

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	viii
<i>Glossary</i>	xi
Introduction	1
1 The Emergence of Evangelical Millennialism, 1500–1600	20
2 The Formation of Evangelical Millennialism, 1600–1660	37
3 The Consolidation of Evangelical Millennialism, 1660–1789	51
4 The Expansion of Evangelical Millennialism, 1789–1880	71
5 The Contest of Evangelical Millennialism, 1880–1970	92
6 The Dominance of Evangelical Millennialism, 1970–2000	110
Conclusion	125
<i>Notes</i>	133
<i>Bibliography</i>	165
<i>Index</i>	196

Introduction

This book provides an account of the eschatological commitments that have evolved over five centuries to dominate large and influential sections of contemporary evangelicalism in the trans-Atlantic world. Its companion volume, *Writing the rapture: Prophecy fiction in evangelical America* (2009), attended to one manifestation of this distinctive habit of mind – the ‘rapture’ novels and films that developed through the twentieth century to attract unprecedented levels of celebration and notoriety after the success of *Left Behind* (1995–2007), one of the best-selling fiction series in American literary history.¹ This book, by contrast, provides a canvas of description that is significantly broader and less specific in its chronological and generic concerns. In a survey of aspects of the print culture of one variety of popular Protestantism, this book will describe the origin, development and divisions of competing and contested formulations of the eschatological hopes and fears that evangelicals, throughout their history and on both sides of the Atlantic, have developed in their reading of the apocalyptic and millennial texts of Scripture.

Evangelical millennialism in the trans-Atlantic world, 1500–2000 is of broader significance than its title might suggest. Evangelicals constitute one important element of the global rise of religious conservatism.² Although they remain marginal to the political life of Canada and the European nations, evangelicals represent a significant American subculture, and recent attempts by evangelicals to gain influence in American political life, and even to seize control of the presidency, have been widely documented.³ Many of these politically active evangelicals have assumed that they are living in apocalyptic times, just as many generations of believers had done before them. Citing Biblical prophecies about the end of the age, drawing upon older ideas of national election

and a providential reading of American history, they have insisted on supporting Israel against the Arab and Islamic worlds in a robust and often isolationist geopolitical vision; and they have done so even as many of their number have outlined their expectations of an imminent ‘clash of civilisations’ and the subsequent and catastrophic decline of Western civilization into an apocalyptic tyranny that will identify Jews and evangelical Christians as being among its principal victims.⁴

But now, according to many of their critics, these American evangelicals are acting as the agents of a descent into apocalyptic terror.⁵ Dominating a significant section of the base of the Republican Party, evangelicals have mounted an illiberal, a reactive and, some of its advocates and critics have argued, an evidently theocratic attempt to reverse the direction of American modernity.⁶ These evangelicals have argued for the teaching of ‘intelligent design’ above the teaching of Darwinian evolution, have supported the promotion of premarital sexual abstinence above the provision of contraception for school children, have voted against ‘pro-choice’ politicians and in defence of traditional definitions of marriage, and have provided biblical sanction for an unpopular ‘war on terror’ and the uncompleted projects of ‘regime change’ it has so far involved. If evangelicals are not yet the victims of one expected variety of apocalyptic terror, their critics argue, they may be responsible for the construction of another. These evangelical prophecy believers and the critics they have alarmed cannot both be right – but both are agreed that they live in apocalyptic times.

Of course, many Christians have always believed themselves to be living in apocalyptic times – at least in principle. Those believers who have maintained the historic orthodoxy of their faith have confessed that, in the words of the Apostles’ Creed, Jesus Christ will return to ‘judge the quick and the dead,’ and they have often insisted on the imminence of that event. But many of those who have expected this return have gone far beyond the basic formulation of eschatological hope provided by that most historic and ecumenical confession of faith. In the first and second centuries, a series of significant Christian leaders developed expectations of ‘latter-day glory’ which they associated with the idealised final age of spiritual and environmental utopia which they found described in such Old Testament passages as Isaiah 11:6–9 and Isaiah 65:25 and, uniquely in the New Testament, in Revelation 20:1–10.⁷ These beliefs in an earthly millennium were deconstructed by Augustine, most remarkably in his *City of God* (written between 410 and 425), and were thereafter generally condemned.⁸ But this eschatological optimism endured, flaring up at the end of the first millennia, and

repeatedly returned to haunt the medieval catholic imagination.⁹ Of course, this millennial imagination identified its enemies, and, at various stages in the medieval tradition, Jews, Muslims and even occupants of the papal throne were 'outed' as the Antichrist.¹⁰ But, in the centuries after Augustine, the custodians of orthodoxy consistently defined themselves in opposition to an earthly millennial hope. This rejection of millennialism was shared by early protestants, whose eschatological conclusions otherwise marked a moment of profound discontinuity with those of the medieval church.¹¹ It was during the first century of reformation that the millennial and apocalyptic convictions that continue to shape significant elements of evangelical discourse took on many of their leading characteristics and were institutionalized in patterns of confessional identity. But it was only in the nineteenth century that they developed into the discrete prophetic paradigms that continue to dominate the thinking of evangelicals to the present day. In a social history of ideas that ranges from the early sixteenth to the late twentieth century and across the north Atlantic, this book will describe these changes, their consequences, and their ongoing significance within the changing theological, social, political and geographical contexts of evangelical belief.

