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A table of contents for *Grace Journal* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_grace-journal.php

MILLENNIALISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Through the centuries of the Christian era many individuals have clung to a belief in a literal kingdom of Christ which should be established upon earth, a view which has been called millennialism or chiliasm. This view was a legacy from Judaism. In its classic pre-millennial form it taught that Jesus would intervene directly in history and raise the righteous dead and they would rule together over a renewed and glorious earth for a thousand years. This period would be followed by the general resurrection, the judgment and end of all things, the everlasting happiness of the elect and the eternal loss of the wicked.

Though this interpretation has persisted, it has rarely been the prevailing opinion. However, there have been at least two periods when millennial teaching has been widely believed by Christians. The first of these was the first through the third centuries when the Christians were suffering great persecutions. From the Apostle John came the inspired Apocalypse known also as the Book of Revelation. This book, with its further expansion of the prophecies of Daniel, has been the object of intensive study by those who have been interested in the thousand year reign of Christ.¹

Origen seems to have led the opposition to the literal acceptance of the teaching of the millennium from the Apocalypse of John and to have insisted upon a figurative interpretation of the New Jerusalem and its joys. The old belief, however, was deeply entrenched in the Scriptures themselves and it persistently held its own throughout the third century in the western Roman world and in certain regions of the east. In time the legalization of Christianity caused the hope of relief from this present age to dim, and in the Middle Ages, except in isolated cases, this teaching nearly died out. Following the Reformation in the seventeenth century it experienced a new popularity, and there was a second great age of chiliastic teaching that rivals that of the early centuries. It is with the seventeenth century chapter of the history of millenarianism that we will deal in this paper.

During the middle ages the eschatology of the great mass of Christians was Augustinian or amillennial. They believed that the millennium should be interpreted spiritually and was fulfilled in the church. There were a few dissidents to this view, such as Joachim of Flora, his followers the Spiritual Franciscans, and the Hussites.² But still the most popular view of the future found no place for the Kingdom of God on earth. Even during the Reformation, though there was a renewed interest in the literal interpretation of the Bible, the Augustinian view of the future still prevailed.

The few sixteenth century religious leaders who did adopt a millennial position of one

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type or another served more to discredit the teaching than to spread it.³ (Indeed this is often the case today.) This caused reformers like Calvin to react violently against any idea of a future kingdom of God on earth. In fact, he dismissed the idea of chiliasm as a childish fancy and stated that the Scriptures do not support it. He castigated those who were millenarians as being ignorant of divine things or malignant perverts who tried to overthrow the grace of God.⁴ His concern was the appearance and revelation of the Lord for a general resurrection and last judgment and he felt that chiliasm was a poor substitute for this hope. Calvin was also against using Biblical numerics in connection with the end of the age. In commenting on Daniel, chapter 12, which later became a favorite passage for the calculations of seventeenth century millenarians, he states: "In numerical calculations I am no conjurer, and those who expound this passage with too great subtlety, only trifle in their own speculations, and detract from the authority of prophecy."⁵ This prejudice against investigating eschatology led him to refrain from writing a commentary on the Apocalypse.

John Henry Alsted

Yet it was a theologian of the Calvinist tradition who was destined to lead the seventeenth century revival of millenarian teaching. Calvinism radiated out from Geneva to the Netherlands, Scotland, France, England, Germany and eastern Europe.⁶ In Germany it was especially influential in the Rhineland area where John Henry Alsted⁷ was born in 1588. Alsted was destined to become a truly dedicated disciple of Reformed doctrine and a careful student of the apocalyptic portion of the Scriptures. He added a certain balance to the reviving interest in millennial doctrine, for he believed in the coming kingdom without being a social revolutionary or schismatic. Instead, he was a scholarly philosopher and theologian in one of the influential branches of the Reformed Church. Alsted received his training at the Reformed educational center of Herborn, a famous school with more than one hundred fifty pupils and offering a thorough training in the Reformed faith and in Classical and Biblical languages. After graduating as an accomplished Latinist, philosopher and theologian, Alsted proceeded upon an academic journey which was considered an indispensable supplement to the education of a scholar. While on his travels he listened to the distinguished teachers of the day at Marburg, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Strasburg and Basle. After returning to Herborn, he settled down to a life of teaching and writing where he drew young men from many of the lands in which the Reformed faith had taken root. When dissension broke out between the Reformed and the Arminians, and the Synod of Dort was called in 1618 for the purpose of settling the dispute, the Rhineland Calvinists were represented by Alsted who participated in the victory of the Orthodox party.

