed his view of the Antichrist being the Pope from the Wyclifite tradition. 39 At the same time, his identification of Gog as the Turk caused him to place the Reformation at the end of history. Both Luther and Melanchthon (Figure 5) believed the end of time would come by 1600. In the current threat of the Turks they saw the rise of another kingdom beyond Rome. 40 They even traced the identification of the Turks through the Scythians, as

37 Cf. the discussions of Firth, op.cit., pp. 11-15; Headly, op.cit., pp. 242-246; Reeves, op.cit., pp. 233-235.


40 "And there is added that besyde the Romaine empyre there shall ryse an other empyre full of cruellenesse, and suche one that shall make a new lawe agaynst Gods worde. And that is the Mohometish and Turkyshe empyre now a dayes." From Carion's Chronicle, Fol. V (London: 1550), English edition, with an appendix by John Funcke.
Figure 4
Martin Luther

Figure 5
Philip Melanchthon
the descendants of Magog. 41

Melanchthon especially became interested in Carion's Chronicle, which included the so-called Prophecy of Elias (a Christianized version of the old Midrash about the length of history).

The sayenge of Helias house.
The worlde shall stande syxe thousand yeres
and after shall it falle.
Two thousande yeares wythout the Lawe.
Two thousande yeares in the Lawe.
Two thousande yeares the tyme of Christ. 42

In general, the continental Reformers believed they had clearly identified the Antichrist as the pope. This is evident in John Calvin, John Gerhard, and Francis Turretin, as well as Luther. 43 Beyond that, many began to speculate about the nearness of the end of history. Chronicles (Figure 6) correlating history and prophecy were published by Sebastian Franck (1531) and John Carion (1532), with the latter strongly influencing Lutheran thought. 44 Because of Luther's connection with Robert Barnes, the English Reformers began to adopt the same ideas. In

41Today, this process is still used frequently to identify Russia as Magog. See the extensive historical survey and linguistic analysis of E. Yamauchi, Foes from the Northern Frontier (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982).

42Quoted in Carion's Chronicle, Introduction, Fol. ViV. This "prophecy" also influenced Ussher's fixing the date of creation at 4004 B.C.


44S. Franck, Chronica Zeytbuch und Geschycthbibel. For English translation, see G.H. Williams (ed.), Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers
The title-page of Sebastian Franck's Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtbibel (1531).
writing a preface to Barnes's *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (1535), Luther rejoiced over the confirmation that history gave the Bible in identifying the pope as the Antichrist. 45 In 1545, just one year before his death, Luther published his strongest attack against the pope, *Against the Papacy at Rome, founded by the Devil.*

2. Robert Barnes (1495-1540).

Barnes (Figure 7) studied with the Austin friars at Cambridge and later at the University of Louvain, a leading center of humanist scholarship, where he received his doctorate. Upon his return to Cambridge he was made Austin prior, and was allowed to operate freely within his own monastic house. He was then "converted wholly to Christ" under the preaching of Thomas Bilney of Cambridge. 46 In time they won over Hugh Latimer and began meeting at the White Horse Inn as early as 1518 to discuss Lutheran theology. 47

Because of Dr. Barnes's brushes with the Church authorities (who


\[\text{47 On Latimer's life and thought, see H.S. Darby, Hugh Latimer (London: Epworth Press, 1953).}\]
Figure 7

ABOVE: Robert Barnes and Cambridge's White Horse Inn, the "birthplace of the English Reformation"  BELOW: citizens of 16th-Century Europe (from an engraving by Albrecht Dürer)
accused him of heresy) he fled to Wittenberg, where he became a close friend of Luther and Melanchthon. From then on, he became ruthless in his attacks upon the Roman Catholic Church. However, when the Smalkald League was formed in 1531 as a defensive alliance of the German princes against France and the Holy Roman Empire, King Henry VIII appointed him as his personal ambassador to the German League. For the next eight years Barnes attempted to work out an alliance between England and Lutheran Germany. However, his efforts eventually failed due to Henry's many divorces and the Lutheran's insistence that he sign the Augsburg Confession of Faith. In 1539, Barnes foolishly returned to England and openly attacked the Church authorities. He was arrested and burned at the stake on July 30, 1540. Luther was so outraged that he labeled Henry "an incarnate devil" and prayed for his death. 48

In 1535, while in Wittenberg, Barnes published his now famous chronology of the lives of the popes, Vitae Romanorum Pontificum, in which he collected and arranged examples of papal deviations and contradictions from history. This represented the first attempt to examine the lives of the popes as illustrative of the Antichrist. However, he saw no specific fulfillment of prophecy in this, rather, a general principle. Firth notes: "The materials for the apocalyptic tradition were being gathered without any commitment to the thematic structure of prophecy fulfilled in a succession of events." 49


49Firth, op. cit., p. 29. She notes that, while the specific nature of the Antichrist was still being debated at that time, the Protestant Reformers became virtually unanimous in their belief that his appearance was an event of their own times.

Known as the father of English Bible translation from the original languages, Tyndale (Figure 8) was also an important link in the development of the English apocalyptic tradition. He studied at Magdalen Hall and received both his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Oxford University, where he was influenced by humanistic thought. In his early days he was a defender of Erasmus in criticizing clerical ignorance and corruption. In 1524 he traveled to Germany and met personally with Luther. While in Wittenberg, he completed his translation of the New Testament, which he later published at Worms. He was denounced by Thomas More as "that hell-hound of the devil's kennel" and was eventually arrested in 1535 at V'lorde near Brussels and executed the following year by strangling.

When Tyndale's original plan to translate the Greek New Testament in England failed to gain support he fled to Antwerp to continue the project on his own. However, once he was on the Continent he found a valuable ally in Luther and came under his influence. Though he neither shared the doubts of Erasmus nor the enthusiasm of Luther about the Apocalypse. However, the 1534 revision of his work included marginal notes on the text of Revelation showing Luther's influence. Tyndale accepted the idea of fulfilled prophecy in noting that the good angels are "true byshops and preachers", while renouncing the evil angels as "heretykes and false preachers." 50

In contrast to Luther, Tyndale made no use of the imagery of the

---

The First Revision (1534) of William Tyndale's New Testament in English: title-page with facing portrait. Of the first edition of 1526, only two imperfect copies survive.
Turks as Magog, probably due to the fact that Turkish expansion was of no threat to England at all at that time. However, Tyndale quickly agreed with Luther (and others) that the Antichrist referred to the Roman Church in general and the pope in particular. Though he was strongly committed to the literal sense of all Scripture and the polemic use of history, he tended to view the Apocalypse as allegorical.\textsuperscript{51} He interpreted the Antichrist as a "spiritual thing."\textsuperscript{52} While he saw the current pope as the Antichrist, Tyndale would have viewed any pope as Antichrist. He showed virtually no interest at all in prophetic chronologies. In this sense Tyndale both typifies the English interest in, and resistance to, apocalyptic speculation.


Like Tyndale, Frith was one of the early English Protestant martyrs. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, and later became a fellow of Cardinal College (Christ Church). He was eventually imprisoned in 1528 for being in possession of books written by Wycliffe, Huss, and Luther. Later, he was released on the condition that he leave Oxford. He too went to Antwerp where he stayed with Tyndale and helped with his translation work.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1529 Frith published an English translation of Luther's De Anti-


\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., p. 42.

Epistle to the Christian Reader: Antithesis wherein are compared together Christ's acts and our Holy Father the Pope's." This epistle was based on the early Lutheran tract Passional Christi und Antichristi (1521), which contained twenty-six woodcuts by Hans Cranach comparing the deeds of Christ to those of the pope, with brief contrasts of Scripture with canon law. 54 The epistle also followed the Vita Antichristi of Nicholas of Lyra in an allegorical and non-apocalyptic interpretation of the Antichrist figure.

Frith's significant contribution was his providing, for the first time, an English translation of the Lutheran view of the corruption of the Roman Empire into the Roman Church. He wrote: "The tyrannye of the Pope did begynne after that the imperye of Rome began to decay... and is succedyd and entered in the stede of the imperye." 55

5. John Calvin (1509-1564).

The famous French Reformer, John Calvin (Jean Cauvin), was born in Noyon, France, in 1509. He studied theology at the University of Paris and law at the Universities of Orleans and Bourges. He studied Greek under Melchior Wolmar, a humanist with strong Protestant leanings. He also took lectures from Andrea Alciati, a humanist legal scholar at Bourges. 56

54 Ibid., pp. 80-86. Frith also published Patrick Hamilton's common place book on justification by faith, known as Patrick's Places and a later work of his own: A Disputation of Purgatory (1531).

55 Revelation of Antichrist (Antwerp: 1529), fol. xiiiV.

Like many of the early reformers he developed a humanistic interest in scholarship before his conversion to Protestantism. In that vein in 1532 he published a commentary on Seneca's De Clementia which emphasized the stoic doctrine of predestination. However, by 1533 it was clear that he had rejected Catholicism and was a thorough Protestant. During that year his friend Nicholas Cop was elected rector of the University of Paris and Calvin helped him prepare his rectoral address which attacked the Roman Church and demanded reform along the lines advocated by Luther. They were eventually run out of town and Calvin spent the next few years writing and running from place to place.

In 1534 Calvin (Figure 9) published his first theological work, Psychopannychia, an attack on the Anabaptist doctrine of soul sleep. In 1535 Olivetan's French translation of the Bible was published with a preface by Calvin. March 1536 he published the first edition of his now famous Institutes of the Christian Religion. This work was continually revised and expanded until his death in 1564. After two brief stays at Strasbourg (France), he eventually settled at Geneva (Switzerland) where he made his greatest impact on the Protestant Reformation. Here he wrote twenty-three commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, hundreds of letters, and preached almost daily. He held no political

Figure 9

A portrait of John Calvin.
office and did not even become a citizen of Geneva until 1559 (nearly twenty years after his arrival). Nevertheless, he dominated the city in an attempt to make it a Christian commonwealth and a haven for Protestant refugees from all over Europe.

a. Calvin's Influence.

Calvin's influence on the English Reformers can be traced to his supplying pastors for the French congregation in London, which benefited from the good will of the English authorities. He also wrote extensively to the Duke of Somerset, Protector of England during the reign of King Edward VI, who was still a boy. In 1548 Calvin wrote a dedicatory epistle to the Duke in his commentary on the Pastoral Epistles. He later recommended Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer who were appointed Regius Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, respectively. However, it was during the Marian exile that John Knox and his English congregation fled to Geneva to escape the wrath of "Bloody Mary." It was here that Knox came totally under Calvin's influence and it was also in this city that William Whittingham (later to become Dean of York) and others worked on the translation of the Geneva Bible, which was eventually published in 1560 shortly after

---


59 For details, see the interesting study of P. M. J. McNair, "Peter
Mary's death and Elizabeth's ascension to the throne of England. 60

It was during this time that Calvinistic theology was making an
calculable impact on England. Not only had the teaching of Peter
Martyr, Martin Bucer and Henry Bullinger paved the way, but the return
of the 233 Geneva exiles, bringing with them the Geneva Bible, gave
England a taste of biblical theology of total reformation. Kendall notes:
"There is no doubt that the returning exiles paved the way for Calvin's
deepening influence on the Church of England." 61 It was also during
this period that those advocating thorough reform of the Church of Eng-
land came to be known as "Puritans." 62

b. Calvin's Eschatology.

From his student days Calvin shared Erasmus's reservation concerning
the proper use of the Book of Revelation and deliberately avoided
writing a commentary on the Apocalypse. While he accepted it as a can-
onical, his references to it are cautious, to say the least. However,
Firth is to be credited with the observation that Calvin made clear state-
ments about the Antichrist and the end of the world in his commentaries

60 The most detailed account of the Geneva Bible and the Geneva ex-
iles is found in L. Lupton, The History of the Geneva Bible, 12 vols.
(London: The Olive Tree, n.d.). He makes several references throughout
Vol. 5 on the impact of apocalyptic thought in the Geneva Bible.

61 R.T. Kendall, "The Puritan Modification of Calvin's Theology," in
John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World, p. 200.

62 Cf. L.J. Trinterud (ed.), Elizabethan Puritanism (New York: Ox-
ford University Press, 1971) and P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan
on Paul's letters to the Thessalonians and in his sermons on the book of Daniel. 63

In his commentary on Thessalonians, Calvin rejected the view that the Antichrist was to be interpreted as the pagan Roman Empire. Instead he saw the Antichrist not as an emperor, not a single pope, but as a succession of popes. He wrote: "All the marks by which the Spirit of God has pointed out antichrist appear clearly in the Pope; but their triennial antichrist has such hold on the foolish Papists that seeing they do not see." 64 He also argued that an age of apostasy would overcome the Roman Church before the coming of Christ. He warned: "The day of Christ will not come until the world has fallen into apostasy, and the rule of the Antichrist has held sway in the Church." 65

Calvin also followed Luther and other European commentators in identifying the political arm of Antichrist with the Turks. 66 However, he clearly stated that the spiritual Antichrist was fulfilled in the Papacy, which represented the full and final manifestation of the Antichrist (Figure 10). Thus, Calvin clearly placed the Reformation at the end of history as the final blessing of God before the end of all things. 67

63 Firth, op.cit., pp. 32-37.


65 Ibid., pp. 398-399.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., pp. 396-397.
Figure 10

The last of a series of contrasts between Christ and the Pope by Cranach the Elder, published in 1521. On the left, Christ ascends into heaven; on the right, the Pope plunges into hell.
In his commentary on Daniel, Calvin remained "officially" cautious. But in his sermons on Daniel 5-12, he was more outspoken. He drew parallels between Antiochus Epiphanes and the Antichrist's persecution of the true Church. He also placed the Antichrist's monarchy (the Papacy) in the line of succession after the four monarchies in the book of Daniel. In the Holy Roman Empire he saw the fulfillment of prophecy in his own time for it was built upon the foundation of the old Roman (imperial) Empire. He was convinced that the early Church was mistaken in its view that the Roman Empire was the Antichrist. Instead he was to be the Empire's false successor and usurper. To Calvin the Papacy was clearly the tyrant and false prophet of the last days.


Knox (Figure 11) became the leader of the Reformation in Scotland after his exile to Geneva. He had been educated at St. Andrews and was converted under Thomas Gilyem. He was also greatly influenced by the Lutheran George Wishart, a Scot who had been exiled to Germany and had recently returned to Scotland. Knox viewed Wishart as a "prophet of God" and modeled his own career after him. After Wishart's martyrdom in 1546, Knox accepted the call to be his successor.

---


He began preaching at St. Andrews Castle in Scotland but was later captured by the French and made a galley slave. In 1549, he was freed and returned to Scotland. However, upon the ascension of Mary Tudor ("Bloody Mary") to the throne of England in 1553, Knox fled to the Continent to meet with Calvin in Geneva and Bullinger in Zurich. At Calvin's urging he temporarily became pastor of the English congregation at Geneva. It was during these years of the Marian exile that the English Protestants began to view themselves as the "Church in the Wilderness." 71 It was also while he was in Geneva that Knox wrote The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women in 1558.

After Mary Tudor's death in 1559, Knox returned to Scotland and remained thereafter a key figure in the development of a new Church and a new government for Scotland. 72 He played a major role in drafting the Scots Confession (1560) and the Book of Discipline (1561). He violently opposed Mary Stuart ("Queen of Scots") and later preached at the coronation of her son, King James. His relationship to the Scottish Covenanters helped pave the way for Covenant theology becoming predominant among the Puritans. 73

71 This has now been observed in several important studies. C.F. Lupton, History of the Geneva Bible, op.cit., (vol. 5); Knott, The Sword of the Spirit, pp. 28-32; Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp. 36-48; and C.E. Hambrick-Stowe, The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 54-90. The latter traces the entire development of the Puritan theme of pilgrimage as emanating from the Genevan exiles and their influence upon subsequent generations of Puritans in both England and New England.


73 On the history and development of Covenant theology, see J. Macleod,
Knox's influence on Puritan eschatology came very early. During his years of exile, he identified the Roman Catholic Church as the "Synagogue of Satan," the "Mother of Confusion" and "Spiritual Babylon." He appealed to Scripture as the basis of his identification. He argued that the definition of the true Church was given in Scripture as the "immaculate spouse of Jesus." In an early sermon in Daniel 7, Knox argued that the fourth beast was the Roman Church. He further identified the pope as the "Man of Sin" and the Roman Church as the "Whore of Babylon." He concluded: "Yea I offer my selve, by word or wryte, to prove the Romane Church this day further degenerate from the puritie which was in the dayis of the Apostles, than was the Church of the Jews, when thei consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ."

It is different to ascertain the source of Knox's ideas. He certainly had been influenced by the Lutherans through Wishart and Barnes. Hugh Watt argues that Knox's interpretation of Daniel was unique to him, but such identifications can be traced back to Wycliffe. However, two

---


75 Quoted and discussed at length by Firth, op. cit., p. 115ff. Her extensive survey of Knox's eschatology is excellent and should be thoroughly consulted (pp. 111-132).

76 Knox, History, pp. 189-190.

77 Ibid., pp. 188-189.

78 See H. Watt, John Knox in Controversy (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950), passim. However, anti-Roman Catholic sentiment was certainly not new. Even some pre-Reformers held similar identifications of the pope and the Roman Church. See G. Strauss (ed.), Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation: A collection of Docu-
things are very clear: 1) Knox's view became immensely popular; 2) He viewed himself as a prophet of God. The Scotch Reformer wrote of himself: "God hath revealed unto me secretes unknown to the world, and also that he hath made my tongue a trumpet to forewarn realmes and nations." 79

Knox was later influenced by the writings of John Bale and in turn he influenced the thinking of Sir David Lindsay, who wrote the poem, Monarche in 1553. 80 In it Lindsay followed Carion's Chronicle, but adapted it to a Protestant format. He added to Daniel's four monarchies a "fyft Spirituall and Papall Monarchie" which he traced to Knox's sermon on Daniel 8. This identification later led to the "Fifth Monarchy" movement. 81 In his poem Lindsay accepted the Prophecy of Elias:

Quharethore, perturbe nocht thyne intent
To know day, hour nor moment
To God alone the day bane knowin
Qwhilk never was to none Angell sownin.
Nowbeit, be divers conjectouris
And principall Expositouris
Off Daniell and his Prophecie
And be the sentence of Elie
Sum Wryttaris hes the world devidit
In six ageis (as bene desidit

---


81 This movement reached its peak at the time of Cromwell and the English Civil War. For an excellent study see Tai Lii, Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973). He traces the rise of the Fifth Monarchy Movement with the increased Millennial expectation brought about by the Civil War, noting that Puritan Millenarianism became a dynamic force in Revolution.
Into Fasciculus Temporum
And Cronica Cronicarum
Bot, be the sentence of Elie
The world devidit is in thre:
As cunning Maister Carioun
Hes maid plan exposition...  
So be this compt, it may be kend
The world is drawne nei r ane end.  82

The expectation raised by Lindsay's Monarche was that a Heavenly
Kingdom would follow the collapse of the fourth empire (Rome) which was
now being viewed in its final stages as the Roman Church. He further
presented the idea of ultimate cosmic restitution and an immortality in
which everyone would be thirty-three years old!

Though Knox wrote less than the other Reformers, he greatly in-
fluenced the development of the Puritan apocalyptic tradition. He was
convinced that God would once again judge those nations that rejected Him
and bless those nations that obeyed Him. 83 He viewed the Bible as a
handbook of God's judgment and drew upon parallel circumstances to ex-
pect God's judgment in his own day as well.

In his last years Knox preached extensively on prophetic themes.
In 1571 he moved from Edinburgh to St. Andrews and preached on the
book of Daniel every day, applying various texts to current events and
particular persons. During that time he also published the last of his
pamphlets, An Answer to a letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie (1572). In
it Knox quoted from Joachim's commentary and defended the Protestant
acceptance of his ideas. He identified Joachim's time as that period

82 Monarche, lines 5264-5313. Quoted, but rearranged, by Firth,
op. cit., p. 179.

83 Knox, Answer to an Anabaptist, p. 408. See also the comments of
The Appellation of John Knox against the censure of the Scottish Church.

The portrait of Knox (right) was engraved by Hondius.
when: "began the taill of the Dragoun to draw the starres of heven to
the erth: Then began the fontanes which some tymes gave cleane and
wholesome watter to become bitter: yea to be turned unto blood."  

He quoted Joachim as identifying the great whore with the false
Church in Rome and contrasted it with the poor pilgrims who were the
ture Church. He further viewed the entire Reformation as the judgment
of God destined to bring the Roman Church into collapse and usher in the
Kingdom of God.


Bullinger (Figure 12) is best known as the successor to Zwingil
as leader of the Reformed Church in Switzerland. He was educated
at the School of the Brethren of the Common Life and at the University
of Cologne. Strongly influenced by the works of Erasmus, Melancthon
and Luther, he returned to Switzerland in 1523 to support Zwingli's
reformation at Zurich, eventually succeeding him in 1531. He performed
the functions of a bishop, presiding over the cantonal synod and even
the local school system.

He wrote several polemic works against the Anabaptists - Decades,
Diarium, Reformationsgeschicte - and helped write the Helvetic Confes-
sion of Faith. Always opposed to the radical Reformation, he even sup-
ported the English bishops against Thomas Cartwright's Presbyterianism.

84Knox, An Answer to a letter of a Jesuit named Tyrie (St. Andrews:
1572), DvV.

85See G.W. Bromiley, (ed.), Zwingli and Bullinger (Philadelphia,
Pa: Westminster Press, 1953); A. Bouvier, Henri Bullinger le successeur
de Zwingli (Paris: 1940); K. Keep, Henry Bullinger and the Elizabethan

86For a discussion of Bullinger's influence, see A.F.S. Pearson,
Figure 12

Heinrich Bullinger
A strong covenant theologian, he played a major role in the development of the English apocalyptic tradition because of the influence of his commentary on the book of Revelation and his warm hospitality to the Marian exiles.

Bullinger's commentary, known as *A Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse*, was very influential in England. Its success was due in part to the fact that it was dedicated to the English exiles. Based upon lectures given in 1555-56, Bullinger's commentary became the standard work on Revelation at that time. Its greatest impact, however, was made through the notes in the Geneva Bible which were heavily dependent upon it.

In his commentary, Bullinger emphasized the sovereignty of divine providence over the affairs of men. The suffering "saints" of the Apocalypse were the "truely elect." Thus, his interpretation fit perfectly with the martyrologists of Protestantism. He viewed the seals and trumpets as a prognostication of history, but he implied no prophetic sequence. Rather, he saw the persecutions of the seals and trumpets running concurrently throughout Church history. Beyond this, he was hesitant to speculate. However, where Bullinger hesitated, Bale rushed ahead.

---


87 The English edition was translated by John Daus and printed at London by John Day in 1561. It was later reissued in 1573. The original edition was published in Basle in 1557 and dedicated to the English exiles. For a discussion of Bullinger's influence see Firth, op.cit., pp. 80-91.


Educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, Bale renounced his Carmelite vows and openly advocated Protestant theology. An astute student of history, he wrote several plays under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell. He was the first English dramatist to write history plays combined with elements of a morality play. He used history to illustrate the failure of the Papacy and the need for reform. His plays reveal a great deal of interest in elaborately constructed historical patterns. In A Comedy Concerning Three Laws he developed a pattern based upon the laws of nature, bondage and grace. Natural law ruled the conscience, Mosaic law ruled in civil matters and Grace ruled among the elect. Bale envisioned these three laws encompassing seven ages of world history. Each period was corrupted by infidelity and only a small remnant remained faithful. The parallel of this scheme to later Plymouth Brethren dispensationalism is obvious but has been overlooked entirely.

In 1537, Bale translated a German play Pammachius, by Thomas Kirchmeyer, which dealt with the Antichrist. By 1541, he had read the commentaries of Joachim, Wycliffe, Lambert, Franck, and Meyer. From 1541 -

89 Cf. J. Harris, John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1940); H. McCusker, John Bale: Dramatist and Antiquary (Bryn Mawr: Haverford College, 1952); and Firth, "John Bale and the Two Churches," op. cit., pp. 32-68.


1547 he was in exile in Germany working on his own commentary on the Apocalypse, entitled, *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Figure 13). 92 He was widely read, quoting ancient church fathers as well as contemporaries. He clearly drew upon Joachim's view of Church history as a progression through seven periods of time from the death of Christ to the end of the world. He paralleled these periods with the seven seals of the Apocalypse. 93

| First Seal: | Apostolic, Christ = Rider on White Horse |
| Second Seal: | Persecution, Bloodthirsty prelates = Red Horse |
| Third Seal: | Era of Heresies, Satan = Rider on Black Horse |
| Fourth Seal: | Time of Papal Hypocrisy, Church of Antichrist = Pale Horse |
| Fifth Seal: | True Church = souls under the altar |
| Sixth Seal: | Earthquake = John Wycliffe; Reformation of the Church and conversion of the Jews |
| Seventh Seal: | Overthrow of Babylon and Antichrist |

In his explanation of the seals, Bale also made a distinction between the true Church and the false Church that was to make a lasting impression upon the Puritan movement. He identified the Roman Church as the Great Whore and the true Church as the Woman in the Wilderness, persecuted by the dragon. 94 Thus, the Church would come to be viewed as a pilgrim church already in the midst of tribulation. This imagery was readily adopted by the Genevan exiles and later by the Protestant dispensationalism: John Knox Press, 1958); C.C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1965). None of these works connects Bäle's thought with the development of dispensationalism!


93 Bale, *Image*, p. 312. See also Firth, op.cit., pp. 41-46.

94 This is a very different interpretation than is given by dispensationalists who view the woman as Israel (since she gave birth to the
The image of both churches as the Woman in the Wilderness and the Whore of Babylon (from John Bale: The second part of the image of both churches. London, 1550).
persion in general. Bale also interpreted the swarms of "locusts" as the hordes of the ecclesiastical papacy: cardinals, bishops, priests, monks and friars. He called the Antichrist the "Vicar of Satan." In the binding and loosing of the dragon, he rejected the medieval view that the Church was to bind Satan. Instead, Bale placed the defeat of the Antichrist and the binding of Satan in the future. Thus, he set the pattern for viewing the Reformation as the means of overthrowing the Antichrist (the Papacy) and bringing in the Kingdom of Christ.

For the most part, Bale was a historian, not a true apocalypticist. His real interest was in the past. However, he clearly saw the future as a projection of a sequence of past events and he certainly placed the Reformation at the end of history.

9. George Joyce (dates unknown).

George Joyce was an early advocate of the English Reformation. The dates of his birth and death are both unknown. He was educated at Peterhouse in Cambridge University, where he received his M.A. in 1517. He was also a close associate of Tyndale and was exiled in 1527 for heresy. Remaining in contact with Tyndale, Joyce resided for several years in Ger-


96 Image of Bothe Churches, pp. 326-350.
many and Holland. He actually superintended the distribution of Tyndale's Bibles printed at Antwerp. From the continent he published *On the Unity and Schism of the Ancient Church* (1534) and a commentary on Daniel (1545) based upon a compilation of several German writers, especially Melanchthon. 97

It was his extensive editing of the various expositions of Daniel that gave Joye an expertise in apocalyptic prophecies and as Firth notes: "prepared him to receive Osiander's further-reaching conclusions about the end of the world." 98 In his work on Daniel, Joye had made no attempt to correlate the prophecies of Daniel to those of Revelation, but at the end of his translation of Osiander's work, he adds his own speculation on the date of the end of the world. 99 Dating the abomination of the Beast as having begun in the year 287, during the reign of Diocletian, Joye then interpreted the 1,290 days of Daniel 12 as "angel's days" (or years). Adding the two dates together gave him the year 1577 as the date for the end of the world.

In 1548, Joye published his translation of Andreas Osiander's *Conjectures of the ende of the Worlde*. Osiander was a close friend and associate of Copernicus and was a member of a group of German Protestant astronomers, who like Carion, merged their interests in religion and science. 100 It is interesting to note that it was a scholar and scien-

---


98 Firth, op.cit., p. 61. She provides an excellent background on the relationship between Joye and Osiander via the latter's niece who was married to the Archbishop of Canterbury.


100 Osiander actually wrote the preface to Copernicus' *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (1542), in which he set forth the modern heliocen-
tist who opened the issue of speculation on future events. Osiander's *Conjectures* was one of the earliest works in English to use prophecy as a guide to historic chronology. Thus, prophecy became a tool for both periodization of past events and prediction of future events. 101

Basing his speculation on the fact that scripture warns that no man knows the "day nor hour" of Christ's return, Osiander pointed out that there was therein no prohibition against knowing the year of His coming! Joye was so impressed with Osiander's work that he said of his translation: "I have made thys latyne boke to speak English." 102

Osiander developed four basic conjectures designed to elucidate the final date of the end of the world. He openly stated that: "The first conjecture is taken out of Elie the Prophete, which the Jewes recite as out of the mouth of God." 103 He used Peter's reference to a thousand years being as a day to show the correspondence between Elias and the idea of the world-week. 104 His second conjecture was based on the correspondence of the second coming of Christ to the "days of Noah" (Matt. 24). Here, Osiander jumped to a highly speculative conclusion saying: "Christ seemeth not to compare only the qalyte but also the

---

101 *Carion's Chronicle* was not translated into English until 1550, when it was published at London. By 1560, both works had left a profound influence upon the English apocalyptic hermeneutic.

102 *Conjectures*, AiiV.

103 Ibid., Avv.

104 The world-week was a consolidation of the six ages of world history lasting 6,000 years and followed by a 1,000 year (golden) seventh age. This calculation eventually became the basis of the concept of 6,000 years of human history, followed by a Millennium of the Golden Age. Firth, op.cit.,
quantite of the tyme." He calculated that the amount of time from Adam to the Flood was 1,656 years and speculated that the time from Christ (the second Adam) to the last judgment would also be 1,656 years. Thus, the return of Christ was imminently near since the last days "must be shortened."

Osiander also calculated the thirty-three years of Christ's earthly life to be prophetic or "great" years, based upon the great year (or fiftieth year) of the Jubilees. By multiplying 33 times 50, Osiander came up with 1,650 years. To him, it was a perfect (minus six years) confirmation of the other calculation. He then paralleled the events of Christ's life to Church history. For example, since Jesus became lost in the Temple at age 12, $12 \times 50 = A.D. 600$, the time when the Mo-hammadens rose to power. At age 30 Christ began preaching. Thirty times fifty equals A.D. 1500, the very time of the Reformation!

In conformity to traditional Protestant interpretation Osiander viewed the Antichrist as the Roman Church in general and the pope in particular. He even noted that the Hebrew pronunciation of "Lateinos" (666) was "Rhomah." Following his lead Joye appended his own "con- jecture" by dating the end of the world at 1577.

During the 1540's Protestant interest in chronological speculation was growing. But Firth correctly observes that neither Joye nor Osiander

---

p. 63, also notes that Osiander followed earlier conjectures by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1486) which viewed the seventh age as a millen- nium of immortality.

105 Conjectures, Bi-Bii.
106 Ibid., Fiv.
107 Ibid., Gvii-Gviii.
represent the prevailing viewpoint of that era. Rather, they stand as an example of the kind of extreme speculation which would eventually characterize Puritan eschatology.


