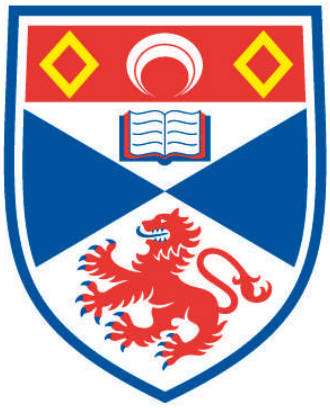
THE APOCALYPTIC TRADITION IN SCOTLAND, 1588-1688

David Andrew Drinnon

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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Abstract

Throughout the seventeenth century, numerous Scots became convinced that the major political and religious upheavals of their age signified the fulfillment of, or further unfolding of, the vivid prophecies described in the Book of Revelation which foretell of the final consummation of all things. To date, however, an in-depth analysis of the evolution of Scottish apocalyptic belief during the seventeenth century has never been undertaken. This thesis utilizes a wide variety of source material to demonstrate the existence of a cohesive, persistent, and largely conservative tradition of apocalyptic thought in Scotland that spanned the years 1588 to 1688. Chapter One examines several influential commentaries on the Book of Revelation published by notable Scots during the decades either side of the Union of Crowns. These works reveal many of the principal characteristics that formed the basis of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. The most important of these traits which became a consistent feature of the tradition was the rejection of millenarianism. In recent years, historians have exaggerated the influence of millenarian ideals in Scotland during the Covenanting movement which began in 1638. Chapter Two argues that Scottish Covenanters consistently denounced millenarianism as a dangerous, subversive doctrine that could lead to the religious radicalism espoused by sixteenth-century German Anabaptists. Chapter Three looks at political and religious factors which led to the general decline of apocalyptic expectancy in Scotland during the Interregnum. It also demonstrates how, despite this decline, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers continued to uphold the primary traits of the apocalyptic tradition which surfaced over the first half of the century. Lastly, Chapter Four explains how state-enforced religious persecution of Scottish Presbyterians during the Restoration period led to the radicalisation of the tradition and inspired the violent actions of Covenanter extremists who believed they had been chosen by God to act as instruments of his divine vengeance in the latter-days.

Declarations

I, David Andrew Drinnon, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 75,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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I was admitted as a research student in September 2008 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in History in September 2008; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2008 and 2012.

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Morristown, Tennessee, October 2, 2012

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Abbreviations and Conventions

CLS	John Howie, *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons: Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of Late Persecution* (Kilmarnock, 1809).
Communion Sermons	Samuel Rutherford, *Fourteen Communion Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Rutherford with a Preface and Notes by Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.* (Glasgow, 1877).
Letters	Samuel Rutherford, *Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of His Life and Biographical Notices of His Correspondents*, Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., ed., (Edinburgh, 1984, reprinted from 1891 edition).
LJRB	Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, David Laing, ed., 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-1842).
Puritan Eschatology	Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660* (London, 1970).
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) (www.oxforddnb.com).
RSCHS	*Records of the Scottish Church History Society*
SNC	Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh, 1979).
Source Book	William Croft Dickinson and Gordon Donaldson, eds., *A Source Book of Scottish History: Volume Three 1567-1707* (London, 1954).

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to examine apocalyptic discourse in seventeenth-century Scotland and to recover its common characteristics as it developed in the century from 1588 to 1688. There are several key reasons for undertaking this research. First, an in-depth analysis of the evolution of apocalyptic thought in Scotland over the course of the seventeenth century has never been undertaken. Modern scholars have shown some interest in apocalyptic beliefs in Scotland around the time of the Union of Crowns, and again among the Covenanters of the late-1630s and the 1640s. Yet, historians have largely ignored valuable sources from the 1620s and early-1630s that tell us much about the nature of Scottish apocalyptic thinking during the first decade of Charles I's reign, while discussions of apocalyptic belief in Scotland throughout the Interregnum and Restoration periods are limited. This thesis is intended to fill these historiographical gaps by examining the coherence and continuities of Scottish apocalyptic thinking across the century from the mid-1580s to the Glorious Revolution.

A second key reason for undertaking this research is to challenge a number of misconceptions about apocalypticism in seventeenth-century Scotland that have been fostered in the limited historiography that exists. For example, it has been suggested that Scottish apocalyptic thought in this period differed very little from its English equivalent. Yet, it will become clear in the chapters that follow that in key areas Scottish apocalypticism diverged markedly from its English equivalent. Most significantly, English and Scottish apocalypticism diverged over the critical issue of millenarianism. Numerous historians have documented how widespread millenarian expectations affected the political and religious upheavals that occurred in England during the 1640s and 1650s. Similarly, scholars have assumed that millenarian ideals also shaped events in Scotland at this time.

The evidence examined here, however, strongly indicates that from 1588 to 1688, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers consistently denounced millenarianism as heretical. Quite aside from their objections to millenarianism on theological grounds, many Scots feared that, should millenarian beliefs be allowed to spread throughout the land, they might inspire the kind of radical revolutionary aspirations used to erect the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in 1534. Such fears helped ensure that the apocalyptic tradition in seventeenth-century Scotland remained largely untainted by millenarianism.

A wide range of printed primary sources are used throughout this thesis to demonstrate the initial development and continued evolution of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. The majority of sources examined below were printed in Scotland, England, or on the Continent between 1588 and 1688. Among the most important of these sources are the exegetical commentaries on the Book of Revelation published by James VI (1588, 1616), John Napier (1593), Patrick Forbes (1613), William Cowper (1618, 1623), William Guild (1656), and James Durham (1658). These commentaries were well-received in Scotland and proved highly influential in shaping the nature of Scottish apocalyptic thought throughout our period. Moreover, several of these eschatological works had a significant impact on apocalyptic thinking in England and on the Continent.[1] However, in recent historiography, studies of these commentaries have been mostly isolated and scholars have yet to account for the ways in which these widely distributed texts influenced apocalyptic belief in seventeenth-century Scotland.[2] In this thesis we shall

[1] Napier's exegesis, for example, was published twice in London in 1594 and 1611. Additionally it was printed twice in Dutch, five times in French, and three times in German between 1611 and 1640: Katharine Firth, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford, 1979), 149.

[2] See: Robert Clouse, 'John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 5 (April, 1974), 101-114; Luc Borot, 'James VI & I and Revelation: How to Discourage Millenarian Aspirations', *Anglophonia*, 3 (1998), 23-56; and James K. Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham (1622-58)', in Michael Wilks, ed., *Prophecy and Eschatology* (Oxford, 1994), 123-129.

extrapolate from these expositions of Revelation many of the principal traits that formed the basis of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.[3]

Given the fact that the pulpit was also an important vehicle for the dissemination of apocalyptic ideas in the early modern period, this thesis makes extensive use of Scottish sermon literature printed in the seventeenth century. Additionally, we identify prevalent traits of Scottish apocalyptic thought located in collected editions of posthumously published sermons preached by ministers in Scotland between 1588 and 1688 which were compiled from manuscript sources in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Also valuable to this thesis are the surviving personal letters and diaries of Samuel Rutherford, Robert Baillie, and Archibald Johnston of Wariston. These posthumously published works evidence many of the less guarded apocalyptic views espoused by influential Presbyterians in Scotland during the Scottish covenanting movement and the Interregnum. Other printed source materials from the seventeenth century which allow us to uncover themes central to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition include various works of religious and political propaganda, anonymously published pamphlets, university lectures, apocalyptic poems, and official letters and declarations issued by the Church of Scotland.

The final key reason for undertaking this research is to present the body of eschatological source material examined in this thesis as written within a common and continuous tradition of apocalyptic thought, one that helps explain the remarkably consistent 'conservatism' of Scottish apocalypticism. This is revealed particularly in contemporary attitudes toward millenarianism and systematic, chronological schemes used

[3] Also cited in this thesis are commentaries on other important texts from the Scriptures published by biblical exegetes in Scotland that focus heavily on apocalyptic themes. These include commentaries on the Old Testament prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah, as well as expositions of the Gospel of Matthew and Paul's Letters to the Thessalonians from the New Testament.

to calculate dates for the future fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Throughout the seventeenth century, English millenarians employed such schemes to predict the year in which the saints would witness the destruction of Antichrist, the establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom on earth, and the Last Judgment.[4] However, in the following chapters we shall see that, Scottish biblical exegetes not only consistently rejected millenarianism, but very few were bold enough to project dates for future apocalyptic events using the various symbols and numbers contained in the major prophetic texts of the Bible. Chapter Four shows how these trends continued even as the Scottish apocalyptic tradition became 'radicalised' during the Restoration period as a minority of extremist Presbyterians – the targets of state-enforced religious persecution – declared war on the crown and their persecutors with the belief that they had been chosen by God to act as instruments of his divine vengeance in the last days.

Terminology and Methodology

Throughout this thesis we shall use the most common meanings of the various terms required for any substantial study of apocalyptic belief.[5] Several of these terms, particularly *millenarianism*, can prove complex and many have no established pattern of usage. The term *apocalyptic* is derived from the Greek word for *revelation* and relates to the general belief that the world will come to an end by means of the revelation of God's will. In this thesis, apocalyptic (and apocalypticism) is used to describe the sense of imminence and expectancy about the final scenario through which God's providential plan for the last days will be achieved. It also denotes the use of traditional religious symbolism

[4] For example see: John Tillinghast, *Knowledge of the Times or, the Resolution of the Question, how long it shall be unto the End of Wonders* (London, 1654) and Thomas Beverly, *A Calendar of Prophetick Time, Drawn by an Express Scripture-Line; from the Creation to the New Jerusalem* (London, 1684).

[5] A useful glossary of terms related to apocalypticism can be found in: John M. Court, *Approaching the Apocalypse: A Short History of Christian Millenarianism* (London, 2008), 215-218.

and literary constructs to express the anticipation of the catastrophic end of human history. *Eschatology* is the study of, or discourse about, the 'last things', and refers to investigations into how the history of the world will come to a close.[6] Terms such as apocalyptic, apocalypticism, eschatology, and eschatological have been used interchangeably by modern scholars. This is not surprising given that, similar to apocalyptic, eschatology anticipates the complete end of history.[7]

Christian eschatology focuses on themes central to biblical prophecy such as death, heaven, hell, the Second Coming of Christ, and the Last Judgment. These and other eschatological themes are described through prophetic visions and vivid imagery in a number of apocalyptic texts from both the Old and New Testament. Prophecies from the Book of Ezekiel that foretell of the eschatological foes Gog and Magog, and the rebuilding of a great temple that is to occur after the Lord defeats his enemies, anticipate those found later in the Book of Revelation.[8] Chapters 7-12 of the Book of Daniel contain a number of apocalyptic visions which detail the destruction of a great ten-horned beast, the coming of the 'Son of man', the restoration of Jerusalem, the resurrection of the dead and eternal judgment.[9] In Mark 13, Matthew 24-25, and Luke 21, Jesus speaks about his Second Coming and the various signs that will precede the Last Day. These chapters within the Synoptic Gospels form what has become known in theological circles as the 'Little

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[6] For an overview of eschatology see: Jerry L. Walls, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology* (Oxford, 2008).

[7] According to Brian Daley, eschatology also denotes 'faith in final solutions', or 'something hoped for', as in the 'stage of final achievement implied by the Christian belief in human salvation': Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge, 1991), 2.

[8] Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization* (New York, 1999), 11-12; and Stephen Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis, 1995), Ch. 4, 'Ezekiel 38 and 39'.

[9] A summary of the prophecies of Daniel is provided in Le Roy E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation*, 4 vols (Washington, 1946-1954), I, Ch. 2, 'The Book of Daniel and the Old Testament Canon'; and 125-134. Also see: John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula, 1977) and *Daniel, with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature* (Grand Rapids, 1984).

Apocalypse'.[10] The apostle Paul also discusses the return of Jesus and the resurrection of the dead in 1 Thessalonians 4:13-5:11. Thereafter, in 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12, he describes the 'mystery of iniquity' that surrounds the 'man of sin' and 'son of perdition' who is subsequently identified in 1 John 2:18 as the Antichrist.[11]

The Book of Revelation, also known as the Apocalypse of John, remains the most influential apocalyptic text in the Bible. Traditionally, Revelation is believed to have been written by the Apostle John while in exile on the island of Patmos during the reign of the Roman Emperor Domitian (c. 81-96 A.D.). However, the apostolic authorship and canonicity of the Book of Revelation has been debated throughout the history of the Christian Church.[12] Regardless, from ancient times to the present, interpreters of Revelation have been perplexed by the structure of the book and the obscurity of its message. Much of the book is structured around sequences of sevens that begin with John's prefatory letters to seven churches of Asia Minor (2:1-3:22). Thereafter, John envisions the divine retribution which God exacts upon Satan and his followers in the last days. Various judgments or plagues are revealed in the opening of seven seals (6:1-8:1). These are heralded by seven trumpets blown by seven angels (8:2-11:19), and fully executed by seven bowls or vials of God's wrath (15:1-16:21) which are poured out upon the earth and its inhabitants. The prophecies of the seals, trumpets, and vials are followed by John's visions of the destruction of mystical Babylon, or Rome (18:1-24), and the return of Christ (19:11-16). Revelation concludes with a prophetic description of the New

[10] Bernard, McGinn, 'Early Apocalypticism: The Ongoing Debate', in C.A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Ithaca, 1984), 20-21; and Richard A. Horsley, 'The Kingdom of God and the Renewal of Israel: Synoptic Gospels, Jesus Movements, and Apocalypticism', in John J. Collins, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume I: The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York, 2000), 303-344.

[11] Court, *Approaching the Apocalypse*, 34-37.

[12] Bernard McGinn, 'Revelation', in Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, eds., *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 524. Also see: Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, Revised Edition (Cambridge, 1997, first published 1977), 8-21.

Jerusalem and new Edenic paradise (21:9-22:5) which is to be the eternal resting place of the godly.[13]

Of all of John's prophecies, none have provoked more theological and scholarly debate over time than that of the *millennium*, or the thousand-year reign of Christ with his saints described in Revelation 20:1-6.[14] The term *millenarianism* generally refers to literal interpretations of this prophecy and the belief that Christ will return to establish his millennial kingdom on earth prior to the Last Judgment. More broadly, millenarianism relates to the belief that during the millennium the world will be radically transformed into one of perfection, peace, justice, fellowship, and plenty.[15] Millenarianism is often used synonymously with *chiliasm*, a term that includes, but is not restricted to, the sense that violence is deemed necessary on the part of believers to prepare the earth for the coming kingdom of Christ. A traditional feature of millenarian or chiliastic expectancy is the belief in the physical resurrection of the saints and martyrs at the Second Coming.[16] According to millenarian thinking, at the end of the thousand years, a second, general resurrection of all the dead will occur on Judgment Day whereupon the saints will be received into heaven and the wicked will be cast into hell.

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[13] For summaries of Revelation see: Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, and Adela Yarbro Collins, 'The Book of Revelation', in Collins, ed., *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume I*, 384-414.

[14] In Revelation 20:1-2, John describes a vision of an angel who descends from heaven, binds Satan with a great chain, and casts the devil into a bottomless pit for a period of a thousand years. Verse 3 explains that Satan will not deceive the nations until after the thousand years expire, at which time the devil will be loosened for a short time. In verse 4, thrones are prepared for the martyrs of Christ and those who did not receive the mark of the beast. These saints live and reign with Christ for a millennium. This is the first resurrection according to verse 5, which states that the rest of the dead will not live until after the thousand-years have finished. Verse 6 clarifies that those involved in the first resurrection will live as priests of God and Christ for a thousand years. The aftermath of the millennium is described in verses 7-10 which depict the loosening of the devil from the bottomless pit, the gathering of the armies of Gog and Magog who lay siege to the camp of the saints, and the final defeat of the forces of Satan who is cast into the lake of fire and brimstone for eternity.

[15] Richard Landes, *Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience* (Oxford, 2011), 20.

[16] This belief is based on the 'first resurrection' noted in Rev. 20:5.

Influenced by the Judaic eschatological tradition, the earliest forms of Christian millenarianism have been traced back to the first and second centuries.[17] During the early second century, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, looked forward to the imminent establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom and the physical resurrection of the martyrs. Papias proclaimed that the millennium would be a time of peace and prosperity in which the fruitfulness of the earth would reach staggering proportions. Many of the chiliastic ideals advanced by Papias were adopted later in the second century by Irenaeus of Lyons and Justin Martyr. However, by the early fifth century, chiliasm had become unfashionable within the Christian Church thanks largely to the influence of Augustine of Hippo (354-430). In his *City of God* (426), Augustine argued against the views of chiliasts and millenarians by asserting that the millennium – when interpreted allegorically – symbolised the period of the Church from the birth of Christ until the end of time.[18] Following his death, Augustine's allegorical interpretation of Revelation 20 was accepted as orthodoxy by the Christian Church. During the Middle Ages, his nonmillenarian reading of Revelation was challenged by apocalyptic visionaries such as Joachim of Fiore.[19]

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[17] For Jewish influences on early-Christian millenarianism see: Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, Revised Edition (New York, 1970, first published 1957), 19-29; Daley, *Hope of the Early Church*, 5-19; and Michael St Clair, *Millenarian Movements in Historical Context* (New York, 1992), Ch. 1. On the origins of Christian millenarianism see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, I, Chs. 9-11; Baumgartner, *Longing for the End* , Ch. 3; Stanley E. Porter, 'Millenarian Thought in the First-Century Church', in Stephen Hunt, ed., *Christian Millenarianism: From the Early Church to Waco* (Bloomington, 2001), 62-76; Court, *Approaching the Apocalypse*, Ch. 5.

[18] Initially, Augustine understood the millennium as a time of rest for the saints on earth which would take place during the seventh and final age of the world. By the end if his life, however, he determined that the prophecies of Revelation should be interpreted allegorically. On Augustine's eschatological views see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, I, 473-491; Daley, *Hope of the Early Church*, 131-150; and Paula Fredriksen, 'Tyconius and Augustine on the Apocalypse', in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (London, 1992), 29-35.

[19] Studies that examine strains of millenarianism in the Middle Ages include: Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969) and Reeves, 'The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes', in Patrides and Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse*, 40-72; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998, originally published 1979) and McGinn, 'Apocalypticism and Church Reform: 1100-1500', in Bernard McGinn, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 2: Apocalypticism in Western History and Culture* (New York, 1999), 74-109; Gian Luca Potestà, 'Radical

Nevertheless, millenarianism remained marginalised within the Church until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when radical forms of millenarian beliefs resurfaced with renewed vigor.

The rebirth and spread of millenarianism on the Continent and in Great Britain during the early modern period is discussed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis. Here we shall address the many classifications of millenarianism which modern scholars and theologians have applied to the term. Today, historians and theologians often make a confusing distinction between the meaning of millenarianism and its synonym *millennialism*.[20] Such individuals equate 'millenarianism' with *premillennialism* – or the belief that the millennium is a future event which will be inaugurated by the Second Coming of Christ. In contrast, 'millennialism' has been associated with *postmillennialism*. Postmillennialists also anticipate a future millennium, but believe that Christ will not return until after the thousand years. In addition to these terms, Augustine's allegorical interpretation of the millennium – which rejects the belief in a future thousand-year period – has been defined as *amillennialism*.

The use of these and other classifications in scholarship related to apocalyptic belief in early modern Britain has caused unnecessary confusion.[21] Furthermore, these terms have been used too loosely and without warrant to describe the eschatological views

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Apocalyptic Movements in the Late Middle Ages', in McGinn, ed., *Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism, Volume 2,* 110-142; Baumgartner, *Longing for the End*, Ch. 5; and Diane Watt, 'Medieval Millenarianism and Prophecy', in Hunt, ed., *Christian Millenarianism*, 88-97.

[20] Court, *Approaching the Apocalypse*, 42.

[21] For example see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, Ch. 24; Bryan Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden, 1975), 160-177; and Kenneth G.C. Newport, *Apocalypse and Millennium: Studies in Biblical Eisegesis* (Cambridge, 2000), Ch. 2. Some scholars have employed descriptive adjectives to distinguish 'moderate' millenarians from 'conservative' millenarians, and 'mild' millenarianism from 'extreme' millenarianism. See: Robert G. Clouse, 'The Influence of John Henry Alsted on English Millenarian Thought in the Seventeenth Century', (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 1963) and J.A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810* (Kampen, 1970), 36-43. Causing further confusion, Luc Borot classified early-modern millenarians as ante-, inter-, or post-chiliasts: Borot, 'James VI & I and Revelation', 26.

espoused by various apocalyptic thinkers in seventeenth-century Scotland.[22] This is best exemplified in the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, under 'millennialism', where several notable Presbyterian divines including Robert Baillie and David Dickson have been labeled postmillennialists.[23] As demonstrated in Chapter Two, during the mid-1640s, both Baillie and Dickson published works in which they refuted millenarianism and endorsed Augustine's view of the millennium. Throughout this thesis we shall avoid using the labels a-, pre-, and post-millennialism to differentiate between various strains of millenarian thought. Such distinctions were unknown to contemporaries in the early modern period. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, individuals who rejected millenarianism referred to those who anticipated a future millennium simply as 'chiliasts' or 'millenaries'. These terms were used primarily in a derogatory fashion by nonmillenarians who objected to unorthodox interpretations of Revelation 20:1-6. Conversely, proponents of millenarianism did not seek to distinguish their respective views on the future millennium from those espoused by other millenarians through complex terminology.

Historiography

Scholarship related to apocalypticism in seventeenth-century Scotland is limited in terms of volume and scope. Moreover, discussions of Scottish apocalypticism in this period have largely been confined to surveys of apocalyptic belief in England, or studies with a

[22] Sidney Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters', *Scottish Historical Review*, 43 (1964), 5. Burrell loosely characterised the leading Covenanter minister George Gillespie as a 'conservative millenarian'. Similarly, despite noting his reservations about using modern classifications of millenarianism, Crawford Gribben has argued that many Scots embraced an 'embryonic' form of postmillennialism in the 1600s: Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium: Literature and Theology, 1550-1682*, Revised Edition (Eugene, 2008), 117, 239.

[23] Nigel Cameron et al, eds., *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh, 1993), 563, 'Millennialism'. Alexander Petrie, who became minister of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam in 1643, is described as 'a lone voice in advocating the old amillennialism' of Augustine in seventeenth-century Scotland.

'British' focus. A rare exception to this trend is Sidney Burrell's often cited essay, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters' (1964).[24] This work is one of the few studies published over the last sixty years that addressed apocalyptic thought in a Scottish context. Burrell demonstrated how pre-Reformation ideas about the antiquity of Scottish Christianity evolved into the view shared by leading Covenanters in the late-1630s and early-1640s who asserted that the Church of Scotland would play an exemplary role in God's providential plan for the last days. Burrell's essay exemplifies an additional trend in the historiography of Scottish apocalypticism. Since its publication, the bulk of historical research conducted by scholars has concentrated on eschatological discourse in Scotland during the decades either side of the Union of Crowns, or the apocalyptic ideals espoused by Scottish Covenanters during the reign of Charles I and the Interregnum period. Studies that examine apocalyptic belief in Restoration Scotland are almost nonexistent.[25]

These trends are especially evident in works published in the 1970s – a decade that witnessed an explosion of scholarly interest in apocalypticism, eschatology, and millenarianism.[26] In his thorough analysis of Napier's commentary on Revelation, Robert Clouse explained that Napier's innovative method of exegesis, which was based on Ramist logic, influenced the eschatological thought of early-seventeenth-century English millenarians Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede.[27] However, Clouse ignored the fact that

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[24] See Note 22.

[25] As demonstrated in Chapter Four, Mark Jardine has shed valuable light on the apocalyptic ideologies of extremist Scottish Covenanters during the Restoration period. See: Mark Jardine, 'The United Societies: Militancy, Martyrdom and the Presbyterian Movement in Late-Restoration Scotland, 1679 to 1688', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2009).

[26] Marjorie Reeves, 'History and Eschatology: Medieval and Early Protestant Thought in Some English and Scottish Writings', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 4 (1973), 99-123. Reeves' analysis of seventeenth-century Scottish eschatology focused on a collection of medieval prophetic material published in 1615 by James Maxwell. Additionally, the commentary on Revelation published by the Covenanter James Durham in 1658, is discussed briefly in: Peter Toon, 'The Latter-day Glory', in Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660* (London, 1970), 39-41. Toon described Durham as an advocate of postmillennialism, a claim we shall explore further in Chapter Three.

[27] Clouse, 'John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought', 113. The commentaries on Revelation published by Brightman (1611) and Mede (1627) are discussed in Chapters One and Two of this thesis.

Napier's interpretation of biblical prophecy also shaped the development of Scottish apocalypticism. Paul Christianson recognised that the expositions of Revelation completed by Napier and James VI heightened apocalyptic expectancy in England and Scotland after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Yet, he downplayed their significance by concluding that the views set forth by Napier and King James owed much to the 'mainstream of English apocalyptic thought'.[28] Katharine Firth dedicated a chapter of her seminal work, *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain*, to the eschatology of Napier and the sixteenth-century Scottish reformer John Knox. But while the scope of Firth's study extends from 1530 to 1645, her discussion of seventeenth-century Scottish contributions to the wider 'British' apocalyptic tradition is limited to a few comments on Patrick Forbes' exegesis of Revelation published in 1613.[29]

Like Christianson, Firth argued that Scottish apocalyptic thinking 'followed the English pattern'.[30] Although this might be true of apocalyptic discourse in sixteenth-century Scotland, both scholars failed to account for ways in which the Scottish apocalyptic tradition diverged from the English tradition over the course of the seventeenth century.[31] As noted in Chapter Two, the spread of millenarian ideals in England during the reign of Charles I radically altered English apocalypticism. But as this thesis seeks to demonstrate, from at least 1588 to 1688, millenarianism did not become a feature of the apocalyptic tradition in Scotland. This discrepancy was acknowledged in the 1970s by A.R. Dallison and Bryan Ball. The example of the Glasgow scholar and Covenanter, Robert Baillie, was used by Dallison in his analysis of contemporary criticism of

[28] Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War* (Toronto, 1978), 96-97.
[29] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 176-177.
[30] *Ibid*., 111.
[31] Several similarities between the apocalyptic ideals advanced by Marian exiles in England such as John Bale and John Foxe, and those set forth by James VI and John Napier are noted in Chapter One. However, a comparative study that examines their respective views would prove useful.

millenarianism in Britain during the civil war era.[32] Similarly, at various points in his study of English eschatological thought published in 1975, Ball contrasted the nonmillenarian apocalyptic views of notable Scottish biblical exegetes Patrick Forbes, William Guild, and Alexander Petrie, with streams of millenarianism that became prevalent in England throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.[33]

A major survey of apocalyptic thought in early modern Scotland did not appear in print until Arthur Williamson published his illuminating study of *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* in 1979. Williamson investigated several important themes central to apocalyptic discourse in Scotland from the days of John Knox to the beginning of the Scottish Covenanting movement in the late-1630s. He explained that, like many Marian exiles in the mid-sixteenth century, Knox's prophetic outlook centered upon the vision of a godly prince, fashioned after the Emperor Constantine, who would lead a unified England and Scotland against the papal Antichrist in the last days.[34] According to Williamson, after 1603, this apocalyptic vision of 'imperial Britain' influenced a wide variety of Scottish courtiers, unionists, and episcopalians who promoted the idea that James VI and I would assume the mantle of the new Constantine.[35]

Williamson also explained that the Constantinian image of the latter-day godly prince was rejected by Napier in his commentary on Revelation.[36] Napier concluded that, by surrendering control of the Church to Pope Sylvester around 300 A.D., Constantine had

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[32] A.R. Dallison, 'Contemporary Criticism of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 104-108.
[33] Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 161-162, 167.
[34] On the development of this idea in Scotland see: Roger Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Lothian, 1998), Ch. 9, 'The Scottish Reformation and the Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism'. Mason argued that from the outset of the reformation in Scotland, Scottish Protestant thinking was profoundly and consistently anti-imperial: 265.
[35] Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh, 1979), 41, 102-106.
[36] Williamson, *SNC*, 21. More recently, Williamson has discussed Napier's influence on the apocalyptic thinking of the Presbyterian controversialist and university reformer, Andrew Melville (1545-1622). See: Paul J. McGinnis and Arthur Williamson, 'Politics, Prophecy, Poetry: The Melvillian Moment, 1589-96, and its Aftermath', *Scottish Historical Review*, 89 (2010), 1-18.

actually laid the foundation for the papal Antichrist's kingdom in Rome. According to Napier's prophetic view, the destruction of Antichrist would ultimately be achieved through a combined attack on Rome by the most prominent rulers in Europe who had broken free from the yoke of papal supremacy. As we shall demonstrate in Chapter One, following Napier's critique of Constantine, the apocalyptic vision of imperial Britain quickly became obsolete in Scotland. Moreover, we shall see that the eschatological works published by Williamson's 'imperialists' shortly after the Union of Crowns had an insignificant effect on the continued development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

During the 1980s, Williamson published several studies in which he elaborated further upon the imperial apocalyptic vision in Scotland, and discussed the ways in which contemporary philo-Semitism influenced Scottish apocalypticism.[37] It was widely believed in both England and Scotland that the conversion of the Jews to Christianity would hasten the destruction of Antichrist and the Second Coming. Williamson examined the apocalyptic significance of the Jews in the writings of Scottish courtiers, James Maxwell and Sir William Alexander, as well as in the exegetical commentaries on Revelation completed by Patrick Forbes and James Durham. Throughout the seventeenth century, the future conversion of the Jews was of primary importance to the eschatology of English millenarians who expected the restoration of the Jews to precede the establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom on earth.[38] Yet, in this thesis we shall see that Scottish

[37] Arthur Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', in John Dwyer, Roger Mason, and Alexander Murdoch, eds., *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), 34-58; 'Latter Day Judah, Latter Day Israel: The Millennium, the Jews, and the British Future', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 14 (1988), 149-165; and 'The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse: Climate, Covenant and World Renewal', in Yosef Kaplan, Henry Méchoulan, and Richard H. Popkin, eds., *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World* (Leiden, 1989),7-30. Williamson has returned to these themes in recent years: 'Britain and the Beast: The Apocalypse and the Seventeenth-Century Debated about the Creation of the British State' in J.E. Force and R.H. Popkin, eds., *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: The Millenarian Turn* (Dordrecht, 2001), 15-27; and 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture, 1550-1650', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), 91-123.

[38] David Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655* (Oxford, 1982), Ch. 3.

apocalyptic thinkers who anticipated the calling in of the Jews did so without investing in millenarianism.

In more recent scholarship, the influence of millenarian ideas in seventeenth-century Scotland has been exaggerated. Additionally, the historiographical trend to focus on the apocalyptic views espoused by Covenanter divines during the reign of Charles I and the Interregnum has become more pronounced.[39] Following the earlier work of Burrell, Margaret Steele concluded that 'religious enthusiasm imbued with millenarianism' fuelled the Scottish Covenanting movement in the late-1630s.[40] Steele's assessment of Scottish apocalyptic thought in this period was hardly based on sufficient analysis of contemporary source material. For example, she argued unconvincingly that the influence of millenarianism led some Scots to appeal to Charles I to act 'as the new Constantine' and take up arms against 'international Catholicism' during the Thirty Years' War.[41] Steele attempted to demonstrate this by citing a tract published by the highly regarded Covenanter minister Alexander Henderson in 1644. Yet, this short pamphlet which was written near the end of the conflict in Europe is entirely innocent of references to Constantine, the war on the Continent, and more importantly, the millennium described by John of Patmos in Revelation 20.[42]

Crawford Gribben has also claimed that 'unfettered millenarianism' gave rise to the revolutionary events that occurred in Scotland following the drafting of the Scottish

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[39] John Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions: The Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997), Ch. 8. Coffey examined briefly the characteristics of Samuel Rutherford's apocalypticism in the early-1630s, but focused primarily on the development of his apocalyptic views between 1637 and 1661. Rutherford's apocalyptic views are discussed at length in Chapters Two and Four of this thesis. Also see: Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham'.

[40] Margaret Steele, 'The "Politick Christian": The Theological Background to the National Covenant', in John Morrill, ed., *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context* (Edinburgh, 1990), 58.

[41] *Ibid*., 52.

[42] Alexander Henderson, *Reformation of Church-Government in Scotland, Cleared from some Mistakes and Prejudices* (Edinburgh, 1644).

National Covenant in February 1638.[43] Additionally, Gribben has concluded that the Anglo-Scottish ecclesiastical alliance forged between the Covenanters and puritan groups in England during the early-1640s was predicated upon a shared sense of 'millenarian unionism'.[44] To support these claims, Gribben relied almost exclusively on a sermon preached before the House of Commons in 1644 by the zealous Covenanter minister George Gillespie, which he believed evidenced 'a millenarian fervour' affecting Scottish apocalyptic thought in the civil war period.[45] In his sermon, however, Gillespie did not express his belief in the future millennial kingdom of Christ, nor did he explain fully his interpretation of the millennium prophesied in Revelation 20:1-6 during his lifetime. Gribben has recently backtracked from his statements about the millenarian impulse in Scotland by positing that Scottish divines such as Gillespie expected a period of latter-day glory to precede the Last Judgment, rather than a full-blown millennium.[46]

Chapter Two of this thesis provides a clearer understanding of the apocalyptic views advanced by various Covenanters during the reign of Charles I. As we shall see, historians such as Steele and Gribben have either failed to recognise, or overlooked, an important aspect of Covenanter eschatology, which was the complete rejection of millenarianism. To clarify this and grasp its significance we must first of all examine the earliest examples of Scottish apocalyptic thinking in the reign of James VI and I. This will enable us to establish the basic characteristics of a tradition that subsequent chapters will demonstrate to have remained a shaping influence throughout the seventeenth century.

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[43] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 119.
[44] Crawford Gribben, '"Passionate Desires, and Confident Hopes": Puritan Millenarianism and Anglo-Scottish Union, 1560-1644', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 4 (2002), 244.
[45] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 136.
[46] Crawford Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination, 1630 to 1650', *Scottish Historical Review*, 88 (2009), 40 & 43.

Chapter One
The Formative Years of the Scottish Apocalyptic Tradition, 1588-1625

Before the 1580s, the most sustained effort to generate interest in biblical prophecy among the Scottish populace had been carried out by the self-styled prophet of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox. Preaching his first public sermon in 1547, Knox attempted to convince his listeners that the pope was Antichrist through his interpretation of Daniel 7 and Revelation 13.[1] Like the majority of early Protestant reformers, Knox viewed the history of mankind – as revealed in the Scriptures – through polarized spectacles. He envisioned the forces of God and Satan, represented by the true Church and the false Church of Rome, as locked in a cosmic struggle which would continue until Judgment Day. Yet, although his interest in biblical prophecy reinforced his belief that he had been called to spread God's word in the last days, Knox never wrote commentaries on the books of Daniel or Revelation, and for the most part, his ministry failed to encourage greater interest in eschatology in Scotland.[2] Indeed, prior to the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Scotland had yet to experience anything close to the fervent eschatological enthusiasm already flourishing in England where, by the 1560s, an apocalyptic tradition had formed around the prophetic scholarship of William Tyndale, John Bale, and John Foxe.[3]

This chapter seeks to demonstrate that the formative years of a cohesive tradition of apocalyptic thought in Scotland occurred between 1588 and 1625. During this time span, a wide variety of Scottish biblical exegetes reacted to the defeat of the Spanish Armada and

[1] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 116.
[2] On Knox's apocalypticism see: Richard Kyle, 'John Knox and Apocalyptic Thought', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15 (1984), 449-469; Williamson, *SNC*, 3-20; and Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 113-131.
[3] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 6. John Napier was influenced by Knox's colleague, the Marian exile from England, Christopher Goodman, who preached on Revelation around 1563 while carrying out his ministry in St Andrews: John Napier, *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John* (Edinburgh, 1593), 'To the Godly and Christian Reader', sig. A6r. Napier attended St Andrews briefly in 1563. No records of Goodman's sermons from this period have survived.

the increased presence of Catholics in Scotland by publishing a flurry of eschatological treatises in which they couched their understanding of contemporary events within an apocalyptic context. The most important of these printed works were several detailed commentaries on the Book of Revelation. Many of the central characteristics of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition as it developed in the seventeenth century can be traced back to these sources. Perhaps the most significant component of the apocalyptic tradition which surfaced in these expositions of Revelation was the rejection of millenarianism. Prior to the late-1580s, the Scottish Church had ruled out the belief in a future millennium in its various confessional statements.[4] However, not until 1588 did Scottish intellectuals begin to express more fully this nonmillenarian apocalyptic outlook in printed commentaries on Revelation. As we shall see, those Scots who published commentaries on the Apocalypse of John during the critical decades either side of 1603 denounced millenarianism as a dangerous, heretical doctrine and set forth a more conservative interpretation of the thousand-year reign of Christ described in Revelation 20. By doing so, they laid the foundations of a tradition of nonmillenarian apocalypticism which Scottish apocalyptic thinkers adhered to throughout the seventeenth century.

The Birth of a Tradition

The first substantial contribution to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition came from a rather surprising source: James VI, who became King of Scots as an infant in 1567. During the mid-1580s, when still a teenager, the Scottish monarch completed a verse by verse commentary on the Book of Revelation titled, *A Paraphrase upon the Revelation*, which

[4] For example, the *Scots Confession* (1560) asserts that Christ will remain in heaven at the right hand of the Father until he returns in the flesh at the Last Judgment whereupon the wicked will be punished and the righteous will inherit the eternal kingdom of heaven. See: 'The Scottish Confession of Faith' in Arthur C. Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century* (Louisville, 2003, first published 1966), 170-171; and Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 245-247.

was not published until 1616 when it was included in James's collected *Workes*. In 1588, James followed up his *Paraphrase* by publishing *A Fruitfull Meditation* on the passages of Revelation 20:7-10.[5] First printed in Edinburgh, and again in London in 1603, this shorter tract was also included in James's *Workes*.[6] To date, only a handful of scholars have attempted to outline the major components of James's apocalyptic thinking which are exhibited in these treatises.[7] Several historians have pointed out that James based his interpretation of biblical prophecy largely upon preexisting Protestant apocalyptic commentaries and offered little that was original or exceptional.[8] However, as Bernard Capp reminds us, during the early modern period, 'it was a major step for a reigning monarch to give public endorsement to Protestant apocalyptic teaching'.[9] Given James's elevated status as king, and the fact that he wished to be recognised as a knowledgeable interpreter of the prophecies of Revelation, it is not surprising that aspects of his apocalyptic ideology and exegetical method were to become integral features of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

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[5] All citations below are from: James VI & I, *A Paraphrase upon the Revelation of the Apostle St. John*, and *A Fruitfull Meditation . . . of the VI. VIII. IX. and X. Verses of the 20. Chapter of the Revelation* in *The Workes of the Most High and Mightie Prince, James* (London, 1616). Hereafter cited respectively as *Paraphrase* and *Fruitfull Meditation*. In the preface to James's collected *Workes*, James Montague stated that the Scottish monarch wrote his *Paraphrase* before the age of twenty. This has led Daniel Fischlin to conclude that the *Paraphrase* was completed two to three years prior to the *Meditation*. However, Fischlin asserts that more work on the publication history of James's *Paraphrase* is required. It is not known whether the *Paraphrase* was revised prior to its publication in 1616, but there were no significant alterations to the *Meditation*. See: Daniel Fischlin, '"To Eate the Flesh of Kings": James VI and I, Apocalypse, Nation, and Sovereignty', in Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier, eds., *Royal Subjects: Essays on the Writings of James VI and I* (Detroit, 2002), 410-411.

[6] Originally published as *A Fruitefull Meditation . . . of the 7.8.9. and 10 verses of the 20.chap. of the Revelation* (Edinburgh, 1588).

[7] For the most extensive analyses of James's apocalyptic views see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 536-542 and Borot, 'James VI & I and Revelation'. His apocalyptic ideals are briefly outlined in: Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 23; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 94-97; Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 131-132; Williamson, *SNC*, 40-41; and Astrid Stilma, 'King James VI and I as a Religious Writer', in Crawford Gribben and David G. Mullan, eds., *Literature and the Scottish Reformation* (Farnham, 2009), 130-135.

[8] Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 96; Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 132; Williamson, *SNC*, 40.

[9] Bernard Capp, 'The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought', in Patrides and Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, 102.

Current scholarship related to the *Paraphrase* and *Meditation* focuses primarily on the reasons why James publicly sanctioned apocalyptic discourse. Recent studies have shown that he utilized his exegeses of Revelation in order to re-assert his royal authority in Scotland.[10] During the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, a faction of zealous Presbyterian clergymen in the Scottish Church headed by Andrew Melville advanced the 'idea that church and state were separate powers with mutually exclusive jurisdictions'.[11] Perceiving this theory of the 'two kingdoms' as subversive of royal authority, in 1584 the young king backed by an anti-Presbyterian regime led by the Earl of Arran claimed control over Scotland's spiritual and temporal estates through the so-called Black Acts passed by the Scottish Parliament.[12] Following the collapse of Arran's regime in 1585, the pretentions of the Black Acts were overturned, and for the next decade, James and his principal adviser, Secretary John Maitland, pursued a policy of conciliation with Presbyterian ministers.[13]

At the same time, the king had to deal with the political threat posed by a group of rebellious Catholic conspirators led by the earl of Huntly who opposed Maitland's policies.[14] The leniency James showed toward the Catholic magnates in the aftermath of

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[10] Fischlin, '"To Eate the Flesh of Kings"'; Jane Rickard, 'The Word of God and the Word of the King: the Scriptural Exegeses of James VI and I and the King James Bible', in Ralph Houlbrooke, ed., *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Aldershot, 2006), 131-149 and Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007).

[11] Roger Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI and the Presbyterians', in Roger Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994), 122-123.

[12] For James's struggle with Scottish Presbyterians over the affairs of the Kirk during the 1580s and 1590s see: Maurice Lee, Jr, *Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI and I* (Urbana, 1980) and *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Urbana, 1990); Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625* (London, 1981) and 'James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Lawe of Free Monarchies*: the Scottish Context and the English Translation', in Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991), 36-54; and W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), 7-30.

[13] Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*, 68-70.

[14] The political activities of Huntly and the 'Catholic lords' are discussed in: Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*, 71-76; and Ruth Grant, 'The Brig ó Dee Affair, the Sixth Earl of Huntly and the Politics of Counter-Reformation' in Julian Goodare and Michael Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (East Lothian, 2000), 93-109.

their short-lived rebellion heightened preexisting suspicions in the Kirk that the king was pandering to papists. Within this domestic context, James utilized the anti-Catholic overtones of his scriptural exegeses as a means to appease Scottish Presbyterians and demonstrate his support for 'true' religion. Moreover, James attempted to bolster his royal authority by presenting himself as a divinely authorised interpreter of biblical prophecy. As Jane Rickard has shown, James emphasised his special ability to penetrate the obscure passages of Revelation in order to reinforce the notion that he was God's Elect, and king by divine right.[15]

Additionally, through his early apocalyptic writings James sought to improve his standing as a godly Protestant ruler on an international stage by identifying the pope in Rome with the Antichrist. In tune with traditional Protestant biblical exegesis, James associated the symbols of Revelation such as the beast rising out of the sea described in chapter 13 and the scarlet whore of chapter 17 with the institution of the papacy.[16] From James's personal and highly pragmatic point of view, the primary threat posed by the papal Antichrist was his claim to political supremacy throughout the Christian world and his plans to maintain his temporal dominance through persecution and war. As he wrote in his *Meditation* in 1588:

> Hath he not of late dayes, seeing his kingdome going to decay, sent out the Jesuites . . . to stirre up the Princes of the earth his slaves, to gather and league themselves together for his defence, and rooting out of all them that professe Christ truely? And whereas the open enemie of God, the Turke was under bloody warres with him ever before, is there not of late a truce among them, that the faithfull may be the more easily rooted out? And are not the armies presently assembled, yea upon the very point of their execution in *France* against the Saints there? In Flanders for the like; and in Germanie, by whom already the Bishop of Collein is displaced? And what is prepared and come forward against this Ile?[17]

[15] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 71.
[16] *Fruitfull Meditation*, 77. For a broader examination of ideas about the papal Antichrist see: Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971).
[17] *Fruitfull Meditation*, 78.

In concluding the *Meditation*, James asserted that 'all men should be lawfully armed spiritually and bodily to fight against the Antichrist, and his upholders'.[18] This militant rallying cry to the Protestant cause reached a European audience. The *Meditation* was translated into Latin in 1596, French in 1589, and Dutch in 1603.[19]

Against the backdrop of the Anglo-Spanish War, the strong anti-papal rhetoric contained in his *Meditation* was also a means for James to show his support for Elizabeth I during a critical time for Protestants in England. Early in 1586, a treaty between England and Scotland was negotiated whereby James received payment from Elizabeth in exchange for a mutual defensive alliance.[20] Despite the execution of his mother the following year, James did not waver in his commitment to Elizabeth. Instead, he sought to increase his future prospects of acceding to the English throne by promoting himself as a champion of the Protestant faith in England.[21] Therefore, he strategically addressed a British audience in the *Meditation* with his reference to the recent defeat of the Armada. James warned that the saints in 'this Isle' were presently besieged 'spiritually' and 'corporally' by the servants of Antichrist. Therefore, he urged 'all men' to 'joyne one with another as warriors in one Campe, and citizens of one beloved City' in order to prevent the papacy from making further encroachments upon their lives and liberties.[22]

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the high level of concern James displayed in his *Meditation* regarding the threat posed by the Antichrist remained a prominent feature of Scottish apocalyptic thought. For many Scottish Protestants, the persistence of popery in Scotland and the activities of Jesuit missionaries represented the Antichrist's ongoing struggle to reclaim the former Catholic kingdom and thus all of

[18] *Ibid*., 80.
[19] Stilma, 'King James VI and I as a Religious Writer', 133.
[20] Julian Goodare, 'James VI's English Subsidy', in Goodare and Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI*, 112.
[21] Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 76.
[22] *Fruitfull Meditation*, 80.

Britain for the papal cause.[23] As a result, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers often completed studies of Revelation during periods in which the number of Catholic recusants and Jesuit emissaries in Scotland appeared to be on the rise.[24] Such works were intended to prove to Catholics that the pope was Antichrist and warn them that those who supported the Whore of Babylon in Rome would be sentenced to eternal damnation on Judgment Day. Both Presbyterians and episcopalians in Scotland produced tracts of this nature during and after James's reign, the last of which appeared in the late-1650s.[25] In Chapter Two, we shall see that this trend continued during the early years of Charles I's reign even as the Presbyterian apocalyptic mindset evolved, and bishops, rather than recusant Catholics and Jesuits, became increasingly identified as subversive agents of the papal Antichrist.

An additional feature of James's apocalyptic thinking that became a principal feature of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition was his loose application of chronology to the prophecies of Revelation. Shortly after James completed his commentaries, it became standard practice among Protestant apocalyptic thinkers to outline the sequence of time over which the Antichrist had risen to power within the Christian Church and to predict the sequence through which he would ultimately be defeated using literal interpretations of the various numbers and symbols contained in Revelation. The most significant of these include: the 42 months of the treading under foot of the temple of the Gentiles (11:2); the

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[23] On the activities of Jesuits in Scotland see: Michael Yellowlees, *'So Strange a Monster as a Jesuite': The Society of Jesus in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Isle of Colonsay, 2003).

[24] For example, at the turn of the seventeenth century, the popular Ayrshire minister, John Welsh (1568/9-1622), became involved in a dispute with a Roman Catholic priest named Gilbert Browne. In 1602, Welsh responded to Browne's criticism of the Kirk in a tract which he dedicated to King James. Welsh included a substantial examination of the Antichrist in this text. The minister was particularly concerned about the present actions of the papal Antichrist abroad and was fearful of the growing number of papists in Scotland. For this reason, Welsh urged James to 'root out' from his kingdom 'all the workers of iniquity' who served Rome. He also encouraged the king to cleanse the Kirk of the relics of Rome in order to prevent the judgments of the Lord from falling upon the land. See: John Welsh, *A Reply Against M. Gilbert Browne Priest* (Edinburgh, 1602), 'The Epistle', sigs. A2v & A4v.

[25] As demonstrated in Chapter's Three and Four, interest in the figure of the Antichrist in Scotland had waned by 1650. Presbyterian ministers, William Guild and James Durham, revived this interest briefly in the mid-1650s, but throughout the remainder of the century Scottish concerns about the activities of the papal Antichrist were greatly diminished.