The prestige gained from his attendance at this conclave gave Alsted the opportunity to teach theology at Herborn, and in 1626 at the death of John Piscator, the senior theologian, Alsted was given the first chair of theology and was put in charge of the theological faculty. At this time the storms of the Thirty Years' War devastated the Rhineland area bringing plague and fire in their wake. The halls of Herborn gradually became empty as the students sought to carry on their education elsewhere in safer surroundings. Another blow came to the school when the victorious Catholic princes seized the endowment and cut off the school's income. Knowing that the institution could never maintain itself in the face of these disasters, Alsted in 1629 reluctantly obeyed a call to teach at a new academy founded at Stuhl-

Weissenberg in Transylvania. Here he continued to produce work upon work, and in spite of his early death in 1638, he is ranked as one of the most prolific writers of any age.⁸

Much of Alsted's writing is concerned with making resumes of all the available knowledge of his day in massive encyclopedias.⁹ He was especially interested in education, philosophy and theology. His theological innovation is, of course, his espousal of the cause of premillenarianism. Alsted did not express this premillennial view in his earlier theological works. This is seen in his Methodus Sacrosanctae Theologiae,¹⁰ written in 1614, in which he reveals the Augustinian or amillennial position. Even in this earlier writing, though, one can detect an interest in future events and in Biblical numerics. By 1622 he had advanced to the point where he placed the millennium in the future; but he adopted a cautious view, stating that those involved in the first resurrection will rule with Christ in heaven, the earth having little place in his prophetic scheme.¹¹ By 1627 he had embraced a completely premillennial position and in that year he published the most famous expression of his prophetic views, Diatribae de mille annis Apocalypticis.¹²

Alsted stated that he had a twofold purpose for writing this book; first, as a sample of his method of Bible study and second, as a proof for his millennial views. In his foreword to the book he laid down three prerequisites to the successful study of Scripture prophecy. These were the help of the Holy Spirit, a diligent comparison of Scripture and an experience of fulfilled Bible prophecy. As the Thirty Years' War was devastating his land at this time, Alsted felt that even then he was experiencing the horrors of the end of the age. He admonishes: "Let us set sail therefore in the name of God, and comfort the desolation of Germany with this pious meditation."¹³ The war struck Alsted's home province of Nassau with particular severity causing him to flee to Transylvania and it seems that this experience was an important factor in causing him to change his Augustinian eschatology to a strong premillenarian position.

The Diatribae or Beloved City, as we shall hereafter refer to it, is a careful exposition of Revelation chapter twenty. In Alsted's scriptural study plan the introduction includes the author, the subject and the context. The author of Revelation twenty is Jesus Christ who worked through the Apostle John, and the subject is the church. Alsted used a wider definition of "church" than we use today, for he felt that it included all people who have ever trusted in the true God. The third part of Alsted's introduction is the connection of this passage with the rest of Scripture. This is maintained by the presentation of an outline of seven points or visions of the Book of Revelation. Alsted sets the date for the writing of the Revelation as 94 A.D. The first vision covers chapters one through three and is entitled the vision of the seven golden candlesticks. This vision concerns the seven contemporary churches of Asia Minor. The second vision is that of the book shut up and signed with seven seals, chapters four through six. This vision relates to the church from the time of John until 606 A.D. The third vision is of seven trumpets and is found in chapters eight through eleven which covers the church from 606 until 1517. The fourth vision consists of the woman bringing forth a child, of the dragon, and of the beast and the lamb in chapters twelve through fourteen. This concerns the church from the birth of Christ until 1517. The fifth vision is of seven vials in chapters fifteen and sixteen of which three were poured forth from 1517 to 1625 and the four following shall be poured forth from 1625 until 1694 when the thousand year reign of Christ

shall begin. The sixth vision found in chapters seventeen through twenty is partly of judgment on the enemies of the church and partly of the happiness of the church. The seventh vision, chapters twenty-one and twenty-two, is of the Heavenly City where the church shall spend all eternity.