I

Given this kind of chronological, geographical and thematic breadth, the terms of this book's discussion will need to be clarified. Its title begs many questions, for in recent years the definitions of 'evangelical,' 'evangelicalism,' and 'millennialism' have become the focus of significant scholarly debate. (Some readers, familiar with these scholarly debates about definitions, may wish to skip this section and move to the conclusion of the Introduction.) The title of this book signals that its interest is in aspects of the print culture developed by those evangelicals who have embraced varieties of millennial faith. This book does not describe its subjects as 'millennialists,' a term frequently encountered in the scholarly literature, for the complexities of evangelical belief, like those of most other varieties of religious faith, cannot be reduced to a single explanatory doctrine – even though 'millennialist' might be easier to define than 'evangelical.' The term is certainly slippery. Evangelicals had been debating the definition of this descriptor for many decades before that discussion was appropriated by professional historians in the 1980s. And they have not always been careful to distinguish 'evangelical' from 'evangelicalism.' It is the latter

4 *Evangelical Millennialism in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–2000*

term – describing an evangelical movement – that has stimulated most interest. Since the 1980s the ‘volume of literature on evangelicalism’ has ‘increased with remarkable speed,’ according to one of the premier historians of the movement, Darryl G. Hart.¹² In 1978, he noted, a standard annotated bibliography, *American Religion and Philosophy*, did not even include ‘evangelicalism’ as a term in its subject index, and referenced fewer than 20 titles dealing with the movement. Fifteen years later, the ‘flood of historical literature on evangelicalism had become so large that bibliographers could fill two volumes with books and articles’ on the subject: *Twentieth-century Evangelicalism: A guide to the sources* (1990), by Joel A. Carpenter and Edith L. Blumhofer, and *American Evangelicalism: An annotated bibliography* (1990), by Norris Magnuson, were followed by another supplementary volume covering the period to 1996.¹³ And it was not only that scholarly study of evangelicalism had increased – so too had the importance attached to the movement by students of wider social and cultural trends. By the mid-1990s, evangelicalism was increasingly being identified as ‘one of the most important interpretive tools for historians studying the relationship between religion and United States society.’¹⁴ Consequently, Hart has concluded, ‘evangelicalism was a distinct expression of American Christianity lost on most church historians prior to 1980,’ but, one decade later, it was ‘hard to avoid in the study of American religion.’¹⁵

This remarkable scholarly revolution should not be understood to imply that the identity of evangelicalism had been resolved. In 1984, George Marsden provided the ‘working definition’ of the movement for religious historians in North America.¹⁶ Conceptually, this definition was based upon a shared sense of heritage which referenced the reformation and seventeenth-century Puritanism, as well as pietistic, Methodist and revivalist traditions in and after the eighteenth century; a shared sense of identity in a ‘religious fellowship or coalition’; and five doctrinal emphases which Marsden believed marked that coalition’s boundaries, namely the ‘final authority of Scripture,’ the ‘real, historical character of God’s saving work recorded in Scripture,’ ‘eternal salvation only through personal trust in Christ,’ the ‘importance of evangelism and missions,’ and the ‘importance of a spiritually transformed life.’¹⁷ Marsden’s descriptive ‘pentagon’ had a great deal to commend it, but European historians have tended to work with another proposal. Outside North America, David Bebbington’s monumental study of *Evangelicalism in modern Britain: A history from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989) did most to identify and call attention to the emergence of this new field of historical enquiry and the movement upon which it centred. Bebbington’s

early work argued that 'evangelicalism,' as a religious movement, had its origins in the 1730s, as Enlightenment categories of self-reflexive knowledge undermined older, slower and more self-critical protestant theologies of salvation, and as the energizing preaching of Jonathan Edwards and the Wesley brothers pushed converts into a life of constant Christian activity. The definition of evangelicalism advanced in Bebbington's early work gathered around four distinctive themes: 'Biblicism,' an emphasis on the centrality, though not necessarily the inerrancy, of Scripture; 'crucicentrism,' an emphasis on the unique significance of the work of Jesus Christ on the Cross; 'conversionism,' an emphasis on every individual's need to be converted to Christian faith if they were to escape the punishment of sin and gain salvation; and 'activism,' an insistence that every Christian ought to be diligent in doing good works, and especially in sharing the gospel (that is, 'evangelizing').¹⁸ Bebbington's later work has been more careful to nuance the apparent novelty of the movement he described, and has played down notions of a sharp distinction between modern evangelicals and their puritan forebears, but this careful re-statement of his argument has not precipitated any decline in the extraordinary influence of his most important book. This influence has continued as the boundaries of the movement manifestly blur. Even the assumption that evangelicalism is an inherently protestant movement has recently been shaken: in 1999 a Gallup survey indicated that 21 per cent of American Roman Catholics were also identifying themselves as 'evangelical.'¹⁹ Hart, in his sceptical reading of this historiography, *Deconstructing Evangelicalism* (2004), has attempted to explain the difficulties of definition by arguing that it was these Gallup surveys that transformed 'a sectarian form of Protestantism' into 'the faith of ordinary Americans.'²⁰ This explains, he claims, why the size of the evangelical constituency is measured not by listing the combined membership of the churches affiliated to the National Association of Evangelicals (with a total of 4.5 million members in 1992), but rather by appealing to the results of opinion polls (in which, two years earlier, almost ten times as many respondents had identified themselves as 'evangelical').²¹ At its broadest, Hart worried, evangelicalism had become no more than 'a coalition of decentralized discontent within America's denominations.'²² But, he has insisted, it cannot be said to exist as a definable movement.

As Hart's comments suggest, it is clear that these early advances in scholarship, now two decades old, must be historicized and qualified.²³ The landmark studies by Marsden and Bebbington were published in the context of the political re-engagement of conservative evangelicals, and

consolidated the paradigmatic boundaries of a surge of scholarly activity that accompanied their re-entry into the mainstream of American public life.²⁴ In North America, this new scholarly field became identified by increasingly frequent publications on evangelical history in such respected publications as *Church History*.²⁵ In both Britain and North America, the historians associated with this first generation of serious historical scholarship took care to fashion themselves as a delineated cohort, often through relationships with the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, a research centre based in Wheaton College, the ‘evangelical Harvard,’ while never attempting to disguise their significant differences of approach to their shared subject. Their efforts were consolidated in such publications as the jointly-edited collection of essays, *Evangelicalism: Comparative studies of popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles and beyond, 1700–1990* (1994). More recently, some of the ‘founding fathers’ of the study of evangelicalism have participated in the production of a significant multi-volume series documenting the movement’s history. Mark A. Noll’s *The rise of Evangelicalism: The age of Edwards, Whitefield and the Wesleys* (2004) was followed (in order of chronological attention) by John Wolffe’s *The expansion of Evangelicalism: The age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney* (2007), David W. Bebbington’s *The dominance of Evangelicalism: The age of Spurgeon and Moody* (2005), Geoff Treloar’s *The disruption of Evangelicalism: The age of John R. Mott, J. Gresham Machen and Aimee Semple McPherson* (forthcoming) and Brian Stanley’s *The global diffusion of Evangelicalism: The age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (forthcoming). This series has begun to institutionalize this field of scholarly enquiry even as it has largely confirmed the assumptions in sociology, theology and historiography of the first generation of practitioners.