1260 days of the two witnesses' prophesying (11:3); the 42 months of the beast's reign (13:5); and the visions of the seven seals, trumpets, and vials. As we shall see, influential biblical exegetes such as the Scottish laird John Napier and the English scholar Thomas Brightman asserted that each 'propheticall' day, week, and month located in the Scriptures should be 'taken for a yeare'.[26] Thus, both calculated that the periods of 42 months and 1260 days equaled a definite 1260 year period which they applied to a historical framework that also contained fixed dates for specific historical events associated with the seals, trumpets, and vials.

Conversely, James positioned the periods of 42 months and 1260 days between Christ's 'first comming' and 'his last comming againe'.[27] Similarly, he applied a loose historical framework to his interpretation of the seven seals, trumpets, and vials. For example, he claimed rather vaguely that the Antichrist had been unleashed by Satan shortly after the days of Augustine during the time of the fourth seal and the third trumpet.[28] Although he did not specify a starting point, James believed he was living in the age of the sixth trumpet. James expected that during 'this our last aage [sic]', the two great monarchies of the Turks and the papacy would continue to persecute the godly until the seventh trumpet sounded which would herald the return of Christ on Judgment Day.[29] Again, without describing specific times or events, James explained that prior to the seventh trumpet the pouring out of the seven vials of the Lord's wrath would tear down the

[26] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 1-2. Napier argued that the 42 months and the 1260 days ran parallel beginning about 300 or 316 A.D. during the time of Constantine and ended in 1560 with the Scottish Reformation.
[27] *Paraphrase*, 33. In a work first published in 1609, James restated this broad conception of the 42 months and 1260 days: *A Premonition to to all Most Mightie Monarches,* in *Workes,* 311.
[28] *Paraphrase*, 26; *Fruitfull Meditation*, 77.
[29] *Paraphrase*, 29, 35; *Fruitfull Meditation*, 73.

kingdom of Antichrist in accordance with the manner in which he came to power under the previous trumpets.[30]

Notable Scots who followed James's generalised approach to chronology during the seventeenth century include John Welsh, Patrick Forbes, William Cowper, and William Guild. Like James, these apocalyptic thinkers did not attach a great deal of chronological significance to the various numbers and symbols described in the Apocalypse of John. The commentaries on Revelation completed by John Napier in 1593 and James Durham in 1658 are among the few notable exceptions. Equally important, however, is the fact that King James did not try to predict when the Second Coming might take place. Future conjectures of this kind were useless because it was revealed to John in Revelation 16:15 that Jesus would come again as a 'thief in the night' at an hour known only to God.[31] Following James, the majority of apocalyptic thinkers in early modern Scotland pointed to scriptural passages such as Matthew 24:36 and Revelation 16:15 as proof that no man could determine the day or hour upon which Christ would return.[32]

The Scottish monarch took even greater care with his use of chronology in his exposition of Revelation 20. James was well aware of the fact that radical interpretations of the thousand-year reign of Christ with his saints described in verses 4 and 6 could have revolutionary consequences. During the 1520s and 1530s, extremist Anabaptists, Thomas Müntzer and John of Leyden, led rebellions against the princes of Germany with the fervent chiliastic belief that they could establish the millennial kingdom of Christ on earth.[33] As Luc Borot has effectively demonstrated, throughout his lifetime, James sought

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[30] *Paraphrase*, 49-53.
[31] *Paraphrase*, 52; *Fruitfull Meditation*, 80.
[32] Matthew 24:36 states: 'But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only'.
[33] On the revolutionary actions of German Anabaptists see: Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*; George H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962); James M. Stayer, *Anabaptists and the Sword*

to prohibit the development of chiliastic aspirations among his subjects which could have given rise to similar rebellions within his own kingdoms.[34]

To avoid the dangerous implications of millenarianism in his *Meditation*, James limited his study of Revelation 20 to verses 7-10.[35] He began the text by briefly equating verses 1-6 with the 'happie estate of the Church, from Christs dayes, to the dayes of defection or falling away of the Antichrist'.[36] According to James, the thousand-year reign of Christ (20:4-6) coincided with the thousand-year binding of Satan mentioned in verse 2. Both millenniums, he argued, denoted a 'great number of yeeres' that began during the ministry of Christ. These lasted until shortly after the time of Augustine when Satan was loosened from his prison and the Antichrist was unleashed.[37] By placing the two millennial periods in the past, James adhered largely to the nonmillenarian interpretation of Revelation 20 as set forth by Saint Augustine during the early-fifth century. His desire to suppress millenarian expectations in Scotland proved highly successful. Beginning with the publication of his *Meditation* in 1588, and lasting throughout the entire Stuart age, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers considered millenarianism to be a subversive heretical doctrine and repeatedly rejected it within a wide variety of printed works.

One final influential aspect of James's nonmillenarian reading of Revelation was his understanding of how rather than when the last days would unfold. Not only did James

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(Lawrence, 1976); Walter Klaassen, *Living at the End of the Ages: Apocalyptic Expectation in the Radical Reformation* (London, 1992).

[34] Borot, 'James VI & I and Revelation', 25. Borot described James as a postmillenarian due to the fact that he located the Second Coming after the millennium: 29. However, modern classifications of pre- and postmillenarianism were unknown in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, Borot mistakenly claimed that millenarian attitudes were widespread at the time James wrote the *Paraphrase* and *Meditation*: 30. This was not true in Britain. Not until the late-1630s did millenarianism begin to flourish and then only in England: see Robert G. Clouse, 'The Rebirth of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 62 and Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, Ch. 2.

[35] In the *Meditation*, James expounded upon the nearly identical statements he made about Revelation 20 in his larger paraphrase. See: *A Paraphrase*, 64.

[36] *Fruitfull Meditation*, 73.

[37] *Ibid*., 76-77.

reject the chiliastic belief in the future millennium and the reign of the saints with Christ on earth, but he found no reason to believe that the Church would experience a golden age or a period of latter-day glory before Judgment Day. Instead, James followed the Genevan Reformer John Calvin in claiming that the last days would be a time of peril and persecution for the visible Church.[38] During this 'last estate' of the world, he expected the armies of Satan and the followers of Antichrist to wage war against the saints and persecute the Church militant until the seventh trumpet sounded, at which point Jesus would return.[39] Christ's sudden appearance in the clouds would signify the beginning of the Last Judgment. Hell would then be opened and Satan, the Antichrist, and their supporters would be cast into the lake of fire for eternity. This would be followed by the general resurrection of the dead who would be judged according to the 'booke of Life'. Those whose names were not found in this book would join the wicked in hell, and the earth would be destroyed by fire. Finally, the Church militant would become the Church triumphant and all those who were 'predestined and elected for salvation' would inherit the everlasting kingdom of heaven.[40]

This prophetic view – holding that the Church militant would be troubled until the unpredictable moment Christ returned to defeat Antichrist, resurrect the dead, cast the wicked into hell, and return to heaven with his elect on Judgment Day – was one of the two most prevalent patterns of apocalyptic expectation in seventeenth-century Scotland. Those Scots who later adhered to the second view – the doctrine of the latter-day glory of the Church discussed below – nevertheless maintained other important aspects of James's apocalyptic ideology including his concerns over the activities of the papal Antichrist, his rejection of millenarianism, and disregard for chronological speculation. James's

[38] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 33.
[39] *Paraphrase*, 32; *Fruitfull Meditation*, 80.
[40] *Paraphrase*, 65-66; *Fruitfull Meditation*, 76.

apocalyptic mindset in the 1580s was of course deeply influenced by a specific historical context related to the threat posed by the papacy and Catholic Spain. This context changed continually throughout his reign, especially after 1603. James's apocalyptic beliefs fluctuated accordingly and even subsided by the end of his life. However, through his early studies of Revelation, James broke new ground in Scotland and his influence would continue to be felt long after his own interest in apocalypticism had waned.

The Eschatology of John Napier

Additional impetus which aided the development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition near the end of the sixteenth century came from John Napier, the Laird of Merchiston. Napier (1550-1617) is mostly remembered for his discovery of logarithms, but mathematics was not his only intellectual interest. He has been described as a 'scientific farmer' and a 'mechanical wizard' for inventing a mirror that he claimed could burn enemy ships at sea, and an artillery piece that he believed could wipe out a field full of soldiers.[41] Napier first became curious about the Apocalypse during the 1560s after hearing Christopher Goodman's sermons on Revelation while he was a student at the University of St Andrews. In 1593, after a lengthy period of private study, he published his *Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John*. In contrast to James's treatises, Napier's work, which he dedicated to the Scottish monarch, has been examined more thoroughly in recent scholarship and the major aspects of his apocalyptic ideology have been identified.[42] Here, we shall discuss those aspects which became part of the apocalyptic tradition in

[41] Clouse, 'John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought', 101-103.

[42] In addition to the article by Clouse, Napier's apocalyptic views are discussed at great length by Katharine Firth and Philip Almond. See: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 133-149 and Almond, 'John Napier and the Mathematics of the "Middle Future" Apocalypse', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 63 (2010), 54-69. For less in-depth discussions of his views, see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 455-462; Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 68-69, 80-82, & 116; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 97-100; Williamson, *SNC*, 21-30 and 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', 42-46; and Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 39-41.

seventeenth-century Scotland. In addition, by way of contrast, we shall highlight a feature of Napier's eschatology that proved to have little impact upon Scottish apocalyptic thought either during or after his lifetime.

External attacks made against Protestant Britain by the 'Pope and King of Spaine', along with his concerns over the increased number of papists operating within the British Isles, heightened John Napier's desire to make public his interpretation of Revelation.[43] Like James's *Meditation*, the *Plaine Discovery* was explicitly anti-papal. In accordance with mainstream Protestant eschatology, Napier largely conducted his exegesis in order to prove to a wider European audience that the pope was Antichrist and that Rome had served as the seat of his power for centuries. Additionally, he encouraged James to remove suspected papists from his 'house, familie, and court' before joining with other princes of Europe in the greater task of bringing universal reformation to the world in the latter-days.[44]

Napier broke with mainstream apocalypticism by utilizing his strength in mathematics to incorporate chronological calculations into his exegesis. He completed his study of Revelation using the highly systematic Ramist method which he possibly encountered while travelling abroad after leaving St Andrews.[45] Napier combined his mathematical skills with his knowledge of Ramism to produce a series of propositions, or conjectures, based on the numbers and symbols he encountered in the Scriptures. Using these propositions, he developed a detailed chronological framework through which he attempted to demonstrate exactly when and how many of the prophecies of Revelation had

[43] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 'To the Godly and Christian Reader', sig. A6.
[44] *Ibid*., 'The Episle Dedicatorie', sigs. A3v-A4r.
[45] Napier did not mention the Protestant martyr, Peter Ramus, in his commentary. Yet, the influence of Ramist logic is apparent throughout the *Plaine Discovery*: Almond, 'John Napier', 62. For recent studies of Ramism see: Howard Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford, 2007) and Steven Reid and Emma Wilson, eds., *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World* (Burlington, 2011).

been fulfilled over the course of history. But what truly separated Napier from previous expositors of biblical prophecy in Britain was his analytical projection of when he believed the remaining prophecies of Revelation would be fulfilled in the immediate future.[46]

Napier explained that each important chronological time period he set out, whether past or future, coincided with one of the seven seals, trumpets, or vials described in Revelation.[47] By his reckoning, six of the seven seals had opened between 29 and 71 A.D. After the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 71 A.D., the seventh seal opened and the prophecies related to the seven trumpets and seven vials began to unfold. Napier calculated that the trumpets and vials referred to the same historical or future events and each symbolized a period of 245 years. Using 71 A.D., as his starting date, Napier concluded that the blast of the seventh trumpet and the pouring out of the seventh vial took place in 1541 during the Protestant Reformation on the Continent.[48] Along his prophetic timeline, Napier predicted that final consummation of the world would take place by 1786. He expected several important apocalyptic events to occur during this final 245 year period. Napier anticipated that 'Rome and the whol Papistical kingdome' would be laid to waste by 1639. After the fall of Antichrist, the saints would enjoy a relatively short period of peace and prosperity until Christ returned. He then predicted that Christ would appear in the clouds to gather up his elect in 1688.[49]

Supported by his systematic calculations, Napier's predictions for the future of mankind provided many apocalyptic thinkers in early modern Europe with a new sense of urgency and expectancy.[50] This was certainly the case in England where his future

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[46] Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 59; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 98; Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 133 & 149.
[47] For an overview of this scheme see: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 143-144.
[48] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 12 & 142.
[49] *Ibid*., 179-181.
[50] Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 99; Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 148.

projections influenced the apocalyptic ideals later espoused by Cambridge Puritans, Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede. However, in Scotland, Napier's conjectural method had very little impact. Between 1593 and 1688, only one apocalyptic treatise written by a Scottish author that contained fixed dates ascribed to the *future* fulfillment of the prophecies of Revelation appeared in print. This was the work of Robert Pont, the Presbyterian minister who Arthur Williamson claims belonged to a 'self-conscious group of Edinburgh mathematicians, astrologers, and apocalyptic exegetes' that included Napier and James Maxwell, a future courtier to James VI & I.[51] Pont (1524-1606), a leading figure in the Scottish Church, completed an astrological prognostication titled *A Newe Treatise of the Right Reckoning of Yeares, and Ages of the World*, which he published in 1599. In this work, Pont based his belief that the world would end by 1785 almost entirely upon Napier's chronological treatment of the seals, trumpets, and vials.[52]

Historians have failed to point out the fact that, with the exception of Pont's work, Napier's exegetical method for projecting the future was not only uncommon, but also opposed in Scotland. The first openly to criticize his conjectures was the Church of Scotland minister, Robert Rollock, a widely respected scholar who in 1586 was appointed principal of the newly founded University of Edinburgh. To be sure, Rollock (1555-1599) was familiar with both biblical prophecy and Ramism. In 1591, he published a Latin exposition of the Book of Daniel which he dedicated to James.[53] As he carried out his teaching duties in Edinburgh, Rollock provided his students with instruction on Ramist

[51] Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', 46.
[52] Robert Pont, *A Newe Treatise of the Right Reckoning of Yeares, and Ages of the World* (Edinburgh, 1599), 74-79. Between 1570 and 1597, Pont was elected moderator of the General Assembly six times.
[53] Robert Rollock, *In Librum Danielis Prophetae* (Edinburgh, 1591).

logic and often applied the Ramist technique to his published interpretations of Scripture.[54] Undoubtedly, Rollock was aware of Napier's commentary on Revelation and sought to discourage his students from following his error.

In 1598, Rollock gave a series of lectures on First and Second Thessalonians. Although they were first printed in Latin, an English translation of the lectures appeared in 1606. In his lecture upon 1 Thessalonians 5:1-3, we find a full rejection of Napier's conjectures. After reminding his audience that in verse 2, the apostle Paul stated that the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night, Rollock asked, 'therefore, why should I goe calculat dayes and yeeres to you'?[55] In his view, the folly of the Thessalonians was their curiosity and desire to know the time of the Second Coming. Such was the folly of his contemporary, John Napier:

> This curiositie hes beene in all ages, that when any man heard tell that the Lord Jesus is to come againe, and to judge the world, and to put an end to all thinges, in all ages there hes risen up men curious to understand the tyme, and to searche when he shall come. . . . Men hes beene curious to lay an account if Christes comming shall be in this yeere, in this age: yea, men in our age hes done this: but all is vanitie. . . . Men should not search in curiouslie about the tyme of Christes comming. Men should not seeke the moneth, day, yeere nor age: that perteines not to them.[56]

According to Rollock, because the Lord had kept the time of the Last Judgment hidden, it was better for the godly to be vigilant and patiently await the sudden return of Christ. Judging from his bitter critique of apocalyptic speculation, it seems logical to conclude that Rollock used his position as principal to hinder students at the University of Edinburgh from making the same 'careless' mistake as Napier.[57] As will become clear in subsequent

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[54] See James Kirk's entry for Rollock in the *ODNB*. Rollock was highly regarded by the notable German apocalyptic thinker, Johannes Piscator, who prepared a posthumous edition of Rollock's commentary on Paul's letter to Philemon in 1601.

[55] Robert Rollock, *Lectures upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians* (Edinburgh, 1606), 231.

[56] *Ibid*., 232.

[57] *Ibid*., 233.

chapters, the vast majority of Scottish apocalyptic thinkers shared Rollock's distaste for Napier's predictive chronology. Many viewed his projections as scripturally unsound, while others considered Napier's date-setting to be a dangerous practice that could (and did) give rise to revolutionary millenarianism in Britain.[58]

Although his exegetical technique of incorporating Ramist logic and future predictions into his commentary on Revelation did not take hold in Scotland, Napier provided at least three significant contributions to the apocalyptic tradition. First, the Laird of Merchiston provided an in-depth interpretation of Revelation 20 and joined James in refuting the errors of millenarianism. In similar fashion to John Foxe, Napier used a literal interpretation of the thousand-year binding of Satan (20:2) which he positioned between the years 300 and 1300.[59] By his reckoning, Satan had been bound between the time of Constantine, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire, and the years during which the Ottoman Turks began to conquer large sections of Asia Minor and Europe. Napier also stated that the devil's binding ran concurrent with the 1260 year reign of the papal Antichrist, which he believed began in the year 316 when Constantine made Pope Sylvester I 'supreame head' over all Christian churches.[60] Thus, although Satan was confined to the bottomless pit (20:3), he had been able to persecute the godly through Antichrist, his chief lieutenant on earth.

As we shall see, the chronological periodization of Satan's binding between 300-1300, and the claim that Antichrist first appeared during the time of Constantine, would later be repeated and revised by Scottish and English exegetes of biblical prophecy. However, it was Napier's interpretation of Revelation 20:4-6 that had a more substantial

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[58] Clouse, 'John Napier and Apocalyptic Thought', 113.
[59] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 232-233. On Foxe's calculation see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 417.
[60] *Ibid*., 64-68. Napier explained that Satan was loosened in 1300 and began to rage once more in the world through the armies of Gog and Magog which were symbolized by the military forces of the papacy and the Turks.

impact on the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Verse four describes a millennial period in which those who have been slain for the Gospel live and reign with Christ. Napier argued that this millennium took place during the thousand-year binding of Satan when those who truly 'professed Christ' or 'preached the word of God' triumphed spiritually over the abuses of Antichrist. He believed that this period was followed in 1300 by the first resurrection (20:5) when those who had fallen into 'Papisticall errours' slowly began to embrace the Gospel, especially during the Protestant Reformation.[61] Napier explained that the millennial reign of Christ with his saints noted in verse 6 referred to all eternity and was not to be understood as the temporal kingdom of Christ anticipated by various heretical sects of 'chiliasts or millenaries'. He expected Christ would return to sit in judgment by 1688. This would be followed immediately by the second 'general' resurrection whereupon the elect would inherit the eternal kingdom of heaven and the reprobate would be cast into hell.[62]

Napier understood that millenarian interpretations of Revelation 20:6 could lead to social upheaval and he made a conscious effort to distance himself from the errors of chiliasts by arguing that the millennium described in this verse symbolized Christ's eternal reign in heaven. Napier's interpretation of the spiritualized millennium, or heavenly reign of Christ with his saints for eternity, became a mainstay of Scottish apocalyptic thought in the seventeenth century. Those few Scots who later posited alternate interpretations of the thousand-year reign of Christ, such as Patrick Forbes of Corse, still maintained Napier's outright rejection of chiliastic expectation. In sum, John Napier was no millenarian, and his commentary on Revelation should not be regarded as an example of 'millenarian

[61] *Ibid*., 234.
[62] *Ibid*., 236, 239-240.

exegesis'.[63] Instead, it is better to think of Napier as one of the earliest proponents of the doctrine of latter-day glory in Scotland. As Peter Toon has shown, the optimistic apocalyptic belief that the Church militant would experience a period of peace and prosperity prior to the Last Judgment influenced the prophetic ideals of English scholars such as Thomas Brightman, William Gouge, and John Owen.[64] Those who espoused the doctrine of latter-day glory often anticipated that a greater propagation of the Gospel would bring about the conversion of the Jews to Christianity and the fall of Antichrist before Judgment Day.

By proposing a similar apocalyptic outlook for the future of the Church, Napier made a second notable contribution to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. After calculating that the kingdom of Antichrist would be destroyed around 1639, Napier envisioned a period of nearly fifty years during which the Church would not be persecuted prior to the Second Coming. He stated that as soon as 'Antichristianisme' had been purged from the Church militant, it would remain pure and holy until Christ returned. Although he made no mention of the future conversion of the Jews, Napier predicted that at the end of Antichrist's reign the Gospel would be preached openly throughout the world and the 'mysteries' of divine prophecy would be completely revealed to the elect.[65] Thus, Napier moved beyond the pessimistic apocalyptic worldview held by James VI and provided the godly in Scotland with a sense of hope that religious persecution and all other earthly tribulations would be abolished before Judgment Day. Other notable Scots who adopted the doctrine of latter-day glory during the seventeenth century include: the future Bishop of Aberdeen, Patrick Forbes; mid-century Covenanters, George Gillespie and James Durham; and the radical Covenanter extremist, Richard Cameron.

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[63] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 244.
[64] See: Toon, 'The Latter-Day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 23.
[65] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 266 & 269.

In recent scholarship, historians have examined in greater detail Napier's third major contribution to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. By claiming that the Emperor Constantine had made possible the rise of Antichrist in Rome, Napier challenged the imperial apocalyptic vision espoused by Marian exiles such as John Foxe and John Knox. These reformers looked for a godly prince – modeled after Constantine – to appear during the last age of mankind, inspire worldwide religious reform, and subdue the kingdom of Antichrist. As Williamson has shown, Englishmen such as Foxe, who regarded England as an 'elect nation', projected this image upon Elizabeth I during her reign. In contrast, John Knox espoused a 'British' variant of the imperial vision which anticipated a godly ruler leading a unified England and Scotland into the last days. However, Napier set forth a contrasting apocalyptic vision of the latter-days in which no single nation or godly prince would play a central role.[66]

According to Napier, the kingdom of Antichrist had traditionally been supported by ten Christian kingdoms which included England, Scotland, France, Germany, and Spain.[67] England and Scotland's revolt against Rome during the mid-sixteenth century proved injurious to the beast, and Napier expected other European nations either to 'dissolve their league' with the papal Antichrist or fall into ruin.[68] The Protestant Reformation had hastened the decay of Antichrist's kingdom and Napier stated that the spread of the Gospel would cause further deterioration. But, to speed up this process, Napier encouraged all 'Princes, potentats, and mightie men on earth' to execute the Lord's wrath 'with all

[66] Williamson, *SNC*, 6, 21-26; Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', 38-41, 42-43; Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 39; McGinnis and Williamson, 'Politics, Prophecy, Poetry', 1-2. Knox was not the first in Scotland to propose an Anglo-Scottish union, see: Roger Mason, 'The Scottish Reformation and the origins of Anglo-British Imperialism', in Mason, *Scots and Britons*, 161-186.
[67] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 157 & 211. See Napier's interpretation Revelation 12:3 which describes a seven headed dragon with ten horns.
[68] *Ibid*., 198.

possible extremitie' against the seat of Antichrist's power.[69] Thus, Napier believed that the final destruction of Antichrist's kingdom would be achieved partially through a combined attack against Rome by the major powers of Europe. Instead of identifying Scotland (or Britain) as an elect nation and James as a latter-day Constantine, Napier reversed the imperial apocalyptic vision of the Marian exiles with this 'internationalist' call to arms.[70] After the Union of Crowns, Knox's 'British' apocalyptic outlook, with its Constantinian image of a godly prince, became popular among a small group of Scottish courtiers and unionists.[71] However, these individuals operated largely outside of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. In seventeenth-century Scotland, Napier's critique of Constantine and imperial Britain endured.

The Imperialists' Hour

In March 1603, James VI of Scotland was proclaimed King of England following the death of Elizabeth I. As James travelled from Edinburgh to London the following month, he was greeted by enthusiastic crowds who welcomed the dynastic union forged between England and Scotland through his person. Consequently, the event stimulated apocalyptic expectation in Scotland, but the overall impact of the Union of Crowns upon Scottish apocalypticism has been a subject of debate. Arthur Williamson has claimed repeatedly that an imperial apocalyptic vision – characterised by the belief in a latter-day Constantine who was to lead unified Britain against Rome and the Ottoman Empire – enjoyed great

[69] *Ibid*., 223.
[70] Williamson, *SNC*, 21.
[71] Again, Roger Mason has questioned whether Knox adhered to the Constantinian image of the monarchy. See: Mason, 'Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism', in Mason, ed., *Kingship and the Commonweal*, 265.

success in James's native kingdom.[72] This ideology, Williamson explained, became deeply rooted in the apocalyptic mindset of ambitious Scottish courtiers and loyal servants of the crown such as James Maxwell, Sir William Alexander, and John Gordon. In contrast, Roger Mason has suggested that the 'Constantinian imperialism' exhibited by these individuals, all of whom followed the king south, found little support in Scotland.[73] Below, we will argue in favour of the latter position by demonstrating that the imperialists contributed very little to the further development of Scottish apocalyptic thought after the Union of Crowns.

Williamson has sufficiently documented the prophetic claims of the imperialists in various studies. Therefore, we will only summarise their eschatological interests. But first, we must distinguish between those imperialists who displayed a genuine interest in eschatology within their printed works, and those who used apocalyptic discourse largely for rhetorical purposes. The Scots whom Williamson has described most frequently as advocates of the imperial apocalyptic vision during James's lifetime are: the dean of Salisbury, John Gordon; the lawyer, John Russell; the Church of Scotland minister, Patrick Galloway; courtiers, James Maxwell and Sir William Alexander; and William Cowper, who became Bishop of Galloway in 1612. Of these individuals, only Maxwell, Alexander, and Cowper published works that were extensively eschatological in nature.[74] By this, we

[72] See Williamson, *SNC*, 31; 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', 44; 'Latter Day Judah, Latter Day Israel', 154; 'The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse', 16; and 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture', 99-100.

[73] Mason, 'The Reformation and Anglo-British Imperialism', 184.

[74] As Bruce Galloway has stated, Scottish pro-union tracts did not rely on the imperial apocalyptic vision for their arguments: Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), 52. John Gordon (1544-1619) spent the majority of his life away from Scotland and was no stranger to literary flattery. Raised Catholic, he did not fully endorse Protestantism until he began to serve James in England. In fact, he was writing poetical praises to Pope Clement VIII as late as 1600. See: Dorothy M. Quynn, 'The Early Career of John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 7 (1945), 127-128, 132 & 137. Nevertheless, in 1604, Gordon joined John Russell (1550-1612) in support of the union and advocated the Constantinian image of the monarchy. See: John Gordon, *England and Scotlands Happinesse* (London, 1604), 6 & 47; John Russell, 'Treatise of the Happie and Blissed Unioun' in Bruce Galloway and Brian Levack, eds., *The Jacobean Union: Six Tracts of 1604* (Edinburgh, 1985). Aside from making a few

mean that within their various works, these Scots demonstrated a substantial interest in matters concerning the last days. This could include an analysis of biblical apocalyptic constructs such as the figure of Antichrist, the Second Coming, or the Last Judgment, as well as studies of non-scripturally based prophecies such as the end-time predictions postulated by Nostradamus. A reassessment of William Cowper's espousal of the imperial apocalyptic vision will be provided below. For the moment, we will focus on the apocalyptic writings of Maxwell and Alexander.

Sometime after 1603, Maxwell travelled to London where he petitioned continuously for an appointment at Chelsea College which he never received. To be sure, Maxwell's interest in prophecy was genuine and did not stem from his desire for career advancement. Prior to leaving Scotland, he had completed a Latin treatise on the books of Daniel and Revelation which unfortunately was lost.[75] Once in England, Maxwell shifted his eschatological focus away from the Scriptures and published an exhaustive collection of contemporary and medieval prophetic material titled, *Admirable and Notable Prophecies* (1615). In addition to the twenty-four Roman Catholic authorities he cited in this work, Maxwell summarised over sixty prophecies belonging to medieval visionaries such as Merlin (Merlinus Caledonius), Joachim of Fiore, and Nostradamus, which he believed predicted the fall of antichristian Rome. Where possible, he linked the prophecies to contemporary events and prominent figures of the early-seventeenth century. Through his interpretation of the prophecies related to the 'Isle of Britannie', Maxwell portrayed

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prophetic statements meant to flatter the king, Gordon and Russell did not expound greatly upon matters of biblical prophecy in these texts. Likewise, the moderate Presbyterian, Patrick Galloway (1551-1626), may have provided long-term 'impetus and credibility for the imperialist view', but there is little evidence to suggest that he maintained a general interest in eschatology. His few surviving sermons and his only published work, printed before 1603, contain few references to the last days: Patrick Galloway, *A Catechisme: Conteyning Summarely the Chief Points of Christian Religion* (London, 1588): Williamson, *SNC*, 41 & 94.

[75] Williamson, *SNC*, 180, n.20.

James and his progeny as latter-day princes who were destined to overthrow the Turkish Empire, convert the Jews, reform the Church of Rome, and unify all of Christendom.[76]

In the variety of its content, Maxwell's collection of prophecy was certainly 'remarkable'.[77] Moreover, the work shows that among the imperialists noted above, Maxwell was the most versed in eschatology and best able to support the imperial apocalyptic vision. However, despite his erudition, his treatise proved to be an anomaly within the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Collections of medieval and contemporary prophecies like Maxwell's were rarely published in seventeenth-century Scotland. Two similar printed works appeared in the 1680s, but these contained prophecies mostly related to past political and religious conflicts between Scotland and England.[78] Overall, the vast majority of Scots who contributed to the apocalyptic tradition between 1588 and 1688 chose not to follow Maxwell in constructing their various eschatological views out of Galfridian or Merlinic prophecies.

Popular Scottish apocalyptic literature written during the seventeenth century survives largely in the form of published or unpublished biblical commentaries, sermons, personal correspondence, and works of religious propaganda. Tracts such as Maxwell's comprise only a small fraction of this literature, and the same can be said for the apocalyptic poetry of Sir William Alexander. Unlike Maxwell, Alexander enjoyed a

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[76] James Maxwell, *Admirable and Notable Prophecies* (London, 1615), sig. A4r; 84 & 87. On the prophetic roles ascribed to Prince Henry before his premature death in 1612, see: J.W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart, a Study of 17th Century Personation* (New York, 1978).

[77] Reeves, 'History and Eschatology', 112-113.

[78] Anon., *The Whole Prophecies of Scotland, England, France, Ireland, and Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1680); Anon., *The Wonderful Prophesies of Old Mother Shipton, in the time of King Henrie the Eight* (Edinburgh, 1685). A handful of end-time prophecies made by English and European intellectuals were republished in Edinburgh. One such prophecy made in 1596 by the Lutheran pastor, Philipp Nicolai of Hamburg, was translated into English and published by the Scot, David Forbes. Nicolai predicted that the world would end by 1670. See: *Chronologia Sacra by the high illuminat Doctor Phil. Nicolai . . . translated by David Forbes* (Edinburgh, 1630). A second edition titled, *A Prophesie of Doomes-day* followed in 1631. Also see: Anon., *Dr. Martin Luthers Prophecies of the Destruction of Rome* (Edinburgh, 1679) and John Partridge, *Mr. John Petrige's [sic], New Prophesie of this Present Year 1684*, (Edinburgh, 1684).

successful career during and after James's reign. He became a gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Henry in 1607, a member of the Privy Council in 1615, and was later appointed Scottish secretary of state.[79] Alexander was also an accomplished poet who was admired by his peers, especially William Drummond of Hawthornden. Through poetry, Alexander expressed his interest in biblical prophecy and his belief in Britain's apocalyptic destiny. Published in 1614, his *Doomes-day or the Great Day of the Lords Judgement* is filled with references to the propagation of the Gospel, the future conversion of the Jews, the fall of Rome, and the return of Christ.[80] In earlier poems, Alexander depicted James as a latter-day ruler who would bring peace to Europe and lead a unified Christian force against the Turks. He also stated his desire to see Prince Henry inherit 'Albion's warlike land' and achieve 'immortall fame'.[81]

In the decades either side of the Union of Crowns, apocalyptic poetry such as Alexander's enjoyed wider popularity in Scotland than the non-sacred prophecies collected and published by James Maxwell. Among the most notable Scots who produced poetic works of this nature were leading Presbyterians, Andrew and James Melville. As Steven Reid has recently demonstrated, Andrew Melville (1545-1622) relied on his rather exceptional understanding of themes common to late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century Protestant apocalypticism in order to complete his poetic commentaries on Daniel and Revelation.[82] Additionally, Andrew's nephew James (1556-1614) composed a short

[79] See David Reid's entry for Alexander in the *ODNB*.
[80] Sir William Alexander, *Doomes-day or the Great Day of the Lords Judgement* (Edinburgh, 1614).
[81] Williamson, 'Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain', 50; H.B. Charlton and L.E. Kastner, eds., *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander Earl of Stirling*, 2 vols (Manchester, 1929), II, 398 & 404. After Prince Henry's death, Alexander began advancing imperial schemes designed to enlarge Prince Charles' future kingdoms. These involved peaceful colonization of the New World rather than bloody conquest. See: William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London, 1624).
[82] Steven Reid, 'Andrew Melville, Sacred Chronology, and World History: the *Carmina Danielis* 9, and the *Antichristus*', *Innes Review*, 60 (2009), 1-21. Commenting further on polemical aspects of Andrew Melville's poetry, McGinnis and Williamson have shown that the radical Presbyterian minister channeled his opposition

poem based on Revelation 2 in 1611 while confined at Berwick. In the poem, he criticised the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, and expressed his desire to see the angel Michael descend from the heavens and cleanse the Scottish Church of its impurities.[83] But, while poems of this nature may have appealed to a wider Scottish audience around 1603, it is difficult to locate examples of apocalyptic poetry published in Scotland during the remainder of the seventeenth century.

By and large, the prophetic ideals of the imperialists received their greatest support from the newly crowned James VI & I. Although his actions as King of Great Britain were hardly swayed by the imperial apocalyptic vision, he did not discourage speculations that might legitimise and strengthen his plans to achieve a closer union between Scotland and England.[84] However, the literary efforts of the imperialists did not stimulate interest in apocalyptic belief among the Scottish populace in the way James's *Meditation* and Napier's *Plaine Discovery* had done prior to the Union of Crowns. Moreover, works such as Alexander's various poems, along with Maxwell's *Admirable and Notable Prophecies* prove insignificant when compared to the bulk of Scottish apocalyptic literature written after 1603. Simply put, their works are not typical of the numerous exegetical commentaries, expository sermons, and religious treatises that contain serious inquiries into biblical prophecy and allow us to define an apocalyptic tradition in seventeenth-century Scotland. While it is true that several of the imperialists set forth views characteristic of contemporary Protestant apocalypticism, such as the belief in the future conversion of the Jews, their influence on Scottish apocalyptic thought should not be exaggerated. Ultimately, promoters of 'imperial Britain' such as Maxwell and Alexander

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to James's interference in the Kirk through his apocalyptic poems: McGinnis and Williamson, 'Politics, Prophecy, Poetry', 13-17.

[83] James Melville, *The Black Bastel* (Edinburgh, 1634). Composed in 1611.

[84] Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland*, 48-49.

failed to generate much support for their apocalyptic vision in Scotland where Napier's anti-imperial interpretation of biblical prophecy had become the accepted norm.[85]

Generally speaking, factors that had little to do with apocalyptic belief in Scotland proved most detrimental to the imperialists' cause. The fear that union with England would spell the end of Scotland's sovereignty and lead to undesirable constitutional changes was shared by many Scots, even those who supported the idea of imperial Britain. Furthermore, Presbyterians who had struggled to preserve the autonomy of the Kirk prior to 1603 feared that James would seek to bring the Scottish Church into uniformity with the Church of England.[86] The most ardent Presbyterians considered the English Church, with its episcopal church government, to be a corrupt and popishly inclined institution that had not achieved a full reformation. In this context, those who sought to protect the purity of the Scottish Church objected to the idea of religious union with England and the Constantinian imperialism advanced by many pro-union advocates.[87]

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[85] Brian Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union 1603-1707* (Oxford, 1987), 108; Jenny Wormald, 'The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 2 (1992), 187. Missing from the major eschatological works printed throughout the seventeenth century are references to Maxwell and Alexander's respective apocalyptic views.

[86] Brian Levack, 'Law, Sovereignty and the Union', in *Scots and Britons*, 226. For Scottish opposition to the union, see: Lee, *Government by Pen*, Ch.2; Levack, *Formation of the British State*; Keith Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1715* (London, 1992); Andrew D. Nicholls, *The Jacobean Union: A Reconsideration of British Civil Policies under the Early Stuarts* (Westport, 1999). Historians have debated the extent to which James actively sought to 'Anglicanise' the Scottish Church. John Morrill has argued that this was not the intent of James, or later Charles I. See: 'The National Covenant in its British Context', in Morrill, ed., *The Scottish National Covenant in its British Context*, 8-9 and 'A British patriarchy? Ecclesiastical Imperialism under the Early Stuarts', in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts, eds., *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), 209-237. Similarly: Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, 'The Ecclesiastical Policies of James I and Charles I', in Fincham, ed., *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (London, 1993), 23-49. For an opposing view see: Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998) and 'James VI and I, the Church of Scotland, and British Ecclesiastical Convergence', *Historical Journal*, 48 (2005), 885-903.

[87] Scottish Presbyterians rejected the example of Constantine as a means to legitimize royal supremacy over the Church: Mason, 'Origins of Anglo-British Imperialism', in Mason, ed., *Kingship and the Commonweal*, 265-267.

Episcopal Refinement of the Scottish Apocalyptic Tradition

As early as 1596, James VI had been proceeding, albeit cautiously, with designs to reestablish episcopacy within the Scottish Church.[88] In 1610, amid continual criticism and opposition from leading Presbyterians such as James Melville and Robert Bruce, the General Assembly which met in Glasgow approved the full restoration of diocesan episcopacy in Scotland. James's triumph over the Presbyterians led Melville to conclude that the Kirk had been reduced to 'Babel's harlot' and that a dark age of the Church had begun.[89] James won another victory over the Presbyterian party in 1618 after a General Assembly voted in favour of the contested Five Articles of Perth which received legislative authority from the Scottish Parliament in 1621.[90]

As David Mullan has shown, following the introduction of the Five Articles, popery and anti-papal rhetoric 'acquired heightened meaning in the anti-Roman ambience of the Kirk'.[91] This was certainly the case for the Presbyterian historian and minister from Fife, William Scot, who claimed in 1622 that the Five Articles gave 'great hope to the limbs of Antichrist' and those who were trying to support his 'tottering kingdome' by bringing his abominations back into Scotland.[92] One might expect that such a pessimistic outlook would have encouraged Scot, Melville, and their Presbyterian brethren to expound their apocalyptic views in print during the remaining years of James's reign. Yet, as much

[88] Walter R. Foster, *The Church before the Covenants: The Church of Scotland 1596-1638* (Edinburgh, 1975), 7. For the gradual reestablishment of episcopacy in the Kirk see: David G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland: The History of an Idea, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986) and MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*.
[89] Melville, *The Black Bastel*, sig. A4v. Also see: Alan R. MacDonald, 'A Fragment of an Early Copy of James -Melville's *A True Narratioune of the Declyneing Aige of the Kirk of Scotland*', *Innes Review*, 47 (1996), 81-88.
[90] Lee, *Government by Pen*, 160, 175-176
[91] David G. Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism 1590-1638* (Oxford, 2000), 228. Presbyterian opposition to the Five Articles has been discussed in: Ian B. Cowan, 'The Five Articles of Perth', in Duncan Shaw, ed., *Reformation and Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1967), 160-177; Foster, *The Church before the Covenants*, 181-190; MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 159-170; and Laura Stewart, '"Brothers in Treuth": Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Perth Articles Debate in Scotland', in Houlbrooke, *James VI and I*, 151-168.
[92] William Scot, *The Course of Conformitie* (Amsterdam, 1622), sig. A4v.

as they postured and denounced episcopacy as the government of Antichrist and the Five Articles as inventions of the beast, they produced very few works of eschatological significance between 1610 and 1625.[93] Ironically, the most substantial contributions to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition in this period came from two ministers who left the Presbyterian fold and accepted appointments within the newly restored episcopal hierarchy: Patrick Forbes of Corse and William Cowper.

Despite limited Scottish Presbyterian involvement, apocalyptic speculation in Britain was on the rise around the time that episcopacy was reestablished in Scotland. This was especially true in England where James restated many of his earlier apocalyptic views concerning the papal Antichrist in his 1609 tract titled, *A Premonition to all Most Mightie Monarches*.[94] More significantly, that same year a Latin commentary on Revelation written by the Cambridge puritan Thomas Brightman (1562-1607) was posthumously published in Frankfurt. Brightman's exposition, *A Revelation of the Revelation*, was first translated into English in 1611 and printed in Amsterdam.[95] The lengthy work greatly influenced the development of English millenarian thought during the seventeenth century. In fact, Brightman has been credited by several modern scholars as one of the earliest proponents

[93] Scottish Presbyterians became more vocal in their opposition to the ecclesiastical reforms of James VI & I after 1618 and frequently used an apocalyptic language to voice their objections to episcopacy and the Five Articles. But, within their printed works published between 1610 and 1625, they offered little in terms of scriptural exegesis, interpretations of biblical prophecy, or detailed descriptions of how they expected the latter-days to unfold. This trend is best demonstrated in the various works of David Calderwood (c.1575-1650) which were printed abroad during this period. See, for example: Calderwood, *Perth Assembly* (Leiden, 1619); *Quaeres Concerning the State of the Church of Scotland* (Amsterdam, 1621); and *The Altar of Damascus or the Patern of the English Hierarchie, and Church Policie obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (Amsterdam, 1621). Several of Calderwood's works printed between 1619 and 1625 were banned in Scotland. See: Alastair Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1700* (East Lothian, 2000), 254.

[94] Through this tract, James hoped to gather support for the controversial Oath of Allegiance passed by the English Parliament three years earlier which the pope and leading Catholic writers had denounced in print. Patterson argues that James's reassertion of the pope's identity as the Antichrist was a 'tactical mistake'. Paradoxically, by this point in his reign, James recognised the role of the popes as patriarchs of the West, but still claimed that the pope was Antichrist. See: Patterson, *James VI and I*, 97 & 122.

[95] All citations of Brightman's commentary below are from: Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps, that is the Apocalyps of S. John* (Amsterdam, 1611). In 1615, this work was published again in Amsterdam under the more commonly used title of *The Revelation of the Revelation*.

of 'postmillennialism'.[96] To date, Brightman's impact in Scotland has not been sufficiently explored. It will be argued below that his influence upon Scottish apocalyptic thought was minimal.[97] Both Forbes and Cowper produced commentaries on Revelation shortly after the English puritan's work surfaced. When taken together, their treatises read more as a rejection of, rather than an acceptance of, Brightman's prophetic views and exegetical method. What is most evident in their respective commentaries is their adherence to, or refinement of, many of the central characteristics of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition established two decades earlier by King James and John Napier.

Before discussing the major apocalyptic ideals of Forbes and Cowper, it will be necessary to summarise those espoused by Brightman. In his distinctly patriotic exposition of Revelation, Brightman provided England with a central role in the final events of the last days.[98] For Brightman, the English Church represented the lukewarm church of Laodicea (3:14-19) because, although it was pure in doctrine, it was governed by the antichristian church hierarchy of Rome. As a staunch Presbyterian, he claimed that if the Church of England abolished episcopacy and adopted Presbyterianism it would become the most exemplary church in Christendom.[99] Like Napier, Brightman relied extensively on chronological calculations to construct his vision of the latter-days. For example, using 'Julian time', he concluded that the 1260 days of the two witnesses prophesying (11:3) symbolised a period of 1242 years that ranged from 304 to 1546.[100] Brightman also followed Napier in projecting the future through chronology. He expected the conversion

[96] Toon, 'The Latter-Day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 31; Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 168; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 106; Rodney L. Peterson, *Preaching in the Last Days: The Theme of 'Two Witnesses' in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1993), 207.
[97] As demonstrated in Chapter Three, in his commentary on Revelation the Scottish Covenanter James Durham based his interpretation of the seals, trumpets, and vials on Brightman's exegesis.
[98] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 167; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 100-103; Williamson, 'Latter Day Judah', 152.
[99] Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps*, 113.
[100] Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 116. The end of this period coincided with the time of the Council of Trent.

of the Jews, the dissolution of Turkish power, and the fall of Antichrist to occur between 1650 and 1695.

Perhaps the most significant feature of Brightman's commentary is his interpretation of Revelation 20. He agreed with Napier that the thousand-year binding of Satan (20:2) had taken place between 300 and 1300. Also in accordance with Napier, Brightman claimed that the first resurrection occurred after 1300, which both expositors interpreted as the spiritual revival of the Gospel led by early reformers such as John Wycliffe. However, in contrast to Napier, who believed that the thousand-year reign of Christ with his saints (20:6) represented all eternity, Brightman posited that this millennium began in 1300 and would last until 2300.[101] He explained that after the Jews converted to Christianity and defeated the Turks around 1650, they would return to their homeland.[102] Thereafter, a New Jerusalem would descend from heaven, the Antichrist and his followers would be vanquished, and Christ would reign spiritually through his saints on earth.[103] Brightman stated that the Second Coming and the Last Judgment would bring this golden age of the Church to an abrupt end, at which time the godly would inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Shortly after Brightman's work appeared in print, the third major exposition of Revelation by a Scottish author was completed by Patrick Forbes of Corse (1564-1635). Originally published in London in 1613, a corrected edition of his treatise titled, *An Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John* was printed in Middleburg the

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[101] See: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 517-518; Robert G. Clouse, 'The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede', *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society*, 11 (1968), 185-186; and Toon, 'The Latter-Day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 29-31.

[102] Philip Almond, 'Thomas Brightman and the Origins of Philo-semitism: An Elizabethan Theologian and the Restoration of the Jews to Israel', *Reformation and Renaissance Review*, 9 (2007), 3-25. Brightman was not the first in Britain to anticipate the future conversion of the Jews. John Bale had expressed similar expectations in the 1540s, and the Cambridge Hebraist Hugh Broughton, wrote extensively on the subject in his 1596 commentary on Daniel. See: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 158-161.

[103] Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps*, sig. B3v; 678.

following year.[104] During the late-sixteenth century, Forbes had been in exile in England with the zealous Presbyterian Andrew Melville. However, by the time he finished his study of Revelation he had received episcopal ordination and his ecclesiastical loyalties had shifted away from Presbyterianism.[105] But unlike Brightman, Forbes did not use his commentary on Revelation to advocate a particular brand of church polity. Instead, Forbes claimed that he was motivated to expound upon biblical prophecy because of the increased presence of Jesuit emissaries and Roman Catholics in northern Scotland.[106]

It has been suggested that Forbes 'embraced' the apocalyptic views of Thomas Brightman, but this requires some qualification.[107] The Laird of Corse shared several of Brightman's prophetic beliefs, most notably, his expectations for the future of the Jews. He followed Brightman by claiming that the plagues which were to be poured out of the sixth vial (16:12) on the Euphrates would ensure the 'conversion of the Jewish people'.[108] In addition, Forbes thought it might be possible for the Jews to return to their homeland after the Turks had been subdued and the kingdom of Antichrist had been destroyed. Like Brightman, Forbes interpreted the two beasts of Revelation 13 as successive phases of the papal Antichrist's reign over the Roman Empire. The seven-headed beast with ten horns (13:1) appeared during the time of Constantine, but was crippled by the invasion of the Goths. The curing of the wounded beast by Justinian (d. 565) and Phocas (d. 610) gave rise to the two-horned beast (13:11) which began to persecute the godly more severely around

[104] The 1614 edition of this work will be cited below.
[105] Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, 126. From 1612 to 1618, Forbes served as minister at Keith.
[106] Patrick Forbes, *An Learned Commentarie upon the Revelation of Saint John* (Middelburg, 1614), 'To the Reader', 3. As noted above and again in Chapter Three, increased activity of Roman Catholics in northern Scotland during the 1650s prompted William Guild and James Durham to publish commentaries on Revelation.
[107] Williamson, *SNC*, 95.
[108] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 156-161.

the time of Pepin (d. 768) and Charlemagne (d. 814).[109] Despite these similarities, important distinctions can be made between the apocalyptic views of Brightman and Forbes if we examine closely their respective use of chronology.

