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The Academic Re-Discovery of Apocalyptic Ideas in the 17th Century

INTRODUCTION

IT has long been recognised that Baptists were profoundly affected by the spread of apocalyptic ideas in the mid-17th century. Baptist congregations shared the chiliastic ferment at the time of the calling of the Nominated Parliament in 1653; the appeal of wandering millenary preachers in the late 1640s and 1650s partially explains the phenomenon of the "shattered" Baptist churches at this time; men like Hanserd Knollys and Henry Jessey were among the leading millenarian writers and preachers of their generation; and assemblies of orthodox Baptists had to dissociate themselves publicly from the political conspiracies of former fellow-members who had become apocalyptic revolutionaries.

What was the background to the emergence of these peculiarly potent ideas? The turbulent conditions of the Civil War, the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of Cromwell's military dictatorship; widespread social distress due to economic slump; and a veritable chaos of religious enquiry in a period of unparalleled freedom following a time of anti-Puritan persecution—such were the unique circumstances of the age. In such a situation the notion of a Kingdom of the Saints on earth, zealously preached by minds soaked in biblical literalism, found a ready-made public, among whom were many of the early English Baptists.

How did these apocalyptic ideas originate at this time? I have found no evidence to support the notion that they entered into England via clandestine survivors of continental revolutionary Anabaptism. Rather it would appear that during the 1630s there was an academic rediscovery of the millennium as a theological, exegetical concept; literal chiliasm began to be respectable again. Thomas Brightman, John Henry Alsted and Joseph Mede are the key figures in this process. Of course, this academic preoccupation with the imminent end of the world persisted, intermittently, throughout the 17th century—Newton regarded his rummagings into biblical chronology as more important than his experiments with physics. However, the academic re-discovery of the millennium had repercussions for a wider world: taken up by men of radical bent, and studiously applied to the contemporary religious and political developments, it filtered down quickly to a mass public. The deepest yearnings of many found coherent

articulation in expectation of the imminent rule of righteousness on earth, and they readily identified themselves with what they regarded as the biblical historic process, soon to culminate in the divine intervention in human affairs—which might have to be triggered off by revolutionary human initiative. (Hence the Fifth Monarchist conspiracies, in which Baptists played a leading role). The origins of mid-17th century apocalyptic thought are thus of profound significance, both for our knowledge of the religion of the period generally, and especially for a deeper understanding of the situation of the English Baptists at this time, and of the development of later Baptist thought.

In the articles which follow the three key figures, Brightman, Alstedt and Mede, will be considered in turn.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN

Rev. Thomas Brightman is the first figure to be considered in our study of the academic re-discovery of apocalyptic ideas in the first half of the 17th century.¹ Our knowledge of his life is sketchy.² Born in 1557, he was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow; later he became rector of Hawnes in Bedfordshire. In this county and at Cambridge his preaching won a reputation that persisted long after his death.³ He wrote his mammoth commentary on the Revelation of St. John in 1601 or earlier, and because of its criticisms of the Anglican Church the book was burnt by episcopal authority and Brightman himself was "persecuted and banished by the bishops." It is uncertain where he spent the final years of his life until his death in 1607.⁴ Calvinist in theology and an enthusiastic exponent of the merits of Presbyterian church government, Brightman attacked the sectaries and continental heretical groups no less than the works of Rome and the Anglican *via media*.⁵

Brightman's prophetic appeal can only be fully appreciated within the framework of his view of Church history.⁶ This is somewhat confused in its details but the broad essentials stand out clearly enough. According to Brightman, the Church flourished in a state of primitive purity until Constantine, but the following thousand years until circa 1300 saw it deteriorate with the veneration of relics and the rise of new, unscriptural doctrines—all this in spite of the fact that the Church's avowed enemies were "bound" during this time. In this period the only true Christians were those who regarded the Pope as Anti-Christ, such as the Waldenses and Albigenses. The 14th and 15th centuries saw a growing piety and spiritual re-awakening in which the Reformation's forerunners appeared, but the Reformation did not