The Protestant historian and martyrologist, John Foxe, was educated at Oxford and became a fellow of Magdalen College in 1539. In 1548 he hosted John Bale in his home and developed a great interest in his views on the Apocalypse. He fled to the Continent upon Mary Tudor's accession in 1554. At Strasbourg he published a history of the Reformation entitled Commentarii Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum. He met with Edmund Grindal at Frankfort and John Bale at Basle. Grindal was recording stories of Protestant martyrs and Foxe translated these into Latin and published them in 1559. Upon his return to England, Foxe joined forces with John Day, a printer and published the first England edition of Actes and Monuments (popularly known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs) in 1563. 109

Foxe became crucial in the development of English apocalyptic thinking because of the immense popularity of Actes and Monuments, (Figure 14) which became second only to the Geneva Bible as the favorite book of English Christians of the sixteenth century. Christianson notes that the book became a "folk tradition in Foxe's own lifetime." 110

108 Firth, op.cit., p. 68.


110 Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, op.cit., pp. 30-45. He
Figure 14

The burning of Ridley and Latimer at Oxford in 1555. Cranmer, top right, awaits his turn. From Foxe's Actes and Monuments, 1563.
Accepting Bale's chronological framework for the Apocalypse, Foxe brought that framework to life in his massive case studies. He related the martyr stories with an apocalyptic framework based upon the Book of Revelation. He interpreted the binding of Satan as beginning with Constantine (c. 360) and ending a thousand years later in c. 1360. From that point onward, Satan was on the rampage again. In so doing, Foxe fixed Bale's chronology and carried it to a "higher level of an exactitude, demonstration, and popularity." 111 The two witnesses were viewed as Protestants and their three and one-half day demise was paralleled to the 3½ years in which the Council of Constance met, which condemned Hus.

Foxe's book fully depicted bishops, monks, and friars and the agents of Babylon, whereas the persecuted and simple Protestant preachers were representative of the true Church. There is no doubt that the overwhelming popularity of Foxe's book "sold" the apocalyptic schemata to the general public of Elizabethan England even more effectively than mere technical studies had done previously. Rejecting the reserve of Bishop Jewel and others, Foxe virtually convinced the entire Church of England that the pope was the Antichrist. Contemporary events, such as the excommunication of Elizabeth and the invasion of the Spanish Armada, only further confirmed the general apocalyptic expectation. 112

111 Christianson, ibid., p. 41.
112 On the influence of Puritan apocalyptic on England at this time, see W. Pierce, An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts (London: Barrow, 1908) and R. Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, op.cit., pp. 45-51.
CONCLUSION

The various elements of the apocalyptic tradition were assembled by the early Reformers with little emphasis upon a thematic structure of fulfilled prophecy in a succession of events. The Antichrist was generally interpreted to be the pope specifically, or the Roman Catholic Church in general. Most were agreed that the revelation of the Antichrist was an historical event fulfilled in their own times. On the Continent, Luther's identification of the pope as Antichrist was coupled with his understanding of the Turk as Gog. The influence of Carlon's Chronicle (including the Prophecy of Elias) emphasized the periodization of both prophecy and history that brought a proper understanding to the flow of history toward an apocalyptic finale.

The popular influence of Calvin and Knox further solidified the apocalyptic hope as an immediate reality. It was Bale and Bullinger, however, whose ideas most strongly influenced the eschatological tradition through the popular acceptance of Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible. The apocalyptic expectation was merged to an historical framework that gave it an even greater rationale for acceptance by the general English public. Thus, the stage was set for the full development of the Puritan apocalyptic hermeneutic which reached its peak in the late seventeenth century.
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS
IN CHAPTER ONE

1379  Wycliffe identifies the pope as the Antichrist in De Papa.
1498  Dürer's woodcuts of the Apocalypse.
1520  Luther identifies the pope as the Antichrist.
1529  Frith publishes an English translation of Luther's De Anti-
      christo.
1530  Luther's revised preface to the Apocalypse appears in the
      German Bible.
1535  Barnes' Vitae Romanorum Pontificum published.
      Tyndale executed near Brussels.
1536  Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion first published
      in Basle.
1546  Luther dies.
1547  Bale's The Image of Bothe Churches published in London.
1548  Joye's English translation of Osiander's Conjectures published
      in Antwerp.
1553  "Bloody" Mary Tudor becomes Queen Mary I of England.
      Knox flees Scotland for Geneva.
1556  Bullinger's A Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse published at
      Basel in Latin.
1558  Mary Tudor dies and Elizabeth I becomes Queen of England.
      Knox's First Blast of the Trumpet published.
1559  Knox returns to Scotland to initiate the Scotch Reformation.
1560  The Geneva Bible first published at Geneva by the Marian exiles.
      Estates Parliament abolishes Catholicism in Scotland.
1561  Mary Stuart ("Queen of Scots") arrives in Scotland from France.
1564  Calvin dies.
1567  James Stuart becomes King James VI of Scotland.
1571  Knox lectures daily on Book of Daniel at St. Andrews.
1572  Knox dies.
CHAPTER TWO
THE GENEVA BIBLE AND THE
POPULARIZATION OF THE PURITAN
APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC

The English exiles from the purge of Queen ("Bloody") Mary Tudor
(1516-1558), translated the Bible into English at Geneva, Switzerland,
and published it in 1560. 1 Known commonly as the Geneva Bible, it be-
came the immediate favorite of the English people. It was also known
as the "Breeches Bible" because of its rendering of Genesis 3:7 ("They
made themselves breeches" - AV, "aprons"). The translation was done at
Geneva by a committee of Protestant exiles, including William Whittingham
and possibly John Knox. The New Testament and Psalms appeared in 1557,
followed by a revised Psalter in 1559 and the whole Bible in 1560. It
was widely accepted by the English people and became the official Bible
of the Church of Scotland.

1For details on the history of the Geneva Bible, see the extensive
and voluminous work of Lewis Lupton, History of the Geneva Bible, 12
Hall, The Genevan Version of the English Bible (London: Presbyterian
Historical Society of England, 1957); W.J. Heaton, The Puritan Bible
(London: Francis Griffiths, 1913); S. Morrison, The Geneva Bible (Lon-
don: SPCK, 1955); C. Eason, The Genevan Bible: Notes on Its Produc-
tion and Distribution (Dublin: Eason & Son, 1937); J.D. Alexander, The
Genevan Version of the English Bible. Unpublished D. Phil. dissertation,
Oxford University, 1956. For briefer treatments cf. L.E. Berry, "Intro-
University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 1-38; S.L. Greenslade (ed.),
Cambridge History of the Bible (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1963), Vol. III, pp. 155-159; Geddes MacGregor, A Literary History of the
Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968), pp. 142-152; Hardin Craig, "The
Geneva Bible as a Political Document," Pacific Historical Review, III
(1938), pp. 40-49; J.I. Mombert, English Versions of the Bible (London:
Bagster, 1906), pp. 239-265; I.M. Price, The Ancestry of Our English Bi-
I. Historical Setting: 1550-1560

These were exciting years in Geneva. Calvin was writing his commentaries, Beza was working on the Greek text, French and Italian translations were being prepared, and the Marian exiles were hard at work on their English translation. Greenslade correctly remarks: "Geneva was humming with biblical scholarship." The translators, led by Whittingham, Gilby, and Samson, followed the Greek text of Stephanus with its collection of variants (Paris, 1550, and Geneva, 1551). They also had available Beza's Latin version of 1556 and Olivetan's French Bible, then under revision at Geneva.

The translation was substantially new, though the Pentateuch and the historical books were largely Tyndale's translation. The Apocrypha came from Beza's French revision of Olivetan and from Baduel's Latin translation. J.I. Packer has said of the quality of the Geneva Bible that its literary style was brisk mainstream English more akin to the Anglo-Saxon of Tyndale than the Latinized style of the King James Version. "The Geneva version," he observes, "was a far greater advance on the Great Bible, its immediate predecessor, than the Authorized was, or could be, on the Geneva." 3


A. The English Exiles at Geneva.

Following the lead of Sir William Stafford, the nobleman, the English exiles came to Geneva from Frankfort (Germany) in the fall of 1555, shortly after Calvin gained full control of the city. They had left England in 1553 at the ascension of Mary Tudor (Figure 1) to the throne. Because of her Roman Catholic sympathies she severely persecuted the Protestant believers in England. Many fled to the Continent during 1553-1554, and initially settled at Frankfort. However, they were never really happy there and welcomed the opportunity to move to Geneva.

During the early summer of 1555, John Knox and William Whittingham came to Geneva to request the removal of their flock there from Frankfort. They joined Sir William Stafford and his group in requesting a place of worship. Lupton notes that Calvin himself sponsored their claim to the city council. The entry for June 10, 1555, in the Registre de Conseil reads:

Jean Calvin has requested that certain Englishmen are desirous to repair hither for the sake of the Word of God, and asked that it may please the magistrates to open a church for them to preach and administer the sacraments. Decreed that we advise the selecting of a proper place of worship for the said English, and that the parties confer thereupon with Monsieur Calvin.


5Lupton, A History of the Geneva Bible, III, pp.10-11. He also notes that Calvin wished to retain the goodwill of the city council of Frankfort as well, and wrote the Epistle Dedicatory to them in the first edition of his Harmony of the Gospels (dated August 1, 1555). In it, Calvin clearly referred to the warm hospitality they had given the "exiles from England."

6Taken from Lupton, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 10. For other details of this period see the entries for 1554-56 in P.E. Hughes (ed.), The Regis-
Figure 1

QUEEN MARY.
In the meantime, Whittingham returned to Frankfort to organize the "exodus," while Knox briefly returned to Scotland to get a wife. In a letter dated September 2, 1555, Whittingham, who signed it "Your disciple," wrote Calvin: "This letter will scarcely reach you much sooner than I shall arrive myself. For I have sent off all my baggage and am hastening to you as speedily as possible." 7

On Sunday, October 13, 1555, Whittingham arrived with a contingent of twenty-seven English Calvinists from Frankfort. Within the week a cavalcade of French soldiers, returning from the wars in Italy, also arrived in Geneva on Saturday evening, October 19. They were led by Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who was destined to become the leader of the French Huguenots. On Sunday, October 20, the city council held a special session to welcome the visitors to the city. Calvin used the occasion to remind the councillors of their promise to allow the English to use St. Germain or Notre Dame-le-Neuve as a church.

1. The English Church Established at Geneva (1555).

By November 1, 1555, the English Church at Geneva was established. Christopher Goodman and Anthony Gilby were elected by the congregation to "preach the Word of God and minister the Sacraments" in the absence of John Knox. On December 16, William Williams and William Whittingham were elected Seniores. 8 Thus, the spirit of Presbyterianism (and Congregationalism) was born in the hearts of the English exiles who were finally
free to establish their own church.

On November 14, the Council of Geneva granted the church of Ste. Marie-le-Noue for the use of the English on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays. It was to be used by the Italians Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. On Sundays it was to be shared by both groups. The Council further provided a pulpit, pews, and a bell. On November 29, the two ministers took the required oath and were approved by the Council. They immediately wrote Knox in Scotland urging him to come to them, which he did in 1557, when Scotland allied with France in a war against England and Spain. The Scottish Parliament agreed to cede the throne to France as soon as Princess Mary ("Queen of Scots") would marry the Dauphin. Knox was again in exile for his life.

By comparing the lists in the Livre de Anglois with the Registre des Habitants, Lupton calculated the total number of English exiles at 212 persons. 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>(March) Sir William Stafford's party</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>(November) William Whittingham's group</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>Increased persecution brought a further</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>Height of persecution; maximum influx</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Queen Mary's illness &amp; death reduced flow to</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>English refugees went home; newcomers number only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names in Livre des Anglois, but not in list of Church members: 7

Names in Registre des Habitants but not in Livre des Anglois: 26

Total: 212


10 Lupton, op.cit., pp. 19-22. He also notes that they conducted 19 baptisms, 18 burials, and 9 weddings. Fifty names found in the Church Book do not appear at all in the city registry and probably should be regarded as temporary residents.
2. Whittingham's Early Writings (1556-57).

1556 was also an exciting year in Geneva. In response to a letter from Viceroy Villegagnon at Fort Coligny in Rio de Janiero, Calvin sent fourteen men to serve the French colony in Brazil. That same year several more English exiles arrived in Geneva. These included James Pilkington, formerly one of King Edward's Protestant preachers and later Bishop of Durham; Robert Beaumont, later Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University; the writer John Scory, formerly Bishop of Rochester, who had printed an Epistle wrytten unto all the faythfull that be in pryson in Englande (1555); Thomas Samson, the nonconformist, formerly Dean of Chichester and subsequently Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; and Rowland Hall, the printer of the English Geneva Bible.

That same year, William Whittingham (1524-1579) published four volumes: English and Latin versions of the Forme of Prayers, a Latin edition of Ridley's A Brief Declaration, and an English translation of Beza's work on predestination. In his spare time he married Calvin's wife's sister, Catherine Jacquemaine, of Orleans, France, on November 15, 1556. 11

Unhampered by political intervention, Whittingham became the principal, if not the sole, translator of a duodecimo English New Testament (Figure 2) published on June 10, 1557, by Conrad Badius of Geneva. A graduate of Oxford, Whittingham added introductions to the various books of the Bible, along with chapter and verse divisions, as well as "profitable annotations of all harde places" (from the title page). 12

11Geddes MacGregor, op.cit., pp. 142-143, quotes this relationship as fact, calling Whittingham "Calvin's brother-in-law." Lupton, op.cit., p. 33, however, is careful to point out the problems with this identification, though it is probably correct. The marriage was recorded in the Livre des Anglois.

12Quoted at length in MacGregor, op.cit., p. 143. He notes that be-
Figure 2

GOD BY Tyme Restoreth Truth and Maketh Her Victorious.

'Truth' emerging from her cave. Imprint of John Knoblauhs of Strasburg.

'Time' designed by Tny (see mark) for Simon de Colines. These two marks were combined for Basius.

Woodcut from William Marshall's Goody Pryme in Englyshe, 1535.

Motif: Father Time releases the naked Truth
was also the first to use italics for words that were not in the Greek. Thus, though there was never another edition of his New Testament, Whittingham's innovations proved both convenient and popular and set the stage for the format of the Geneva Bible. The Preface, "The Epistle Declaring that Christ is the end of the Lawe," was written by Calvin in French and translated into English by Whittingham himself.

B. Continental Reformers at Geneva.

1. John Calvin.

Calvin (Figure 3) died just four years after the publication of the Geneva Bible, yet his influence is everywhere evident in it. In July 1557, Calvin's Commentary on the Psalms first appeared and left a marked impression on the English exiles and spurred them on in their efforts to translate the entire Bible. They were hard at work on both a regular translation of the Psalms and a metrical version for use in worship. Of the latter, Older 124th is the most famous. The tune was originally composed by Louis Bourgeois for Beza's Psalter of 1551 and Whittingham's newly printed English version was sung in triumph by the exiles at the news of Mary's death in 1558.

Now Israel may say, and that truely
If that the Lord had not our cause mainteinde,
If that the Lord had not our right susteinde
When all the worlde against us furiously,
Made their uproares, and sayd we should all dye.

Now long agoe, they had devoured us all,
And swallowde quicke, for oght that we colde deme,
Suche was their rage, as we might wel esteme,

low the title is a woodcut representing Time drawing Truth out of a well, with the words: "God by Tyme restoreth Truth and maketh her victorious." The symbol combines those of Simon de Colines and Knoblauchs, both related to Badius, the printer, by marriage.
Figure 3

CALVIN.
And as the floods with mightie force do fall,
So had they now our life even broght to thrall.

The raging streames most loud in roaring noyce,
Had long ago overthrownde us in the depe,
But loved be God which doeth us safely kepe,
From bloodie teeth and their moste cruel voyce,
Which as a prey to eate us wolde rejoyce.

Even as the birde out of the foulers gren,
Escapthe away, right so it fareth with us;
Broke are their nettes and we have scaped thus,
God that made heaven and earth is our helpe then,
His name hath saved us from these wicked men.

The 1557 Psalter was born in persecution and bitterness, but the
1559 Psalter was produced in joy and hope. In the translators' preface
to Queen Elizabeth they announced: "Here shal you beholde the state of
the churche, continually persecuted and yet miraculously preserved." 13

Calvin's influence upon the English exiles can be further noticed
in the prefatory remarks and the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible.
These were largely derived from the French Bible, revised by Calvin and
published at Geneva in 1558. As expected, the marginal notes strongly
reflect Calvinist theology. 14 The notation on Romans 9:15, reads: "As
the onlie wil & purpose of God is the chief cause of election & repro-
bation: so his fre mercie in Christ is an inferior cause of salvacion
& the hardening of the heart, an inferior cause of damnacion." 15 In

13 The entire preface is quoted by Lupton, A History of the Geneva

14 Greenslade, op.cit., p. 158, notes that a later edition in 1576
by Lawrence Tomson revised the New Testament notes to further strengthen
the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and Presbyterian polity. He
especially calls attention to the expansion of the comments on Ephesians
4:11 and I Timothy 5:17.

15 All quotes from the Geneva Bible are taken from The Geneva Bible:
A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition, with an Introduction by L.E. Berry
the Preface, following the Dedicatory Epistle, the translators refer to those "whose learning and godlyness we reverence" who had encouraged them in the project.

Calvin's influence on the Geneva Bible can also be seen in the dependence of the annotations on his Commentary on Genesis, which had first been published at Geneva in 1554. The notes, the spellings of Hebrew words and even the map of the four rivers of paradise all derive from Calvin's commentary. Even the infamous "breeches" rendering of Genesis 3:7, which had been used in earlier English translations as "brechis," but was changed to "apurns" by Tyndale, followed Calvin's commentary where he said: "They made themselves breeches or apurns."

Lupton gives the following examples of the dependence of the Geneva Bible upon Calvin's Commentary on Genesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENEVA BIBLE NOTES</th>
<th>CALVIN'S COMMENTARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 1:11 Let the earth budde...</td>
<td>Calvin: &quot;the same was not naturally apt to bring forth any thing: neither did it beginne to budde untill the mouth of the Lorde was opened.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;so the we se it is the onely power of Gods worde that maketh ye earth fruteful, which els naturally is barren.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 1:16 two great lightes...</td>
<td>Calvin: &quot;If so be an Astronomer seeke the true proportiones of the starres: he shall find that the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;To wit, the sunne and the moone: &amp; here he speaketh as man judgeth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969). The spellings have been retained, except that s is not rendered f, and the u that represents v is rendered v.


by his eye: for els the moone is lesse than the planete Saturnus.

Moone is lesse than the Starre called Saturne. But this is hid-den: for it appeareth otherwise to our eyes. Therefore Moses rath-er frameth himselfe to common use.

Genesis 2:9 the tre of knowledge of good and evil. "That is of mis-erable experience, which came by disobeying God."

Calvin: Therefore knowledge is taken abusedly in evil part for miserable experiment, which man brought upon himself in depart-ing from the only wel of perfect wisdome. And this is the begin-ning of free wil."

On some matters, however, the English translators differed with Calvin. In Genesis 3:15, Calvin saw no reference to Christ (the proto evangeliun), while the Genevan editors produced a translation that shows that they did. The Bishops Bible rendered: "it shall tread downe thy head, and thou shalt tread upon his heele." The Genevan translators changed "tread" to "bruise" (following the Genevan Frenchbrisera) which was then taken by the King James Version: "it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heele." However, the earlier Genevan Bible renders the verse: "He shall breake thine head, & thou shalt bruise his heele." The Christological interpretation was strengthened by the ren-dering "He."

In the realm of eschatology the translators were influenced by Calvin as is evidenced by Gilby’s translation of his commentary on Daniel in 1570. However, since Calvin did not write a commentary on the Apocalypse, the exiles leaned heavily upon the ideas of John Bale, who visited them at Geneva in 1558. 18 While the note on Revelation 13:8

18 Lupton, ibid., Vol. V, p. 31. He traces the interconnecting in-fluence of Bale, Foxe, and Jean Crespin in their apocalyptic interest in martyrlogies. He notes that several planned martyrlogies of the Marian purge were dropped at her death and that only Foxe continued his work at
reflects Calvin's argument for a historical Antichrist, Knox followed Bale's eschatology implicitly, going so far as to make Augustine's two cities and Bale's two churches into two opposing armies. 19 He wrote: "to ye ende shall remaine two armies...whom God in his eternal counsell hath so divided, that betwixt them there continueth a battell, which never shal be reconciled, untiill the Lord Jesus put a finall ende to the miseries of his Church." 20 Thus, the militance of the Scotch and Puritan reformation was based in their understanding of the Apocalypse itself.


A native of France, Beza (Figure 4) studied at the Universities of Orleans and Bourges and practiced law in Paris. He later taught Greek at Lausanne for ten years. In 1559 he moved to Geneva and became the first rector of the Academy founded by Calvin. In 1564 he succeeded him as the leader of the Protestant movement in Geneva. Already a recognized scholar, Beza became one of the leading theologians of Europe. He is known for his strict (supra-lapsarian) view of limited atonement and double predestination which also dominated the Puritan movement through the influence of William Perkins (1558-1602). 21 Beza is also known as

---

19 Katherine Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 123, observes: "Calvin's followers were not hindered by his reluctance, and through the Geneva Bible and other works of exiles like Knox and Goodman the apocalyptic tradition became part of British Calvinism."

20 John Knox, Answer to an Anabaptist, printed by Jean Crespin (Geneva: 1560). The one army he saw was the "Church of God" (the elect spouse of Christ) and the other was the "Synagogue of Satan" (Babylon, which is doomed without hope of repentance).

21 See the excellent (and controversial) study of R.T. Kendall, Cal-
the progenitor of Presbyterian polity, which influenced the thinking of Thomas Cartwright, who recommended such in his lectures on Acts 2 at Cambridge in 1570. His call for the abolition of bishops led to his ejection from the university and he fled to Geneva (of course)!

Beza's most significant influence upon Puritan apocalyptic thought came from his emphasis on the future conversion of the Jews to Christ. Himself influenced by Augustine and Luther's historicist approach to the Apocalypse, Beza believed that near the end of the Church Age, large numbers of Jews (possibly the whole nation) would be converted to Christianity and usher in an age of great blessing. This was later developed into a theology of "latter-day glory" by the Puritan divines Brightman, Perkins, Gouge, Cotton, and Owen. They foresaw this spectacular era following the collapse of the Roman papacy and the conversion of the Jews. In time it developed into what was to become known as postmillennialism. 

\[\text{vin and English Calvinism to 1649 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 29-41. His thesis is that Perkins borrowed the Bezan and Heidelberg theory of the assurance of faith based on works and departed from Calvin's doctrine of faith. Thus, the entire Puritan movement followed the Perkins/Beza scheme, thinking that it was in fact Calvin's doctrine.}\]


\[\text{23 Peter Toon (ed.), \textit{Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600 to 1660} (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970), p. 6, observes that the "modified Augustinian historicist approach to eschatology probably owed its origin to the influence of Beza's Notes on the New Testament, in which he interpreted Romans 11:25ff. as meaning the future conversion of the Jewish people to Christ."}\]

\[\text{24 On the historical development of Postmillennialism, until Jonathan Edwards and Timothy Dwight, see J.W. Davidson, \textit{The Logic of Millennial}\}
Interest in the Jews was on the increase in England and Europe during the time of Beza because of the full rediscovery of Hebrew studies in the Protestant universities. In 1549, Paul Fagius, a German, was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at Cambridge. He was later succeeded by John Immanuel Tremellius, a converted Jew. Rabbinical commentaries by Rashi, Kimchi, Ibn Ezra, and others soon became available in English and shed further light on the biblical text. It also made the old rabbinic theories about the end of the world more acceptable to the reformers.

While Luther and Calvin had taken the term "Israel" in Romans 11, to refer to the Church (of Jews and Gentiles), Beza favored the interpretation that it referred to national Israel (non-Christian Jews). He was definitely followed by the editors of the Geneva Bible, who favored his view over that of Calvin. The original notes of the 1557 New Testament and the 1560 Geneva Bible clearly state that by Israel is meant "the whole nation of ye Jewes" which eventually shall be "joyned to the Church." A further note in the 1599 edition expanded the comment to


26 Geneva Bible: Facsimile Edition, fol. TT ii. This viewpoint has been debated at length by millennial commentators and still remains very strong today. Cf. the comments of A. Hoekema, The Bible and the Future (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979) and contra, C.L. Feinberg, Millennialism: The Two Major Views (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980). On the interpretation
include the idea that the future conversion of the Jews was also predicted by the Old Testament prophets. Thus, through Beza's influence, the Puritan "hope" of the conversion of the Jews at the end of the age stimulated the entire Protestant-Calvinist missionary enterprise.

3. The Genevan Printers.

Because of the impact of Calvin and the Protestant Reformation, Geneva became the Christian publishing capital of Europe during the sixteenth century. Books had been printed there as early as 1478, so that the industry had been established about half a century when the Reformation hit in 1536. Lupton correctly observes: "If Geneva had not adopted the Reformation and acquired the services of Calvin, her printing industry would have remained subservient to that of Lyons, but when the city grew to be the Protestant capital it also became a great centre of printing."


27 See the comments of Toon, op. cit., p. 24. He notes: "Through this Bible and the writings of the Puritans (e.g. William Perkins' Commentary of Galatians, and various books by Hugh Broughton) the doctrine of the conversion of the Jewish people was widely diffused in England, Scotland and New England." Iain Murray, The Puritan Hope: A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy (London: Banner of Truth, 1971) notes that Bucer and Peter Martyr, who taught at Cambridge and Oxford, respectively, promoted the same idea during the reign of Edward VI. However, Peter Martyr's Commentary Upon Romans was not published in English until 1568. Nevertheless, it strongly influenced the thinking of Broughton and Perkins.

28 Lupton, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 61. His discussion of Genevan printing is remarkable and should be thoroughly consulted, pp. 60-146. It is probably fair to say that no one has ever studied the detailed minutia of the printing of a book to the extent that Lupton has examined every detail of the Geneva Bible!
As early as 1533, Pierre de Wingle fled to Geneva from Lyons and printed one of Bucer's works. In 1535 he moved to Neuchatel where he published the first edition of Olivetan's French Bible. By 1537, the German printed, Wigand Koeln, published Calvin's first catechism and confession of faith in Gothic/type. Jean Girard set up his press in the city in 1536 and abandoned black letter for roman type and eventually published more than forty of Calvin's works in the new format. Jean Crespin arrived in Geneva in 1548, followed by Conrad Badius in 1550 and Robert Estienne in 1555.

Between 1550-1562 the crescendo of Calvinistic literature reached its apex at Geneva. There were now sixty printers at work on 34 presses. Estienne owned five himself. Students and refugees made up a virtual "army" of editors, proofreaders, and apprentices. Theological books were generally published in Latin and polemical works in French. English works were limited to the Scriptures and a number of polemic tracts, including Knox's infamous First Blast of the Trumpet. 29

a. Robert Estienne (d. 1559).

Estienne (Figure 5) was himself the son of a printer from Paris named Henri Estienne. His wife, Perette, was the sister of Conrad Badius who published Whittingham's English New Testament in 1557. As one of the official publishers for the University of Paris, his entire life revolved around books. He is important in the history of the Geneva Bible for several reasons. He confined his type choices to roman, italic, Greek, and Hebrew. He was the first printer to develop the modern use of

29 Published at Geneva in 1558 with neither the author (Knox) nor the printer (Crespin) named!
Figure 5

Portrait of Robert Estienne from Bessa's Icones.

Estienne on Horse Back
italics. Lupton notes that he personally invented the practice of italicizing biblical words not found in the original languages, thus setting the format of both the Geneva Bible and the King James Version. 30 The use of roman and italic type also allowed Estienne to simplify printing and reduce the size of printed Bibles. His Latin Bible contained only maps, diagrams, and a few illustrations of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple. Thus, he set the standard-size format for the various Bibles published at Geneva.

Estienne's publishing efforts at Geneva included the final version of Calvin's Institutes, Beza's Latin New Testament, and his own fourth Greek New Testament, known as Editio Regia, from which the Textus Receptus is derived. It served as the Greek text of both the Geneva Bible and the Authorized King James Version. It also contained a printed critical apparatus to check variant readings. A further unique feature of his Greek Testament was the division of the text into numbered verses.

Stephen Langton (d. 1228), Archbishop of Canterbury, had earlier divided the Bible into chapters, and the Dominican Cardinal, Hugo de Sancto Caro, following Langton, further divided the chapters into paragraphs in 1248. Verse divisions were first introduced by Sanctes Paginus of Lucca in 1493. 31 However, Estienne's system was entirely new and has prevailed until this day. According to his son, he made the verse divisions in one

30 Lupton, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 67. He notes that Estienne produced very few illustrated books, but depended upon the beauty of typography, classical margins, excellent press work, and good paper to attain quality publishing. Lupton observes: "As long as printers were thinking in terms of great folios printing retained an almost barbaric splendour." Lupton's love affair with the Geneva Bible led him to adopt Estienne's Olive Tree symbol as his own (p. 68).

31 On the historical development of chapter and verse divisions see Lupton, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 75-77.
of his own smaller editions of the Latin Bible while riding on horse-
back from Paris to Lyons! His folio French Bible (1553) and third
octavo Latin Bible (1553) were the first complete Bibles to have numbered verse divisions throughout.

b. Jean Crespin (d. 1572).

The Flemish printer, Crespin, had been a lawyer by trade, until he fled to Geneva in 1548. It was there that Crespin turned to printing. He was an ardent, even fanatical, follower of Calvin, who knew first-hand the turmoil, suffering and persecution of the reformers. He developed an early interest in Protestant martyrs, watching the heroic death of Claude the Painter at Paris in 1540. He greatly influenced Foxe in the study of martyrologies and published his own Actes des Martyrs in French in 1555 and Actiones et monimenta martyrum in Latin in 1560. His Actes des Martyrs became to the French Huguenots what Foxe's book of martyrs was to the English Puritans. The French Catholic leaders even accused the French Protestants of wishing to die just to obtain a place in the book!

Crespin's first publishing venture had been a Latin edition of Calvin's Catechism in 1550. His other works included Spanish, Latin and Greek New Testaments. It was in the area of controversial and polemic tracts that he served the English exiles. Having published the rather standard Forme of Prayers in 1556, he turned to printing several revolu-

---

32 In a letter to Calvin, dated July 12, 1546, he wrote: "You are the object of all my thoughts and all my sighs; you make all my joy whether I am at home or abroad...May our Lord Jesus Christ allow me to join you soon, with my wife and daughter, the companions of my misfortunes." Quoted in Lupton, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 79. Later (p. 97ff.) he notes that Crespin saw several of his own friends die for the Reformed faith in France.
tionary tracts by Christopher Goodwin, John Knox, and Anthony Gilby. Although Crespin printed neither Whittingham's New Testament nor the original English Geneva Bible, he did serve as the chief printer for the English exiles with whom he was in total sympathy. Later, in 1570, he would publish a third edition, a small quarto, of the English Geneva Bible, which would be the most Genevan of all the Geneva Bibles.

c. Conrad Badius (d. 1562).

Conrad Badius was also the son of a printer, Josse Ascensius Badius, who had formerly been a professor of Latin at Lyons. The elder Badius married the daughter of Jean Trechsel, the leading printer of the city, from whom he learned the trade that he would pass on to his son. He published nearly 800 books, including Latin grammars and classics and the works of Erasmus. A scholar, as well as a printer, his influence was unparalleled. All three of his daughters married printers, one of which was Robert Estienne, who raised Conrad in his own home in Paris after his father's death in 1534.