According to Brightman, the contents of the letters to the seven churches of Asia (Rev. 2 & 3) denoted seven periods of Church history. For example, he stated that the letter to Pergamos represented the Church from 380 to 1300.[110] Although he omitted Brightman's detailed dates, Forbes set forth largely the same interpretation. Yet, he did not share Brightman's 'nationalistic' reading of Revelation, nor did he compare any of the seven early Christian churches to contemporary churches. As noted above, in his vision of the last days, Brightman reserved a special role for the English Church which he compared to 'lukewarm' Laodicea. He explained that, following a more complete reformation, God would bestow his eternal blessings on England and the glory of the kingdom would become greater than all others.[111] Brightman described the reformed churches of Geneva, France, and Scotland as archetypes of the early church at Philadelphia which had been 'truly godly', yet 'lowly and not famous'.[112] Forbes reversed Brightman's thinking without mentioning particular kingdoms or discussing ecclesiastical polity. All churches, he claimed, should strive to be like the church at Philadelphia which, despite their 'little strength', would allow them to become pillars of the New Jerusalem in the latter-days. Conversely, Brightman's English Laodicea, which gloried in 'outward things', lacked the 'true strength and riches of a Christian church'.[113]

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[109] *Ibid*., 108-117; Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 515. This conception of the two beasts has much in common with Napier's earlier interpretation of Revelation 13: *A Plaine Discovery*, 36-4 & 166-171.
[110] Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps*, 55.
[111] Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 102-103.
[112] Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps*, 90.
[113] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 6-7. Not surprisingly, much of Forbes's lofty praise for Philadelphia and criticism of Laodicea are absent in the 1613 edition of this work printed in London.

Forbes was even more critical of Brightman's chronological interpretation of the numbers and symbols located throughout Revelation. In his view, the English puritan had mistakenly followed the example of Protestant expositors such as Napier, who interpreted the seven seals, trumpets, and vials as being specific 'knots in time' rather than 'distinct matters'.[114] Although Forbes mostly shared Brightman's identification of which past or future events each of these symbols represented, he refrained from applying a detailed chronological timeframe to his exposition. This was especially true in regard to his interpretation of the 42 months, 1260 days, and nearly all other periods of time depicted in Revelation. Forbes argued against some of the 'most learned' apocalyptic thinkers of his time who interpreted biblical days as months, and months as years. In his view, Brightman was wrong to claim that the 1260 days of the witnesses prophesying (11:3) had lasted from the time of Constantine until the mid-sixteenth century. Forbes declared that nowhere in the Scriptures were such calculations of time 'prophetically foretold, or historically recorded'.[115] Only in his treatment of Revelation 20, did he allow an exception to this.

Like Napier and Brightman, Forbes believed that the thousand-year binding of Satan occurred between 300 and 1300.[116] Aside from this, he accepted very little of Napier's or Brightman's interpretation of Revelation 20. Both former expositors had stated that verses 4 and 6 described two millennial periods of Christ's spiritual reign with his saints. Napier believed that the first took place during the same time as Satan's binding and argued that the second began in 1300, but symbolised all eternity. As we have seen, Brightman altered this by claiming that the second millennium would last until 2300. Referring anonymously to 'one deepely seene' in the mysteries of Revelation, Forbes was

[114] *Ibid*., 39.
[115] *Ibid*., 70-71; 91-92.
[116] *Ibid*., 220-222. According to Forbes, this was the only numerical period in the prophecy that could be taken literally.

particularly critical of Brightman for making this 'groundless conjecture'.[117] In his view, the thousand-year periods of verses 4 and 6 referred to the same thousand years of Satan's binding. Further in his interpretation of the chapter, Forbes denounced exegetes who relied on chronological projections to predict when Christ would return. Like James and Robert Rollock before him, Forbes expressed the belief that Christ would come at a time known only to God. Therefore, he asserted that it was both 'childish and ridiculous' to try to determine the year or age in which the Second Coming would take place.[118]

Although there are noticeable similarities between the commentaries of Brightman and Forbes, the Scottish minister did not model his vision of the last days entirely on Brightman's prophetic claims. Forbes revised several of the apocalyptic views set forth by James VI, as well as John Napier, and incorporated these into his treatise. Much like James, Forbes had little use for chronological calculations, especially where future predictions were concerned. He also shared James's distaste for millenarian interpretations of Revelation and considered Brightman's double millennial scheme to be scripturally unsound, even potentially dangerous. Therefore, he modified James's loose interpretation of Revelation 20:4-6 by positioning the two millenniums described in this passage between the years 300 and 1300.[119] After Napier, Forbes became the second notable Scottish apocalyptic thinker to support the doctrine of latter-day glory of the Church in print. He agreed with Napier that the fall of Antichrist would occur before the Last Judgment. Thereafter, a general renovation of the world would take place and the Church militant

[117] *Ibid*., 216.
[118] *Ibid*., 230.
[119] James believed the two millennial periods ran congruent from Christ's days until shortly after those of Augustine.

would enter into a more 'peaceable estate' until Christ returned at the Lord's appointed time.[120]

Lastly, Forbes followed Napier in discrediting the imperial apocalyptic vision. Within his Anglocentric interpretation of Revelation, Brightman cautioned against expecting too much from a godly prince, but his message was clear: the prophecies of Revelation described England's apocalyptic destiny.[121] In addition to criticising the English Laodicea, Forbes denied that any single nation or ruler would play a leading role in God's providential plan for the last days. Conversely, he believed that 'Western Princes' who ruled over various kingdoms would work together to tear down Antichrist's kingdom, although their revolt against Rome would not come all at once.[122] This was a much toned down approach to Napier's internationalist call to arms which also reflected the views of James VI & I in 1613.[123] In sum, Forbes may have respected Brightman and even considered him to be a knowledgeable expositor of the Scriptures. But, to suggest that Forbes was a 'disciple' of Brightman is to ignore the fact that the Scottish minister rejected several of the puritan's most significant apocalyptic ideals.[124] Forbes contributed to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition by combining and incorporating into his treatise aspects of the apocalyptic views advanced by James and the Laird of Merchiston. While he borrowed elements of Brightman's study, Forbes did not stray beyond the conservative bounds of Scottish apocalyptic thought established by his predecessors.

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[120] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 226, 229-230. In line with Brightman's thinking, Forbes expected the conversion of the Jews to occur during this time.
[121] Williamson, *SNC*, 32-35. William Lamont argued that Brightman rejected Foxe's vision of the godly prince: *Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603-60* (London, 1969), 50-51. For an opposing view, see: Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 102-103.
[122] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 182-183. Incorrect pagination, actually 174-175.
[123] In his *Premonition*, James followed John Bale by stating that the ten horns of the beast depicted in Revelation 17 represented all the Christian powers of Europe. In time, James hoped these rulers would recognise the hypocrisy of the Whore of Babylon, turn away from her idolatry, and begin to 'burne her with fire': *A Premonition to all Most Mightie Monarches*, in *Workes*, 325-328.
[124] Williamson, 'Latter Day Judah', 154.

Patrick Forbes was made bishop of Aberdeen in 1618 at James's request. Shortly before his death the following year, William Cowper, bishop of Galloway (1568-1619), completed his study of Revelation. In 1619, Cowper had published in London the first segment of his *Pathmos: or, A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John*, which covered chapters 4-7 of the book. The remaining two sections of this treatise which focused on chapters 8-12 and 13-16 were adjoined to the first in his posthumously published collected *Works* in 1623.[125] Cowper's commentary is important for several reasons. First, it allows us to reconsider the extent to which he supported the imperial apocalyptic vision discussed above. Secondly, it contains a bitter rejection of Thomas Brightman's prophetic claims. This demonstrates once more, the minimal influence Brightman had on Scottish apocalyptic belief during this period. Lastly, throughout his text, Cowper reinforced several key eschatological ideals set forth earlier by James VI, John Napier, and Patrick Forbes which aided the development of the apocalyptic tradition in seventeenth-century Scotland.

Prior to becoming bishop, Cowper had served the Kirk as minister in Stirlingshire and later at Perth. During the early stages of his career he had associated episcopacy with the tyrannical hierarchy of the Church in Rome. It has been claimed that apocalyptic motives caused Cowper to abandon the Presbyterian cause.[126] There is some truth in this argument, but it should not be exaggerated. Like Forbes, Cowper did not make a hasty break with Presbyterianism.[127] Nevertheless, he accepted an appointment to the see of Galloway in 1612 and was criticised harshly by Presbyterian leaders such as David Hume

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[125] All citations below are from: William Cowper, *Pathmos: or, A Commentary on the Revelation of Saint John, Divided into Three Severall Prophecies* in *The Workes of Mr William Cowper, Late Bishop of Galloway* (London, 1623).
[126] Williamson, *SNC*, 31 & 34; Also see David G. Mullan's entry for Cowper in the *ODNB*.
[127] *The Life and Death of the Reverend Father and Faithfull Servant of God, Mr. William Cowper* in *Workes*, 6.

and David Calderwood.[128] As a result of being labeled a turncoat, the newly consecrated bishop felt the need to justify his actions. One way in which he attempted to do this was by depicting himself as a loyal servant of the crown who had been tasked with defending the 'Word of God' against the 'Armie of Antichrist'.[129] Thus, Cowper invoked a powerful self-image by arguing that he was standing on the side of the righteous in the ongoing struggle against the forces of Satan. As he explained to Hume in 1614, those who remained opposed to episcopacy in Scotland should, 'by all reason', submit themselves to the royal will of the king and join the spiritual fight against Antichrist.[130] Their complete adherence to the ecclesiastical policies of a pious king who sought to propagate the Gospel would only benefit the Scottish Church: unity in the Kirk would triumph over schism and serve as a bulwark against antichristian Rome.[131]

After accepting a bishopric, Cowper seldom missed a chance to characterise James as a 'Christian King' who cared for the 'welfare of Jerusalem'.[132] Yet, metaphors abound in his frequent praise for the monarch and too much has been made of his various statements regarding James's dealings with Antichrist. For example, Cowper asked Hume if James had not been fighting the 'Lords battell' and 'with his owne hands wounded the adversaries head'?[133] As militant as this statement may seem, it simply referred to James's willingness, as an able expositor of biblical prophecy, to denounce the papal Antichrist in print. This is confirmed in Cowper's commentary on Revelation by his positive review of the king's apocalyptic treatises. According to Cowper's assessment of James's *Paraphrase*, *Meditation*, and *Premonition*, the king had handled the controversies of the

[128] See Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, 116-118.
[129] William Cowper, *The Bishop of Galloway his Dikaiologie: Contayning a just Defence of his former Apologie* (London, 1614), 81.
[130] *Ibid*., 81.
[131] *Ibid*., sigs. A2r-A4r.
[132] *Ibid*., 81.
[133] *Ibid*., 81.

time concerning religion like a 'profound and sound' theologian and had proved the pope to be Antichrist by 'invincible reasons'.[134] With the intent to flatter the king, Cowper elevated James's texts above the more popular expositions of Foxe, Napier, and Brightman. Moreover, he singled out James as an expert on the mysteries of Revelation despite being well aware of the fact that the identification of the pope as Antichrist had been a central characteristic of Protestant apocalyptic belief for nearly a century.[135]

Unquestionably, Cowper served his monarch dutifully and was eager to cast James in a favourable light as a godly prince 'fighting for Israel' whenever possible. However, beyond his lofty, metaphoric praise of James, Cowper showed little interest in the imperial apocalyptic vision. If anything, his exegesis of Revelation was anti-imperial. Cowper did not believe that the prophecies of Revelation were bound to any one nation or place. This had been Brightman's mistake and the Scottish bishop took offense:

> Shall the Angell comming out of the Temple, be Thomas Cromwell, Lord of Essex? Or the Angell having power over the fire, be Thomas Cranmer? Or shall the type of the Harvest and Vintage bee appropriate to England? Why hath Brightman broached such opinions, without all hope, or help of verity?[136]

It is hardly possible for us to determine whether Cowper blamed Brightman for subverting the idea of imperial Britain by treating Revelation as a text depicting England's dominant role in the fulfillment of sacred history.[137] Cowper did not address Scotland and England together in an apocalyptic context, nor did he refer to the union between the two kingdoms in his commentary.[138] What is certain is that Cowper was incensed by Brightman ascribing

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[134] Cowper, *Pathmos*, 825.
[135] Prior to writing his commentary, Cowper read apocalyptic works by exegetes such as Bale, Foxe, Napier, Brightman, Forbes, and the Lutheran scholar, David Chytraeus, each of which elaborated on the 'discovery of Antichrist'. By his own admission, he studied these texts before consulting those of King James. See: *Pathmos*, 820-825.
[136] *Ibid*., 826.
[137] Williamson, *SNC*, 35.
[138] Cowper did speak of the antiquity of the churches of England and Scotland and claimed that neither had received the Christian faith directly from Rome. See: *Two Sermons Preached in Scotland before the Kings*

to the English Church prophecies which he believed were common to the whole Church militant. Against Brightman, Cowper explained that the letters to the seven Christian churches recorded in Revelation related to 'all other Churches' until the Last Day. Moreover, he argued unpatriotically that the Church militant contained 'in her bosome, some of all Nations, Kindreds, People, and Tongues' who kept the faith of Jesus.[139]

The Bishop of Galloway did not limit his criticism of Brightman to his rejection of the puritan's Anglocentric reading of biblical prophecy. After consulting Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*, Cowper suggested that a better title for the work would have been the 'obscuration of the Revelation'. He condemned Brightman for accommodating symbols in the text that represented Christ to men such as the Emperor Constantine. Cowper argued that by binding 'particular persons and times' throughout history to the various prophecies contained in the book, Brightman had weakened the 'majesty' of the prophetic text.[140] Ironically, while Cowper objected to Brightman's 'idle speculations', he had nothing but praise for Napier's *Plaine Discovery*. This work he described as being exceedingly 'profitable' for anyone who sought to understand the most 'obscure places' of Revelation.[141] Cowper read multiple English and German sources, as well as works produced by Roman Catholics, but he seemed to favour the commentaries written by his fellow countrymen. As noted above, he considered James's apocalyptic works to be

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Majesty in Cowper, *Workes*, 783. Cowper preached both of these sermons during James's only return visit to Scotland in 1617. In his interpretation of the ten-horned beast of Revelation 13:1, John Napier had identified Scotland and England as two of the ten kingdoms that would work together to bring down the kingdom of Antichrist. In contrast, Cowper argued that the identity of those kingdoms that would destroy Rome would only become known when that prophecy pertaining to the fall of Antichrist was fulfilled: *Pathmos*, 1116.

[139] Cowper, *Pathmos*, 827 & 901.

[140] *Ibid*., 823.

[141] *Ibid*., 822-823, 878.

'among the first, and the best' of the works he consulted.[142] But, he also thought highly of Forbes's 'plaine and easie' method of interpreting the Scriptures.[143]

Although Cowper did not complete a full exposition of Revelation, he incorporated into his study aspects of apocalyptic thought which his predecessors in Scotland had set forth in their larger, more detailed commentaries. One significant exception to this was the fact that Cowper did not share Napier's interest in chronology. This is evidenced by his very loose interpretation of the prophecies pertaining to the various seals, trumpets, and vials. The seven seals, Cowper stated, 'extended to all times during the world's endurance'.[144] Only the sixth seal that described the Last Judgment could be restrained to a particular event, but the exact time of that occasion could not be predicted. Cowper provided an equally broad interpretation of the trumpets and vials. The first four trumpets represented the unleashing of various heresies into the world, including popery. Trumpets five and six symbolised the persecutions of Antichrist and the Turks.[145] According to Cowper's apocalyptic outlook, the heresies and proceedings of Christ's enemies under the first six trumpets would continue to trouble the Church until the seventh and final trumpet sounded. At that unknown time, Cowper believed that the plagues of the seven vials would destroy Antichrist and his kingdom by degrees proportional to his rise to power.[146] The seventh vial would usher in the Last Judgment and the consummation of all things.

Cowper used chronology as sparingly as had James in his apocalyptic works. Moreover, he followed Forbes by rejecting literal interpretations of the various numbers located in Revelation such as the 42 months and 1260 days. These numbers signified

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[142] *Ibid*., 825.
[143] *Ibid*., 823.
[144] *Ibid*., 828.
[145] *Ibid*., 951, 978-979, 1104. Cowper did share with many of his contemporaries the belief that Antichrist had appeared during the reign of Emperor Phocas in the figure of Boniface III.
[146] *Ibid*., 933.

indefinite, or ‘uncertaine’ periods which could not be applied to any chronological time frame.[147] Also in line with Forbes’s apocalyptic views, Cowper expected the conversion of the Jews to accompany the spread of the Gospel during the last days.[148] However, Cowper’s vision of the latter-day Church was at odds with Forbes’s belief that the Church militant would experience a period of peace and prosperity before Judgment Day. While Cowper anticipated the fall of Antichrist to occur before that final day, he claimed that some life would ‘remaine in the beast’ until the end of time. His agents, particularly the Jesuits, would continue to trouble the godly until all the wicked gathered together against the Church militant at the battle of Armageddon. Thereafter, the prophecy of the seventh vial would be fulfilled and the ‘last wrath’ would bring God’s eternal punishment upon all the wicked.[149] Within Cowper’s conception of the end times we can see James’s pessimistic apocalyptic outlook and his belief that the forces of Satan would not be vanquished until the Last Judgment. At the same time, he shared several of Forbes’s optimistic latter-day expectations.

Finally, it must be noted that Cowper espoused the nonmillenarian views of his fellow countrymen and his king. In 1619, the year of Cowper’s death, James VI & I repeated his earlier refutation of chiliastic belief in his *Meditation upon the Lord’s Prayer*. James’s complete disregard for the radical ideals of ‘Puritans’, ‘Brownists’, and all other ‘Sectaries’ is more than apparent in this tract. Yet, he was especially critical of ‘vaine chiliasts’ who anticipated the millennial kingdom of Christ on earth and he rebuked Thomas Brightman for trying to ‘bring downe that heavenly Jerusalem and settle it in this

[147] *Ibid*., 1001-1002.
[148] *Ibid*., 995-997. Unlike Brightman and Forbes, Cowper did not interpret the ‘kings of the East’ depicted in Revelation 16:12 as the Jews.
[149] *Ibid*., 1119-1121.

world'.[150] Eager to promote the views of his monarch, William Cowper followed James by denouncing millenarian interpretations of biblical prophecy. 'Chiliasts' and 'millenaries', he claimed, had no warrant from the Scriptures to believe that the saints would reign on earth for a thousand years after Judgment Day.[151]

With his rejection of millenarianism and his conservative exposition of Revelation, Cowper provided additional cohesiveness to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. However, following the death of James VI & I in March 1625, members of the Scottish episcopate retreated from apocalyptic speculation. Unlike bishops appointed by James such as Forbes and Cowper, none of the eight bishops consecrated in Scotland during the reign of Charles I displayed a substantial interest in matters concerning the last days while they served the crown.[152] Their indifference toward eschatology was shared by future bishops within the Scottish Church. Of course, we must remember that in 1638 the Glasgow General Assembly abjured and abolished episcopacy. However, as shown in Chapter Four, even after episcopacy was reestablished at the Restoration, episcopalians in Scotland remained largely indifferent in eschatology.

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[150] James VI & I, *A Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer* (London, 1619), 40-41.
[151] Cowper, *Pathmos*, 867.
[152] William Forbes and James Wedderburn opposed the anti-Catholic and anti-papal sentiments espoused by their predecessors. Forbes died three months after being appointed bishop of Edinburgh in 1634, but had been criticized earlier in his career for promoting reconciliation between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Wedderburn, who became bishop of Dunblane in 1636, considered the Church in Rome to be corrupt, but rejected Protestant attempts to prove that the pope was Antichrist. See: Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, 170-172. Wedderburn, along with Thomas Sydserff, bishop of Brechin, and John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross had been influenced by William Laud during his rise to prominence and this may explain their indifference toward eschatology. After Laud was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, the English Church no longer officially proclaimed the pope as Antichrist. Moreover, the Laudian regime sought to restrict the publication of anti-popery literature and potentially seditious eschatological works. See: Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship, and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), 625-651 and Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), 63-72.

Conclusion

Between 1588 and 1625, Scotland experienced an intense outpouring of apocalyptic speculation which eclipsed all previous periods of apocalyptic interest in the kingdom. Unquestionably, the eschatological works produced by James VI, along with John Napier, did much to foster greater interest in the last days in Scotland during the late-sixteenth century. At the turn of the seventeenth century, their writings influenced a wide variety of Scottish apocalyptic thinkers who sought to unravel the mysteries of biblical prophecy, especially the prophecies contained in the Book of Revelation. Numerous Scots began to investigate the Scriptures in order to determine which sacred prophecies had been fulfilled in the past. In addition, they sought better to understand how, rather than when, the last age of mankind would come to a close. It was during this heightened period of eschatological interest that a cohesive tradition of apocalyptic thought in Scotland gradually developed.

The groundwork for the Scottish apocalyptic tradition was laid by King James and the Laird of Merchiston. However, historians who ignore James's *Paraphrase* and *Meditation*, and credit John Napier with producing the first major study of Revelation in Scotland, fail to recognise the significant contributions James made to the development of this tradition.[153] Notable aspects of James's eschatology in the 1580s which influenced the subsequent growth of Scottish apocalypticism include: his concerns over the activities of the papal Antichrist; his loose interpretation of the numbers and symbols found in Revelation; his complete rejection of millenarianism; and his pessimistic outlook for the latter-days. As evidenced by his *Premonition* and his commentary on the Lord's Prayer, these aspects continued to shape James's apocalyptic ideology throughout his lifetime. John Napier provided extra impetus for the development of the apocalyptic tradition with

[153] Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 455; Almond, 'John Napier', 54.

his systematic exposition of Revelation in 1593, despite the fact that many of his peers objected to his future conjectures. His more optimistic prophetic outlook for the Church militant in the latter-days was adopted by Patrick Forbes and influenced later apocalyptic thinkers in Scotland such as George Gillespie and James Durham.

Both Forbes and William Cowper made significant contributions to the apocalyptic tradition in Scotland at a time when Thomas Brightman's prophetic views began radically to change the nature of English apocalyptic thought. As we shall see in Chapter Two, Brightman's concept of the dual millenniums made it possible for the millenarianism espoused by the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede to gain wider appeal in England during the reign of Charles I.[154] In their respective commentaries, the Scottish bishops followed James and Napier by rejecting radical interpretations of the thousand-year reign of Christ described in Revelation 20. Moreover, they argued against Brightman's Anglocentric exposition of Revelation and advanced Napier's anti-imperialist vision of the latter-days which anticipated a collaborative effort by the major powers of Europe to bring down the kingdom of Antichrist.

[154] Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 106; Peterson, *Preaching in the Last Days*, 202.

Chapter Two
A Tradition Maintained: Millenarian Belief and Scottish Apocalypticism, 1625-1647

This chapter provides a much needed reassessment of apocalyptic belief in Scotland during the reign of Charles I. As demonstrated in numerous secondary sources, beginning in the late-1630s and early-1640s, the exuberant hopes of radical English puritans who anticipated the imminent establishment of Christ's millennial kingdom on earth provided an impetus for political and religious change in England.[1] By contrast, the extent to which millenarian ideals shaped the major political and religious developments in Scotland throughout this period has been exaggerated in recent scholarship. Below we shall argue that apocalyptic thinkers in Caroline Scotland adhered to the standard of nonmillenarian apocalypticism established earlier in the seventeenth century by Scottish biblical exegetes such as James VI & I, John Napier, Patrick Forbes, and William Cowper.

The chapter begins by examining the nature of Scottish apocalyptic thought between 1625 and 1637. This period witnessed the rebirth of millenarianism on the Continent and in England, yet millenarian ideals found no favourers in Scotland at this time. Thereafter, the chapter is primarily concerned to reevaluate the apocalyptic ideals advanced by leaders of the Scottish Covenanting movement from 1638 to 1647.[2] Sidney Burrell, Margaret Steele, and Crawford Gribben have each claimed that millenarian beliefs fueled the Scottish revolution of 1638, and influenced apocalyptic thought in Scotland well

[1] Lamont, *Godly Rule*; John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1648* (Princeton, 1969); Toon, ed., *Puritan Eschatology*, Chs. 3-4; Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*; Tai Liu, *Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660* (The Hague, 1973); Ball, *A Great Expectation*, Ch. 5; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, Ch. 5; Capp, 'The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought', in Patrides and Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, 100-118; Barry Reay and J.F. McGregor, eds, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984); Bernard Capp, 'Radical Chiliasm in the English Revolution', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 14 (1988), 125-133; Elizabeth Tuttle, 'Millennium and Revolution: the Rule of the Saints in the English Revolutionary Discourse of the 1640s', *Anglophonia*, 3 (1998), 47-56.

[2] In 1647, the apocalyptic momentum generated by the Covenanting movement began to subside. Apocalyptic belief in Scotland during the final two years of Charles I's reign is discussed in Chapter Three which examines the decline of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

into the 1640s.[3] However, not only have these scholars conflated apocalypticism with millenarianism, but they have failed to recognise that the Scottish apocalyptic tradition remained untainted by millenarian ideals as it developed over the first three decades of the seventeenth century. This chapter demonstrates how heightened apocalyptic expectations, as opposed to millenarian aspirations, pushed events forward in Scotland during the early stages of the Covenanting movement. Additionally, it contends that as far as the Covenanters were concerned, millenarianism was a dangerous ideology that represented the subversive, religious radicalism used to erect the Anabaptist kingdom of Münster in 1534, which they saw as being given a new lease of life in contemporary England. For this reason, Covenanter ministers rejected the millennial dreams of many puritans and radical sectarians in England throughout the 1640s.

Eschatology, the Future Millennium, and the Scottish Apocalyptic Mindset, 1625-1637

The lengthy period of eschatological fervor in Scotland that began during the late-1580s ended with the death of King James in March 1625. As we have seen, from 1588 to 1625, numerous Scots investigated the mysteries of biblical prophecy and outlined their respective understanding of the last days in a wide variety of publications, the most important of which were several exegetical commentaries on the Book of Revelation. Conversely, the number of Scottish eschatological works printed in Britain or published abroad between 1625 and 1637 declined drastically.[4] This decline was due in part to the fact that bishops consecrated in Scotland after 1625 did not share the eschatological enthusiasm of their predecessors, or expound upon their apocalyptic views in print.

[3] Burrell, 'Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters', 5 & 18, Steele, '"Politick Christian"', 52-53; Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, Ch. 5; and Gribben, '"Passionate Desires, and Confident Hopes".

[4] As an example, following the publication of William Cowper's *Pathmos* in 1623, Scottish writers did not produce another substantial exposition of the Book of Revelation until William Guild published his *Sealed Book Opened* in 1656.

Additionally, even though Presbyterian ministers and their lay supporters in the Kirk became responsible for the further development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, their ability to publish studies of sacred prophecy was hampered by the Privy Council's effort to clamp down on potentially seditious or subversive literature in the 1620s and 1630s.[5]

Given the shortage of eschatological source material, it is rather surprising that modern scholars have characterised Scottish apocalyptic thought between 1625 and 1637 as highly radical and imbued with millenarianism. Historians have made this misleading assumption without exploring thoroughly aspects of apocalyptic belief in Scotland during the early years of Charles I's reign. Instead, most have examined more narrowly the manner in which a small number of Presbyterian dissidents couched their opposition to episcopacy and royal ecclesiastical policy in apocalyptic terms on the eve of the Covenanting movement. Yet, prior to the upheavals of 1637 and 1638, Scottish apocalypticism was influenced as much by fears of Catholic expansionism at home and abroad, as it was by episcopacy or Caroline liturgical reforms.[6] This is evidenced in the eschatological writings published by moderate Presbyterians William Guild and William Struther in 1627, 1628, and 1632, which historians have largely overlooked. The apocalyptic vision of Guild and Struther focused upon the growing number of Catholics

[5] On the Scottish government's campaign against subversive literature at home and abroad, see: Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade*, 88-91, and Ch. 6. After the Scottish revolution commenced in 1638, governmental censorship became less effective and Presbyterians expressed their eschatological views in print more freely.

[6] Such fears reflected wider 'British' apprehensions at this time. Memories of James's negotiations over the Spanish match, Charles's eventual marriage to the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France, his proposed concessions to Catholics in Ireland known as the Graces, and a larger presence of Catholics at Court, caused increased anxiety for many English Protestants who feared that England might fall back under the yoke of papal tyranny. See for example: Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989) and 'England and the Spanish Match', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London, 1989), 134-167; Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, especially Ch.1; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), 3-8; and Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000), Ch. 4. In Ireland, these events also alarmed James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, who had envisioned the early Stuart monarchs as latter-day godly princes destined to tear down antichristian Rome: Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 110-111; Alan Ford, 'James Ussher and the Godly Prince in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland', in Hiram Morgan, ed., *Political Ideology in Ireland, 1541–1641* (Dublin, 1998), 203-228.

and Jesuit missionaries in Scotland, as well as the papal Antichrist's persecution of Protestants in Europe during the Thirty Years' War. More significantly, though, as we shall see, both ministers shunned millenarianism at a time when it was becoming increasingly popular in England and parts of Europe.

Throughout the sixteenth and early-seventeenth century, the majority of Protestant apocalyptic exegetes interpreted the thousand-year reign of Christ with his saints described in Revelation 20:1-6 as symbolic of the whole of Church history, or as a specific period of the past. However, in the late-1620s, the German Reformed theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted, and the Cambridge scholar Joseph Mede, challenged traditional Protestant nonmillenarianism by adopting a more radical understanding of the millennium.[7] Both argued that the prophecies surrounding the millennial kingdom of Christ would be fulfilled entirely in the future. In his *Diatribe de Mille Annis Apocalypticis*, published in 1627, Alsted announced that the destruction of Antichrist would usher in the millennium by 1694.[8] During the thousand years, he claimed, Satan would be imprisoned in the bottomless pit, the dead in Christ would be resurrected, the Jews would be converted, and all wars would cease. Sin and wickedness would also be restrained in the world until the forces of Gog and Magog began to persecute the Church prior to the close of the millennium. According to Alsted, Christ would be visible in heaven throughout the

[7] The millenarian views of Alsted and Mede have been well documented. For recent surveys of Alsted see: Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2000) and Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted 1588-1638: Between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (Oxford, 2000). On Mede's millenarianism see: Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 172-177; Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 124-130; Johannes van den Berg, 'Continuity within a Changing Context: Henry More's Millenarianism, seen against the Background of the Millenarian Concepts of Joseph Mede', *Pietismus und Neuzeit*, 14 (1988), 185-202; Peterson, *Preaching in the Last Days*, 207-211; and Jeffrey Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth: Joseph Mede (1586-1638) and the Legacy of Millenarianism* (Dordrecht, 2006). J.A. de Jong and Robert G. Clouse examined the millenarian beliefs of both scholars in: Clouse, 'Johann Heinrich Alsted and English Millennialism', *Harvard Theological Review*, 62 (1969), 189-207 and 'The Rebirth of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, Ch. 2; de Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810* (Kampen, 1970), Ch. 1.

[8] This work was later translated into English by the Oxford educated philologist William Burton during the English revolution. See Johann Heinrich Alsted, *The Beloved City or, the Saints Reign on Earth a Thousand Yeares* (London, 1643), 57.

millennium, but invisible on earth until Judgment Day. Alsted predicted that the millennial age would end around 2694, whereupon the Last Judgment would begin, and Christ would return to punish the wicked and reward the saints with everlasting life in heaven.[9]

The same year Alsted completed his *Diatribe*, Joseph Mede (1586-1638) published anonymously his *Clavis Apocalyptica* in which he offered a slightly different perspective on the future millennium.[10] Often described as the father of English millenarianism, Mede used a series of chronological conjectures, or 'synchronisms', to position his own lifetime during the age of the sixth trumpet, which he believed would conclude with the Battle of Armageddon. Without predicting dates for future apocalyptic events, Mede stated that Christ would appear in the clouds at the blast of the seventh trumpet and inaugurate the millennium by destroying the Antichrist.[11] In contrast to Alsted, who looked for the Last Judgment to come after the millennium, Mede equated the 'whole space of the thousand yeeres' with the Day of Judgment.[12] Generally speaking, Mede believed that the 'great Day' of the Lord was to be a millennial period of judgment bounded by the resurrection of the martyrs and the universal resurrection of all the dead. Between these events, the saints would rule over New Jerusalem and the Church militant would experience peace and security. Immediately after the millennial period, Satan would be loosened to persecute the godly for a short time before being condemned to the lake of fire for all eternity.[13]

By 1627, many apocalyptic exegetes on the Continent and in England had become disillusioned by the success of Catholic forces during the early stages of the Thirty Years' War, and the repeated failures of Charles I and the Duke of Buckingham to support the

[9] Alsted, *The Beloved City*, 63-65, 78.
[10] An extended edition of Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* was published in 1632. After Parliament authorised the first English publication of the work in 1642, it was translated by Richard More and republished as *The Key of the Revelation* (London, 1643). All citations below are from the 1643 edition.
[11] Like Alsted, Mede expected Christ to remain in heaven throughout the millennium.
[12] Mede, *Key of the Revelation*, 122.
[13] *Ibid*., 26.

Protestant cause in Europe through military intervention.[14] Alsted's and Mede's optimistic vision of the future millennial kingdom of Christ's saints provided a greater sense of hope to Protestants who looked upon contemporary events with much despair. Undoubtedly, the pair made the pursuit of the millennium more respectable in certain scholarly circles in the late-1620s and early-1630s.[15] However, there is no evidence to suggest that the millenarian teachings of Alsted and Mede influenced apocalyptic belief in Scotland at this time. Instead, we find that Scottish apocalyptic thinkers such as William Guild and William Struther ignored or rejected their millenarian ideals. These Scots maintained a conservative vision of the latter-days as they reacted to the growing influence of Catholics at home, and the destruction caused by the papal Antichrist abroad.

During the reign of Charles I, Catholics remained a minority in Scotland, with substantial adherents only among the nobility in northern shires. But for many apocalyptically minded Scots, the persistence of popery in parts of the kingdom represented a serious threat posed by the Antichrist who was trying desperately to salvage his decaying empire.[16] In 1627, the spread of Catholicism in Aberdeenshire prompted William Guild (1586-1657), minister at Kinneddar (or King-Edward) near Turriff, to publish *A Compend of the Controversies of Religion*. In this work, Guild disputed various aspects of the Catholic faith such as the belief in purgatory. Additionally, he included in

[14] George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, received much of the blame for various military failures in Europe and was assassinated in 1628. As Jason White has shown, Charles generated a great deal of disillusionment in Britain during the late-1620s by seeking a diplomatic solution to the Palatinate crisis rather than pursuing a holy war against Catholic forces on the Continent. See: Jason White, '"Your Grievances are Ours": Militant Pan-Protestantism, the Thirty Years' War, and the origins of the British Problem, 1618-1641', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Brown University, 2008), Ch. 2.

[15] Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon*, 127; van den Berg, 'Continuity within a Changing Context', 187-188. Mede's influence extended to Ireland where his views on the millennium were initially approved by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. Ussher later retreated from radical apocalyptic discourse: Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 100-102.

[16] Allan Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement 1625-1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), 130. An episcopal campaign against recusancy between 1627 and 1630 did little to quell Scottish anxieties about the presence of Catholics in Scotland.

his treatise an appendix that dealt with the usurping nature of the papal Antichrist and the characteristics of antichristian Rome. Guild wrote his *Compend* during what he perceived to be a 'Backe-slyding Age' and he believed his appendix served an important purpose. It not only reaffirmed the identity of the pope as Antichrist, but also warned potential converts to Catholicism that upon their conversion they would receive the mark of the beast (Rev. 13:16) and be sentenced to eternal damnation.[17]

Guild's commentary on Antichrist may prove unexceptional when compared to earlier eschatological works published in Scotland, but it is significant for two reasons. First, we see that his method of scriptural exegesis and his interpretation of biblical prophecy remained true to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Guild did not rely on systematic chronological calculations to trace the past, or plot out the future. He asserted that the man of sin first appeared after the ancient Roman Empire had collapsed. Since that time, Guild argued that the Antichrist had been striving to extinguish the light of the Gospel by stirring up wars throughout Europe, and by shedding the blood of the 'true professours of Christ's Church'.[18] This he interpreted as the killing of the two witnesses depicted in Revelation 11:3. In agreement with earlier Scottish commentators on Revelation such as John Napier and Patrick Forbes, he anticipated that the fall of Antichrist would occur gradually as more 'European Kings and Countreyes' accepted the truth of the Gospel and turned away from Rome prior to Judgment Day.[19] Secondly, entirely missing from Guild's treatise are expressions of millenarianism – a belief system he would later condemn in the 1650s.[20]

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[17] William Guild, *A Compend of the Controversies of Religion* (Aberdeen, 1627), 192 & 213.
[18] *Ibid*., 208.
[19] *Ibid*., 214.
[20] Guild's nonmillenarian vision of the latter-days is discussed at length in Chapter Three.

The conservative, nonmillenarian nature of apocalyptic belief in Scotland during the early years of Charles I's reign can also be seen in two works published by the Edinburgh minister William Struther between 1628 and 1632. Ahead of a public fast observed throughout the Kirk in May 1628, Struther (1578-1633) printed a treatise titled, *Scotlands Warning*, which was designed to inform the wider public of the importance of fasting and prayer. In addition, Struther pointed to the 'most lamentable estate of the reformed Churches of Germanie, and other Countries in Europe' as a possible sign of things to come for the Scottish Kirk in the last days. He explained that false doctrine and 'Romish idolatry' had been reestablished in various kingdoms on the Continent where the light of the Gospel had once shone. As a result, God was presently punishing these lands by subjecting them to the 'bloodie persecution of Antichrist'.[21] Believing that the spread of popery had led to increased idolatry and apostasy in Scotland, Struther feared that the Lord would soon bring similar judgments upon the Scottish people unless they repented and humbled themselves before God.[22]

The bulk of Struther's apocalyptic views are found in his *Looking Glasse for Princes and Popes* which he published in 1632. In a similar fashion to Guild's appendix, this tract outlines the usurping designs of the papacy. Like Guild, Struther reaffirmed the identity of the pope with the Antichrist, and traced vaguely his rise to power over time without using extensive chronological calculations.[23] Looking forward, the severity of persecution suffered by Protestants during the Thirty Years' War convinced Struther that the fall of Antichrist was close at hand. By spilling the 'blood of the Saintes' the papal

[21] William Struther, *Scotlands Warning, or a Treatise of Fasting* (Edinburgh, 1628), 5 & 12.
[22] *Ibid*., 18-21, 48.
[23] Struther asserted that the ancient Roman Empire had been 'dissolved' by the Goths, Huns, and Vandals in order to make way for the kingdom of Antichrist: *A Looking Glass for Princes and Popes* (Edinburgh, 1632), 114-115.

Antichrist had hastened his own destruction.[24] To quicken his demise, Struther encouraged princes and kings across Europe to forsake the Antichrist, and act as the Lord's instrument to 'destroy the whoore' of Babylon.[25] Following the example of previous expositors of biblical prophecy in Scotland, Struther avoided setting dates for future apocalyptic events and stated that the kingdom of Antichrist would collapse at a 'fixed' time known only to God.[26]

Struther reasoned that the final 'abolition' of the beast of Revelation was to be accomplished by the brightness of Christ's Second Coming. Thus, it is unlikely that he anticipated the Church would experience a period of latter-day glory before Judgment Day.[27] What is certain, however, is that he did not agree with contemporary millenarians who expected Christ to return and establish the thousand-year reign of the saints on earth. Various 'errors in Chronologie', he noted, had caused early Church chiliasts such as Papias 'to speake of a thousand yeares joy [to come] in this life'. They had 'looked for Christs comming verie shortlie within two or three hundreth yeares, and so were forced to referre these thousand yeares to a time after his comming'. Struther explained that biblical exegetes 'in our dayes' who renewed this interpretation of the millennium were guilty of 'a grosse errour'.[28] Arguably, he was aware that Alsted and Mede had defended their vision of Christ's millennial kingdom by invoking the chiliastic views of early Church Fathers such as Justin Martyr and Irenaeus.[29] Nevertheless, he denounced expectations of a future millennium as erroneous and heretical.

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[24] *Ibid*., 129.
[25] *Ibid*., 149, 179-180.
[26] *Ibid*., 180. James VI & I made a similar petition to Christian rulers on the Continent within the pages of his *Premonition to all Most Mightie Monarches* (1609) – a work Struther cited in his text.
[27] *Ibid*., 124.
[28] *Ibid*., 112-113.
[29] Alsted and Mede agreed that early Church chiliasts were right to look forward to a future millennium, but explained that many had wrongfully anticipated a millennial age of perfection and carnal pleasure. See: Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, Ch. 7, and Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 211.

The works of Guild and Struther demonstrate that, between 1625 and 1637, wider Scottish apocalyptic thinking was not as radical or predicated upon millenarianism as historians have suggested. Both set forth conservative apocalyptic views in the late-1620s and early-1630s that were consistent with the principal characteristics of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Furthermore, neither was swayed by the millenarian thinking of Alsted and Mede. The examples of Guild and Struther also prove that during the early years of Charles I's reign, factors other than Presbyterian hostility to episcopacy and liturgical reform shaped apocalyptic belief in Scotland. Appointed chaplain to the king in 1631, Guild was predictably willing to tolerate the presence of bishops in the Kirk and religious innovations such as the Five Articles of Perth.[30] More critically, in a letter to the Earl of Airth composed 28 January 1630, Struther described episcopacy and the Five Articles as 'two woundes' that had divided the Scottish Church. Although these matters had no apparent bearing on his apocalyptic outlook, with great foresight he warned that any attempt by the king to introduce additional 'novelties' into the Church would have disastrous consequences.[31]

Following his visit to his native kingdom in 1633, Charles I, aided by the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud and his most trusted Scottish bishops, pushed ahead with plans to compile a new prayer book and set of canons for the Church of Scotland. Designed to bring the Kirk in line with the Church of England, the prayer book and canons were imposed upon the Scottish Church by royal prerogative in 1636.[32] The story of how compulsory use of the prayer book, which began during the summer of 1637,

[30] When Guild subscribed to the Scottish National Covenant in 1638, he did so under the limitation that he would not be forced to condemn episcopacy or the Five Articles. See: James Shirrefs, *An Inquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character of the Reverend Doctor William Guild* (Aberdeen, 1798), 53.
[31] See Struther's letter to the Earl of Airth composed 28 January 1630 and published in *The Grievances Given in by the Ministers before Parliament Holden in June 1633* (n.p., 1633), 30.
[32] John Morrill has argued that Charles and Laud did not seek to 'anglicise' the Scottish Church. See: Morrill, 'A British patriarchy?' Also see: Gordon Donaldson, *The Making of the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637* (Edinburgh, 1954).

sparked riots in Edinburgh and ultimately fuelled the Covenanter rebellion of 1638 has been told in numerous secondary works.[33] Within this body of scholarship are several attempts to examine the apocalyptic mindset of zealous Scottish Presbyterians who were most opposed to Caroline ecclesiastical policy in the mid-to-late-1630s. Their authors agree that millenarian ideals were widely accepted by militant Presbyterians at this time. As proof, they point primarily to the occasional expressions of eschatological fervour contained in the various sermons, letters, and treatises of leading Presbyterian dissidents Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie.[34] However, on closer examination, in none of their surviving works which predate the revolutionary events of 1638, do we find evidence to suggest that they were influenced by millenarian beliefs.

After beginning his ministerial career at Anwoth near Kirkcudbright in 1627, Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661) became an outspoken leader of the Presbyterian cause in Scotland.[35] His most recent biographer, John Coffey, has rightly asserted that while he often spoke in apocalyptic terms, Rutherford's 'eschatological position is difficult to ascertain with any precision'.[36] The posthumously published letters Rutherford wrote to various friends and members of the Scottish nobility in the 1630s, along with his surviving sermons from this period, reveal the obscure and changeable nature of his apocalyptic outlook. At times Rutherford looked forward into the latter-days with a great deal of pessimism. He asserted often that God was preparing to abandon the Scottish people for

[33] Notable examples include: David Stevenson, *The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters* (Newton Abbot, 1973); Walter Makey, *The Church of the Covenant 1637-1651* (Edinburgh, 1979), Chs. 1-2; Maurice Lee, Jr., *The Road to Revolution: Scotland under Charles I, 1625-37* (Chicago, 1985); Peter Donald, *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles, 1637-1641* (Cambridge, 1990), Chs. 1-2; Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 769-795; Allan Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629-1660* (Basingstoke, 2005), Ch. 3 and *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*.

[34] Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision', 5; Steele, 'The "Politick Christian"', 52-53; and Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 115-120.

[35] As a result of his nonconformist activities, in 1636 Rutherford was sentenced to confinement in Aberdeen by the Court of High Commission where he remained until the early months of 1638.

[36] Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions*, 238.

their apostasy, and expressed fears that Scotland would soon be plagued by fiery trials and judgments.[37] More optimistically, however, Rutherford stated frequently in his sermons and letters his belief that the hour of the Antichrist's destruction was at hand. For example, in 1634 he prophesied that Christ was presently 'mustering' His saints and making ready for the imminent, final battle against the forces of Satan.[38] Similarly, in 1635 he wrote to Marion McNaught, a regular recipient of his letters, and proclaimed that the day was 'dawning' which would see the Antichrist and all the enemies of Christ 'bound and cast into the bottomless pit'.[39]

If we recall, both Alsted and Mede predicted that the defeat of Antichrist would usher in the millennium, during which time the Jews would be converted, the Gospel would spread throughout the world, and the saints would rule over New Jerusalem.[40] Likewise, Rutherford anticipated the 'incoming of the kirk of the Jews', and he expected Scotland to experience spiritual revival in the last days.[41] Additionally, he hoped one day to 'stand at the outer side of the gates of the New Jerusalem . . . and see Christ's face'.[42] But, these similarities should not lead us to conclude that Rutherford accepted Alsted's and Mede's millenarianism. To begin with, Rutherford's New Jerusalem was wholly spiritual

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[37] See Rutherford's letter to Lady Kenmure, wife of Presbyterian sympathizer John Gordon, Viscount Kenmure, dated 26 June 1630 in *Letters of Samuel Rutherford: With a Sketch of His Life and Biographical Notices of His Correspondents*, Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D., ed., (Edinburgh, 1984, reprinted from 1891 edition), 53.

[38] Samuel Rutherford, *Fourteen Communion Sermons by the Rev. Samuel Rutherford with a Preface and Notes by Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, D.D.* (Glasgow, 1877), 147, Sermon VII preached at Anwoth, 1634.

[39] *Letters*, 123, Letter to Marion McNaught, 22 April, 1635. This is presumably a reference to Revelation 19:20 – 'And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone'.

[40] The link between seventeenth-century millenarianism and the belief in the future conversion of the Jews has been examined in: Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, Ch. 3; and Howard Hotson, 'Anti-Semitism, Philo-Semitism, Apocalypticism, and Millenarianism in Early Modern Europe: A Case Study and Some Methodological Reflections', in Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, 2009), 91-133.

[41] *Letters*, 59, Letter to Marion McNaught, 7 May 1631; *Ibid*., 410, Letter to John Nevay, 5 July 1637. Here Rutherford explained, 'that there shall be a fair after-growth for Christ in Scotland'.

[42] *Ibid*., 256. Letter to John Kennedy, Aberdeen, 1637.

and represented the eternal house of the Lord which was above the 'sun and moon'.[43] Furthermore, as Iain Murray reminds us, it was not purely 'upon a millenarian basis' that many Protestant's 'believed in the conversion of the Jews and a future period of world-wide blessing'.[44] This was certainly true of early-seventeenth century apocalyptic exegetes such as Patrick Forbes and William Cowper. Both condemned millenarian interpretations of biblical prophecy, but expected the Jews to be converted, and the Gospel to flourish in the latter-days.