Alsted then gives the argument or summation of the chapter. It is this: God puts the dragon, Satan, into the bottomless pit for a thousand years. Since Satan is imprisoned for these years he cannot stir wicked men against the church of God; therefore, the church enjoys outward peace, the righteous dead are raised and multitudes are converted. This happy condition is ended by the war of Gog and Magog, during which time the church is again persecuted. At the close of this war is the last judgment when Satan and all his helpers are cast into the pit and the saints reign forever with Christ. Alsted then supports his view with a verse-by-verse word study of the passage.

A sample of his study is that of verse four: "And I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." Alsted states that "thrones" mean a judicial process being prepared, "judgment" is given to Christ and His angels and "souls" refer to men who are martyrs and are freed by their judgment. The "beast" is the second beast of chapters thirteen and nineteen which had arrogated to itself the worship of God. "And had not received his mark upon their foreheads" indicates that the martyrs did not publicly follow the opposition to Christ. "And they lived" indicates that the martyrs lived again as a reward for their sufferings ". . . 'With Christ' Who all this while shall reign visibly in heaven, invisibly upon earth, his visible kingdom resigned to the martyrs."¹⁴

Following this "philological" analysis of each verse of the chapter, Alsted turns to a logical analysis of the text. He divides the chapter into five parts: first, the description of the angel (vs. 1); second, what the angel did (vv. 2,3); third, the happy condition of the church because of what the angel did (vv. 2-6); fourth, the troubled state of the church (vv. 7-10); fifth, the description of the last judgment (vv. 11-15). Then Alsted deals with certain objections that he felt would arise in the minds of some who would read his book. He begins by saying that most of the objections to his teaching can be boiled down to the question of whether there will be any millennial happiness of the church on earth before the last judgment. To prove that there will be a great day of earthly blessing for the church he cites a number of Old Testament passages such as Isaiah 2:1-4, 34:1-17, Joel 3:1, 2, 9-13, and Psalms 22:27, 86:9 and 117:1. These passages which speak of the defeat of the enemies of God, peace on earth and the conversion of the nations, if taken literally would all point to the future millennial reign of Christ. Among these proofs he listed Daniel 12:11, 12 which he felt showed that the millennium would begin in 1694.¹⁵ Alsted listed other men who agreed with him in the adopting of a millennial position; among these being Alfonsus Conradus, Lucas Osiander, Matthew Cotterius and John Piscator. He also stated that the great majority of the church fathers shared these millennial beliefs.

Following this general statement of his position, Alsted has a more detailed section that

answers minor criticisms. Among these are replies to those who oppose a bodily resurrection preceding the millennium and the reign of the resurrected saints on the earth. Alsted closes his book by showing the doctrines that may be drawn from this passage. These include God's providence, the angels, predestination, the church, the resurrection of the flesh, the last judgment, eternal life and eternal death. Thus a scholarly blow was struck for premillennial belief. He refrained from describing in great detail all the aspects of scripture which pertain to the millennium; yet he believed in a literal first resurrection and a thousand year reign of the resurrected martyrs on the earth. He also did not hesitate to set the date for the beginning of this reign.

Joseph Mede

Alsted's millenarian teaching did not go unnoticed on the continent, but the area where it had its greatest effect was in England. The Augustinian eschatology reigned supreme in England until the 1640's, but Alsted's views had been made available to Englishmen even before this time through the work of Joseph Mede, a Greek professor at Cambridge. Mede, who began his teaching in 1610 and continued until his death in 1638, was master of such eminent Cambridge Platonists as Whichcote, More and Cudworth. "He was one of the greatest Biblical scholars the English Church has produced . . . a man of catholic interests . . . a philosopher . . . an amateur botanist, a student of astronomical theories, and a pioneer orientalist."¹⁶ Many writers have pointed out how influential Mede has been regarding millennial studies in English-speaking countries.¹⁷ He was very interested in the plight of Protestants on the continent who suffered during the Thirty Years' War and kept up a steady correspondence with Europeans, reading very carefully the books produced by Continental Calvinists. Among the authors that he prized most highly was John Henry Alsted. The apocalyptic interpretation of Alsted, when viewed in the light of the trials through which the faithful were passing, appeared quite reasonable to Mede so he also adopted a millennial position. Since he was not a slavish follower of any man's work, he refashioned some points of Alsted's teaching when he adopted this millennial position.