By 1540 Conrad had been converted and left for Basle to study under the Greek scholar Simon Grynaeus, who took him to the Diet of Worms, where they lodged in the same house with Calvin and Melanchthon. Later, he would meet Jean Crespin and Theodore Beza in Paris, where in 1548, he published

---

33 The tracts included C. Goodman, How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of theyr subjects (Geneva: John Crespin, 1558); J. Knox, The Copie of a letter delivered to the laidie Marie, regent of Scotland (Geneva: James Poullian, 1558); J. Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (Geneva: 1558); J. Knox, The Appellation of Johne Knoxve from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clergie of Scotland (Geneva: 1558); A. Gib- by, An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to repentance (Geneva: 1558); J. Knox, An Answer to a great number of blasphemous civillations written by an Anabaptist (Geneva: John Crespin, 1560).
Beza's *Poemata* but by 1550, both he and Beza had fled to Geneva. It was there that he would become one of Calvin's major publishers. Here he enjoyed the freedom of the Reformation and remarked of the thousands of refugees in the city that there was "nobody more happy than these miserable men" who had escaped the wrath of both Satan and the pope! 34


He also published several of Calvin's sermons, which were little edited by the reformer, and of which he admitted: "I would never have been allowed to print them had I not begged and pleaded many times, and had I not pressed and made a thorough nuisance of myself." 35

On June 10, 1557, Badius published the English New Testament (Figure 2) which was the first English Testament to have numbered verses. Similar in format to his French Testament, it was small in size and easy to carry. It was a perfect book for the English exiles and served as the forerunner of the Geneva Bible. Both the inner and outer margins were used for annotations, one for Scripture references, the other for explaining the text. It also included the use of italics for words not rendered

34 From the "Epistle Dedicatoire" to the *Pageant of Popes*, a 1574 translation of John Bale's *Acto Pontificum Romanorum*, translated into French by Conrad Badius in 1561.

in the original languages. He had known William Whittingham well, even serving as a witness at his wedding to Catherine Jacquemaine in 1556, just six months before the publication of the English New Testament. Badius later unwisely returned to Orleans in March of 1562, only to die there later that year during the seige of the city by the king's armies.

II. Literary Genius of the Geneva Bible.

Published at Geneva on April 10, 1560, by Rowland Hall, himself an English exile, the Geneva Bible was immediately recognized as being superior to the previous English translations. It was the first such translation based strictly upon the Hebrew and Greek texts. The Genevan scholars, led by William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and William Cole, were the first English translators to employ exacting and scrupulous methods in carefully checking their translation against the original languages. Later, one of the members of the congregation, John Bodley (Figure 6) (founder of Oxford's famous Bodleian Library), obtained from Queen Elizabeth the exclusive rights to publishing the Geneva Bible in England.

---

36 Interestingly, little is known of Hall's personal life. He had come to Geneva in 1556, but is not recorded as having a wife or family. He certainly remained in Geneva after the other exiles left in 1559 in order to complete the publishing of the Geneva Bible in 1560. He was assisted by William Kethe and three students who were studying at the Academy in Geneva: Charles Williams, David Lindsay, and Peter Young. John Barron was also there seeing Knox's book on predestination through the press (published by Crespin in 1560). By 1562, Hall was back in London, where he and Thomas Hackett published The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva in English.

Figure 6

SIR THOMAS BURLEY.
The new translation introduced several influential innovations into English Bible publishing, which had been learned from the Genevan printers. It was the first English Bible to use roman letter type, numbered verse divisions, and italics for words not found in the original. Its popularity was enhanced by its convenient tables, maps, woodcuts, and marginal annotations (Figure 7). In many ways it was a book-length polemic tract! Unlike the earlier folio editions, the Geneva Bible was published in quarto, making it easier to carry and handle. It was, in its day, a thoroughly "modern" Bible.

In his "Preface" to the Facsimile Edition, Lloyd Berry notes that the Geneva Bible combined "impeccable scholarship with remarkable felicity of style." It became the family Bible of the English people during that time period, replacing the Great Bible (1540) and always outselling the Bishop's Bible (1568). In fact, it outsold the Authorized Version (1611) for an entire generation. It was also the first Bible printed in Scotland (at Edinburgh in 1579). The marginal notes made the Geneva Bible extremely popular and served as a people's hermeneutic. F.F. Bruce observes: "They learned much of their biblical exegesis from these notes."

---

38 This is discussed at great length by Lupton, op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 60-171, and is summarized here on pp.


40 F.F. Bruce, The English Bible (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 90. Greenslade, op.cit., p. 175, remarks that in both England and Scotland the majority "welcomed its strong Protestantism, even its Calvin-
THE REVELATION
of John the Divine.

THE ARGUMENT.

It is manifest, that the whole God wold as it were gather into this most excellent booke a forme of those prophaxies which were written before; but should be fulfilled after the coming of Christ; adding also suche things as should be expedient, & fuch to forewarn the of the dangers to come, as to admonish vs to beware thereof, and encourage us against others. Herein therefore is fully set forth the Doctrines of Christ, & the testimonies of our receiveth: what things the Spirit of God allowed in the ministrants, and what things he repeatheth: the providence of God for his elect, and of his grace and conformation in the day of vengeance: how that the impotency which staid long time the members of Christ shall be destroyed, but the Lamb Christ shall defend them, which bear witness to the truth, which in despite of the beast and Satan will reign over all. The just description of Antichrist is set forth, whose time and power notwithstanding is limited, and all that he is permitted to rage against the elect, yet his power stretcheth no further than to the hurt of his own, and at lengths shall be destroyed by the wrath of God, when as the elect shall come praiseth to God for the victory. Nevertheless for a season God will permitt this Antichrist, and thumpeth under colour of pure election and pleasant doctrine to deceive the world: wherefore he adorneth the giddie (which are but a small portion) with amidst their lusts, and brings with a grace without mercy they shall die, and with the heathen doth distill continual prejudice:for the Lamb is married the words of God hath gotten the victors: Said is that a long time was vnted, is now cast with his ministers into the pit of fire to be tormented for ever, where at one instant the faithful (which are the holy City of Jerusalem, & wife of the Lamb) shall enjoy perpetual peace. Read diligently these things and call earnestly to God for the true understanding hereof.

CHAP. I.

The cause of this revelation. 1. Of them that read it. 2. A description of the seven Churches. 3. The majesty and office of the Sonne of God. 4. The vision of the candlesticks and harpies.

In the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants what things must shortly be done, which he sent, and shewed by his Angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the words of God, and of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he said.

Blessed is he that readeth, and he that heareth the words of this prophecy, and keepeth those things which are written therein: for the time is at hand.

John, to the seven Churches which are in Asia, Grace be with you, and peace from God which is, and which was, and which is to come, even the Almighty.

I John, the brother of Jesus Christ, to the seven Churches which are before his throne,

And from Jesus Christ, which is a faithful Witness, and the firstborn of the dead, and the Prince of the Kings of the earth, to him that loved vs, and washed vs from our sins in his blood,

And made vs Kings and Priests unto God even his Father, to him be glory, and dominion for evermore. Amen. Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him; and all nations shall worship him before him, even so, Amen.

I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, even the Almighty.

I John, the brother of Jesus Christ, to the seven Churches which are before his throne,

And from Jesus Christ, which is a faithful Witness, and the firstborn of the dead, and the Prince of the Kings of the earth, to him that loved vs, and washed vs from our sins in his blood,

And made vs Kings and Priests unto God even his Father, to him be glory, and dominion for evermore. Amen.

Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him; and all nations shall worship him before him, even so, Amen.

I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, even the Almighty.

I John, the brother of Jesus Christ, to the seven Churches which are before his throne,

And from Jesus Christ, which is a faithful Witness, and the firstborn of the dead, and the Prince of the Kings of the earth, to him that loved vs, and washed vs from our sins in his blood,

And made vs Kings and Priests unto God even his Father, to him be glory, and dominion for evermore. Amen.

Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him; and all nations shall worship him before him, even so, Amen.

I am the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, even the Almighty.
For the most part, the notes were accepted uncritically by the general public (much as the notes in the Scofield Reference Bible were earlier this century). In all, the Geneva Bible went through 140 editions, sixteen of them after the printing of the Authorized Version in 1611.

The influence of the Geneva Bible was felt in England, Scotland, and America. It was the most popular Bible of its day, outselling and outliving both the Great Bible (1539) and the Bishop's Bible (1566). It was the first Bible ever printed in Scotland and was authorized as the official Bible of the Kirk of Scotland. It was also the Bible of the Pilgrims and made the trip to the New World in 1620 on the Mayflower (the original still resides in the Harvard University Library). William Whitaker of Jamestown, Virginia, preached from the Geneva Bible even earlier. William Strachey, secretary of the Virginia Company, used it in writing his history of Virginia in 1609. 41 It was also the version used by Shakespeare, Bunyan, and Milton. In all of their writings, the phrasing of the Geneva Bible can be heard. Oliver Cromwell preferred it over all other versions and even issued to his troops The Souldiers Pocket Bible (1643), a sixteen-page pamphlet made up of extracts of the Geneva Bible "which doe shew the qualifications of his inner man, that is a fit souldier to fight the Lord's Battels." 42

41 See details in Berry, "Introduction," The Geneva Bible Facsimile, pp. 21-23. He quotes Fuller, who complained when the Geneva Bible was giving way to the King James that the people "could not see into the sense of Scripture for lack of the spectacles of those Genevan annotations."

42 Quoted at length from the title by MacGregor, op.cit., p. 152. He also notes that 50,000 copies of the Soldier's Bible were reissued during the American Civil War.
A. Unique Features.

1. Sincerity of Intent.

The Genevan translators used scrupulous integrity in dealing with the biblical text itself. In the Translators' Preface they state their commitment to the "puritie of the worde":

And this we may with good conscience protest, that we have in every point and worde, according to the measure of that knollage which it pleased al mightie God to give us, faithfully rendered the text, and in all hard places moste sincere expounded the same. For God is our witness that we have by all meanes in-deaevored to set forth the puritie of the worde and right sense of the holy Gost for, the edifying of the brethren in faith and charitie. 43

The faith of the translators, like all the reformers, rested squarely in their belief in the divine inspiration of the Scriptures. 44 To them it was a "living word", the "sword of the Spirit" and the "hammer of God." 45 A poem appended to later editions of the Geneva Bible regarded the Scripture as the sole authoritative arbiter in doctrinal disputes: "Here is the Judge that stints the strife / when mens devices faile." To them the Bible was the living Word of the living God which held authority over all men, including themselves.

43 From the Preface, "To Our Beloved in the Lord," p. iii. They also added that they had "moste reuenerently kept the proprietie of the wordes."


45 See the explanation of these terms as used by the Puritans in J.R. Knott, The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible
2. Accuracy and Fluidity.

Overall, the Geneva Bible represents greater accuracy than previous translations. On Genesis 3:15 they rendered "he shall break thine head" in place of "it." On Job 19:25, they rendered "he shall stand on the earth" rather than "I shall rise out of the earth" (Great Bible). In Ecclesiastes 11:1, their translation "Cast thy bread upon the waters" was vastly superior to the Great Bible's "Lay thy bread upon wet faces." Phrases coined by the Genevan translators which were timeless included "smote them hip and thigh," "a little leaven leaveth the whole lump," "so great a cloude of witnesses," "for we know in part and we prophesy in part," and "in a glass darkly." All of which were retained in the Authorized Version.

3. Critical Scholarship.

Despite their devotion to the Scripture, the Genevan translators were not blind to the issues of critical biblical scholarship. Twenty-one variant readings (mostly in Acts) were printed in the marginal notes. The "argument" (introduction) to the Book of Hebrews questioned the Pauline authority of the book in contrast to the prevailing Catholic view. They wrote: "Whether it were Paul (as it is not like)." Nevertheless, they defended the legitimacy and integrity of the book. Fifty-two Hebrew names were "modernized" in a thorough revision of Old Testament nomenclature: Agar became Hagar, Gedeon became Gideon, Noemyi

---


46 Lupton, op.cit., Vol. V, pp. 118-119 provides a complete list, noting that only two of the variants were taken into the King James text.
became Naomi, Esay became Isaiah, Abdi became Obadiah, Sophony became Zephaniah. 47 Improvements in animal names included: vulture for kite, swan for pye, grasshopper for arbe, frog for tode, and lizard for stel-lio. 48

The new Bible contained over 6,500 cross references and over 700 literal renderings of difficult Hebrew and Greek words were annotated. Many of these were later adopted into the text of the Authorized Version, such as the marginal notes on Genesis 1:2, "face of the deep" for deepe; and Jeremiah 38:7, "Ethiopian" for Black Moor. Besides these literal renderings there were 1,146 alternative readings in the Old Testament based on different versions of the Hebrew text and 443 alternative readings in the New Testament based on variations in the Greek text. 49 For example, Armenia was given as an alternative to Ararat in Isaiah 37:38 and was adopted into the King James text (which gave Ararat as the variant reading). The alternative "had chosen" was given for "liked" in Genesis 6:2 which read: "The sonnes of God sawe the daughters of men that they were faire, and they toke them wives of all that they liked." The margin offered: "Or, had chosen." The latter replaced the former in the Authorized Version. The explanatory note on the passage is also interesting. The "sonnes of God" were identified as "the children of the godlie" (not fallen angels)!

47 See Lupton, ibid., pp. 119-120 for a complete list. There were some changes which did not catch on: Izhak for Isaac and Iaakob for Jacob, for example.

48 Ibid., pp. 121-122. Again, some changes did not survive, such as red shanke, bacce and chameleon.

49 Ibid., pp. 112-114.

The quality of fine printing at Geneva was such that the new English Bible had a whole new look to the people back home. Italic types were used to distinguish words which the translators added in English to clarify the meaning of the original languages. They blended well with roman type to provide clarity and harmony and were easily discernible to the eye. For example, Paul's familiar salutation contained two such additions: "Grace be with you from our Lord Jesus Christ."

Each book of the Bible was preceded by an "argument" (or introduction). These were essentially the comments of Calvin, taken from his various commentaries. For example, the "argument" to the Book of Joel represents an English translation of Calvin's introduction to that book in his commentary. The page headings and the chapter headings were translated and adapted from the French Geneva Bibles. They were designed to get the reader's attention: "Dinah ravished," "Droppes of blood," "the ende of tyrants," "Ordeyned to salvation," "Bellie gods," "wicked lawes," "the Spoyler Spoyled."

The maps and illustrations of the English Geneva Bible were mainly borrowed from the Genevan French Bible. In fact all the illustrations (25) in the French Bible of 1560 were transferred to the 1560 English Bible by the same blocks! Eighteen of these were based on Estienne's 1540 Latin Bible, including woodcuts of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple, prepared under the direction of Francis Vatablus, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris. Three more illustrations had appeared in Estienne's 1557 fifth Latin Bible. These were Noah's Ark, the Tabernacle surrounded by the Tents of Israel, and Ezekiel's Vision of God (Figure 8). Five illustrations had been new to the
French Bible of 1560: the map of Eden and four diagrams of Ezekiel's Temple. Five new illustrations were unique to the English Bible: Israel at the Red Sea (used on the title page and at Exodus 14); map of Israel's Journeys (Num. 33); map of Israel divided among the tribes (Josh. 15); map of the Holy Land (before Matthew); map of Paul's journeys (after Acts).

The illustrations are basic and unpretentious. Estienne despised the romantically embellished illustrations that were typical of that day. His choice of Ezekiel's Vision (Figure 8) and Ezekiel's Temple (Figure 9) are excellent examples of the realistic style which characterized the illustrations in the Geneva Bible. Everywhere one senses the impact of the new Hebrew studies of that day as well on both the maps and the illustrations. This all served to make the new Bible believable and acceptable to the English people. It literally made the Bible come alive to the common person. It certainly helped pave the way for the reception of the apocalyptic hermeneutic which also characterized the Geneva Bible.

---

50 As early as Irenaeus (A.D. 180) there had been speculation about Ezekiel's Vision and its meaning. By A.D. 600, Pope Gregory I had given it a specifically Latin interpretation which prevailed in the medieval period. Nicolas de Lyra (1274-1349) tried to sort out the confusion by printing both the Hebrew and Latin interpretations on the same page of his commentary the one above the other. Unfortunately, they were later printed side by side and mistaken for one illustration. Such is the case of Ezekiel's Vision as it appeared in the Great Bible of 1541. The illustration in the Geneva Bible was the best clarification ever done at that time. Lupton, op.cit., Vol. V, pp. 158-165 discusses this at great length, even noting that Ezekiel was the last book Calvin attempted to interpret but he only made it to 20:44, "Then shall ye know that I am Jehovah, since I shall deal with you on behalf of my name, and not according to your sins." His dying comments are thus recorded: "And since this was said to his ancient people, how much more ought God's gratuitous goodness to be extolled by us when he openly calls us to himself in heaven and to hope of that happy immortality which has been obtained for us through Christ."
Figure 8

The Vision of Ezekiel.

A - The whirlwind of the Spirit came out of the North, or Aquilone.
B - The great cloud.
C - Two great rivers of blood.
D - The four winds of heaven.
E - The likeness of a man, or the pale colour.
F - The forms of the four living creatures.
G - Their feet like calves' feet.
H - Hands coming out from under their wings.
I - X. The fashion of the four faces of certain beasts.
J - K. L. M. Their wings layed one to another.
N - Their two wings, which covered all their bodies.
O - Their eyes running among the tribes.
P - Whales having certain eyes.
Q - The rings of the wheels which were true.
R - The word of the living God which was true.
S - The Spears like unto shining brass.
T - The throne, which was set upon the Firmament.
U - Wherefore like the appearance of a man.
V - The appearance of amber above, and breathed the man.
W - The eyes of the man.
X - The brightness of eyes like the east sun.
Figure 9
Ezekiel's Temple
B. Apocalyptic Annotations.

Not only did the Geneva Bible popularize Calvin's theology in England, but it also spread the apocalyptic hope. As a vernacular Bible it served as an essential vehicle for the spread of reformed religion and theology. Christianson notes that, while sermons, pamphlets, and treatises all played an important role in the English Reformation, it was "the open Bible, read at church or at home, that formed the crucial part of the religious life of the people." 51 For the average person in Tudor England the Geneva translation was the Bible. It was the best, cheapest and most widely used version of that day.

One of the features of the Geneva Bible was its extensive annotations in the margins. They provided a miniature commentary for those who could not afford their own. To the common people (just becoming literate), these notes acquired an authority virtually equal to the text itself, forming one interpretive whole. The notes on the book of Revelation are taken almost exclusively from Bullinger and Bale and Beza. The Antichrist was the pope, preferably whichever one was in power at the moment, and the agents of popery (bishops and the like) were emissaries of the Devil. The notes also criticized "wicked Anabaptists" and "Mohammedan Turks."

An anti-Catholic polemic is one of the major features of the Geneva

51 See P. Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp. 37-40. He correctly emphasizes the significance of the Geneva Bible in the development and acceptance of the Puritan apocalyptic scheme in England in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

52 Their sources were Heinrich Bullinger, A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalypse (London: 1561; Latin Original at Basle: 1557); John Bale, The Image of Bothe Churches (London: 1550?) and Acta Romanorum Pontificum (Basle: 1558); Theodore Beza, Annotationes ad Novum Testamentum (Cambridge: 1642).
Bible. Begun mildly in Whittingham's 1557 New Testament, subsequent editions reveal a progressive development of anti-Roman propaganda. The notion that Peter was the first pope of Rome was ridiculed in the comment on Colossians 4:11, "Yf they only dyd helpe him to preache the Gospel at Rome, wher was Peter?" Other notes attacked the mass, ceremonies, relics, and clerical immorality. The comment on II Timothy 3:6, "they which crepe into houses and bring into bondage women" identifies them as "monkes, friers, and suche hypocrites."

In the apocalyptic passages the notes were especially harsh. For example the identification of the "Locusts" from the bottomless pit read: "Locusts are false teachers, heretiks, and worldlie suttill prelates, with Monkes, Friers, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Doctors, bachelors, and masters which forsake Christe to mainteine false doctrine." Katherine Firth notes: "The Geneva Bible does not constitute a full commentary; it only highlights parts of the interpretation considered essential for understanding the prophecies." 54

1. The Church: Suffering, yet Triumphant!

A careful examination of the "arguments" (introductions) of the Old Testament books quickly reveals an amazing hermeneutic which runs throughout the annotations of the entire Geneva Bible. It transports us back

53 The anti-papal annotations were strengthened in the 1560 edition, then further enlarged in the Tomson-Beza revision of 1576, and finally reached a crescendo when Junius' annotations of 1594 on Revelation were longer than the text itself.

54 Firth, op.cit., p. 122. She also points out that no sources are given for the annotations, making it difficult to determine whose influence is the strongest. However, Bullinger, Bale, and Beza are clearly represented.
over the centuries into the Puritan mind as it read the Bible. 55

The opening "argument" on Genesis describes man before the Fall as living in the "great tabernacle of the worlde." There he was to behold God's wonderful works and to praise His name. However, the fall of man into sin brought both the judgment of God and the "promise of Christ to come." God's provision for Adam's sin and the birth of Seth, to replace Abel, is viewed in the annotations as His care over the "true Church" which is preserved by a "continual succession." The election of the patriarchs is called those "whome he chuseth to be his Church." 56 From this point on, references to the Church in the Old Testament are voluminous. The true Church is described as those "which have at all times worshiped him purely according to his worde." It is no wonder they were called "Puritans!" 57

In the introduction to Exodus the Genevan exiles saw in Pharaoh the


56 G.B. la., "The Argument" to "The First Boke of Moses, called Genesis."

57 To my knowledge no one before has ever pointed out the connection between this opening note in the Geneva Bible and the derivation of the term Puritan. It clearly explains their mentality and why they came to be known as "Puritans," because they were totally committed to the idea of worshiping God "purely according to his worde." Thus, they were theocentric, Christocentric and bibliocentric in their beliefs and practices. On the matter of Puritan definitions see W. Haller, op.cit., pp. 3-48; M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); P. Miller and T.H. Johnson, The Puritans, (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 1-79; Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Reformation (New York: Viking Press,
"tyranny of the wicked" against the Church. In their comments on I Samuel, Saul is depicted as a "tyrant and an hypocrite." In their notes on II Kings and II Chronicles they point out that good rulers "ever loved the Prophets of God," whereas wicked rulers "hated his ministers." They were appealing to their own rulers to vindicate the true (and pure) faith "throughout all their dominions" by pointing to the example of the Old Testament kings.

In every introduction to the books of the Pentateuch there is a reference to the Church. In Joshua, Christ is the true deliverer and Canaan symbolizes the eternal rest of the saints. In Judges, the "true Church of God" is embattled because there are no godly magistrates. Ruth symbolizes the Gentiles who are joined to the Church (cf. Romans 11:17ff.). Interestingly, the Genevan commentators viewed Job as a Gentile dealing with God his creator, and hence there is no reference to the Church in any of the annotations on the Book of Job.

David is viewed as the "true figure of Messiah" in the comments on I Samuel and in II Samuel. His sufferings and ultimate triumph are tak-


60 G.B., "Argument" to the Seconde Boke of the Kings, p. 164a; "Argument" to the Seconde Boke of the Chronicles, pp. 191a-191b.
61 G.B., "Argument" to the Boke of Ioshua, p. 92b.
64 G.B., "Argument" to Iob, p. 222b.
en to represent the persecution and ultimate victory of Christ Himself on behalf of His Church. 65 Thus, the Psalms of David are described as a "moste precious treasure" whereby we may be "assured against all dangers in this life" and ultimately attain to the "crowne of glorie" which is reserved for "all them that love the comming of our Lord Jesus Christ." 66

One can sense the apocalyptic anticipation of these exiles as he reads from notation to notation. To them, the Old Testament was not a mere collection of isolated books, it was one harmonious whole depicting the love of Christ for His Church. Thus, the Song of Solomon was viewed as "sweet and comfortable allegories." 67 What is more, they were that Church! They saw themselves as the continuity (and contemporary expression) of that True Church. This is why later Puritan writers could make the Old Testament come alive to their readers. They literally felt every pain and sorrow of the Church "under the cross" and rejoiced with her every triumph over Satan's tyrants." 68

67 G.B., "Argument to An Excellent Song which was Salomons," p. 280b.
68 The references to "tyranie" and "tyrants" are too many to calculate. It is obvious that the exiles were deeply concerned about the issues of freedom and tyranny. It is also clear that they were ready to overthrow any tyrant who oppressed God's pure truth. Lupton, op.cit., Vol. VI, p. 11, notes that two of the exiles, Whittingham and Thomas Wood, sailed to Le Havre on the French coast in October of 1562 in an unsuccessful attempt to liberate Orleans. He comments: "A supposedly Biblical theory of armed resistance and lawful rebellion had been worked out at Geneva. On paper the doctrine was impeccable, in practice its results were indistinguishable from ordinary warfare!" That the issue of Christian resistance to tyranny is still volatile, see Francis Schaeffer, A Christian Manifesto (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1981) and Franky Schaeffer, A Time For Anger: The Myth Neutrality (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1982).
2. Gog and Magog: Enemies of the Church.

The annotative comments on the identity of Gog and Magog are somewhat contradictory. In Ezekiel 38:2, note a traces Magog to Japheth (Gen. 10:2) and concludes that by these two countries (Gog and Magog) we have the governments of "Grecia and Italie," which are called the "principal enemies of the Church." 69 Gomer and Togarmah are identified with the inhabitants of Asia Minor, but there is no mention of Mohammedans at all. The reader is referred to Revelation 20:8 where note n identifies the enemies of the Church the "Turke" and the "Sarazins" by whom the Church of God should be "grievously tormented." 70 Back in Ezekiel 38:7, note e views the enemies as "all the worlde" assembled against "the Church and Christ their head." 71

One thing is clear in the notes on Ezekiel 38 and that is that they view the Church (not literal Israel) as being under attack in the "latter dais" (v. 16). The notation reads: "meaning in the last age, and from the coming of Christ unto the end of the worlde." 72 However, chapter 39 promises the ultimate triumph of the Church over her enemies (whoever they are). The page heading reads: "The Church defended." The note on 39:9 envisions an era of "great peace and tranquillitie" which shall follow for "Christ's Kingdome." 73 While they meant no millennialism by this statement, it clearly revealed the direction Puritan escha-

69 G.B., p. 350b, note a.
70 G.B., p. 121b, note m.
71 G.B., p. 350b, note e.
72 G.B., p. 351a, note k.
73 G.B., p. 351a, note e.
tology was going.

3. The Antichrist: the Pope.

As Christopher Hill's study reveals, the belief in the actual existence of the Antichrist was very real even prior to the Reformation and was a source of constant speculation. Wycliffe had denounced the pope as Antichrist in Latin, but Hus, the Lollards, and the Taborites had done it in the vernacular. The belief that the pope (himself) or the Catholic Church (in general) was the Antichrist was widespread in Protestant Europe. The term "Anti-Christ" (in the plural) appears in the Bible only in the Epistles of John. But the Geneva commentators applied it to the "man of sin," the "son of perdition" (II Thessalonians 2:3), and to the second "Beast" of Revelation 13.

In the annotations, the first Beast is taken to be the Roman Empire and the second Beast, which swallowed up all the power of the first, is identified with the pope. The number of the Antichrist (666) is calculated in the notes from the Greek λατεινος (lateinos) to equal 666 and

74 C. Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England, traces the suggested identifications of the Antichrist prior to 1640 in ch. 1, pp. 1–40; cf. also M. Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). Early primary sources include the twelfth-century German Play of Antichrist (c. 1160); the fourteenth-century Chester Miracle Plays; the Northumbrian Cursor Mundi; and Langland's Piers Plowman.


76 G.B., p. 118b, note a; p. 119a, note a.
further identify the pope as the Antichrist, interestingly, because he "useth in all things ye Latin tongue," instead of Hebrew and Greek wherein the Scripture was "first and best written." A further notation on Revelation 14:1 says: "Jesus Christ ruleth in his Church...there can be no vicare, for where there is a vicare, there is no Church." Of the Pope's dominion the note on 13:11 said: "ye Popes kingdome is of ye earth & leadeth to perdition & is begane & established by...tyranie." The notation on II Thessalonians 2:3-12, is brief but pointed: "This wicked Antichrist comprehendeth the whole succession of the persecuters of the Church." He is further described as a part of the "abominable Kingdome of Satan," whereof the annotator adds: "some were beares, some lyons, others leopardes, as Daniel describeth." There is no attempt at any further identification at that point. However, the notes on the Apocalypse are replete with blunt denunciations of the pope. For example, the comments on Revelation 17 identify the Great Whore on the scarlet beast as "the Antichrist, that is, the Pope"! The scarlet beast was taken to be ancient (political) Rome, whereas, the woman was the "Papistrie, whose crueltie and blood shedding is declared by skarlet." In commenting on the "Angel of the bottomless pit" (Revelation 9:11) the annotators put it as bluntly as they could: "which is Antichrist the

77 G.B., p. 119a, note g.
78 G.B., p. 119a, note a.
80 G.B., p. 96a, note d.
81 G.B., p. 120a notes b, d, f. No attempt was made to identify the "seven heads" of the beast with the seven hills of Rome. The comment on Rev. 17:9 stretches the identification of "five are fallen, one is, and another is to come" to refer to Nero, Galba, Ortho, Vitelius and Vespa-
Pope, king of hypocrites & Satans ambassadour." 82


The first controversial notation in the Apocalypse appears at 2:24 in reference to the "deepness of Satan," which the commentators use to describe the beliefs of false teachers who profess a deep knowledge of God. These are identified as "Anabaptists, Libertines, Papists, Arrians, & c." 83 In Revelation 9:1, the falling star is identified as the "bishops and ministers who forsake ye worde of God." 84 The Locusts which emerged from the smoking pit are called the "Popes clergie" and are delineated as: "Monkes, Friers, Cardinals, Patriarkes, Archbishops, Bishops" etc. 85 In Revelation 16:13, the "uncleane spirits like frogges" are "the Popes ambassadors" which are ever "croking like frogs!" 86

5. Babylon: Kingdom of the Antichrist.

The annotations in the Book of Daniel are full and thorough (they would give a modern dispensational commentary a good run). They probably received a lot of attention because they follow right after a full page woodcut of Ezekiel's Temple (Figure 17), which follows the Book of Ezekiel and precedes the Book of Daniel. In the notes on chapter 2, the "four

sian. Titus did not count because he "dyed in less than fourtene yeres"! Domitian was the sixth emperor and Cocceius Nerva was the seventh, according to the annotators.

82 G.B., p. 117b, note x.
83 G.B., p. 115b, note f.
84 G.B., p. 117b, note a.
85 G.B., p. 117b, notes d and n. The reference to "patriarkes" was evidently anti-Greek Orthodox.
86 G.B., p. 120a, note m.
monarchies" are identified as Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome. 87
Interestingly, the interpreter understood the prophecy as a comfort to
the Jews who would survive until the coming of Christ" at ye end of this
fourth monarchie." 88

In the notes on Daniel 7 much attention is given to the Fourth Beast,
"Romaine empire," which was "a monster and colde not be compared to anie
beast." Its "yron teeth" signified the "tyrannie of the Romaines." The
"ten horns" were the provinces of the empire. The "little horn" was
Julius Caesar and other early Caesars who could not rule without consent
of the Senate. 89 In the comment 7:21 the "war against the saints,
the annotator identifies the "horn" as the "Romaine Emperours who were
most cruel against the Church of God bothe of the Jewes and of ye Gen-
tiles." 90

In dealing with the Antiochus in Daniel 11, the annotators stress
his dealings with the Romans. Interestingly, they saw a shift at Daniel
11:36, as do dispensationalists. However, they did not directly iden-
tify the Wilful King as the Antichrist per se, but wrote: "Because ye
Angels purpose is to shewe the whole course of the persecutions of ye

87 G.B., p. 358a, notes r, s, t, and u.

88 G.B., p. 358a, note g. While the annotators do not actually call
Christ's Kingdom the Fifth Monarchy, nevertheless, the stage was set for
that identification which would provide the name of the radical revolu-
tionary movement of the English Civil War. Cf. E.L. Tuveson, Millennium
and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (Berkeley:
University of California Press, 1949); C. Hill, A Century of Revolution
(London: Oxford University Press, 1961) and M. Walzer, The Revolution of
the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge: Har-
tward University Press, 1965).