Rutherford's exact interpretation of the millennial reign of Christ is more difficult to establish due to the fact that in none of his letters and sermons from the 1630s did he refer specifically to the millennium, or explain in great detail his understanding of Revelation 20.[45] Despite this, it is possible to demonstrate that Rutherford did not expect Christ to return and inaugurate the thousand-year reign of the saints. During a communion sermon preached at Kirkcudbright in 1634, Rutherford compared the 'marriage of the Lamb' described in Rev. 19:7 with the Second Coming.[46] He explained to his hearers that Christ the 'Bridegroom' had visited his spouse, the Church militant, first when 'He came in the flesh', and again through the Holy Spirit working within 'His ministers' who preached the Gospel. All that remained was for Christ to 'come again at the last day and complete the marriage'.[47] In a sermon preached a year earlier, Rutherford posited that,

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[43] *Ibid*., 435. Letter to Alexander Gordon, Aberdeen, 1637.
[44] Iain Murray, *The Puritan Hope: A Study in Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (London, 1971), 50.
[45] Not once in the entire corpus of his surviving works did he mention Alsted's *Diatribe* or Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica*: Coffey, *Politics, Religion and the British Revolutions*, 238. In a treatise published later in 1648, Rutherford refuted the chiliastic views espoused by many English sectarians at the time, and argued that no prophecy existed that proved Christ would have a 'personall, externall visible glorious reign on earth': Rutherford, *A Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist* (London, 1648), 335.
[46] Rev. 19:7 states: 'Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to him: for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready'.
[47] *Communion Sermons*, 294-295.

following his return, Christ would 'present his bride to his Father' in heaven where the saints would 'feast upon the Trinity for evermore'.[48]

Later in 1637, Rutherford spoke of Christ's return at the Last Judgment and left no room within his apocalyptic outlook for the millennial rule of the saints:

> Consider that our Master, eternity, and judgment, and the Last Reckoning, will be upon us in the twinkling of an eye. The blast of the last trumpet, now hard at hand, will cry down all Acts of Parliament, all the determinations of pretended assemblies, against Christ our Lawgiver. There will be shortly a proclamation by One standing in the clouds, "that time shall be no more," and that courts with kings of clay shall be no more; and prisons, confinements, forfeitures of nobles, wrath of kings, hazard of lands, houses, and name, for Christ, shall be no more. This world's span-length of time is drawn now to less than half an inch, and to the point of the evening of the day of this old gray-haired world.[49]

This statement proves that, unlike Mede, Rutherford did not associate the time of the seventh trumpet with the millennium. In keeping with the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, he used the metaphor of the marriage of the Lamb to show that at the Last Day, Christ would appear in the clouds, gather the elect, and prepare the saints for eternal glory in heaven.[50] This was to coincide with the second purpose of Christ's coming, which was to sit in judgment and punish his enemies. However, Rutherford did not rule out the possibility that the Church might experience a period of latter-day glory on earth prior to Judgment Day. In 1633, he assured Lady Kenmure that 'our Lord will yet build a new house to Himself, of our rejected and scattered stones, for our Bridegroom cannot want a wife'.[51] He also told

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[48] Samuel Rutherford, *Christ's Napkin, or a Sermon Preached in Kirkcudbright at the Communion, May 12, 1633* (n.p., n.d.), 4-5.
[49] *Letters*, 458-459, Letter to Lord Lindsay, Aberdeen, 7 Sept. 1637.
[50] This was the prophetic outlook held by the Covenanter minister Andrew Cant from Aberdeen who, like Rutherford, compared these events to the great marriage feast of the saints with God in heaven. Speaking briefly of the return of Christ while preaching at Glasgow in 1638, Cant explained that: 'in the Day that he shall come, then thou shalt Feast constantly and continually in thy Father's House' for all eternity. See: Andrew Cant, *A Sermon Preached after the Renovation of the National Covenant, and Celebration of the Lord's Supper at Glasgow, Anno 1638* (Edinburgh, 1727), 10.
[51] *Letters*, 88, Letter to Lady Kenmure, 1 April 1633.

McNaught of a time coming when the Church – 'Christ's old spouse' – would 'sing as in the days of her youth'.[52]

If there is little evidence that Rutherford adopted millenarian beliefs before the onset of the Covenanting movement, there is even less evidence that George Gillespie (1613-1648) did so. During the early-1630s, Gillespie attached himself to the radical party in the Kirk and became a staunch opponent of royal ecclesiastical policy after being appointed domestic chaplain to Rutherford's patron John Gordon, Viscount Kenmure. His only work published before the Covenanter rebellion began, a lengthy tract titled, *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies*, appeared in 1637. Printed in the Netherlands, this potent diatribe against the new prayer book was banned by the Privy Council almost immediately after illegally imported copies of the work began to surface.

Typical of the more militant Presbyterian ministers in Scotland at this time, Gillespie employed a substantial amount of apocalyptic rhetoric in his *Dispute* as he denounced the liturgical reforms which had been forced upon the Scottish Church by two successive Stuart monarchs. Gillespie considered innovations such as kneeling at communion, and the use of the surplice to be the 'wares of Rome, the baggage of Babylon, the trinkets of the Whoore, the badges of Popery, the ensignes of Christs enemies, and the very Trophees of Antichrist'.[53] He warned that should the Scottish people yield to these antichristian practices, 'grosser corruptions' would arise and the Lord would be moved to dispense 'most terrible judgments' upon the land.[54] But, despite the frequency of such language in Gillespie's *Dispute*, the work lacked a definitive eschatological focus. Nowhere in his treatise did Gillespie expound upon the prophecies of Revelation, or

[52] *Ibid*., 122, Letter to Marion McNaught, 22 April 1635.
[53] George Gillespie, *A Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies, Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland* (Leiden, 1637), 35.
[54] *Ibid*., 'Epistle', sig. B4v-C1r

explain his understanding of how he expected the latter-days to unfold. More specifically, detailed discussions pertaining to the destruction of Antichrist, the nature of the Church in the last days, the millennium, the Second Coming, or Judgment Day are missing entirely from his text.

As we can see, both Rutherford and Gillespie employed a wealth of apocalyptic rhetoric in their various sermons, letters, and treatises as they attempted to generate greater opposition to episcopacy and liturgical reform in Scotland on the eve of the Scottish revolution. However, this rhetoric should not be misconstrued as indicative of Rutherford's and Gillespie's espousal of millenarianism. The examples of both future Covenanters demonstrate that, by the time the prayer book riots erupted in Edinburgh during the summer of 1637, leading Presbyterians in the Kirk had shown little interest in the millenarian ideals advanced by Johann Heinrich Alsted and Joseph Mede. Moreover, as discussed below, once radically-minded Presbyterians began in earnest to resist Caroline religious policy, they did not rely on Alsted's and Mede's vision of the coming millennium as a means to effect change in Scotland through rebellion.

Apocalyptic Expectancy and the Birth of the Scottish Covenanting Movement

On 28 February 1638, a gathering of ministers, nobles, and representatives from Scotland's burghs assembled at Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh publicly to sign the National Covenant. Described by some modern scholars as a radical, nationalist manifesto, the covenant bound its subscribers together in defence of Reformed Calvinism, the 'true religion of Christ Jesus', against antichristian forms of worship and 'erroneous doctrine'.[55] At the same time, it required its signatories to uphold royal authority as long as the laws and actions of the

[55] 'The Scottish National Covenant', in S.R. Gardiner, ed., *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660*, 3rd edition (Oxford, 1906), 124-134.

king conformed to the religious and constitutional imperatives outlined in the covenant.[56] Symbolic of a special bond forged between the Lord and the Scottish people, the covenant also provided Scotland with a unique parallel to Old Testament Israel. This notion is exemplified in the personal diary of Archibald Johnston of Wariston who equated the signing of the covenant in Greyfriars to the 'glorious marriage day of the Kingdom with God'.[57] Wariston, who was largely responsible for drafting the document, professed that covenanted Scotland had joined ancient Israel as one of 'only two sworne nations to the Lord'.[58]

After the meeting in Edinburgh, the Covenanting movement quickly gained momentum as the National Covenant was promoted across Scotland. For at least a minority of zealous Covenanters, the initial success of the movement evidenced the unfolding of biblical prophecy. This belief was strengthened by the proceedings of the General Assembly which met in Glasgow in November 1638. By voting to abjure and remove episcopacy, along with the Five Articles of Perth, the General Assembly confirmed for leaders of the Scottish revolution that God had begun to tear down the kingdom of Antichrist.[59] For example, the apocalyptic euphoria generated by the achievements of the Covenanters in 1638 led Rutherford to announce that the Lord was 'fetching a blow upon

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[56] The various political and religious components of the National Covenant have been discussed in: Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, Ch. 2; Makey, *Church of the Covenant*, Ch. 3; J.B. Torrance, 'The Covenant Concept in Scottish Theology and Politics and its Legacy', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 34 (1981), 225-243; Morrill, ed., *The Scottish National Covenant*, Ch. 1-5; Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*; John Ford, 'The Lawful Bonds of Scottish Society: The Five Articles of Perth, the Negative Confession and the National Covenant', *Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), 45-64; and Macinnes, *British Revolution*, Ch. 4.

[57] *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1632-1639*, G.M. Paul, ed., Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1911), 322.

[58] *Ibid*., 344. The parallel between covenanted Scotland and Israel has been discussed in: Williamson, 'The Jewish Dimension of the Scottish Apocalypse'.

[59] The Glasgow General Assembly also declared all general assemblies held between 1606 and 1618 unlawful, condemned the book of canons and prayer book of 1637, and proclaimed the Court of High Commission as being illegally erected without the consent of the Scottish Parliament. In addition, all fourteen archbishops and bishops in the Kirk were deposed, eight of whom were subsequently excommunicated.

the Beast, and the scarlet-coloured Whore'. God, he claimed, had 'brought ruin to the prelates' black kingdom' and soon he would 'make an end' of the 'Antichrist's throne'.[60]

In recent studies, the apocalyptic enthusiasm of the Covenanters has been misinterpreted as millenarian zeal. Without providing substantial evidence, Margaret Steele concluded that the main arguments used by the covenanting ministry to generate support for the National Covenant 'relied heavily on millenarian thinking'.[61] More broadly, Crawford Gribben has suggested that millenarianism fueled the Covenanter rebellion and influenced apocalyptic discourse in Scotland well after the 1630s and 1640s.[62] Yet, as shown above, the Covenanters did not have a millenarian foundation to look back on as they attempted to gain adherents to their cause. Undoubtedly, heightened apocalyptic expectations generated excitement in Scotland and pushed the Covenanting movement forward. As we shall see, however, closer analysis of primary source material related to this period does not reveal a significant trace of millenarian influence upon Covenanter apocalyptic thought. To demonstrate this, we shall examine a number of sermons preached by leading Covenanters Alexander Henderson and Andrew Ramsay during the early stages of the Scottish revolution.

We begin with Henderson (c.1583-1646), a highly respected minister from Fife, who played a large part in ensuring the overall success of the Covenanting movement. In July 1637, Henderson had worked closely with Presbyterian ministers David Calderwood and David Dickson to draw up a petition against the new prayer book which led to the outbreak of riots in Edinburgh. Additionally, it was Henderson who aided Wariston in drafting the National Covenant. Henderson did not complete an exegetical commentary on biblical prophecy during his lifetime, nor did he publish works in which he discussed

[60] *Letters*, 570-573. Letter to the 'Church in Ireland', Anwoth, 1639.
[61] Steele, 'The "Politick Christian"', 53.
[62] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 116-117; also Gribben, '"Passionate Desires, and Confident Hopes"', 242.

eschatological matters in great detail. Despite this, a glimpse of his apocalyptic ideology can be seen within a large collection of his posthumously published sermons preached between March and October 1638. Over this period Henderson promoted the covenant at St Andrews, and in the nearby parish of Leuchars where he had served as minister since 1612.[63]

Like Rutherford, Henderson believed that Scotland had achieved apocalyptic significance through the 'seal of the covenant'.[64] This covenanted status ensured that the Scottish people would be spared when the Lord unleashed his wrath upon the enemies of Christ who had received the 'mark of the Beast'.[65] For Henderson, the hour of God's vengeance upon the wicked seemed to be fast approaching. On 8 April, he assured his parishioners at Leuchars that the Lord had 'begun to consume' the Antichrist, whose fall would be accomplished by a 'terrible, sudden, and sore destruction'.[66] Henderson did not elaborate further on how he believed the beast of Revelation would ultimately be destroyed, but there is nothing to suggest that he agreed with the millenarian ideology of Alsted and Mede who predicted Christ would return to defeat the Antichrist and establish his temporal millennial kingdom for the elect.

Although he did not discuss the millennium in his sermons from 1638, his conception of the Second Coming leaves little room for the thousand-year rule of the saints. During a sermon preached at St Andrews, Henderson proclaimed that, 'when Christ shall come and descend into the clouds . . . the voice of the archangel shall be heard', and the saints 'shall be called to come to the heavenly Jerusalem . . . to reign with Christ'.[67]

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[63] See John Coffey's entry for Henderson in the *ODNB*.
[64] Alexander Henderson, *Sermons, Prayers, and Pulpit Addresses, by Alexander Henderson, 1638*, Rev. R. Thomson Martin, ed., (Edinburgh, 1867), 113.
[65] *Ibid*., 109.
[66] *Ibid*., 103 & 116.
[67] *Ibid*., 35. St Andrews initially proved resistant to the Covenanting movement.

Thus, unlike Alsted and Mede, Henderson did not envision the elect ruling over an earthly New Jerusalem. More in tune with the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, he expected the Church militant to experience a period of latter-day glory, during which time the light of the Gospel would flourish and the Lord would 'call in the Jews'.[68] Yet, he also envisioned the Scottish Kirk playing an exemplary role in God's providential plan to glorify the universal Church in the last days. Preaching at Leuchars on 20 May, Henderson announced that the 'great work' of rebuilding the 'ruined house of God' in Scotland had commenced, and expressed his belief that the Kirk might be made the 'praise of the earth' and an example for other churches in Europe.[69]

Setting forth similar apocalyptic views in 1638 was Andrew Ramsay (1574-1659). A supporter of royal religious policy in Scotland under James VI & I, Ramsay had voted for the reestablishment of episcopacy in the Kirk in 1610. Later in 1633, he was censured by Henderson after rumors spread that the doctrinal content of his sermons bordered on Arminianism.[70] The next year, Ramsay was passed over for the bishopric of Edinburgh despite his efforts to win the patronage of Archbishop Laud. This event proved a turning point in Ramsay's career. In 1637, he joined with nonconformist ministers in Edinburgh in opposing the new prayer book and signed the National Covenant when it appeared in February 1638.[71] Ramsay wasted little time in adopting the apocalyptic ideology of militant Presbyterians who had bitterly opposed episcopacy and royal religious reforms

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[68] *Ibid*., 229 & 272.
[69] *Ibid*., 323.
[70] The Arminian doctrine of Christ's universal atonement for all sinners directly conflicted with the predestinarian decrees of salvation and reprobation central to orthodox Calvinism. David Mullan has examined the spread of Arminianism in Scotland over the first half of the seventeenth century and concluded that while 'there was rather little of the error at hand', Scottish ministers feared the doctrine would spread and sought to stop its growth: Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 212. Also see: Mullan, 'Masked Popery and Pyrrhonian Uncertainty: The Early Scottish Covenanters on Arminianism', *Journal of Religious History*, 21 (1997), 159-177 and Michiel C. Kitshoff, 'Aspects of Arminianism in Scotland', (Unpublished M.Th. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1967).
[71] See entry for Andrew Ramsay by Vaughan T. Wells in the *ODNB.*

over the previous four decades. His apocalyptic outlook during the early Covenanting period can be seen in a sermon he preached at Edinburgh in 1638 which was subsequently published as *A Warning to come out of Babylon*. This sermon, which demonstrates Ramsay's interest in eschatology, appears to have been the only work he published after the Covenanting movement began.

In his sermon, Ramsay traced only vaguely the rise of the Antichrist within the Roman Catholic Church, and highlighted the work of past reformers who had crippled his kingdom by preaching the Gospel. According to Ramsay, the initial corruption of the Church by the Antichrist first began with the papacy of Boniface III who was appointed universal bishop over the Catholic Church in 607. By the eleventh century, antichristian Rome had reached its full height and maturity under Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) in whom Ramsay stated the 'Antichrist was so visible'.[72] The Antichrist's downfall, he explained, began through the work of the Waldensians during the late-Middle Ages. Thereafter, the teachings of John Wycliffe had uncovered the 'mysterie of iniquitie' that shrouded the papal Antichrist, while the Protestant Reformation begun by Luther and Zwingli dealt the 'Beast' an 'incurable' wound.[73] Now, as Ramsay declared, the 'pure and perfect Reformation' of religion in Scotland – initiated by the drafting of the National Covenant – provided the Scots with an opportunity to 'burne the flesh of the whoore' and cause further injury to the beast of Revelation.[74]

Heightened apocalyptic expectations among the Covenanters led Ramsay to base his sermon on Rev. 18:4. This verse warns the people of the Lord to make a clear break from mystical Babylon – the kingdom of Antichrist – before it is destroyed once and for

[72] Andrew Ramsay, *A Warning to Come Out of Babylon* (Edinburgh, 1638), 41-42.
[73] *Ibid*., 42. In agreement with William Cowper's exegesis of Revelation, Ramsay asserted that the destruction of Antichrist would occur by degrees proportional to his rise to power in Rome. See: Cowper, *Pathmos*, 933.
[74] Ramsay, *A Warning*, 45.

all. It was typical, he claimed, that before God 'executes his judgements upon any citie, nation, or place, where his chosen people dwell, to provide first for the safetie and securitie of his own, before ever hee poure out his fierce wrath and indignation upon his enemies'.[75] Just as God had warned Noah of the impending flood, and delivered Lot from Sodom, he was now serving notice to the Scottish people that the fall of Antichrist's wicked kingdom was approaching. As Ramsay decreed, God had 'begun to poure out the vials of his wrath, in that the fall of Rome is begun, and shee shall continue in falling more and more, untill the time of the Lord hath totally and finally destroyed her'.[76] Ultimately, Ramsay believed that the Antichrist would be defeated by the 'sword of the Spirit', the 'sword of the Kings on earth', and the brightness of Christ's Second Coming.[77] However, he did not discuss his expectations for the latter-days beyond Christ's victory over Antichrist, and he said nothing of what would become of the elect or the Church in the last days. Nevertheless, given that he did not expound upon the prophecies of Revelation 20, or mention the millennium in his sermon, there is no reason to think that Ramsay expected Christ to establish the millennial kingdom of the saints upon his return.

As we can see, Henderson and Ramsay did not rely on the 'imagery and rhetoric of millenarianism' as they promoted the National Covenant throughout the Kirk in 1638.[78] Both believed that widespread subscription to the covenant had triggered a second reformation in Scotland which would bring further decay to antichristian Rome. They shared this belief with other militant Covenanters such as Johnston of Wariston. Shortly after the initial signing of the covenant in Greyfriars, Wariston recorded in his diary that the Lord had begun the 'work of destroying that chaire of Antichryst' which would be

[75] *Ibid*., 2.
[76] *Ibid*., 1-2.
[77] *Ibid*., 42.
[78] Steele, 'The "Politick Christian"', 52.

completed at Christ's 'coming againe'.[79] But despite their prophetic enthusiasm, these Covenanters did not stray beyond the Scottish apocalyptic tradition by promising potential supporters of the covenant that the imminent fall of Antichrist would be followed by the millennial reign of Christ. At best, the godly in Scotland could expect the defeat of Antichrist to be followed by a brief period of worldwide blessing for the Church militant which would precede the Second Coming and the Last Judgment.

There were of course many grievances that prompted support for the Covenanting movement that were not driven by apocalyptic belief. Economic issues aside, the ever-increasing power of Scottish bishops during Charles I's reign caused outrage among the nobility whose traditional links to court and influence over government affairs had greatly diminished since the Union of Crowns.[80] For this reason, dissident nobles such as John Campbell, the Earl of Loudoun needed little encouragement to take action in 1638 when asked by the ministry to purge the 'Lord's house' in Scotland and pluck 'down the sticks of Antichrist's filthy nest'.[81] Additionally, given that Charles had failed to defend both the civil and religious liberties of the Scottish people, those advancing the covenant believed they had a right to resist a monarch who was on the verge of ruling as a tyrant. Subscription to the covenant was seen as way to petition the king for the right to hold general assemblies and parliaments free of government censure which would restore the traditional means through which checks could be placed on the power of the monarchy.[82] Lastly, as David Mullan has noted, mass subscription of the National Covenant was

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[79] *Diary of Archibald Johnston*, I, 347-348.

[80] Roger Mason, 'The Aristocracy, Episcopacy, and the Revolution of 1638' in Terry Brotherstone, ed., *Covenant, Charter, and Party* (Aberdeen, 1989), 15; Donald, *An Uncounselled King*, Ch. 1; Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, Ch. 4.

[81] *Letters*, 543, Letter to Lord Loudoun, 4 Jan. 1638. Prior to 1638, Loudoun had been a vocal leader for the Scottish nobility. In 1626, he was part of a delegation that petitioned Charles to address the nobility's complaints about the harsh conditions of the Act of Revocation. Later, he supported those opposed to Charles's religious innovations during the meeting of the Scottish Parliament that was held in conjunction with the king's visit in 1633. See David Stevenson's entry for Loudoun in the *ODNB*.

[82] Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 115.

occasionally gained through coercion and intimidation.[83] Nonetheless, for many of the leading Covenanter clerics, apocalyptic language and imagery remained the most compelling means of articulating their hopes and fears.

Scottish Covenanters, English Millenarians, and the Kingdom of Christ, 1643-1647

After successfully cleansing the Scottish Kirk of its antichristian impurities in 1638, the Covenanters sought to extend the reformation of religion in Scotland to Ireland and England. In turn, many adopted a more inclusive apocalyptic outlook that incorporated all of Great Britain. This was particularly true of Samuel Rutherford. In 1639, Rutherford offered support and encouragement to Presbyterians in Ireland, especially in Ulster which at the time had a sizeable Scottish community.[84] Against the backdrop of the Bishops' Wars, all Scots in Ulster over the age of sixteen were required to swear an oath of allegiance to Charles I, and promise not to band together under the covenant, or bear arms in rebellion against the crown. Known as the Black Oath, those who refused to pledge loyalty to the king often faced severe persecution.[85] Rutherford urged Irish Presbyterians to be patient and suffer for Christ until he purged the 'dross and tin out of His church in Ireland'. He explained that like Scotland, Ireland would soon become 'a fair bride to Jesus', and Christ would 'build on her a palace of silver'.[86]

As the hostilities of the Bishops' Wars came to a close, the Covenanters opened discussions with anti-prelatical puritans in England who recognised the need for an ecclesiastical alliance that could work together in an effort to curtail the power of a

[83] Mullan, *Scottish Puritanism*, 290.
[84] See John R. Young, *Scotland and Ulster, c. 1585-1700: Politics, Religion and Identity* (Dublin, 2003). On Calvinist resistance theory see: Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1978), Ch. 7.
[85] Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 135. On the Bishops' Wars see: Mark Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns against Scotland, 1638-1640* (Cambridge, 1994).
[86] *Letters*, 568-569, Letter 'To the persecuted Church in Ireland', Anwoth, 1639.

common enemy – the antichristian bishops within the English Church. The prospect of exporting the 'great work' of reformation which had 'begun in Scotland' to England excited Rutherford.[87] Along with Ireland, Scotland's neighbouring kingdom to the south now had the opportunity to enter into the 'well-swept chambers for Christ'.[88] Similarly, the downfall of bishops in Scotland fired the apocalyptic imagination of English puritans such as the Independent minister Jeremiah Burroughs. Preaching before Parliament in September 1641, Burroughs advised M.P.s that the time to abolish episcopacy from the Church of England was ripe, for the day of the Lord's vengeance against the Antichrist was at hand.[89]

Burroughs was but one of many biblical exegetes in England whose apocalyptic ideology had been influenced by Joseph Mede's millenarian interpretation of Revelation 20.[90] Ultimately, and perhaps unintentionally, Mede's vision of Christ's future millennial kingdom inspired the revolutionary millenarianism that pervaded English apocalyptic thinking throughout the turbulent civil war era in Britain.[91] In several studies, Crawford Gribben has attempted to show a link between the millenarian aspirations of English puritans like Burroughs and the apocalyptic views espoused by Scottish Covenanters during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Gribben has described the ecclesiastical alliance formed between the Scots and their English brethren in the early-1640s as a 'millenarian engagement'.[92] Additionally, he has claimed that the zealous Covenanter minister George

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[87] Samuel Rutherford, *Quaint Sermons of Samuel Rutherford Hitherto Unpublished, with a Preface by the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar* (London, 1885), 36.
[88] *Letters*, 577, Letter to Alexander Leighton, 22 Nov. 1639.
[89] Jeremiah Burroughs, *Sions Joy . . . for the Peace Concluded between England and Scotland* (London, 1641), 60.
[90] Clouse, 'The Rebirth of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 62.
[91] Jue has suggested that Mede did not intend to foster revolutionary fervour in England with his exegesis: Jue, *Heaven Upon Earth*, 33-35.
[92] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 143. Also see Gribben, '"Passionate Desires, and Confident Hopes"', 252-258.

Gillespie embraced millenarian ideals at this time which England's most radical sectarians later expanded.[93]

More recently, however, Gribben has noted that, while the 'puritan millennial tradition' influenced the Scottish Covenanting movement, the Covenanters' eschatological position during the civil war period was centered upon the doctrine of latter-day glory. The latter-day glory expectations of the Scots, he asserted, were 'distinct' from the millenarian hopes of English puritans who anticipated a future millennium.[94] This understanding of Covenanter apocalyptic belief is similar to that set forth by Jue in his study of Joseph Mede. Jue argued that the border between England and Scotland was symbolic of an 'apocalyptic divide' that separated English millenarians from the majority of Scottish divines who refuted their heretical interpretation of the thousand-year reign of Christ.[95] Below we shall develop this line of thinking further by arguing that, between 1643 and 1647, the Covenanters were deeply committed to refuting the claims of radical millenarians in England and on the Continent. This can be seen in the eschatological printed works published by George Gillespie, Robert Baillie, Alexander Petrie, and David Dickson during this period.

In August 1643, as they suffered heavy losses to royalist forces during the English civil war, Parliamentarians looked to Scotland for assistance in their fight against the king. After meeting with commissioners from England, Johnston of Wariston and Alexander Henderson drafted the Solemn League and Covenant. Formally signed by both parties in September, the new covenant sealed the civil and religious alliance between the

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[93] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 116.
[94] Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 42-43 & 46. Gribben pointed out that, in contrast to those who supported the latter-day glory motif, the millenarians based their hopes for the thousand-year reign of the saints on the prophecies of Revelation 20:1-10. According to Gribben, the Scots who expected a period of latter-day glory worked within the broader Reformed tradition, while English millenarians gravitated toward the 'more controversial traditions of radical reformation'.
[95] Jue, *Heaven upon Earth*, 225.

Covenanters and Parliament.[96] In exchange for Covenanter military assistance, Parliament agreed to assist the Scots if they became troubled by rebellion or invasion, but more importantly, it promised to reform the Church of England and extirpate popery. Earlier discussions held by English puritans and the Covenanters also paved the way for the first meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines which was instructed by Parliament to forge a religious settlement between the churches of both kingdoms.[97] Notable Scots invited to attend the assembly included Wariston, Henderson, Gillespie, Rutherford, and Baillie.

George Gillespie, one of the youngest participants in the assembly, was called to preach before the House of Commons on 27 March 1644.[98] Gribben has concluded that, through his sermon, Gillespie attempted to bridge the gap between the English millenarian tradition founded upon the early seventeenth-century work of Thomas Brightman, and the expositions of biblical prophecy completed by the leading English millenarians of his own time such as the Independent minister Thomas Goodwin.[99] Rather confusingly, Gribben described the sermon as a 'model of millenarian exposition', yet asserted that the overall theme of Gillespie's pulpit address was based on the doctrine of the latter-day glory of the

[96] Ireland was included at the insistence of the English commissioners. As Macinnes noted, the Scots were 'reluctant to accord equal standing to a satellite kingdom whose dominant confession was Roman Catholic': Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 150. Parliament made several alterations to the text of the document before it was approved and circulated for public signatures. The wording of the first article which called for the reforming of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the English Church along the 'example of the best Reformed Churches' was revised to read 'in accordance with the word of God'. This alteration provided Parliament a means through which it could avoid following too strictly the Scottish model of Presbyterian church government in its endeavour to reform the Church of England: Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 288.

[97] See: P. J. Smith, 'The Debates on Church Government at the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 1643-1646', (Unpublished PhD thesis, Boston University Graduate School, 1975); L. J. Holley, 'The Divines of the Westminster Assembly: A Study of Puritanism and Parliament', (Unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1979); D. W. Hall, *Windows on Westminster: A Look at the Men, the Work and the Enduring Results of the Westminster Assembly* (Norcross, 1993); and the forthcoming publication of Chad Van Dixhoorn, ed., *The Minutes and Papers of the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1653*, 5 vols (Oxford, 2012).

[98] For a survey of preaching during the Long Parliament see: Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*.

[99] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 128.

Church.[100] Bernard Capp has since questioned the 'millenarianism' of Gillespie, and stated that Gribben conflated the 'idea of latter-day glory (which might be brief) with the millennium (which could not), without offering any grounds'.[101] Subsequently, Gribben has explained that 'Gillespie could anticipate a period of latter-day glory without necessarily a full-blown millennium'.[102] Here we shall argue that, as a product of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, the young Covenanter minister shared the nonmillenarian prophetic outlook of his predecessors.

The major facets of Gillespie's apocalyptic ideology exhibited in his sermon preached before the Commons differed very little from the most common features of Scottish apocalyptic thought which had developed over the first half of the seventeenth century. In fact, Gillespie's understanding of biblical prophecy in the 1640s harmonised with the eschatological views set forth much earlier by John Napier and Patrick Forbes. To give his sermon a sense of apocalyptic urgency, Gillespie modified Napier's chronological calculations for the 42 months described in Rev. 11:3 and 12:6, along with his positioning of the 1260 days noted in Rev. 13:5. As discussed in Chapter One, Napier believed these times represented the 1260-year reign of Antichrist which had spanned the years 300 to 1560. Napier stated that the power of the beast had begun to subside since the mid-sixteenth century, and predicted that the last dregs of Antichrist's kingdom would be destroyed by 1639.[103] Without referring to the Laird of Merchiston's conjectures, Gillespie posited that the 'likelier time' for the 1260 years fell between 383 and 1643.[104] This

[100] *Ibid*., 130 & 138.
[101] Bernard Capp, review of *The Puritan Millennium*, by Crawford Gribben, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (July, 2002), 606.
[102] Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 39, fn. 22.
[103] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 64-68, 179.
[104] George Gillespie, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons . . . March 27, 1644* (London, 1644), 37.

alteration of Napier's chronology, allowed Gillespie to demonstrate that the 'year of Israels Jubilee, and the day of vengeance upon Antichrist' was not 'farre off'.[105]

In agreement with Forbes, Gillespie anticipated that a 'greater spread of the Gospel' throughout the world and the 'conversion of the Jewes' would accompany the fall of Antichrist.[106] He also shared with Forbes and Napier the belief that the destruction of the beast in Rome would usher in a period of latter-day glory for the Church militant. During the 'last times', he promised his audience, the Lord would repair the 'breaches and ruines of the Christian Church', and 'build a more excellent and glorious Temple' than former generations had seen.[107] However, unlike Napier, who claimed Christ would return to gather the elect by 1688, Gillespie avoided projecting dates for the future apocalyptic events. Thus, we do not know how long he expected the Church to experience a 'great peace and calme' before the Second Coming.[108] Yet, while Gillespie may have looked forward to the glorification of the Church after the defeat of Antichrist, we should be careful not confuse this belief with the millennial dreams of English puritans in the 1640s.[109]

Gillespie was aware that unorthodox interpretations of the thousand-year reign of Christ were spreading throughout England during the civil war period, but he did not wish for his apocalyptic views to be associated with those held by heretical millenarians. Therefore, he insisted that his prophetic vision of the 'peaceable condition' the Church would experience in the latter-days had 'no affinity with the opinion of an earthly or

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[105] *Ibid*., 38.
[106] *Ibid*., 6.
[107] *Ibid*., 6.
[108] *Ibid*., 7. Both Forbes and Cowper had looked forward to the glorification of the Church during the end times, but objected to Napier's exegetical method of chronological speculation.
[109] For example, Gribben has suggested that Gillespie's conception of the millennium stood between the 'conservative millenarianism' of James Ussher and the radical strains of millenarian thought that inspired the revolutionary actions of English sectarians near the end of the 1640s: *Puritan Millennium*, 135.

temporall kingdome of Christ'.[110] Nor did he believe that, upon the return of Christ, the Jews would rebuild Jerusalem and obtain 'dominion above all other Nations' before Judgment Day.[111] This chiliastic notion had surfaced in a millenarian treatise published in 1642 by the English religious writer Robert Maton, who claimed that Christ would inaugurate the millennium through the return of the Jews to their homeland. During the thousand-years, Maton contended, the twelve tribes of Israel would be united under King Jesus and all other nations would be subjected to the Jews.[112] Gribben has acknowledged the fact that Gillespie did not mention the millennium in his sermon, or explain fully his understanding of the prophecies of Revelation 20. Despite this, the Covenanter minister recognised and disapproved of two key themes central to popular millenarian thinking in England. Thus, we should not assume that Gillespie strayed from the standard of nonmillenarian apocalypticism established by previous expositors of biblical prophecy in Scotland.

Through apocalyptic imagery, Gillespie tried to prove the eschatological importance of reforming the Church of England along Presbyterian lines. The Lord had already 'put Antichrist from his utterworks in Scotland', Gillespie noted, and now he had 'come to put him from his innerworks in England'.[113] He then proclaimed that Christ was presently working to 'make a new face of a Church' in the kingdom, and emphasised that this new 'house of God' should be built upon the pattern of 'Presbyteriall Government'.[114]

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[110] Gillespie, *A Sermon Preached . . .*, 35.
[111] *Ibid*., 35.
[112] Robert Maton, *Israels Redemption, or the Propheticall History of our Saviours Kingdome on Earth* (London, 1642), 17, 50. Also see: Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 167. According to Stephen Wright, very little is known about Maton's life. See his entry for Maton in the *ODNB*.
[113] Gillespie, *A Sermon Preached . . .*, 36.
[114] *Ibid*., 35, 39-41. Gillespie most certainly did not suggest that the Lord was building a 'new Temple in England' which would last a millennium: 36. Thus, it is misleading to claim that millenarian ecclesiology lay behind the Covenanter's desire to see the establishment of a Britannic, or international Protestant church framed upon Presbyterian principles. Both Robert Baillie and Alexander Petrie were strong advocates of

But, by the time Gillespie was asked to preach before the Commons, the 'puritan unity' within the Westminster Assembly had begun to collapse as debates over the issue of church government in England intensified.[115] The Scottish commissioners had become frustrated by English Presbyterians who desired an Erastian presbytery which would have given civil authorities in England more control over church affairs. Yet, it was the Independents in the assembly who Robert Baillie (1602-1662) considered to be the 'great retarders' standing in the way of church reform.[116] Independent ministers insisted that individual congregations should not be subjected to the authoritative jurisdiction of presbyteries, synods, and assemblies. This led Baillie to conclude that Independency was the cause of 'all church distractions'.[117]

In 1645, Baillie's mounting frustration with the obstinacy of the Independents led him to publish a bitter invective against their party titled, *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*. Within his pamphlet, he berated Independent ministers for their stubborn opposition to Presbyterianism, and denounced Independency as the 'mother' of all 'heresies and schisms'. London-based Independents, Baillie remarked, had begun to 'nourish and patronize' congregations which had become polluted with 'Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Familism, and many more heresies'.[118] The increased presence of Anabaptists in England caused Baillie a great deal of concern. Like most early modern Reformed Protestants, he considered Anabaptists to be sowers of sedition, rebellion, and ecclesiastical anarchy. Baillie reminded his readers that, as 'disciples' of the charismatic prophet Thomas Müntzer, Anabaptists had committed 'abominable and horrible crimes' in

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Presbyterianism, yet neither believed that the events of the last days hinged upon the establishment of any particular ecclesiastical structure over the Church militant.

[115] Gribben, *Puritan Millennium*, 125-127.

[116] Robert Baillie, *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, David Laing, ed., 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1841-1842), II, 191, 'Publick Letter', 7 June 1644.

[117] *LJRB*, II, 216, 'For Glasgow', 7 Aug. 1644.

[118] Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time* (London, 1645), 92-93.

Germany during the sixteenth century. Moreover, they had created discord among early Protestants with their 'frantick extravagancies'.[119] Seeing that many contemporary English Independents had 'fallen into Anabaptism', Baillie warned that they might prove 'hazardous' not only to the Church, but to the 'Civil State' of England.[120]

Baillie understood that the violent actions of radical sixteenth-century German Anabaptists had been inspired in part by imminent expectations of the thousand-year reign of Christ on earth. Since the days of Augustine, he reckoned, Christians had shown little enthusiasm for the 'great error' of chiliasm, until 'some of the Anabaptists did draw it out of its grave'.[121] In his *Dissuasive*, he complained that many Independents in England had presently 'run themselves' into the 'deepest gulph of that old heresie' which extremist Anabaptists had revived.[122] What worried Baillie was the fact that Independent ministers seemed convinced that the communion of saints gathered in congregational churches would be the harbinger of the millennium.[123] Their belief, that those who opposed the saints would be purged from the Church when Christ returned to vanquish his enemies, 'would quickly renew unto us the horrible tragedies of the Anabaptists'.[124] Recognising this potential threat, Baillie catalogued the heretical views espoused by various English Independents in the late-1630s and early-1640s, and refuted thoroughly their chiliastic vision of the coming kingdom of Christ.

According to Baillie, two leading Independents, Thomas Goodwin and John Archer, were to blame for promoting 'the whole fabricke of chiliasme' among their

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[119] *Ibid*., 11-13.
[120] *Ibid*., 93-94.
[121] *Ibid*., 224.
[122] *Ibid*., 79.
[123] Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 35; Capp, 'Radical Chiliasm in the English Revolution', 129. For a more in-depth discussion of the millenarian convictions held by Independents during the 1640s see: Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament*, 223-230. According to Capp, a substantial number of English Presbyterians had also adopted millenarian beliefs at this time: *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 38-39, 46-49.
[124] Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 250.

peers.[125] Bryan Ball has stated that Goodwin and Archer did not expect Christ to reign physically on earth during the millennium, but Goodwin was ambivalent about the nature of Christ's presence in his latter-day kingdom. In a lecture probably given around 1641, Goodwin stated that Christ would not 'come down from Heaven to reign here on earth' once the millennium began.[126] The same year, Goodwin published his *Glimpse of Sions Glory*, and offered a different interpretation of Revelation 20:4-6 which speaks of the millennial reign of Christ with his saints:

> the reigning with Christ a thousand yeeres is not meant reigning in Heaven, for after these thousand yeares, there shall be many enemies raised against the Church, Gog and Magog, shall gather themselves together; if it were meant of Heaven, that could not be; and therefore it must be meant of Jesus Christ comming and reigning heere gloriously for a Thousand yeares.[127]

Conversely, Archer believed that Jesus would return to destroy the forces of Satan, resurrect the martyrs, and establish his worldly, or 'Monarchicall' kingdom, but stated that he would not always be present in the world.[128] After the thousand years, Christ would return on Judgment Day for a third time and all the saints would be translated to heaven.

Baillie refuted the radical millenarianism of Goodwin and Archer using a plethora of arguments.[129] Denying the notion that the saints would rule over Christ's earthly kingdom for a millennium, he described the kingdom of Christ as spiritual and heavenly. This was not to be 'that imaginary world of the 1000 yeares', but an everlasting kingdom

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[125] *Ibid*., 224.
[126] Thomas Goodwin, *The World to Come, or the Kingdom of Christ Asserted in two Expository Lectures* (London, 1655), 30. For the dating of these lectures see: Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 165-166.
[127] [Thomas Goodwin?], *A Glimpse of Sions Glory* (London, 1641), 14. While Baillie attributed this tract to Goodwin, there has been some debate among modern scholars as to whether he actually authored this work. See: Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 80; A.R. Dallison, 'The Authorship of "A Glimpse of Syons Glory"', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 131-136; and Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 2-3.
[128] John Archer, *The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth* (London, 1642), 4 & 41. This work was published posthumously as Archer died prematurely in 1639.
[129] The full range of arguments Baillie employed against English millenarians ideals have been examined in Dallison, 'Contemporary Criticism of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 104-108.

in which the saints would reign together with Christ 'forever in the heavens'.[130] In regard to the Second Coming, Baillie contended that Christ, 'from the time of his ascension doth abide in heaven at the right hand of the Father, and commeth not downe from that place to the earth till he descend in the last day to judge the quicke and the dead'.[131] Against Archer's belief that Christ's second, physical return to earth would be followed by his third and final return at Judgment Day, Baillie argued further that, 'Christ hath but two times of comming to the earth, first in weakenes to die upon the Crosse; The second time in glory to give eternall Salvation . . . to all beleevers who looke for his comming'.[132] Baillie also disagreed with millenarians who anticipated the literal resurrection of the martyrs described in Revelation 20:4-5. 'All the godly at Christ's coming from heaven' would 'rise immediately to a heavenly glory'. Thus, the 'reward of the martyrs' was eternal life in heaven, not 'an earthly kingdome of a thousand yeares'.[133]

In addition to Baillie's uncompromising rejection of millenarianism, there are other facets of his interpretation of biblical prophecy that owed much to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Baillie expected the Antichrist and his followers to trouble the godly until all the forces of Satan were destroyed by the brightness of Christ's Second Coming on Judgment Day.[134] Therefore, like James VI & I and William Cowper, Baillie did not believe the Church would experience a period of latter-day glory between the time of Antichrist's fall and the Last Judgment. Instead, the Church militant would encompass a mixture of the 'Elect and Reprobate' who would be plagued by sin and misery to the 'worlds end'.[135] Although Baillie's apocalyptic outlook was fairly pessimistic, he maintained the traditional

[130] Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 246 & 249.
[131] *Ibid*., 225.
[132] *Ibid*., 228.
[133] *Ibid*., 228-229, 232.
[134] *Ibid*., 233.
[135] *Ibid*., 230.

view that the power of the Gospel would increase throughout the world in the last days. By August 1645, current events had convinced him that the Lord was busy 'shaking the foundations of Kingdomes and States, to make way for the great propagation of the Gospell'.[136]

Baillie also believed that the Jews would be converted to the Christian faith during the latter-days. However, against the claims of many English millenarians, he stated that the Jews would not rebuild Jerusalem, nor would they ever 'be restored to their ancient outward estate'.[137] Lastly, Goodwin and Archer had both predicted that Christ would return around 1695 or 1700 to inaugurate the millennium.[138] But like the majority of Scottish apocalyptic thinkers, Baillie described such speculation as 'groundless' and 'frivolous'. Citing Mark 13:32 – which states that only God knows the day and hour upon which Christ will return – Baillie countered that 'Scripture makes the time of Christ's second comming to be secret and hid'.[139]

Given that he was arguably the most conservative Covenanter who attended the Westminster Assembly of Divines, it is not surprising that Baillie objected so vehemently to the millenarian ideology of radical English puritans.[140] Yet, as we have seen, even the more radically minded George Gillespie rejected the opinion of those in England who longed to see the establishment of Christ's earthly kingdom. The same can be said of Alexander Henderson, who preaching before the House of Lords on 28 May 1645,

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[136] *LJRB*, II, 308, 'Publick Letter', Aug. 1645.
[137] Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 233.
[138] [Goodwin?], *A Glimpse of Sions Glory*, 32; Archer, *Personall Reign*, 53.
[139] Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 231-232; 242. Gillespie's calculations for 1260 days and the 42 months prove to be an anomaly within Scottish eschatological works published during the reign of Charles I. The chronological conjectures of Mede and subsequent English millenarians certainly did not 'engulf the Scots': Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 45.
[140] As a voice of moderation during the General Assembly held at Glasgow in 1638, Baillie had been reluctant to condemn the Five Articles of Perth and episcopacy as unlawful. On Baillie's 'hesitation', see: Stevenson, *Scottish Revolution*, 124-125; and F.N. McCoy, *Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation* (Berkeley, 1974), Ch. 3.

described the kingdom of Christ as 'not of this world', but 'spirituall and heavenly'.[141] Also setting forth this view was the Covenanter minister from Montrose, Alexander Petrie (c. 1594-1662), who carried the fight against millenarianism to the Continent.

In 1642, a Scottish Church was founded in Rotterdam for expatriates living in the Netherlands. The following year Petrie was appointed as the first minister for the new church. Petrie had been active during the early Covenanting movement and had taken part in the proceedings of the Glasgow General Assembly in 1638. Upon arriving in Rotterdam, he found himself attached to an upstart kirk troubled by Independency and millenarianism. Petrie faced this problem head on in 1644 with the publication of his *Chiliasto-mastix*. This work was a direct refutation of the radical ideals advanced by various English millenarians such as Joseph Mede, John Archer, and Robert Maton. Their views had begun to take root among Independent congregations in the Netherlands and Petrie hoped his treatise would serve as 'an antidote' against the spread of millenarian belief.[142]

In common with his Covenanter brethren, Petrie described the kingdom of Christ as a spiritual and heavenly kingdom which the godly would inherit following the Last Judgment.[143] Furthermore, Petrie joined Baillie in blaming sixteenth-century Anabaptists for the revival of chiliasm, and he recognised the anarchical threat posed by contemporary Independents who tolerated 'grosse Anabaptists' among their gathered congregations. For this reason, he was especially critical of Maton and other chiliasts who interpreted the prophecies of Revelation literally rather than allegorically, and envisioned the future

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[141] Alexander Henderson, *A Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable House of Lords . . . the 28 of May 1645* (London, 1645), 7. According to Henderson, the kingdom of Christ was made visible on earth only through the operation of the Holy Spirit and the ordinances of church government: 9.

[142] Alexander Petrie, *Chiliasto-mastix* (Rotterdam, 1644), Epistle, 5-7. See Ginny Gardner's entry for Petrie in the *ODNB*.