Mede published his major Apocalyptic work Clavis Apocalypticae (The Key of the Revelation) in 1632. Prior to this he had issued a shortened form of this work in 1627. This earlier edition did not present the premillennial position as plainly as did the 1632 edition. Mede arranged the Apocalypse into a clear outline and then proceeded to fill in the details so as to bolster the premillennial position. According to Mede, the Apocalypse should be divided into three sections, each of these beginning with a voice sounding forth from heaven as a trumpet to the Apostle John. The first of these, commencing in Revelation 1:10, is the message to the seven churches; the next which begins with Revelation 4:1 is the vision of the seals; and the last is that of the opened book, beginning in 10:8. Mede does not explain the message to the churches but he does show its relationship to the rest of the prophecy. The events recorded in the second division occur at the same time as those in the third. Mede felt that most of the prophecies of the Apocalypse had been fulfilled during Classical times and the Middle Ages, so we will pass over these portions of his explanation and notice the pouring out of the six vials of judgment upon the antichristian world which is recorded in Revelation 16.

These activities, according to Mede, find their fulfillment in the work of the Reformers

as they destroy the power of the Roman Catholic Church and those secular powers who support her. The first vial was fulfilled when the Waldenses, Albigensians, Wicklifites and Hussites began to identify the pope with antichrist, and Rome with Babylon. The next vial, which turns the sea into the blood of a dead man, refers to the action of Luther in destroying the authority of the church over large areas of Europe. The third vial, which transforms the rivers into blood, was fulfilled when the representatives of Rome were killed by reforming princes as the Romanists had killed others. Mede especially mentions Queen Elizabeth of England "of famous memory"¹⁸ who punished the representatives of the beast with death. This judgment is seen in full force in the defeat of the Armada in 1588 when the Spanish champions of the cause of the Beast, trying to get England back into the Roman fold, ". . . thirsting for blood, drank blood by full draughts."¹⁹ These three vials had been poured out by Mede's time but there were still four vials of judgment remaining to be poured upon papal Rome. The fourth vial which is poured upon the sun and causes it to become scorchingly hot, Mede believed indicated a punishment to be given to the House of Hapsburg which was the great light in the antichristian world. This empire Mede felt would fall into the hands of the Protestants led by Gustavus Adolphus, the great Swedish king, and then it would be used to torment the Roman Catholics. The other future vials will result in the destruction of the city of Rome, a regathering of the Jews to the Holy Land and the final destruction of the wicked.

This defeat of the wicked is accomplished by the intervention of Christ who then prepares the earth for the thousand year reign. A literal resurrection of the dead martyrs accompanies the setting up of this kingdom. Mede states that when it comes to this great mystery he deems it sufficient to understand the matter in general and not to try to apply every detail of the prophetic Scriptures, lest he fall into the error that Solomon condemns: "In the multitude of words there will not want sin" (Prov. 10:19). Mede summarizes his view of the kingdom with these words:

The seventh Trumpet, with the whole space of 1000 years thereto appertaining, signifying the great Day of Judgement, circumscribed within two resurrections, beginning at the judgement of Antichrist, as the morning of that day, and continuing during the space of 1000 years granted to new Jerusalem, (the Spouse of Christ) upon this Earth, till the universal resurrection and judgement 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.²⁰

The millennial ideas of Mede were propagated in England through his great prestige as a teacher, his books and his letters. This influence helped to popularize speculation about the coming kingdom, although not everyone adhered exactly to his view. Some remained more conservative and continued to follow the Puritan commentator Thomas Brightman, who held a modified Augustinian view of the millennium. Brightman taught that the thousand years mentioned in Revelation 20:2 began in the fourth century when Constantine gave the churches a more favorable place in the Roman world. At the end of this time the devil was loosed in the sense that the Turks began to make remarkable advances. The first resurrection occurred at the close of these thousand years in the fourteenth century and is to be understood spiritually as a revival of true Reformed preaching under men like Marsiglio of Padua, John of