immediately restore the Protestant churches to a state of pristine purity. Brightman found in the message to the Church at Sardis a castigation of the German Lutheran Church for its failure to make a complete reformation, and because it had developed such doctrines as consubstantiation he foretold the visitation of a terrible judgment. Brightman's prophecy of the calamities of the Thirty Years' War must have greatly enhanced his posthumous reputation. He likewise attacked the English Church for the lukewarmness expressed in its combination of Protestant doctrine with Roman polity, and he foresaw similar calamities upon it unless it underwent thorough reformation. In both cases he advocated the Presbyterian pattern of churchmanship. For Geneva and the churches modelled upon it Brightman saw a golden future: they would increase in piety and strength in the years ahead, play a vital role in the forcible overthrow of the Romish Anti-Christ, and their church government would be that established among the Saints in the millennial New Jerusalem. But although Brightman saw the historical development of the Church as reaching its consummation in a kind of ecumenical Presbyterian order, his use of apocalyptic was not merely to give Presbyterianism the added attraction of millenary overtones. Brightman's work as an eschatological interpreter has to be distinguished from his Presbyterian propagandism.

In the *Johannean Apocalypse*,⁷ the visions of Daniel⁸ and the Song of Solomon,⁹ Brightman found the future destiny of the Church and the world. The general pattern was simple enough: following the final epoch of terrible trial and tribulation for the Saints, the power of the Romish Anti-Christ and of the Turks would be overthrown, and the subsequent conversion of the Jews to the Gospel would be the final pre-requisite for the ushering-in of a world-wide paradise on earth for the Saints.¹⁰

Most important of all for the development of millenarism in England, Brightman believed this process could be dated, and that the 17th century itself would witness these critical events. However, he never worked out to his own satisfaction a timetable of the approach of the millennium to which he thenceforth adhered: his chronology varied from work to work, and was even sometimes contradictory. On the other hand, his works give the impression he believed the millennium would dawn in the 17th century; he mentioned specific years as significant for its onset; and in general his books contained more than enough to heighten that atmosphere of apocalyptic expectation that had emerged by the early 1640s—the main period of Brightman's influence.

Writing some forty years before, Brightman had prophesied

the imminent calamities that would befall the Church: he had spoken of "a most grievous trial . . . straightway to come upon the whole Christian world;" he had found this confirmed by the letters to the seven churches in Asia—"these Epistles . . . in express terms do teach, that there is an immeasurable gulf as it were full of miseries already prepared, and that we which live at this day do stand in the very brink of it." Brightman's readers in the 1640s saw, in retrospect, his predictions as having been fulfilled in the religious wars abroad and in the civil war in England itself. But they equally found consolation in his assurances that the present time of troubles would be followed by one of tranquillity for the faithful Saints of the Lord: "For now is the last act begun of a long and most doleful Tragedy, which wholly overflow with scourges, slaughters, destructions; but after this Theatre is once removed, there shall come in room of it a most delightful spectacle of perpetual peace, joined with abundance of all good things."¹¹

Brightman had not confined himself to mere generalisations. The conversion of Jewry would begin in 1650 and be complete by 1700; 1650 would also see the Turks defeated, their power to be utterly destroyed by 1695; this same half-century would see the Papacy overthrown for ever. Then the New Jerusalem would be set up on earth: Brightman certainly held this millennial state would become actual reality. "The New Jerusalem . . . is not that city which the Saints shall enjoy in the Heavens, after this life, but that Church, that is to be looked for upon earth. . . ."¹² Brightman offered no detailed description of the coming millennium, but gave certain glimpses to his public.

The Churches of the Genevan order, having led the overthrow of Rome, would be rewarded by having their polity adopted for the New Jerusalem: "(the truly reformed Church) . . . for her reward, she shall remain to see the restoring of the new Church, wherein the new Jerusalem shall come down from Heaven, and be joined with it in covenant and society."¹³ Yet Brightman's Presbyterian zeal did not lead him to be exclusive, and the felicity of this state would be open to all true believers. As the Universal Church, the latter would hold all power previously controlled by worldly princes: "the managing of all matters, throughout the whole world, shall be in the power of a woman . . . this woman then is the Church,"¹⁴ to which would be added the special power imparted from Christ himself: "He shall give them power over their enemies, and shall impart unto them the whole honour of his Kingdom, so far as mortal men can be capable of it."¹⁵ This state would contain both spiritual delights and material abundance: "Then indeed shall be that golden age, and highest top of holy

felicity, and happiness, which mortal men may expect."¹⁶ Such was Brightman's vision of the millenary state to be established on earth at the very latest by the end of the 17th century.