89 G.B., p. 361a, notes l, n, and t.

90 G.B., p. 361b, note l.
Jewes unto the coming of Christ, he now speaketh of the monarchie of the Romaines." 91

In their comments on the Apocalypse, the Genevan exiles clearly identified "Babylon" as a symbolic name for Rome. In Revelation 17:5, they note of "A Mysterie, great Babylon" that "This is the Romaine empire which being fallen into decay, the whore of Rome (by whome they meant the Pope) usurped authoritie and proceded from the devil and thether shall return." 92 Even the judgment of the plague of darkness on this kingdom was viewed as the "Popes doctrine" in the comment on Revelation 16:10. 93


While neither Luther nor Calvin foresaw a future conversion of national Israel to Christ in the Scripture, Bucer, Martyr, Beza, Broughton, Perkins, and a host of others did. 94 So did the English exiles who prepared the annotations on Romans 11:15-26. In commenting on the "receiving" again of Israel as the people of God in verse 15, they note: "The Jewes now remaine, as it were, in death for lacke of the Gospel: but when bothe they & the Gentiles shall embrace Christ, ye worlde shall be restored to a newe life." 95

91 G.B., p. 364a, note s.
92 G.B., p. 120a, note i.
93 G.B., p. 119b, note i.
94 On the significance of the future conversion of the Jews to Puritan eschatology, see Iain Murray, The Puritan Hope, pp. 41-48. He refers to various statements by Peter Martyr, Hugh Broughton, William Perkins, Richard Sibbes, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Brightman, Elnathan Parr, William Gouge, etc.
95 G.B., p. 74b, note k.
In dealing with the phrase "so all Israel shall be saved" in verse 26, they wrote: "He sheweth that the time shall come that the whole nation of ye Jewes though not every one particularly, shal be joyned to the Church of Christ." 96 Thus, the Genevan commentators fully committed themselves to the belief in the future conversion of the Jews (national Israel) to Christ which would usher in a Golden Age. While they did not associate this with the Millennium, nevertheless, the stage was set for Alsted and Mede to make that association. 97

7. Fifth Monarchy: Kingdom of Christ.

The English exiles at Geneva, who prepared the annotations for the Geneva Bible, viewed the Kingdom of Christ as the Church and thus paved the way for the full development of postmillennial eschatology. 98 In commenting on the stone that filled the whole earth, after having abolished all earthly kingdoms (Daniel 2:45), the exiles wrote: "Christ... whose kingdome at the beginning shulde be smale & with/out beautie to mans judgment, but shulde at length growe & fil the whole earth." 99

96 G.B., p. 74b, note r.

97 The notes on Rev. 20 make no reference to the 1,000 years being a millennial kingdom. Rather, they refer back to the time from Christ's nativity until Pope Sylvester II as covering the era of pure doctrine (while Satan was "bound").

98 On the post-millennial position, see J.M. Kik, An Eschatology of Victory (Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1971) and R.J. Rushdoony, Thy Kingdom Come (Fairfax, Va.: Thoburn Press, 1970). On the issue of the future of Israel see J. Murray, Epistle to the Romans, Vol. II, pp. 75-103. After struggling with this issue from an amillennial perspective, Murray admitted: "There is no other alternative than to conclude that the proposition "all Israel shall be saved" is to be interpreted in terms of the fullness, the receiving, the ingrafting of Israel as a people, the restoration of Israel to gospel favor and blessing and the correlative turning of Israel from unbelief to faith and repentance." (p. 98).

99 G.B., p. 358a, note a.
One can sense their apocalyptic expectation in every word. To them the Reformation was the dawning of that hour when the glory of Christ's Church would burst upon the world "like an army terrible with banners." 100

That they believed His Kingdom to be the Church is also clear from their comments: "This kingdom, which is not onely referred to the persone of Christ, but also to the whole bodie of his Church, and to everie member thereof." 101 The same belief is captured in their comment on Daniel 7:13-14, where the "Sonne of man" receives the Kingdom from the Father: "This is ment the beginning of Christ's kingdome when God the Father gave unto him all dominion, as to the Mediator, to the intent that he shulde governe here his Church in earth continually til the time that he brought them to eternal life." 102

While the Geneva Bible was published in 1560 after Elizabeth had come to the throne (and most of them had gone home) it must be remembered that the exiles did their work in the years while Mary was on the throne and all looked hopeless. Yet their undaunted spirit of apocalyptic expectation drove them on for they were looking for yet a Fifth Monarchy, the supernatural Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Theirs was an immedi-

100 A favorite expression of the reformers and pietists. See R.F. Lovelace, Dynamics of Spiritual Life: An Evangelical Theology of Renewal (London: InterVarsity Press, 1979), pp. 15-16. Lovelace quotes A.W. Boehm's famous statement: "There will be a Time, when the Church of Christ will come up from the Wilderness of various Sects, Parties, Nations, Languages, Forms and Ways of Worship, nay of Crosses and Afflictions, leaning upon her Beloved, and in his Power bidding Defiance to all her Enemies. Then shall that Church which now doth but look forth as the morning in its Dawn, after a continual Growth in Strength and Beauty, appear Terrible as an Army with Banners, but Terrible to those only that despised her whilst she was in her Minority, and would not have her Beloved to reign over them."

101 G.B., p. 358a, note a.

102 G.B., p. 361b, note c.
ate and imminent expectation. To them, the defeat of the Roman Church could only mean one thing -- it would bring in the Kingdom!

CONCLUSION

Another interesting feature of the Geneva Bible was the woodcut (Figure 10) of the children of Israel trapped at the Red Sea, which appeared on the title page. The Genevan exiles made a clear historical leap from the experience of the Israelites to their own exile.\textsuperscript{103} The French woodcut, probably done by Simon Cock, appeared three times on the Old and New Testament title pages and at Exodus 14. The exiles saw themselves trapped (for the moment) on the Continent, with Mary behind them and Emperor Charles V before them. The woodcut was obviously done before the illness and death of Mary. The text around the illustration reads: "Feare ye not, stand stil and beholde the salvation of the Lord, which he wil shewe you this day. Exod. 14:13. The Lord shall fight for you: therefore holde you your peace."

The text was perfectly selected to depict their situation. "Stand still" is all they could do at the moment! The picture illustrates the Israelites stranded on the shore of the Red Sea, with the pursuing Egyptians behind them and the pillar of fire before them. The same picture appears in Exodus 14 with the explanatory notes relating this experience to the suffering Church. It is clear that this was the beginning of the intense identification of the Protestant Church with Old Testament Israel

\textsuperscript{103}Knott, op. cit., pp. 29-38, points this out clearly and develops this thought in relation to the Puritan belief in the supernatural and living nature of the Scripture. He traces the Puritans' use of the terms fire, hammer, and sword to indicate the dynamic nature of Scripture in the Puritan mind.
THE BIBLE
AND
HOLY SCRIPTURES
CONTAINED IN
THE OLDE AND NEWE
Testament.

TRANSLATED ACCORDING TO THE EBRUE AND GREKE, AND CONFERRED WITH THE BEST TRANSLATIONS IN DIVERS LANGAGES.

WITH MOSTE PROFITABLE ANNOTATIONS UPON ALL THE HARD PLACES, AND OTHER THINGS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE AS MAY APPEAR IN THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.


AT GENEVA.
PRINTED BY ROULAND HALL.
M. D. L. X.
that was to characterize the Reformed Churches from then until now. 104 Bale's concept of the Church in the Wilderness fit perfectly with the same idea. While the Roman Church enjoyed the benefits of regal favor, the true Church was in exile in the "wilderness" (Europe).

When Elizabeth, a Protestant by necessity, became Queen of England the exiles' hopes reached a new high. Edwin Sandys (c. 1516-1588), one of the exiles, praised her lavishly as God's providential deliverer of the exiled Church. 105 Even Bishop Jewel was convinced that her accession to the throne was the result of a miracle of God. 106 John Aylmer actually went so far as to state that Elizabeth was herself a fulfillment of prophecy and the guardian of the legacy of truth. 107 He attacked the Antichrist, the pope, and the Turk as the enemies of Christ, and literally placed the torch of Wycliffe in Elizabeth's hand!

In time the "Church in the Wilderness" came home to England and many of the exiles received prominent positions within the Church of England. Bale became a bishop in Ireland, while Aylmer, Sandys, Whittingham, and others became bishops in England. Christianson correctly


105 See the excellent discussion of this in Christianson, op.cit., p. 33ff. and E. Sandys, Sermons (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1841), p. 20.


107 J. Alymer, An Harborowe for Faithfull and True Subjects (1559), sig. A 4r. He assumed the personification of England herself and made her say: "God hath brought forth in me, the greatest treasure...out of my womb should come that servant of his, your brother John Wycliffe, who
observes: "All viewed the reformation as a cosmic conflict between the forces of Christ and those of Antichrist." 108 He clearly argues that each of these men reveals an apocalyptic interpretation of the Protestant Reformation as a final act of God in history to purify the Church once and for all. When that hope later dimmed, many called for the Church of England to be "purified" of her rags of popery. With the accession of King James VI of Scotland to the throne as James I of England in 1603, the apocalyptic expectation received renewed impetus and reached even greater heights.

108 P. Christianson, op.cit., p. 36. He argues that these men indicate that apocalyptic expectation was clearly within the Church of England at that point and represented a consensus view among the first English Protestants.
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

IN CHAPTER TWO

1537 Calvin's first Catechism published at Geneva by Kœln.
1548 Jean Crispin arrives in Geneva.
1550 Conrad Badius arrives in Geneva.
1551 Robert Estienne arrives in Geneva.
1553 "Bloody" Mary Tudor becomes Queen of England.
   English exiles migrate to Frankfort (Germany).
1555 Sir William Stafford arrives in Geneva.
   Knox and Whittingham visit Geneva in June.
   Knox returns to Scotland.
   Whittingham and 27 English exiles move to Geneva in October.
1556 Whittingham marries Catherine Jacquemaine.
1557 Knox rejoins exiles in Geneva.
1558 John Bale visits the English exiles at Geneva.
   Mary Tudor dies and Elizabeth becomes queen.
   Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet* published at Geneva.
1559 Knox returns to Scotland.
   Beza moves to Geneva.
1561 Mary ("Queen of Scots") Stuart arrives in Scotland.
1564 Calvin dies and is succeeded by Beza.
1567 James Stuart proclaimed King James VI of Scotland.
CHAPTER THREE

THE GROWTH OF APOCALYPTIC SPECULATION IN ENGLAND 1588-1640

The death of John Knox in 1572 set the stage for a drastic change in the development of English and Scottish apocalyptic interpretation.\(^1\) In his last year Knox preached a series of dynamic sermons on the prophecies of Daniel at St. Andrews University. James Melville, who was a student at that time, wrote: "he maid me sa to grew and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt."\(^2\) In Scotland the Reformation had been drastic. Catholic instructors were expelled from the universities and Protestant reformed theology prevailed everywhere.

The turning point in apocalyptic interpretation came with the advent of John Napier, who had also been a student at St. Andrews. Firth observes: "Before Napier, the study of the prophecies among British Protestants had followed more closely the stream of interpretation that concentrated upon the development of a theme through historical material."\(^3\) Until then conjecture and speculation had been held in check by the historical tradition. However, Napier brought "academic credi-

---

\(^1\) This is noted by K. R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 130ff., and by P. Christianson, Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 96ff. Both agree that John Napier marks a significant change in the attempt to chart the periodization of prophecy and to speculate on its possible contemporary fulfillment.


\(^3\) Firth, op. cit., p. 146. She parallels Napier's method to the earlier conjectures of Osiander, Joye and Foxe. In her interpretation of the development of the apocalyptic tradition, Firth views the tendency towards speculative conjecture as inevitable. This is also the con-
bility" to the natural human tendency to speculate on eschatological prophecy. He combined his speculations with the Genevan tradition and, thus, synthesized a new approach to the whole matter.

I. The Emergence of Millennial Expectation.


6Harvey, Discursive, p. 2.
proportions" was imminent but could be proven from the Scriptures only by "physicall and mathematical conjectures." 7

The defeat of the Armada, which had been dispatched with the Pope's blessing to bring England back into the Roman fold, left an indelible mark on the mind of Elizabethan England. It served as "proof" of God's special providence over His true Church and the validity of the contemporary fulfillment of prophecy. 8 It was probably the single most important event in persuading the Protestant reformers of the immediate fulfillment of their apocalyptic speculations.

In the autumn of 1588 the first of a series of anonymous tracts appeared, ascribed to one Martin Marprelate, whose real identity is still unknown. These pamphlets were designed to alert Englishmen everywhere to the evils of episcopacy and voiced a humorous but vicious attack upon the bishops of the Church of England. The first appeared in October 1588 as *Oh read over D. John Bridges (the epistle)* and was followed in November by *Oh read over D. John Bridges (the epitome)*. Others included: *Certaine minerall and metaphysicall school points* (February 1589); *Hay any worke for Cooper* (March 1589); *Theses Martinianae* (July 1589); *The just censure and reproffe of Martin junior* (July 1589); and *The protestatyon of Martin Marprelat* (September 1589). The last three were probably written by a different author, using Martin's already fictitious name.

---


8 Firth, op.cit., p. 152 notes that in the copy of Harvey's book which she used in the Bodleian Library, one William Lilly had written on the final page: "Harvey lived to see him selfe fooled by writing this discourse, for wee all know 1588 was annus terribilis; witness ye Spanish Armado."
A. Proto-Millennarian Speculation.

Before the full expression of Millennialism developed in Britain, a key stage was formulated which linked it to the earlier tradition of the Reformers. While many apocalyptists viewed themselves as being in the last age of history, others began to look for a yet future Golden Age which would include the final defeat of the Roman Church and the conversion of the Jews. Several links were forged in this growing chain of thought beginning with Napier.


Paul Christianson refers to Napier as "the wizard laird of Merchiston" (Scotland), noting that his was the "first of a new breed of commentators" to influence the apocalyptic tradition.\(^9\) He was recognized as one of the great minds of his day and is remembered today for the invention of logarithms in mathematics. In spite of this, the passion of his life was the study of Bible prophecies, to which he brought a logical and analytical mind.\(^10\) Having been influenced by the Geneva Bible and Knox's colleague Christopher Goodman at St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews, Napier accepted the identification of the pope as the Antichrist.

Napier (Figure 1) was also influenced by the latest techniques of

\(^9\) Reformers and Babylon, p. 97. He notes that Napier "followed the mainstream of English apocalyptic thought," but brought to it a "passion for precision and clarity."

A Table of the Conclusions introductory to the Revelation, and proved in the first Treatise.

The first Treatise is an introduction to the knowledge of the Revelation, expounding by proofs and demonstrating the meaning of

Dust and chaffs reckoning his word states,

Vulgate and scholastic

Anselm and chaffs meaner sins are not satisfied.

God's mercies, which are considered not to the effect of

Sorah's wicked king, who is bound a thousand years, and the thousand years is

Heaven in a thousand years, and the thousand years is

The two Beasts

[Figure 1]

(a) John Napier, A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John, (Edinburgh, 1693) Table of the First Treatise
analytical logic as developed by Peter Ramus.  

It was this Anti-Aristotelian philosophy that Melville had encountered in Paris and in turn introduced to Scotland that provided Napier's methodological approach to the Apocalypse. His commentary was entitled A plaine discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John, and was published at Edinburgh in 1593. It was replete with charts and chronological tables. The entire work was divided into two parts: 1) an analytical overview of Napier's chronology; 2) the text of Revelation printed in parallel columns with an analytic paraphrase and a history of the fulfillment of the text.

The irony of Napier's influence is that one of the most educated apocalyptists gave rise to some of the most bizarre speculations on John's Revelation ever produced. Believing that dates and specific events were "hidden" within the terminology of prophecy, he attempted to discern a historical pattern from those prophecies. To the common mind of his day, Napier appeared to be brilliant in his blend of history and prophecy. He developed a supposed mathematical computation based on Jubilees (periods of 49 years: seven sevens). Dividing Daniel's "seventy weeks" (490 years) in half, he surmised that every 245 years was significant in the rise and fall of empires. Theorizing that the trumpets and vials of the Apocalypse were

---


12 For a discussion of the influence of Napier's work on subsequent apocalyptic writers, see W. Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), pp. 59-82.

13 David Hume said Napier deserved the title "Great Man" more than anyone in Scotland. Quoted by Firth, op.cit., p. 133 (from Mark Napier's quote, op.cit., p. iii).
synonymous, Napier assumed that the fifth trumpet ("the star that fell") was Mohammed and the fifth vial ("plague of locusts") was the rise of the Turks, and he dated it at A.D. 1051 (following Foxe's date). Working both forward and backward from 1051, Napier devised this scheme based on 245-year intervals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trumpet &amp; Vial</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Destruction of Jerusalem</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Eastern Empire Established</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Totila burns Rome</td>
<td>561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Charlemagne becomes Emperor</td>
<td>806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Turks under Zadok</td>
<td>1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Osman</td>
<td>1296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Reformation</td>
<td>1541</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his tenth proposition Napier stated: "The last trumpet and vial beginneth anno Christi 1541 and should end in anno Christi 1786." Thus, he concluded: "The day of God's judgment appears to fall betwixt the years of Christ 1688 and 1700." Christianson observes: "This type of future projection of prophecies had not hither to been common among apocalyptic visions printed in English...No wonder contemporaries became fascinated with the bold prognostications of this famous mathematician!" More than anyone before him, Napier heightened the apocalyptic expectation and brought academic credibility to eschatological speculation.

He also predicted that 1639 would coincide with the third angel and

16 Op.cit., p. 98-99. He also notes that "holy history" was now "projected into a finite future."
usher in the final age of conflict between Christ (Reformers) and Anti-
christ (Rome). The fourth angel would be Christ Himself, Who would re-
turn in 1688 and begin a harvest of the elect until 1786. He also specu-
lated on the number of the Antichrist, 666, finding it in the value of
the Greek letters spelling Lateinos, which he associated with the Roman
Catholic Church. 17

Napier's commentary followed the text of the Latin Vulgate and the
Geneva Bible. It was published three times in Edinburgh (1593, 1611,
1645), twice in London (1594, 1611), twice in Dutch, five times in French,
and three times in German. It was later abridged and reissued as Napier's
Narration (1641) and The Bloody Almanack (1643 and 1647). During the
1640s it made its greatest popular impact because of the parallel rise
of the English Civil War with the 1639 prediction of the third angel
ushering in the final era of conflict (Figure 2). Thus, the apocalyptic
tradition took a new turn in the seventeenth century as it was influenced
by disciplines outside the range of theology.

2. Robert Pont (1524-1606).

The first emphasis upon the concept of a millennium was developed
by the Scottish theologian, Robert Pont, John Knox's son-in-law. He
had an interest in both prophecy and astrology and believed the gospel
was revealed in the stars. 18 His chronological work, A newe treatise
on the right reckoning of the yeares and ages of the world appeared in
1599, just seven years after Napier's A Plaine Discovery. He attempted

17 Napier, A plaine discovery, pp. 62-64.

18 R. Pont, A newe treatise of the right reckoning of the yeares
and ages of the world (Edinburgh: 1599), pp. 35-41.
The bloody Almanack:

To which England is directed, to foreknow what shall come to passe, by that famous Astrologer, M. John Booker.

Being a perfect Abstract of the Prophecies proved out of Scripture,

By the noble Napier, Lord of Merchiston in Scotland.


London,
Printed for Anthony Vincent, and are to be sold in the Old-Baily. 1643

'The guide of Astrologers. The Joy of England'

Title page of a popular apocalyptic almanack.
to combine natural and historical materials with prophecy around seven millennia of human history.

Believing that Daniel's prophecy pointed to Jewish history prior to Christ, Pont assumed that the years of Christian history were hidden in the "sevens" of the Apocalypse. Combining the prophecies he postulated seven ages of human history (the first six following Augustine's six ages of the world). 19

1. Creation to Noah
2. Noah to Abraham
3. Abraham to Solomon
4. Solomon to Christ
5. Christ to 1056
6. 1056 to the end
7. Millennium of the Kingdom

Pont viewed the fifth period as the time when Antichrist reigned supreme and he envisioned the sixth period being shortened. His unique contribution was the idea that a seventh millennium of peace on earth would follow the six millennia of human conflict. 20 He also used a "boom and doom" (hope and despair) approach to the times. While things are getting worse, he theorized, nevertheless a greater glory was coming.

His interest in the stars caused Pont to believe that the end was near in 1600. He likened the comet of 1572 to the Star of Bethlehem and noted that the eclipse of 1598 would be followed by a worse one in 1605. In his basic beliefs, Pont belonged to an earlier generation of

---

19 See the brief but excellent study of Pont's relation to Augustine in Firth, op. cit., pp. 191-199. Her appreciation of Pont is unique to her study of English apocalyptic trends.

20 Pont, op. cit., pp. 78-103.
apocalyptists (Luther, Melanchthon, Foxe) who saw A.D. 1600 as a terminal date for human history. Firth notes that the later generation did not view them as erroneous, but to have "underestimated the strength of the beast and the effort and warfare necessary to defeat him." 21

3. Hugh Broughton (1549-1612).

During this same period of time renewed interest was developing in the study of Hebrew and, with it, an investigation of rabbinic writings. The greatest of the Puritan Hebraists was Hugh Broughton. 22 Educated at Cambridge, he studied under Antoine Chevallier, who had previously been Princess Elizabeth's French tutor, and a Hebrew professor at the University of Strasburg. Always a radical, Broughton attempted to reconcile Hebrew wisdom with Christian revelation. In 1588 he predicted the defeat of the Armada and moved to London to become a Puritan preacher. That same year he published A Concent of Scripture, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (Figure 3). In it he argued that the Bible contained a divinely established chronology based on five interlocking chains from Adam to Christ (similar to the first five dispensations of dispensational eschatology). He followed the French Huguenot writer Matthew Beroaldus (1520-1576) in arguing that the Old Testament could not be interpreted by literature arising outside the Hebrew tradition. 23

---

21 Op. cit., p. 195. She adds further: "This is something of a new spirit arising out of the older one and inheriting from it the outlines of history in the apocalyptic tradition."

22 Most of Broughton's works were collected under the title The Works of the Great Albinean Divine, renowned in many Lands for rare Skill in Salem's and Athen's Tongues (London: 1662).

23 Broughton re-edited and published Beroaldus' views in A Short view of the Persian monarchie, and of Daniel's wekees (London: 1590). On
The Whore of Babylon

One of the six plates from Broughton's *A concord of scripture*. An earlier identification of the Locust with the Turk had been replaced more generally by one with the Jesuits. The identification here with 'the belly God clergi' betrays a Puritan hand.
Broughton accepted the prophecies of Elias, Daniel, and John as the basis of a biblical chronology that progressed from the general to the specific. He viewed Daniel as prophesying world monarchies which held power over the Jews, and John as predicting the rise of the Antichrist against the Church. He related the seven trumpets to the entire period from Christ to the end of the world and paralleled them to Phocas, Boniface, Charlemagne, Mohammed, the Saracens and the Turks.  

Broughton was never popularly received in England. Firth argues that the classical scholars John Rainolds of Oxford and Edward Lively of Cambridge reacted against his emphasis on Hebrew out of self-defense, whereas Christianson argues that his postponed future simply did not fit the accepted trend of the day. Therefore, he left England for extended tours on the Continent. In Germany he argued against Catholics and Jews alike, both of whom came to influence his thinking. While in Europe, he published his commentaries on Daniel (1596) and Revelation (1610). Always concerned about the conversion of the Jews, Broughton, who considered himself a Talmudist, accepted the Jewish view that the fourth beast of Daniel was Antiochus Epiphanes. This was totally rejected by his English contemporaries, who were now long convinced it was the history of the Huguenot movement, see J.G. Gray, The French Huguenots: Anatomy of Courage (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1981).

24 Broughton, A Conseat of Scripture, H iiiP.

25 Cf. Firth, op.cit., pp. 152-163 and Christianson, op.cit., pp. 107-111. Both, however, agree that Broughton was one of the most unique of the Puritan apocalyptists.

26 Broughton, Daniel: His Chaldie vision and His Ebrew (London: 1596) and A revelation of the holy apocalypse (Amsterdam: 1610). The latter work was published on the separatist press at Amsterdam and dedicated to King James I.
Rome (and the Roman Church in particular). Broughton also devised a scheme to convert the Jews of Constantinople, which received no support in England.

Some of the unique features of Broughton's eschatology included identifying the "locusts" as the Jesuits. Yet from the Jesuits he seems to have borrowed an insatiable desire to see the Jews converted to Christ. Also from the Jesuits he adopted the idea that the universal preaching of the gospel must take place before their conversion, and thus before the end. Believing the nations of the earth to be derived from the lost tribes of Israel, Broughton even viewed the Indians as Jews in need of conversion. Thus, he believed the Second Coming of Christ was yet in the distant future, and would only occur after the conversion of the nations of the world. Dating creation at 3926 B.C. he calculated that 6,000 years of human history meant that Christ would return in A.D. 2072! His postponement of the imminent return of Christ was his most unpopular position because it "robbed people of their expectation" that the end was near.

27 See his A require of agreement (London: 1611), pp. 69-70. By contrast, the Jesuits viewed Ignatius Loyola as the angel of the fifth trumpet at whose blast a star (Luther) fell from heaven with an army of locusts (Protestant heretics)! See the comments of M. Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 271-282.

28 See the discussion of this in Christianson, op.cit., pp. 107-109. Having calculated Broughton's date, he remarks: "He could still be right" (p. 109). For Broughton's statements see A revelation of the Apocalypse, pp. 137-250.

29 Christianson, ibid., p. 109.
4. Thomas Brightman (1557-1607).

Reacting against the Jesuit attacks upon the reformers, Brightman wrote his *Apocalyps Apocalypseos* (A revelation of the Revelation) in isolation in his country parish in Bedfordshire. It was not published until 1609, two years after his death. 30 A classic Puritan, he was educated at Queens College, Cambridge, from which he also received his B.D. degree in 1591. Following a literary Ramist analytic method, Brightman built upon the ideas of Bullinger, Bale, and Foxe and Broughton an intense millennial expectation with England as the "elect nation" at the center of God's Kingdom. 31

Brightman's commentaries gave the millenarian Puritans a classic systematic exposition that was to inspire the radicals of the 1640s. He drew nearly all of his eschatological "fulfillments" from British history. Firth observes: "Brightman's interpretation of Revelation was a grand and convoluted superstructure." 32 He was intrigued with the "sevens" of the Apocalypse and surmised that the seven churches of Revelation not only "prophesied" the seven ages of church history, but that each had a matching counterpart. He even indicated that the distances of

---

30 For a collection of his writings, see *The workes of Thomas Brightman* (London: 1644). These included commentaries on the Song of Solomon, (1614), Daniel (1635), Revelation (1609), Antichristi pontificorum (1610) and Predictions and Prophecies concerning the three Churches of Germanie, England and Scotland (1641).


32 Firth, op.cit., p. 166. She also notes that Brightman synthesized Broughton's ideas in a way that reconciled them better with the views of the Marian exiles.
the cities from Ephesus paralleled the lengths of their ages. 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ephesus</td>
<td>Apostolic to Constantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Smyrna</td>
<td>Constantine to Gratian (382)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pergamum</td>
<td>382 to 1300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thyatira</td>
<td>1300 to 1520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sardis</td>
<td>German Reformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Philadelphia</td>
<td>Genevan Reformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Laodicea</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He further paralleled Thyatira to Pergamum; Sardis to Smyrna; and Philadelphia to Ephesus (the new apostolic church). Laodicea stood alone as a "peerless paragon" representing the potential of the Church of England to parallel the first church of all, the Garden of Eden. 34 Thus, England (as Laodicea) could surpass even the apostolic church in its glory as a universal type of the future Church. 35

Brightman also introduced into his interpretation of the Revelation "double events" (or multiple meanings) and dual fulfillments. 36 The fifth trumpet referred to both Mohammed and Boniface III. In the east, the locusts were Saracens, while in the west they were monks. Broughton's identification of the fourth monarchy with Antiochus Epiphanes could be accepted as the first stage of a fulfillment brought to fruition in Rome.

33Brightman, A revelation of the Revelation, pp. 62-63. For some contradictions in his own scheme, see pp. 288-322.

34Ibid., pp. 124-139.


Thus, he could adopt any view he wanted and expand upon it, without contradicting it. The two beasts represented Rome's spiritual and political power and the two churches contrasted the true and the false. The "woman" was the persecuted Church from 300-1300, who was served by four "angels": Hus, Wycliffe, Luther and Calvin. 37

The Puritan pastor believed that Satan had been bound a thousand years (from c. 300-1300) by Constantine, but had broken his shackles and was determined to destroy the elect by a conspiracy between the pope and the Turk. From 1300 onward the true Church had taken its own destiny in hand to confront him and this was to culminate in the Battle of Armageddon against that "holy city," Geneva! 38 He saw the Reformed armies victorious over the pope and the converted Jews conquering the Turks.

At other points of the prophecy, Brightman's interpretation was purely English. The "harvest" was brought about by Luther, but the "vintage" was in England. Thomas Cromwell was the "avenging angel," while Thomas Cranmer was the "soul" under the altar. 39 He pictured the seventh trumpet as blowing in 1558 and the seven vials beginning under Queen Elizabeth in 1560. He dated the beginning of the fall of Antichrist at 1558 with her ascension: "Christ sent our most gracious Elizabeth to be queen at the first blast of the seventh trumpet." He

37 Brightman, A revelation of the Revelation, pp. 322-327; 480-488.

38 Ibid., pp. 392-393; 829-835. He writes: "The Turk and the pope shall conspire the utter desolation of the whole church...They shall come together to Armageddon, that holy city, that hill that is so fruitful with dainty and precious things, the angel (Calvin) whereof standeth in the sun."

39 Ibid., pp. 503-504.
went so far as to call her "that most beautiful and comfortable star" announcing: "Now is that time begun when Christ shall reign in all the earth." Thus, England's full reformation was essential to the apocalyptic fulfillment as expressed in the seven vials:

- **Vial One (1563):** Elizabeth dismissed papal clergy
- **Vial Two (1564):** Council of Trent confirmed the damnation of non-elect
- **Vial Three (1581):** Act of Parliament against papists
- **Vial Four (present):** "boiling heate of the sunne is nowe every daye to be looked for...whereby the man of sinne may be vehemently scorched."
- **Vial Five (future, by 1650):** Fall of Rome (pope)
- **Vial Six (Future):** Conversion of the Jews
- **Vial Seven (no later than 1695):** Battle of Armageddon

In contrast to the Jesuit commentators, to whom he was replying, Brightman argued that the conversion of the Jews followed the defeat of the Antichrist (which to him was Rome). Thus, the fall of Rome would hasten the conversion of the Jews and bring in their Kingdom on earth as well. The stage was now set for the development of the idea that the "saints" would have to make war with the Antichrist in order to establish the Kingdom. For the Jews, there would be a literal King-

---

40 Ibid., pp. 388-390; 406-587; 611. Christianson, op.cit., p. 103, notes that Brightman's emphasis upon Elizabeth was based upon his belief that "God employed imperial agents to establish his kingdom on earth."

41 Ibid., p. 542.

dom on earth involving the "full restoring of the Jewish nation." 43

Firth correctly observes that Brightman viewed Daniel as a Jewish
version of the Apocalypse, containing the history of the Jews until the
second coming, whereas the latter contained the history of the Gentile
Church until the defeat of the Antichrist united both "churches" into
one eternal kingdom. 44 Unlike earlier reformers Brightman maintained
a totally positive attitude toward the Jews, whom he called "our breth-
ren." 45 By 1650, he speculated, Rome would be defeated and the Jews
would be restored in their own land.