Jandun and John Wiclif. This first resurrection began the millennium, so Brightman dated it in the year 1300. As he stated:

These thousand years begin, where the former ended, that is in the year 1300. Whereby continuance of the truth is promised for a thousand years, from the restoring thereof (of which we have already spoken) in these our nations of Europe, to which also this first resurrection belongeth, . . . and . . . the truth doth get ground and strength every day more, blessed be God for it. We must also wait for some time longer, before our brethren of the Jews shall be converted to the faith. But . . . they shall come in . . ."²¹

This conversion of the Jews will be the second resurrection. After the year 2300 there is to be some sort of final trouble with those whose hearts have grown cold during the millennium and then the eternal state will be established. Brightman's ideas had a number of able advocates in seventeenth century English pulpits, including John Cotton.²²

While some were more conservative than Mede, others took a more radical approach to eschatology. The earliest and most capable spokesman for this viewpoint is Henry Archer. We know little of this man except that he was a minister in London at Allhallows and that he succeeded in getting one of his books, The Personall Reigne of Christ, published, Although producing just one work it seems to have had a wide effect on the British public.²³ Archer spells out the details of the millennial reign with great care and sets the date for the beginning of the kingdom as 1656 or 1666. When the Puritan revolution occurred in the 1640's, many Englishmen followed the teaching of Archer and other radical millenarians to form a religio-political party called the Fifth Monarchy Men. This group felt that after the king, Charles I, was executed in 1649, preparation should be made to establish the government of Christ. For a while in the 1650's they were able to control the English Parliament but when some of their impractical schemes did not succeed they lost favor and Cromwell turned against them. They then opposed Cromwell calling him the "little horn" or antichrist and by the time of the restoration of Charles II they ceased to figure in any significant way as a political party.

The moderate millenarianism of Mede and Alsted did continue, however. Alsted, though he had set the date for the millennium, put it far enough in the future that he would never need answer for it. Mede hesitated to set any dates, so it was difficult to discredit this position merely because of the calendar. Others who followed the millenarian views of Mede were William Twisse,²⁴ Nathaniel Homes,²⁵ Henry More, William Sherwin²⁶ and Isaac Newton. Some of these men are well known today, others less so, but all were popular writers and speakers in the seventeenth century. Henry More would perhaps be better known by twentieth century American readers than some of the others. More²⁷ wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse in which he adopted the position of his old teacher, Joseph Mede, with the exception that he has some of God's people reigning on earth during the millennium while others are raised up to heaven.

Isaac Newton

By far the most famous of these millenarians that have been mentioned is Isaac Newton. Although not usually remembered as a religious man, Newton spent much time and care in such matters and wrote on the trinity, prophecy and apologetics. A recent writer, in an attempt to prove that Newton was a complete religious rationalist, has erred on the matter of Newton's millennial interests. He writes:

His Observations upon the Prophecies serve the argument for mysticism no better. Essays in dry historical symbolism, they proceed on the assumption that the prophecies were written in a definite code of prophetic language. The key can be discovered without the aid of special divine light and used to decipher them like any coded message. They can be used only to interpret the past. Since Newton explicitly spurned the notion that the prophecies can enable man to foretell the future, he did not use them to predict any millennium or utopia. By comparing the prophecies with recorded history, which of course still lay in the future as far as the authors of the prophecies were concerned, he merely sought to demonstrate God's governance of the world through His plan for human society.²⁸