Of course, this attempt at definition and control has not gone uncontested. In particular, Bebbington’s proposal that ‘evangelicalism’ emerged in the 1730s and largely in discontinuity with earlier versions of popular Protestantism has been widely and, in recent years, frequently challenged. The assumptions of this school of historiography have been most thoroughly investigated in two recent publications, *Early Evangelicalism: A global intellectual history, 1670–1789* (2006), by W.R. Ward, an historian based at the University of Durham, and *The emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring historical continuities* (2008), a collection of essays edited by two North American historians based in evangelical institutions, Michael A.G. Haykin and Kenneth J. Stewart. Ward’s work reflected on his long investigation of early modern Protestantism to offer a challenging and ground-breaking analysis of what he described

as the 'roots' of this new religious movement. His account of the origins of evangelicalism was developed on the basis of a three-fold critique of the existing scholarly narrative: he suggested that the existing secondary literature had inappropriately concentrated on British and American contexts, had given too late a date for the emergence of evangelicalism as a discrete religious movement, and had not provided a sufficiently broad description of evangelical identity. Ward advanced this critique by re-contextualising evangelicalism within a European intellectual environment that juxtaposed popular Protestantism with alchemy, the Cabbala, mysticism, anti-Aristotelianism, theosophy and apocalyptic enquiry – and consequently presented a movement the contours of which were quite different from those described by many of his peers. In some respects, Ward's treatment of evangelical identity is perhaps a little eccentric, ousting doctrine from the centrality of position it had enjoyed in the Marsden and Bebbington theses without clearly explaining why a much less defined notion of 'identity' could take its place. Ward's repeated claims that evangelicalism set itself up in opposition to or even, as he put it, in 'tremendous hostility' to systematic theology certainly needed a more careful exploration than that provided in his book; indeed, it is possible that his treatment of millennial eschatology, which he frequently made central to the development of this evangelical 'identity,' was less than precise, and, as a consequence, some elements of the argument should have been more carefully qualified. Similarly, the book's elaboration of an 'evangelical hexagon' – perhaps its clearest challenge to the Bebbington 'quadrilateral' or the Marsden 'pentagon' – was never heuristically advanced to outline an alternative approach to the subject. But the iconoclastic spirit and intellectual breadth of *Early Evangelicalism: A global intellectual history, 1670–1789* should have been applauded: it was perhaps inevitable that the book's impressive scope should sometimes require a more careful articulation of key ideas.

The emergence of Evangelicalism (2008), on the other hand, represented a more wide-ranging interdisciplinary investigation of the Bebbington thesis. The contributors to the book, of which this author was one, were largely identified as evangelical believers, being drawn from across British and American denominational boundaries but generally representing the movement's conservative or Reformed constituencies. The book itself was published by two established evangelical firms, IVP, in the UK, and Broadman and Holman, in the USA.²⁶ One early reviewer noted with concern that the doctrinal preferences of the editors and of many of the contributors prevented any real kind of sympathetic engagement

with the Methodist and other non-Reformed expressions of evangelical faith that Bebbington had identified as representing some of the earliest stages of the movement's emergence: it was as if the project had been flawed from its inception, its design making it incapable of reflecting or engaging, with appropriate scholarly sympathy and reserve, the broad notion of early evangelicalism.²⁷ Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the criticisms offered in this volume have encouraged some careful modification of the Bebbington thesis. Bebbington's response to the criticisms offered by the contributors to *The emergence of Evangelicalism* was included as the project's final chapter. While admitting that some of his earlier arguments about the novelty of evangelicalism would need to be qualified in future work on the subject, he continued to insist that the 'rise of the movement did represent much that was new.'²⁸ His response indicated that the arguments of *The emergence of Evangelicalism* necessitated a modification of existing historical approaches rather than the development of an entirely new explanatory paradigm.

The current book necessarily engages with a number of these debates. Some of its assumptions may concern some careful readers – particularly the use of 'evangelical' to describe multiple varieties of protestant faith in the trans-Atlantic world in the period before the eighteenth-century emergence of the movement that shared the name. The definition of this term is, of course, key, for it will limit the number of those individuals, institutions, movements and publications whose stories can usefully be juxtaposed. And, in this respect, due care will be required, for evangelicals have often found themselves sharing in a culture of millennial expectation that ranged far beyond their widest doctrinal boundaries, while other millennial believers travelled through evangelical experiences or institutions finally to find themselves outside the boundaries of the movement altogether. Some non-evangelical millennial movements shared evangelical habits and ideas. The followers of the eighteenth-century prophet Joanna Southcott, for example, were 'sincere, earnest Christians,' J.F.C. Harrison has reported, 'dependent for guidance on a literal interpretation of the Bible. They had pondered long over the scriptures, especially the prophecies and promises of the coming of Christ's kingdom, and were committed members of existing churches and sects.'²⁹ But if these Southcottians, many of whom embraced premillennialism while remaining within the Anglican establishment, had accepted the teachings of their prophet, they would have added a female and fourth person to the Godhead, and evangelicals, whatever minimalistic shortcomings there may be in the 'Bebbington quadrilateral,' the 'Marsden pentagon' or the 'Ward hexagon,' must

surely be defined within the boundaries of the historic orthodoxy of the early ecumenical creeds.³⁰ Similarly, evangelicals must be committed to the sufficiency and finality of the (protestant) biblical canon: no one has challenged Bebbington's identification of the movement as being 'Biblicist.' Debates among evangelical millennial believers have been about the proper interpretation and application of biblical texts, not about whether new texts, whether the inspired utterances of a charismatic leader or the recently discovered contents of a new revelation, should be considered as divine: evangelical millennial movements are not in that sense 'prophetic.' There have been radically leader-centred evangelical millennial movements – the group of Brethren who at the end of the nineteenth century left Plymouth, England, to begin a community at Kyneton, Australia, far outside the boundaries of the Roman Empire they expected to be revived, were being driven by their shared appreciation for the prophetic exegesis of B.W. Newton, for example.³¹ But these believers were being motivated by their convictions about the meaning of texts accepted as canonical throughout the Christian world. Prophetic movements, led by charismatic leaders who provide their people with new source texts, take people out of evangelicalism: the movement as a whole remains resolutely 'Biblicist.'³²