All the apocalyptic thought of Brightman we have considered so far is to be found in his three works—his commentary on the Johannine Apocalypse, his exposition of Daniel, and his commentary on the Song of Solomon; apart from the edition of the first work that was burnt by order, all these books were published posthumously, between 1609 and 1616, from publishing-houses in Germany, Holland and Switzerland.¹⁷ None of these three works was published in full in England before 1644, though certain selections began to appear from 1641 onwards. Presumably before then they came under the censor's ban. Nevertheless, before 1641, Brightman's exegesis was known in England, at least to Joseph Mede¹⁸ of Cambridge University and Dr. William Twisse of Newbury, but does not appear to have influenced them at all. Even more significant, Twisse is the only one among Mede's wide range of correspondents on millenary matters who mentions Brightman, who therefore cannot be regarded as an important contributor to the development of apocalyptic ideas in England before the 1640s. (The influence of Brightman's thought among exiled Puritans, and the extent to which it was brought back to England by them in the 1640s cannot be measured, but is worth noting in general terms as a further contribution to the development of the millenary atmosphere in these years.)

In 1641 three selections of his prophetic works appeared in London—*Rev. Mr. Brightman's Judgement, A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation*, and *Brightman's Predictions and Prophecies*. In 1644 his biblical commentaries were published in England for the first time. Of the three selections, the two latter were primarily anti-episcopal and pro-Presbyterian propaganda. *Rev. Mr. Brightman's Judgement*, however, contained in addition some of his chronological predictions (which the anonymous compiler evidently somewhat misunderstood), to the effect that before 1650 the Jews would be converted and the Pope expelled from Rome, and that in 1641 Papal power was being overthrown in some of its dominions, to be fully destroyed by 1686; ten years later the Turks would be vanquished, "and then Christ shall reign with his Ordinances chief in the world." This tract certainly contained a specifically apocalyptic appeal.¹⁹

This work is not the only evidence of Brightman's contribution to the development of English millenarism in the 1640s. The prominent Baptist, Hanserd Knollys, in his *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory* (1641), acknowledged Brightman as the source of his

chronology, using his notion that 1650 would begin a half-century of catastrophes ending with the establishment of the millennial Kingdom of the Saints in 1695 or thereabouts.²⁰ Mary Cary, an eccentric chiliastic visionary, in *The Little Horn's Doom* (published 1651, but written 1644/5), was also familiar with Brightman's work,²¹ and Thomas Hayne, the leading opponent of literal millenary exegesis, regarded him as one of the most widely-read apocalyptic expositors.²² Brightman's influence on millenarism was negligible before the 1640s, but from 1641 to 1645 it can be clearly perceived.

Finally, what of the possible social effects of Brightman's thought? Himself traditional and conservative in his attitude to the social order, there were yet certain elements in his writings which, over and above the acknowledged social danger implicit in any literalist millennial interpretation of the apocalypse (of which Brightman was certainly aware),²³ could in the hands of the depressed be transformed into notions of social radicalism. He attacked the social prestige and wealth of the episcopate; he declared that the true preaching of the Gospel would ensure economic prosperity and social harmony; though discountenancing libertinism Brightman granted that the reign of the Saints would be an era of material plenty: "this happiness shall abound both with drink and meat."²⁴ In these various respects Brightman added to the growing corpus of apocalyptic thought that helped to justify and incite social radicalism.

Brightman's role in the development of the apocalyptic awareness in England in the first half of the 17th century was clearly an important one. He set forth the notion of the imminent millenary reign of the Saints on earth; his predictions found a ready public especially in the years 1641-45; he influenced an eminent Baptist chiliast like Knollys, and indeed himself accepted the Fifth Monarchist concept of history²⁵ that was to influence so many Baptists and other sectaries in the time of Cromwell. Brightman's thought had the further advantage of being especially acceptable to Presbyterians, while also contained elements that would appeal to the socially depressed. In the influence of Brightman, the academic re-discovery of the millennium as a concept of literal eschatology was above all a foundation upon which later chiliasm was destined to be built, and a theological and chronological prophetic system that could be transformed to serve the ends of religious and social radicalism.

NOTES

¹ Thomas Brightman preached and wrote in the latter half of Elizabeth I's reign, but his works were not published until the 17th century.

² For Brightman's life, see: T. Brightman, *A Most Comfortable Exposition of Daniel* (1635), pp. 109-111; *Rev. Mr. Brightman's Judgement* (1641), title page; *A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation* (1641), pp. 1-2; J. Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*.

³ A selection of Brightman's sermons was published in 1647, under the title *Brightman Redivivus*. These sermons are not millenary.