Whether or not Newton was a mystic might depend upon what is demanded of a man to fulfill that role, but either way we find Newton stating much the same thoughts as Alsted when he taught that prophecy which has not been fulfilled is enigmatic. Alsted enjoyed citing the statement of Irenaeus that every prophecy before it is fulfilled is a riddle but when it comes to pass it may be understood. So Newton writes that the purpose of God in foretelling the future is not to enable men to be prophets but that after the fulfillment of the prophecy men might see the providence of God and believe in Him. With this view of prophecy, Newton emphasized those passages which he felt had been fulfilled by his day. He explains the division of the Western Roman Empire into ten kingdoms at the time the Goths took Rome and mentions that despite the fact that these kingdoms had fallen and new ones arose in different numbers than ten, they are still called the ten kings from their first number. The barbarians who invaded Rome brought in other religions but gradually these tribes embraced the Roman faith and submitted to the pope's authority. The pope did not become an important person in prophecy, however, until he gained temporal authority and thus became one of the horns of the beast. When he acquired this authority in the latter half of the eighth century he gained power above all human laws and began ruling with a look more stout than his fellows for a time, times, and half a time, or twelve hundred sixty years. Newton arrived at this figure by applying the familiar formula of a day for a year. After these twelve hundred sixty years expire, which ought to come sometime after the year 2000, the beast shall be destroyed. "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him" (Daniel 7:27).

In his observations on the Apocalypse, Newton states that he believes the kingdom would be established on earth in the same sense as the early Christians, such as Justin Martyr, who

believed in a first resurrection and a reign of the righteous for a thousand years on earth.²⁹ When writing about the seventy weeks of Daniel, chapter nine, he states:

The former part of the prophecy related to the first coming of Christ, being dated to his coming as a prophet; this being dated to his coming to be Prince or King, seems to relate to his second coming. There the Prophet was consummate, and the most holy anointed: here, he that was anointed comes to be Prince and to reign. For Daniel's Prophecies reach to the end of the world; and there is scarce a prophecy in the Old Testament concerning Christ, which doth not in something or other relate to his second coming. If divers of the ancients, as Irenaeus, Julius, Africanus, Hippolytus the martyr . . . applied the half week to the time of Antichrist; why may not we, by the same liberty of interpretation, apply the seven weeks to the time when Antichrist shall be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming.³⁰

Newton comments in a general way upon the clarity of the prophecies that deal with Christ's second coming. He believes that as the age progresses toward its conclusion remarkable events will happen which will make the rest of the predictions of the Bible clear to men. His work closes with this statement:

Amongst the Interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note who hath not made some discovery worth knowing; and thence I seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries. The success of others put me upon considering it; and if I have done anything which may be useful to following writers, I have my design.³¹

Newton's careful remarks about Mede's expositions are the dying gasps of seventeenth century millenarianism. With the coming of the eighteenth century which witnessed the rise of Whitbyian eschatology³² and the attitude of the French Philosophes, the accent began to fall more heavily upon the idea of progress by the efforts of man alone. In such an intellectual milieu it became more difficult to present the premillennial teaching of the kingdom of God.

Conclusion

The seventeenth century witnessed a revival of interest in the millennium that rivalled that of the early centuries of the Christian era. Many aspects of this renewed interest in eschatology were unfortunate, such as the tendency toward the setting of dates and the constant identification of the Antichrist with Rome. Yet, the attention that was drawn to the prophetic Scriptures was valuable and in later years, despite the rise of postmillennialism, there were theologians who built upon the work of men like Joseph Mede and John Henry Alsted.

DOCUMENTATION

¹There are several histories of millenarianism, but they lack objectivity. Among those I have used are: E. B. Elliott, Horae Apocalypticae; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse, Critical and Historical (London: Burnside and Seeley, 1847), Vols. I-IV; LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers (Washington: Review and Herald, 1946-54), Vols. I-IV; George Nathaniel Henry Peters, The Theocratic Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus, the Christ (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1957), Vols. I-III; Joseph A. Seiss, The Last Times, or Thoughts on Momentous Themes (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1878); R. C. Shimeall, The Second Coming of Christ (New York: Henry S. Goodspeed & Co., 1873); Daniel T. Taylor, The Voice of the Church on the Coming and Kingdom of the Redeemer; A History of the Doctrine of the Reign of Christ on Earth (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1856); Nathaniel West, "History of the Pre-Millennial Doctrine," Second Coming of Christ, Premillennial Essays (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1879); Shirley Jackson Case, The Millennial Hope (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918); Abba Hillel Silver, Messianic Speculation in Israel (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927). Works that are more objective and yet deal with more specialized aspects of the history of millenarianism are: Alfred Cohen, "The Kingdom of God in Puritan Thought: A Study of the English Puritan Quest for the Fifth Monarchy" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1961); Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (London: Mercury Books, 1962) and Ernest Lee Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949). Books that deal with the history of doctrine also treat the idea of the millennium in its many historical appearances.