It is, nevertheless, quite dangerous to make a decision that leaves one using a single term to describe competing or successive varieties of scholarly or popular Protestantism in complex and diverging ecclesiastical and geographical situations over five centuries of constantly changing social, cultural, political and intellectual contexts. But in making that decision, and in arguing for the utility of a single descriptive term, I want to avoid both a lazy reductionism in taxonomic usage and the implication that there existed a stable and uncontested evangelical movement throughout this chronological and geographical range. It is relatively easy to justify the use of the term in the contexts of the sixteenth century, for historians of the reformation are now using 'evangelical' as an alternative to 'protestant' or 'Lutheran' in their analyses of this period.³³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, in his survey of European reformation, makes that kind of decision. He explains that 'protestant' had a very specific and limited range of reference within the political cultures of the German states and the Holy Roman Empire throughout much of the sixteenth century, while the term 'evangelical' was being 'widely used and recognized at the time' and was much less of a denominational marker.³⁴ There were evangelicals before evangelicalism, therefore, and, like their successors, they can be identified across the confessional spectrum of early modern Europe. This book, following

Bebbington's arguments, will identify the evangelical movement as first emerging in the early decades of the eighteenth century, in a post-confessional age, when differences between protestant denominations were increasingly regarded as being less important than the doctrine and piety that Christians were believed and encouraged to share. Earlier evangelicals had held to a wide range of detailed but competing confessional positions, but members of the later evangelical movement were often involved in the deliberate reduction of creedal obligations in favour of a generic popular piety. This book will therefore identify as evangelicals believers ranging from sixteenth-century reformers to the fundamentalists and neo-evangelicals that emerged to dominate the religious marketplace on both sides of the Atlantic in the middle and later twentieth century, even as it describes an evangelical movement from the early eighteenth century, paying attention to the distinctive features of contemporaneous, successive, separatist and competing subcultures within the wider evangelical world. This discussion will proceed by addressing a number of the most important challenges to the Bebbington thesis. It will trace a greater degree of continuity between the theology and praxis of early modern and modern evangelicals than the Bebbington thesis generally allows, but it will also identify some important theological discontinuities within that shared tradition. And these discontinuities continue to be important, for the evidence provided by changing patterns of millennial belief suggests that patterns of disruption in theology and praxis can be traced in places other than those identified by many advocates and critics of the Bebbington thesis: I have attempted to reflect on this tension between continuity and change in this book's conclusion. This book will therefore argue that eschatological interests have been one of the key indicators of the shape of the ideological evolution of the trans-Atlantic evangelical movement throughout its history – albeit an indicator the general significance of which has hardly been recognized.

II

But it is not only that 'evangelical' and 'evangelicalism' need to be defined – so too does this book's usage of the vocabulary of eschatology. Full definitions of this range of terms are provided in the glossary, but at this stage in the introduction it is appropriate to signal that the title of this book indicates that its primary interest is specifically in one element of a wider protestant eschatological tradition, the millennial interests of evangelicals in the trans-Atlantic world. This book, therefore, does not

provide a general description of protestant eschatology or apocalyptic thinking throughout this period.

Classically, in the Christian tradition, 'eschatology' has referred to discourse upon the 'four last things' – death, judgement, heaven and hell – but in popular usage the term has been expanded to refer to other aspects of end-of-the-world belief. Evangelical eschatology can be either broadly pessimistic, in its expectation of the apocalypse, or broadly optimistic, in its expectation of a golden age (sometimes known as the millennium) before the apocalypse. These expectations are generally derived from texts which represent, according to the conclusions of the Society for Biblical Literature, 'a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.'³⁵ This apocalyptic literature therefore emphasizes the sudden (and often imminent) end of all things. It can seem deterministic (the future has been planned by God), dualistic (good and evil exist in constant struggle), pessimistic (world conditions are not likely to improve), ethically passive (if conditions are not likely to improve, there is little that can be done to make the world a better place), and final. In contrast, millennial aspiration focuses on a utopian period the general characteristics of which are based on the description of the binding of Satan in Revelation 20:1–10 (which is read as a consequent limiting of evil) and the expectations of the renewal of the natural world recorded in Old Testament prophetic writing. The specific characteristics of this utopian age, which have been widely theorized, have varied according to the interpreter, and the millennium has been used as a trope for a wide and contradictory range of political, cultural and religious presuppositions.³⁶

It is also important to note that the three most common contemporary evangelical millennial schemes (amillennialism, premillennialism and postmillennialism) should not be retrospectively projected onto older material, which often posited a much broader range of exegetical conclusions than those offered by recent writing on the subject. Not every exegete through the five centuries of tradition described in this book would share the basic assumption of contemporary schemes, the idea that Revelation 20:1–10 refers to only one period of one thousand years: in the seventeenth century, this view was denied by Thomas Brightman, James Ussher and Johannes Cocceius, and in the later twentieth century, it appears to have been denied by Norman Shepherd, sometime professor at Westminster Theological Seminary, a bastion of

conservative Presbyterianism in North America.³⁷ And as one recent commentator has argued, the ‘traditional criterion of classifying millennialism on the basis of when Christ would appear is ... virtually meaningless for the emerging systems prior to 1800.’³⁸ Confirming this observation, the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates ‘millenarian’ to 1626, ‘millenarianism’ to 1650 and ‘millennial’ to 1664, and its citation of usage demonstrates that the dominant modern terms emerged with ‘premillennial’ in 1846 and ‘postmillennial’ in 1851.³⁹ The *OED* fails to provide any information on the development of ‘amillennial,’ which is perhaps surprising given its frequent deployment in twentieth-century theological debate.