⁴ Darling states he was rector of Hawnes until his death, but in view of his evident banishment (see title page of *Rev. Mr. Brightman's Judgement*), which Darling does not mention, and of the fact that after his death his works appeared from German, Dutch and Swiss publishing houses, it seems more likely that he spent his final years in exile abroad.

⁵ For Brightman's views on Anabaptists and Brownists: *Commentary on the Canticles* (1644), p. 353; *Brightman Redivivus* (1647), pp. 25-44.

⁶ *The Revelation of St. John* (1609), pp. 40-156.

⁷ Brightman's commentary on *The Revelation of St. John* appeared in the following years and editions from various cities: 1609 (Latin) Frankfurt; 1611 (English) Amsterdam; 1612 (Latin) Heidelberg; 1615 (English) Amsterdam; 1616 (English) Leyden; 1644 (English) Leyden; 1644 (English) Amsterdam; 1644 (English) London.

⁸ *A Most Comfortable Exposition of Daniel* appeared: 1614 (Latin) Basle; 1635 (English) Amsterdam; 1644 (English) London.

⁹ *Commentary on the Canticles* appeared: 1614 (Latin) Basle; 1644 (English) Amsterdam, London.

¹⁰ *The Revelation of St. John*, pp. 33-34, 116f., 549f., 579-607, 779f., 804-846 *passim*; *A most Comfortable Exposition of Daniel*, pp. 48-55, 84, 103-104; *Commentary on the Canticles*, pp. 354-362.

¹¹ For these quotations, see "To the Holy Reformed Churches," in *The Revelation of St. John*.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 121.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 875.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁶ *A Most Comfortable Exposition of Daniel*, p. 104.

¹⁷ See notes 7, 8, 9 above.

¹⁸ For mention of Brightman in the works and correspondence of Mede and Twisse, see Mede's *Commentary on the Revelation* (Part II, p. 13); Worthington's 1672 edition of Mede's *Works*, Book III, p. 596; and letters XIII, XIV of the Mede-Twisse correspondence, in Book IV.

¹⁹ See final three pages of this eight-page unpaginated work.

²⁰ Hanserd Knollys, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory* (1641), p. 32.

²¹ Mary Cary, *The Little Horn's Doom* (1651), p. 17.

²² Thomas Hayne, *Christ's Kingdom on Earth* (1645), pp. 34-37, 53, 60.

²³ *Commentary on the Canticles*, p. 363.

²⁴ *The Revelation of St. John*, "A General View of the whole Revelation," summary of chapter 21, section 7.

²⁵ *A Most Comfortable Exposition of Daniel*, pp. 13, 33, 83.

JOHANN HEINRICH ALSTED

Among the continental Protestant commentators of the early 17th century, the re-discovery of the biblical concept of a literal millennium on earth was made by the German theologian and encyclopaedist Johann Heinrich Alsted, (1588-1638).¹ By 1619 he had become professor of both philosophy and theology at Herborn in Nassau, but the pressures of the Thirty Years' War forced him to move to Transylvania, where in 1629 he occupied a similar dual professorship at the university of Stuhl-Weissenburg. Alsted was a man of spacious erudition and a voluminous writer. His *Encyclopaedia* (1610) commanded widespread popularity; he was an educational pioneer; his theological scholarship had a European reputation—he was summoned as one of the foreign representatives to the National Synod at Dordrecht in 1618. As his contribution to the emergence of millenary ideas is considered, it is important to bear in mind that his intellectual prowess was recognised throughout Germany and Europe. No one believed him a crank.

Alsted's apocalyptic exegesis found its fullest expression in his *Diatribes de Mille Annis Apocalypticis*, first published at Frankfurt in 1627. His chronology (1624), which leant upon astrological predictions, was also important in his eschatology, but the *Diatribes* was its most coherent and influential expression.

Alsted's conception of the future millennial reign of the Saints on earth was an integral part of his larger scheme of the history of the Church. This comprised four periods: from John the Baptist to the Council of Jerusalem; A.D. 51 to the millennium; the thousand years of spiritual joys for the Church on earth; the final period of the Church's persecution in the wars of Gog and Magog, from which it would be delivered by Christ's glorious coming to Judgement at the general resurrection of mankind and the consequent ending of life on earth and the translation to the heavenly sphere.