[143] *Ibid*., 9-11, 50. Petrie explained that Christ's spiritualised kingdom had flourished in the world since the Incarnation.

thousand-year reign of Christ on earth.[144] Maton had argued that following the fall of the papal Antichrist, the Jews would be restored to their homeland where – with Christ as their king – they would rule above all other nations throughout the millennium. Petrie, who did not anticipate the future conversion of the Jews, retorted that 'no man can imagine . . . that our Saviour shall reign among the Jewes as an earthly monarch'.[145] He also disputed Maton's and Archer's claim that the restoration of the Jews would be accompanied by the physical resurrection of the saints and martyrs who were to have a 'share' of Christ's temporal kingdom.[146] Petrie remarked that there was to be but one 'general resurrection' when Christ returned on Judgment Day. At that time, 'the dead in Christ' and those who were then 'alive' would be 'caught up together . . . in the cloudes, to meet the Lord in the aire'.[147]

Petrie also found fault with Joseph Mede's interpretation of Revelation and his exegetical method of synchronisms. Mede linked his seventh synchronism, which pertained to the seven vials of the Lord's wrath noted in Revelation 16, with the present age of the sixth trumpet. He concluded that five of the vials had been poured out, and predicted that the last two would destroy the Antichrist at the blast of the seventh trumpet. This would usher in the resurrection of the martyrs and the millennial reign of the saints over New Jerusalem.[148] Petrie explained that the 'renouned' author of the *Clavis Apocalyptica* was 'mistaken in his seventh synchronisme, wherein he sayth, that the powring furth of the seven viales is contemporarie with the end of the Beast and Babylon'. Therefore, Mede and the 'late Millenaries' who embraced his synchronisms were wrong to equate the '1000 yeers of Christs kingdome' with the 'last trumpet or space after the

[144] *Ibid*., Epistle, 5-6.
[145] *Ibid*., 45.
[146] Maton, *Israels Redemption*, 60; Archer, *Personall Reign*, 17.
[147] Petrie, *Chiliasto-mastix*, 43, 54-55, 63.
[148] Mede, *Key of the Revelation*, 12, 17, 24-25.

slaughter of the beast'.[149] Alternatively, Petrie matched each vial with each of the seven trumpets without applying these to a chronological framework. In his view, the sound of the seventh trumpet and the pouring forth of the seventh vial would coincide with the Second Coming, the destruction of the Antichrist, and the Last Judgment. Thus, like Baillie, Petrie did not expect a period of latter-day glory to follow the defeat of Antichrist. Further to show this, he invoked the parable of the sower from Matthew 13, and stated that 'the godly shall be mixed with the ungodly even till Christ come, and gather the tares from the wheat to be burned'.[150]

Joining his fellow Covenanters in combating the spread of millenarianism was the Glasgow native David Dickson (c. 1583-1662). As a member of the radical party in the Kirk, Dickson had assisted Alexander Henderson and other militant Presbyterians in organising the Edinburgh prayer book riots in July 1637. Additionally, throughout the 1630s and early-1640s, he had supported the practice of conventicling which drew the ire of moderate Presbyterians within the Scottish Church.[151] But despite his continued zeal for the Presbyterian cause, Dickson's apocalyptic ideology during the civil war period was highly conservative. In effect, he maintained the eschatological views set forth earlier by Baillie and Petrie. This can be seen in his exposition of the Gospel of Matthew which he completed in 1647 while serving as professor of divinity at the University of Glasgow.[152]

Like Petrie, Dickson based his vision of the latter-day Church on the parable of the sower found in Matthew 13. Using this parable, Christ had explained to his disciples 'that the visible church' would contain 'a mixture of wicked persons, joyned with the Godly,

[149] Petrie, *Chiliasto-mastix*, 14, 60-61. Petrie did not accept the chronological projections of contemporary millenarians and argued that Christ would return at 'a time when men look not for him': 62.
[150] *Ibid*., 64.
[151] See K.D. Holfelder's entry for Dickson in the *ODNB*.
[152] Dickson held this post from 1640 to 1650. From 1650 to 1662 he served as chair of divinity at the University of Edinburgh. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that divinity students were exposed to Dickson's nonmillenarian teachings during his tenure at both universities.

unto the worlds end'.[153] Thus, Dickson followed Baillie and Petrie in rejecting the doctrine of the latter-day glory of the Church. In further accordance with Baillie's apocalyptic outlook, Dickson looked forward to the conversion of the Jews and the spread of the Gospel throughout the world prior to the Second Coming. However, he assured his readers that the Gospel would be 'proclaimed in the midst of wars, famine, pestilence', and heresies until the 'Lord's Work' was complete.[154] Dickson also denounced prophetic date setting and invoked Matthew 24:36 to show that only the Lord knew the day and hour upon which Christ would return. The godly should be in a constant state of 'watchfulnesse', for as he claimed, it was safer for the saints 'to make ready for the day of judgment . . . then to be curious to know the particular time of it'.[155]

Lastly, like Baillie and Petrie, Dickson was especially critical of the heretical chiliastic beliefs held by many English sectarians in the mid-1640s. Dickson noted that in the last days the Lord would allow 'blasphemies and heresies to arise in the visible church'.[156] These errors would be spread by 'many false teachers' who would come forth to shake the faith of the godly and 'deceive many' Christians.[157] Those who fell into error would be severely punished at the Last Judgment. For this reason, he explained that the 'imaginations' of chiliasts who expected Christ to return to reign over his temporal kingdom for a millennium were 'not to be believed'. Against such millenarian hopes, Dickson stated that 'after Christ's ascension no other bodily presence of Christ, or coming

[153] David Dickson, *A Brief Exposition of the Evangel of Jesus Christ according to Matthew* (London, 1647), 200-201. Dickson stated further that 'this mixture in the visible Church, Christ the Lord is minded to permit, and commands to be permitted, till the day of judgement; and then, but not till then, shall a full separation of the Godly and the wicked, of the elect, and the reprobate be made'. Three editions of Dickson's exposition of Matthew were published, although only minor cosmetic differences set them apart. The first edition was printed in Glasgow 1647 and was followed by a second printed in London the same year. The third edition was printed in London later in 1651. Due to the lack of pagination in the first edition of this treatise, we shall cite the second London edition throughout this thesis.
[154] *Ibid*., 286.
[155] *Ibid*., 295-296.
[156] *Ibid*., 283.
[157] *Ibid*., 285.

into the world is to be believed' except for 'his second coming in glory' on Judgment Day.[158]

In 1644, the same year that Petrie published his *Chiliasto-mastix*, the Westminster Assembly of Divines produced its *Directory for the Publick Worship of God*. Approved by the Scottish Parliament for use in the Kirk on 6 February 1645, the *Directory* instructed ministers to pray for the 'propagation of the Gospell and Kingdome of Christ to all nations, for the conversion of the Jewes, the fulnesse of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second comming of our Lord'.[159] As we have seen, these themes figured prominently within the collective apocalyptic outlook of Scottish Covenanters during the civil war era in Britain. Yet, unlike many radical puritans in England at this time, leading Covenanters such as George Gillespie, Robert Baillie, and David Dickson, did not associate their anticipation of these events with the millennial reign of Christ described in Revelation 20.

The reasons why the Covenanters chose not to join their English brethren in the pursuit of the millennium are twofold. First, in contrast to England, a tradition of millenarian belief had not developed in Scotland prior to the late-1630s and early-1640s. Indeed, no Scottish equivalent to Thomas Brightman or Joseph Mede had stepped forward to challenge the nonmillenarianism which had been upheld by expositors of biblical prophecy in Scotland throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Secondly, like their predecessors, the Covenanters associated the millenarian impulse which they encountered in England with the revolutionary apocalypticism espoused by sixteenth-century Anabaptist extremists Thomas Müntzer and John of Leyden. The Covenanters understood that chiliastic expectations of the coming kingdom of Christ had fuelled the

[158] *Ibid*., 292.
[159] *A Directory for the Publick Worship of God, Throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1644), 20.

German Peasants' War in 1525 and the Anabaptist take-over of Münster in the mid-1530s. A heightened sense of awareness that the 'horrible tragedies of the Anabaptists' could be repeated in Britain led the Covenanters to denounce the millenarian dreams of radical English puritans such as Thomas Goodwin, John Archer, and Robert Maton.

Conclusion

In recent scholarship, terms such as millenarian and millenarianism have been used too loosely by historians who have discussed the nature of Scottish apocalypticism during the reign of Charles I. Furthermore, scholars have conflated the apocalyptic ideals advanced by a minority of zealous Presbyterians throughout this period with millenarianism. The fact that individuals such as Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie looked forward to the imminent collapse of Antichrist's kingdom, the future conversion of the Jews, and a greater spread of the Gospel in the last days, should not lead to the assumption that millenarian thinking was 'widely accepted' in Caroline Scotland.[160] These same ideas can be traced back to the expositions of the Book of Revelation published by James VI, John Napier, Patrick Forbes, and William Cowper, each of whom eschewed millenarian interpretations of biblical prophecy.

The surviving letters, sermons, and treatises produced by moderate and militant Presbyterians between 1625 and 1647, do not evidence the influence of millenarianism in Scotland. Instead, they prove rather conclusively that throughout this period apocalyptically-minded Scots adhered to the fundamental eschatological views set forth by the founders of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition at the turn of the seventeenth century. Like James VI, moderate Presbyterians William Struther, Robert Baillie, and Alexander

[160] Steele, '"The Politick Christian"', 52.

Petrie expected the forces of Satan to persecute the godly until Christ returned on Judgment Day. In contrast, zealous Presbyterians such as Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, and George Gillespie shared the opinion of Napier and Forbes, who anticipated a period of latter-day glory for the Church militant between the time of Antichrist's fall and the Second Coming. Supporters of both strands of apocalyptic belief were united by their aversion to millenarianism.

Chapter Three
A Tradition in Decline: Scottish Apocalypticism, 1647-1660

In 1647, the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly of Divines began to return home as radical sectarians in England appeared to be on the verge of assuming control of government affairs in London.[1] Shortly thereafter, the Covenanters became embroiled in a series of events that seriously divided the Kirk and led to the conquest of Scotland by English forces commanded by Oliver Cromwell. Ministers in Scotland interpreted these events as a sign that the Lord was punishing the Scottish people for failing to uphold the covenants of 1638 and 1643, and for lapsing into a state of sinfulness and apostasy. In the wake of Cromwell's invasion and subsequent occupation of Scotland, the apocalyptic excitement expressed by many Scots over the previous decade was replaced by a sense of disillusionment and despair. For ministers such as Samuel Rutherford, Scotland had become 'an undeserving land', unworthy of playing an important role in God's divine plan for the last days.[2] Partly as a result of this negative worldview, interest in biblical prophecy waned across Scotland in the 1650s.

This chapter discusses the additional political and religious factors that led to the general decline of Scottish apocalypticism during the Interregnum. However, it also demonstrates that, despite this decline, many of the traits common to apocalyptic discourse in Scotland over the first half of the seventeenth century persisted throughout the 1650s. As we shall see, although there were several temporary alterations to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition during the early-1650s, midway through the Interregnum apocalyptic

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[1] For the rise of radical English sectarians in the late-1640s see for example: Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London, 1972); Mark Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979); McGregor and Reay, eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*; and Robert Ashton, *Counter-Revolution: The Second Civil War and its Origins, 1646-8* (New Haven, 1994).

[2] *Letters*, 678, Letter to Colonel Gilbert Ker, 2 April 1654.

thinkers in Scotland began to produce eschatological works which were more in line with those completed at the turn of the century by biblical exegetes such as John Napier and Patrick Forbes. However, with the exception of the commentary on the Book of Revelation published by James Durham in 1658, the majority of primary sources examined below have been ignored by modern scholars who have provided very little insight into the nature of apocalyptic belief in Cromwellian Scotland.[3] An additional aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the continued conservatism of Scottish apocalyptic thought at a time when radical sectarians in England, such as the Fifth Monarchy men, sought actively to establish the millennial reign of the saints with Christ on earth.

Apocalyptic Union in Decline, 1647-1649

On 6 August 1647, Robert Baillie and George Gillespie appeared before the General Assembly at Edinburgh after spending most of the previous four years in London participating in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The two Covenanter ministers had returned to Scotland earlier in the year after becoming frustrated by the 'cunning' tactics of English 'Independents and Erastians', who, as far as Baillie was concerned had become the main obstacles blocking the establishment of Presbyterian church government in England.[4] Nevertheless, as they spoke before the General Assembly, they did not rule out the possibility that Presbyterianism might be established throughout Great Britain in the near future.[5] Baillie explained to his peers in Edinburgh that 'by the blessing of God . . . in a short time the Churches in the three Kingdomes, in all considerable parts of government'

[3] See Toon, 'Latter-day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 39-41; and Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham'.
[4] *LJRB*, III, 1, Letter to William Spang, 26 Jan. 1647.
[5] On the continued support for Presbyterianism in London in 1647 see: Valerie Pearl, 'London's Counter-Revolution', in G.E. Aylmer, ed., *The Interregnum: The Quest for Settlement 1646-1660* (London, 1972), 29-56.

could become 'not only uniforme, but well near one'.[6] Similarly, Gillespie expressed his belief that the Lord would still perform 'great things' in Scotland's neighbouring kingdoms.[7]

Despite this hopefulness, their speeches before the General Assembly contained a large amount of negativity derived from Baillie's and Gillespie's bitter opposition to those who stood in the way of a more complete reformation of the English Church. To some extent, the speeches also indicate the sense of apocalyptic disappointment they felt upon returning to Scotland. Preaching before the House of Commons in 1644, Gillespie had declared that the work of the Westminster Assembly of Divines coincided with the imminent time of Antichrist's final destruction.[8] However, by 1647 Gillespie no longer seemed convinced that the proceedings of the assembly in London and the union forged by the Solemn League and Covenant would have any apocalyptic bearing on the future of Great Britain, let alone the world as a whole.

In contrast to the vibrant apocalyptic language he employed in his 1644 sermon, Gillespie made no mention of the state of Antichrist's kingdom, the destruction of Christ's enemies, or the future of the Church in the latter-days as he spoke before the General Assembly in Edinburgh. Instead, Gillespie left London believing that the dangers threatening religion were increasing daily. His earlier apocalyptic optimism had been dashed by the spread of Socinian, Arminian, antinomian, Anabaptist, and Independent 'errors' throughout England, and the continued resistance to the covenant and

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[6] *LJRB*, III, 11-12. 'My Speech in the Generall Assembly [at Edinburgh,] Giving Account of our Labours at London'.
[7] *Ibid*., Appendix II, 453. 'Mr. George Gillespie's Speech in the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 6th August 1647'.
[8] Gillespie, *A Sermon Preached . . .*, 37-38.

Presbyterianism by sectarian groups who sought toleration for their gathered churches.[9] As Gillespie reported, the refusal of many English sectarians to subscribe to the Solemn League and Covenant – 'a sovereign remedy' against former evils – enhanced the dangers these groups posed to the Reformed faith observed by the Scottish Kirk.[10]

As we can see, by the late-1640s, the perceived threats to religion in Scotland were no longer mainly being posed by the papal Antichrist from abroad, or by his servants, the antichristian bishops in Great Britain. According to Baillie, English sectarians had now become 'the prime instruments of Satan, this day on earth'.[11] In England, the Covenanters were characterised in much the same light. After the Scottish Commissioners began to withdraw from the Westminster Assembly, radical puritans in England criticised the Church of Scotland and the Covenanters 'in violently apocalyptic terms'.[12] Baillie's friend, the English Presbyterian Thomas Edwards, reported in his *Gangraena* that a leading Anabaptist by the name of John Webb had proclaimed the Scots to be the 'Babylonish Beast'.[13] Whereas the Scots had been viewed by some puritans in England during the early-1640s as potential 'agents of English millennial glory', Independents such as John Owen would later view the Scots, with their rigid opposition to toleration, as instruments of antichristian persecution.[14]

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[9] *LJRB*, III, Appendix II, 451. On the various gathered churches in England see: G.F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1957).
[10] *LJRB*, III, Appendix II, 453.
[11] *Ibid*., 13. Baillie explained that sectarians in England who had subscribed to the covenant, particularly those among the army, were 'guilty of such atrocious breaches of every article of the League' that there was little hope of 'recovering them by words, messages, or any peaceable means' to shift them 'from their paths of destruction': 27.
[12] Crawford Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 53. David Stevenson noted that the 'depth of anti-Scots feeling' in England had steadily increased from mid-1645 onwards: Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Scotland, 1644-1651* (London, 1977), 54-55.
[13] Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 35. Edwards joined Baillie and the Covenanters in denouncing the heretical errors of radical sectarians in England. See: Ann Hughes, Gangraena *and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004).
[14] Gribben, 'The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination', 55.

Not surprisingly, the Covenanters also made use of this kind of rhetoric. Samuel Rutherford accused sectarians in England of backing away from the fight against the beast of Revelation in his *Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist* published in 1648.[15] Rutherford's chosen biblical passages for the title sheet of his tract points to his belief that the blasphemous sectarians were nothing short of false prophets sent to deceive the elect – for 'every spirit that confesseth not Jesus Christ . . . is the spirit of Antichrist'.[16] Additionally, he attacked the millenarian spirit of English radicals, stating that like the 'Sectaries of old in Germany', those now active in England were wrongly trying to establish the earthly kingdom of Christ 'by the Sword'. No prophesy existed, he claimed, that proved Christ would have a 'personall, externall visible reign on earth' in the last days.[17] Here again we see the Covenanters' continued rejection of millenarianism and their association of English sectarians with Münster Anabaptists.[18]

The Covenanters' relationship with their former allies in England was strained further by the Engagement treaty forged between Charles I and members of the Scottish nobility led by the Duke of Hamilton on 26 December 1647.[19] Under the terms of this treaty, Charles received military support from moderate Covenanters and royalists in Scotland on the grounds that, should they defeat parliamentary forces, the king would establish Presbyterian church government in England for a period of three years. The Engagement was highly contested by hardline Covenanters such as Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, and a majority of Scottish ministers who argued that God alone was

[15] Rutherford, *Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist*, sig. A4v. The apocalyptic disillusionment Rutherford experienced after leaving the Westminster Assembly is discussed in: Coffey, *Politics, Theology, and the British Revolutions*, 247-248.
[16] Rutherford cited 1 John 4:3 and Matthew 24:24.
[17] Rutherford, *Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist*, sig. Tt3r.
[18] Baillie compared Oliver Cromwell to Bernard Knipperdolling, a ringleader of the Anabaptist takeover of Münster in 1534: *LJRB*, III, 19, Letter to William Spang, 1 Sept. 1647.
[19] On the Engagement see: Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, Ch.3 and 'Cromwell, Scotland and Ireland' in John Morrill, ed., *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London, 1990), 152-155; Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 184-189; Ashton, *Counter-Revolution*, Ch. 9.

powerful enough to stop English Independents and Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army from seizing power in England.[20] Nevertheless, in August 1648, Cromwell's army defeated the Engagers at Preston, took control of affairs in London, and purged the English Parliament of those members who sought to reach a settlement with the king.[21]

The task of purging Engagers from the ranks of the godly in Scotland was undertaken by the radical regime in the Kirk led by Argyll and his supporters who regained power following the battle at Preston.[22] The Kirk party wished to show Cromwell that malignants who had wrongfully assembled together and invaded England would be removed from power.[23] However, the fragile relationship between the radical regimes in Edinburgh and London was severed when word reached Scotland of Charles I's execution.[24] With his death on 30 January 1649 came a new phase in Scottish apocalyptic tradition, a phase characterized by the ministry's general lack of interest in eschatology. As shown in Chapter Four, the majority of Scottish divines remained ambivalent toward the study of biblical prophecy long after the Interregnum. This trend began between the years 1647 and 1649 as the apocalyptic unionism forged between the Covenanters and English puritans at Westminster completely collapsed. Thereafter, the often exuberant

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[20] For Argyll's role as a leading Covenanter see: Allan Macinnes, *The British Confederate: Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, c.1607-1661* (Edinburgh, 2011). Baillie feared that any action taken against parliamentary forces on Charles' behalf would not only result in a breach of the covenant, but would provoke the 'Sectarian armie' to overrun Scotland and infect the Kirk with the dangerous 'leaven of their doctrine': *LJRB*, III, 30.

[21] David Underdown, *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1971); Blair Worden, *The Rump Parliament, 1648-1653* (Cambridge, 1974).

[22] The purging of malignants in Scotland was not necessarily driven by apocalyptic motives. As demonstrated below, the Covenanters expected Christ's Church in the last days to be a mixture of the godly and the reprobate. Thus, the purges were not an attempt by zealous Presbyterians in the Kirk to establish a purified latter-day kingdom of Christ comprised strictly of God's saints like many English millenarians came to expect during the mid-seventeenth century. See: Bernard Capp, 'Extreme Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 68; and more broadly, Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*.

[23] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 130. Under the Act of Classes passed by the Scottish Parliament in January 1649, malignants who took part in the Engagement were subsequently barred for life from holding offices or taking part in public affairs. In addition, between 1648 and 1650, the Kirk party deposed approximately 85 'Engager' ministers: David Stevenson, 'Deposition of Ministers in the Church of Scotland under the Covenanters, 1638-1651', *Church History*, 44 (1975), 335.

[24] Macinnes, *The British Revolution*, 189.

apocalypticism espoused by Presbyterians in Scotland during the 1630s and early-1640s, gave way to a rather disillusioned prophetic view held by many Scots during the 1650s.

A Kirk Divided

The initial purging of malignants by the Kirk party coincided with its proclamation of Charles II as King of Scotland, and more controversially, King of Great Britain and Ireland. Reaction in England to the Scots' bold proclamation of Charles II as the inheritor of all his father's former kingdoms triggered rumours that an English invasion of Scotland was highly likely.[25] To deal with the apparent, imminent conflict with Cromwell and his troops, a commission was appointed to purge the army in Scotland of malignants, Engagers, and other backsliders in the hope of creating a smaller godlier force, that with the Lord's blessing could defeat a larger host of invading English sectarians.[26] But, as Francis Dow pointed out, these purges had a disastrous effect on morale and military discipline within the army, and largely contributed to Cromwell's victory over the Scots at Dunbar on 3 September.[27] The sense of disappointment felt by the godly in Scotland after failing to prevent Cromwell's invasion of their homeland was made worse by the fact that the Kirk became divided during the autumn of 1650.[28]

In October, zealous Covenanters led by Patrick Gillespie, James Guthrie, and Johnston of Wariston rallied around Colonels Archibald Strachan and Gilbert Ker who formed a new army comprised of godly men to protect Scotland's western shires from both

[25] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 133. The Kirk party was adamant that the exiled Charles II should signify his personal acceptance of the covenants, promise to uphold Presbyterian church government, and remove all malignants from his court prior to setting foot in Scotland. With much hesitation, Charles agreed to the Treaty of Breda on 1 May 1650 and reluctantly signed the covenants on 23 June which paved the way for his entry into Scotland.
[26] Francis Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland 1651-1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), 8.
[27] *Ibid*., 8.
[28] Sources of discord within the Scottish Church during the 1650s are discussed in: Gordon Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), Ch. 16, 'The Emergence of Schism in Seventeenth-century Scotland'.

malignant Scots and English sectarians. This 'western association' presented a Remonstrance to the Committee of Estates proclaiming their refusal to fight for the new king until Charles proved he was sincere in his subscription to the covenants and removed malignants from his company.[29] In December, the western army was defeated by Cromwell at Hamilton. Subsequently, the Scottish Parliament and the moderate majority within the ministry decided that in order to preserve the kingdom, the qualifications for military service should be relaxed to allow repentant malignants and former Engagers to join the army.[30] These resolutions were opposed by former Remonstrants who protested against the levying of wicked persons to defend the kingdom. Protesters such as Samuel Rutherford fervently believed that a lesser army of godly men would be 'instrumental' in saving the Lord's people in Scotland from the threats posed by their enemies, both 'Sectaries and Malignants'.[31] But despite their objections, numerous royalists and former Engagers were allowed to rejoin the army.

Following Cromwell's rout of Charles' royalist army at Worcester on 3 September 1651, General Monck's forces finished the work of bringing Scotland under English control. For many Protesters, it was apparent that Scotland's sin of 'complyance with malignant ungodly men' had incurred the wrath of God and brought about the destruction of the land. Ministers argued that such rampant backsliding and apostasy had caused the Lord to hide his face from the faithful in Scotland. A sequence of letters written by Rutherford portrays this general sense of disillusionment felt by Protester ministers during the early-1650s. In September 1650, Rutherford offered words of encouragement to Gilbert

[29] Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 9; and Coffey, *Politics, Theology, and the British Revolutions*, 250-251. The Remonstrance was denounced by the Committee of Estates and moderates such as Robert Baillie who described it as a dangerous invective designed to breed schism and increase the 'miseries' of the Kirk. Moderates like Baillie hoped that Charles would stand behind the Solemn League and Covenant and impose Presbyterianism in England: *LJRB*, III, 108-109. On the other hand, the Remonstrants were not so naïve as to believe the king would ever fulfill his earlier promises.
[30] Stevenson, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 193.
[31] *Letters*, 651, Letter to Ker, 5 Sept. 1650.

Ker shortly after the fateful events at Dunbar, stating that the 'Prince of the kings of the earth' would soon appear to gather together 'Malignants and Sectaries' and thresh them 'as sheaves in a barn-floor'.[32] However, the following year Rutherford wrote again to Ker – then a captive of the English army – and lamented that 'the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in His anger'.[33] His despair over the Lord's 'withdrawings' deepened in 1653, and by April 1654, Rutherford complained that 'deadness, security, unbelief, and distance from God' had prevailed in the Kirk.[34]

Cromwell's invasion of Scotland, along with the divisions in the Scottish Church that began with the Remonstrance controversy, distracted members of the ministry from pursuing their former interest in biblical prophecy. Rather than viewing the turbulent events unfolding around them through an apocalyptic framework, disillusioned Presbyterian ministers in the early-1650s turned their attention to uncovering the reasons why God had turned his back on Scotland.[35] The personal letters and journals of Baillie and Rutherford point to this trend, which is further exemplified by the lack of printed works published in this period that focus primarily on apocalyptic themes. Overall, throughout the 1650s, only a handful of tracts that dealt specifically with eschatology were published in Scotland. As we shall see, these only began to appear around 1655. Instead, works printed during the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland by those in the ministry centered largely on internal disputes within the Church between Protesters and

[32] *Ibid*., 651.
[33] *Ibid*., 662. Letter to Ker, 18 May 1651.
[34] *Ibid*., 675 & 678, Letters to Ker, July 1653 and 2 April 1654. Resolutioners also experienced disillusionment following Cromwell's invasion of Scotland. Robert Baillie stated in January 1651 that Scotland's 'miseries and dangers of ruine' were greater than ever before. Only the Lord, Baillie concluded, could determine 'what the end of all shall be': *LJRB*, III, 127, Letter to David Dickson and William Spang, 2 Jan. 1651.
[35] The sins of the nation which many ministers argued had incurred the Lord's judgments upon the land were outlined in a proclamation issued by the General Assembly which called for a fast to be held on 22 December 1650; see *Reasons of a Fast, Appoynted by the Commission of the General Assembly* (Aberdeen, 1650).

Resolutioners who blamed each other for causing schism, spreading scandal, holding unlawful assemblies, and for generally failing to uphold 'the Cause of God'.[36]

These themes are prevalent in several treatises published during the Interregnum period by radical Protesters James Guthrie and Johnston of Wariston. Bernard Capp has suggested that both Guthrie and Wariston 'remained millenarians in the 1650s', but there is no evidence within their printed works, or in Wariston's personal diary, to indicate that either espoused a millenarian outlook during their lifetime.[37] Capp correctly observed that contemporaries described both men as millenarians. However, Wariston was surprised by accusations made against him in 1654 which labeled him a chiliast in the mould of the Seekers.[38] In accordance with the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, Wariston believed in the spiritual reign of Christ in the last days, and asserted that Jesus would 'ryse, live, reign in Scotland in His influences on His ordinances and consciences of His saints, and in His providences'.[39] Therefore, the accusation made by one of his opponents, the Resolutioner George Hutcheson, that Wariston was a 'Fifth-Monarchy' Presbyterian should be taken with a grain of salt.[40] Overall, it is difficult to find any trace of apocalyptic, much less millenarian zeal in Guthrie's *Humble Acknowledgment of the Sins of the Ministry of Scotland* and his *Protesters no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie*. The same can be

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[36] James Wood, *A Vindication of the Freedom and Lawfulness, and so of the Authority of the late General Assembly, begun at St. Andrews, and continued at Dundee* (Leith, 1652), 310-312. This Resolutioner tract was answered by the Protester, James Guthrie. See: *The Nullity of the Pretended-Assembly at Saint Andrews and Dundee* (Leith, 1652). Other works of this type include: James Wood, *A True Representation* (London, 1657) and George Hutcheson, *A Review and Examination of . . . Protesters no Subverters* (Edinburgh, 1659).

[37] Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 42.

[38] During the mid-seventeenth century, Seekers in England withdrew from other puritan denominations to await a new divine dispensation, or millennium, during which time they expected believers would be filled with the charismatic spirit of the Gospel. See: J.F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in McGregor and Reay, eds., *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, 121-139; and R.J. Acheson, *Radical Puritans in England 1550-1660* (London, 1990), Ch. 6.

[39] See: *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1650-1654*, Vol. II, ed. David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh, 1911), 241-242. This was the most complete of the few statements made by Wariston in his diary concerning the nature of Christ's latter-day kingdom.

[40] *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, 1655-1660*, Vol. III, ed. James D. Ogilvie (Edinburgh, 1940), xix.

said of a tract Guthrie co-wrote with Wariston titled, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland*.[41] These works published by the more radical elements of the Kirk signify a withdrawal in the 1650s from the high level of apocalyptic expectation so widely portrayed in numerous Scottish printed sources throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

Before continuing it must be noted that the English army's presence and its command of the printing press in Scotland affected the decline of Scottish apocalyptic discourse during the 1650s. Scott Spurlock has shown that the English army maintained 'strict control' over Scotland's printing presses with little difficulty.[42] However, once the early period of martial rule in Scotland ended, the civilian government which ran Scottish affairs during the Protectorate relaxed its control of the press and Scottish writers began to publish tracts largely intended to 'defend Presbyterianism and thwart the threat of sectarianism'.[43] Seditious works by Scottish authors portraying Cromwell as an agent of the Antichrist, or texts describing the imminent divine punishment that would come upon his government would have likely been censored.[44] As we shall see, in several works published by moderate Resolutioners, English sectarians were portrayed as sowers of antichristian error and heretical doctrine. These tracts were printed in London, or published after the Interregnum. Conversely, conservative ministers William Guild and James Durham had little reason to be concerned about censorship issues when they came to write

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[41] James Guthrie, *A Humble Acknowledgment of the Sins of the Ministry of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1653); *Protesters no Subverters, and Presbyterie no Papacie* (Edinburgh, 1658); Guthrie and Wariston, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath against Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1653). Guthrie claimed in 1658 that divisions in the Kirk had hindered the 'advancement of the Gospel, and of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ'. See: *Protesters no Subverters*, 90. There is no further evidence among his treatises to suggest that this was not a reference to the spiritual kingdom of Christ anticipated by Wariston.

[42] R. Scott Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland: Conquest and Religion, 1650-1660* (Edinburgh, 2007), 72.

[43] *Ibid*., 92.

[44] *Ibid*., 95. In his survey of the early-modern Scottish book trade, Alastair Mann shows that at least one book was banned in Scotland every decade between 1570 and 1700 except for the 1650s. See: Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 179.

their respective commentaries on the Book of Revelation in 1656 and 1658. Aside from noting the increased presence of papists in the kingdom, neither minister framed his interpretation of Revelation around political or religious developments in Scotland during the late-1640s and early-1650s.

Apocalyptic Belief and the Fight against Heresy and Error

Whereas few expressions of apocalypticism can be found in the polemical exchanges between Protesters and Resolutioners, examples of Scottish apocalyptic thought are more easily detected within the context of the ministry's campaign to curb the influence of heretical English sectarians in Scotland. Prior to Cromwell's invasion, the Church of Scotland issued a proclamation warning the Scottish people of the dangerous intentions of the advancing sectarian army. Having already 'destroyed the late King' and 'turned the foundations' of government in England 'upside down', the 'prevailing party of Sectaries' now sought to ruin the pillars of 'Religion and Government' in Scotland by spreading the 'Gangrene of their errours'.[45] English sectarians were portrayed as seducers and corrupters of the truth who had drunk from the cup of Antichrist's abominations.[46] The threat from 'these instruments of Sathan' became more serious after Cromwell took control of Edinburgh following the Battle of Dunbar. Early in 1651, Baillie wrote to ministers in Edinburgh exhorting his brethren not to converse with sectarian 'seducers' who occupied the city, nor 'joyne with them in publick worship, or in any private exercise of religion'.[47]

[45] Church of Scotland, *A Seasonable and Necessary Warning* (Edinburgh, 1650), 3-5. This view was repeated in: Church of Scotland, *Perth Decemb. 14. 1650. The Commission of the Generall Assembly Considering how Greivous a Sin against God and Scandall to Religion it were for any of this Kirke and Kingdome to Joine or Comply with any of the Sectarian Enemy* (n.p., 1650).
[46] *A Seasonable and Necessary Warning*, 8.
[47] *LJRB*, III, 130.

The efforts of Presbyterian ministers like Baillie to curtail the influence of heretical sectarians became all the more difficult in February 1652 after the Kirk's domination of Scottish religion was broken by Cromwell's imposition of toleration in Scotland.[48] Cromwell's demand for religious toleration was a serious blow to the authority of an already weakened and divided Scottish Church. Nonetheless, both Protesters and Resolutioners continued to condemn the various heretical doctrines of English sectarians as contrary to the Word of God and frequently warned the Scottish people about the dangers of falling into error.[49] In this context, curtailing the spread of heresy was viewed by the ministry as the best means to prevent the land from incurring further punishment and afflictions from an already angry God. At the same time, however, in accordance with traditional Protestant apocalyptic belief, Scottish Presbyterians fully expected the last days to be 'marked by a growth of heresy and false teaching within the church'.[50]

David Dickson argued this point in his exposition of the Gospel of Matthew first published in 1647. Dickson reminded his readers that in the last days the Lord would allow 'blasphemies and heresies to arise in the visible church'.[51] These errors would be spread by 'many false teachers' who would come forth to shake the faith of the godly and 'deceive

[48] Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland*, 51. English sectarians advocating congregationalism and toleration did enjoy some success in Scotland during the Interregnum. A small group of Protesters led by Patrick Gillespie began to favour toleration while a minority of Presbyterian ministers from Aberdeen led by Alexander Jaffray temporarily took up Independency. Jaffray became a Quaker during the Restoration: *Ibid*., 110-157. Despite this, Presbyterian efforts to prevent the spread of various sectarian groups in Scotland was successful: see W. Ivan Hoy, 'The Entry of Sects into Scotland', in Duncan Shaw, ed., *Reformation and Revolution* (Edinburgh, 1967), 178-211. For more general studies of religious toleration under Cromwell see: Blair Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', in W.J. Sheils, ed., *Persecution and Toleration* (Padstow, 1984), 199-233; J.C. Davis, 'Cromwell's Religion', in John Morrill, ed., *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (London, 1990), 181-208; Mark Goldie, 'The Search for Religious Liberty 1640-1690', in John Morrill, ed., *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford, 1996), 293-309; and John Coffey, *Persecution and Toleration in Protestant England, 1558-1689* (Harlow, 2000), Ch. 3.

[49] Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 39.

[50] Ball, *A Great Expectation*, 105.

[51] Dickson, *A Brief Exposition of . . . Matthew*, 283. A third edition of this commentary was reprinted in London in 1651. During the previous year, Dickson abandoned the radical Kirk party and argued against the detrimental purges of the Covenanter army, while supporting the resolutions to allow malignants and former Engagers to rejoin the military. Dickson remained an ardent Resolutioner throughout the 1650s. See K.D. Holfelder's entry for David Dickson in the *ODNB*.

many' Christians.[52] During the Interregnum, Resolutioners James Fergusson and George Hutcheson followed Dickson by pointing to the influx of heresy and false doctrine in the late-1640s and early-1650s as proof that they were living in the latter-days. In recent scholarship, historians have largely ignored the printed works of Fergusson and Hutcheson examined below, and have focused mainly on the apocalyptic views set forth by James Durham in his commentary on Revelation published in 1658. Yet, as we shall see, the eschatological views advanced by these Resolutioners evidence the conservative nature of apocalypticism in Cromwellian Scotland, and the ministry's continued adherence to many of the principal traits of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

James Fergusson (1621-1667) took over as minister at Kilwinning in 1643 after Robert Baillie left the parish to begin his duties in the Westminster Assembly of Divines.[53] Once the Scottish Church became divided in the early-1650s, his support of the Resolutioner cause earned him the praise of Baillie and Robert Blair.[54] Between 1656 and 1659, Fergusson published commentaries on Paul's epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, and Ephesians. His commentary on First and Second Thessalonians was not published until 1674, seven years after his death.[55] This work details his interpretation of the pope as the Antichrist – the 'son of perdition' described by Paul in 2nd Thessalonians 2:3. However, a collection of posthumously published discourses on the Book of Job

[52] *Ibid.*, 285.
[53] See Stephen Wright's entry for Fergusson in the *ODNB*.
[54] *LJRB*, III, 134, Letter to Robert Douglas, 10 March 1651, and 559, Letter from Robert Blair, July 1651.
[55] See: James Fergusson, *A Brief Exposition of the Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and Colossians* (Edinburgh, 1656); *A Brief Exposition of . . . Galatians and Ephesians* (London, 1659); *A Brief Exposition of the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians* (London, 1674). According to Hutcheson, who wrote the preface to the commentary on Thessalonians, Fergusson had prepared the work for transcription shortly before his death in 1667.

which had been 'the subject of divers sermons' preached by Fergusson in 1652 provides some insight into Fergusson's apocalyptic mindset during the Interregnum.[56]

In the late-seventeenth century, George Meldrum, who had succeeded Fergusson as minister at Kilwinning, was permitted by Fergusson's oldest son James to print a series of previously unpublished discourses that outlined his father's views on the errors of toleration, Independency, Erastianism, and separation. In his short biography of Fergusson, Meldrum stated that the minister frequently preached on these 'errors' at a time when his flock was in great danger. Meldrum portrayed Fergusson as a 'faithful watchman' who utilized his pulpit in order to prevent 'corrupt men and seducers' who occupied the kingdom from leading his parishioners astray.[57] He noted that although Fergusson was very learned, he prepared his sermons on heresy and error not for 'the School or Court', but for a 'country congregation' composed of 'common people'. His sermons were designed for the 'edification of the meanest' sort in Kilwinning and, according to Meldrum, Fergusson was largely successful in keeping his parishioners from falling into error. His influence was such that even 'divers of the English Army' came to hear him preach.[58]

Fergusson held the English Parliament directly responsible for allowing false religion to spread into Scotland. Because Parliament had failed to uphold the covenant and suppress heresy in England, God had 'suffered' Cromwell's army to gain control of the government in London. As a consequence, 'hereticks' had become the pillars of the Commonwealth and 'all the devils in hell' were now venting their blasphemies across

[56] James Fergusson, *A Brief Refutation of the Errors of Tolleration, Independency, Erastianism, and Separation Delivered in some Sermons . . . Preach'd in the Year 1652* (Edinburgh, 1692), 'Preface', sig. A4v.
[57] *Ibid*., sig. A4v-A5r.
[58] *Ibid*., sig. A5.

Britain.[59] Reminiscent of Baillie, Fergusson denounced toleration, or liberty of conscience, as a 'most capital sin', and explained how many Independents had fallen into older, more grievous heresies such as Anabaptism, Arianism, and Socinianism.[60] Yet, although he urged his parishioners to guard against the errors being introduced into Scotland, Fergusson believed that the spread of heresy and error was necessary for the fulfillment of God's providential plan for the world in the last days. Like Dickson, Fergusson stated that 'in the latter ages of the Church' the Lord's people would 'be tryed by erring Spirits'.[61] This was God's way of separating those members of the visible Church with 'unstable minds' who were weak and easily carried away by error, from those who were more balanced with 'the spirit of sobriety, and solid wisdom'.[62] In further agreement with Dickson, Fergusson invoked the parable of the sower from Matthew 13 to illustrate the separation of the godly from the ungodly in the last days.[63]

Additional features of Fergusson's wider apocalyptic thought can be extrapolated from his exposition of 2nd Thessalonians. Although this work was not completed until the mid-1660s, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the core traits of Fergusson's apocalyptic worldview at that time would have been carried forward from the Interregnum period. In fact, many of his apocalyptic views outlined in this text compare closely with those espoused throughout the 1640s by Baillie, Dickson, and Alexander Petrie which we examined in Chapter Two. For example, in regard to the destruction of Antichrist, Fergusson expected the beast of Revelation to fall 'little by little' through the 'powerful preaching of the Gospel' until he was finally destroyed by the brightness of Christ's Second Coming. However, Fergusson also stated that the Second Coming should be

[59] *Ibid*., 84.
[60] *Ibid*., 10, 125 & 188.
[61] *Ibid*., 16.
[62] *Ibid*., 17.
[63] *Ibid*., 74-75.

conceived 'with some latitude, so as it may mean not only the very last day, but also the foregoing signs and evidences of its approaching'.[64]

Although Fergusson claimed that the kingdom of Antichrist and the 'person of the beast' could be completely destroyed shortly before Christ's return, he argued that 'somewhat of Antichrist and Antichristianism will be in the world as long as it lasts'.[65] Thus, Fergusson agreed with Baillie, Dickson, and Petrie who stated that the Church would not experience a period of latter-day glory prior to Judgment Day. Fergusson was clear on this point: 'As the seeds of Antichristianism were early sown in the Church, so they continue long, even until Christ's Second Coming to judge the world; and therefore the Church is not to dream of having any time fully free from trouble of all sorts until then'.[66] Ferguson also adhered to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition by arguing against the beliefs of millenarians who expected Christ to return to establish his earthly kingdom and reign with his saints for a thousand years. On 'the day appointed for the last judgement', he claimed, Christ would descend from the heavens with 'a glorious train' of Angels to 'gather the elect and execute his terrible sentence against the reprobate'. Instead of returning to reign over a millennial kingdom, Christ would 'come in flaming fire' to burn up and dissolve the earth. The dead in Christ would then be resurrected and the saints would be received into heaven.[67]

Following the example of fellow Resolutioners Dickson and Fergusson, George Hutcheson (c.1615-1674) produced a number of commentaries on biblical texts in 1654 for the purpose of promoting 'truth', and preventing the spread of various 'errours'.[68]

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[64] Fergusson, *A Brief Exposition of . . . Thessalonians*, 359-360.
[65] *Ibid*., 360, 362-363.
[66] *Ibid*., 362.
[67] *Ibid*., 302-303, 314-315.
[68] George Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (London, 1654), 'To the Reader', sig. A5r. At the outset of the Interregnum, Hutcheson sided

Hutcheson's literary contribution to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition is unique in that he expounded many of his eschatological views in a series of expositions of Old Testament books written by the Twelve Minor Prophets. Although these texts do not contain the vivid apocalyptic imagery found in the books of Daniel or Revelation, Hutcheson explained that they contained many 'predictions concerning the Messiah', the future of the Church, and the conversion of the Jews in the latter-days, which might provide comfort for the elect in times of great peril and difficulty.[69] On the other hand, Hutcheson used his exegesis of books such as Hosea and Joel to admonish the godly in the hope that the faithful in Scotland would repent for allowing the Church to become plagued by apostasy, defection, and idolatry.[70]

Like the majority of Scottish Presbyterians in the mid-seventeenth century, Hutcheson expected the Jews to convert to the Christian faith in the last days. What is more, he believed that the Jews could possibly return to Israel in the near future.[71] Yet, unlike many English millenarians during this period, he did not associate these events with the imminent inauguration of the millennium and Christ's physical reign over the New Jerusalem.[72] Instead, Hutcheson denounced such millenarian hopes as erroneous:

> I am not ignorant how peremptory many have been of old, and of late, in determining of such future events from the Word; and that many who have asserted the restitution of Israel to their land, have asserted with it also a signe of Christ, not only in his spiritual government, but in his person also on earth; and that the Church shall be in a very flourishing and glorious estate for a thousand yeeres. Both of which assertions . . . have no sure footing in Scripture.[73]

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with Rutherford and other Protesters, but for reasons unknown he shifted his allegiance to the Resolutioner party in 1652. See K.D. Holfelder's entry for Hutcheson in the *ODNB*.

[69] George Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi* (London, 1654), 'Epistle', sig. A4r.

[70] George Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition on the XII Smal Prophets; the First Volume Containing an Exposition on the Prophecies of Hosea, Joel, and Amos* (London, 1654).

[71] Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah . . . .*, 'To the Reader', sig. A6v.

[72] See Katz, *Philo-Semitism*, Ch. 3 and Katz, 'Menasseh Ben Israel's Christian Connection: Henry Jessey and the Jews', in Kaplan, Méchoulan, and Popkin, eds., *Menassah Ben Israel and His World*, 117-138.

[73] Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah . . . .*, sig. A6r.

Concerning the first point, Hutcheson explained that Christ was seated at the right hand of the Father, and that it was more comfortable for the Church to 'be governed by his Spirit', rather than by 'deputies imployed by him, while he remaines in one corner of the world'. As to the second, he noted that, while the Church 'may have some glimpses and breathings of tranquility' in the last days, 'that happy condition [of the thousand-years] which many speak of, seemeth not to be very consistent even with common sense'.[74]

As previous expositors of biblical prophecy in Scotland had stated repeatedly during the first half of the century, Hutcheson claimed that Christ's kingdom was wholly spiritual, and asserted that Jesus would have 'no state like worldly kings' prior to the Last Judgment.[75] Moreover, his vision of the latter-day Church and the Second Coming, which he outlined in his exposition of the Book of Zechariah, also harmonised with the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. Hutcheson explained that, while the Gospel continued to spread throughout the world in the last days, the Church would experience an 'unsetled, uncertain, mixt condition of light and darkenesse, truth and errour, comforts and afflictions, and discouragements . . . striving together' until Christ returned.[76] Additionally, he rejected speculative date-setting by citing Matthew 24:36 which states that the time of the Second Coming is known only to God.[77] Hutcheson believed that, on Judgment Day, Christ would descend from the clouds 'with all his glorious Angels, and all his Saints . . . to fetch up his Bride', the Church militant, which would be transferred to the eternal kingdom of heaven.[78]

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[74] *Ibid*., sig. A6r.
[75] Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 149.
[76] *Ibid*., 222.
[77] *Ibid*., 223. Apocalyptic date-setting remained a part of the apocalyptic tradition in England throughout the Interregnum and Restoration periods. See Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 190-193; and Warren Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2011), Ch. 1.
[78] Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi*, 221.

The views of Fergusson and Hutcheson demonstrate that, despite the general decline of apocalyptic belief in Scotland throughout the late-1640s and early-1650s, the principal characteristics of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition remained unchanged. Both ministers rejected millenarianism at a time when Fifth Monarchists in England were actively seeking to establish Christ's earthly, millennial kingdom.[79] Additionally, they did not attempt to determine the time of the Second Coming through chronological calculations of biblical prophecy. Fergusson and Hutcheson also joined Scottish apocalyptic thinkers such as James VI, William Struther, Robert Baillie, and David Dickson, who did not expect the Church militant to experience a golden age or period of latter-day glory. Instead, they believed the visible Church would remain a mixture of the godly and the reprobate, and face various troubles until Christ returned at the Last Judgment. Yet, although the key traits of Scottish apocalypticism persisted into the 1650s, here we must point out several temporary alterations to the apocalyptic tradition which allow us to illustrate more clearly the decline of apocalyptic thought in Cromwellian Scotland.

First, beginning in the late-1640s and lasting until 1655, biblical expositors in Scotland shifted their eschatological interests away from the many prophecies found in the Book of Revelation. Indeed, popular apocalyptic motifs such as the visions of seven seals, trumpets, and vials, the binding and loosening of Satan, the figures of Gog and Magog, the Whore of Babylon, and the Battle of Armageddon no longer seemed to captivate the imagination of Scottish writers. This is exemplified in sources such as Dickson's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Fergusson's sermons on Job, and Hutcheson's exegesis of books written by the Twelve Minor Prophets of the Old Testament. Secondly,

[79] See: Capp, 'Extreme Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*; Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, Chs. 5-8; Lui, *Discord in Zion*, Chs. 3-4; and Capp, 'Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought', in Patrides and Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, 113-116.

in great contrast to the previous fifty years, over the first half of the Interregnum the figure of Antichrist and his kingdom did not hold a position of central importance in the collective eschatological outlook of Scottish apocalyptic thinkers. As we shall see, specific concerns about Antichrist would not resurface in Scottish printed works until 1655.

In his various correspondences from the 1650s, Samuel Rutherford was altogether silent on the subject of Antichrist. So was Johnston of Wariston who at the outset of the Covenanting movement expected the 'Kingdome of Antichryst' to be 'cast down' through the 'rebuilding' of the true Church.[80] Not until the very end of 1655 did Robert Baillie mention Antichrist in the various letters he wrote to friends and fellow ministers following his return home from the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In a letter to his cousin William Spang dated 1 December 1655, Baillie expressed his desire to see the 'advancement of Christ's [spiritual] Kingdome', the 'coming in of the Jews, the abolishing of Antichrist', and the conversion of 'Mahometan and pagane princes to the faith of Christ'. However, none of his hopes seemed close to being fulfilled at that time. 'Nothing of all this does yet appear', he lamented, 'my heart is oft grieved, and prayes the Lord to arise to glorify his Sone, and comfort believers'.[81] James Fergusson – who shared the same basic apocalyptic beliefs as Baillie – did not make known in print his more extensive views on Antichrist until after the Interregnum, while George Hutcheson made only a passing reference to the fall of Antichrist in his series of commentaries published in 1654.[82]

Lastly, the general sense of urgency and heightened apocalyptic awareness that characterized the eschatological thought of many Scottish Presbyterians for over a half century was greatly reduced after Cromwell invaded Scotland. As noted above, this was

[80] *Diary of Archibald Johnston*, I, 275.
[81] *LJRB*, III, 294. At this time the question of readmitting Jews to England was being discussed in London at Whitehall, but Baillie did not express knowledge of the debate in his journal. On the readmission of Jews in England during the Interregnum see: Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England*.
[82] Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah . . . .*, 112.

partly due to the fact that the broad international Protestant apocalyptic vision espoused by Presbyterian ministers in the Kirk during the 1630s and 1640s diminished after the Scots withdrew from the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Apocalyptic disillusionment was also generated by Cromwell's subsequent occupation of Scotland and divisions in the Scottish Church brought about by disputes between Protesters (Remonstrants) and Resolutioners. In addition to these factors, the decline of Scottish apocalyptic thought also resulted from the absence of religious persecution in Scotland throughout the Interregnum.