5. Sir Walter Ralegh (1552-1618).

Educated at Oriel College in Oxford, Walter Ralegh (Raleigh) was
a distinguished English soldier, navigator and writer (Figure 4). 46
He fought for the Huguenots in France and against the Spanish under the
prince of Orange in the Netherlands. A favorite of Queen Elizabeth, he
established the colony of Virginia in North America in her honor and in-
troduced tobacco to Europe. In 1558, at her request, he commanded the
queen's forces at Cornwall and overwhelmingly defeated the Spanish Armada
and repulsed the invasion. However, after Elizabeth's death, he fellun-

43Brightman, A revelation of the Revelation, p. 559. The restora-
tion of Israel later became a dominant theme in dispensationalism as well.
44Firth, op.cit., p. 173. Her discussion of Brightman's thinking
is the best in print and should be thoroughly consulted, pp. 164-179.
45Brightman, A most Comfortable Exposition of the last and most
difficult parts of the Prophecie of Daniel (London: 1644), pp. 920-
923; A revelation of the Revelation, pp. 557-559; 861-852; 932-933.
46On Ralegh's life and influence, see "Raleigh, Walter," in J.
M'Clintock and J. Strong, Cyclopedia, vol. VIII, pp. 890-891; J.H.
Adamson and H.F. Folland, The Shepherd of the Ocean (Boston: Gambit,
1969); I. Anthony, Raleigh and his World (New York: Scribner's Sons,
1934); D.B. Chidsey, Sir Walter Raleigh: That Damned Upstart (New York:
der the disdain of King James, who had him tried as a "dannable atheist" and "viperous traitor." He was condemned to death, but held in the Tower of London for thirteen years. It was there that he wrote his famous History of the World. He was released in 1615 and sailed for Guiana in an expedition that ended in utter failure. Upon his return to England, he was arrested and executed on October 29, 1618, by order of King James.

Ralegh used the apocalyptic tradition extensively in his history, which emphasized the importance of divine providence from the beginning of creation (which he held to be literal and ex nihilo) unto the new heavens and the new earth. He dated creation at 4031 B.C. and divided history into three main periods: before the Law, under the Law, and under grace. He presented a universal chronology based upon a Christian theory of universal history. He distinguished between secular and religious chronologies, putting greater confidence in those based upon Scriptures. His complete belief in the literal historicity of the Bible caused him to reject all secular contradictions as false. In so doing, he saw no distinction between prophecy and history. Firth notes that he viewed prophecy as the "history of the future." Ralegh viewed sacred history as the history of God's providence over the entire world. Such a history was not limited to the

(London: 1868).

49 Ibid., Book III, chap. I, sec. iii and viii.
history of the Church, but included the entire history of God's dealings with men. He wrote vehemently against the pagan Greek view of history, arguing that God was the ultimate First Cause behind the universe. 51

It was in the area of speculation and conjecture that Ralegh added to the apocalyptic tradition. He viewed the Roman Empire (Daniel's Fourth Monarchy) as having ceased without a true successor. Instead, he surmised, it had now been replaced by the Turk in the East and the Spaniard in the West. 52 He extended this idea even further suggesting that the Spaniards were descendents of the Magogians. 53 Perhaps in view of his plight in prison, he made King James the new "David," a fulfillment of Ezekiel 37:25! He saw the "locusts" as being the Turks and Mohammed as the "false prophet." 54 As an overarching thematic structure, he pictured the Western world of his day as divided between two forces: England, the representative of the true faith, and Spain, the epitome of false doctrine. There can be little wonder as to why the Spanish king pressured James for Ralegh's execution!

B. Millennial Expectation.


Known in his native Germany as Johann Heinrich, Alsted represented the Reformed Church of Nassau at the Synod of Dort in 1618-1619. He


was a professor of philosophy and theology at Herborn and later at Weissenburg, in Transylvania. He represents a mixture of Ramism, Rosicrucianism and the ideas of Philip Melanchthon. Thus, these German polyhistorians were known as "Mixts" or "Philippo-Ramists." Alsted's written works included two encyclopedias and his famous, thrice titled treatise on the Millennium. His Tractatus de Mille Annis was published in Germany in 1618 and later translated into English and published in 1643 as The Beloved City: or, the Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years. With it came an even stronger statement on the expected coming Millennium.

In his universal history, Alsted divided biblical (or canonical) history from Church history, which he further divided into seven ages:

1. Christ to Constantine
2. Constantine to Gregory I
3. Gregory I to Phocas
4. Phocas to Charlemagne
5. Charlemagne to Otto I
6. Otto I to Henry IV
7. Henry IV to Luther

He dated the parallel history of the Antichrist from 597 to 1597 and rejected dating the binding of Satan from 300 until 1300 (which was commonly held) and, instead, placed it into the future, parallel to the saints' rule upon the earth. Firth notes: "Unlike the apologists of


56 J.H. Alsted, Curus Philosphici Encyclopedia Biblica (Herborn: 1620); Encyclopedia (Lyons: 1649), 4 vols; Tractatus de Mille Annis (Herborn: 1618); later issued as Diatribe De Milleannis Apocalypticis non illis Chiliasarum & Phantastarum (Frankfurt: 1627); and translated into English as The Beloved City: or, the Saints Reign on Earth
the sixteenth-century reformation, who looked to the past to justify the present, (he) looked to the future to vindicate the promises the apologists had led them to expect." 57 Thus, the apocalyptic tradition began to look to the future for a millennial reign of Christ upon the earth. Alsted dated the beginning of the millennium at 1694 and its termination at 2694.

Alsted's Latin title, published in Frankfort in 1627, shows he wanted to disassociate himself from the more extreme chiliasts to whom he eventually gave such support and impetus with the posthumous translation of his work into English in 1643. While he did not envision the Millennium as one of perfect peace and harmony, he did see it as a time when the elect and reprobate peacefully coexisted. This, he assumed, would be followed by the war with Gog and Magog, which (based on the Apocalypse) he believed would not occur until after the Millennium.

The German apocalyptist also predicted that the fall of Antichrist would occur before the Millennium and would occasion the conversion of the Jews. 58 Thus, Alsted put several events into the future which had previously been viewed as being in the past: the binding of Satan, the War of Gog and Magog, etc. However, by dating the beginning of the Millennium at 1694, he heightened the general expectation of the fall of the Roman Church and the conversion of the Jews. In time his works

---


58 Alsted, The Beloved City, p. 37.
were viewed as a part of the utopian millenarianism of the continental Protestant visionaries.  

Alsted's own personal shock at the devastating effects of the Thirty Years' War in Germany appealed to the English Puritans, who also felt persecuted by governmental policies designed to crush their influence. Thus, their desire for the personal return of Christ became their only hope of realizing the Kingdom in their lifetime. 


Mede was the most outstanding of all the early English premillennialists. Born in Essex, he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1602, the year that William Perkins died. He received his M.A. in 1610 and his B.D. in 1618. He was one of the outstanding intellectuals of his day. He was a Ramist logician, philosopher, botanist, astronomer and pioneer Orientalist, having acquired a reading knowledge of Hebrew before he was sixteen. He cleverly applied his skills as a linguist, historian and mathematician to the study of the Apocalypse, and Christianson correctly observes, "Upon Mede's shoulders must rest the primary responsibility for the revival of Millennial thought in Eng-

---


land." 61

Mede (Figure 5) was a professor of Greek and master of the Cambridge Platonists. He believed that history was moving toward a great culminating and transforming event in the return of Jesus Christ. 62 His apocalyptic views were thoroughly expounded in his Clavis Apocalypticae (The Key to the Revelation). 63 A later, and lesser known, work was entitled: A Paraphrase and Exposition of the Prophesie of Saint Peter, Concerning the day of Christ's Second Coming, published posthumously in 1642. That same year his The Apostasy of the Latter Times also appeared in English. 64 Hill notes that no English editions of Mede's works appeared under Archbishop Laud. However, a translation of Clavis Apocalyptical was ordered in 1643 by a committee of the House of Commons. It included a preface by the Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, William Twisse. 65 The assembly included Stephen of Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede, Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society, XI (1968), pp. 181-193.


62 Tuveson, op.cit., p. 76ff. He argues that the seventeenth-century apocalyptic theorists, not the Renaissance cyclical historiographers, triumphed in the development of the view of modern history.

63 This first appeared in Latin in 1627 and was reprinted in 1632 and 1642. Richard More translated it into English as The Key of the Revelation (London: Philemon Stephens, 1643). The original Latin editions were intended for a small circle of university intellectuals. However, the English edition took the general public by storm. It became the most influential premillennial book in England during that time.

64 Mede, A Paraphrase of the Prophesie of Saint Peter, Concerning the day of Christ's Second Coming (London: Samuel Man, 1642) and The Apostasy of the Latter Times (London: Samuel Man, 1642).

Marshall, Thomas Goodwin, Jeremiah Burroughs and William Bridge, all of whom were followers of Mede's premillennialism.

One of Mede's unique contributions to apocalyptic interpretation was his discovery of the synchronism of prophecies. 66 By this interpretive device he viewed various events as happening at the same time period. Thus, at the sixth trumpet, the Gentiles are removed from the outer court, the dominion of the beast is crushed, the testimony of the two witnesses ceases and the woman in the wilderness is saved all at the same time. All of this is illustrated on the chart which was included in his commentary, showing that 1260 days, 42 months, and 3½ years all refer to the same time period. 67

Taking the 1260 days to mean 1260 prophetic years, Mede dated the rise of the antichrist at A.D. 395, simultaneous to apostasy in the Church, which would continue 1260 years, or until 1655. With the fall of the Beast (Rome) in 1655, the Woman (Church) could return from the Wilderness to her proper place of prominence during the subsequent Millennium. The seventh trumpet would coincide with the Battle of Armageddon, by which God would destroy the papacy and prepare the world for the thousand year reign of Christ through his saints. He interpreted

The Beloved City also appeared in English translation at about the same time, so did John Archer's Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth (1642). In the latter, Archer predicted that the pope would fall in 1666 and that the Millennium would begin in 1700.

66 J. Mede, The Key of the Revelation, part 1, p. 1. He writes: "By a Synchronisme of prophecies I mean, when the things run along in the same time...an agreement in time or age."

67 This process is examined at length by Clouse, op.cit., pp. 186-190. He notes that Mede took the 1260 days to represent 1260 years, dating the first vial with the Waldensians, Albigensians, Wyckliffites, and Hussites. In the second vial he saw Luther. The "locusts" cloud
the two beasts of Revelation 13 as the political and religious spheres of Romanism. The ten horns of the political beast represent the ten European nations that came out of the territory of the old Roman Empire. 68

In many ways Mede was a forerunner of later dispensational eschatology. He believed in the bodily resurrection of the dead martyrs, the literal return of Christ and his reign upon the earth for a thousand years, two judgments separated by the thousand years, and the reign of the Bride of Christ during the Millennium. 69 He differed in that he did not believe Christ would actually leave the throne of heaven to rule on earth. While His authority would prevail, He would not be visible Himself on the earth during the Millennium. He also emphasized the unique position of the Church, not Israel, during the Millennium. 70

Mede, however, did believe in the future conversion of the Jews and went so far as to develop a series of comparisons between the con-

ferred to Mohammedanism because it obscured Christian doctrine.

68 See Mede's, *The Key of the Revelation*, I, pp. 80-121. Cf. also his *The Apostasy of the Latter Times*, pp. 62-70, where he refers to the worship of saints, images, celibacy, etc. as a revival of paganism in the Catholic Church.

69 Key, compendium on Rev. 20. He writes: "The Seventh Trumpet, with the whole space of 1000 years thereto appertaining, signifying the great Day of Judgment, circumscribed within two resurrections, begin-
ing at the judgment of Antichrist, as the morning of that day, and con-
tinuing during the space of 1000 years granted to new Jerusalem (the Spouse of Christ), upon this Earth, till the universal resurrection and judgment of all the dead, when the wicked shall be cast into Hell to be tormented for ever, and the Saints translated into Heaven, to live with Christ for ever."

70 He viewed the conversion of the Jews as a part of the process of bringing the Church to preeminence during the Millennium, however, he did not limit the thousand-year reign to an exclusively Jewish Kingdom. See Clouse, "The Rebirth of Millenarianism," pp. 60-62.
version of Paul and the future conversion of Israel. 71 Some of these included: Paul's zeal for the law; his obstinate rejection of Christ prior to his conversion; his miraculous conversion; his evangelistic zeal. He also noted that the gospel made little progress among the Gentiles until Paul's conversion and that Paul reproved Peter for Judaizing. Thus, he believed the conversion of the Jews would result in mass conversions of lost Gentiles and the ultimate rebuke of the Church of Rome for its paganism.

Mede's influence was incredible. He was an intellectual, uninterested in political or ecclesiastical promotion. As such, he was keenly aware of the current intellectual milieu of his day. He taught such great men as John Milton, Isaac Newton, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Nathaniel Holmes. He directly influenced the Puritan Thomas Goodwin, who would succeed him as England's leading premillennialist. He also carried on extensive correspondence with Bishop James Ussher, on whom he had a great influence. 72

Like Napier before him, Mede loaned his intellectual authority to the study of apocalyptic prophecy. He also developed a systematic analysis of the text of Revelation, which included the development of sophisticated hermeneutic devices, namely synchronisms. Thus, like Napier, Mede believed that the Apocalypse contained a simple history which could be uncovered by the application of demonstrable propositions. Like other English Protestants, he viewed papal Rome as the Antichrist. Unlike

71 J. Mede, The Mysterie of St. Paul's Conversion or The Type of the calling of the Jews in Mede's Works.

72 Samples of their correspondence are quoted by Firth, op.cit., pp. 215-218, taken from Mede's Works, Vol. II.
others, he was convinced that Rome's overthrow would usher in a millennium of blessing upon earth. Thus, he postponed the end of the world until after a millennium of blessing. 73

Mede also developed the idea that the Book of Daniel contained two "sacred calendars," one for the Jews (the seventy weeks) and one for the Gentiles (the four monarchies). Though Mede himself was a cautious man, rejecting, for example, the popular idea that the American Indians were the lost tribes of Israel, his emphasis upon the millennial kingdom as the fifth monarchy led to the radical views of the Fifth Monarchy movement of the 1650s and 1660s. 74

3. Alexander Leighton.

Since the time of the foiled Gunpowder Plot against King James in 1605, tensions had been running high between Catholics and Protestants. The conspiracy against the Protestant monarch was lead by Robert Catesby, a zealous Catholic, who hoped to blow up James and the entire Parliament at the Palace of Westminster. The plot was exposed, however, and the thirteen Catholic conspirators were killed or executed. 75 However, the incident touched off a wave of anti-Catholic sentiment during

73 Firth, op. cit., emphasizes this relationship more than other authors on the subject.

74 Christianson, op. cit., pp. 129-131, notes that the publication of Mede's commentary in English in 1643 provoked the revolutionary fervor of those days. Thus, Mede's view of the antichristian practices of the Catholic Church were quickly applied to similar practices in the Arminian (Laudian) Church of England. Christianson observes: "By the time that Mede died in 1638, the age of illustrious exegesis had drawn to a close and that of protesting propaganda had dawned."

the reign of James.

After James' death in 1625, his son Charles came to the throne of England and Ireland as Charles I. However, that same year he married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV of France. She was an ardent Roman Catholic with an entourage of friars, monks and advisors, and the marriage touched off an avalanche of anonymous Puritan tracts against her and Catholicism. In these publications Henrietta Maria was attacked as "Jezebel" and the friars and monks as her "eunuchs." 76

In spite of Charles' wife, Leighton dedicated his book Speculum bellisauri: or the looking-glasse of the Holy War (1628) to the persecuted Protestant king and queen of Bohemia, to Charles, "the hope of Great Britain," and the Parliament. Christianson notes: "Like many raised on the stories of the Armada and the Gunpowder Plot, Leighton looked on Britain as the Key in the struggle against antichrist." 77 Throughout the book, Leighton defends the concept of holy war against the agents of Satan. He argued that nature teaches us that it is legitimate to defend oneself or his family. Mixing classical, biblical and historical examples, he argued that military discipline is essential virtue for the Christian soldier. 78

76 See (anonymous) Sacrae Heptades, or Seven Problems concerning Antichrist, p. 211. The tract calls for reformation instead of deformation of the Church.

77 Christianson, op.cit., p. 116. He correctly emphasizes the significance of Leighton's works in the development of militant apocalypticism. The Puritan objected to pro-Romanists as "evil spirits" of which to beware.

Leighton used the terminology of Brightman to warn England against the deadness of Sardis and the lukewarmness of Laodicea. He complimented Scotland, "where there is not so much as one hoof of the beast left." He argued that the subversion of Protestant nations to Rome was a punishment for their failure to complete the reformation God wanted. He therefore urged a Presbyterian polity in order to "purify" the Church of England. He also urged the government to "root out" England's national sins: stage plays, sabbath breaking, oaths, usury, etc.

The significance of Leighton's work is that it set the model of militant puritan apocalyptic thought by its prophetic warnings, appeals to prophetic fulfillment in contemporary events and identifications of current leaders in apocalyptic terminology. Though he believed that he lived in the "last days," Leighton made no attempt to date the end of the age or to speculate on the Millennium. Christianson notes: "Like Martin Marprelate before him, Leighton reached into the apocalyptic armoury of the separatists to select one of their weapons for making a 'root and branch' assault upon episcopacity." 80

He developed a clever logical syllogism to prove his point:

These governors are justly called antichristian who are assistant to the pope in his universal government.

79 Speculum bellisaeri, p. 107.
But the bishops, archbishops, chancellors, etc. are assistants to the pope in his universal government.

Therefore, bishops, archbishops, chancellors, etc. are justly called antichristian. 81

An extreme radical, Leighton openly attacked the bishops of the Protestant Church of England as remnants of the Roman papacy. He also openly criticized Elizabeth and James for failing to reform the Church by the removal of all episcopacy. Thus, the stage was set for the apocalyptic tradition to become anti-Episcopal was well as anti-Catholic.

4. Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680).

Born in Norfolk, Goodwin (Figure 6) was educated at Cambridge and later became a fellow of St. Catherine's and vicar of Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge. He earned his B.A., M.A., and B.D. at Cambridge and was later awarded the D.D. in 1653. He became a Congregationalist by 1634 and resigned under Laud's pressure and moved to London. For the next five years he preached in independent congregations until persecution finally drove him to Holland in 1639. 82 He was one of the more prolific Puritan writers, producing several theological studies and an exposition on Ephesians.

Goodwin's interest in apocalyptic prophecies began while he was still a student at Cambridge in the 1620s. His early ministry in London

---

81 Speculum, pp. 69-81. In Leighton's terminology all bishops and prelates were of necessity of their offices "antichristian."

Figure 6

Thomas Goodwin
coincided with the elevation of William Laud as the archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Laud was an Arminian by theology and favored episcopacy as the only legitimate form of Church government. Thus, under the reign of Charles I, Laud unleashed a new wave of persecution against Puritans, Calvinists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. His emphasis on "High Church" Anglo-Catholicism and revived ritualism was viewed by the Puritans as a retreat back to Rome. Laud himself defended Roman theology as a true Christian belief.

Under Henry Barrow the Separatists had earlier attacked the Church of England as a corrupt and false church, incapable of leading the forces of Christ in triumph over the antichrist of Rome. Now with the elevation of Laud this idea received renewed impetus. Under the protection of King Charles I the Arminians rose to power and prominence and the

---


85 See Christianson, op.cit., pp. 73-92, for an excellent and extensive study of Barrow's early extremism and pessimism toward the Established Church. This led to his eventual execution for sedition in 1593. Christianson notes that Barrow's criticisms came too early because "the call for withdrawal from the Established Church challenged the whole force of the emerging idea that England provided the chief
Puritans once again became restless, hostile and disillusioned. Some fled to the Netherlands while others sailed off to North America to build a New Jerusalem and a New England. 86

In an attempt to suppress Puritan ideas, Laud began to censure any books which did not uphold his brand of orthodoxy. He also instituted a systematic campaign to abolish lectureships and to deprive ministers who refused to conform. Laud viciously attacked all who disagreed with him as "Puritans" and thus helped them forge a united front against him and his policies. The turning point came when he imprisoned, tortured and executed the triumvirate of John Bastwick, Henry Burton and William Prynne. 87 Their sufferings reminded the general public of Foxe's martyrs and they became symbols of the public protest against Charles and Laud both. A lesser known pamphleteer, and later leader of the Levelers, John Lilburne, was cruelly whipped, dragged through the streets of London and chained up in the Fleet prison. He never forgot his awful experience and later helped lead the revolt against Charles.


87 Their cruel and inhumane torture included the pillory, the hook and the removal of their tongues and ears. Their extensive tractarian writings of the 1630s fueled the anti-Laudian sentiment of the general public. Cf. J. Bastwick, Elenchus papisticae religionis (London: 1627); τὰ ἐν εἰποντίῳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, sive apologeticus ad praesules Anglicanos (London: 1637); Flagellum pontificis (London: 1634); The Confession of a Faithful Witness of Christ (London: 1641); H. Burton, The bait-
It was during these difficult times that Thomas Goodwin fled to Arnhem in the Netherlands, where he helped John Archer pastor an English church. Goodwin wrote his early apocalyptic works while still in exile in Holland. He later returned to England as one of the Dissenting Brethren at the Westminster Assembly. Later he became president of Magdalene College, Oxford from 1650-1660. 88

In 1639 Goodwin preached a series of sermons on the Apocalypse at Arnhem. These were published posthumously as An Exposition of the Revelation. In 1640 he preached a series on Ephesians, also published posthumously, in which he outlined his belief that Christ must rule on earth to fulfill his glory. 89 Goodwin held tenaciously to the idea that the full expression of Christ's glory could only be fulfilled in a literal earthly kingdom combining all the people of God at all time.

During a fast-day in Holland in 1641 he preached his now famous

- The warning of the pope's bull (London: 1627); For God and the King (Amsterdam: 1636); Lord bishops none of the Lords bishops (London: 1640); The protestation protested (London: 1641); The Sounding of the last two trumpets (London: 1641); W. Prynne, Anti-Arminianism (London: 1630); A looking-glasse for all lordly prelates (London: 1636); Certain queries propounded to the bowers, at the name of Jesus (Amsterdam: 1636); A breviate of the prelates intolerable usurpations (Amsterdam: 1637); A new discovery of the prelates tyrannie (London: 1641); The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie both to regal monarchy and civil unity (London: 1641).


89 T. Goodwin, An Exposition of Ephesians in Works, 11 vols. (Edinburgh: 1861-1864). He comments on Ephesians 2:21, "My brethren, there is a special world, called 'the world to come' appointed eminently for Jesus Christ to reign in...between this world and the day of judgment... As Adam had a world made for him, so shall Jesus Christ, the second Adam...Adam being a type of him that was to come...have a world made for him...a new heaven and a new earth...where the saints shall reign."
sermon, *A Glimpse of Syons Glory*. Expanding his belief that Christ must reign on the earth in a full manifestation of his glory, Goodwin developed a full doctrine of the Millennium, arguing for the literal interpretation of apocalyptic texts. Stating that "all texts are to be understood literally," he advocated the literal interpretation of such passages as Zechariah 12:10; Matthew 26:29; Revelation 20. In dealing with Ephesians 1:21-22, he argued that the "world to come" was not heavens, but the kingdom of Christ on earth. He dated this "new world" as beginning with Christ's preaching on the Kingdom during his earthly ministry and extending through the future Millennium. Thus, the "world to come" was already in process and moving toward a certain and victorious culmination.

Goodwin paralleled the Kingdom of Christ to the Fifth Monarchy of Daniel 2, reaching from the Incarnation to the Last Judgment and including the Millennium. Thus, the present Church was a part of that glorious Kingdom and the key to its eventual triumph on earth. Goodwin argued that the gradual recovery of the purity of the New Testament Church's worship and doctrine would be fully realized in the Millennium. This purity, he argued, was already visible in the Congregational churches.

Set against this backdrop, it was a logical conclusion for Goodwin to deduce that the Laudian persecution of the 1630s was a resurgence of the power of antichrist against the true Church. This placed the

current Puritan movement at the center of the apocalyptic struggle between the forces of Christ and the forces of antichrist. Thus, he speculated that the two faithful witnesses of the Apocalypse (ch. 11) were the persecuted Congregational churches which would rise again to prominence in England. 91

Playing off the number 666, Goodwin argued that the climax of the antichrist's power would be reached in 1666. Thereafter, the Congregational churches (the "witnesses") would rise again to power. He wrote: "Moreover, this resurrection of the witnesses seems to be the beginning of the first great turn of things in the Church hastening to the New Jerusalem. 92 Goodwin went on to argue that the fall of both the papacy and the Turkish Empire would come shortly and the Millennium would be inaugurated before 1700.

The stage was now set for a significant shift in apocalyptic thought. The antichrist was no longer limited to the pope or the Roman Catholic Church. He was now viewed as being active through the concept of episcopacy, which remained as a "hoof" of his influence in the Church of England. 93

91 A Glimpse of Syons Glory is based on an exposition of Revelation 19:6, "Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." It describes the final state of the fifth monarchy (the "world to come"). In it Goodwin viewed the Church as enthroned with Christ in a "wonderful confluence of people, both Jew and Gentile."

92 Ibid. See also Toon, op.cit., pp. 64-65.

93 In time the Separatists, Baptists and others added to this list: infant baptism, vestments, prayer books, episcopacy, presbyterianism, etc. were all condemned as anti-Christian. So too were Laud, Charles I, the Pope and the Kings of Spain and France. See C. Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 88-98.
5. Jeremiah Burroughs (1559-1646).

Educated at Cambridge, Burroughs was ejected from the ministry for nonconformity in 1636. He fled to Rotterdam where he pastored an English congregation. He later returned to England to pastor the two most influential independent congregations in London. He was also one of the "dissenting brethren" at the Westminster Assembly.

There is great debate among scholars as to who actually wrote the anonymous _A Glimpse of Syons Glory_ (1641). 94 Certainly, however, it reflected the growing prevalence of Puritan thought. Like Goodwin, Burroughs argued that Laudian uniformity violated the freedom of the true Church and re instituted antichrist's power in England. A parliamentary preacher with separatist views and an apocalyptic vision, Burroughs referred to England as "Jerusalem" in his sermon, _Sions joy_ (1641). He openly condemned Laud's policies, announcing:

"Jerusalem was not long since as a woman forsaken, her children went about mourning in the streets, they saw Jerusalem even turned into Babylon, they saw that havoc was made of the saints, of faithful ministers, of truths, of ordinances." 95

In militant tones he demanded action on the part of God's people: "Antichrist shall never prevail again as he hath done: God will give, yea he hath given such a spirit to his saints, as they will never be brought

---


to bow their backs again." 96

Burroughs was typical of the new radicalization of the Puritans in the early 1640s. Tired of the persecution of the 1630s, they longed for the total removal of spiritual Babylon (Rome) from England. Christianson writes: "Hardened by years of derision and persecution for their beliefs, these experienced lay preachers and organizers now strained to finish the final destruction of Babylon." 97 The "Root and Branch" movement rose up among the laity, demanding that the episcopacy be "rooted out" of the Church. Scotch Presbyterians and Amsterdam separatists both argued for the total reform of the Church in order to bring in the New Jerusalem.

As millennial expectation built, so did militant determination. Believing that the saints were to help Christ rule the Millennial Kingdom, Burroughs urged that the people themselves overthrow episcopacy. Thus, public reaction against Laud's policies led to his imprisonment by Parliament in 1641 and his execution for treason in 1645. The collapse of the Arminian party was viewed by most Puritans as a fulfillment of Brightman's chronological interpretation of Daniel and Revelation. Certainly, they thought, the Kingdom is right around the next corner. John Archer wrote the pamphlet The personall raigne of Christ upon earth in 1641. It was reprinted five times between 1641-1642. In it he equated the defeat of the Laudians with the coming conversion of the Jews and

96 Ibid., pp. 57-59.

97 Op.cit., p. 203. Christianson provides several examples of the persecution of Puritan nonconformists that were typical of that time.
the suppression of Rome. 98

Burroughs proclaimed that the action of the Long Parliament initiated the collapse of Babylon and the rise of Zion. He paralleled it to the pouring out of the fifth vial upon the Beast. Pointing to the Scotch Covenanters, Burroughs urged the English to take the initiative to inaugurate the reign of Christ on earth. Following Brightman's chronology he dated the destruction of Babylon at about 1650.

Burroughs' unique contribution to the development of Puritan apocalyptic thought prior to the English Civil War was his insistence on the vigorous participation of the people in preparing the way for Christ's coming to establish His Kingdom. 99 Firth also notes that at this same time Napier's and Brightman's works were reprinted as radical tracts applying Bible prophecy to the current national situation in Britain. 100 Even John Milton, the Puritan poet, wrote in defence of the approaching millennium and Britain's unique place in the Kingdom of Christ. 101 No longer were the Puritan apocalyptists looking for the end of the world. Now they were anticipating the glory of the millennial kingdom in their lifetime.

Back from exile, Burroughs preached before the House of Commons on

---


99 Christianson, op.cit., pp. 215-221, observes this and discusses it at length.

100 Firth, op.cit., pp. 230-241. Brightman's commentary was abridged and appeared as *A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation* (1641). Napier's work appeared as *The Bloody Almanack* (1643).

September 5, 1641. He appealed to Parliament as the true agents of God's Kingdom. He addressed them as the "annointed of the Lord" and announced: "We hear a noise now not only as from many waters, but from thunder saying, Hallelujah, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"\textsuperscript{102}

CONCLUSION

The period from the invasion of the Spanish Armada (1588) until the outbreak of the Civil War (1642) marks the rise of millenarian speculation in English eschatology. Theologians and commentators, from John Napier to Jeremiah Burroughs, began to speculate on the immediacy of Christ's literal reign upon the earth. The historic apocalyptic tradition gave way to conjecture and speculation by some of England's finest minds. They brought "academic credibility" to the prophetic art of apocalyptic speculation. By the 1640s the Puritan apocalyptists called for the radical removal of the forces of antichrist by whatever means might be necessary to exterminate the evil of "Babylon" from their beloved England.

The examination and evaluation of Puritan eschatology reveals that apocalyptic expectation arose out of the difficult circumstances of the reformers and increased with their continuous frustration with the English monarchy. Repeated disappointment with the progress of the reformation in England further fueled their apocalyptic mentality. However, with the rise of millennialism, the Puritans began to use apocalyptic texts as eschatological prophecies fulfilled in their own time. Instead

\textsuperscript{102}Burroughs, Sions joy, p. 44. Christianson, op. cit., p. 217 argues that Burroughs' use of this text (Rev. 14:6) appears in all of his apocalyptic sermons and proves that the wrote \textit{A Glimpse of Sions Glory}. 
of foreseeing the final conflict between good and evil, they focused on
the coming millennium of glory for the saints.

In the sociology of apocalyptic attention is focused on the phe-
nomenon itself rather than its literary form. The mentality of apoc-
alyptic still dominated the Puritans' expectation of the coming mille-
nium. To them the glorious reign of Christ upon the earth for a thou-
sand years was the first phase of the final apocalypse. Since the apol-
alyptic mentality foresees the ultimate triumph of good and the destruc-
tion of evil, the Puritan millenialists were merely anticipating the
immediate fulfillment of their ultimate hope. Rather than viewing them
as realized eschatologists, one should understand them as "realized
apocalyptists."