Of course, the evangelical eschatological tradition – and the discussion it has engendered – is much more complex than the history of its definitions might suggest. But these terms are still important. Amillennialism is the term used to describe the conviction that the one thousand years described in Revelation 20:1–10 is not a specifically eschatological reference and is instead a metaphor for all or a substantial part of the period between Christ’s incarnation and his second coming. Amillennialism was the dominant millennial position in the early reformation period, and it has been growing in popularity with evangelicals throughout the course of the last century, especially in Europe and in the North American Reformed communities most responsive to European theological developments. But many evangelicals, especially in North America and throughout the twentieth century, have retained a firm conviction that the description of one thousand years in Revelation 20:1–10 does predict a specific future period, though they have differed as to whether the return of Jesus Christ will precede or succeed it. Postmillennialists argue that Christ will return after the millennium has substantially reformed life on earth. Postmillennialists, who were well represented among British and North American exegetes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, can expect either the apocalyptic or the gradual transformation of human societies, and vary in the extent to which they believe the millennium can be expedited by human efforts. Postmillennialism has been recently revived among some conservative and Reformed evangelicals, particularly but certainly not exclusively among politically orientated North Americans with interests in Christian Reconstruction, but, more generally, this eschatological system remains much less popular than premillennialism among contemporary believers. Most contemporary evangelicals, especially in the USA, agree that the second coming of Christ will take place before the millennium. There are two important variants to this position.

'Historic' premillennialism is the belief that Christ will return after a several-year period of apocalyptic distress known as the 'tribulation' (and so it is sometimes described as being 'post-tribulational'); this was the view of a number of early Fathers, as well as the nineteenth-century London Baptist minister C.H. Spurgeon and the twentieth-century biblical scholar G.E. Ladd.⁴⁰ 'Dispensational' premillennialism, which coalesced into an innovative prophetic paradigm in the early nineteenth century, argues for a distinctive reading of the biblical history of redemption, the seven epochs of which may or may not have different conditions of salvation, and insists that Christ will return for the 'secret rapture' before the tribulation (and hence it is sometimes described as being 'pre-tribulational'). This rapture will 'catch up' believers in order to take them into heaven while the Antichrist rages on earth. The second coming proper will take place at the end of the tribulation, when Christ will usher in the millennium and reign over the world for one thousand years. Dispensationalists debate whether believers will live on earth during the millennium and debate the specific roles of Israel and a range of other powers in this end-times scenario. Dispensationalism is a hugely popular prophetic system, briefly expounded within a social and intellectual elite associated with the universities of Dublin and Oxford in the 1830s, then transplanted in North America to become the dominant eschatological paradigm available to modern evangelicals. And, of course, it has evolved. The schema has developed through three major stages: 'classical' dispensationalism, which developed from its first formal elaboration in the writing of J.N. Darby to be best represented by the *Scofield reference Bible* (1909; second edition 1917) and the writings of L.S. Chafer and J. Dwight Pentecost; 'revised' dispensationalism, which is best represented by the *New Scofield Bible* (1967); and 'progressive' dispensationalism, which is best represented by the writings of Craig Blaising and Darrell Bock, and which offers a significant and sometimes surprising reformulation of earlier dispensational belief.⁴¹

While these terms reflect specific exegetical and theological convictions, others have been developed to denote particular kinds of social and ethical responses these convictions can engender. Conventionally, scholars working in millennial studies have followed Ernest L. Tuveson in distinguishing 'millennialists' (believers who adopt postmillennial, optimistic and gradualist theologies) from 'millenarians' (believers who adopt premillennial, pessimistic and radical theologies).⁴² But Ernest R. Sandeen has noted the fluidity of terminology in the literature of the protestant eschatological tradition, and, as he has argued, a strict distinction should probably not therefore be imposed.⁴³ His conclusion seems

particularly important within evangelical millennial cultures, where, for example, the common assumption that premillennial convictions will encourage social passivity fail to account for the tireless activity of many representatives of the Christian Right, and where the common assumption that postmillennial convictions will generate ideas of evolutionary human development fail to account for the radically interventionist political theories advocated by many Christian Reconstructionists.⁴⁴ Scholars working in millennial studies ought therefore to adopt a wider range of descriptive labels than those provided by exegetically concerned theologians. Sociologists and political theorists have important contributions to make. Bryan R. Wilson has focused attention on millennial believers rather than millennial systems, and has distinguished these believers as being ‘objectivists,’ either in advocating the divine revolution of society, the human reformation of society, introversion from society, or the utopian reconstruction of society; ‘subjectivists,’ in advocating that God is more concerned with changing individuals than world systems; or ‘relationists,’ either in advocating that it is the believer’s perception of the world, rather than the world itself, that should be changed, or in advocating that millennial belief should only encourage a hope for miracles.⁴⁵ Jürgen Moltmann, similarly, has drawn upon the work of political theorists to proffer another taxonomy, which distinguished ‘political millenarianism’ (the identification of an individual political system with the reign of God), ‘ecclesiastical millenarianism’ (the identification of the institutional church with the reign of God), and ‘epochal millenarianism’ (the identification of one historical period with the reign of God), all of which, he argues, exist in tension with the this-worldly hope outlined in biblical prophecy.⁴⁶