Persecution of Scottish Presbyterians by Cromwell's regime was minimal when compared to the religious persecution suffered by Presbyterians in Scotland under James VI & I, Charles I, and the bishops within the episcopal hierarchy who served the Stuart monarchy.[83] According to Dow, the parliamentary Commissioners responsible for overseeing the 'regulation of the spiritual and intellectual life of Scotland' rarely interfered with Scottish religious affairs except when they were called upon to 'resolve conflicts' between Protesters and Resolutioners.[84] Although there were instances where English soldiers harassed Scottish ministers, persecution of this kind was mostly insignificant. As Dow explained, there were 'many cases of harassment, but the main target of English wrath was the clergy's political influence, not their spiritual functions'.[85] Under Cromwell's regime, toleration was extended to the Scots who were allowed to worship according to the Reformed faith observed by the Church of Scotland.[86] In this context, ministers in the Kirk did not create a highly focused and unified objection to Cromwell's

[83] For example, during the early-seventeenth century, leading Presbyterians Andrew Melville, his nephew James Melville, and the Ayrshire minister John Welsh endured imprisonment and exile for their objections to the ecclesiastical policies of James VI & I. Later in 1636, Samuel Rutherford was charged with nonconformity and banished to Aberdeen where he remained until the Covenanting movement began.
[84] Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland*, 58-59.
[85] *Ibid*., 102-103. Admonishments and threats of future punishment were usually directed toward Scottish ministers, mostly Resolutioners, who showed signs of support for the royal family or prayed for the king.
[86] Religious toleration during the Protectorate was not extended to Roman Catholics, or proponents of heretical doctrines such as anti-trinitarianism, Quakerism, and Socinianism. See: Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate'; Davis, 'Cromwell's Religion', 196; and Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland*, 98.

government or religious persecution using apocalyptic motifs as they had done in previous decades, and as they were to do again with renewed vigour during the Restoration period.[87]

Revelation Revisited

Writing to his cousin in 1655, Robert Baillie noted the lack of effective 'ecclesiastick government' in the Kirk and complained that papists in the north of the kingdom were increasing 'without any controll'.[88] This increased presence of Roman Catholics fostered a brief revival of eschatological enthusiasm in Cromwellian Scotland which spanned the years 1655 to 1658. At the outset of this period, William Guild published an anti-Catholic treatise designed to convince the 'obstinate papist' that the pope was Antichrist.[89] The following year, concerns over the spread of Catholicism in Scotland led him to publish a commentary on the Book of Revelation. Later in 1658, James Durham completed an extensive exposition of Revelation shortly before his premature death at the age of 36. The Glasgow minister John Carstairs saw this work through the press and wrote the preface to the commentary. Carstairs stated that Durham's exegesis offered convincing proof that the 'Pope of Rome' was Antichrist, and he hoped it might awaken the 'lamentably decayed zeal of the people of God against that Beast', who was 'drunk with the blood of the saints'.[90] Together, the eschatological treatises produced by Guild and Durham evidence a sense of heightened apocalyptic expectancy in Scotland that had largely been absent in Scottish printed works since the early-1640s. Moreover, they further demonstrate the cohesiveness and continuity of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition during the Interregnum.

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[87] Divisions in the Scottish Church would have made the evolution of such a theme rather difficult, especially after a group of Protesters led by Patrick Gillespie began openly favouring the religious policies of the English regime as early as 1653: Spurlock, *Cromwell and Scotland*, 140. By this time, Independency had already taken root in northern regions of Scotland such as Aberdeen: 116.
[88] *LJRB*, III, 291.
[89] William Guild, *Antichrist Pointed and Painted out in His True Colours* (Aberdeen, 1655), 9.
[90] James Durham, *A Commentarie upon the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh, 1658), 'To the Reader', sig. A2v.

William Guild spent much of his life writing against Roman Catholicism and the papacy. As discussed in Chapter Two, early in his career he published *A Compend of the Controversies of Religion* which contained an 'Appendix of Antichrist' wherein he denounced the pope as the beast of Revelation. Later in 1639, Guild who was by then rector of King's College, Aberdeen, published *An Antidote against Poperie* in which he provided a point by point condemnation of Roman Catholic worship.[91] Guild's lifelong criticism of Catholicism becomes more striking when viewed in conjunction with his moderate attitude toward episcopacy. During the 1630s, he did not join the more zealous Covenanters such as Samuel Rutherford and George Gillespie in denouncing prelacy as being equal to popery.

Guild's conservatism in the 1630s may have stemmed from his relationship with Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen, whose apocalyptic views we discussed in Chapter One.[92] In addition, he was closely associated with the six 'Aberdeen Doctors' who opposed the National Covenant and defended the lawfulness of episcopacy and the Five Articles of Perth.[93] When Guild subscribed to the covenant in 1638, he did so without condemning bishops or the Five Articles.[94] Despite failing to subscribe unconditionally to the covenant, Guild was chosen to replace William Leslie as Principal of King's College – a position he would hold until 1651 when he was finally deposed by five colonels of General Monck's

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[91] See: William Guild, *An Antidote against Poperie* (Aberdeen, 1639). In 1656, he republished a smaller version of this tract with a new dedicatory epistle. Guild's other anti-Catholic works include: *Popish Glorying in Antiquity, turned to their Shame* (Aberdeen, 1626); *The Old Roman Catholik* (Aberdeen, 1649) and *The Noveltie of Poperie Discovered* (Aberdeen, 1656).

[92] Guild spoke at Patrick Forbes' funeral in 1635. See R.P. Wells' entry of Guild in the *ODNB*. Forbes was instrumental in reforming King's College during the later years of his life. See: David Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641: From Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1990).

[93] Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, 184-185. Also see: G.D. Henderson, 'The Aberdeen Doctors', *The Burning Bush: Studies in Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1957), 75-93; and D. Stewart, 'The Aberdeen Doctors and the Covenanters', *RSCHS*, 22 (1984), 35-44.

[94] Shirrefs, *An Inquiry into the Life*, 53.

army.[95] During his retirement, Guild continued to reside in Aberdeen and from there he produced his treatise on Antichrist and his commentary on Revelation.

Guild's writings during the Interregnum do not evince a sense of concern over the English occupation of Scotland, or the divisions between Protesters and Resolutioners which had disrupted the harmony of the Kirk. Instead, he was more interested in protecting the godly in Scotland from being seduced by antichristian 'popish doctrines'.[96] He explained that a 'great defection from the Truth to Popery' was occurring throughout Scotland, especially in the kingdom's 'northern parts'.[97] The reasons for this were clear enough for Guild. The 'unhappy differences in Christ's Church', along with the 'sedulitie' of Jesuits and 'Seminarie Priests' who had begun to 'swarm everywhere', had led to the 'dayly increase of poperie' in the three kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland.[98] Whereas most of his contemporaries in Scotland were more worried about their flocks falling into the errors of English sectarians, Guild believed that 'Romanists' posed a greater danger to the Kirk than did Independents or Quakers.[99]

In his *Antichrist Pointed and Painted,* Guild traced the rise of Antichrist throughout the history of the Church in order to show that many of the prophecies concerning the beast of Revelation had already been fulfilled. However, his account of Antichrist's historical influence over the Church mirrored that set forth previously by Protestant biblical exegetes such as John Bale and William Cowper. Guild posited that the Antichrist had first been revealed around the year 607 when Boniface III 'assumed to himself the supremacie over the whole universall Church' by proclaiming himself 'Universall Bishope'. The 'second degree of the revealing of Antichrist', which saw the beast reach the

[95] *Ibid*., 64.
[96] Guild, *Antichrist Pointed and Painted,* 9.
[97] *Ibid*., 5.
[98] *Ibid*., 13.
[99] For Scottish Quakerism see: George B. Burnet, *The Story of Quakerism in Scotland* (London, 1952).

full height of his power, occurred around 1300 during the time of Boniface VIII who affirmed himself to be 'the supreame Lord of the whole World', controlling all things temporal as well as spiritual. [100] The full revealing of Antichrist to the world had come through the teachings of John Wycliffe, John Huss, and Martin Luther.[101] For Guild, this meant that the 'glorious worke of Reformation' and the spread of the Gospel had begun to tear down Antichrist's kingdom in Rome.[102] Guild explained that if more of Lord's people would only answer 'God's call' and reject the Whore of Babylon, 'her overthrow and finall destruction' would shortly follow.[103]

Guild continued to show a heightened sense of apocalyptic expectancy in his commentary on Revelation published in 1656. He explained that he had undertaken his study of Revelation – 'that rich mine of Apocalyptick prophecy' – to show the world that the pope in Rome was the 'foretold Antichrist . . . whose ruine by the work of Refomation' was 'surely at hand'.[104] Remarkably, no Scottish writer had completed a comprehensive exposition of the Book of Revelation since Patrick Forbes in 1613.[105] As noted above, Guild had close ties to Forbes. Yet, in his text, Guild did not acknowledge works published by previous Scottish expositors of biblical prophecy. Despite this, we can see that his interpretation of the vivid prophecies of Revelation followed William Cowper's exegesis. In fact, his interpretation of the visions of seven seals, trumpets, and vials compared greatly to that expounded by the former Bishop of Galloway. For example, Cowper stated that the blast of the second trumpet in Revelation 8:8, which speaks of a great mountain

[100] Guild, *Antichrist Pointed and Painted*, 79-82. Bale and Cowper had pointed to the papacy of Boniface III as the starting point for the rise of Antichrist. See: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 55; and Cowper, *Pathmos*, 950.
[101] Guild, *Antichrist Pointed and Painted*, 171.
[102] *Ibid*., 173.
[103] *Ibid*., 175.
[104] William Guild, *The Sealed Book Opened: Or, a Cleer Explication of the Prophecies of the Revelation* (London, 1656), 'To the Reader', sig. A5r.
[105] William Cowper's *Pathmos*, which was included among his posthumously published works in 1623, only covered chapters one through sixteen of the book.

burning with fire, should be interpreted as the spread of heresy and false doctrine in the ancient Roman Empire.[106] Commenting on the same passage, Guild explained that this burning mountain signified the spread of Arianism which, along with other errors, was maintained against 'orthodox Christians' by 'diverse Roman Emperours'.[107] Like Cowper, Guild equated heresy to 'Cancer' and indicated that this passage served to warn contemporary rulers about the dangers of allowing false doctrine to flourish in their kingdoms.[108]

Although Guild provided very little new insight into the prophecies of Revelation, his work is important in that it further demonstrates the consistency and conservatism of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, even at a time when apocalyptic belief in Scotland was in decline. To begin with, Guild's interpretation of Revelation 20 was expressly nonmillenarian. Like many Protestant biblical expositors of his time, he followed Napier in stating that the thousand-year binding of Satan depicted in Revelation 20:2 had occurred between 300 and 1300. Forbes had argued that these were the only definite dates that related to the numerology of Revelation, and Guild applied this rule to his exegesis.[109] Guild also shared with Napier the belief that the thousand-year reign of Christ with his saints described in Revelation 20:4-6 referred to 'an indefinite or long time', which meant eternity. 'Chiliasts' and 'millenaries', he claimed, had abused this passage of Scripture 'for maintaining their errour' while anticipating Christ's temporal, millennial kingdom. According to Guild, there was no evidence in the Scriptures that proved the godly would

[106] Cowper, *Pathmos*, 938-939.
[107] Guild, *The Sealed Book Opened*, 64.
[108] *Ibid*., 71; Cowper, *Pathmos*, 940. Forbes, on the other hand, explained that true religion began to decay under the second trumpet, but he believed this trumpet spoke more of the increased ambition of bishops especially after the Council of Nice: Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 60-62.
[109] Guild, *The Sealed Book Opened*, 306-307.

'rise and reign on earth with Christ for the space of a thousand years, before the general resurrection', which he claimed would only come 'at the day of judgement'.[110]

Guild joined the majority of apocalyptic thinkers in Scotland who argued that the passages of Revelation could not be used to determine when Christ would return. 'Christ's coming', he explained, would be 'sudden and unexpected'.[111] However, Guild expected the climactic events of the last days to unfold in a particular sequence which did not stray from the eschatological framework established by previous commentators on biblical prophecy in Scotland. Like Cowper, and James VI before him, Guild believed he was living in the age of the sixth trumpet (Rev. 9:13). Without using chronological calculations, he posited that when 'the seventh angel' came forth to blow the last of the seven heavenly trumpets the 'full deliverance of Christ's Church and final confusion of her enemies' would be accomplished.[112] This would be achieved through the preaching of the Gospel and the reformation of the Church, which Guild argued would bring about 'the ruine of Antichrist'.[113] Guild believed that the final destruction of Antichrist and his kingdom would only be achieved through the brightness of Christ's Second Coming which would accompany Judgment Day.[114] The only reason Christ was delaying his return, Guild explained, was so that the 'number of his Saints' could increase by the spread of the Gospel before the Lord brought an end to all things.[115]

Until Christ returned, Guild expected the Church to be composed of the godly and the reprobate. This belief he shared with a host of Scottish apocalyptic thinkers ranging from James VI to George Hutcheson. Citing the parable of the sower from the Gospel of

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[110] *Ibid*., 309-310. Here Guild disputed the common millenarian belief in the physical resurrection of the martyrs prior to the Last Judgment.
[111] *Ibid*., 244.
[112] *Ibid*., 97.
[113] *Ibid*., 104-105.
[114] *Ibid*., 123.
[115] *Ibid*., 34.

Matthew, Guild stated that a 'harvest time' would begin when the 'iniquity of the wicked' had reached its full height and when the 'number of the Saints of God' had been achieved through the spread of the Gospel. On Judgment Day, there would be a 'separation of the good grain from the tares' whereupon the godly would be 'carried into heaven' and the wicked would be 'cast into hell's fire' to be tormented forever.[116] Here we see that Guild did not expect the Church militant to experience a period of latter-day glory before the Second Coming. In his view, the Church would not find 'true peace' or be completely glorified until 'New Jerusalem' was established at the Last Day. This was not to be the earthly New Jerusalem expected by millenarians, but the 'celestial and heavenly' kingdom of Christ which God's people would inhabit for all eternity.[117]

Whereas Guild's commentary was hardly innovative, in his 1658 exposition of Revelation, James Durham (1622-1658) pushed the boundaries of Scottish apocalyptic thought further than any Scot had done since Napier. After graduating from the University of Glasgow in 1647, Durham became minister at Blackfriars in Glasgow. Three years later he was chosen to replace David Dickson as chair of divinity at the University of Glasgow, but never took up this post after being appointed chaplain to Charles II. In the autumn of 1651, Durham was translated to the Inner Church of Glasgow Cathedral where he would serve as minister for the remainder of his life.[118] When the religious controversy between Protesters and Resolutioners began to plague the Kirk in the early-1650s, Durham joined

[116] *Ibid*., 203.
[117] *Ibid*., 324-325.
[118] Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham', 124. Also see K.D. Holfelder's entry for Durham in the *ODNB*.

Robert Blair in advocating moderation and sought to bring both sides together so that a suitable settlement could be reached.[119]

While carrying out his ministerial duties in Glasgow, Durham gave a series of lectures on the Book of Revelation. Carstairs explained that Durham delivered his lectures 'to the people of his charge within a very short time', giving 'one of them every Lord's Day' before preaching his regularly scheduled sermon.[120] Robert Baillie attended Durham's lectures on Revelation 'weekly' and frequently urged the minister to publish a complete work on the text.[121] Shortly before Durham died from a prolonged illness in 1658, he published his *Commentarie upon the Book of Revelation* which was based on his lectures from all twenty-two chapters of the prophetic book. Blair considered it to be the best exposition of Revelation ever completed, and it remained popular long after Durham's death.[122] However, Durham's commentary proved to be the last major study of Revelation completed by a Scottish author and published in Scotland during the Stuart era.[123]

Much like William Guild, Durham attacked Roman Catholic worship in his treatise and used the passages of Revelation to pinpoint the many errors of Catholicism. For example, he criticised the sacrament of penance and the belief in purgatory in a section 'concerning the comfortlesse grounds that Poperie layeth down for the comforting of poor

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[119] Durham completed a treatise on scandal and division within the Church from his deathbed, titled, *The Dying Man's Testament to the Church of Scotland: or, a Treatise Concerning Scandal*. This work was published in Edinburgh in 1659.

[120] James Durham, *A Commentarie upon the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh, 1658), sig. A2v. An in-depth study of Durham and his commentary on Revelation has yet to be written. Cameron's analysis provides a good starting point for such a study, but his article is brief and he offered very little insight into Durham's chronological interpretation of the seals, trumpets, and vials. Peter Toon outlined Durham's understanding of these visions, but did not elaborate upon other facets of his apocalyptic thought. See: Toon, 'The Latter-day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 39-41.

[121] Durham, *Commentarie*, sig. B1v. The dates for the lectures are unknown. Baillie recorded that Durham finished his full commentary while confined to his chamber during the last four months of his life: *LJRB*, III, 368.

[122] Durham, *The Dying Man's Testament*, sig. A2r. At least seven editions of Durham's *Commentarie* were published between 1658 and 1799: Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham', 123.

[123] Durham's commentary was reprinted twice in 1680.

afflicted consciences'.[124] Further on in his text, Durham attacked image worship and the 'Idolatry of the Church of Rome' before attempting to prove to his readers that obtaining true salvation under popery was 'impossible'. It was stated repeatedly within the Book of Revelation, Durham argued, that those who worshipped the beast of 'great Babylon' in 'opposition to Christ' were following 'the very high way to damnation' and they would ultimately be cast into the lake of fire.[125]

In contrast to Forbes, Cowper, and Guild, Durham relied more extensively on chronology to link key historical periods that he believed demonstrated the rise and fall of Antichrist to his interpretation of the seals, trumpets, and vials described in Revelation.[126] Essentially, Durham became the first Scot since Napier to make extensive use of chronological calculations to complete an exegesis of Revelation.[127] However, instead of referring to Napier's *Plaine Discovery*, Durham appears to have based his chronological framework for Revelation largely upon that set forth at the turn of the seventeenth century by the English scholar Thomas Brightman.[128] As we shall see, Durham disagreed with Brightman's interpretation of the millennium. Yet there are obvious similarities between their commentaries. Like Brightman, Durham attributed the first six seals discussed in Revelation 6 to the history of the Christian Church between the time of Christ and the

[124] Durham, *Commentarie*, 445.
[125] *Ibid*., 584-585.
[126] Durham referred briefly to Forbes' commentary only to disagree with his opinion that the prophecy of the martyrs of Christ noted in Revelation 20 had been fulfilled in the past during the time of Constantine, under the fifth seal: *Commentarie*, 718. Durham did not acknowledge the works of Cowper or Guild.
[127] Forbes explained that the seals, trumpets, and vials represented 'distinct matters' rather than specific 'periods of time': *Learned Commentarie*, 39. Likewise, Cowper and Guild did not rely on chronological calculations in their commentaries. In comparison, John Napier concluded that six of the seven seals had been opened between the 29th year of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem in 71 A.D., whereupon the seventh seal opened and the first trumpet was blown. But, Napier argued that the seven trumpets and seven vials of Revelation were 'all one' and did not represent separate time periods. Instead, Napier argued that each of the seven trumpets agreed with the seven vials and together, the seven pairs represented 245 year blocks of time: Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 3 & 7. Durham moved beyond Napier's chronological calculations and allotted different periods of time to each seal and trumpet, as well as four of the seven vials noted in the Scripture.
[128] For an overview of Brightman's interpretation of the seven seals, trumpets, and vials, see: Toon, 'The Latter-day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 28; and Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 168-170.

reign of Emperor Diocletian. These seals represented the persecution of the Church under heathenish Emperors that lasted until the sixth seal opened at the outset of Constantine's reign around 300.[129] Durham dated the opening of the seventh seal, which he explained occurred in conjunction with the blasting of the first trumpet, to around 320 when the Church began to decline and weaken after a short period of peace under Constantine.[130] Also in accordance with Brightman's exegesis, Durham stated that the time of the first four trumpets noted in Revelation 8 fell between 320 and 600.[131] During this period, the Church experienced increased decay from within through the dealings of corrupt churchmen, the appearance of false doctrine such as justification by works, the introduction of sacraments, and the creation of ceremonies and monastic orders.[132]

As various expositors had claimed, Durham stated that the initial revealing of Antichrist took place after Boniface III proclaimed himself 'Universal Bishop . . . about the year 606'.[133] In agreement with Brightman, he associated this with the age of the fifth trumpet.[134] At this time, Durham explained, the kingdom of Antichrist prospered and his power grew to great heights as the Church became infected with 'corruptions, superstitions, and idolatry'.[135] In order to punish the sinful Church, under the sixth trumpet God unleashed the Ottoman Turks around the year 1000, who proceeded to destroy the western part of the 'Christian world' and overrun 'a great part of Europe'.[136] To bring matters forward to the current age, Durham concluded that the time of the fifth and sixth trumpets had run congruent until 1560, at which point the trumpet of the seventh angel

[129] Durham, *Commentarie*, 403.
[130] *Ibid*., 418.
[131] Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 169.
[132] Durham, *Commentarie*, 418-419.
[133] *Ibid*., 443.
[134] Forbes also shared this opinion: *Learned Commentarie*, 65.
[135] Durham, *Commentarie*, 447.
[136] *Ibid*., 448.

sounded and the Lord began to bring down the kingdom of Antichrist.[137] Durham noted that several important events had taken place around 1560 which evidenced that the 'absolute tyrannie' of the Antichrist had ended. In 1558, Protestantism had been reestablished in England as Queen Elizabeth began her reign after five years of Mary's 'heathenish persecution' of the godly. According to Durham, the following year had witnessed the Diet of Augsburg which established the 'liberty of Reformation and Religion' in Europe. This period also gave rise to the Reformation in Scotland which added to the decay and ruin of Antichrist's kingdom.[138]

In addition to his interpretation of the seals and trumpets, Durham's chronological positioning of the seven vials also follows closely that expounded by Brightman. Durham demonstrated that the plagues of the first four vials had already been emptied upon the earth and were actively bringing ruin upon antichristian Rome. The first vial, he claimed, had accompanied the blast of the seventh trumpet in 1560, which was followed by the opening of the second vial in 1563 during the closing sessions of the Council of Trent.[139] Along with the increased spread of the Gospel, these vials had made the many abominations of the Roman Church more visible to the world. As a result, those who served the papal Antichrist had become 'loathsome and abominable' before all mankind.[140] Durham stated that the third vial had been opened not long after the first two. This vial was characterised by the passing of more 'laws and acts' against the 'prime instruments and supporters' of the 'antichristian world'. Consequently, the effects of this vial had led to 'remarkable overthrows of many papists' in countries such as Holland, France, Germany,

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[137] *Ibid*., 497. Napier stated that the seventh trumpet had sounded in 1541: *A Plaine Discovery*, 9. Brightman moved this date forward to 1558: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 170.
[138] Durham, *Commentarie*, 497. The Peace of Augsburg was concluded in 1555. Durham did not explain why he altered the dating of this event in his commentary.
[139] *Ibid*., 608-611. Brightman stated that the first vial was poured out in 1563, and the second in 1564: Firth, *Apocalyptic Tradition*, 170.
[140] Durham, *Commentarie*, 609.

and England.[141] Durham explained that the fourth vial described in Revelation 16:8 agreed with the present and was currently 'pouring forth'. Ultimately, under the fourth vial, the kings and princes of the world who supported the papal Antichrist, including the 'King of Spain', would turn against the beast of Revelation after seeing that its kingdom had lost much of its former glory.[142]

While he placed the first four vials within a chronological framework, Durham hesitated to speculate when the prophecies relating to the remaining three vials would begin to unfold, for as he claimed, 'seeing what is not past, is not easie'.[143] Nevertheless, Durham made clear his views on how the world would be changed by the last vials. He followed Brightman by predicting that the fifth vial would bring about the destruction of Rome which would force the Antichrist to seek out new allies and 'some other chair, or nest to sit in' after his kingdom collapsed.[144] This the beast would continue to do until the sixth vial was poured out, at which time the Lord would stir up 'new enemies' against the Antichrist. Again, following Brightman, Durham believed these new enemies would be the Jews, or the 'Kings of the East' noted in Revelation 16:12.[145] The conversion of the Jews to Christianity would be accompanied by the general decay and diminishing of the 'Turkish Empire' which he claimed would pave the way for the Jews 'to return to their own land'.[146] Here Durham also agreed with Scottish expositors such as Forbes and George Hutcheson who had stated that it might be possible for the Jews to return to their homeland during the last days.[147]

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[141] *Ibid*., 611-613.
[142] *Ibid*., 613-614.
[143] *Ibid*., 615.
[144] *Ibid*., 614.
[145] *Ibid*., 615-617.
[146] *Ibid*., 618.
[147] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 158 & 163; Hutcheson, *A Brief Exposition of the Prophecies of Obadiah, Jonah . . . .*, sig. A6v.

Durham explained that the 'judgement of the beast' and his casting into hell would fall 'under the sixth vial', not at the Second Coming which would take place during the time of the seventh and final vial described in Revelation 16:17.[148] By positioning the fall of Antichrist to coincide with the pouring out of the sixth vial, under the time of the seventh trumpet, Durham challenged the prophetic views of several prominent Scottish apocalyptic thinkers including James VI, William Cowper, Robert Baillie, Alexander Petrie, David Dickson, and William Guild.[149] Throughout various periods in the seventeenth century, these Scots had claimed – in accordance with 2 Thessalonians 2:8 – that the Antichrist would only be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's Second Coming on Judgment Day.[150] According to Durham, 'that place, *2 Thess. 2*, may look to the destruction of Antichrist, not at Christ's last coming, but at his coming to that judgement of the whore', which he compared to the Lord's vengeance upon the 'heathen Emperours' of Rome before the time of Constantine.[151] Durham admitted that a final reckoning would come upon Antichrist at the Last Judgment, yet he assured his readers that the Antichrist would be placed in hell before Satan and the rest of the wicked. The Glasgow minister concluded his exposition of the vials by stating that the seventh vial would pour forth the 'last plagues' which would tear down 'what standeth of Satan's Kingdom' and usher in 'God's final immediate inflicting judgement' on the wicked.[152]

Although his understanding of seven seals, trumpets, and vials compared to that of Brightman, Durham disagreed with the Cambridge scholar's exegesis of Revelation 20:1-

[148] Durham, *Commentarie*, 625 & 702.
[149] Durham also objected to the interpretation of the trumpets and vials expounded by the English millenarian Joseph Mede. Mede argued that the first six vials were emptied during the time of the sixth trumpet. The seventh trumpet and vial would usher in the destruction of Antichrist and the millennium. See: Durham, *Commentarie*, 333-338; Clouse, 'Rebirth of Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 59.
[150] In contrast, Napier had predicted that only the last remnants of Antichrist's kingdom in Rome would remain after 1639. This he claimed would be followed by the Second Coming in 1688: *A Plaine Discovery*, 179-180.
[151] Durham, *Commentarie*, 702.
[152] *Ibid*., 625.

6. What is more, Durham's interpretation of the thousand-year binding of Satan (20:2-3) and the millennial reign of Christ with his saints (20:4-6) contrasted with the views set forth by previous expositors of Revelation in Scotland. As shown in Chapter One, James VI placed these two millennial periods firmly in the past by claiming that they represented the 'happie estate of the Church, from Christs dayes, to the dayes of defection or falling away of the Antichrist' around the time of Augustine.[153] Conversely, Napier and Forbes, along with Brightman, posited that the binding of Satan occurred between 300 and 1300, yet their understanding of the thousand-year reign of Christ differed. Napier believed this represented eternity, while Brightman asserted that the second millennium had begun in 1300 and would come to a close in 2300.[154] Forbes, on the other hand, rejected Brightman's millenarianism and stated that both millenniums ran congruent from 300 to 1300.[155]

Like Forbes, Durham stated that the binding of Satan and the reign of Christ with his saints ran 'contemporary' to each other.[156] However, he suggested that the two millennial eras began in 1560 with the blast of the seventh trumpet and the opening of the first vial. According to Durham: 'these thousand years, beginning at the end of the thousand two hundred and sixty dayes, mentioned in *Chap.11* fall to begin about the year 1560, and so are running, being in part past, but in their vigour to come, as the vials carry on by steps the casting down of enemies, and bring on the flourishing of the Gospel'.[157] Due to this calculation, Robert Clouse described Durham as an advocate of

[153] *Fruitfull Meditation*, 73, 76-77.
[154] Napier, *A Plaine Discovery*, 232-235; Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 517-518; Clouse, 'The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Thomas Brightman and Joseph Mede', 185-186; and Toon, 'The Latter-Day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 29-31.
[155] Forbes, *Learned Commentarie*, 216.
[156] Durham, *Commentarie*, 707.
[157] *Ibid*., 727. Durham calculated that the forty-two months of the Church's persecution under Antichrist (11:2), the 1260 days of the two witnesses' prophesizing (11:4), the 1260 days of the Church's fleeing into the wilderness (12:6), and the forty-two months of the beast's reign (13:5) represented a 1260 year period lasting from 300 to 1560.

'postmillennialism', which is the belief that Christ will not return on Judgment Day until the end of the millennium.[158] Yet, Durham cautiously avoided making a complete break with the standard of nonmillenarian apocalypticism in seventeenth-century Scotland by stating that, although it would not be a 'great absurdity' to interpret the millennium literally, 'there was no necessity' in doing so. Instead, Durham interpreted the thousand-years as an indefinite period that represented the 'longest time of a prosperous condition against [its] enemies, that the Church of Christ is to have in the dayes of the Gospel'.[159]

Throughout his exposition of Revelation 20, Durham attempted to distance himself from past and contemporary 'Chiliasts' and 'Millenaries'. To begin with, he rejected the chiliasm of Cerinthus, an early proponent of Gnosticism active around 100 A.D., who believed the millennium would be characterised by various luxuries and sensual delights such as polygamy.[160] Additionally, he denounced the chiliastic expectations of early-Church Fathers such as Papias, Irenaeus, and Justin Martyr, who anticipated a New Jerusalem full of 'lawfull delights', or a thousand-year period in which the fruitfulness of the earth would reach abundant proportions.[161] Thereafter he rejected the millenarian views espoused by German theologians Johannes Piscator and Johann Heinrich Alsted. Piscator claimed that, prior to the Last Judgment, the martyrs and saints would be resurrected and reign with Christ in heaven for a millennium. In contrast, Alsted believed the resurrected martyrs and saints would reign on earth a thousand years before Judgment Day, while Christ reigned over his earthly kingdom from heaven.[162] Lastly, Durham objected to the

[158] Toon, 'Latter-day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 40. As noted in the Introduction, the labels a-, pre-, and postmillenarianism were not known to contemporaries of the seventeenth century.
[159] Durham, *Commentarie*, 722.
[160] *Ibid*., 710. On Cerinthus see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, I, 281-282
[161] Durham, *Commentarie*, 711. Again see: Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, I, 215-216, 227-235, & 241-252.
[162] Durham, *Commentarie*, 711 & 717.

view held by the Fifth Monarchist John Tillinghast who equated the entire space of the millennial reign of Christ on earth with the Day of Judgment.[163]

In opposition to these various millenarian interpretations of Revelation 20, Durham expected the Church would experience a lengthy period of latter-day glory during which time the Antichrist would be destroyed, the Jews would be converted to Christianity, and the Gospel would spread throughout the world. This would be possible, Durham claimed, because Satan had been bound in 1560 and the Church could enjoy 'a good measure of abundance and freedom' like it had not previously experienced. He concluded that the 'difference between this generation and what went before, shall be so great, that men would think that all former Martyrs and honest Christians were brought to life again'.[164] However, although Satan was bound in his prison, corruption and wickedness would still plague the Church in the last days, albeit to a lesser degree. As Durham put it, this would be the 'longest time of the Church's peace', but the godly should not think that there would be 'no crosses, nor hypocrits, nor offences amongst the people of God' in the days ahead.[165]

To bring the indefinite period of latter-day glory to a close, Durham explained that the devil would be loosened from the bottomless pit and rage once more against the Church and the saints. Joining Satan would be the figures of Gog and Magog, the 'Churches last enemies . . . before Christ's second coming'.[166] According to Durham, their persecution of the visible Church would only last 'for a short time', after which, Christ would return 'from heaven' to gather the elect, punish the wicked, and cast the devil into

[163] *Ibid*., 714. Tillinghast and other Fifth Monarchists expected the saints to prepare the earth for the personal reign of Christ through military force. See: Capp, 'Extreme Millenarianism', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 69-70. As discussed in Chapter Two, Joseph Mede also equated the millennium with Judgment Day, but did not believe Christ would return until after the thousand years.
[164] Durham, *Commentarie*, 733. Durham viewed the first resurrection noted in Rev. 20:5 as a spiritual resurrection, or a 'rising from sin': 714.
[165] *Ibid*., 712.
[166] *Ibid*., 737.

the lake of fire 'to be tormented forever'.[167] The Second Coming would usher in the Last Judgment, whereupon the earth would be 'dissolved by fire' and the eternal reign of the Church Triumphant in heaven would begin.[168]

Conclusion

Along with the discourses of James Fergusson and the scriptural expositions of George Hutcheson, the eschatological works of William Guild and James Durham evidence the persistence, cohesiveness, and conservatism of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition throughout the 1650s. However, what becomes immediately apparent in any study of Scottish apocalyptic thought during the Interregnum period is the fact that, with the exception of Guild and Durham, few Scots made use of the many prophecies located throughout the Book of Revelation, or even the Book of Daniel, as the political and religious world around them changed. Rather, over the first half of the Interregnum ministers in the Kirk used biblical motifs such as the parable of the sower in the Gospel of Matthew to show that the influx of heresy and error in Cromwellian Scotland fitted perfectly into God's providential plan for the last days. An increase in false doctrine and false prophets was expected to accompany the end times and ministers assured their flocks that Christ would ultimately return at Judgment Day to separate the wheat from the tares. Additionally, many Scots turned their attention away from that old enemy, the Antichrist, at a time when Fifth Monarchists in England were beginning to identify Oliver Cromwell as the beast of Revelation.[169] Not even the more radically-minded Presbyterian ministers such as Samuel Rutherford or James Guthrie were bold enough to follow suit. Moreover, it

[167] *Ibid*., 715 & 736.
[168] *Ibid*., 753.
[169] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 104; and Capp, 'The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism', in McGregor and Reay, eds., *Radical Religion*, 171.

was not until 1655 when Guild and Durham became alarmed by the increased presence of Catholics in the north of Scotland that substantial discussions of the Antichrist and the prophecies of Revelation resurfaced in print.

In essence, the continued development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition simply lost momentum during the Interregnum. The reasons for this decline are threefold. First, beginning in the late-1640s, the collapse of the apocalyptic unionism established at Westminster between the Covenanters and their puritan brethren in England dampened the prophetic mood in the Kirk. In this context, the ministry's hope of dealing a deadly blow to antichristian Rome through a closer union with England and Ireland was lost. Following upon this, the divisions that erupted within the Church of Scotland distracted ministers from the study of biblical prophecy. In place of furthering their eschatological pursuits, Protesters, Resolutioners, and a number of Scottish Independents became preoccupied with healing the breaches of the Church through their individual religious agendas. Rarely, if at all, were their various disputes couched in apocalyptic terms. Finally, against the backdrop of limited religious persecution in Scotland, Presbyterian ministers failed to develop a unified response or objection to Cromwell's regime framed upon biblical prophecy as they had done during the reigns of King James and Charles I. However, as we shall see in the final chapter of this thesis, although interest in eschatology remained limited in Restoration Scotland, severe religious persecution of zealous Covenanters effected radical change to the nature of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

Chapter Four
The Radicalisation of the Scottish Apocalyptic Tradition, 1660-1688

Apocalyptic belief in Scotland during the Interregnum lacked the enthusiasm and zeal evident in the first half of the seventeenth century. Despite this, on the eve of the Restoration the Scottish apocalyptic tradition emerged with its integral components and characteristics still largely in place. However, between 1660 and 1688, the nature of Scottish apocalypticism became more radical as Presbyterians witnessed the re-establishment of episcopacy in the Kirk, while many endured severe levels of government-enforced religious persecution that culminated with the 'Killing Times' of the mid-1680s. In this chapter we shall examine the radicalisation of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition during the reigns of Charles II and James VII & II. We shall focus mainly on the activities of Covenanter field preachers and their followers who represented a minority party in Scotland and viewed themselves as a 'bleeding remnant' of the Lord's people in Britain.[1] By and large, historians of the later Stuart period have only glanced at the ideological concepts of the more radical Covenanters – especially their apocalypticism – and many have equated their actions as resulting from 'fanaticism'.[2]

The extremist actions of radical Covenanters during the last quarter of the seventeenth century resulted in part from the sufferings they endured during several periods of intense religious persecution. There existed a direct correlation between that persecution and the heightened apocalyptic expectations espoused by Covenanter ministers in Restoration Scotland. This link ultimately produced the militant apocalypticism exhibited by hardline extremists who formed the United Societies in the 1680s. As

[1] James Renwick and Michael Shields, *An Informatory Vindication of a Poor, Wasted, Misrepresented, Remnant of the Suffering, Anti-popish, Anti-prelatick, Anti-erastian, Anti-sectarian, True Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1744), 105. First published in Utrecht in 1687.
[2] Ian Cowan, *The Scottish Covenanters 1660-1688* (London, 1976), 95.

persecution of the Covenanters intensified between 1660 and 1688, the nature of their apocalyptic views became progressively radicalised. Consequently, by the end of the 1680s, the historically conservative Scottish apocalyptic tradition had become predicated upon a programme of armed resistance to the government, martyrdom, and the firm belief that Christ would imminently return violently to overthrow the antichristian enemies of the persecuted minority.

Heroes or 'Phanaticks'

Scholars seeking to analyze the religious mindset of the late-seventeenth century Covenanters face several methodological problems with sources. In the early-1720s, the ecclesiastical historian Robert Wodrow published his *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution* in two lengthy volumes. Wodrow, whose father held illegal conventicles in the 1670s, gathered together an extensive collection of documentary evidence from the 1660s to 1680s in an effort to illustrate the struggles of Presbyterians during what he referred to as the 'blackest part' of the history of the Scottish Church.[3] Since its publication, a vast majority of subsequent studies have been based upon Wodrow's *Sufferings* and his collection of original manuscripts held in the National Library of Scotland, many of which share his sympathetic view of the persecuted Presbyterian dissenters he documented.[4] In contrast, opposition to

[3] Robert Wodrow, *The History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1721), I, Preface, 13.

[4] Similar histories of the Covenanters include: William Crookshank, *The History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution*, 2 vols (London, 1749); Alexander Smellie, *Men of the Covenant* (London, 1909); James K. Hewison, *The Covenanters: A History of the Church in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2 vols (Glasgow, 1913). Works by the contemporary Cameronian biographer, Patrick Walker, are highly sympathetic to radical ministers such as James Renwick with whom he was personally associated. See: Walker, *Six Saints of the Covenant: Peden, Semple, Welwood, Cameron, Cargill, Smith*, D. Hay Fleming, ed., 2 vols (London, 1901); *Some Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of Mr John Welwood, Late Minister of the Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1727); and *Biographia Presbyteriana*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1827).

Wodrow's portrait of the Restoration period can be found in early biographies of James Sharp, Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and in works by the nineteenth-century historian, Mark Napier, who viewed Wodrow's *History* as a 'mythical martyrology'.[5] Thus, in terms of the early historiography of this period, modern scholars are presented with source material portraying the Scottish Covenanters as heroes of the persecuted Presbyterian Kirk, or, fanatics who violently rebelled against the Stuart monarchy behind a thin veil of religious conviction.

In discussing the apocalyptic views of the later Covenanters, reliance on sources sympathetic to their cause becomes practically unavoidable. There are three main reasons for this. First, the controlling influence of the Scottish Privy Council made it extremely difficult for the radical elements of Presbyterian dissent in Scotland to circulate their political and religious ideas.[6] Thus, the normal avenues through which Covenanter ministers and their lay supporters might have expressed their apocalyptic views in print were largely suppressed. Covenanter ministers were only able to publish a handful of sermons between 1660 and 1688, most of which had little apocalyptic content, while no new commentaries on the prophecies of Revelation or Daniel written by a Scottish author appeared in print between these years.[7] Primary sources through which the apocalyptic spirit of the Restoration era in Scotland can best be ascertained are found mainly in works published after the Glorious Revolution. Most useful among these are collections of

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[5] Julia Buckroyd, *Church and State in Scotland 1660-1681* (Edinburgh, 1980), 168. Against Wodrow, see: Anon., *A True and Impartial Account of the Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, Dr James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews* (Edinburgh, 1723); Thomas Stephen, *The Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews* (London, 1839); Mark Napier, *The Case for the Crown in re The Wigtown Martyrs proved to be Myths* (Edinburgh, 1863) and *History Rescued in Answer to'History Vindicated' being a Recapitulation of the 'Case for the Crown'* (Edinburgh, 1870).

[6] For Restoration censorship in Scotland see: Mann, *Scottish Book Trade*, 180-182 and Jackson, *Restoration Scotland*, 40-44.

[7] James Durham's *Commentarie upon the Book of Revelation* (1658) was reprinted twice in 1680 but there are no specific references to it in later Covenanter works. See: Cameron, 'The Commentary on the Book of Revelation by James Durham', 123.

sermons preached by radical Covenanter ministers at various illegal conventicles. While these sermons might not be verbatim transcripts of what was preached, when used in conjunction with banned Covenanter publications and manifestoes, they provide us with the best means to track the radical development of Scottish apocalypticism between 1660 and 1688.

Secondly, printed sources from this period by moderate Scottish Presbyterians that might contain contrasting apocalyptic views to those held by radical Covenanters are noticeably absent. Moderate Presbyterians who had shown an interest in eschatology prior to 1660, such as George Hutcheson, moved away from apocalyptic speculation partly to avoid being associated with their rebellious and seditious brethren.[8] Although a majority of moderates remained opposed to episcopacy and suffered various levels of persecution, most were reluctant to print critical attacks of the government or its ecclesiastical policies, especially attacks shaped by apocalyptic belief.[9] Additionally, the general decline in apocalyptic thought among the main body of Presbyterian dissent could have resulted from the untimely death of James Durham in 1658 and the removal of David Dickson from his post as Professor of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh.[10] Both Scots had written or lectured on prophetic texts during the Interregnum. Their departure would have likely created a void within their respective universities in terms of how much instruction students were provided in matters of biblical prophecy.[11]

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[8] As noted in Chapter Three, Hutcheson had discussed apocalyptic themes in several expositions of Old Testament prophetic texts printed in the 1650s. He became a victim of government persecution once episcopacy was restored and was deprived of his charge in 1662. Beginning in the late-1660s the government offered indulgences to ministers in the Kirk in an effort to separate moderates from radical nonconformists. Hutcheson accepted the First Indulgence of 1669 and quietly lived out his remaining years.

[9] In contrast, moderate nonconformists in England continued to show an interest in apocalyptic speculation after the Restoration. See: Warren Johnston, 'The Patience of the Saints, the Apocalypse, and Moderate Nonconformity in Restoration England', *Canadian Journal of History*, 38 (2003), 505-520.

[10] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 157.

[11] Gilbert Burnet worked closely with the Restoration regime as Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow from December 1669 to September 1674. However, while Burnet's critique of the papacy titled *The*

Thirdly, Scottish bishops active within the Kirk between the reintroduction of episcopacy in 1661 and the Revolution of 1688 left behind little evidence to indicate that they held a sustained interest in eschatology. In terms of producing highly apocalyptic theological works or commentaries on biblical prophecy, prelates in Restoration Scotland did not follow in the footsteps of early seventeenth century bishops like Patrick Forbes and William Cowper.[12] Andrew Honyman, bishop of Orkney, was altogether hostile toward apocalyptic speculation. He associated the apocalypticism espoused by Presbyterian nonconformists during the Restoration period with the religious radicalism of German Anabaptists.[13] There are very few references to the latter-days among the posthumously published sermons and exhortations of Robert Leighton, a former Presbyterian who later became Archbishop of Glasgow.[14] James Sharp, the Archbishop of St Andrews, did not express his eschatological views in print during his lifetime.[15]

Mystery of Iniquity (Glasgow, 1672) was couched in an apocalyptic context, this work was plagiarized from a similarly titled work published by the English divine Henry More in 1664. See: Tony Claydon, 'Latitudinarianism and Apocalyptic History in the Worldview of Gilbert Burnet, 1643-1715', *Historical Journal*, 51 (2008), 577-597.

[12] In contrast, many adherents to the established church in England published apocalyptic interpretations of Scripture in support of monarchy and episcopacy after 1660. See: Warren Johnston, 'The Anglican Apocalypse in Restoration England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55 (2004), 469 & 483. Scottish bishops made little use of the printing press during the Restoration period. Primary examples include: John Paterson, *Post Nubila Phoebus, or, A Sermon of Thanksgiving for the Safe and Happy Returne of our Gracious Sovereign* (Aberdeen, 1660) and *Tandem Bona Causa Triumphat, or, Scotlands Late Misery Bevailed and the Honour and Loyalty of this Ancient Kingdom Asserted* (Edinburgh, 1661); Andrew Honyman, *A Survey of the Insolent and Infamous Libel Entituled Naphtali* (Edinburgh, 1668); *Survey of Naphtali. Part II* (Edinburgh, 1669); *The Seasonable Case of Submission to the Church-government, as now Re-stablished by Law* (Edinburgh, 1662).

[13] Honyman feared that the successor of John of Leyden would arise in Scotland and turn it into a 'field of confusion and blood'. See: *A Survey of the Insolent . . . Naphtali*, 18.

[14] In an undated lecture on Isaiah 6, Leighton explained that the world would be plagued by famine, pestilence, and war before the end of time. Yet, in another undated sermon on Isaiah 8:5-6, Leighton expressed his belief in the latter-day glory of the Church: 'in those latter days Babylon shall be brought to dust, and the true church of Christ shall flourish and increase'. See: *The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D.*, James Aikman, ed., (Edinburgh, 1832), 330 & 362. Also see: *Three Posthumous Tracts of the Famous Dr. Rob. Leighton, late Arch-bishop of Glasgow* (London, 1708); *Eighteen Sermons Preached by the most Reverend Dr. Robert Leighton, formerly Archbishop of Glasgow* (London, 1745).

[15] Sharp's only printed work was published in 1657 when he was still a committed Resolutioner. See: James Sharp, *A True Representation of the Rise, Progresse, and State of the Present Divisions of the Church of Scotland* (London, 1657). In this tract, Sharp denounced the actions of the Protesters during the Interregnum.

Throughout the late-seventeenth century, moderate Presbyterians and Scottish bishops remained indifferent toward apocalyptic belief. As a result, hardline Covenanters who expected nothing less from the Restoration regime than its total adherence to the principles outlined in the covenants of 1638 and 1643 were largely responsible for the radicalisation of Scottish apocalyptic tradition between 1660 and 1688. While the ecclesiastical politics of the Restoration period have received sufficient attention in recent scholarship, discussions of Scottish apocalypticism during the later Stuart era have been noticeably absent.[16] The question of how apocalypticism shaped the lives of the Scottish populace and influenced the often tumultuous course of events that took place in Scotland at this time remains largely unanswered. Moreover, the connection between radical apocalyptic belief and religious persecution in Scotland throughout this period has yet to be explored.