Against this background one readily understands the Puritans'
justification of war in order to expel the forces of Antichrist and
to establish the Kingdom of Christ upon earth. To them, the English
Revolution was all part of the apocalyptic drama of the last days.
"Babylon" must be overthrown and Christ must reign now!
1587 Mary ("Queen of Scots") Stuart executed by Elizabeth.
  Foxe dies.
1588 Spanish Armada defeated by England.
  Broughton's *Concent of Scripture* published.
1593 Napier's *Plaine Discovery* first published at Edinburgh.
1599 Pont's *Newe Treatise* published.
1603 Queen Elizabeth dies.
  James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England.
1604 Hampton Court Conference convened by King James.
1605 Gunpowder Plot vs. King James.
1609 Posthumous publication of Brightman's *Apocalypsis Apocalypseos*.
1611 King James Version of the Bible published.
1618 Sir Walter Ralegh executed.
  Synod of Dort begins in Holland (Arminian dispute).
1625 Alsted's *Tractatus de Mille Annis* published in Germany.
1627 King James dies.
  Charles I becomes King of England.
1628 Henrietta Maria arrives in England.
  Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* published privately.
1629 Oliver Cromwell elected to Parliament.
  Publication of Leighton's two works on Holy War: *Speculum Bellisaeri* and *Sion's Plea*.
1630 Parliament dismissed by Charles I.
1633 William Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.
1634 Laudian persecution of Puritans begins to intensify.
1637 Scottish National Covenant signed by Scottish Covenanters.
  Cromwell urges the abolition of episcopacy in Parliament.
1638 Publication of several pamphlets by John Lilburne.
1640 The Long Parliament begins.
1641 Archbishop Laud imprisoned by Parliament.
  Napier's *Narration* reprinted.
1642 Outbreak of the English Civil War.
1643 The *Bloody Almanac* issued.
1645 Laud executed for treason.
  Episcopacy abolished by Parliament.
  Cromwell establishes the New Model Army.
CHAPTER FOUR

MILITANT MILLENNIALISM DURING THE ENGLISH CIVIL WARS 1640-1660

The harsh treatment of Puritans under the supremacy of Archbishop Laud caused a radical reaction against episcopacy in the Church of England which coincided with the rise of militant millennialism. Thus, the "ship of state" became a frequent theme in Puritan preaching in the 1640s. The intellectual history of that period was significantly shaped by the power of the Puritan pulpit. ¹ Religious convictions were as much a part of the English Revolution as political ideas and economic interests.

The development of a just-war theory urged the increased participation of the godly in warfare itself. Alexander Leighton had already announced: "Work with one hand and with the other hold the sword." ²


² A. Leighton, Speculum bellisaeri: or the Looking Glass of the Holy War (n.p.: 1624), pp. 7-9. Leighton popularized the image of the
Even the moderate Richard Sibbes wrote: "The people of God are beautiful, for order is beautiful...An army is a beautiful thing, because of the order and the well-disposed ranks that are within it." 3 His was a reflection of the Puritan concern for godly discipline which became the basis of Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army.

At the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, the millenarian expectation of the coming of Christ's Kingdom on earth was mainly confined to the realm of theology. However, with the outbreak of the revolution, the millenarian ideology became the accepted interpretation of the conflict between the king and Parliament. It was viewed as an apocalyptic holy war between Christ and Antichrist. 4 Thus, Puritan millenarianism became a dynamic impulse during the Civil Wars. As the militant expectation for the literal realization of the heavenly kingdom grew stronger, it eventually fostered the idea of England as the New Jerusalem on earth. With the subsequent rise of the Fifth Monarchy

Puritan as both "wayfaring and warfaring" (pilgrim and soldier). He had earlier written An appeal to the Parliament, or Sions plea against the prelacy (Amsterdam: 1628).


Movement, the apocalyptic vision of England as the Zion of God took on an even more militant stance. During the short but tempestuous session of the Barebones Parliament, the Fifth Monarchy Men attempted to establish England as a holy commonwealth on earth.

The eventual failure of the Puritan vision for a New Jerusalem on English soil was caused by their own fragmentation and struggles among themselves. Despite their common hope to build an earthly Zion, the Puritan divines differed greatly in their plans for the Kingdom of Christ they wished to establish. Katherine Firth observes: "When belief was at its strongest, thought was at its weakest." By the time the Civil War erupted, England was flooded with books and pamphlets promoting millenarian programs for the reformation of society. The newer chiliastic doctrine was forged into a weapon of social revolution and civil warfare.

I. Rise of Millenarianism as a Political Force in England 1640-1648.

The optimism of the reformers was a high tide in 1640. Christianson notes that a "heady atmosphere of anticipation and confidence pre-


6 K.R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-
ailed among those who longed for further religious reform." The downfall of the Laudians was viewed as an act of God to preserve the true church. The Puritans believed that Babylon was falling and that Zion was springing up in England. Overcome by their own optimism, the reformers were inclined to minimize their differences and maximize their potential success.

A. The Long Parliament and the "Root and Branch" Petitions.

After ruling for eleven years without a Parliament, Charles I (Figure 1) was forced to assemble one in 1640 in order to raise enough money to go to war against the rebellious Scots who were "wearie of bishops." By this time Archbishop Laud had become the most unpopular man in England and was the focal point of attack by the newly-called "Short Parliament." The frustrated king quickly dissolved the assembly and failed in another attempt to defeat the Scots on his own. This left him with no alternative but to summon another Parliament in 1645 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 242. She notes that after 1645 the Puritans became preoccupied with the influence of current events on the time of the advent of the Millennium and the rise of various chiliastic movements obscured the historic apocalyptic tradition.

P. Christianson, Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 220. Christianson's excellent study gives careful attention to the theological views of the Puritan reformers as agents of social change in seventeenth-century England. He notes that from May to September 1641, they held a virtual monopoly over the parliamentary pulpit and used it to promote their vision of a New Jerusalem.

Charles I.

After a Portrait by Van Dyck.
November 1640, which became known as the "Long Parliament." 9

Before he could get the appropriation of needed funds to suppress the Scots' Rebellion, the king had to listen to the complaints of the Puritan ministers, lawyers, laymen and parliamentarians. The general feeling toward the Episcopal bishops was violent indeed. The Root and Branch Petition called for the abolition of prelacy and expressed the sentiments of the majority of the Long Parliament. 10

That whereas the government of archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, etc. with their courts and ministrations in them, have proven prejudicial and very dangerous both to the Church and Commonwealth...We therefore must humbly pray, and beseech this honorable assembly, the premises considered, that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots and branches, may be abolished. 11

However, as is often the case, the real problem of the assembly became the issue of how such a petition should be implemented. Some favored a reformed episcopacy, others Presbyterianism, and still others Congregationalism. Radicals like Edward Dering of Kent favored the petition and numerous similar petitions. However, the whole matter was eventually referred to a special committee of the House of Lords,


11 Quoted in Toon, op.cit., pp. 34-35. The petition attacks the
where Archbishop Ussher proposed a moderate compromise involving monthly synods. The committee failed to agree on a policy and, in the meantime, a "Root and Branch" Bill was introduced in the House of Commons.

All of these events were complicated by news of the Irish Rebellion which spread across England in November 1641. Suddenly, the optimism of the religious reformers gave way to an increasingly militant opposition to any kind of Romish papism. The Catholic church was blamed for a conspiracy against England. The ecclesiastical tie between Romanism and prelacy was attacked with renewed vigor. Fiery sermons denounced the bishops as agents of the Antichrist. The parliamentary preachers attacked the religious advisors of the king as the "legions of the beast." Because the reformers viewed the Roman Church as spiritual Babylon and the pope as the Antichrist, a whole new wave of apocalyptic fervor was unleashed.


Stephan Marshall was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and eventually became the vicar of Finchingfield, Essex. He became one of the predominant Puritan spokesmen and preached several times before the "manifold evils, pressures and grievances" caused by the prelates.


Long Parliament. He also served as a member of the Westminster Assembly. He later supported Cromwell and his state church. 14

By calling the English bishops "antichrists," the "Root and Branch" petitioners followed the earlier radical examples of Martin Marprelate and Alexander Leighton. On the anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne (November 17, 1640), Marshall and Cornelius Burges preached before Parliament and urged the House of Commons to form a covenant with God to complete the reformation of the Church of England. Burges praised the sixteenth-century bishops for initiating the Protestant settlement and casting off its "popish rags." However, he attacked the Laudians for attempting to "coast anew upon the brinks of Babylon." 15

Marshall attacked the doctrine of the Arminians as the "superstitions and idolatries" of Rome. He denounced the entire Middle Ages as the time of "Antichrist's apostasy." 16 The current threat to the Protestant cause was viewed as renewed apocalyptic warfare. To Marshall, the final battle approached rapidly on the English horizon. "Satan knows his time is short," he announced; "he stirs up all his instruments." To his thinking the Laudian-Arminians were clearly instruments of the devil to corrupt the true Church and return her to the fold of Rome. Thus, he called for the "purification" of the Church


15 Burges, First sermon (17 Nov. 1640), p. 54. For an excellent study on the relationship between Marshall and Burges, see Christianson, op.cit., pp. 184-200; 221-229. He calls Marshall the "preacher politician par excellence."

of England by the removal of the Bishops, etc.

By the time of the Irish Rebellion the apocalyptic tone of their sermons turned to militant hope. Apocalyptic analogies between England and Ireland became extensive. Burges pictured Ireland "swimming in blood, as if the whole kingdom were but one main slough of crimson, prepared to satiate the insatiable scarlet drunken whore." 17 To him the Irish Rebellion like the earlier Armada invasion and the Gunpowder Plot was a manifestation of the grand popish plot to invade England.

Marshall blatantly called the Catholics those whose "names are in the Dragon's master book." 18 Using the biblical example of Meroz who tried to remain neutral toward God's people, but was cursed, Marshall demanded that his listeners choose sides. In commenting on Revelation 7:14, he placed England in the Great Tribulation of the last days. He called for the godly to take up arms and "revenge God's church against Babylon." 19

The Puritan historian, William Haller, notes that Marshall's message became the archetype of the Puritan sermons that dominated the period of the English Civil Wars. 20 Clarendon remarked: "The archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence on the counsels at Court

17 Burges, Two sermons (30 Mar. 1642), p. 29. He and fellow preacher of the day, Simeon Ashe blamed England's troubles on the "malignant party" of Laudian advisors who attended King Charles.


19 Ibid., pp. 12, 33, 54.


as Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshall had then upon the Houses." According to Thomas Fuller, Stephan Marshall was "their Trumpet by whom they sounded their solemn Fasts...in their Sickness he was their Confessor, in their Assembly their Councillour, in their Treaties their Chaplain, in their Disputations their Champion." 22


Joseph Caryl (Figure 2), was a nonconformist who preached at Lincoln's Inn. He studied at Exeter College, Oxford, and later served on the Westminster Assembly. Caryl is most known for his twelve volume commentary on the Book of Job, which grew out of twenty-five years of preaching on the one book. 23 However, at the height of the Civil Wars he was a radical in calling for the forceful expulsion of the king and his bishops.

By redefining mercy, Caryl called for the total annihilation of the royalists. His explosive appeal to purge England rocked the Parliament. "Not to bear evil is mercy," he cried, "not only to the good but, to the evil. You cannot be more cruel to them than in sparing them." 24 There is no room for compromise in his appeal. To Caryl a royalist triumph would mean a return to Rome. He blamed the king's Arminian advisors of reviving the popish plot to reverse the Reformation.


24 J. Caryl, A sermon (27 April 1642), p. 41. His message was
in England. Thus, he identified the royalists with the Laudians and the latter with Babylon and called for an offensive war to purge them from England and thus purify the Church.

As a preacher, Joseph Caryl called upon Parliament to act as the instrument of the saints of God and destroy the evil forces that were working against the Reformation. Puritan historian John Wilson observes, "as far as the pulpit in St. Margaret's was concerned, civil war had already begun."  

Thus, the parliamentary preachers took advantage of the current crisis and used it to initiate a militant interpretation of the moment. Paul Christianson, following Wilson, notes, "In the Spring of 1642 they ran ahead of most contemporaries to push a clearly apocalyptic justification for fighting a civil war."  

Thus, it is clear that religious belief was not just a contributing factor to the English Civil Wars, it was the primary force!

3. William Bridge (1600-1670).

Bridge was also educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and later became one of the leading spokesmen for nonconformity. He had been deprived and excommunicated by Bishop Wren and fled to Rotterdam in Holland. When he returned in 1642 he established a new Congregational Church at Yarmouth. Later he was one of the dissenting Independents at the Westminster Assembly and a prominent member of the Savoy Con-

based upon the text of Rev. 2:2-3. For an evaluation of his influence on the Puritan apocalyptic scheme, see Christianson, op.cit., p. 230.

25 J. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1648 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 64. This volume is an excellent study of the extensive influence of the Puritan radicals upon the government during that period of time.

26 Christianson, op.cit., p. 230.
ference. 27

Liu notes that in general the sermons of the Independents were "more radical in tone." 28 Bridge shared a common heritage with Henry Burton, Nathaniel Holmes and William Sedgwick. Of all the Independents who preached before Parliament at this time Bridge was the most radical. He told the members of the House of Commons that the term Babylon referred not only to the church of Rome, but to all who held her teachings and policies. He called upon Parliament to destroy the "Babylonish party," calling for "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, burning for burning, and blood for blood." 29 He further assured his audience that "there is nothing cruell which God commands." In typical millenarian zeal he predicted that Babylon would fall and Zion be raised in her place.

Bridge's sermon was far too militant for 1641 and he had great difficulty getting it published. However, it set the tone of what was to come the following year. Even though Strafford had been executed and Laud arrested, the Puritan brotherhood would not be satisfied until every element of Babylon were expelled from the shores of England.


Sedgwick attended Pembroke College, Oxford, and received both the B.A. and M.A. degrees. He served as an army chaplain during the first

---

27 For biographical details, see Peter Lewis, The Genius of Puritanism (Sussex: Carey Publications, n.d.), p. 30. His most popular work was A Lifting up for the Downcast (London: 1648).

28 Liu, op.cit., p. 15ff. He places great significance upon the sermons of Bridge as being influential in the development of the militant vision of Puritan apocalyptism.

29 W. Bridge, Babylons Downfall (London: 1641), pp. 6-11.
Civil War and later became the chief pastor in Ely, where he was known as the "Apostle of the Isle of Ely" from 1644-1662. He was a combination of Puritan, Mystic, Anabaptist and Nonconformist elements. 30

As a parliamentary preacher, Sedgwick (known to his critics as "Doomsday") made the idea of a civil war seem like a natural and expected event. To his mind all Europe was in one great and final apocalyptic cataclysm. He wrote, "The shaking of the German Empire, that great bulwark of the beast, speaks of the wrath of God bordering upon the man of sin." 31 Viewing prelacy as the "throne of the beast," he announced that Scotland had been set free and that England must follow her example and bring in the Millennium by force. Thus, Christianson observes, Sedgwick saw a "whirlwind of apocalyptic change" sweeping across Europe, dethroning the Antichrist and bringing in the Kingdom of Christ (the fifth monarchy of Daniel's prophecies). 32

In Sedgwick's interpretation it was the devil himself who was trying to prevent Parliament from fully reforming the Church of England. He saw Satan as the dragon coming to steal the "golden fleece of the Reformation." However, such would not be the case, he announced, because even though "he raves and tears and foams and blasphemes, shakes the very pillars of the kingdom, cracks the foundation of government, and threatens confusion to the whole; but we hope by the help of Christ's


32 Christianson, op.cit., pp. 231-236. He alone places great emphasis upon Sedgwick's influence on the Puritan vision of a soon-coming
hands, the issue will be good. God seldom doth great things without commotion." 33

He went on to announce that Christ would soon return to establish a thousand-year rule of the saints upon earth. Satan would be bound, Babylon would fall and the Antichrist would be forever defeated. Thus, Sedgwick saw a vision of a Congregational "New Jerusalem" spreading from England across the world during the Millennium. He called upon Parliament to act as the instrument of God to bring in the Millennium. To him the coming war between Parliament and the king was an inevitable apocalyptic conflict between the forces of Christ and the forces of the Antichrist. 34 Christianson remarks, "He set aside all hope of compromise, bolstered stubbornness of spirit, and sounded a trumpet cry of preparation for a crusade against the royalists." 35

B. The Outbreak of the Civil War.

Between 1640 and the outbreak of the war in 1642, the Puritan reformers had painted an apocalyptic vision that convinced the Long Parliament of its just cause for war against Charles I. Their apocalypticism explained the contemporary events as a fulfillment of the long-awaited New Jerusalem. The full reformation of the church now seemed inevitable. When Charles raised his standard and made war a reality, Henry Burton announced that the Battle of Armageddon had already begun

millennial kingdom.

33 Sedgwick, op.cit., p. 26ff.
34 Ibid., pp. 33-35.
35 Christianson, op.cit., p. 233. He notes that Sedgwick "plunged into the heart of the dispute between Charles I and Parliament with a
and demanded that the royalists be "slain all the day long." 36

Soon after the sermons of Burges and Marshall in November 1641, there was a call for a national synod to reform the Church of England. 37 A clause calling for such a synod was included in the Grand Remonstrance sent to the king the same month. In February 1642, the House members began preparing lists of ministers deemed proper to serve such a synod. By April 1642, a declaration was prepared calling for a national religious synod and was passed by the House of Lords.

Charles I delayed his reply to the initial request and finally denied it on December 10, 1641. In a counter-proclamation he demanded allegiance to the National Church. This was immediately responded to by waves of petitions signed by the citizenry demanding "No Bishops! No Popery!" On January 4, 1642, King Charles foolishly tried to enter the House of Commons to arrest five members who escaped him. Popular support rallied to the Parliament and demanded the overthrow of the king. In August 1642, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham and gathered an army. In response, the Earl of Essex rallied a parliamentary army and marched out of London to oppose the king. Thus, the first Civil War had begun.

King Charles' problems began with the appointment of William Laud

penetrating radical logic shared by few of the reformers."

36H. Burton, A narration, p. 27. He saw England as the "Israel" of God. They were the "elect nation" in conflict with Egypt and Babylon.

as the Archbishop of Canterbury. The subsequent Laudian persecution of Puritan ministers caused a severe backlash against the crown as the major supporter of episcopacy. Then, in 1637, Charles, at Laud's advice, attempted to force the prayer book on the Church of Scotland in order to bring it into conformity to the Church of England. This led to the National Covenant in Greyfriars churchyard in Edinburgh in 1638, which unleashed a series of devastating defeats for Charles in the Bishops' Wars. Now the king was at war with his own Parliament in the autumn of 1642.

1. The Westminster Assembly.

Because of the current Civil War between the king and Parliament, the Westminster Assembly did not convene until July 1, 1643. The Puritan theologians immediately set about to revise the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England in order to remove every element considered to be Arminian, Pelagian or Roman.

During that same summer the Parliament was struggling in the war against King Charles I and appealed to Scotland for help. A Solemn League and Covenant was formed and passed the English Parliament in September 1643. The purpose of this alliance was clearly stated as


On the influence of the Covenanters, see J. Kerr, The Covenanters and the Scottish Covenanters (Edinburgh: R.W. Hunter, 1895); A. Smellie, Men of the Covenant (Edinburgh: Andrew Milrose, 1903).

The Humble
ADVICE
Of the
ASSEMBLY
OF
DIVINES,
Now by Authority of Parliament
sitting at WESTMINSTER,
Concerning
A Confession of Faith:
With the QUOTATIONS and TEXTS of
SCRIPTURE annexed.
Presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament.

Printed at LONDON;
AND
Re-printed at EDINBURGH by Gavan Tyler, Printer to
the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1647.

Original Title Page of the Westminster Confession of Faith
the "preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland... (and) the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland...according to the Word of God." 40

The assembly met under the leadership of William Twisse, the prolocutor, and Cornelius Burgess and John White as assessors. They replaced the Book of Common Prayer with a Director for Worship and developed the Confession of Faith and the shorter and longer Catechisms. The original title of the confession was The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines...concerning a Confession of Faith (Figure 3). Its theology was decidedly Calvinistic and Bezan, emphasizing election and predestination. 41

The major problem of the Westminster Assembly was the division between the Puritans and Independents. 42 The majority of the theologians ("divines") who assembled at Westminster did not reflect apocalyptic concerns in drafting their confession. The protests of the Independents were accommodated, but generally overruled. Thus, their apocalyptic speculations would be heard in their sermons to the army. 43

2. The New Model Army.

The initial fate of the parliamentary army did not fare well.

The Scottish leaders and the English Earls of Essex and Manchester fa-


41 On the theology of the Westminster Confession of Faith, see Toon, op. cit., pp. 52-61; and Leith, op. cit., pp. 65-74; 91-95.


43 For example cf. W. Bridge, A Sermon Preached unto the Volun-
vored a defensive strategy. By contrast, Oliver Cromwell, supported by the Independents and the Army, wanted to totally destroy the king's army. The army not only suffered differences in strategy but also in theology. In the summer of 1643 the parliamentary forces suffered a number of staggering defeats on the battlefield. At the Battle of Adwalton Moor in June the army of the Fairfaxes was totally overwhelmed. In July, at the Battle of Roundway Down, Waller's army was virtually annihilated. This forced the alliance with Scotland and forestalled the king's further advance.

Early in 1645 the parliamentary army was remodeled into the New Model Army under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). Cromwell (Figure 4) had attended Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and had been elected to Parliament in 1628. He had a dynamic personal faith in Christ and often championed Puritan causes, even speaking out on behalf of the abolition of episcopacy. At the outbreak of the war he raised a cavalry troop of "godly, honorable men" to fight under the Earl of Essex at Edgehill in 1642. Though aged forty-three at the time, he immediately became one of history's greatest cavalry leaders. In 1643, he enlarged his troop to a regiment and secured the east-

teers of the City of Norwich and also to the Volunteers of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk (London: 1642); J. Burroughs, The Glorious Name of God, The Lord of Hosts, in some case, to take up arms (London: 1643).


45 For biographical studies of Oliver Cromwell, see R.S. Paul, The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955; W.C. Abbott, A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929); S.R. Gardiner, Oliver Cromwell (London: Oxford University Press, 1925); C. H. Firth, Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England (Lon-
OLIVER CROMWELL.

From the Painting by Samuel Cooper, in Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.
ern counties for Parliament. Later he commanded the left wing of the
cavalry in the victory at Marston Moor in 1644. Along with Thomas Fair-
fax, he remodeled the army into the New Model Army, a force of highly
disciplined, godly men that overran the king's army at Naseby on June
14, 1645.

Within the next year the New Model Army had totally defeated the
king's forces throughout England. In September 1645 Bristol surrend-
ered and by April 1646 Charles I fled to Scotland. In June 1646 Oxford
fell and the first round of the Civil Wars was over. However, all was
not well within the Puritan brotherhood. Cromwell was highly tolerant
of varying religious beliefs within the army and such divisions were
the topic of Stephan Marshall's lament: "Our Times are times of Divi-
sions, as were hardly ever knowne in the Christian World." 46 He noted
that there were divisions in Parliament, in the Westminster Assembly
and among God's people in general. Liu identifies these theological
conflicts as the cause of the breakdown of the Puritan brotherhood. 47

Apocalyptic millenarianism had been the vehicle used by the parlia-
mentary preachers to fume the revolution as a godly cause. By 1646, it
had not disappeared, but merely temporarily quieted. The Puritans were
waiting to see what would come of their newly won political victory.

---

46 S. Marshall, The Right Understanding of the Times (London: 1647),
p. 36. Marshall was well aware of the internal struggles of the Presby-
terians and Independents within the Puritan movement.

47 Liu, op.cit., ch. 2, pp. 29-56. He rejects Lamont's thesis that
millennialism had now run its course and was replaced by Erastianism.
He states, "Moreover, Lamont misjudges the relationship between the Puri-
tan clergy and the Long Parliament" (p. 30). He points out that the
Puritan ministers saw themselves as "Jerusalem's watchmen" - the
However, time would soon reveal that their internal conflicts were but a reflection of the social-religious-political conflicts within the nation itself.

II. The Height of Militant Millenialism from the Second Civil War to the Protectorate 1648-1653.

The political turmoil during 1648 and 1649 was the most tumultuous of the twenty years of the English Revolution. While the Long Parliament had revolted against the king, it did not intend to abolish the monarchy itself. The declaration of the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 claimed "to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority." However, with Colonel Pride's purge of the Parliament late in 1648, the general atmosphere turned against the king. Until then the Presbyterians held sway over the Long Parliament, but from that point the Independents became more numerous and more vocal. Since the army debates of 1647, general agitation against Charles I was worsening.

In order to maintain discipline and unity in the army, Cromwell gave in to the pressure of the radicals. Colonel Harrison denounced King Charles as a "man of Blood" and demanded that he be set on trial.

"Joshuas" and "Jeremias" of England.

48 On the history of this period, see Haller, op.cit., pp. 287-358; Liu, op.cit., pp. 57-85; Paul, op.cit., pp. 151-180; Toon, op.cit., pp. 42-51. It was during this period of general confusion that the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchy movements arose.


50 For a detailed examination of the army debates at Putney and Whitehall, see A.S.P. Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); and Paul, op.cit., pp. 127-150.
The army was ready to mutiny at Corkbush field in November when Cromwell arrived in person with his sword drawn to put down the uprising and executed the three ringleaders. In desperation Charles agreed to allow Presbyterianism to coexist with episcopacy and further proposed "freedom of conscience" to all but atheists and Roman Catholics. In spite of his belated compromise Charles was beheaded on January 30, 1649. 51 Even a favorable historian admitted that: "There were so many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might think heaven and earth conspired it, and that the stars designed it." 52 To Cromwell, it was a "cruel necessity." To John Owen it was part of the preparation of God for the establishment of a pure church in England. Thomas Watson, however, viewed the execution with abject horror. 53

Puritanism was now more divided than it had ever been. Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and a dozen other sects had risen from within its ranks and each had a millennial vision all its own. Other groups, such as the Socinians ("unitarians") arose outside the Puritan brotherhood with their own visions of a better world to come.

A. Moderate Eschatology.

Not every Puritan held to an extreme millenarian vision; and some, like John Owen, changed their views as the times changed. Discontented

51See Paul, op.cit., pp. 181-195. He discusses at length the issue of Cromwell's involvement in the execution and the reluctance of the members of Parliament to carry it forth.

52Clarendon, History, XI, p. 243. Charles' own personal piety was such that he became a saint and a martyr in the minds of those who favored the Established Church.

53These various reactions are quoted in Toon, op.cit., p. 42ff.
with the extreme apocalypticism of the more fanatical elements of the Puritan eschatological phenomenon, some developed a more moderate approach.


John Owen (Figure 5) is regarded as one of the leading Puritan theologians of all time. An advocate of Congregationalism, Owen was educated at Queens College, Oxford. He pastored at Fordham, Essex and Coggeshall. Later he accompanied Cromwell as a chaplain on his expedition to Ireland and Scotland in 1649-1651. He was then appointed dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651 and the following year Cromwell made him vice-chancellor of Oxford University. In this capacity he served as the chief ecclesiastical architect of the Cromwellian State Church.

Owen preached before Parliament the day after Charles' execution and justified it as a legitimate biblical response to tyranny.  


55 J. Owen, Righteous Zeal encouraged by Divine Protection (31 Jan. 1649); in Works, vol. VIII, p. 128ff. Years later, in 1683, the University of Oxford condemned this sermon and ordered it to be burned. It was based on the text of Jeremiah 15:19-20, in which Owen compared Charles to Israel's King Manasseh. Attached to the printed sermon was a tract entitled: "Of Toleration: and the Duty of the Magistrate about Religion." To Owen, the duty of Parliament as the new supreme magistrate was to protect the freedom of preaching the gospel and the removal of all non-Christian religion.
few months later, on April 19, 1649, Owen preached before the Rump Parliament on the soon coming of Christ's Kingdom on earth. His text was Hebrews 12:2, "I shake not the earth only, but also heaven." He viewed "heaven" as the "political heights" and the "earth" meant the people of earth. Thus, he announced: "The Lord Jesus Christ, by his mighty power in these latter days, as antichristian tyranny draws to its period will so far shake and translate the political heights, governments and strength of the nations, as shall serve for the full bringing in of his own peaceable kingdom." In the full context of his sermon the "fall of Babylon" meant the overthrow of the political and religious power of the papacy (which he took to be clearly prophesied in Revelation 17). He also foresaw the forthcoming destruction of the Turks and the conversion of the Jews.

In Owen's early preaching he saw the collapse of the English Monarchy as a necessary stage in the establishment of Christ's Kingdom on earth. Thus, the Fifth Monarchists, whom he later condemned, took his messages favorably as encouraging their cause. He, as they, foresaw the gospel as the only sufficient law of government. His contemporary, William Strong, foresaw the "latter-day glory" in which the saints would conquer the whole world.

56 J. Owen, The Shaking and Translating of Heaven and Earth (19 April 1649); in Works, vol. VIII, p. 244ff.


ian revival establishing a new society of the saints as the rulers of the earth.

In time the Rump Parliament (the residue of the Long Parliament) came to be viewed by Owen as the only lawful authority in the Commonwealth and thus the source of the saints bringing in the Kingdom of Christ. Liu observes: "The millenarian movement, therefore, was now concerned with pressing the Rump Parliament for further reforms in society in order to establish, to use Owen's terminology, a Gospel administration in the nation." 59 Preaching before the Rump again on October 24, 1651, Owen urged them to initiate political, social and religious reform in preparation for the coming of the Lord's Kingdom. 60

Throughout 1651-1652 the Fifth Monarchy agitation became increasingly radical and by October 1652, Owen changed his message and began to emphasize the spiritual nature of Christ's Kingdom. He attacked the "carnal" motives of the Fifth Monarchists, noting that the Kingdom of Christ comes "not by observation." 61 Repudiating the militancy of the Fifth Monarchists, Owen proclaimed that "there is nothing more opposite to the spirit of the Gospel, than to suppose that Jesus Christ will take to himselfe a kingdome by the carnall sword and bow of the sonnes of men." 62

59 Liu, op.cit., p. 67.


62 Ibid., p. 19. Liu, op.cit., pp. 73-74, notes that the Independents, Owen, Goodwin, Nye and Simpson all attempted to dissuade the extremists from their radical views.
Despite Owen's changed attitude toward militant millennialism, the Independents had spawned such an ardent expectation for the Millennium, that Owen's defection could not stem the tide of apocalypticism already unleashed by his own earlier sermons. Thus, the millenarian sentiment was so entrenched in the churches and in the army that there was no retreating from its popular appeal. When the army marched into Scotland in 1650, the message of the General Council of Officers proclaimed that the time when Christ would "establish his own Kingdom in the ruine of Babylon...is this day." 63 The army viewed itself as the "soldiers of Christ," whose kingdom they were advancing. 64 Their victories at Dunbar and Worcester in 1650 and 1651 further intensified their expectation.


Largely self-educated, Baxter (Figure 6) was influenced by Joseph Symonde and Walter Craddock, both Nonconformists. By 1638, he was ordained the Bishop of Worcester, but was ejected in 1640. From 1641-1660 he served as a parish pastor in Kidderminster. He was one of the Puritan's most outstanding pastors and writers. 65 However, he was a

---

63 A Letter of the General Council of the Army to their Brethren in their several Quarters and Garrisons, upon their March into Scotland reprinted in The Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdom of Christ...Asserted (London: 1659), p. 12.

64 See A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland (London: 1659), pp. 13-17. The bulletin announced: "we are not Soldiers of Fortune...nor merely the servants of men." They went on to proclaim that they had submitted to Christ "upon his own terms." Armed with such devotion, they were overwhelmingly victorious.

moderate in many regards. He opposed the Solemn League and Covenant and welcomed the restoration of the monarchy, serving as a chaplain to Charles II. He was also one of the leaders at the Savoy Conference in 1661. He was deprived of his pastorate by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. Baxter's works fill twenty-three volumes, with his most famous being The Reformed Pastor (1656) and The Saints' Everlasting Rest (1650).

Unlike other Puritan eschatological works of this period, The Saints' Everlasting Rest was based upon the book of Hebrews, rather than the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation. The work was written out of his own personal suffering and a near brush with death. Of this experience he later wrote: "I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting Rest which I apprehended myself to be just on the borders of." 66 Most of the book was written during the years of the Civil Wars and was published early in 1650, when Baxter was only thirty-five years old. Distressed by the war and the "sad Divisions and unchristianlike quarrels" within the Puritan brotherhood, Baxter looked for an eternal rest beyond the present temporal conflict.