But exegetical differences are still important. Systems of eschatology are generally driven by the hermeneutical decisions that inform their biblical base. Evangelicals have tended to choose between four methods of interpreting Revelation: ‘idealism,’ ‘preterism,’ ‘historicism,’ and ‘futurism.’ Those commentaries that adopt an idealist perspective tend to argue that Revelation was not written with specific historical application in mind, but was intended to teach a series of timeless truths applicable to a wide variety of social contexts which the text itself did not intend to predict. Throughout the last century, idealist approaches have been most commonly adopted by amillennial exegetes. Preterists, by contrast, understand New Testament prophecies to be chiefly concerned with the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the end of Temple worship in AD 70, though some exegetes have pointed to fulfilments of prophecy as late as the fourth century AD. Preterism has influenced

a number of recent evangelical pre- and postmillennial commentaries, and is regarded as being particularly important by contemporary Reformed scholars. Historicism refuses to identify an end-point for biblical prophetic fulfilment, and argues instead that these prophecies refer to specific events in the entire course of church history. The identification of the Pope as the Antichrist is common in protestant historicist interpretation (though Roman Catholic writers also adopted historicist readings to counter early Lutheran claims regarding the papacy). Within the terms of this book's discussion, it is important for readers to distinguish 'historicist' premillennialism, one date-suggesting variant of which is represented in the best-selling writings of Hal Lindsey, from 'historic' (i.e., non-dispensational) premillennialism, which may or may not be historicist, and which Lindsey would certainly oppose: in this discussion, 'historic' refers to an exegetical conclusion about the interpretation of Revelation 20:1–10 while 'historicist' refers to exegetical conclusions about the range of reference of the entire book of Revelation. Readers need not be alarmed by these kinds of nice distinction for the most common hermeneutical approach among contemporary evangelicals, especially in North America, is not historicism but futurism. This system of hermeneutics understands New Testament prophecies to be chiefly concerned with the last few years before the second coming of Christ, and its advocates tend to argue that the Antichrist will not be a pope. Futurism is common among amillennialists and premillennialists, and is a basic feature of dispensationalism. It is futurism's insistence that most biblical prophecies refer to an extraordinarily short period of time at the end of the age that drives the millennial expectation of the largest number of contemporary evangelicals on both sides of the Atlantic.

Nevertheless, as we have noted, evangelical believers have never held a monopoly on millennial convictions: as a great deal of recent scholarship has demonstrated, similar patterns of belief can be traced in cultures as far apart as underground UFO cults and mainstream theological traditions in Judaism and Islam, as well as in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches and in 'liberal' or mainstream protestant traditions. But while it is not unique to evangelicalism, millennial belief has certainly been central to its historical evolution, on both sides of the Atlantic. In Europe, W.R. Ward's discussion of the roots of the evangelical movement has highlighted that evangelical piety frequently emerged from and developed alongside radically millennial interests.⁴⁷ And in North America, Philip Jenkins has claimed that a 'fundamentalist evangelicalism with powerful millenarian strands' has been the

'largest component of the [American] religious spectrum ... since colonial times.'⁴⁸ But the history of evangelical millennialism has been a history of religious change, both within and across the trans-Atlantic world. While both traditions shared common roots in the popular piety of the early modern period, they evolved in distinct contexts of human geography, and negotiated their own relationships to social and political climates that, on either side of the Atlantic, appeared increasingly to diverge. Subsequent chapters in this book will document this process of divergence, and the manners in which contemporary differences between European and North American evangelicalism can to some extent be explained by their differing varieties of millennial belief, and by differing degrees of importance that have been attached to these varieties of millennial belief. The difference is particularly marked in the contemporary period, in which North American evangelicals are increasingly identified by a shared adherence to a variety of millennial belief that originated in Britain and Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century but that no longer commands the allegiance of any more than a tiny minority of British and Irish believers. This book will argue that the differences have always been as significant as the similarities in eschatological thinking represented in trans-Atlantic evangelical print culture.⁴⁹

III

As this argument suggests, the comparative and print cultural approach adopted in this book takes seriously the communication networks in which early modern and modern evangelicals have operated across the trans-Atlantic world.⁵⁰ The European component of the Atlantic community is of course much broader than merely Britain and Ireland, but, despite the presence of some important French, Dutch and German millennial theorists, especially in the earlier period, it has been British and Irish evangelicals who have been most closely associated with millennial aspiration. Their interests had an unlikely context of origin. The major confessions of faith produced by the emerging protestant traditions constructed a pan-European rejection of earthly eschatological hope. The Augsburg Confession (1530) of the Lutheran movement, the Forty-two Articles of the Church of England (1552) and the Second Helvetic Confession (1566) of the Reformed churches each condemned the 'Jewish dream' of an earthly golden age. But, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, a number of prominent voices began to suggest that the period or periods of one thousand years in Revelation

20:1–10 might have some actual historical or future reference to an age of idealized conditions for the church. These voices developed a conversation that stretched across the continent and which would have enormous implications in the intellectual cultures of the Stuart kingdoms. The focus of debate shifted: European scholars were increasingly taking part in a British, and even an English, millennial discussion. As the seventeenth century progressed, this conversation came to take on important trans-Atlantic dimensions, as puritans in the New World defended their emigration and delineated their new societies on the basis of distinctive patterns of millennial hope.⁵¹ These early American evangelicals generated their own eschatological traditions, and, throughout the early and mid-eighteenth centuries, recycled older expectations of the revival of true religion in an overtly eschatological context. By mid-century, British evangelicals had become the receptors of this new American millennial thinking, as the celebrated revivals of religion known as the Great Awakenings drove high ambitions that the long-awaited glorious conclusion of history was finally at hand. But in the nineteenth century, the general direction of influence was again reversed, as the dispensationalism that had been developed in circles associated with aristocratic Anglicans in Ireland and the south of England gained a dominance of the American cultural mainstream unanticipated by previous varieties of millennial hope. The success of dispensationalism in American evangelical culture would be nuanced by the influence of another European import – the amillennialism associated with such influential Dutch Reformed theologians as Herman Bavinck, Louis Berkhof, William Hendricksen and G.C. Berkouwer which, in sympathetic American editions, filtered back to believers in Britain and Ireland. Canadian and non-Anglophone European writers have often exercised enormous influence in trans-Atlantic evangelicalism, but this study will reflect the popular cultural dominance of Irish, British and American writers.