Alsted believed that the years from 1517 to the beginning of the millennium was the last age of the Church, characterised by the doom of the Papal power. This, he asserted, was assured whatever temporary victories it might gain, for this was the final time of persecution in which the true Church was being "purged purified, and cleansed" in preparation for the "great Reformation" that would occur in the millennium.² With the latter's dawn, the Martyrs would rise from the dead, the binding of the Satanic forces would free the Church from persecution and tribulation, and the nations as yet unconverted—especially the Jews—would be brought to the knowledge of the Gospel. The Saints would enter a paradise on earth of spiritual joys, but not

of carnal pleasures—Alsted had no desire to support that heresy of which the morally-anarchic Anabaptist chiliasm of Munster had been the most recent expression. Alsted's dissociation of his millenary exegesis from licence was typical of the academic re-discovery of apocalyptic thought.

While declaring that eschatological calculations had to be approached with caution, Alsted was in no doubt that the millennium was comparatively imminent. His biblical mathematics gave him 1694 as the last possible date for its beginning; 1636 and 1642 were other propitious years; but his generalised statements were more important than his proffering of specific dates. The Reformation and subsequent events he saw as the Prologue to the millennium, which would come when the Papacy seemed confident of victory. "It is very probable therefore, that the beginning of those thousand years is at hand. For Anti-Christ, at that very time, wherein he shall make the greatest boast of his victories, shall suddenly fall." And again: "The period or limited time, for the Kingdom of Anti-Christ to continue, is almost expired, and at an end, as appears by the Revelation of History."³

The Bible was not the only source of Alsted's authority as a seer. Mede complained of his heavy use of astrological evidence in the *Chronology*; the *Diatribē* also manifested Alsted's conviction that the motions of the heavenly bodies confirmed the prophetic books of Scripture. "The several phenomena, or apparitions in the heavens; namely, new stars and comets; also earthquakes, and the like, taken notice of in these latter times, do without doubt portend and manifestly foretell some notable, and extraordinary change."⁴ Alsted received his astrology second-hand from the German astronomer Kepler, the Polish alchemist Sendivogius, the German mathematician Dobricius, and a certain Pannonius who wrote in Hungary in the early 17th century. Astrological expectations bolstered Alsted's hopes that the current afflictions of the Protestant Church would soon end with the inception of a new order.

How did Alsted's thought influence millenary ideas in England? The extent and means of communication of this influence can be traced in three ways: the relationship of Alsted's ideas to those of the English apocalyptic scholar Joseph Mede; the publication in English of Alsted's works in the 1640s; and the anti-millenary criticisms of Alsted by Thomas Hayne of London in 1645.

Alsted and Mede were contemporaries: Alsted was born in 1588, two years after Mede, and both died in 1638. Alsted's *Diatribē* and Mede's *Clavis Apocalypica* both appeared in 1627:

together, they are the key figures in the academic re-discovery of the Christian earthly millennium in the 1620s and 1630s.

Mede was certainly cognisant with the general lines of Alsted's apocalyptic exegesis, had read his works and knew where his own ideas stood in relation to Alsted's. Writing to a Dr. Meddus probably in 1629, Mede stated: "I differ therefore from Piscator, and agree with Alstedius, that the Saints of the First Resurrection should reign on Earth during the Millennium, and not in Heaven. . . . I differ from both, in that I make this State of the Church to belong to Secundus Adventus Christ or Dies Judicii Magni. . . . Whereas they make it to precede the Day of Judgement and Second Coming."⁵ The Mede-Hayne correspondence of 1629 further reveals that Mede regarded Alsted as a member of the literalist millenary school of apocalyptic interpreters. However, it is unlikely that he took his millenary ideas from Alsted; rather, they came to their respective positions independently of each other. Mede does not accept Alsted's chronology of apocalyptic events, and from 1629 onwards, in his letters to Meddus, Hayne and Twisse, it is clear that Mede was assessing Alsted's exegesis from a position he had already worked out for himself from Scripture. Mede was suspicious of Alsted's use of astrology, and did not share his enthusiasm for working out the date of the end of the present world order—though he thought 1654 or 1670 were plausible possibilities.⁶ Apart from adding weight to Mede's own convictions on those points where their views converged, Alsted did not directly influence the construction of Mede's millenary system. The significance of the relationship between Alsted and Mede does not lie in the contribution of the latter to the former, but rather in this fact: that in the 1630s Alsted's works were being studied and his ideas circulated in England, and especially among a group of clerics, academics and educated laity of whom Mede, as far as the interest in apocalyptic was concerned, was the focus. This same group, which included among its correspondents John Pym the Parliamentary leader and Sir William Waller one of its generals, and which was linked with a wider international circle including the Bohemian Protestant leader Comenius, John Dury the untiring crusader for Christian unity and his associate Samuel Hartlib, was the main collective expression of the academic re-discovery of the millennium in England in the 1630s and 1640s.