The original edition of *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* (Figure 7) contained over eight hundred quarto pages. It immediately became a Puritan classic and was reprinted annually for several years. He was a moderate in an intensely fanatical age. His volume consists of four major parts, divided into chapters and subdivided into sections. Knott observes that its systematic approach resembles the organizational structure of a Puritan sermon, but "the subject itself exerts a centrifugal pull against his efforts to contain it." 67 Two concepts stand paramount in his thinking. First, he was absolutely convinced of the authority of Scripture and secondly, he had absolute confidence in the promises of God given in Scripture. Thus, his expectation of the future life was based upon clear biblical revelation about the after-life.

Baxter was not only widely read in the Scripture but also in the church fathers and the various Puritan divines. The influences of Bishop Joseph Hall and George Herbert are obvious. While some have tried to view Baxter's heavenly meditation as being influenced by the Catholic Counter-Reformation, it is now widely accepted that he was really a product of a tradition of Protestant meditation in England that clearly antedated him. 68 Knott observes: "For all his eclecticism, Baxter


Saints Everlasting Rest: A Treatise of the Blessed State of the Saints in their enjoyment of God in Glory.

Wherein is shewed the excellency and certainty of the blessed state of those that live it, the way to arrive it, and Assurance of it; and how to live in the continual enjoyment of it, by the help of Meditation.

Written by the Author for his own use, in the time of his languishing, when God took him off from all publick employment; and afterwards preached in his weekly Lecture.

And now published by Richard Baxter, Teacher of the Church of Christ in Wiltshire.

Jan. 15. 1649. Imprimatur, John Caryl.

London: Printed by Rob. Kibb, for Tho. Underhill and Francis Tymo, and are to be sold at the Blue Anchor and Bible in Paul Churchyard, near the inner Temple gate, 1649.
strongly resembles the older Puritan divines such as (Richard) Rogers and Robert Bolton in the spirit in which he approached meditation. 69

The influence of the war is also evident in Baxter's Rest. He viewed "our prevailing Army" as the "Conquering Lion of the tribe of Judah...with all the hosts of heaven." 70 He certainly shared the common Puritan apocalyptic expectation of the soon coming of Christ. However, unlike his Puritan contemporaries, he did not view the army's victories as proof that Divine Providence was on the side of Parliament. Rather, he viewed the carnage of the war as an evidence of God pouring out divine wrath on all the people of England. Assuming the stance of an Old Testament prophet he announced:

"Christ...hath been pleading these six years by threatenings, and fire, and sword, and yet can prevail but with very few...he hath (as it were) stood in their blood with the sword drawn in his hand, and among the heapes of the slain hath he pleaded with the living, and said, What say you? Will you yet worship me, and fear me, and take me for your Lord?" 71

Baxter chose as the pattern of his work the book of Hebrews. Here he saw the parallel of the Christian's walk to the walk of faith of Abraham. He upheld a heavenly Canaan at the end of the pilgrim's journey where there would be "no Bishops nor Chancelors Courts; no Visita-

---

69 Knott, ibid., p. 66.


71 Ibid., p. 343. To Baxter, God was judging all England because she had neglected the true worship of Him.
tions, nor High Commission Judgments." He urges the Christian believer to persevere by traveling, fighting, sailing. He loved to draw figurative language from the biblical motifs of the exodus, the wilderness journey and the conquest of the Promised Land. The pilgrim's final destination was heaven, the place of the everlasting rest. Thus, in an era of war and chaos, Baxter raised his readers' hopes on to heaven. Only then would there be "no more Anabaptist, Poedo Baptist, Brownist, Separatist, Independent, Presbyterian, Episcopal," but one triumphant Church of Christ gathered from all the body of the faithful.

Baxter cannot be viewed as merely another devotional writer of Puritan meditation. Rather, Knott is correct when he states: "The Saints' Everlasting Rest should be regarded as an extraordinary personal statement of a spiritual yearning and a mirror of the real disharmony and suffering of a country torn apart by religious and political conflict." Because he set his sights beyond an earthly millennium to heaven itself, Baxter's Rest became a spiritual classic that has outlived all the wildly speculative Puritan apocalyptic works of his contemporaries.

B. The Levellers and the Diggers.

The Levellers rose in England during the period of the Civil Wars as a democratic party. They were so named by their enemies because

72 Ibid., p. 114.
73 Ibid., p. 120.
74 Knott, op.cit., p. 84. He also observes that: "Baxter felt the disorder more acutely than most and demonstrated an unusual intel-
they suggested "levelling" men's estates. The party actually arose in 1645-1646 among the more radical elements of Parliament. The Levellers demanded that the national authority be transferred to the House of Commons elected by popular vote. They also advocated the equality of all men before the law and complete religious freedom. Failing to persuade Parliament of their views, the Levellers agitated within the New Model Army. This led to a series of army debates in which General Henry Ireton opposed the Levellers. Eventually the generals restored order by force and suppressed the movement by 1650. 75

By 1645 the army chaplains, such as William Dell, proclaimed the presence of God in the army through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Christian soldiers. 76 He was so influential that he officiated at the marriage of Cromwell's daughter to Henry Ireton in 1646. He was so convinced that God was on Cromwell's side that he wrote: "I have seen more of the presence of God in that army than amongst any people... for he hath dwelt amongst us, and marched in the head of us...step by step." 77 Dell broke with the Presbyterians and denounced them as "anti-


W. Dell, Power from on High (London: 1645). He developed the thesis that the power of the Holy Spirit was communicated to each member of the army. Based on the text of Acts 1:8, he promised that "Christ would not suffer his Disciples to goe forth in his warfare... till first he had armed them with the Holy Ghost."

Ibid., pp. 5-6. Cf. also his The Building and Glory (London: 1646), pp. 15-16.
christ." Instead, he argued that the true church was a gathered (local) church composed of visible saints. Thus, he advocated the disintegration of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of England. 78


John was the younger brother of Robert Lilburne, also a Puritan radical, who was executed for regicide in 1660. John was highly influenced by Foxe's Book of Martyrs. He suffered many beatings and imprisonments, was wounded in the Civil War and gained a national reputation for courage and bravery. 79 He was whipped and pilloried in 1638 for publishing tracts against the bishops. Lilburne served as a lieutenant colonel in Manchester's regiment during the First Civil War. He came to London in 1644 and became the rallying figure of the new and popular revolutionary political party known as Levellers. Haller observes that the leaders of this party spoke the dialect of Puritan godliness, but their objectives went beyond religious toleration to the issue of common justice. 80 They were promoters of a free democracy in the purest sense.

Lilburne was a popular hero in the Puritan cause of justice and liberty and became a legend in his own time. He launched into the public scene by 1645 by challenging the position of William Prynne's Truth

---

78. See details in Haller, op.cit., pp. 201-206; 246-255.


80. Ibid., p. 256ff.
Triumphing. With typical apocalyptic zeal, Lilburne attacked the issue of Presbyterians vs. Independents as another episode in the age-long struggle between Christ and Antichrist. He urged the Parliament to beware of Antichrist's attempts to overthrow Christ's Kingdom by corrupting the magistrates. He viewed all kings as enemies of the throne of Christ. Instead, he argued for the true saints to take the kingdom. 81

By challenging Prynne to debate the issue in an unlicensed publication, Lilburne was in effect calling in question the absolute supremacy of the existing Parliament of which Prynne was the strongest advocate. With reckless disregard for his own safety, Lilburne dramatically defied the lords. Writing in 1646, he published a pamphlet entitled The Free-Mans Freedome Vindicated, with a portrait of himself as the frontispiece. The portrait showed him with prison bars across his face with a caption that read: "The Liberty of The Freeborne English-man, Conferred on him by the house of Lords." 82 As a result, he was arrested and imprisoned at Newgate. When he did appear before the Lords, he refused to kneel or even take off his hat! His works were burned and he was sentenced to seven years in the Tower of London. However, the whole ordeal made him a popular folk-hero to the general public who agitated for his release.

While in the Tower he wrote An Anatomy of the Lords Tyranny in 1646


and appealed to the general public. He was finally released by Parliament in 1648. While in prison, Thomas Goodwin often came to his aid and argued for his release. Lilburne became a rallying figure who drew together various anti-Presbyterian factions who were now convinced that the Presbyterians were taken by Antichrist.

From 1648-1652, Lilburne and others deluged England with Leveller pamphlets which included royalist lampoons and anti-Presbyterian sentiments. He went so far as to attack Cromwell and the Independents for seeking their own gain and not ruling by "principles of honesty and conscience." His book Englands New Chaines Discovered was condemned by Parliament and his radical Impeachment of High Treason against Oliver Cromwell and Henry Ireton brought about his arrest. He was exiled in 1652, but returned to England in defiance in 1653 and was immediately arrested and imprisoned at Newgate. However, "Freeborn John" was acquitted by the jury and hailed as a national hero. By 1655 he claimed to convert to Quaker pacifism and was finally released permanently by Cromwell, who no longer feared his interference in political matters.


While Lilburne was imprisoned in the Tower of London, Richard Overton wrote a series of tracts advocating his release. His tracts were so violently scathing that he was also arrested and imprisoned at

These included Mans Mortallitie; The Araignment of Mr. Persecution; and the anonymously published Last Warning to all the Inhabitants of London. The latter was obviously the work of Overton. See Haller, op.cit., p. 278ff. In Mans Mortallitie, Overton advocated the doctrine of soul-sleep.
Newgate, from which he wrote, *An Arrow against All Tyrants and Tyranny*, shot from the Prison of New-gate into the Perogative Bowels of the Arbitrary House of Lords (1646).

Overton's significance is that he was typical of those who took Lilburne's ideas to even greater extremes than he did. While Lilburne appealed for his rights as a regenerate saint and loyal citizen, Overman argued that man's universal rights were revealed in nature. He viewed all men as equal because of the universal atonement of Christ. To him justification was the result of nature revealing to reason all that man needed for his own good. Thus, he appealed to Parliament to recognize man's "innate freedome...whereof God by nature hath made him free." 84 In Overton's mind the "Birthright of Freedom" was given by God to all men to rule themselves. He wrote: "Every man by nature being a King, Priest and Prophet in his own naturall circuit and compass." 85

The Levellers were the embodiment of an English mob demanding the overthrow of all political power. They were suspicious of the rich and opposed to the powerful. They demanded that all of society be brought to a common level of a pure democracy. Their incessant tirades caused anarchy in the army and brought them into conflict with Oliver Cromwell, who finally suppressed them in order to prevent open rebellion. To them even Cromwell was now a candidate for Antichrist!

84 *An Arrow against All Tyrants*, p. 10.

85 Ibid., pp. 3-5. He also wrote three tracts under the pseudonym "Martin Marpriest" (son of Martin Marprelate) in 1646.
3. Gerrard Winstanley (Dates Unknown).

On April 20, 1649, Thomas Lord Fairfax, general of the Parliamentarian armies, summoned Gerrard Winstanley and William Everard to Whitehall to explain why they were cultivating the common land at St. George's Hill in Surrey. Like the Levellers, they refused to remove their hats in the general's presence. They went on to explain that they had a vision from God to "dig the earth and receive its fruits." 86 Taking God's promise to make the barren land fruitful, they sought to restore creation to its original condition in which all men could enjoy the fruits of the earth in common. In so doing they violated the rights of the Lord of the manor and threatened the very idea of land ownership, claiming the earth as the Kingdom of Christ.

Known as "Diggers," they preferred to call themselves "True Levellers." 87 Winstanley condemned all "kingly power" as an agency of Antichrist, which included clergy, lawyers, and landowners. Calling upon the "poor oppressed people of England," Winstanley urged the Diggers to continue their cause, not as an act of rebellion but as a symbolic witness to the coming age of the Spirit when the earth would once again be a common treasury. To him the "powerfull day of the Lord"

---


87 See Knott, op.cit., pp. 85-105, for an excellent discussion of the little-known Winstanley and the "Diggers." He notes that from 1648 to 1652 Winstanley moved from a biblical and apocalyptic statement to a utopian vision. Cf. also F. Stripp, "The Anticlericalism of Gerrard Winstanley," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXIII (1954), pp. 188-201.
was about to break forth imminently. 88

The Diggers became an embarrassment to Lilburne and the Levelers. The principles of equality which Lilburne wanted to apply politically in a pure democracy, the Diggers wanted to apply economically in a form of communism based upon common ownership of land. Thus, Winstanley represented the "left wing" of the Leveler movement. 89 Even his approach to Scripture was radically different than that of traditional Puritan orthodoxy. He read the Bible with a loose abandon that did not characterize the other apocalyptic writers of his day. In The New Law of Righteousness he prophesied that the new age would soon dawn when the Spirit will draw all things back to himself and "gather the scattered of Israel." 90

Winstanley was somewhat of a charismatic forerunner in that he believed that he received direct revelation from God. He disdained prepared preachers as "hearsay-Preachers." He even predicted that "verbal worship" would eventually cease and that people would learn to worship God by "walking righteously in the creation." 91 He rejected


all formal forms of worship, including water baptism, preferring only the baptism of the Spirit. His views were very close to that of the Quakers of his day. To him the final apocalyptic conflict would not be between Christ and the Antichrist but between the Spirit and Anti-
christ. He even interpreted the Old Testament types as pointing to the Spirit, not Christ. To him, "The Spirit lay hid under those types and shadows, fighting against the Beast." 92

Winstanley wrote as though he were responding to divine impulses. Digging on St. George's Hill was but another way to respond to the divine compulsion to publish the truth to all men. Knott observes: "His fantastic reading of the Bible was possible only for someone who combined a sense of prophetic vocation with an intense awareness of the grievances of the poor...Freed from the concern with doctrine and exegetical procedure that bound orthodox Puritans he could view the Bible as a source of images by which to describe the eruptions of the Spirit that he felt in himself and his surroundings." 93 Thus, Winstanley could transfer spiritual conflict into an apocalyptic drama that was unfolding both in the natural world and within the souls of men.

C. The Fifth Monarchy Movement.

On May 19, 1649, the Act was passed by Parliament which constituted the people of England as a "Commonwealth and Free State." Liu follows Stoughton in remarking that "Fifth Monarchism arose in the ruins

92 Ibid., p. 229. He was concerned with the power of the Holy Spirit to transform men and paid little attention to the person and work of Christ.
93Knott, op.cit., p. 105.
of English monachism."

As early as February 1649, millenarian groups in the County of Norfolk and the City of Norwich presented a petition to the Lord General of the Army stating that the Kingdom of Christ would shortly appear and that in this millennial kingdom only the saints were to rule with Christ. Thus, they maintained that only church members should be elected to the assemblies and to Parliament and that the churches alone were legitimate repositories of civil government.

The theological basis of Fifth Monarchism rested clearly upon the Puritan apocalyptic tradition. Believing Daniel's prophecies to predict a succession of four world empires, ending in Rome, they assumed that the Fifth Monarchy of human history would be the Kingdom of Christ. They did not foresee a coming kingdom of the Antichrist, because they believed that Rome (politically and ecclesiastically) was the kingdom of the Antichrist. Therefore, they expected the imminent fall of Rome and the subsequent arrival of the Kingdom of Christ on earth. The impact of the Revolution made that apocalyptic expectation all the more intense.

Cromwell's victories in the Irish and Scottish campaigns brought an end to the Civil Wars in 1651. His biographer, Robert S. Paul

94Liu, op.cit., p. 64; J. Stoughton, History of Religion in England (London: Oxford University Press, 1881), Vol. II, p. 61. Paul, op.cit., p. 205 notes that the more extreme Levellers formed a desperate alliance with the royalists in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Cromwell. In the meantime, however, the Commonwealth's ambassador, Dr. Dorislaus was assassinated at The Hague in the Netherlands.


96Liu, op.cit., p. 65ff. He correctly notes: "The rise of the
notes: "however much Oliver Cromwell might with due humility give
thanks to God, the great mass of Englishmen found it easier to give
thanks to Oliver." 97 It was during this time that Cromwell was in-
fluenced by the Independent divines, John Owen, Thomas Goodwin and
even John Cotton of Boston, New England, with whom he corresponded.
However, it was those within the army who became the greatest agitators
for the Fifth Monarchy.

1. Thomas Harrison (1606-1660).

Major-General Thomas Harrison demanded that the Rump Parliament
make way for the Millennium. Cromwell said that Harrison "is an hon-
est man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit
will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he
and all honest men will have cause to repent." 98 Yet, Cromwell found
great support from the Fifth Monarchists, who viewed him as the rock
upon which to build the New Commonwealth. In an era of private inter-
est and civil strife, the Fifth Monarchists looked for a man to estab-
lish the Kingdom of Christ on earth. Even the literary genius John
Milton wrote in admiration:

Fifth Monarchy movement, it is to be stressed again, must not be con-
sidered as a strange phenomenon." It is, rather, "the logical, though
tenous, development of Puritan millenarianism in the English Revo-
lution."

97 Paul, op.cit., p. 249. He notes that Cromwell was received as
a great national hero upon his return to London. Hampton Court was
prepared as his official residence and he was recognized as the virtu-
al head of state.

Cf. also Paul, op.cit., pp. 262-263. For biographical details on
41-44.
Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of warre onely, but detractions rude,
Guided by faith & matchless Fortitude
To peace & truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast read Gods Trophies & his work pursu'd. 99

On April 20, 1653, Harrison was present when Cromwell closed the Rump Parliament as an official Council of State. Harrison, motivated by his apocalyptic visions, argued for a nominated council of seventy to serve as the Sanhedrin of the New Jerusalem. As extreme as his idea may have seemed to others, Cromwell liked Harrison's suggestion of a rule of godly saints and established an Agreement of the People that called for two national representative bodies of elected church members.

The Separatists and Fifth Monarchists dominated the newly Nominated Parliament, which was nicknamed the "Barebones Parliament" after one of the members, Praise-God Barebone, a Baptist preacher and leather merchant from London. 100 The radicals agitated for the abolition of a State Church and even a liberal arts education for ministers. They wanted to abolish all relics of popery and base all religious practice upon the Bible itself. However noble their intentions, the conservative elements of Parliament lost patience with the radicals when they began to claim that God spoke to them in visions. Finally, on December 12, 1653, they dissolved Parliament and resigned their


100 For a discussion of the Barebones Parliament, see Toon, Puritans and Calvinism, pp. 44-51; Liu, op.cit., pp. 150-158; H.A. Glass,
authority to Cromwell and the Council of State in anticipation of the coming Millennium. On December 16, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was pro-
claimed "Lord Protector" of England. 101

Paul correctly observes that the breakdown of the Nominated (Bare-
bones) Parliament was to Cromwell, not only a failed political experi-
ment, but precipitated his disillusionment with religious theories
which could not meet political necessities. His biographer, John
Buchan, observes: "The visionary and the practical man in him had been
in strife, and the latter had triumphed, but the triumph left an uneasy
conscience behind it." 102 From that point on, Harrison's influence
over Cromwell began to diminish. He was arrested in 1655 along with
John Rogers and imprisoned at Carrisbrooke Castle. He was later re-
leased and rearrested in an Anabaptist plot against the government.
Finally in 1660 he was condemned for regicide (killing the king)
against Charles I and was executed at Charing Cross on October 13,
1660. His most fanatical followers predicted he would rise again and
restore the Kingdom of the Saints.

2. John Rogers (1627-1665?).

Rogers studied medicine at King's College, Cambridge, but his
studies were interrupted by the Civil War. He was ordained a Presby-


101 On the history of the Protectorate, see M. Ashley, The Great-
ness of Oliver Cromwell (New York: Collier Books, 1962); C.H. Firth,
The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656-1658, 2 vols., (New York:
Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1909); Gardiner, History of the Common-
wealth and Protectorate, 2 vols.

terian in 1647 and renounced it in 1649. He initially preached in defense of the Long Parliament, but by 1652 he had become a Baptist and Fifth Monarchist. 103

The rising influence of the Fifth Monarchists in the Barebones Parliament sought an alliance between them and the Independents. Millennial expectation was so high with the "saints" in power that Rogers wrote:

For God begins to honour us,
The saints are marching on;
The sword is sharpe, the arrows swift,
To destroy Babylon. 104

At first, Rogers looked upon Cromwell as a modern-day Moses to lead England into the promised Millennium. He urged the Protector to stand firm for the "Defence of the Gospel" and the "building up of Zion." Instead he urged Cromwell to fight against the "Towers of Babylon." 105 He went on to urge him to trust in the prayers of the saints which "were never higher than now" to protect him from their leader. However, he threatened, if the Lord Protector turned to protect the Antichrist, then "the loud crying Faith, and incessant high-spirited

103 Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. VII, pp. 130-132. Rogers' earlier works included: Bethshemesh, or Tabernacle for the Sun (London: 1653) and Sagrir, or Doomes-day drawing nigh (London: 1653). The former was a vitriolic denunciation of Presbyterianism and the latter condemned "laws and lawyers" as an ungodly vestige of the Fourth Monarchy.


105 J. Rogers, To His Highnesse Lord General Cromwell, Lord Protector (n.p., n.d.). The assumed date is Dec. 21, 1953.
Prayers of the Saints, will all engage against you...Take heed what you do." 106

John Owen had already revealed his reluctance toward the Fifth Monarchists in his sermon in October 1652. He and some of the Independents met with them in London to discuss their "opinion concerning the Kingdom of the saints, or Fifth Monarchy, to be administered by the Saints, by immediate Commission from Jesus Christ, having decryed all other Government that is the ordinance of men, as pieces of the fourth monarchy." 107

The Independents were not opposed to the idea of a rule of the saints. However, they did not share the Fifth Monarchists' belief that the Millennium was about to dawn through their efforts. Like the Presbyterians before them, the Independents began to let their apocalyptic anticipation fade.

In time, like the other Fifth Monarchists, Rogers lost his confidence in Cromwell and denounced him as the Antichrist. Following Vavasor Powell he asked the question: "Lord, wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?" 108 In response, the Independent William Strong warned the radicals in the Barebones Parliament that "the greatest part of Antichrist is amongst us." 109 Now the Pur-

106 Ibid.


109 W. Strong, State Prosperitie, In Keeping close to the word (London: 1653).
tan brotherhood was more divided than it had ever been. "Antichrist" was anyone who disagreed with them on any issue!

3. Christopher Feake (?-1660).

Always an extremist, Feake favored close communion and was opposed to tithes, psalm-singing, the Lord's Prayer, and all forms of human government. He had served as vicar of Christ's Church, Newgate and as lecturer at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. Initially, Feake was a London Congregationalist who advocated the rule of Saints. He became a close friend and ally of Thomas Harrison and joined the Fifth Monarchists' ranks. In time he became one of Cromwell's severest critics, comparing him to the Little Horn of Daniel's prophecies. On December 18, 1653, he called Cromwell the "most perjured villain in the world." He was arrested and sent to Windsor Castle until 1656. Cromwell attempted to dissuade him from his violent preaching, arguing that such division held back the Kingdom of Christ. He attempted to "advise Feake and the rest to obedience, as the most necessary way to bring in the Kingdom of Christ." Feake, in turn, charged Cromwell with "assuming exorbitant power" and holding back the Fifth Monarchy.

Feake was typical of the reckless abandon of the Fifth Monarchists which compelled Cromwell to suppress them by force. Since the believers in Puritan millenarianism looked upon themselves alone as the heirs of the Kingdom of Christ, they rejected all other claims as illegitimate. It is no wonder that Cromwell as Lord Protector issued his response: "Do we first search for the Kingdom of Christ within us, be-

---

fore we seek one without us? Do we not more contend for Saints having
rule in the world, than over their own hearts?" 111

Feake remained bitter at Cromwell and the Independents years lat-
er. He wrote: "We remember the occasion of their pulling down...we
have not forgotten...who were instruments to scatter those disciples
of our Lord." 112

He was especially critical of Owen, Goodwin and Harrison for giv-
ing up the cause and submitting to Cromwell.

The dissolution of the Barebones Parliament and the establishment
of the Protectorate not only signalled the end of the Fifth Monarchy
expectation, but it also marked the failure of Puritan utopianism.
Liu observes, "It ushered in a period of conservative reaction, which
led to the downfall of the Protectorate and, for that matter, the col-
lapse of the Puritan Revolution itself." 113 The days that followed
proved to be a time of tragic distrust in which the Puritans began to
condemn one another as "apostates." With the death of Cromwell in 1658,
they lost the one leader who had any sympathy for them at all. By 1660
the Puritan millenarian movement had spent itself in England. 114

111 A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector (London: 1654).
112 C. Feake, A Beam of Light (London: 1659), p. 50. Cf. also
his earlier works, Little Horns Doom (London: 1651) and The New Non-
conformist (London: 1654).
113 Liu, op.cit., p. 135. He follows the opinion of G. Davies,
"The Army and the Downfall of Richard Cromwell," Huntington Library
Bulletin, VII (1935), p. 166. On the failure of the Puritan vision,
39-58.
114 After 1660 Puritan millenarianism continued as a significant
political force only in New England. Cf. J.W. Davidson, The Logic of
Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England (New Haven: Yale
CONCLUSION

The Puritan apocalyptic vision of a millennial reign of the saints on earth soared with the calling of the Long Parliament by Charles I in 1640. The Root and Branch petitions represented the desire of the Puritans to rid England of every element of popery as expressed in the Episcopal system of church government. As they became increasingly frustrated with the king, they began to demand his abdication. Thus, their apocalypticism rose not only with their hopes, but also with their frustrations. Soon they advocated a "just" war against Charles I, which led to the Puritan Revolution in 1642.

During the English Civil Wars, nearly every battle was looked upon as a fulfillment of prophecy and Oliver Cromwell was viewed as a new Moses to lead the people of God. To the Congregationalists their polity was the true purity of the Church which would be realized in the Millennium. Goodwin went so far as to view the Congregational churches as the "witnesses" of Revelation 11. Within the Independent wing of the Puritan Revolution the Fifth Monarchists began proclaiming the imminent return of Christ. To them, the Fifth Monarchy stretched from the Incarnation to the last judgment and included the Millennium. Thus, the saints were citizens of that monarchy and saw themselves as

persecuted by the Fourth Monarchy of anti-Christian human government. 115

Social revolution was the necessary result of militant millenarianism since it sought to bring in the Kingdom of Christ by force. However, with the breakup of the Puritan consensus, their movement became severely divided and splintered into opposing factions. The Levellers advocated a pure democracy where every man had a free vote. The Diggers wanted common ownership of land by all men and actually advocated a type of communism. Cromwell became a villain instead of a hero in the minds of the most militant because he would not do things their way. Many of his initial supporters turned against him so that he was forced to suppress them in order to maintain political unity during the Protectorate.

By the time of Cromwell's death in 1658, the Congregationalists, led by Goodwin, Bridge, Caryl and Owen met at Savoy to adopt the Declaration of Faith and Order. However, Richard Cromwell's government failed and the Rump was restored in 1659 after twelve years' absence. By 1660 the Parliament recalled Charles II and proclaimed him king because of his Declaration of Tolerance to religious sects. However, the Declaration meant nothing, and the gains of the Puritan revolution were reversed. The Bishops were restored to the House of Lords. The nonconforming laymen were deprived of their full civil rights and the Act of Uniformity in 1662 demanded that all ministers ascribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles and renounce the terms of the Solemn League

and Covenant. As a result, over two thousand Puritan preachers gave up their pulpits on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1662, in what came to be known as the "Great Ejection." 116 From that point the apocalyptic spirit died and Puritanism became part of the Nonconformist tradition of English evangelicalism.

---

1640 The Long Parliament begins (1640-1653).
1641 Root and Branch Petitions presented in Parliament.
William Bridge preaches Babylons Downfall.
 Irish Rebellion starts.
 Napier's Narration reprinted.
1642 English Civil War begins between Parliament and King Charles I.
1643 Westminster Assembly begins (1643-1649).
 Bloody Almanack issued.
 Alsted's Tractatus translated into English and published as The Beloved City.
 Mede's Daniel's Weeks and The Key of Revelation published posthumously.
1644 John Lilburne arrives in London.
1645 Archbishop Laud executed.
 Parliament agrees to implement Presbyterianism.
 Cromwell forms the New Model Army.
1647 Army Debates begin with the Levellers.
1648 Colonel Pride's Purge of Parliament leaves the "Rump Parliament" (1649-1652).
1649 Charles I executed.
 The Fifth Monarchy Movement rises.
 Cromwell rises to power.
 Winstanley and the "Diggers" (True Levellers) appear.
1650 Charles II conveniently becomes a Presbyterian.
 Baxter's The Saints' Everlasting Rest published.
1652 John Owen breaks with the Fifth Monarchy Men.
 Cromwell dissolves the "Rump Parliament."
1653 "Barebones Parliament" dominated by Fifth Monarchists.
 Oliver Cromwell becomes Lord Protector of England.
1655 Lilburne converts to Quaker pacifism.
1658 Oliver Cromwell dies.
 Savoy Declaration states the doctrine of the English Congregationalists.
1660 The Monarchy restored: Charles II becomes King of England.
1661 Savoy Conference rejects the liturgy proposed by Baxter.
1662 Act of Uniformity deprives 2,000 Puritan pastors of their positions (known as the "Great Ejection").
1685 Charles II reconverts to Roman Catholicism on his deathbed.
CONCLUSION

THE PURITANS' DEVELOPMENT OF AN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC

The Puritans' devotion to the Bible as the inspired Word of God is well established. One of the unique characteristics of Puritanism was its fidelity to the scripture as the only source of doctrine and practice. They developed a philosophy of life that integrated man's whole being with the teaching of scripture. Thus, they welcomed the investigation of science, logic, mathematics and philosophy. They believed

---

1See the discussions of the Puritans' views of the inspiration of scripture in E. E. Hindson, Introduction to Puritan Theology (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), pp. 21-27; 43-63; P. E. Hughes, Theology of the English Reformers (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), pp. 9-44; E. F. Kavan, The Grace of Law: A Study in Puritan Theology (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1965), pp. 47-77; J. R. Knott, The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 13-41; G. S. Wakefield, Puritan Devotion: Its Place in the Development of Christian Piety (London: Epworth Press, 1957), pp. 11-22. Examples of the Puritans' view may be seen in these statements: John Owen, Works, XVI, p. 307, "Scripture bears upon the face of it as clear evidence of its truth, as white and black do of their colour, sweet and bitter of their taste;" Thomas Cranmer, in the Preface to the Great Bible called the Word of God, "the most precious jewel, the most holy relic that remaineth upon earth," Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, III, p. 385. Bishop Jewell wrote: "This word is the true manna; it is the bread which came down from heaven; it is the key of the kingdom of heavens; it is the savour of life unto life; it is the power of God unto salvation," A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, excerpted in Hindson, in. loc., p. 48.

2These characteristics may be seen in the works of John Bale, Select Works of Bishop Bale (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1849); Joseph Mede, The Works of Joseph Mede, B.D. (London: 1664) and John Napier, A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John, etc. (Edinburgh: 1593). For discussions, see J. W. Harris, John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940); Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English
that all truth could be harmonized with the Bible as a foundation for
law, justice, education and society itself. Yet, despite their commi-
tment to the scripture, the Puritans were also very much a product of
their times. They fell victim to incredibly bizarre interpretations
of prophecy and wild speculations regarding the second coming of Christ.
In their sincere desire to interpret the prophecies of scripture, they
viewed themselves as standing on the last fringe of human history, fac-
ing the dawn of an immanent apocalypse.

THE APOCALYPTIC MENTALITY

Apocalyptic eschatology represents a mentality which grows out of
a specific social climate. It is not just a literary form, but a cry
that arises in the depth of the human soul. According to Hanson, it is

Revolution (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); W. M. Lamont, Godly
Mark Napier, Memiors of John Napier of Merchiston ... With a History
of the Invention of Logarithms (Edinburgh and London; 1834); H. R.
Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change and other

3See the observations of J. D. Eusden, Puritans, Lawyers, and
Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale Univer-
sity Press, 1958). Cf. also E. Keven, op. cit., pp. 194-223, for his
discussion of "Christian Law Keeping."