This focus on the trans-Atlantic generates important contexts for this book's discussion. The question of the significance of millennial belief is naturally bound up with the question of its human geography; and the uniqueness of particular systems of belief can only be tested in some kind of comparative context. As J.F.C. Harrison has noted, the history of millennial aspiration 'is incomplete if limited chronologically or geographically'; and, he noted, the trans-Atlantic comparison is the 'obvious, though by no means the only possibility for such an approach,' though strangely it has not been regularly adopted.⁵² As the preceding survey of the circulation of ideas had demonstrated, the

trans-Atlantic context is vital for the study of evangelical faith. Some millennial paradigms were developed on one side of the Atlantic but enjoyed distinctive patterns of success to the other: dispensationalism is a good example of this trend. Other prophetic paradigms were developed simultaneously on each side of the Atlantic: the millennial aspirations associated with American revivals appeared more or less simultaneously in the writings of Jonathan Edwards and Isaac Watts. Other paradigms evolved on one side of the Atlantic in relative isolation from the other: recent discussions among American evangelicals about 'progressive dispensationalism' and Christian Reconstruction have, for example, found no sustained counterpart in the print culture of European evangelicals. Throughout their history, therefore, evangelical millennial believers have embraced prophetic schemes which they endowed with a universal and even cosmic importance. But it is not the case, as this book will demonstrate, that those millennial believers who have embraced similar prophetic creeds in Europe and North America have always understood their implications in quite the same way.

IV

This book will describe the evolution of millennial ideas, avoiding the imposition of a misleading teleology, within the shared context of a trans-Atlantic evangelical movement. It will adopt an essentially chronological approach. This text focuses on print culture: its method of survey will make it difficult to access oral millennial traditions or personal reflections which exist in unpublished manuscript, or to ask questions about the reception, distribution, or sharing of individual texts, or the significance of their ownership. This book is not an ecclesial investigation: it can deal only in a limited way with the question of whether the content of ideas remained constant as they were received and transmitted by those who were not trained theologians. This book is not a psychological study: it cannot address the factors that encouraged individuals or groups to adopt millennial beliefs. Neither is this book a sociological study: it cannot ask wider questions of why certain societies are more likely than others to foster this kind of aspiration, nor can it describe in detail the social composition of millennial movements or the readers of millennial publications, nor delineate the processes by which millennial beliefs oscillated between subculture and mainstream, not least because it is a notoriously difficult task to describe evangelicalism in relation to the American mainstream. The methodology employed in this book cannot address the quantitative questions

that many readers might ask: whether evangelicalism or evangelical millennialism varied in popularity throughout the period, or whether, in any period, evangelicals of a particular gender, or from certain social, cultural or political backgrounds, were more likely to hold millennial beliefs, or how these beliefs may have been adapted for oral or ecclesial transmission. What this book can do, nevertheless, is highlight the importance of varieties of millennialism as frequently-repeated themes and as highly flexible discourses within which believers have expressed some of the salient hopes and concerns of their evolving worldviews, and it will do so in illustrative readings of major texts and important contexts in successive periods in evangelical history.

A survey with this scope of ambition cannot help but appear impressionistic. This book will therefore aim to focus on the most important themes of its discussion, developing readings of significant texts, contexts and cultures. It is inevitable that it will reflect my own geographical bias, and perhaps use British and Irish examples to illustrate its argument of trans-Atlantic development more often than it might; some readers, recognizing the American focus of most histories of millennial ideas, might consider this a virtue. And it may also reflect my own theological bias and lived experience, which I described in the preface to *Writing the rapture* (2009). This book will certainly develop its argument sympathetically. The holders of millennial beliefs should not be carelessly dismissed: after all, as J.F.C. Harrison reminded us, there is no good reason to suppose that 'people who led apparently simple lives necessarily held simple beliefs.'⁵³ Nor is there any good reason to treat millennial convictions with learned irony, even though 'our sensibility to the problems of the millennium' may be 'so reduced, and our acceptance of the premises from which the millenarians started so minimal, that with the best will in the world we find it extremely difficult to see things as they did.'⁵⁴ Instead, we need to remember that millennial believers – many but not all of them evangelicals – have for many centuries found reason to retain these forms of 'alternative knowledge.'⁵⁵ Modern readers may not share the faith of the authors described in this text, but we must appreciate the commitments of the millions of evangelicals that have expected, and continue to expect, the final transformation of a slowly dying world.

Index

- Agier, Pierre-Jean 83–4
 Allis, Oswald T. 105
 Alsted, Johann Heinrich 42, 47
 Ames, William 47
 amillennialism xi, 12, 34, 48–9, 53,
 119, 121, 125
see also Augustine
 Anabaptism 20, 28, 34, 36
 Anglicanism 8
see also names of individual
Anglicans; Church of England;
 Church of Ireland
 Antichrist xi, xiv, 3, 15, 23, 24, 25,
 26, 41, 45–6
see also papacy
 apocalyptic, genre xi
 Apostles' Creed 2
 Aquinas, Thomas 24
 Arabs 2, 88
 Archer, John 48
 Armada, Spanish 34–5
 Augsburg Confession (1530) 16,
 28
 Augustine 2–3, 23–4, 27, 28, 31, 42,
 47
see also amillennialism
 Australia 103, 105
 Avignon Society 73
- Bahá'í Faith 75–6
 Bale, John 27, 127
 Balfour, Arthur James 93, 103
 Balfour Declaration (1917) 93,
 103
 Banner of Truth Trust 105, 117,
 118
 Baptists 54, 56, 81, 94, 96, 97, 98,
 99, 119, 126
see also names of individual
 Baptists
 Bateman, Mary 74
 Bavinck, Herman 17, 117–18
 Baxter, Richard 51–2, 70
- Bebbington, David W. 4–10, 53, 58,
 70, 130
see also evangelicalism
 Beecher, Lyman 88
 Beet, Joseph Agar 98
 Bellarmine, Robert 42
 Berkhof, Louis 17
 Berkouwer, G.C. 17, 118
 Beza, Theodore 29–30, 47
 Bible, Geneva (1560) 27–8, 29–32,
 33, 128, 131
 Bible, King James (Authorized)
 (1611) 33
 Bible Institute of Los Angeles
 ('BIOLA') 104–5
 Bible Presbyterian Church 116
 Biederwolf, William Edward 100
 Blackstone, William E. 95
 Blaising, Craig xii, 13, 117
 Blake, William 75
 Bock, Darrell xii, 13, 117
 Bockelson, Jan 21–2
 Boehme, Jacob 56
 Boice, James Montgomery 115
 Bonar, Andrew A. 85–9, 90, 92
 Bonar, Horatius 89
 Boston 57
 Boyce, James P. 94
 Boyer, Paul S. 123–4
 à Brakel, Wilhelmus 57
 Brethren of the Free Spirit 24
 Brethren, Plymouth 9, 75, 77, 84,
 97, 105
see also names of individual Brethren
 Brightman, Thomas 11, 39, 40, 42,
 43, 47, 49, 57
 British-Israelites 73
see also historicism; national
 election
 Broadus, John 95
 Brothers, Richard 73, 74
 Brown, David 88, 89–90
 Bullinger, E.W. 85, 98