The influence of Alsted in England was not confined to Mede and his circle. Equally important, and perhaps even more so, was the influence exerted by his prophetic writings upon the wider public which had access to them as a result of their re-publication

in England in 1642 and 1643. In 1642 a selection of Alsted's prophecies was published in London under the title *The World's Proceeding Woes and Succeeding Joys or The Triple Presage of Henry Alsted*. This was followed a year later by *The Beloved City or The Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years*, which largely consisted of an English version of the *Diatribes*.

The World's Proceeding Woes, an anonymous work, was probably written by William Burton, the translator of the *Diatribes*. The three predictions mentioned were: that the period 1603-42, in which the seventh revolution of the planets would end, would witness "very great alteration of this world," indeed "the end of kindoms of the world"; secondly, that the period 1603-94 was the preparation to the thousand apocalyptic years; and thirdly, that the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, which Alsted said would occur 1642-43, portended "the Revolution of some new Government of Empire." The prophecy of Tycho Brahe of an imminent Golden Age was also included. Bible and stars alike pointed to a fundamental change in the world order. Furthermore, the current age of the mid 17th century was the one immediately before the rule of Christ and the Saints on earth. Burton was well aware that this was a controversial proposition, and that for most of its history the Church had regarded belief in a literal millennium on earth as heresy, so he was at pains to show that such a doctrine was both taught in the early Church (a very persuasive argument among religious radicals of the time), and by leading writers and theologians of recent times, Mede and Archer being among many mentioned in addition to Alsted. Burton's citing of such weighty authorities⁷ did much to convince the reading public that apocalyptic was respectable and orthodox. In this connexion Burton certainly regarded Alsted as leader of contemporary millenary thinking, calling him "the standard-bearer of millenaries in our age."

The Beloved City stressed these apocalyptic notions at greater length, and the advent of the English Civil War seemed to confirm the prophecy of a "Revolution of some new Government or Empire" for 1642-43. Englishmen could now read Alsted for themselves, as well as the many testimonies of eminent men supporting Alsted in particular and the millenary expectation in general, which Burton had collected and included in this work. In the view of Dr. Hakewill, for example, Elias would soon come upon the earth, "or some other great Heroical spirit . . . for the accomplishing of this great business in the restoring of all things," and as Prophet of the Last Days.⁸

It is interesting that Burton read the *Diatribes* to soothe his

fears in face of current calamities, and translated it to impart similar benefits to a wider public:⁹ evidently apocalyptic could serve as a social tranquilliser—an important point to set against the contrary possible effect as a revolutionary dynamic. Whatever the effect of these notions, Alsted's prophecies were available in English for the general reading public at the outbreak of the civil war.

By 1645 the literalist millenary interpretation of Scripture was becoming widely held, and Thomas Hayne, London school-master, critic and linguist, refuted it as unsound exegesis and heretical theology in his *Christ's Kingdom on Earth*.¹⁰ Hayne is significant for he shows that Alsted's writings were acknowledged, by critics and supporters alike, to be among the main contributions to millenarism in England at this time. By 1645 the apocalyptic of Alsted of Germany, first circulated in Latin among an academic circle and then made available for a wider public in their native tongue, had become an integral part of that rising tide of millenary expectation which it had itself helped to produce.

NOTES

¹ For Alsted, see: Percival R. Cole, *A Neglected Educator: John Henry Alsted* (Sydney, 1910); Didot Freres, *Nouvelle Biographie Generale*; J. Darling, *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*.

² William Burton, *The Beloved City* (1643), pp. 6-7.

³ *ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Worthington's 1672 edition of Mede's *Works*, Book IV, Letter XX (probably August, 1629).

⁶ *ibid.*, Book III, pp. 600-602.

⁷ *The World's Proceeding Woes*, pp. 11-12.

⁸ *The Beloved City*, p. 87; also Hakewill's *Apology* (1630).

⁹ *The Beloved City*, Epistle Dedicatory to Sir John Cordwell, Alderman and Master of the Mercers' Company.

¹⁰ Hayne believed that the biblical prophecies of the coming Kingdom of Christ had been fulfilled completely in the Incarnation and the establishment of the Church, and he refuted the literalist millenary interpretations of Brightman, Alsted, Mede, Archer and Knollys. See also Worthington, Book IV, pp. 734-757.

(to be concluded)

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