²For Joachim, note Henry Bett, Joachim of Flora (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1931) and Karl Lowith, Meaning in History (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949). More extended material on the Spiritual Franciscans may be found in David Savill Muzzey, The Spiritual Franciscans (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907) and Emile Gebhart, Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1922). A good recent book that includes a discussion of Hussite chiliasm is Frederick G. Heymann, John Zizka and the Hussite Revolution (Princeton University Press, 1955).

³A comprehensive treatment of the many strains of Anabaptist teaching to which I have reference is George Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962).

⁴John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, ed. J. T. McNeill, trans. F. L. Battles (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), III, 25, p. 996. Notice also Heinrich Quistorp, Calvin's Doctrine of the Last Things, trans. Harold Knight (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1955), pp. 158 ff.

⁵John Calvin, Joannis Calvinii opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. W. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss (Brunswigae: Schwetschke et Filium, 1889), XLI, 302 f.

⁶An interesting case study of the spread of Calvinism in one of the most important of these lands is found in Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1956). For our purposes it would probably be better

to list a work on the spread of Calvinism in Germany but there is no such volume available in English. There is a German book which though old still contains an excellent record of German Calvinism in its early stages. This is Karl Sudhoff, C. Olevianus und Z. Ursinus (Elberfeld: R. L. Friderichs, 1857).

⁷For the information about Alsted's life, I have found the following to be helpful: Percival Richard Cole, A Neglected Educator: Johann Heinrich Alsted (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1910); Friedrich Adolf Max Lippert, Johann Heinrich Alsteds Pädagogisch - Didaktische Reform - Bestrebungen und ihr Einfluss auf Johann Amos Comenius (Meissen: C. E. Klinkicht & Sohn, 1898); Herman Pixberg, Der Deutsche Calvinismus und Die Pädagogik (Gladbeck: Martin-Heilman Verlag, 1952).

⁸I have been able to identify sixty-three books from the pen of Alsted although some set the number as high as one hundred twenty. These were no slender monographic works, for several of them run each to more than one thousand pages. Notice for this Robert Clouse, "The Influence of John Henry Alsted on English Millenarian Thought in the Seventeenth Century" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1963), pp. 279 ff.

⁹Alsted's most famous attempt to organize knowledge is the Encyclopedia septem tomis distincta which was published at Herborn in 1630 and had 2,543 pages in seven volumes. A resume of its contents can be found in the article "Encyclopedia," Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), IX, 372. This work enjoyed a wide circulation throughout the academic world of the seventeenth century. The Puritan students at Cambridge University and the Catholic students of France found it valuable. It was claimed that a student who had this book had all that a seventeenth century scholar could or need know. A valuable work for placing Alsted in the western textbook tradition is Walter J. Ong, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

¹⁰John Henry Alsted, Methodus Sacrosanctae Theologiae (Frankfurt: Antonium Humium, 1614), pp. 508 ff. and 651 ff.

¹¹John Henry Alsted, Theologia Prophetica (Hanoviae: Conradi Elfridi, 1622), pp. 556 ff. and pp. 842 ff.

¹²This book was translated from Latin into German and English. The English edition, entitled The Beloved City, was translated by William Burton and published in 1643.

¹³John Henry Alsted, The Beloved City, trans. William Burton (London: 1643), p. 1.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵Daniel 12:11 & 12 tell us: "And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five

and thirty days." Alsted states that "from the time" is to be understood as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and that a day in prophecy is to be understood as a year. Thus to the date of the destruction of Jerusalem in 69 A.D. we add twelve hundred ninety years which makes 1359 A.D. "at which we must begin the Epocha or account of 1335 dayes, or years; and so we shall be brought to the year of Christ 2694 in which the thousand years in the Revelation shall have end; and they being ended the warre of Gog and Magog shall begin, to which also the last judgment shall put an end." The Beloved City, p. 50.

¹⁶Ernest Lee Tuveson, op. cit., p. 76.