The Covenanters and the Restoration Settlement, 1660-1664

The radicalisation of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition proceeded rather slowly following the restoration of Charles II as King of Scotland, England and Ireland on 29 May 1660 – despite the misfortunes of the leading Protesters from the Interregnum. Upon his return to London, Charles needed little convincing that the radical element of the Covenanter party

[16]Along with Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters* and Buckroyd, *Church and State*, see: Gordon Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965); Ian M. Smart, 'The Political Ideas of the Scottish Covenanters, 1638-88', *History of Political Thought*, 1 (1980), 167-193; Julia Buckroyd, 'Anti-clericalism in Scotland during the Restoration', in Norman Macdougall, ed., *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929* (Edinburgh, 1983), 167-185; James Kirk, 'Reformation and Revolution, Kirk and Crown 1560-1690', in Jenny Wormald, ed., *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), 82-96; Colin Kidd, 'Religious Realignment between the Restoration and Union', in John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995), 145-170; Clare Jackson, *Restoration Scotland, 1660-1690: Royalist Politics, Religion and Ideas* (Woodbridge, 2003), Chs.5 & 7; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2005), especially 85-135 & 329-376; and Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London, 2006), Ch.4. Richard Greaves has done much to better our understanding of Scottish radicalism after the Restoration: see Greaves, *Deliver Us from Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986); *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990); *Secrets of the Kingdom: The British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-1689* (Stanford, 1992).

represented a 'threat to public order' and that 'their views were incompatible with monarchical government'.[17] Charles had not forgotten how Protesters such as Johnston of Wariston had treated him in 1650 and 1651 prior to his escape to the Continent. Because of Charles's resentment of the more radical Covenanters, the power base of the Protesters suffered greatly in the years following the Restoration. In December 1660, the Marquis of Argyll was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was subsequently convicted of treason and beheaded in May 1661. Shortly thereafter, James Guthrie, the leading Protester minister and outspoken Covenanter polemicist, was likewise convicted of treason and executed in Edinburgh. Wariston, who was largely responsible for drafting both covenants, followed Guthrie to the scaffold in 1663.[18]

Religious persecution of the Covenanters began in earnest with the sweeping ecclesiastical changes forced upon the Church of Scotland by the Scottish Parliament. Between 1661 and 1663, a series of acts were passed by parliament which effectively restored episcopacy in Scotland, declared the covenants of 1638 and 1643 unlawful, and outlawed private religious gatherings, or conventicles. As a result of these parliamentary acts, an estimated 300 ministers – one third of the total number of ministers in Scotland – refused to conform and were either deposed from their pulpits or simply abandoned their parishes. Covenanter ministers responded to the Restoration settlement with mixed reactions of shock, disillusionment, and hope for brighter days. The Resolutioner, Robert Baillie, had been a voice of moderation throughout the mid-seventeenth century when the Covenanters were at the height of their power in Scotland. But the 'pulling downe' of the laws established by the Covenanters in the 1640s left Baillie 'broken with grief' and he

[17] Buckroyd, *Church and State*, 26.
[18] The leading Protester minister, Samuel Rutherford, was called to appear before parliament to answer a charge of treason, but he avoided possible execution after falling seriously ill and dying in March 1661.

died the following year.[19] Robert McWard, a zealous Protester minister who was briefly imprisoned in 1661, interpreted the sudden changes forced upon the Scottish Church as a sign that God was on the verge of abandoning Scotland. Before being forced into exile, McWard addressed parliament on 6 June 1661 and warned its members that should they continue on their course of apostasy, the Lord would inflict heavy judgments upon the 'backsliding' kingdom.[20]

While many ministers during the early-1660s expected gloomy days ahead for the godly in Scotland, the Protester minister, William Guthrie, began to speak of the salvation that would accompany the return of Christ and encouraged those afflicted by the cross of persecution to wait patiently for the time of their deliverance. Guthrie had studied divinity under Samuel Rutherford at the University of St Andrews before being appointed minister at Fenwick in Ayrshire in 1644. Throughout his early career, he joined Rutherford in supporting the actions of radical Covenanters. Prior to the Restoration, Guthrie had marched against Montrose in 1645, opposed the Engagement, taken part in the Mauchline Rising, and sided with Rutherford and other Protesters during the Interregnum. Like Rutherford, Guthrie remained an 'unbending Covenanter' as the Scottish Kirk experienced significant alterations after 1660.[21]

Because of the patronage he received from the earls of Eglinton and Glencairn, Guthrie temporarily managed to avoid the fate of the many Protester ministers who were deposed in 1662 as a result of the Restoration settlement. It was not until July 1664 that he was finally removed from his charge by the staunch anti-Covenanter Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow. Yet, while Guthrie's ministerial position was not immediately affected by the legislation passed by parliament between 1661 and 1663, he shared a

[19] *LJRB*, III, 458.
[20] Wodrow, *History*, I, 80.
[21] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 184.

personal connection with several Covenanters who suffered persecution during that time. Among these were his cousin and former tutor, James Guthrie, who he accompanied to the scaffold on 1 July 1661, and his youngest brother John who became an 'outlaw' after being deposed from his ministry at Tarbolton.[22]

In many respects, Guthrie's apocalyptic outlook during the early-1660s mirrored that of his former mentor Samuel Rutherford. Shortly before his death on 20 March 1661, Rutherford addressed a letter to a fellow Protester minister, Robert Campbell, in which he foretold that Christ was 'upon His journey' and that he would come quickly to remove the 'darkness' which had fallen upon 'the Isle of Britain'. Therefore, he wrote, the godly should 'fear not men', because the Lord would be their 'light and salvation' when he returned.[23] In similar fashion, Guthrie responded to the initial wave of religious persecution experienced by the Covenanters with expressions of apocalyptic thought imbued with promises of divine deliverance. These can be observed within several of Guthrie's surviving sermons preached between 1662 and his death in 1665. Guthrie believed that the godly in the Kirk had been forced to endure trials and afflictions during the early-1660s because the covenants had been broken and buried beneath the ecclesiastical reforms enacted by apostate magistrates and compliers with Charles's government in Scotland.[24] For this reason, he claimed, the Lord had hidden his face from the Scottish people and was plaguing the land.[25] Yet, Guthrie maintained in his sermons a sense of hope for the future and explained to his parishioners at Fenwick that 'the most

[22] *Ibid*., 184. John Guthrie took part in the Pentland Rising of 1666: Wodrow, *History*, I, 245.
[23] Rutherford, *Letters*, 703.
[24] William Guthrie, *The Heads of some Sermons Preached at Finnick the 17th of August 1662 by Mr. William Guthry* (Glasgow, 1680), 60.
[25] John Howie, *A Collection of Lectures and Sermons: Preached upon Several Subjects, mostly in the Time of Late Persecution* (Kilmarnock, 1809), 92 & 183.

glorious dayes of the Church of God' were to be brought about during the darkest of times.[26]

Like Rutherford, Guthrie fully expected the Lord would return to deliver his Church and people from their suffering in the latter-days. Significantly, however, whereas Rutherford expected imminent deliverance, Guthrie's message was one of patience:

> There are many things the Lord has upon the wheels yet to be done: and if all these things were done and ready, then faith would carry its errand for the church of God in her delivery. Ye must not think it long till the number of your brethren have suffered, and several things be done that God hath to do; then faith will carry its business. Ye must let God along [alone]. I mean ye must not peremptorily limit him to any time, for working what he has to do. Ye know not how much he has to do yet, ere he deliver his church. Ye see not all the irons he hath in the fire, so to speak; for truly if ye saw them all, ye would not speak as sometimes ye do. Though he be coming for the deliverance of the church, yet there are many things withstanding him in the way.[27]

Guthrie urged persecuted Covenanters not to be hasty and to 'wait on the Lord' until he came forth to 'plead their cause, and execute judgment for them'.[28] But, despite his rather cautious apocalypticism, the struggles endured by the Covenanters shortly after the Restoration did lead Guthrie to believe that several of the prophecies located in the Book of Revelation were beginning to unfold.

While Covenanter ministers were forced to decide whether to comply with the mandates of the Restoration settlement or face certain temporal punishment, Guthrie urged his brethren to look to the passage of Revelation 12:11 to strengthen their resolve. The verse speaks of how the godly have the ability – by the word of their testimony – to overcome Satan, the great dragon, who has but a short time on earth to persecute the Lord's people before Christ returns. Guthrie encouraged his fellow ministers to beware of

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[26] Guthrie, *Heads of some Sermons*, 60.
[27] *CLS*, 165.
[28] *Ibid*., 180. Guthrie shared the apocalyptic views espoused by Robert Baillie, Alexander Petrie, and David Dickson who had stated throughout the 1640s that no man could determine the day and hour upon which Christ would return.

breaking the covenants and to adhere to their profession so that they might 'overcome that red dragon', which he claimed was 'coming down into our land to destroy the woman with the man-child; to drive the church of Christ out of her temple; and to make her flee away to the wilderness, to other cities, and to foreign lands'.[29]

Additionally, Guthrie reminded his parishioners that in the last days Gog and Magog would gather together an army of the wicked which would attempt to root out the Church. In his view, all that remained for this to be accomplished was for 'the Pope and the Turk and Prelates and Malignants' to be drawn up together for the purpose of 'swallowing-up' the Church. But once again, Guthrie asked the godly to have patience and 'wait-on a while' until their enemies had gathered closer together. When that had been achieved, he explained, they 'would not need to wait long afterward' for the Last Judgment.[30] In the meantime, Guthrie insisted that 'waiting on God' was the Covenanter's duty and they should expect 'to be mocked, reproached, banished, imprisoned, and every other way persecuted for Christ' before he appeared to deliver them from their plight.[31]

Both Rutherford and Guthrie reacted to the changes brought about by the Restoration settlement with a renewed sense of prophetic vigilance. Yet, prophetic expressions such as theirs that offered hope to those Scots who opposed the ecclesiastical changes in the Kirk and were deprived of their charges, imprisoned, or banished did not result from a sudden explosion of apocalyptic expectation in Scotland after 1660. Unlike in England, where the prophetic excitement generated by the Restoration led nonconformists to claim 'the world would end in 1662', Scottish Presbyterians displayed little sense of apocalyptic urgency.[32] Nor did apocalyptic thinkers in Scotland become carried away with

[29] *Ibid*.,119.
[30] Guthrie, *Heads of Some Sermons*, 58.
[31] *CLS*, 189.
[32] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 206.

the same millenarian spirit that inspired the violent actions of Thomas Venner and other militant Fifth Monarchists south of the border.[33]

In sum, between 1660 and 1664, the gloomy prophetic predictions of men like Robert McWard, and the rather subdued apocalypticism espoused by William Guthrie, did not provoke persecuted Covenanters into taking radical action against the Restoration regime. However, beginning in the mid-1660s, increased persecution of the Covenanters drove many to adopt a programme of active resistance to the government which 'grew steadily more manifest and uncompromising' over the following two decades.[34] As a result of their militancy, the government took more drastic measures to enforce conformity and persecution of the Covenanters became more severe. In turn, the Covenanters began to adopt a more radicalised apocalyptic ideology which was centered upon heightened expectations of divine retribution for their sufferings.

Conventicles, Armed Resistance, and the Apocalyptic Message of Naphtali*, 1665-1668*

As a result of the deprivations of nonconformist Presbyterian ministers in Scotland between 1662 and 1664, evicted ministers most opposed to the Restoration settlement began to hold illegal religious gatherings in the homes of their followers, while others opted to carry out their preaching duties amidst the fields, moors and highlands of the Scottish landscape. As Stevenson has shown, the practice of holding conventicles during the 1620s and 1630s helped give rise to the covenanting movement.[35] Thereafter, these religious gatherings and prayer meetings which were often held in secret became a trademark of radical Covenanters who eventually came to dominate the Kirk in the late-

[33] For Venner's Rising see: Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* and Greaves, *Deliver us from Evil*.
[34] Willie Thompson 'The Kirk and the Cameronians', in Maurice Cornforth, ed., *Rebels and Their Causes: Essays in Honour of A.L. Morton* (London, 1978), 94.
[35] David Stevenson, 'Conventicles in the Kirk 1619-1637: The Emergence of a Radical Party', in *RSCHS*, 18 (1973), 99-114.

1640s. Thus, ministers who held illegal conventicles after the Restoration continued to build upon a 'long established' tradition.[36]

Between 1663 and 1665, authorities in Scotland began to take more serious measures in an effort to crack down on illegal conventicles which had become increasingly popular in rural areas south of the Tay, particularly in the southwest regions of Ayrshire, Dumfries, and Galloway.[37] In January 1664, the Court of High Commission was re-established at the request of Archbishop Sharp. The court was ordered to take punitive measures against those who held or attended conventicles.[38] Individuals suspected of taking part in conventicles or harboring ministers who preached illegally were frequently tortured before being imprisoned or banished to the colonies.[39] The severe actions taken by the Court of High Commission against conventiclers coincided with an increased military buildup in areas where dissent was strongest. Soldiers under the command of Sir James Turner and Thomas Dalziel of Binns were dispatched to areas in southwest Scotland to breakup conventicles, enforce conformity, and collect fines.

The brutality displayed by government troops as they carried out their duties incited many worshippers to take up arms in an effort to guard against possible attacks on their religious gatherings. These armed gatherings alarmed high ranking agents of the crown in Scotland, especially Archbishops Burnet and Sharp, who urged Charles to take more serious action against conventicles in order to prevent insurgency. Their fears of insurrection appeared justified by the publication of a controversial Covenanter tract written by the exiled minister John Brown of Wamphray. Published abroad and smuggled into Scotland in 1665, Brown's lengthy treatise – *An Apologeticall Relation of the*

[36] David Stevenson, 'The Radical Party in the Kirk, 1637-45', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974), 165.
[37] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 57-59.
[38] *Ibid*., 59.
[39] Wodrow, *History*, I, 192-200.

Particular Sufferings of the Faithfull Ministers and Professours of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660 – has been described by Cowan as a 'positive call to action' due to the fact that the former Protester minister defended the right of the Covenanters to rise up 'in their owne defence against the King's armies of papists and malignants'.[40]

The oppressive measures taken by the Court of High Commission against conventiclers and the government's reliance on military intervention to suppress illegal religious gatherings in the southwest only heightened the militancy of the Covenanters as the number and size of conventicles increased between 1665 and 1666. A group of radical Covenanter ministers that included Gabriel Semple, John Blackadder, John Crookshanks, Alexander Peden, and John Welsh was largely responsible for this upsurge in conventicling activity. Wodrow noted that a thousand or more conventiclers gathered to hear Blackadder's sermons every Lord's Day, while many worshippers who convened to hear Welsh preach in the parish of Irongray came 'armed with swords and pistols'.[41] When the insurrection long anticipated by the government finally came in November 1666, at least eighteen ministers, including Welsh, Semple, and Peden, played an important role in gathering support for the ill-fated Pentland Rising.[42] During this uprising, an estimated 900 armed conventiclers marched out of southwest Scotland toward Edinburgh only to be scattered or slain at Rullion Green by government forces led by Dalziel.

Ministers and military officers who led the insurrection agreed that providence had brought the insurgents together, but there is little evidence to suggest that a heightened

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[40] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 61. John Brown, *An Apologeticall Relation, of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithfull Ministers and Professours of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660* (Rotterdam?, 1665), 140. Despite its militant overtones, Brown's tract was hardly apocalyptic in nature. Like William Guthrie, Brown urged the faithful to wait patiently for Christ to return and simply stated, 'he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry': Epistle, sig. *8r.

[41] Wodrow, *History*, I, 235. Welsh was the grandson of John Welsh (1568-1622) who had openly challenged the religious reforms of James VI & I during the early 1600s and was subsequently exiled to France.

[42] Greaves, *Enemies*, 81.

sense of apocalypticism influenced the actions of the rebels during the Pentland Rising.[43] Prior to the events of November 1666, the apocalyptic views of Covenanter ministers who were persecuted for nonconformity had hardly diverged from those set forth by William Guthrie in the early-1660s. At this time, ministers continued to urge their flocks to endure their sufferings and wait patiently for the Lord to deliver them from evil and punish their tormenters. However, during the years that followed the short-lived rebellion, apocalyptic belief in Scotland became increasingly radicalised as the Covenanters moved steadily away from the conservative eschatological views established over the first half of the seventeenth century. This progression toward a more radical apocalyptic ideology resulted initially from the harsh punishment of those conventiclers who had taken part in the failed rebellion.

Only days after the rebels had been defeated, the Privy Council implemented a 'policy of extirpation' proposed by Archbishop Sharp who, according to Wodrow, was 'blood-thirsty' for revenge.[44] At least eighty captive insurgents were placed in 'Haddock's Hole' on the site of the High Church in Edinburgh, while the more notable rebels such as the minister Hugh McKail were incarcerated in the Tolbooth.[45] Ten of these captives, three of whom were rebel officers, were hanged in Edinburgh on 7 December – their heads and right arms were cut off and dispatched to various parts of the country.[46] Over the following two weeks, Hugh McKail, fellow minister, Alexander Robertson, and John Neilson, the laird of Corsock, were executed after being subjected to torture. Outside the capital,

[43] Wodrow recorded several instances during which ministers preached as the rebels moved east toward the capital: see *History*, I, 244-245. Details concerning the nature of these sermons are scant and none appear to have been published.
[44] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 69; Wodrow, *History*, I, 255.
[45] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 201.
[46] *Ibid*., 204.

executions were carried out in Glasgow, Ayrshire, Dumfries, and Irvine. In total, thirty-six insurgents were executed for participating in the rebellion.[47]

Meanwhile, Dalziel marched westwards and quartered his troops in disaffected areas where they resorted to extortion and acts of violence in their effort to capture fugitives and enforce conformity. Soldiers serving Sir James Turner and Sir William Ballantine carried out similar repressive acts in Galloway.[48] In August 1667, at least seventy-one known rebels, including John Welsh, were indicted by the Privy Council for high treason *in absentia* and declared fugitives.[49] During the months that followed, the government offered indemnity to all but the most wanted rebels. While 218 rebels complied and agreed to sign a bond of peace, an estimated 300 insurgents refused, many of whom were consequently transported to Barbados, Virginia, and Tangier.[50]

The individual cases of those Scots who were executed, banished, and severely persecuted following the uprising became part of a new Covenanter martyrology which formed the basis of the controversial tract titled, *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ* published in 1667. The publication of *Naphtali* had a significant impact on the continued development of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition after the Restoration. Its appearance marked the beginning of a transitional phase between the passive apocalypticism espoused by the Covenanters during the early-1660s and the more militant apocalypticism adopted by a minority party of radical Covenanters in the late-1670s and early-1680s. The anonymously published work, co-authored by the Edinburgh politician, James Stewart of Goodtrees, and the Covenanter minister, James Stirling, justified the actions of the rebels during the insurrection of 1666 and proved highly

[47] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 70.
[48] Wodrow, *History*, I, 264-270.
[49] Greaves, *Enemies*, 82.
[50] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 72.

offensive to the authorities in Scotland. As copies of the work began to circulate, Archbishop Sharp feared that it would provoke a popular rebellion equal to that carried out by radical German Anabaptists at Munster in the 1530s.[51] To be sure, Stewart and Stirling certainly did not advocate a millenarian uprising of the Munsterite variety in their tract. For them, the kingdom of Christ was 'wholly spiritual' and 'not of this world', thus they did not share the views of contemporary millenarians like the Fifth Monarchists in England.[52] However, in contrast to the prophetic beliefs held by Presbyterian ministers prior to the Pentland Rising, *Naphtali* contained strong apocalyptic overtones which were largely based upon sentiments of revenge and divine justice.

Only a hint of the passive apocalypticism espoused by William Guthrie between 1662 and 1665 can be found within the pages of *Naphtali*. This is located in the epistle, where the authors explained that the godly in Scotland should not be 'curious' as to how or when the Lord would deliver them from their sufferings. Instead, they claimed that the saints should wait for the 'God of Judgment' to bring about 'an expected end' to their torments.[53] Conversely, Stewart and Stirling did not anticipate that the godly would have to wait long for the day of their deliverance. Their apocalyptic outlook mirrored that espoused by a majority of Scottish Presbyterians in the 1620s and 1630s. They assured their readers that they were living in the 'last times' and pointed to the reintroduction of episcopacy in Britain as a sign that the end of the world was at hand.[54] It was their belief that before the 'last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish religion' might 'once more overshadow the

[51] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 217. *Naphtali* was quickly banned by the council and burned by the hangman. Heavy fines were imposed on those found in possession of the book, but it continued to be a sensation in Scotland for the remainder of the seventeenth century. The work was reprinted in 1680 and 1693.
[52] James Stewart and James Stirling, *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ* (Edinburgh, 1667), Epistle, sig. B4r & 158. Stewart refuted the claims of Scottish bishops who compared the Covenanters with sixteenth-century Anabaptists in his follow-up tract to *Naphtali*. See: *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (London?, 1669), 460-468.
[53] *Naphtali*, Epistle, sig. C7v.
[54] *Ibid*., Epistle, sig. B1r.

Christian world'. Given the 'affinity betwixt papacy and prelacy', they argued, it appeared as though Scotland was being led quickly back to the 'great Whore' and they feared that all of Britain would eventually fall into the 'old gulf of Antichristianism'.[55]

Stewart and Stirling were especially scornful of Scottish bishops who they blamed most for the atrocities suffered by the Covenanters between 1660 and 1667.[56] But, in addition to the 'prelates and their hirelings', they held the king, the majority of the nobility, and all other individuals who had forsaken the covenants and rebelled against God after the Restoration accountable for attempting to rebuild the 'Kingdom of Darkness and Antichrist' in Scotland.[57] However, they were certain that although the wicked were labouring more than ever to achieve this task, their efforts were doomed to fail. Stewart and Stirling concluded that the Lord was 'feeding the wicked with their own delusions, and putting the zeal and constancy of all to the test, and in effect ripening this whole land, either for a glorious deliverance from that perverse spirit and generation of Antichrist . . . or else for a total and final overthrow in utter darkness and desolation'.[58] Thus, they found sufficient reason to believe that the work of those enemies of God's 'Cause and Covenant' in Scotland who were tearing down the 'worship and ordinances' of the Scottish Church, perverting the 'true government' of the Kirk, and persecuting the 'faithful servants' of Christ could be brought to an abrupt end by the final cataclysmic events of sacred history.[59]

While Stewart and Stirling expected the wicked to meet with a violent end on Judgment Day, the pair promised their readers that a remnant of the Lord's people would be spared from his 'dreadful and imminent wrath'. Regardless of whatever afflictions they

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[55] *Ibid*., Epistle, sig. A5r.
[56] *Ibid*., 298-304.
[57] *Ibid*., 2, 82-83 & 306.
[58] *Ibid*., 181-182.
[59] *Ibid*., 182-184.

might endure in the near future, those Scots who remained zealous for the covenants 'unto the end' would be among that remnant when Christ returned.[60] They confidently explained that even if the Kirk fell 'into the depth of all darkness', the Lord would preserve a 'remnant' in Scotland who would receive his glory, praise, and salvation.[61] Statements such as these had a significant impact on the Covenanters' eschatology. It was largely due to the initial influence of *Naphtali* in 1667 that radical Covenanters in the Kirk came to identify their plight with that of the persecuted remnant of the Lord's saints depicted in Revelation 12:17.[62] This notion was reinforced as the Covenanters experienced further persecution throughout the 1670s, and as the number of Covenanter martyrs increased during the 'Killing Times' of the 1680s.

Overall, apocalyptic themes of vengeance and divine retribution appear more frequently in *Naphtali* than those urging the Covenanter faithful to have patience and wait upon the Lord's deliverance. The severity of the government's swift retaliation against conventiclers and those responsible for the Pentland Rising led Stewart and Stirling to believe that the Lord was preparing to bring a final stroke of his wrath to all the enemies of Christ who had slain and tormented the godly in Scotland after 1660. The pair invoked Revelation 6:9-11 and urged their readers to take notice of the many 'sufferers' documented in *Naphtali* 'whose blood under the altar' had begun to cry out for vengeance.[63] However, the authors made it clear that the task of taking revenge upon the wicked persecutors of the Covenanters in the last days belonged primarily to the Lord. Citing Deuteronomy 32, they stated that, 'unto God belongeth vengeance and recompense, even the vengeance of His broken Covenant, of His dear saints blood, and of His polluted

[60] *Ibid*., 185 & 188.
[61] *Ibid*., 3-4.
[62] Revelation 12:17 reads: 'And the dragon was wroth with the woman, and went to make war with the remnant of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus Christ'.
[63] *Naphtali*, Epistle, sig. A8r.

Sanctuary'. Moreover, it was the Lord who would ultimately 'avenge the blood of His servants' and 'render vengeance to His adversaries'.[64]

Despite this prophetic claim, Stewart and Stirling did not rule out the possibility that the godly in Scotland might also play an 'instrumental' role in executing the Lord's 'just judgment' upon the wicked.[65] The authors derived this belief from Revelation 13:10: 'he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword'. Once God began to deliver the 'oppressed', they claimed, the Lord could choose to take vengeance upon his enemies 'by the hand of His people'.[66] Shortly after *Naphtali* appeared in print, these provocative statements inspired the idea that the godly in Scotland might justifiably strike out against their persecutors. On 11 July 1668, the radical Covenanter minister, James Mitchell, attempted unsuccessfully to assassinate Archbishop Sharp in Edinburgh as he climbed into his coach with Andrew Honeyman, the Bishop of Orkney.[67] After the failed attempt, the lawyer and politician, George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, 'attributed the murderous intentions' of Mitchell to the 'sensation' caused by *Naphtali*.[68] Sharp was described in the book as 'the archest traitor that ever Scotland bred' and Mitchell, who had been forfeited for his involvement in the Pentland Rising, believed he had been called by God to murder the archbishop for his role in persecuting the Covenanters.[69]

Repression of the Saints: Radical Field Preachers and the Last Judgment, 1669-1678

The vengeful prophetic tone of *Naphtali* proved highly influential as a minority party of Covenanters continued to radicalise the Scottish apocalyptic tradition during the 1670s.

[64] *Ibid*., 188-189.
[65] *Ibid*., 301.
[66] *Ibid*., 160.
[67] Julia Buckroyd, *The Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews 1618-1679* (Edinburgh, 1987), 90-91.
[68] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 222.
[69] *Naphtali*, 299. Mitchell avoided capture and remained a fugitive until he was apprehended in February 1674. He was subsequently tortured and imprisoned on Bass Rock where he remained until his trial and execution in January 1678.

Over the course of this decade persecution of conventiclers reached new levels of severity which heightened the apocalyptic expectations of Covenanter field preachers and their devout followers. At the same time, the radical element of Covenanters in the Kirk became increasingly marginalised. This trend inspired the Covenanters to identify more closely their plight with that of the suffering remnant described in the prophecies of Revelation. The attempted assassination of James Sharp in 1668 and the government's fear of another armed uprising triggered these developments.

Beginning in the late-1660s, the Scottish government, led by the Duke of Lauderdale, implemented a policy of conciliation in an effort to prevent further insurrection by separating moderate nonconformists from malcontented, irreconcilable Covenanters.[70] To achieve this, between 1669 and 1672, the government offered indulgences to moderate dissenters. The First Indulgence was granted on 15 July 1669 and by March 1670 a total of forty-one cures had been settled with indulged ministers.[71] An additional eighty-nine ministers accepted a Second Indulgence offered by the government on 2 September 1672. But, while the government offered various concessions to moderate Presbyterians at this time, authorities in Scotland continued to take coercive measures against hardline Covenanters.

During this period the number of conventicles increased across southwest Scotland and areas of Fife. Not only that, conventiclers became more aggressive and the size of their religious assemblies grew much larger.[72] To combat this problem, the Scottish Parliament passed the 'Clanking Act' in August 1670 which 'prescribed the death penalty' for field

[70] See: Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 73-81; Buckroyd, *Church and State*, 68-90; and G.M. Yould, 'The Duke of Lauderdale's Religious Policy in Scotland, 1668-79: The Failure of Conciliation and the Return to Coercion', *Journal of Religious History*, 11 (1981), 248-268.

[71] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 77. Conciliatory schemes, such as Archbishop Leighton's proposals for accommodation, proved less effective and were largely rejected by moderate Presbyterians during this period. In addition to the First Indulgence, an Act of Supremacy was passed by parliament in 1669 which gave Charles II and his successor's supreme authority over all ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland.

[72] Greaves, *Enemies*, 236-240.

preachers captured at conventicles and levied heavier fines on those who attended the illegal religious meetings.[73] This act was renewed in 1672 and again in 1675 as the problem of conventicles worsened. By that time the Privy Council had outlawed numerous Covenanter ministers, placed garrisons in disaffected areas, and ordered the militia to 'search out conventicles' and arrest persons suspected of harboring fugitive field preachers.[74] As a result, prisons filled rapidly with conventiclers and field preachers. In 1673, the 'prophet' Alexander Peden became one of the first of many ministers to be incarcerated on the Bass Rock in the Firth of Forth after he was finally captured and convicted for taking part in the Pentland Rising.[75]

The harsh measures taken by Charles II and his government against radical Presbyterian dissenters and conventiclers over the first half of the 1670s had a substantial impact on the apocalyptic ideology of Covenanter field preachers. Renewed oppression tested the patience of the saints, and sermons preached by radical ministers at conventicles across Scotland became infused with heightened expectations of the imminence of the Last Judgment. This was particularly true of those preached by John Welsh who became a fugitive after escaping from Rullion Green. By June 1674, the Privy Council had doubled its efforts to apprehend Welsh and other ministers who had joined the rebellion of 1666.[76] Despite this, he remained hostile to the government and the established church, often preaching before hosts that were said to number 8-10,000 conventiclers while armed guards stood watch for government soldiers.[77]

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[73] *Ibid*., 93-94.
[74] Yould, 'Lauderdale's Religious Policy in Scotland', 265.
[75] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 88.
[76] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 244.
[77] *Ibid*., 243 & 262. Accounts of the size of Covenanter field meetings used by Wodrow and Hewison which could certainly have been exaggerated.

As the new wave of religious persecution in Scotland continued unabated after 1670, Welsh's apocalyptic outlook reached greater levels of intensity. During a sermon likely preached at a conventicle in Fife in the mid-1670s, Welsh warned his listeners of the approaching 'day of judgment' that he believed was coming upon those who had persecuted the godly in Scotland. While he did not refer specifically to the controversial work, Welsh's prophetic claims of vengeance and divine retribution for the Covenanters' sufferings mirrored the rhetoric of *Naphtali*. There was a day coming, Welsh proclaimed, when the wicked would be severely judged for 'all the evil sentences' and 'all the acts of parliament' they had brought forth against the Covenanters since the Restoration.[78] He then assured the gathered crowd that on Judgment Day the enemies of Christ would pay dearly for all the saints' blood they had shed in the cities and fields across the land. Welsh prophesied further that when Christ returned 'with flaming fire to take vengeance on all the workers of iniquity', 'nothing but terror' would come to 'the persecutors and enemies of God'.[79] Those who had taken 'many lives, and put up so many heads and hands', or 'imprisoned and banished' the Covenanter faithful, would soon be cast into an 'everlasting fire'.[80]

Also reminiscent of *Naphtali* was Welsh's belief that for the remnant of the Lord's 'saints' in Scotland, Judgment Day would be a 'joyful day' and 'a day of redemption, consolation and salvation'.[81] But although Welsh believed the apocalyptic event would bring joy to the 'hearts of the godly', the minister informed his hearers that this would not be a day reserved solely for the punishment of the wicked. Welsh announced that when the

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[78] John Howie, *A Choice Collection of Very Valuable Sermons Preached on Several Subjects and in Divers Places in the Time of the Late Persecution, by these Eminent Servants of Jesus Christ, Messrs John Kid, John King, John Welch, John Blackadder, John Dickson, and Gabriel Semple* (Glasgow, 1780), 48.
[79] *Ibid*., 50.
[80] *Ibid*., 49 & 51.
[81] *Ibid*., 51-52.

time came, all persons 'without exception' would have to 'appear before the judgment-seat of Christ'.[82] Nevertheless, he urged the Covenanter faithful to pray for the long-awaited 'day of separation'. On that day, Welsh expected the godly to 'pass into glory' and be with the Lord forever, while the wicked would 'depart to be forever with the devil and his angels in everlasting torment'.[83] With this, Welsh reaffirmed the belief traditionally held by apocalyptic thinkers in seventeenth-century Scotland who expected that the world – and more specifically the Church of Christ – would be composed of a mixture of the godly and the reprobate until the Last Judgment.

Although he believed Judgment Day was close, Welsh avoided trying to predict when the final events of sacred history would take place. Instead, he repeated the claim common to the Scottish apocalyptic tradition that it was impossible for any man to know when Christ would return. The Last Day would 'be an uncertain day', he reminded his hearers, and it would come without warning 'as a thief in the night'.[84] Still, Welsh asserted that the latter-days were nearing an end and that the Last Day was fast approaching: 'Consider how near it is. It is now a long time since it was said, *the end of all things is at hand*. It is not only certain that it will be, but it is certain that it is not far off'.[85] Welsh also reiterated the belief set forth earlier in the seventeenth century by Robert Baillie, Alexander Petrie, and William Guild who claimed that the Second Coming and the Last Judgment would mark the final end of all things. In his sermon, Welsh guaranteed his audience that the 'great and terrible day of the Lord' would be the 'last day' and stated that there would be 'no day after it'.[86] Thus, in Welsh's prophetic vision for the future there

[82] *Ibid*., 54.
[83] *Ibid*., 53.
[84] *Ibid*., 52.
[85] *Ibid*., 57.
[86] *Ibid*., 50.

would be no millennial reign of the saints on earth and no lengthy golden age in which the Church would flourish.

Joining Welsh in the fields at this time was John Welwood. From roughly 1674 to 1679, Welwood preached on numerous occasions at conventicles held across central Scotland and Fife. Several of Welwood's sermons from this period have survived. These fiery sermons provide us with an indication of the radical direction Scottish apocalypticism would take during the 1680s as it came to be dominated by extremist Covenanter field preachers and their followers. Welwood, whose father James had been deposed from his charge at Tundergarth shortly after the Restoration, was possibly never ordained as a minister and he never settled in a particular parish.[87] Nonetheless, he became one of the more charismatic field preachers of the 1670s and his militant behavior continually drew the ire of the Scottish government. In July 1674, Welwood failed to answer a summons to appear before the Privy Council and was later 'intercommuned' on 3 August 1676 along with fourteen other suspected conventiclers.[88] The young firebrand preacher was particularly critical of the authorities in Scotland and his sermons were highly seditious. As he preached at various conventicles, Welwood condemned the government for acting ruthlessly against the Covenanters. Moreover, he frequently claimed that the Lord was coming to take vengeance on all the public officials in Scotland – from the king to the lowest constable – who had persecuted the Covenanter faithful for nearly two decades.[89]

Preaching before a host of conventiclers at Calder Creek near Airdrie on 16 March 1676, Welwood proclaimed that, 'Judgment hath now begun at the house of God' and

[87] David George Mullan, *Protestant Piety in Early-Modern Scotland: Letters, Lives and Covenants, 1650-1712* (Edinburgh, 2008), 12-14.
[88] Wodrow, *History*, I, 420.
[89] *CLS*, 268.

prophesied that the day of the Lord's wrath was approaching.[90] Welwood proceeded to identify specifically those who would be subjected to the 'Lord's sword' when that fateful day came. God, he claimed, was returning to Scotland to take vengeance on 'our rulers . . . and all their servants' who 'execute their wickedness'. The Lord was also coming against 'prelates, the clergy . . . and all other officers in the house of Baal'.[91] 'Prelates, and their underlings', Welwood announced, would be punished for their perjury and apostasy, for their persecution of the godly, and for 'being the firebrands' who had strengthened 'the hands of evil doers'. Additionally, the minister stated that the nobility and gentry would pay dearly 'for their compliance with the apostasy' and for 'their oppression of the poor, and racking of rents'.[92]

Welwood concluded this sermon by denouncing those ministers in Scotland who had accepted the Indulgences of 1669 and 1672. As he claimed, indulged ministers had made 'a confederacy' with all the 'enemies and haters of God'.[93] With this, Welwood became one of the first field preachers to speak out publicly against the indulged. Although they remained opposed to the concessions, fellow radical ministers such as John Blackadder and John Welsh did not condemn those ministers whose consciences allowed them to accept the indulgences.[94] Welwood, on the other hand, believed that the Lord would severely punish the indulged for the 'cowardliness and faint-heartedness' they displayed as their fellow ministers suffered persecution.[95] Following Welwood's premature

[90] *Ibid*., 267.
[91] *Ibid*., 268.
[92] *Ibid*., 269.
[93] *Ibid*., 270.
[94] Maurice Grant, *The Lion of the Covenant: The Story of Richard Cameron* (Durham, 1997), 57. Also: Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 79. Indulged ministers became an integral part of Presbyterian resistance in western shires – albeit through nonviolent means. See: Elizabeth Hyman, 'A Church Militant: Scotland, 1661-1690', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 26 (1995), 49-74.
[95] *CLS*, 270.

death in April 1679, extremist Covenanters such as Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill maintained this attitude toward indulged ministers.[96]

Welwood continued his diatribe against the Covenanters' enemies in a sermon preached at Bogle's Hole in the parish of West Monkland. During this sermon, Welwood cited Revelation 14:7 and urged his listeners to prepare for the latter-days: 'fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come'.[97] In keeping with the spirit of *Naphtali*, Welwood's principal message in this sermon was one of divine vengeance. He boldly asserted that the wicked would soon witness the full wrath of the Lord:

> as the Lord lives and reigns, he will repay them to their faces all of them together, even from the greatest unto the least of them; from king to the lowest. Without omitting one of them, he will repay them severely for all the mischiefs they have done. What are they? As many kings and counsellors as would lie betwixt us and the sun, are no more but as a pile of grass before God. They are as nothing, and less than nothing. He will care no more to beat the abominable party that we call rulers down unto the lowest hell, than I would do to tread a worm under my feet.[98]

Before closing his sermon, Welwood assured his audience that God was 'coming against Britain' to 'drive down kings, nobles, and prelates', to 'send forth hell and damnation amongst them', and to 'take vengeance' on the land.[99]

Welwood joined with the veteran field preacher John Welsh by reinforcing the view set forth in *Naphtali* that only a remnant of 'ministers, professors, and Christians' in Scotland would be spared on the Last Day.[100] But unlike Welsh, as much as Welwood spoke of the terrible day of the Lord's wrath that was coming upon Scotland in his sermons, it does not appear that the young preacher always equated that day with the final

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[96] This is the normal date given for Welwood's death, but several contemporaries place his death in 1678: Mullan, *Protestant Piety*, 20-21.
[97] *CLS*, 296. Howie did not record the date for this conventicle which was probably held in 1677 sometime after Welwood preached in Loudon Parish on 7 April of that year.
[98] *Ibid*., 284.
[99] *Ibid*., 293.
[100] *Ibid*., 285.

Day of Judgment.[101] A deathbed prophecy recorded by Patrick Walker demonstrates that Welwood did not rule out the possibility that the Church might experience a period of latter-day glory before the Last Judgment. As Welwood 'lingered under a consumptive distemper' at the home of John Barclay in Perth, he explained to a friend that after the Lord poured 'out his wrath upon the enemies of his Church and people', there would 'be the most glorious delivery and reformation that ever was in Britain'. Following this, Welwood prophesied that the 'Church should never more be troubled with Prelacy'.[102]

The vengeful tone that characterised the sermons of Covenanter field preachers such as John Welsh and John Welwood in the mid-1670s differed greatly from the more conservative views held by deposed Presbyterian ministers like William Guthrie during the early years of the Restoration period. Not long after the Pentland Rising and the publication of *Naphtali,* field preachers – most of whom were wanted fugitives – began to make fewer pleas for the Covenanter faithful to have patience and wait on the Lord's deliverance. Moreover, as they preached before larger crowds of armed worshippers at conventicles across central and southwest Scotland, they began to target more specifically individuals of all ranks and stations who they believed would suffer eternal damnation when God unleashed his wrath in Britain on Judgment Day.

Despite their overtly militant attitude and vengeful apocalyptic outlook, between 1669 and 1678 the marginalised party of radical Covenanters in Scotland mostly refrained from striking out against their persecutors.[103] By the end of the decade, however, the Covenanters began to reach their breaking point. Harsh measures taken by the government

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[101] *Ibid*., 283.

[102] Walker, *Six Saints*, I, 213-215. A number of Welwood's surviving letters from 1676 and 1677 to a frequent correspondent, Katharine Collace, contain similar remarks about a 'new church' and his expectations of the 'glory that shall fill the land' in the last days: Mullan, *Protestant Piety*, 122, 126 & 130.

[103] Premeditated acts of violence by dissenting Presbyterians at this time appear to have been isolated occurrences: see Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 259.

to quell dissent in disaffected areas proved to be the last straw. Upon hearing rumours of incipient rebellion, the Crown implemented a policy of military crackdown and coercion in Scotland's western shires that lasted nearly seven months. Beginning in December 1677, the kingdom was placed under martial law as English troops mustered at Newcastle and in Belfast. The following January, the Duke of Lauderdale (by then High Commissioner in Scotland) deployed troops from the highlands reinforced by Lowland militia to areas in the southwest where conventicling activity had proved most difficult for authorities to curb. The Highland Host pulled down illegal meeting houses, levied fines, enforced the oath of allegiance and all bonds which required landowners to ensure the loyal behavior of their tenants and servants. Historians sympathetic to the Covenanters, such as Wodrow and Hewison, recorded that the atrocities committed by the highland force ranged from murder, rape, torture, and theft. At the least, modern scholars seem to agree that plunder was 'fairly extensive' and that the southwest was left impoverished once the Highland Host was finally dispersed in June 1678.[104] What is certain is that the use of military force to crush dissent and reduce the number of conventicles in 1678 'intensified the hostility of nonconformists toward the government'.[105] In the years that followed the militancy of radical conventiclers increased and the apocalyptic message of revenge espoused by John Welwood provided a sense of legitimacy for extremist Covenanters who wished to fight back against their oppressors.

Richard Cameron and Extremist Covenanter Apocalypticism, 1679-1680

On 3 May 1679, a group of nine conventiclers from Fife chased down the coach of James Sharp at Magus Muir outside St Andrews, removed Sharp from his carriage and brutally

[104] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 91; Harris, *Restoration*, 124-125. Conventiclers were also transported to plantations the East Indies and colonies such as Virginia more frequently during the 1670s.
[105] Greaves, *Enemies*, 241.

murdered the archbishop in front of his daughter. The leader of the group, John Balfour of Kinloch, explained to the archbishop before he died that all the blood he had shed in Scotland since the Pentland Rising had been crying 'with a loud voice to heaven for vengeance' and that the men gathered before him had been tasked 'to execute it'.[106] Undoubtedly, the vengeful spirit of *Naphtali* which had continued to resonate in the highly apocalyptic sermons of Covenanter field preachers throughout the 1670s had inspired the assailants to answer a 'clear call to duty' and act upon 'an opportunity to strike a blow for their cause'.[107] A larger faction of radical Covenanters answered this call in the weeks that followed as Sharp's murder set off a chain of events which culminated with the Battle of Bothwell Bridge. This battle marked the end of a short-lived insurrection of 4,000 poorly armed militant Covenanters led by Sir Robert Hamilton of Preston. The rebellion ended on 22 June as a superior force of 10,000 government soldiers commanded by the Duke of Monmouth defeated the rebel army with little effort.[108]

After Monmouth's defeat of the militant Covenanters, field preaching practically ceased as the government increased its effort to suppress conventicles and bring to justice fugitives who had escaped the battle.[109] Despite the danger during the months that followed the events at Bothwell Bridge, a fiery young minister from Falkirk named Richard Cameron preached before crowds of three to four thousand conventiclers in Nithsdale and Clydesdale. Cameron had not participated in the failed rebellion having travelled to Rotterdam just weeks before it began. He had left Scotland for the Netherlands after being reprimanded by a church court composed of moderate Covenanter ministers,

[106] Wodrow, *History*, II, 31.
[107] Buckroyd, *Life of James Sharp*, 108.
[108] Hamilton escaped and fled to the Netherlands where he remained until the revolution of 1688. Among those executed after the fight were two field preachers, John Kid and John King. Their heads and right hands were placed next to James Guthrie's at the Netherbow Port on 14 August.
[109] Few ministers dared to provoke further persecution by preaching openly at conventicles between November 1679 and February 1680 while the Duke of York (Duke of Albany in Scotland) was in Edinburgh overseeing affairs in Scotland on behalf of his brother: Grant, *Lion of the Covenant*, 168-169.

including John Welsh, who objected to his outspoken attitude toward indulged clergymen and placed restraints on his ministry.[110] In Rotterdam, Cameron received support from a circle of radical Presbyterian exiles which included Robert McWard and John Brown.[111] This pair of former Protesters distilled their 'strict ideology of disengagement from the Restoration regime' into the exile community as they condemned the king's supremacy in Church affairs from abroad.[112] Moreover, they encouraged their radical brethren at home to continue to preach against indulged ministers. McWard's and Brown's endorsement of Cameron's ministry essentially reaffirmed the preacher's belief that he was 'upholding the Scottish Reformed tradition at a time when others were forsaking it'.[113]

Upon returning to Scotland, Cameron came to represent the intransigent faction of Covenanters who remained bitterly opposed to the indulged and refused to submit to an 'uncovenanted government' headed by a monarch who had restored episcopacy in the Kirk and heavily persecuted the godly.[114] Their total disregard of the government and denunciation of indulged ministers quickly 'alienated' the Cameronian Covenanters from the mainstream of nonconformity in Scotland.[115] The separation of Richard Cameron and his devout followers from the main body of Presbyterian dissent was sealed further by their willingness to act out the vengeful apocalyptic message of *Naphtali*. During the summer of 1680, two notable manifestos were drafted by Cameron and his closest associate, the veteran field preacher Donald Cargill, in which the Cameronians openly proclaimed their defiance of royal authority. In the 'Queensferry Paper' written by Cargill, the extremists vowed to overthrow those in positions of power who had established the 'kingdom of

[110] *Ibid*., 121.
[111] Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Lothian, 2004), 55. Under McWard and Brown the Scots Church in Rotterdam served as a haven for exiles and a hub for the printing of radical Covenanter publications.
[112] Jardine, 'United Societies', 18. McWard was also responsible for the reprinting of *Naphtali* in 1680; 36.
[113] Grant, *Lion of the Covenant*, 142.
[114] Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII*, 371.
[115] Kidd, 'Religious Realignment', 157-158.

darkness' in Scotland by enforcing 'prelacy and erastianism over the church' and by exercising 'lustful and arbitrary tyranny over' the Scottish people.[116] They also stated that future attempts by the government to pursue or trouble the Covenanter faithful would be regarded as a declaration of war. Lastly, the radicals indicated that they were prepared to 'take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another, and seek to cause to perish' all that assaulted the godly in a 'hostile manner'.[117]

Three weeks later, on 22 June, Cameron led a procession of his closest followers into the town of Sanquhar where they posted a more provocative manifesto on the market cross. In the Sanquhar Declaration, the Cameronians renounced their allegiance to Charles II for 'his perjury and breach' of the covenants, his 'usurpation of his crown and royal prerogatives', and his role in tearing down the fabric of the Scottish Church.[118] But, in a bolder move, Cameron and the extremists went so far as to state that:

> we being under the standard of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . do declare a war with such a tyrant and usurper and the men of his practices, as enemies to . . . Christ, and his cause and covenants; and against all such as have strengthened him . . . in the like usurpation and tyranny, far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free reformed mother-kirk unto the bondage of Antichrist, the pope of Rome.[119]

As a result of the Sanquhar Declaration, a high price was placed on Cameron's head, while the government increased its military presence in southwest Scotland in the hope of capturing the minister and other highly sought after fugitives. Exactly a month after posting the volatile document, Cameron, his brother Michael, and seven of their party were slain during a skirmish with government troops at Ayrsmoss.

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[116] William Croft Dickinson and Gordon Donaldson, eds., *A Source Book of Scottish History: Volume Three 1567-1707* (London, 1954), 175-176. This document was found among Cargill's belongings following his narrow escape from capture on 3 June as he travelled between Bo'ness and Queensferry.
[117] *Ibid*., 177.
[118] *Ibid*., 178. The extremists also disowned the Duke of York (Albany) and protested against his succeeding to the crown.
[119] *Ibid*., 179.

Both the Queensferry Paper and the Sanquhar Declaration illustrate the inclination of the Cameronian party toward violence and their preparedness to wage war against Charles and his government. Historians have rightly asserted that, by 1680, the documents did not represent the views of the Presbyterian majority. Yet, the general trend in modern scholarship has been to refer to both declarations as part of the 'antics' carried out by 'fanatical covenanters' during the summer of 1680 who 'disregarded any opinion' but their own.[120] Given this predominant view of the Cameronians' fanaticism, it is surprising that scholars have paid little attention to the religious, and more specifically, the apocalyptic context in which these documents were produced. Recent studies dedicated to groups of radical sixteenth-century German Anabaptists and English millenarians during the civil war era demonstrate the numerous ways in which apocalyptic belief influenced the actions of early-modern revolutionaries. Yet, in comparison, no study of the Cameronians' apocalyptic ideology and its impact upon the covenanting movement over the final eight years of Stuart rule in Britain has been undertaken.[121] What follows is a necessary summary of the much larger world of radical Covenanter apocalypticism during this period.