4On the social influences contemporary to English Puritanism, cf.
M. H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642 (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1959); Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism
in Pre-Revolutionary England (London: SPCK, 1964); Margaret James, Social
Problems and Policy During the Puritan Revolution, 1640-1660 (London:
Oxford University Press, 1930).

5The apocalyptic mentality of the English reformers is clearly
evident from John Bale to Richard Baxter. See the discussions of K. R.
Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Ox-
ford: Oxford University Press, 1979); Paul Christianson, Reformers and
Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of
the Civil War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) and Tia Liu,
Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-
a perspective for viewing "divine plans in relation to mundane realities." It looks for God's final salvation beyond the present political and social structures. Apocalyptic eschatology anticipates a complete deliverance from the present order, rather than a fulfillment of promises within that order. While it arises out of the "wide spectrum of socio-economic, religious, political, geographical," etc. conditions, it also transcends those conditions.

Many interpreters have attempted to distinguish between "apocalypse" as a literary genre, "apocalyptic eschatology" as a religious structure of thought, and "apocalypticism" as a sociological ideology. While Collins argues that "much confusion" results from the failure to observe these distinctions, Vorster has responded: "It is my contention that this distinction is confusing in that it is artificial and responsible for the creation of a separate genre which in fact does not exist." The

---

6P. D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," in Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), pp. 29-30. He comments: "Gradually God's final saving acts came to be conceived of not as the fulfillment of promises within political structures and historical events, but as deliverance out of the present order into a new transformed order." See also his The Dawn of Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), where he argues that apocalyptic is a sociological phenomenon, more than it is a literary form.

7See F. E. Deist, "Prior to the Dawn of Apocalyptic," to be published in O.T.W.S.A. in 1984. He argues that apocalyptic is a type of theologizing by the powerless rather than a genre and that it is best understood in light of its social setting.


9W. S. Vorster, "I Enoch and the Jewish Literary Setting of the New Testament: A Study in Text Types," Neotestamentica, 17 (1983), p. 3. He argues that apocalyptic is not a genre since it can be presented in all the forms of written communication: narration, exposition, argument, description and listing.
apocalyptic texts are the result of an ideology arising from a specific social situation and their interpretation and application by a specific group at a specific time (eg., the Puritans) also arises from a specific social situation in their time.

Apocalyptic tendencies increased among the Puritans over the years as more difficult circumstances brought forth a more literal and militant interpretation of the biblical apocalyptic texts. Each setback brought a renewed intensification of the literalness and historization of apocalyptic prophecies. The Puritans' continuous frustration with their monarchs and the intense persecution they felt gave rise to an apocalyptic mentality which in turn produced their apocalyptic hermeneutic.

THE PURITAN APOCALYPTICAL HERMENEUTIC

The early development of the historic Puritan apocalyptic hermeneutic arose out of the clash between the English reformers and the Roman Catholic Church and can readily be traced to Wycliffe. From then it

---

10This can be traced from the early reformers like Luther, who identified the pope as the Antichrist in his work On the Papacy at Rome (1520) through Calvin and Knox right into the English Puritan tradition with John Bale, The Image of Bothe Churches (London: 1550); George Joye, Exposition of Daniel (Geneva: 1545) and his translation of Osianer's Conjectures of the ende of the Worlde (Antwerp: 1548); John Foxe, Acts and Monuments (London: 1563) and the apocalyptic annotations of the Geneva Bible (1560). These early works display an increasingly militant attitude toward the Church of Rome as the Babylon of Antichrist.


12While older medieval examples exist of identifying the Antichrist in Otto of Freising (1111-1158) and Joachim of Fiore (1135-1202), it was John Wycliff who was the first to identify the pope as the Antichrist in
grew into a clear identification of the Roman Church as "Babylon," the Kingdom of the Antichrist. Increased persecution, such as the reign of Mary Tudor ("Bloody Mary"), heightened the reformers' apocalyptic anticipation. Driven into exile in Geneva, they longed for the deliverance of God to overthrow the Great Whore and return them to their beloved England which they viewed as the New Jerusalem, the Zion of God.

The production of the Geneva Bible by the English exiles in 1560 marked the apex of the historic apocalyptic tradition. Throughout the extensive annotations of the Geneva Bible the Catholic Church was identified as the Great Whore, the pope as the Antichrist, and the locusts of Revelation as the agents of popery: cardinals, bishops, etc. In the

his De Papa (1379). Therefore, he is viewed as the father of the apocalyptic tradition in Protestant historiography.


The annotations of the Geneva Bible reveal a heavy dependence upon Heinrich Bullinger, A Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse (London:
subsequent editions of the Geneva Bible, the annotations became even more intensified as the reformers' apocalyptical expectation increased.\textsuperscript{17}

The unique annotation system of the Geneva Bible serves as a miniture commentary on the entire Bible and reveals the growing apocalyptic mentality of the early Puritans.\textsuperscript{18}

With their return to England the reformers' hopes for a purified church rose and fell with each new monarch and finally led to their disdain for monarchy as the instrument of Satan to withstand full reformation.\textsuperscript{19} The Puritans came to view the monarch as the protector of episcopacy and, therefore, the advocate of Antichrist himself. Their confidence in the apocalyptic nature of their struggle with Antichrist drove

\textsuperscript{17}The anti-papal annotations of the Geneva New Testament (1557) were strengthened in the 1560 Geneva Bible and further enlarged in the Tomson-Beza revision of 1576, and finally reached a crescendo when Junius' annotations of 1594 on Revelation were longer than the text itself!

\textsuperscript{18}The annotations a replete with recurrent themes: Gog and Magog; Enemies of the Church; Antichrist: the Pope; False Teachers: Agents of Antichrist; Babylon: Kingdom of Antichrist; Fifth Monarchy: Kingdom of Christ; the future conversion of the Jews. See examples quoted in chapter two of this work.

them to justify a revolution against the King in order to expel the forces of Babylon from England.  

The Puritan hermeneutic grew out of the historic tradition of the reformers. They identified the Roman Church as the Great Whore and the pope as the Antichrist. Believing that the Antichrist was actually alive on the earth, they saw themselves as the persecuted "saints" of the Book of Revelation. Thus, they were convinced that theirs was indeed a great apocalyptical conflict with the forces of Satan.  

Christopher Hill is correct in observing that the concept of Antichrist shifted in the seventeenth-century from the Roman pope to the episcopal bishops and finally to an epithet which various Puritans hurled at one another.  

While the general apocalyptical anticipation still dominated Purit-
tanism in the seventeenth-century, there were some notable defections. John Owen originally proclaimed the immediate coming of Christ and became identified with the Fifth Monarchy movement as their leading spokesman along with Thomas Goodwin and Jeremiah Burroughs. However, Owen broke with the Fifth Monarchists in the autumn of 1652, repudiating their militancy and proposing a more moderate eschatological view of prophecy. By contrast, Richard Baxter took an even more apocalyptic approach to writing his *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*. He saw no hope at all in the present order and looked forward to a heaven where earthly distinctions would no longer exist. The immense popularity of his book reveals the same anticipation within the hearts of the average people. While the millennialists advocated a militant confrontation

---


with society, Baxter looked for a better world to come that rose above the din of the battle strife here below.

Ironically both Owen and Baxter shared the same cultural heritage and held the same view of scripture, yet they came to totally different conclusions. The more practical-minded Owen broke with the militant millennialists because he was not sure their socio-political vision was really going to work. He preferred to wait for Christ to return and correct the social order himself. By contrast, the melancholy Baxter longed for heaven where earth's wrongs would be made right. Thus, he became even more intensely apocalyptic by postponing the final conflict totally beyond any immediate fulfillment in the social order and looked to the eternal heavens to resolve the conflicts of earth.

MILITANT MILLENNIALISM

The development of millennialism within Puritan apocalypticism merely adapted the apocalyptic mentality to a specific eschatological viewpoint. The Puritans of the seventeenth-century never lost their anticipation of an immanent final conflict between Christ and Antichrist. To them the

---

26 The millenarian viewpoint developed by John Henry Alstede and Joseph Mede grew out of the apocalyptic tradition. For example, Alstede predicted the fall of Antichrist would occur before the Millennium and would bring about the conversion of the Jews. See his The Beloved City: or, the Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Years (London: 1643). Mede dated the fall of the Beast (Rome) at 1655, coinciding with the Battle of Armageddon. See his The Key of the Revelation (London: 1643). Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England, p. 28ff. notes that the English translations of Alstede and Mede's works appeared in the same year and coincided with the publication of John Archer's Personal Reign of Christ Upon Earth (London: 1642). The combined impact of these three works was overwhelming on the millenarian impulse during the English Civil Wars.
coming millennium of peace and prosperity on earth was but the first phase of the apocalyptic drama. Antichrist would be defeated and the saints would reign on earth. To them, this was not an extension of the present socio-political structure, but a radical removal of that structure. They saw themselves engaged in a great final struggle between the forces of good and evil. The millennium became their immediate reward for faithfulness to the cause of Christ. Thus, they were not so much realized eschatologists as they were realized apocalyptists. The Puritan Apocalypse was to the sixteenth and seventeenth century mind an "Apocalypse Now."

Millennialism grew out of a sincere study of the biblical prophecies regarding the thousand year reign of Christ upon the earth. However, it also afforded the Puritan revolution with an immediate hope of the rule of Christ on earth through his saints. It was because of their apocalyptic mentality that the Puritans preached revolution against what they believed were the forces of the Antichrist.

---

27 The English millennialists were not advocating a realized eschatology, but a realized apocalypticism. They were convinced that they stood within the initial phase of the apocalyptic drama. See Mede's The Apostasy of the Latter Times (London: 1642). In his comments on Rev. 20 in The Key of the Revelation, Mede argues that the fall of the Antichrist will usher in the great Day of Judgment prior to the 1,000 years of blessing. See R. Clouse, "The Rebirth of Millenarianism," in P. Tood (ed.), Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel, pp. 42-62.

28 There can be no doubt that Alsted, Mede and Archer were wrestling with the biblical text regarding the thousand years of Satan's binding in Rev. 20. They were not advocating a military or political solution and could not have foreseen the ideology of the Fifth Monarchy movement. Christianson, op. cit., pp. 129-131, notes that the publication of their works in English in 1643 provoked a revolutionary fervor that they themselves could not have foreseen.

29 Convinced by the earlier exegetical studies the Puritans of the 1640s turned to pamphleteering propaganda against the Arminian (Laudian) Church of England and the monarchy which protected it.
Just as the Puritans' concept of the Antichrist shifted during the seventeenth-century, so did their concept of apocalyptic. Convincing that Christ would conquer Babylon (Rome), they also became convinced that all elements of Romanism in the Church of England must be purged as well. Millennialism advocated a participation of the saints in the victorious rule of Christ on earth and post-millennialism, in particular, offered them the opportunity to bring in the kingdom by preaching, law, government, etc., if necessary, by force!

THE APOCALYPSE AND THE REVOLUTION

It was the apocalyptic mentality of the English Puritans which gave rise to their justification of the civil war in 1642. Whatever social, political and economic factors contributed to the revolution, the Puritan apocalyptic mentality viewed it as a war of the saints against the forces of evil. Since the Book of Revelation predicts a Satanic "war against the saints," they were merely responding in self-defense. Thus, the civil wars and the eventual execution of the King were all segments

30Cf. Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England, pp. 11-31; Christianson, op. cit., pp. 127-131; Firth, op. cit., pp. 242-254. The latter notes that "when belief was at its strongest, thought was at its weakest." Thus, the influence of the millenarian doctrine, united with the hope of a utopian society, altered the apocalyptic tradition without eliminating that tradition.

31This mentality can be traced to Alexander Leighton's Speculum bellisaer (1628), Thomas Goodwin's A Glimpse of Syons Glory (1642) and Jeremiah Burrough's Syons Joy (1642). Even John Milton accepted their conclusions as legitimate. Cf. his Of Reformation (London: 1641) and Animad Versions (London: 1642), where he agrees with the vision of a British millennium to come.
of the grand apocalyptic drama of which they were all a part.\textsuperscript{32} To the Puritan mentality, the revolution was the only reasonable and proper response of godly people against the tyranny of Antichrist. It was a necessary commitment of true devotion to Christ and His Church. Thus, the soldiers in Cromwell's army saw themselves as the true "saints of God" engaged in a great apocalyptic conflict to defend the true Church against the corruptions of the Antichrist.\textsuperscript{33} However, in time, they began to argue among themselves as to which church was indeed the true Church. Conflicts between the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Congregationalists broke the unity of the Puritan Brotherhood.\textsuperscript{34} In time the more radical Puritans began calling Cromwell the Antichrist!

With the closing of the Barebones Parliament, and Cromwell's declaration of himself as Lord Protector, the Puritan cause was crushed but they did not realize it. Their continued squabbles among themselves caused them to lose their opportunity to affect the kind of revival in England

\textsuperscript{32} This is clearly evident in Owen's sermon before Parliament the day after Charles' execution. See his Righteous Zeal (London: 1649). This same attitude is clearly expressed in earlier works as well, e.g., The Bloody Almanack (London: 1643); William Bridge, Babylons Downfall (London: 1641); and his A Sermon Preached unto the Volunteers of the City of Norwich and also the Volunteers of Great Yarmouth in Norfolk (London: 1642); William Sedgwick, Zions deliverance and her friends duty (London: 1642); Jeremiah Burroughs, The Glorious Name of God, The Lord of Hosts, in some cases, to take up arms (London: 1643).

\textsuperscript{33} See Sedgwick's Justice Upon the Armie Remonstrance (London: 1648) and The Spirituall Madman (n.p.: 1648). He saw England as "an everlasting Kingdome for the Saints." Thomas Collier, A Vindication of the Army Remonstrance (n.p.: 1648) argued, "when Christ as King of the Saints reigned in the Army, then the Army would rule the world."

for which they had worked so long. Their lack of unity was in part caused by their apocalyptic anticipation that Christ would soon come and vindicate their particular view as the correct one. Thus, the final phase of the Puritan apocalyptic was no less apocalyptical. It was corrupted by the idea that anyone who disagrees with my view is the Antichrist. Therefore, Puritan apocalypticism spawned an unhealthy cultic paranoia. In its initial stages Puritan apocalyptic encouraged scholarly investigation and social application of prophetic anticipation to human life. However, in its final stages the Puritan apocalyptic mentality lapsed into an apocalyptical cult. Levellers, Diggers, and Fifth Monarchists attacked each other and promoted themselves as the only true "saints" of God. Critical examination of their views was quickly dismissed by them as the persecution of the Antichrist.

The Levellers and the Diggers showed definite signs of apocalypticism as exclusivists without proposing the final apocalypse. Thus, they too were realized apocalyptists. Their private visions and opposition to

---


37 See Knott's extensive study of "Gerrard Winstanley's Land of Righteousness." in The Sword of the Spirit, pp. 85-105. He notes that though Winstanley's vision failed to transform England, it remains compelling even today. He had a "talent for transforming spiritual conflict and social injustice into an apocalyptical drama unfolding simultaneously in the natural world and the soul of man."
political power are typical of an apocalyptic mentality. While Old Testament apocalyptic postponed the final judgment, the Levellers and Diggers stressed human responsibility in cooperating with God in what they viewed as a present apocalypse. They were convinced that they were living in the final apocalyptic age. Thus, they merged realized eschatology with apocalypticism to form a realized apocalyptic. However, in the case of the millennialists their vision would not translate into practical politics. Although they wanted to bring in the millennium now their vision, like biblical apocalypticism, could not be practiced or translated into practical politics. In this sense even the millennialists were truly apocalyptists.

THE CULT OF APOCALYPTIC

The disintegration of the Puritan Brotherhood resulted from their overt apocalypticism spawning a cult of apocalyptic in which nearly every contemporary event was viewed as another prophetic fulfillment pushing them even closer to the final apocalypse. They were not so much looking forward to future events; in their own minds they were already living in the future now. The apocalyptic war had already begun and the Puritans saw

38The Diggers literally dug up the earth because they believed it was now the Kingdom of Christ. This is traced by Knott, ibid. and may be seen in Winstanley's The Mysterie of God Concerning the Whole Creation (1648) and The True Levellers Standard Advanced (1649). Among the Levellers, John Lilburne and Richard Overton were both convinced of the apocalyptic nature of their own struggle. Cf. Lilburne's Innocency and Truth Justified (London: 1645) and Overton's Last Warning to the Inhabitants of London (1646).

39Cf. Knott, op. cit., pp. 101-105; and W. Hailer, Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution, pp. 254-358. They observe that the fantastic visions of the Levellers and Diggers reveal the true spirit of apocalypticism growing out of man's frustration with his present situation.

themselves as participants in the final drama of human history. As the Protestant apocalyptic tradition took shape it identified an atmosphere of a well-defined conflict between the true Church of Christ and the false Church of Antichrist. The moral and biblical arguments of the Protestants gave way to catalogs of persecution and tyranny against the True Church which further reinforced the Protestant belief that Antichrist was indeed on the loose.

Since the time of John Bale, the Protestant apocalyptists saw an interdependence of history and prophecy. Thus the early apocalyptic tradition developed simultaneously as an historical commentary on scripture and a scriptural commentary on history. Later the Protestant apocalyptic tradition broadened to include mathematicians, philologists, chronologers and astrologers. Brightman and Broughton studied the scripture in great detail, while Raleigh and Mede developed chronological consistency. Firth notes that, "the early seventeenth century fell heir to a sophisticated apocalyptic tradition in which the major historical

---


42 This imagery was clearly developed by John Bale, The Image of bothe churches (London: 1550?). He saw the Woman in the Wilderness as the true, yet persecuted Church, and the Great Whore as the Roman Catholic Church. This basic concept was always a part of Puritan apocalyptic and, therefore, continued to see their present conflicts as a part of the great apocalyptic drama.

43 See K.R. Firth, op. cit., pp. 242-251. She notes that apocalyptic history is visionary history and is concerned both with projection of the future as well as an understanding of the past. She notes: "The Protestant apocalyptic tradition took shape in an atmosphere of well-defined conflict . . . (between) the faithful and the apostate" (p. 247).

44 See T. Brightman, A revelation of the revelation (1609); H. Broughton, A Concept of Scripture (1588) and A revelation of the holy apocalypse (1610); W. Raleigh, The History of the World (1610-11).
work had already been done."  

However, the further one is removed from his historic roots, the more he tends to corrupt his own tradition. The apocalyptic tradition of the reformers was adapted to the chiliastic doctrine of the millennialis and forged as a weapon for social and civil revolution. Yet, in the midst of that revolution the tradition was corrupted into a cult of militancy against several elements of English society. In time, the people of England rejected the Puritan vision because it had become a blurred vision. Each element of the Puritan revolution claimed to be the sole heir of the true vision of God for the New Jerusalem. Apocalyptic was no longer a driving force in English society. It had disintegrated into several diverse apocalyptisms. The oppressed were now the oppressors of one another and the harsh reality of the Restoration ended their dreams of "Zion's Glory."

PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Puritan theology was generally known as "practical divinity." At

45 Firth, op. cit., p. 251.
46 Ibid., p. 254.
47 These were in actuality no longer true apocalyptic utterances, but diverse interpretations of prophecy designed to benefit the particular group who held the interpretation. With the disintegration of apocalyptic, Puritan eschatology leaned away from the apocalyptic speculation of millennialism and returned to the other worldly apocalyptic of Baxter. To this day, millennialism has little foothold among the modern descendants of the Puritans. Cf. G.C. Berkouwer, The Return of Christ (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972); M.J. Erickson, Contemporary Options in Eschatology: A Study of the Millennium (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1977); A.A. Hoekema, The Bible and the Future (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979); C.L. Feinberg, Millennialism: The Two Major Views (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980).
the end of their sermons and written works the Puritans inevitably raised
the issue of the "use" of the particular doctrine being studied. Thus,
it is only befitting to conclude this study with some general observa-
tions and practical applications. The study of the development and event-
tual disintegration of the Puritan apocalyptic hermeneutic reveals the
changing conditions of the society which gave birth to that hermeneutic.49
The intensity of persecution against Wycliffe, the Marian exiles, the anti-
Laudians, etc. fed the apocalyptic need of the people. When they were in
power, the Puritan saints began to persecute one another instead and their
apocalyptic anticipation shifted to immediate prophetic concerns.

It is also clear that the individual disunity among the Puritans led
to their final downfall as a serious socio-political force in England.50
While the commonality of their persecuted mentality spawned a common
apocalyptic anticipation, that commonality was eventually eroded by
their widely diverse visions for a New Jerusalem. Tired of their internal

49 On the significance of social influences upon the apocalyptic
hermeneutic, see R.J. Bauckham, "The Rise of Apocalyptic," Themelios
XIII (1978), pp. 10-23; R.P. Carroll, "Twilight of Prophecy or Dawn of
Apocalyptic?" JSOT, 14 (1979), pp. 3-35; F.E. Deist, "Bybel interpreta-
P.D. Hanson, The Dawn of Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: Fortress Press,
1979); "From Prophecy to Apocalyptic: Unresolved Issues," JSOT, 15 (1980),
pp. 3-6; W.S. Vorster, op. cit., W. Schmithals, Die Apokalyptik: Ein-
fuhrung und Deutung (Gottingen: Vandenhoech, 1973).

50 The parallel to twentieth-century American Fundamentalism is in-
deed striking. Cf. T.P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Com-
ing: American Premillennialism 1875-1925 (New York: Oxford University
Press, 1979); James Barr, Fundamentalism (London: SCM Press, 1977);
J. Falwell (ed.), with E. Dobson and E. Hindson, The Fundamentalist Phen-
nomenon (New York: Doubleday, 1981); E.R. Sandeen, The Roots of Funda-
mentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930 (Chicago: Uni-
versity of Chicago Press, 1970). Early Fundamentalists also began with
an apocalyptic anticipation of living in the "last days." Liberalism was
identified with the final age of apostasy which had already dawned. The
theme of the true Church vs. the false Church reoccurs within Fundamental-
ism as does the hope for an apocalyptic deliverance, usually associated
with the rapture of the true Church, out of the present, doomed socio-
-economic-religio-political system.
squabbles among themselves, Cromwell turned against them in the end, and they turned against him as well. In so doing, their cause was lost and they were not even aware of it.

With the Restoration of Charles II as King in 1660, the Puritan influence upon the government was virtually snuffed out. Over two-thousand Puritans were ejected from their pulpits by 1662. Afterwards Puritanism simply became part of the nonconformist tradition within English Protestantism. The latter Puritans opted for Baxter's approach to eschatology and shifted back to a postponed apocalyptic, awaiting heaven and an eternal reality where good would finally triumph over evil. Only in New England was the Puritan hope kept alive beyond the seventeenth-century. However, wherever there are oppressed saints of God the apocalyptic hope may burst forth again at any moment.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES


Ashe, Simeon. The Best Refuge for the most Oppressed. London: 1642.

A Short description of Antichrist (Edinburgh: 1554).

Aspinwall, W. A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdome, That shortly is to come into the world. London: 1653.


Bale. A mysterie of iniquyte contained within the heretycall Genealogye of Ponce Pantolabus, is here both dysclosed and confuted. Geneva: 1545.


Bale. The actes of English votaryes, comprehenyng their unchast practyses and examples by all ages. London: n.d.

Bale. The second part or contynuacyon of the English votaries. London: 1551.
The vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Ireland. London: 1553?


The answer of J. Bastwick to the exceptions against his letany. London: 1637.


A Call to the Unconverted. Kidderminster: 1658.


_____ A short view of the Persian monarachie, and of Daniels Weekes ... with a censure in some points by Hugh Broughton. London: 1590.


_____ Christs coming Opened in a Sermon Before the Honorable House of Commons. London: 1648.


_____ A revelation of the revelation. Amsterdam: 1615.

_____ A most comfortable exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel. Amsterdam: 1635; London: 1644.

Brightmans predictions and prophecies. London: 1641.


_____ Daniel his Chaldie visions and his Eberew. London: 1596.

_____ A revelation of the holy apocalypse. Amsterdam: 1610.

Bullinger, Heinrich. *A hundred sermons upon the Apocalypys.* London: 1561.


_____ A glimpse of sions glory. London: 1641.

_____ The Glorious Name of God, The Lord of Hosts, in some cases, to take up arms. London: 1643.


Englands bondage and hope of deliverance. London: 1641.

The Lords bishops none of the Lords bishops. London: 1640.

The protestation protested. London: 1641.

The sounding of the two last trumpets. London: 1641.


"Sermons sur les huit derniers du livre de Daniel, Calvini Opera, xlii-xliv, Corpus Reformatorum (Geneva: 1549)."

"Advertissement contre l'astrologie qu'on appelle Judiciaire, etc." Colvini Opera, vii, Corpus Reformatorum (Geneva: 1549).


The Saints Thankfull Acclamation at Christs Resumption of His Great Power and the Initials of His Kingdome. London: 1644.


The Complaynt of Scotland.  n.p.: 1549.


A Declaration of the Army to His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. London: 1652.

A Declaration of His Highness the Lord Protector. London: 1654.


A Declaration of Oliver Cromwell, Captian General of all the Forces of the Commonwealth. London: 1653.


A Discovery of a horrible and bloody treason. London: 1641.

A Discovery of the arch-whore. London: 1642?

Downname, George.  _A treatise concerning antichrist proving the pope is antichrist._ London: 1603.

E. E.  _The bishops downefall or the prelates snare._ London: 1642.

Englands complaint or the church her lamentation. London: 1642?


Feake, Christopher.  _A Beam of Light._ London: 1659.


The Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdom of Christ, in opposition to the Beast's Asserted. London: 1659.

Foxe, John. Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, etc. London: 1563.


——. Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque per totum Europam Persecutionum, etc. Frankfurt: 1554.


German Play of Antichrist (London: c. 1160).


 goodwin, thomas. a glimpse of syons glory. london: 1641.

________. sion-colledge visited. london: 1648.

---

________. zerubbabels encouragement to finish the temple. london: 1642.

________, et al. an apologetticall narration. london: 1643.

________, et al. a copy of a remonstrance. london: 1645.

________. a sermon to the fifth monarchy. london: 1654.

________. exposition of ephesians. london: 1681.

________. the object and acts of justifying faith. london: 1697.

________. works. ed. t. smith, 11 vols. edinburgh: 1861-64.

gouge, william. the saints support. london: 1642.

greenhill, william. the axe at the root. london: 1643.

a guide unto zion. amsterdam: 1638.

hakewill, george. an apologie of the power and providence of god in the government of the world, etc. oxford: 1627.

hall, joseph. king charles his entertainment. london: 1641.

hall, thomas. chiliasto-mastix redivivus . . . a confutation of the millenarian opinion. london: 1657.

harford, r. reverend mr. brightman his judgment or prophecies . . . collected out of his exposition on the revelation. london: 1643.

harrison, john. the messiah already come, written in barbarie in the year 1610. amsterdam: 1619.

hartlib, samuel. a description of the famous kingdom of macaria. london: 1641.

harvey, john. a discoursive problem concerning prophesies. london: 1588.

hayne, thomas. christs kingdom on earth, opened according to the scriptures. (n.p.), 1645.

henderson, alexander. a sermon preached before the right honorable the lords and commons. london: 1644.

hill, thomas. the trade of truth advanced. london: 1642.
The militant church triumphant over the dragon and his angels. London: 1643.


. "A Fruitfull meditation containing a Plaine and easie exposi-
tion . . . of the VII, VIII, IX, X Verses of the 20 Chapter of the REVELATION, etc." in Workes.


. The exposicion of Daniel the Prophete, gathered out of Philip Melanchton, etc. Geneva: 1545.

Kirchmeyer, Thomas. The Popish Kingdom, or reigne of Antichrist. London: 1570.


. The Appellation of John Knoxe from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes and clerge of Scotland. Geneva: 1558.

. An Answer to a Great number of blasphemous cavillations written by an Anabaptist. Geneva: 1560.


Leighton, Alexander. An appeal to the Parliament, or Sions plea against the prelacy. Amsterdam: 1628.

______. Speclum bellisaeri: or the looking-glasse of the holy war. Amsterdam: 1628.


______. A worke of the beast. Amsterdam: 1638.


Lively, Edward. True Chronologie of the times of the Persian Monarchie and after to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romanes. London: 1597.


______. A Sermon preacher to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London: London: 1652.


________. Daniels Weekes An Interpretation of part of the Prophecy of Daniel. London: 1643.

________. The Key of the Revelation, etc. Trans. R. More. London: 1643.

________. The Apostasy of the Latter Times, etc. London: 1644.


________. To the Lord Generall Cromwell. London: 1652.


Napier's narration, or an epitome of his booke on Revelation. London: 1641.


________. The Araignment of Mr. Persecution. London: 1642.

________. Last Warning to all the Inhabitants of London. London: 1643.

________. An Arrow Against all Tyrants and Tyranny, etc. London: 1646.

---


---


---


---


---


---


---


---


---

Pont, Robert. A newe treatise of the right reckoning of the yeares and ages of the world, etc. Edinburgh: 1599.

---


---


---


---

Prynne, William. Certain quaeries propounded to the bowers at the name of Jesus. Amsterdam: 1637.

---


---

Prynne, William. The antipathie of the English lordly prelacie both to regal monarchy and civil unity. London: 1644.

---


---

A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation. London: 1641.

---


---


---

Rogers, John. Sagrir, or Doomes-day drawing nigh. London: 1653.

---

Rogers, John. To His Highness Lord General Cromwell, Lord Protector. (n.p., n.d.).
Rogers, Thomas. Of the ende of this world, and seconde commyng of Christ, etc. London: 1577.

Ross, Alexander. The History of the world ... being a continuation of the famous history of Sir Walter Raleigh. London: 1652.


Scripture a perfect rule for church government. London: 1643.

The Spirituall Madman. (n.p.: 1648).

Shelford, Robert. A treatise showing the Antichrist not to be yet come. Cambridge: 1635.


The Soul's Conflict. London: 1635.


A briefe Chronicle of the foure principall Empyres, etc. London: 1563.

Strange and remarkable prophecies and predictions of ... James Ussher. (n.p.: n.d.).


State Prosperitie, In Keeping close to the word. London: 1653.

A Voice from Heaven, Calling the People of God to a Perfect Separation. London: 1654.


II. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. BOOKS


B. ARTICLES


"The Cromwellian Establishment." Church History, X (1941), pp. 144-158.
"The English Presbyterians in the Westminster Assembly." 


"Episcopacy and a 'Godly Discipline,' 1641-6." Journal of 
Ecclesiastical History, X (1959), pp. 74-89.

"Richard Baxter, the Apocalypse and the Mad Major." Past 

Latham, R. C. "English Revolutionary Thought, 1640-1660." History 


Marsden, G. "America's Christian Origins: Puritan New England as a 
Case Study," in W. S. Reid, ed., John Calvin: His Influence in 

McKim, D. K. "The Puritan View of History." Evangelical Quarterly 

McNair, P. M. J. "Peter Martyr in England," in J. C. McLelland, ed., 
Peter Martyr Verigli and Italian Reform. Waterloo, Ontario: 

McNeill, J. T. "John Calvin on Civil Government." Journal of Presby-

Muller, R. A. "Covenant and Conscience in English Reformed Theology." 

Nutall, G. F. "Richard Baxter's Correspondence: A Preliminary Survey." 

"Presbyterians and Independents, Some Movements for Unity 
300 Years Ago." Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society 

Owen, G. H. "A Nursery of Elizabethan Nonconformity 1567-72." Journal 

Pearson, S. C. "Reluctant Radicals: Independents at the Westminster 

Prall, S. E. "Chancery Reform and the Puritan Revolution." American 

Reid, W. S. "John Calvin," in J. D. Douglas, ed., New International 
Dictionary of the Christian Church. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 
1978, pp. 177-179.


C. UNPUBLISHED THESES