¹⁷As Wilbur Smith states: "The greatest work, however, of the 17th century on the Apocalypse was written by Joseph Mede (1586-1683) Clavis Apocalyptica . . . Probably no work on the Apocalypse by an English author from the time of the Reformation down to the beginning of the 19th century, and even later, has exercised as much influence as this profound interpretation." A Preliminary Bibliography for the Study of Biblical Prophecy (Boston: W. A. Wilde Co., 1952), p. 27.

Other writers who agree in giving Mede a primary place in the revival of pre-millennial teaching are Froom, op. cit., II, 785; Elliot, op. cit., IV, 455; West, op. cit., p. 373; Shimeall, op. cit., p. 91; Peters, op. cit., I, 538.

¹⁸Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation, trans. Richard More (London: Philemon Stephens, 1650) II, 116.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid. Compendium on chapter 20.

²¹Thomas Brightman, The Revelation of St. John With an Analysis and Scholion in The Workes of that Famous, Reverend, and Learned Divine, Mr. Tho. Brightman (London: Samuel Cartwright, 1644), p. 824.

²²Cotton, although forced to flee to New England, exercised a continuing influence in old England through his books. Many of these are on the Revelation including the following: An Exposition upon the 13th Chapter of Revelation (London: Livewel Chapman, 1655), The Powring out of the Seven Vials (London: Henry Overton, 1642) and The Churches Resurrection, or the Opening of the 20th Chap. of the Revelation (London: Henry Overton, 1642).

²³Louise F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England During the Interregnum (Washington: American Historical Association, 1912), p. 15.

²⁴Twisse was prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly and an influential church man. He reveals his sympathy with the Mede-Alsted eschatology in the prefaces that he wrote to the English translation of Mede's apocalyptic Key and that of another of Mede's books, The Apostasy of the Latter Times.

²⁵Homes (1599-1678) was a well-known clergyman who was trained at Oxford receiving the B.A., M.A., B.D. and D.D. degrees. He wrote a lengthy book, The Resurrection Revealed (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1653) in which he sets forth the premillennial position in very clear terms.

²⁶Sherwin (1607-1687) was another popular non-conformist minister who lost his living in 1662 and turned to millennial studies with renewed zeal. He recalls that he was introduced to these studies by his college tutor through the works of Mede but had forgotten about them in the midst of a busy pastorate. When he was forced out of his ministry during Restoration England he returned to his study of the prophetic Scriptures and produced many tracts based on his meditations. Some of these are: The Times of Restitution of all things, with their neer approach upon the Ruine of the Beast, manifest by two tracts on Rev. XX.5 and Rev. XXI.5 (London, 1675); The Doctrine of Christ's glorious Kingdom...now shortly approaching...and by the ensuing...exhortation may further appear (1672); and The Saints Rising...at the first blessed Resurrection...opened by that Key given by Christ Himself (London, 1674).

²⁷The literature on Henry More is vast. One could note the following: Ernst Cassirer, The Platonic Renaissance in England, trans. J. P. Pettegrove (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953); Rosalie Colie, Light and Enlightenment: A Study of the Cambridge Platonists and the Dutch Arminians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957); Aharon Lichtenstein, Henry More, The Rational Theology of a Cambridge Platonist (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); and Frederick James Powicke, The Cambridge Platonists (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1926).

²⁸Richard S. Westfall, Science and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), pp. 215 ff. Notice also for more of this type of argument the same author's article: "Isaac Newton: Religious Rationalist or Mystic?" The Review of Religion, March 1958, pp. 155 ff.

²⁹Isaac Newton, Daniel and the Apocalypse, ed. W. Whitla (London: John Murray, 1922), pp. 303 ff.

³⁰Ibid., pp. 227 ff.

³¹Ibid., p. 305.

³²Daniel Whitby (1638-1726) was an erudite English clergyman who wrote over thirty-nine works and was the first modern proponent of postmillenarianism. He presented his view in a Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament (1703). He believed that the world would be converted to Christ, the Jews restored to their land, the pope and Turk defeated after which the earth would enjoy a time of universal peace, happiness and righteousness for a thousand years. At the close of this millennium Christ will personally come to earth again. This view was adopted by most of the leading eighteenth century preachers and commentators.