Richard Cameron was eventually joined in the fields by Donald Cargill who had returned to Scotland after fleeing Bothwell for the safety of Rotterdam. Conventicling activity increased throughout the spring of 1680 as a result of their preaching endeavours and the pair soon attracted a devout following. Larger audiences, eager to hear the sermons of these charismatic and emotive preachers, began to convene at illegal field meetings

[120] Donaldson, *Scotland: James V-James VII*, 372; Smart, 'Political Ideas of the Scottish Covenanters', 188; Harris, *Restoration*, 337.

[121] Examples of apocalyptic thought in England during this period can be found in: P.J. Korshin, 'Queuing and Waiting: the Apocalypse in England, 1660-1750' in Patrides and Wittreich, eds., *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*, 240-265; W.E. Burns, 'A Whig Apocalyse: Astrology, Millenarianism, and Politics in England during the Restoration Crisis, 1678-1683', in Force and Popkin, eds., *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*, 29-41; Johnston, *Revelation Restored*.

across a broader area of Scotland. In this context, Cameron quickly established himself as the 'preeminent' field preacher in Scotland.[122] His ministry at this time should be regarded as a turning point in the radicalisation of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition. As worshippers flocked to hear him preach, Cameron began to instill in his followers the radical apocalyptic belief that they, as part of a special remnant of the Lord's people, had been chosen to lift up the standard of Christ in the last days and wage war against their persecutors. Few, if any, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers over the course of the seventeenth century had been bold enough to make such a claim. More importantly, only a handful of Scots had shown Cameron's willingness to carry out what he believed was a divinely appointed task reserved for the saints in Scotland.

Both the Queensferry Paper and the Sanquhar Declaration serve as proof of the zealous apocalyptic convictions held by the Cameronians. However, the documents should not be viewed simply as by-products of the irrational course of action taken by radical Covenanters after their defeat at Bothwell Bridge. Instead, they represent a logical extension of the apocalyptic ideals espoused by Covenanter ministers during the previous two decades. The message of vengeance contained in the documents was deeply rooted in the tradition of *Naphtali* which had been carried forward into the 1670s by field preachers such as John Welwood. Before his death, Welwood befriended Cameron and through his influence, Cameron developed a bitter resentment of ministers who accepted the indulgences. Likewise, he came to share Welwood's vengeful apocalyptic outlook. Welwood had addressed several letters to Cameron between 1675 and 1677 in which he expressed his belief that the day of the 'Lord's wrath' was fast approaching and that only a remnant would be spared when the Lord returned to destroy the persecutors of the godly in

[122] Grant, *Lion of the Covenant*, 223.

Scotland.[123] Welwood's statement to Cameron on 12 July 1676 – that 'the Christians' life is a warfare' – is something Cameron would take very seriously during his time as a field preacher.[124] This and other aspects of Welwood's influence can be seen in a sermon preached by Cameron late in 1678 and in several others he delivered between May 1680 and his death in July.

Cameron's attitude toward those he perceived to be the 'stated enemies of Christ' had been formed long before the summer of 1680. At a conventicle held at Kirkmahoe near Dumfries sometime around December 1678, Cameron expressed great animosity toward ministers who had accepted the indulgences. According to Cameron, the Covenanter faithful should 'pray and cry unto the Lord' to have the indulged ministers 'taken away' for 'being an offence' to Christ's Church.[125] Following his denunciation of the indulged, Cameron had harsher words for those who had persecuted the Covenanters and defected from 'God's cause'. He explained that while it was true that the godly should love their enemies, their persecutors were 'enemies to the gospel and to a covenanted work of reformation', and the saints should therefore 'hate and abhor them'. Those who joined with Cameron in opposition to the Covenanters' enemies should be willing to 'declare against them, and all that comply with them, and all that stand upon their side'.[126]

By May 1680, Cameron's attitude toward the government and compliers with the state had become infused with an apocalyptic ideology that eventually formed the basis of the militant platform utilized by the United Societies after his death.[127] In a fast sermon preached at Auchengilloch on 28 May, Cameron proclaimed that a day of destruction was coming 'from the Almighty' and that 'many of this . . . wicked and adulterous generation'

[123] Mullan, *Protestant Piety*, 96 & 131-132.
[124] *Ibid*., 95.
[125] *CLS*, 305.
[126] *Ibid*., 318.
[127] Jardine, 'United Societies', 37-39.

would be cast into hell for all eternity. That day, he asserted, was 'not so far off as many think'.[128] Then, in a statement which would be repeated frequently by radical Covenanters during the 1680s, Cameron announced that while many in the land would have 'no other king but king Charles', the godly should pledge their allegiance to 'no other king but Christ'.[129] Cameron encouraged his followers to disown the king whom he described as Satan's 'vicegerent on earth', a vile adulterer, and a tyrant driven by the devil to persecute the godly. During a sermon preached two days later near Shawhead, Cameron echoed claims made by Welwood in the mid-1670s and explained that not only 'Charles Stuart', but a host of noblemen, counselors, and prelates who had persecuted the Covenanters since the Restoration were to receive a sentence of 'everlasting burning' when Christ returned.[130]

At Auchengilloch Cameron proposed to his followers the idea that they might have a role to play in bringing the enemies of Christ to justice in the latter-days:

> We must cry we will have no other king but Christ. If you would have him be for you, you must cut off this king, and these princes, and make able men be rulers. . . . I will tell you, if ever you see good days in Scotland without disowning the present magistrates, then believe me no more. I know not if this generation will be honoured to cast off these rulers; but those that the Lord makes instruments to bring back Christ, and to recover our liberties civil and ecclesiastic, shall be such as shall disown this king, and these inferiors under him, against whom our Lord is denouncing war. Let them take heed unto themselves; for though they should take us to scaffolds, or kill us in the fields, the Lord will yet raise up a party who will be avenged upon them.[131]

Cameron then asked the crowd if any among them would be willing to 'execute justice and judgement upon those wicked men who are both treacherous and tyrannical'. He promised his hearers that those who joined him under Christ's standard would be warranted to do so

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[128] *CLS*, 324.
[129] *Ibid*., 330.
[130] *Ibid*., 325 & 338-339. Cameron claimed that indulged ministers who had fallen 'under the sign and badge of the beast' would join the rest of the wicked in hell: 340.
[131] *Ibid*., 331.

by God who was 'calling men of all ranks and stations to execute judgement' upon the wicked persecutors of his saints.[132]

In closing his sermon, Cameron added that the godly should 'fight against those wicked rulers with the weapons' of 'spiritual warfare'. Grant has suggested that Cameron did not advocate 'assassination' and that he called upon his hearers to wage war against their enemies by 'prayer and witness-bearing' and not 'to take matters into their own hands'.[133] While Cameron certainly stressed the importance of prayer and witness-bearing, the radical actions of the Cameronians during weeks that followed the Auchengilloch conventicle serve as proof that Cameron regarded guerrilla warfare as a more sufficient means through which he and other Covenanters might ease their suffering. A week after the conventicle, authorities discovered a draft of the Queensferry Paper in which the Cameronians expressed that they were prepared to go to war against their antichristian enemies. Three weeks later, Cameron arrived at Sanquhar in a militant fashion and declared war on Charles and his government in the Sanquhar Declaration. It was no coincidence that this was done on the first anniversary of the unsuccessful Covenanter rebellion which ended at Bothwell Bridge. Moreover, it was not spiritual warfare Cameron had in mind at Ayrsmoss on the day he died. As government soldiers approached their resting place, Cameron turned to his following of sixty armed conventiclers and 'asked if all were willing to fight'. Shortly before the skirmish began, Cameron encouraged his brother Michael to 'fight it out to the last . . . for this is the day I have longed for, and the death I have prayed for, to die fighting against our Lord's avowed enemies'.[134]

Two important additional aspects of Richard Cameron's apocalypticism need to be addressed, both of which point to the influence of *Naphtali* and John Welwood at work in

[132] *Ibid*., 331.
[133] Grant, *Lion of the Covenant*, 215-216.
[134] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 332-333.

his ministry. First, as the authors of *Naphtali* had stated in 1667, Cameron frequently explained to his followers that although a day of divine vengeance was coming quickly upon the wicked, God would preserve 'a remnant' in Scotland in whom he would be glorified.[135] For example, at Carluke on 8 July, Cameron stated that the Lord was 'coming to make this land desolate, and ere long there will not be many men, women, or children in it, and the remnant that he will leave in it, will be a poor afflicted people'.[136] Secondly, Cameron suggested that the remnant of saints in Scotland would become the seed of a more glorious Church in the last days. Here, Cameron expounded Welwood's deathbed prophecy by providing the Scottish Church with a prominent role to play in God's providential plan for the last days. During the period of latter-day glory envisioned by Cameron, all the nations in Europe would copy the 'pattern of the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland'.[137]

Three days before his death, Cameron preached his final sermon at Kype Water in the parish of Avondale. With Donald Cargill by his side, Cameron stated more clearly his apocalyptic expectations for the Church in the last days:

> The church of Christ is to be so exalted, that its members shall be made [to] ride upon the high places of the earth. Let us not be judged to be of the opinion of some men in England called the fifth monarchy men, who say that, before the great day, Christ shall come in person from heaven with all the saints and martyrs, and reign a thousand years on earth. But we are of the opinion that the church shall yet be more high and glorious, as appears from the book of Revelation, and the church shall have more power than ever she had before.[138]

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[135] *CLS*, 359.
[136] Richard Cameron, *Good News to Scotland, A Sermon Preached in the Parish of Carluke in Clydsdale upon the 8th Day of July 1680 by that Faithful Minister and Martyr for Jesus Christ, Mr. Richard Cameron* (Edinburgh, 1740), 2.
[137] *Ibid*., 3.
[138] *CLS*, 375.

Cameron had been described by his opponents as a Fifth Monarchist, yet nowhere else among his surviving sermons does he mention the millennium noted in Revelation 20.[139] Instead, Cameron renounced the millenarian views of the radical English sect and claimed that in the last days Christ would reign spiritually through his Church and a remnant of his saints until Judgment Day.

To an extent, Cameron adopted an eschatological position more in line with that set forth by James Durham in his exposition of Revelation published in 1658 and again in 1680. As shown in Chapter Three, Durham expected that the fall of Antichrist would inaugurate a period of latter-day glory for the Church during which time the Jews would be converted and the Gospel would spread. He anticipated that these events would take place prior to Christ's return and the Last Judgment. Cameron also prayed 'for the Jews' restoration . . . and for the fall of Antichrist', but he only hinted at the belief that the destruction of Antichrist would precede the Second Coming.[140] This he did by claiming that, as the 'gates of Rome' burned, the 'throne of Britain, and all the thrones in Europe' would be overthrown.[141] Once this had occurred, Cameron explained that the Church would be exalted to a height that it had not previously reached and would continue in that glorified condition for an unknown length of time until Christ returned at the Last Day. It was this interpretation of biblical prophecy that Cameron's followers would preserve until the Glorious Revolution.

The Killing Times, United Societies, and the Apocalypticism of James Renwick, 1681-1688

The militant wing of Presbyterian dissent in Scotland which had been led by Richard Cameron after Bothwell Bridge continued under the direction of Donald Cargill until his

[139] Grant, *Lion of the Covenant*, 268.
[140] Walker, *Six Saints*, II, 114.
[141] *CLS*, 375.

capture and execution in July 1681.[142] For a short time, the veteran field preacher's death left the Cameronians without ministerial leadership until a nineteen-year-old weaver's son from Dumfries, James Renwick, 'dedicated his life to the militants' cause' after witnessing Cargill's execution.[143] Under Renwick's guidance, the scattered remnant of Cameronians who had 'become no more than a group of praying societies', met at Lesmahagow on 15 December 1681 where they banded together to form the United Societies.[144] In a recent doctoral thesis, Mark Jardine has shed valuable light on the activities of the United Societies during the 1680s. At various points Jardine discusses the apocalyptic motives that inspired the Societies to pick up the 'fallen standard' of the Cameronians and declare war against the state. Here we will be focusing more narrowly on the apocalyptic ideology espoused by the Societies' leading minister, James Renwick.

As James Renwick began to assert his influence within the newly-formed United Societies, the Scottish government, led for a time by the Duke of York (Albany), continued actively to repress radical Covenanters. From 1682, this was carried out by John Graham of Claverhouse who was ordered to round up and prosecute those who had fought at Bothwell Bridge or refused to take the bond required for indemnity. By 1684, the government acted against militant conventiclers with a greater degree of brutality, executing twelve former insurgents and transporting large numbers of prisoners to the colonies during the first six months of the year.[145] Meanwhile, justiciary courts were

[142] Prior to his death, Cargill had publicly excommunicated Charles II, the Duke of York (Albany), the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Lauderdale, the Duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie and Thomas Dalziel in September 1680 at Torwood. See: Grant, *No King but Christ*, 128-143.

[143] Jardine, 'United Societies', 42. At the first convention of the Societies, its members drafted 'The Act and Apologetical Declaration of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, published at Lanark January 12. 1682'. This paper did not contain the apocalyptic rhetoric similar to earlier radical Covenanter manifestos.

[144] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 110. Renwick was ordained in Holland in 1683 after studying at the University of Groningen for several months.

[145] Harris, *Restoration*, 364, 368-369. Between 1682 and 1685, forty-five Presbyterians were executed – only two were moderates: Jardine, 'United Societies', 60.

instructed to proceed against those who refused to take the oath of allegiance 'with all rigour, by using fyre and sword'.[146]

Renwick and the United Societies responded to this upsurge in persecution by issuing an *Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication of the True Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland* which they posted on market crosses and church doors throughout the southwest. In this document the Societies followed the Sanquhar Declaration by disowning Charles II and declaring war against the Crown. More drastically, they condemned those who aided the government in its persecution of conventiclers and promised to punish all 'enemies to God and the covenanted work of reformation' who stretched 'forth their hands' against the suffering remnant of saints in Scotland.[147] This they proceeded to do during the weeks that followed by murdering two soldiers in Linlithgow, attacking a prison at Kirkcudbright, and assassinating the minister of Carsphairn.[148] Consequently, the posting of the *Apologetical Declaration* and the Societies' violent actions in late-1684 brought about a ruthless period of persecution that became known as the Killing Times.[149]

Jardine has suggested that the *Apologetical Declaration* was 'undoubtedly inspired' by the apocalyptic views of Robert Hamilton who had led the rebellion of 1679 before fleeing to the Netherlands.[150] In a letter Hamilton sent to a Societies' convention on 8 May 1684, the exiled Covenanter explained that it was Scotland's apocalyptic role to wage 'war against the bloody and whorish beast, and all his supporters, whether right, or left hand

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[146] Hewison, *Covenanters*, II, 435.
[147] *Ibid*., 440.
[148] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 121.
[149] The severity of the governments' persecution of the Covenanters during the Killing Times was well-documented by Wodrow and Hewison in their historical accounts of the covenanting movement after the Restoration. Also see: Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 120-133; Harris, *Restoration*, 370-372; and Jardine, 'United Societies', Chapter Four.
[150] Jardine, 'United Societies', 69.

enemies' in a protracted campaign against 'all the courts of the Antichrist'.[151] Jardine goes on to explain that Hamilton and a number of Society People may have developed millenarian beliefs through various contacts with the Dutch millenarians, such as Jacobus Koelman, and through their dealings with English Fifth Monarchists who were involved in the Rye House Plot (1683).[152] If this was the case, it does not apply to James Renwick and his ministry in Scotland. Renwick's apocalyptic views were in tune with those espoused by John Welwood and Richard Cameron. In all likelihood, Renwick came to share their apocalypticism after studying a small collection of 'uncorrected sermons' preached by Welwood and another containing sermons delivered by Cameron and Cargill.[153] Several notable similarities between the apocalyptic views of Welwood, Cameron, and Renwick can be seen in a number of Renwick's surviving sermons preached at various conventicles from 1684 to 1688.[154]

As we have seen, Richard Cameron rejected outright the millenarianism of the Fifth Monarchists. Instead, he built upon the apocalyptic views of John Welwood and claimed that after the destruction of the wicked (which might have included the Antichrist) the Church would experience a period of latter-day glory until the Last Judgment. As his field-preaching ministry grew during the mid-1680s, Renwick adopted Cameron's prophecy of the latter-day Church and expressed the belief that the Scottish Kirk would figure prominently in God's providential plan for the end times. On 18 November 1685, Renwick wrote to a friend and explained that 'when the Lord returns again, it will be with such a

[151] Cited in Jardine, 'United Societies', 69.
[152] *Ibid*., 70.
[153] *Ibid*., 112-113.
[154] Many of Renwick's sermons from this period can be found in: *A Choice Collection of Very Valuable Prefaces, Lectures, and Sermons, Preached upon the Mountains and Muirs of Scotland in the Hottest Time of the Late Persecution by that Faithful Minister and Martyr of Jesus Christ the Reverend Mr. James Renwick* (Glasgow, 1777), Fourth Edition. As the publisher noted, these sermons were taken down by Renwick's hearers. Although most are undated, conclusive dates for these sermons range from Renwick's 'first public days work' on 23 November 1683 to his last on 29 January 1688: 32 & 550.

measure and out pouring of his Spirit, that the remnant that shall be left, shall have a very heaven upon earth: and our land shall be made the joy of all lands'.[155] But before the Church of Scotland could be exalted to such a level Renwick expected that the Lord would purge the kingdom of those who had defaced the beauty of the Kirk and cruelly oppressed the Covenanter faithful.

The severity of the persecution experienced by the Covenanters during the Killing Times served as proof to Renwick that the desolation of the wicked was imminent. Commenting on the 'extremity' of the times, Renwick declared that 'the low case' that the Lord's 'work and people are now in, says, that his coming is not far off'.[156] God, he claimed, was coming quickly 'to sit as a refiner's fire, to consume and purge away the dross', and to 'make his justice to appear, and shine in such a way that it shall scatter all from before him'. This was to be a 'terrible coming' to the wicked and a 'glorious coming' for the godly.[157] Renwick prophesied that after the 'day of destruction' came upon the enemies of Christ in Scotland, the saints would then 'rejoice and be glad' as they washed their feet in the 'blood of the wicked'.[158]

Like Welwood and Cameron before him, Renwick spoke frequently of the faithful remnant in Scotland that would be spared on the day the Lord returned to 'shed the blood of enemies'.[159] On one occasion, Renwick dedicated an entire sermon to his 'description of that remnant' which he based on Revelation 3:4.[160] He began the sermon by comparing the Scottish Kirk to the church in Sardis noted in the Scriptures:

> Ordinarily when a church or people is in a declining condition and state, it is not the bulk of the land that cleaves to God, and to his truth; it is but a

[155] Renwick, *A Choice Collection*, 558. Letter to Mrs Jean Hamilton.
[156] *Ibid*., 108.
[157] *Ibid*., 15, 55-56.
[158] *Ibid*., 167.
[159] *Ibid*., 229.
[160] *Ibid*., 414.

> very small remnant: and so may we say of our land, it is declined. . . . It may be said of Scotland, as it was said of this church of Sardis . . . *Thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead*. And also, we may say of Scotland, as was said of this church of Sardis, *Thou hast a few names in thee, O Scotland, which have not defiled their garments*. . . . And this we take to be a token for good, that there is a remnant in Scotland.[161]

Following the day of the Lord's wrath, the godly remnant that would remain in Scotland would have reason to rejoice for, as Renwick asserted, the suffering remnant would become a 'seed' unto God that would 'replenish the land again'.[162] Moreover, through a 'great down-pouring' of the Spirit, the Lord would 'make his people an honoured people' and would 'purchase to them a praise in the lands where they had been put to shame'.[163] These were undoubtedly empowering words to Society People – marginalised from the main body of Presbyterian dissent at home and abroad – who had become the 'express targets of the Killing Times'.[164]

In Renwick's apocalyptic outlook, the faithful remnant that remained in Scotland after the 'glorious delivery' of the Lord would inherit a renewed Church which would be a wonder to all nations. As he claimed, it would be 'a comfortable enjoyment' for the righteous on the 'day when desolation attends the kirk of God, to see the Lord' building a 'new house' for himself in Scotland.[165] According to Renwick, the Lord was not returning to set 'up a pure church in any place elsewhere, for there is no land or church in the world' that could equal the 'purity in reformation' which would be found in Scotland after the fall of the wicked.[166] When God returned, he would eradicate 'popery, prelacy, erastianism, indulgency, and profanity' from the Kirk. 'In their stead', Renwick noted, 'the gospel and

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[161] *Ibid*., 415.
[162] *Ibid*., 190.
[163] *Ibid*., 230.
[164] Jardine, 'United Societies', 116.
[165] James Renwick, *Three Sermons by the late Rev. Mr James Renwick; who Suffered Martyrdom in 1688* (Thurso, 1826), 39. The publisher did not specify the date on which these sermons on the Book of Ezekiel were delivered and they are not found within the larger volume of Renwick's surviving sermons.
[166] Renwick, *A Choice Collection*, 55.

godliness' would be planted in the land as the Lord manifested his glory through the Church and his saints.[167] Citing Haggai 2:9, Renwick stated further that following the demise of the ungodly, the Lord's 'temple in Scotland' would be made 'more glorious than ever it hath been'.[168] Upon reaching this state of latter-day glory, the 'church of Christ in Scotland' would no longer be termed 'forsaken and desolate', because the Lord would take delight in her.[169]

In addition to sharing his apocalyptic vision of the latter-day Church, Renwick also injected into the apocalyptic ideology of the United Societies Cameron's belief that the godly were being called upon to serve as instruments of the Lord's divine justice in the last days. Preaching on Zechariah 1:18-21, Renwick explained to a gathered host that the Lord was preparing 'instruments' to punish all those who had 'destroyed the Church of God' in Scotland:

> whatever instruments he employs, they shall be fitted and qualified for his work; they shall be soldiers that shall not spare their lives, and they shall prosper; no opposition shall prevail to stand in their way; yea, you may believe, that the vengeance that he is about to bring on enemies will be very severe. These instruments that the Lord makes use of against them, they shall have the wind . . . in their wings, and the providence of God concurring . . . with them in that work.[170]

Speaking rhetorically, Renwick assured his hearers that if they answered this divine calling they would 'be furnished with axes and hammers' with which they might assist the Lord on the day he appeared to take vengeance on their persecutors.[171] This call to active arms proposed by Renwick was justified by a young Presbyterian minister from Berwickshire named Alexander Shields. In his controversial tract, *A Hind Let Loose*, published in 1687,

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[167] *Ibid*., 56.
[168] *Ibid*., 229. Haggai 2:9 reads: 'The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts'.
[169] *Ibid*., 230.
[170] *Ibid*., 61-62.
[171] *Ibid*., 62.

Shields cited previous Covenanter works such as Rutherford's *Lex Rex* and *Naphtali* to show that it was 'lawful to rebel against tyrants'.[172] Those whose 'lives, religion, laws, and liberties' were threatened by ungodly rulers, he argued, had been granted a 'privilege' from Christ to defend themselves by arms against 'persecutors and limbs of Antichrist'.[173]

As the 1680s progressed, Renwick and the Societies legitimised their extremist actions through this militant apocalyptic ideology in the same way Cameron and his followers had done in 1679 and 1680. A year after declaring war on Charles II in the *Apologetical Declaration*, Renwick and the Societies drafted the Second Sanquhar Declaration on 28 May 1685 in which they objected to the accession of James VII & II to the throne and argued against the legitimacy of the Scottish Parliament. James, they declared, was a 'professed papist' and a 'subject of Antichrist' who had 'shed the blood of the saints of God' in Scotland during his previous visits to Edinburgh.[174] Similarly, they described those sitting in the 'pretended parliament' as 'men of blood' who were 'making way for the man of sin'. As Jardine notes, Renwick and the drafters of the declaration encouraged 'English and Irish dissenters . . . to pursue their duties under the Solemn League and Covenant'.[175] They urged their covenanted 'brethren' to 'consider what the Lord is now calling for at our hand', i.e. rebellion, and to strengthen the 'poor wasted, wronged, wounded . . . and bleeding remnant' in Scotland by joining with them 'against the man of sin, the kingdom of Antichrist, and all the limbs and parts thereof'.[176] Although they ultimately failed, by attempting to reach out to the godly in Scotland's neighboring

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[172] Alexander Shields, *A Hind Let Loose, or, an Historical Representation of the Testimonies, of the Church of Scotland, for the Interest of Christ* (Edinburgh?, 1687), 580. Shields became an apologist for the Cameronians and the United Societies after the Revolution. In a work published after his death, Shields stated that it would be the 'honour of all the saints' when the Lord called upon them 'to execute vengeance upon their enemies': see *A True and Faithful Relation of the Sufferings or the Reverend and Learned Mr. Alexander Shields* (Edinburgh?, 1715), 128.
[173] Shields, *A Hind Let Loose*, 587.
[174] The full text of the Second Sanquhar Declaration can be found in *An Informatory Vindication*; 102.
[175] Jardine, 'United Societies', 140.
[176] *An Informatory Vindication*, 105-106.

kingdoms the authors of the declaration tried to revive the Britannic apocalyptic spirit of the early-1640s discussed in Chapter Two.

By the late-1680s, the Societies were fully committed to what they perceived to be an apocalyptic war against Antichrist and his supporters in Britain. James VII & II's proposals for toleration of Roman Catholics in 1686, and extension of further privileges to his co-religionists through the issuance of two Indulgences in 1687, heightened the apocalyptic expectations of the radical Covenanters.[177] During the several periods of the seventeenth century Presbyterians reacted to the increased presence of heretical sects and Catholics in Scotland by claiming that their encroachment upon the Kirk was a sure sign that the Apocalypse was fast approaching. Similarly, as the Killing Times came to an end and James pushed forward his plans for toleration, Renwick and the marginalised United Societies found themselves surrounded by heresy and 'all kinds of idolatry, superstition and prohaneness [sic]' which strengthened their belief that the Lord would soon return to establish the purified latter-day Church.[178]

Later that year, Renwick and the Societies rejected and disowned James' religious concessions and the oath of allegiance in a tract titled, *An Informatory Vindication*. This work demonstrates the Societies' firm belief that they alone represented the 'true Presbyterian Church of Christ in Scotland'. Accordingly, moderate Presbyterians and those who had defected from the true Kirk, along with all other religious groups, were viewed as 'right and left hand opposites' of the Societies.[179] To the left of the Societies stood the errors of prelacy and erastianism which the Scottish Church had struggled greatly with

[177] Cowan, *Scottish Covenanters*, 130-131. Together, the Indulgences offered by James suspended penal laws against Catholics, provided liberty for Quakers, allowed moderate Presbyterians to preach and meet in private houses, and introduced a new oath confirming James as the rightful king. Punishment of field conventiclers was to remain severe.
[178] *An Informatory Vindication*, 21. Jardine explains that 'toleration had reinforced the Societies's isolation' from the majority of the Presbyterian ministry': 'United Societies', 174.
[179] *An Informatory Vindication*, 22.

since the Restoration. Errors to the right of the Societies included Quakerism, Antinomianism, Anabaptism, and Independency. The inclusion of millenarianism in Renwick's list of right hand errors shows that the trend among Scottish apocalyptic thinkers to reject the tenets of millenarianism continued during the last decades of the seventeenth century.

By 1688, James Renwick had become a highly sought after fugitive. Despite the price on his head, he grew much bolder in his ministry and began to preach in areas outside the Societies' strongholds, particularly in Edinburgh.[180] It was there that he was finally captured on 1 February 1688 and executed for treason sixteen days later. During his career as a field preacher, Renwick had repeatedly encouraged his hearers to join the Societies' 'revolt' against the tyranny of Charles II and the 'usurpation' of the Duke of York (Albany) who was 'labouring' to bring Scotland back under the 'yoke of Antichrist'.[181] But, unlike English Fifth Monarchists, Renwick and the United Societies did not consider their war against the subjects of Antichrist to be an effective means to usher in the millennial kingdom of Christ. As noted by Capp, Fifth Monarchy men in England troubled the government with various plots well into the 1680s. These radical millenarians continually expected the imminent 'return of Christ, the resurrection of [the] saints and martyrs, the end of all afflictions', and the rule of the godly in a thoroughly purged society.[182]

Renwick and his followers did not seek to establish the thousand-year reign of the saints by violently rebelling against an ungodly state. Instead, like the Cameronians, they wished to lift up the standard of Christ and act as instruments of divine vengeance. They

[180] Jardine, 'United Societies', 182.
[181] *An Informatory Vindication*, 26.
[182] Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 221-222. The hopes of English Fifth Monarchists were finally dashed by the failure of Monmouth's rebellion in June 1685.

sought to join with God in overthrowing those who served the Antichrist in Britain, so that, in the latter-days they might worship peacefully within a fully-restored and glorified Church. However, actively resisting their antichristian enemies was not the only way in which the Covenanter faithful expected to bring about a period of latter-day glory for the Kirk. Additionally, Renwick and those who shared his apocalyptic outlook believed that their sufferings and individual testimonies during times of severe religious persecution would move the Lord to fulfill the prophetic promises made to his chosen remnant in the Book of Revelation. Renwick's own testimony provides a clear statement of this belief.

While awaiting his execution, Renwick explained to the gathered crowd in Edinburgh that he was prepared to seal with his own blood all the 'precious truths' that he had taught during his ministry.[183] Among those was his belief that the Lord would soon 'return again, and shew himself glorious in our land' after delivering an 'overthrowing stroak' to his enemies. To show this, Renwick cited Revelation 3:11-12 as he stood on the scaffold:

> Behold I come quickly. . . . Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name.[184]

With this Renwick reaffirmed for the final time the apocalyptic expectations he shared with John Welwood and Richard Cameron. The testimonies of those men who upheld their 'principles and profession' would endure until a greater 'reformation' was achieved throughout all nations. Each of these radical Covenanter field preachers expected the world would experience great change after the Lord overturned their enemies during their darkest

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[183] James Renwick, *Antipas, or, The Dying Testimony of Mr. James Renwick & An Elegy upon the Death of that Famous and Faithful Minister and Martyr, Mr James Renwick Composed Immediately after his Execution at Edinburgh, 17th Feb., 1688* (Edinburgh, 1688), 6.
[184] *Ibid*., 3-4.

hour. The blood spilled by all those who had suffered for the covenants since the Restoration would then 'appear above ground to be the Seed of the Church' in the last days.[185] In keeping with the Scottish apocalyptic tradition, Renwick believed that there would always be 'a devil to raise troubles' in the Church prior to the Second Coming. Those troubles would be removed 'at the end of time' by 'a compleat full and perfect deliverance' whereupon the godly would inherit the eternal kingdom of heaven.[186]

Conclusion

Radical change within the Scottish apocalyptic tradition did not immediately follow the restoration of the monarchy in the early-1660s. As alterations were made to the fabric of the Kirk between 1661 and 1664, radically inclined Presbyterian ministers like the former Protester, William Guthrie, admonished their flocks to suffer patiently and bear the cross of persecution until Christ returned on Judgment Day. However, the government's swift and severe punishment of insurgents after the Pentland Rising and the appearance of *Naphtali* in 1667 set in motion the radicalisation of the apocalyptic tradition. The continual efforts of the government to curtail the activities of conventiclers through heavy fining, imprisonment, banishment, and execution created an apocalyptic spirit among a minority party of hardline Covenanters which was unlike any prophetic outlook fostered by Scottish apocalyptic thinkers over the course of the seventeenth century. As early as 1668, with the attempted assassination of James Sharp, those Scots who formed the marginalised militant wing of Presbyterian dissent in Scotland began actively to resist and strike out against their persecutors. Ultimately, their violent actions became legitimised through the apocalyptic ideologies of radical charismatic field preachers such as Richard Cameron and James

[185] *An Informatory Vindication*, 87.
[186] Renwick, *A Choice Collection*, 219.

Renwick whose prophetic views represented an amalgamation of the vengeful message of *Naphtali* with John Welwood's expectations of the glorified latter-day Church in Scotland.

To be sure, many of the central characteristics of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition remained intact during the later-Stuart period. Millenarian ideals were rejected by even the most radical Covenanters like Cameron and Renwick. Despite declaring war on the crown and those who served the Stuart monarchs, extremists such as Cameron and Renwick did not wish to be associated with the revolutionary millenarianism of English Fifth Monarchists. Therefore we should be cautious of comparing their movement with the millennial uprisings of the 'Czech Hussites', the 'Münster Anabaptists', and various 'sects of the English revolution'.[187] Additionally, as demonstrated by the sermons of John Welsh in the 1670s, the belief that the Church would be comprised of a mixture of the godly and the reprobate until the Second Coming remained consistent after the Restoration. Even in their vision of the exalted latter-day Church, Cameron and Renwick expected the godly to experience troubles and afflictions until Satan was finally cast into the lake of fire at the Last Judgment. Finally, Scottish apocalyptic thinkers also continued to refrain from predicting dates for when they believed the events of the last days would unfold. One notable exception to this trend might have come from the prophet Alexander Peden. In 1684, Peden reportedly prophesied that those who lived 'to see the year 1715' would witness an 'army' going forth out of the land that would 'overthrow popery and prelacy, and all unclean things that ever entered into the Church of Christ'. This would pave the way for the 'conversion of the Jews' who he believed would return to Scotland and 'receive the Gospel'.[188] However, conjectures of this type were altogether uncommon in Restoration Scotland.

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[187] Thompson, 'The Kirk and the Cameronians', 105.
[188] Alexander Peden, *A Most Strange and Wonderful Prophecy, in the Year 1684* (Glasgow, 1712), 7-8.

The radicalisation of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition was achieved through the rebellious actions of those Scots who were willing to risk their lives to answer Cameron and Renwick's apocalyptic call to arms. The Cameronians, and later the United Societies under Renwick, interpreted their struggle against ungodly rulers, antichristian prelates, apostate nobles, and their brethren in the Church of Scotland who complied with the state as being part of the final battle between the Son of God and the forces of Satan. At conventicles across Scotland during the 1670s and 1680s, worshippers who flocked to hear radical field preachers such as Cameron, Cargill, and Renwick were instilled with the belief that they had been furnished with the 'power of heaven' to root out, pull down, and destroy the enemies of Christ.[189] The ultimate goal of the faithful remnant of the Lord's saints was to achieve victory over the subjects of Antichrist in Britain so that they would be free to live and worship within a glorified Kirk until Christ returned on Judgment Day. By actively seeking to carry out the Lord's vengeance in order to vanquish their persecutors and usher in the exalted Church of Christ in the last days, extremist Covenanters in the late-seventeenth century exceeded the conservative bounds of the Scottish apocalyptic tradition.

[189] *CLS*, 446. From Cargill's last sermon preached 10 July 1681.

Conclusion

The primary aim of this thesis has been to identify themes common to Scottish apocalyptic thought between 1588 and 1688 that formed the basis of a continuous and cohesive tradition. As we have seen, beginning in the late-1580s and early-1590s, two distinct patterns of apocalyptic belief were established in the exegetical commentaries on Revelation published by James VI and John Napier which influenced Scottish apocalyptic thinking over the next century. James, as a reigning monarch, gave credibility to the view espoused by the majority of Protestant apocalyptic thinkers in the sixteenth century who believed that the forces of Satan would persecute the Church militant until Christ returned on Judgment Day to punish the wicked and gather the elect for the kingdom of heaven. This rather pessimistic understanding of the latter-days was shared by subsequent Scottish apocalyptic thinkers such as William Cowper, Robert Baillie, David Dickson, William Guild, and John Welsh. Conversely, notable Scots such as Patrick Forbes, George Gillespie, James Durham, John Welwood, and Richard Cameron followed Napier by anticipating a period of latter-day glory for the Church before the Last Judgment. Typically, these Scots believed this period would witness the destruction of Antichrist, a greater spread of the Gospel throughout the world, and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity.

In addition to demonstrating the persistence of these two streams of apocalyptic thought from 1588 to 1688, it is hoped that this thesis has successfully rectified a number of misconceptions about the nature of Scottish apocalypticism during this period that have been fostered by historians. Scholars who have argued that apocalyptic belief in seventeenth-century Scotland owed much to the English apocalyptic tradition have failed to recognise the uniqueness of Scottish apocalyptic thinking. Numerous biblical exegetes

in England employed systematic chronological schemes using the numbers and symbols contained in the Scriptures to project when various prophecies related to the last days would be fulfilled. The suggestion that such conjectures were prevalent in Scotland is certainly wide of the mark. With the notable exception of Napier, few Scots made such bold and 'careless' predictions.[1] More significantly, counter to the claims made by several historians in recent decades, the rebirth of millenarianism in the 1620s which ultimately brought radical change to English and wider European apocalypticism had a minimal effect upon Scottish apocalyptic thought.

Given the breadth of primary source material examined in this thesis, it is remarkable that detecting the influence of millenarianism upon apocalyptic belief in the seventeenth-century Scotland has proven so difficult. What makes this more astonishing is the fact that the authors of the many exegetical commentaries, printed and posthumously published sermons, seditious tracts of Covenanter propaganda, and personal correspondence analysed in this thesis came from a wide variety of political, religious, and social backgrounds. Many of these Scots had been exposed to millenarian ideals as they travelled abroad, received education at foreign universities, or participated in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Nevertheless, between 1588 and 1688, apocalyptic thinkers in Scotland who anticipated a future millennial reign of the saints were a rare breed.

Perhaps the most notable Scot from this period whom we can clearly identify as a proponent of millenarianism was the Presbyterian minister Robert Fleming (1630-1694). During the late-1640s and early-1650s, Fleming had studied divinity under Samuel Rutherford at the University of St Andrews before being appointed minister at Cambuslang

[1] Rollock, *Lectures upon the First and Second Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians*, 233.

in Clydesdale. In 1662, he was one of nearly 300 Presbyterian ministers deprived of his ministry after the restoration of the monarchy. Over the next decade, Fleming continued to preach illegally at conventicles in Scotland until he was forced to take shelter in London. After returning to Scotland for a short time, Fleming relocated to the Netherlands in 1677 where he succeeded Robert McWard in the Scots Church at Rotterdam.[2]

In 1669, Fleming completed a lengthy tract titled, *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* which was most likely published abroad. Fleming dedicated much of this work to refuting what he perceived to be rampant atheism in his generation by pointing to contemporary events in Britain and Europe as examples of how God continued to make himself known to the world through 'convincing providences' of both his judgment and mercy.[3] In addition, he elaborated on popular themes of Protestant apocalyptic thought. Fleming believed he was living in the last days which would witness a greater spread of the Gospel and the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. He also expected the imminent destruction of the papal Antichrist and the defeat of the Turks.[4]

Looking beyond these events, Fleming asserted that there would be a time in which the Christian Church would experience an enlargement and great flourishing throughout the world. This would be 'some particular limited time' which was not 'common to other times' during which the Church had previously been troubled by the forces of Satan.[5] Fleming broke with traditional nonmillenarian apocalyptic belief in Scotland by associating the 'solemn' time of the Church's flourishing with the thousand-year period of Satan's binding and the millennial reign of the saints described in Revelation 20:1-6.

[2] See David George Mullan's entry for Fleming in the *ODNB*.
[3] Robert Fleming, *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* (Rotterdam?, 1669), 290.
[4] *Ibid*., 199.
[5] *Ibid*., 206.

According to Fleming, the 'full accomplishment' of this glorious estate of the Church would be followed by Satan's 'last loosing' (Rev. 20:7) and the Battle of Armageddon.[6]

Later in 1671, Fleming was compelled to elaborate further on the prophecies of Revelation 20 in the second edition of his treatise which was also published abroad. Fleming added three additional pages to his discussion of the millennium and declared that:

> There is a special prediction of Satan's binding up and restraint, and of some remarkable reigne of the Church with Jesus Christ held forth. *Rev.20.2* The full accomplishment of which we on clear ground may judge is not yet come . . . . There can be no debate this solemne time of the Saints reign with Christ concerns the militant condition of the Church, and must be expected here in the earth, not in heaven, and therefore we finde immediatly after, there is a very sore assault of the Devil held forth, who should occasion a new triall to the Church and be for a time set loose to deceive the nations.[7]

Despite his expectation of a future millennium, Fleming maintained a sense of conservatism in his interpretation of Revelation 20. First, he employed a figurative interpretation of Revelation 20:4-6 to explain that Christ would not return in the flesh at the beginning of the millennium. Secondly, he argued against the common millenarian belief in the physical resurrection of the saints and martyrs. This resurrection, he claimed, would not occur until the return of Christ at the Last Judgment whereupon Satan and the wicked would be defeated with 'one full stroke' and the Church would 'enter unto a triumphant estate' in heaven.[8] Lastly, Fleming did not predict dates for when he believed the prophecies of Revelation 20 would be fulfilled.

Robert Fleming died in 1694 during a brief trip to London. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, the Scottish historian Thomas Thomson explained that Fleming's

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[6] *Ibid*., 207.
[7] Robert Fleming, *The Fulfilling of the Scripture*, Second Edition (Amsterdam, 1671), 365. This work received a third edition which was published abroad in 1681.
[8] *Ibid*., 368 & 370.

Fulfilling of the Scripture was 'frequently referred to by the most eminent theological writers at the close of the seventeenth and a great portion of the eighteenth century'.[9] It is notable that none of the Scottish apocalyptic thinkers discussed in this thesis acknowledged the tract or mentioned Fleming in their various sermons and treatises.[10] Unfortunately, records of Fleming's sermons preached at Cambuslang or at various conventicles in Scotland during the 1660s and 1670s have not survived. Thus, we cannot determine whether he informed his listeners of his belief in the future millennial reign of the saints. However, as demonstrated in Chapter Four, during the Restoration period Fleming's millenarianism was not shared by the majority of Presbyterians and Covenanter field preachers. Ministers such as William Guthrie and John Welsh, who did not anticipate a future millennium, expected the Church would face antichristian persecution until Judgment Day. Conversely, radical Covenanter extremists Richard Cameron and James Renwick believed the Church would experience a period of latter-day glory, but rejected outright the millenarianism of English Fifth Monarchists.

Although Fleming's millenarian teachings did not have a noticeable impact on apocalyptic belief in Restoration Scotland, his understanding of biblical prophecy influenced significantly the apocalyptic ideology of his son Robert Fleming Jr. While his father served as minister at the Scots Church in Rotterdam, the younger Fleming attended the universities of Leyden and Utrecht. In 1688, he was ordained in Rotterdam and after a brief time in England he was appointed minister of the English Presbyterian Church in Leyden. Four years later, he succeeded his father at Rotterdam where he served until 1698,

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[9] Thomson edited a copy of an eschatological treatise first published in 1701 by Fleming's son, also named Robert. See: Robert Fleming Jr., *The Rise and Fall of Papacy*, Thomas Thomson, ed. (London, 1848), 'Life of Rev. Robert Fleming Jr.', iv.

[10] Patrick Walker recorded that, in the 1670s, Fleming became unpopular among zealous Covenanters for showing support for the indulgences offered to Presbyterian ministers by the government: Walker, *Biographia Presbyteriana*, I, 247-248.

at which time he was appointed minister of the Scots Church at Founders' Hall, Lothbury, in London. As Thomson noted, at this time Fleming Jr. experienced intense anxieties due to the rising tide of 'popish superstition' in Britain and the threat posed by Jacobites who sought to restore the deposed James VII and II or his son James Francis Edward to the throne.[11] These anxieties caused Fleming to undertake a serious investigation into biblical prophecy.

The result of Fleming's inquiry into the Scriptures was a millenarian discourse on the rise and fall of the papacy which was first published in 1701. Fleming's treatise became famous long after his death in 1716 and was reprinted in 1793 and 1848 as *Apocalyptic Key*.[12] These two dates are significant. The first accords with Fleming's prediction that by 1794 the French monarchy would be 'considerably humbled' by the plagues poured out under the fourth vial of Revelation 16:8.[13] The second agrees with his prediction that by 1848, the papacy would receive a severe blow under the fifth vial (Rev.16:10).[14] Not surprisingly, Fleming's predictions caused a sensation following the execution of Louis XVI in January 1793 and again after Pope Pius XI fled to Gaeta during the Italian revolutions of 1848.

Fleming credited his father with shedding valuable light on the 'exact plan of divine history' revealed in the passages of Revelation and adopted his father's interpretation of the future millennial reign of the Church on earth.[15] He predicted that the defeat of the papal Antichrist would occur in the year 2000 which would usher in the thousand-year reign of the saints. During the millennium, sin and hypocrisy would

[11] Fleming Jr., *Rise and Fall of Papacy*, 'Life of Rev. Robert Fleming Jr.', vi-xi.
[12] Editions of *The Rise and Fall of Papacy* were reprinted in London (1793, 1809, 1848), America (1794), Germany (1800), and Edinburgh (1870).
[13] Fleming Jr., *Rise and Fall of Papacy*, 64. Rev. 16:8 states that the fourth vial will be poured out upon the sun. Fleming noted that the 'French king takes the sun for his emblem'.
[14] *Ibid*., 70. Fleming also claimed that the Ottoman Empire would collapse by 1900. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire began in 1908.
[15] *Ibid*., 79.

continue in the world, yet a greater apostasy of the Jews and Gentiles would occur around 2722. This apostasy would culminate with the loosing of Satan and the 'universal war' against the saints at the expiration of the millennium, whereupon Christ would return on Judgment Day, destroy the wicked, resurrect all the dead, and prepare the saints for the heavenly Jerusalem.[16]

During the late-seventeenth century, both Robert Fleming Sr. and Jr. formulated an interpretation of Revelation 20 which modern scholars have termed postmillenarianism, or postmillennialism. This theory, which basically holds that Christ will not return until after a literal thousand-year period of peace and prosperity for the Church, became increasingly popular among Protestant evangelicals in America and Europe in the mid-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[17] As discussed in Chapter One, during the early-seventeenth century postmillenarian ideals emerged in the apocalyptic thinking of Thomas Brightman who claimed that the reign of the saints began in 1300 and would continue until 2300 at which time Christ would return.[18] Despite this, modern historians have argued that the Oxford-trained English scholar Daniel Whitby (1638-1726) was the 'originator', or first to publish a systematic presentation of postmillenarianism.[19] In 1700, Whitby published a *Paraphrase and Commentary on . . . the New Testament* which contained a 'Treatise of the True Millennium'. According to Whitby, he had devised a 'new hypothesis' about the future millennial reign of the saints. Without setting dates, he stated that the 'true millennium' would begin after the fall of Antichrist and the conversion of the Jews to the Christian faith. Like the Fleming's, Whitby argued against the belief in a literal

[16] *Ibid*., 85.
[17] See for example: Stephen Hunt, 'The Rise, Fall and Return of Post-Millenarianism', in Hunt, ed., *Christian Millenarianism*, 50-61.
[18] Toon, 'The Latter-day Glory', in *Puritan Eschatology*, 31.
[19] Froom, *Prophetic Faith*, II, 649-651; Walls, *Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, 376.

resurrection of the dead during the millennium, but stated that the Church would experience peace and plenty until the Second Coming at the end of the thousand years.[20]

Robert Fleming Jr. acknowledged the work of Daniel Whitby in his 1701 eschatological treatise, but avowed that Whitby 'confirmed' his own 'Apocalyptical thoughts' which he had 'entertained' several years earlier.[21] Scholars have failed to recognise the fact that Fleming and his father developed a clearly defined postmillenarian apocalyptic outlook before Whitby published his hypothesis of the 'true millennium'.[22] Future studies of their eschatology would certainly complement existing scholarship on early modern millenarianism and provide valuable insight into the development of Scottish millenarian thought at the turn of the eighteenth century. For the purpose of this thesis, however, their understanding of biblical prophecy provides a stark contrast to the prevalent apocalyptic views espoused by the majority of intellectuals in seventeenth-century Scotland who rejected the belief in a future millennium and regarded the speculative conjectures employed by Fleming Jr. as scripturally unwarranted.

[20] Daniel Whitby, *A Paraphrase and Commentary upon all the Epistles of the New Testament* (London, 1700), 'Treatise of the True Millennium', 670 & 692.
[21] Fleming Jr., *Rise and Fall of Papacy*, 81-82.
[22] The works of Fleming Sr. and Jr. are not discussed in the *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* under 'millennialism': 563.

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