- de Burgh, William 82
 Bush, George W. 110, 123–4
- Calvin, John 25–6, 31, 35, 47, 108
 Cambridge, University of 33–5, 39,
 42, 56
 Camisards 54, 79
 Canada 1, 58
 Carey, William 63
 Carlyle, Thomas 79, 92
 Carter, Jimmy 110, 115
 Catholic Apostolic Church 71–2,
 75, 78
see also Irving, Edward
 Cerinthus 22
 Chader, C.A. 99
 Chafer, L.S. xii, 104
 Charles I, King of England, Scotland
 and Ireland 49, 58
 Charles, R.H. 101
 Chartists 76
 Chicago, University of 100
 Chilton, David 120
 Christian Reconstruction xi, 18,
 120
 Christian Right 116
Christianity Today 108
 Church of England 28, 46, 54, 56,
 72, 84–5, 119
see also Anglicanism; Forty-two
 Articles of the Church of England
 (1552); Thirty-nine Articles of the
 Church of England (1563)
 Church of Ireland 45, 77, 82, 83
see also Anglicanism; Irish Articles
 (1615)
 Church of Scotland 78
 Civil War, American (1861–65) 90,
 92, 94–5
 Clouse, R.G. 48
 Clinton, Bill 110
 Cocceius, Johannes 11, 49, 57
 Cold War 106, 122, 123–4
 Coleridge, S.T. 77
 Communism 113, 121–2
 confessions of faith xi, 91, 111, 130
see also the names of individual
 confessions of faith
 Congregationalism 54, 128
see also names of individual
 Congregationalists
 Constantine, Emperor 31–2
 Constantinople 87
 Cooper, R.B. 77
 Cotton, John 47, 49
 Cumming, John 80, 81, 87–8,
 93–4
 Cyril of Jerusalem 23
- Dagg, John L. 95
 Dallas Theological Seminary 104,
 106, 107, 116
 Daly, Robert 83
 Danby, Francis 72
 Darby, J.N. xiv, 13, 83–4, 97, 99,
 109, 129
 Darwin, Charles 76, 96
 Dennet, Edward 97–8
 DeMar, Gary 120
 Dionysius of Alexandria 23
 dispensationalism xii, 18, 83–91, 92,
 102, 116, 125, 128–9
see also Darby, J.N.; futurism;
 premillennialism
 Dixon, A.C. 102
 Dobbs, Francis 73
 Dublin, University of 13, 40, 43–4,
 83, 101
 Dwight, Timothy 57
- Edinburgh, University of 86
 Edwards, Jonathan 5, 18, 54–5, 57,
 58–62, 67, 68, 129
 Enoch 21
 Elias 34, 45
 Elijah 21
 Elizabeth I, Queen of England and
 Ireland 30
 Elliott, E.B. 80–1, 94
 Enlightenment 53, 58, 71, 127
 Erasmus of Rotterdam 25–6, 28
 Erdman, W.J. 96, 97
 eschatology xii, 11
 European Community 107
 Eusebius of Caesarea 23, 24
 Evangelical Alliance (UK) 126
 Evangelical Missionary
 Association 108

- Evangelical Presbyterian Church (Ireland) 105
- Evangelical Theological Society 108
- evangelicalism 3–10, 110, 112
see also Fundamentalism, Protestant; 'neo-evangelicalism'
- evolution 2
see also Darwin, Charles
- Faber, George Stanley 57, 72, 82
- Fairbairn, Patrick 81–2
- Falwell, Jerry 111, 113
- Fifth Epistle of Clement 20
- Fifth Monarchy Men 48, 66
- Finney, C.G. 88–9
- Fleming, Robert 77
- Forty-two Articles of the Church of England (1552) 16, 28
see also Church of England
- Foxe, John 29–32, 47, 128
- France 54
see also Camisards; French revolution (1789); Nantes, Edict of (1685)
- Franciscans 24
- Free Church of Scotland 89
- Free University of Amsterdam 118
- French revolution (1789) 54, 71, 73, 77, 128
- Frere, James Hatley 77–8, 82
- Froom, LeRoy 48
- Fukuyama, Francis 121–2, 123
- Fuller, Andrew 54
- Fuller Theological Seminary 108
- Fundamentalism, Protestant 92, 99, 101–9, 110
- Fundamentals, The* (1910–15) 92–3, 102
- futurism xii, 14–15, 65, 82–91, 128–9
- Geneva 28, 29, 32
- Gentry, Kenneth L. 120
- Gerstner, John H. 119
- Gettysburg Theological Seminary 95
- Gill, John 54–5, 62–7, 68, 72
- Gillespie, George 46
- Glorious Revolution (1688) 52, 58, 63
- Goodman, Christopher 32
- Goodwin, Thomas 35, 47
- Gnosticism 23
- Graham, Billy 106, 113
- Great Awakening 16, 53, 57, 63, 67
see also revival
- Gregory I, Pope 25
- Grier, W.J. 105, 118
- Guinness, Os 112
- Gundry, Robert H. 116, 130
- Gundry, Stanley N. 117
- Guyse, John 61
- Hagee, John 121
- Halhed, Nathaniel Brassey 73
- Hall, Thomas 45
- Hamilton, James 118
- Harrison, J.F.C. 8, 17, 18, 56, 68
- Hart, D.G. 4, 5, 112, 124
- Haykin, Michael A.G. 6–8
- Hayne, Thomas 45, 47
- heaven 24
- Heidelberg 27, 42
- hell 24, 28, 98–9, 126
- Hendricksen, William 17, 118, 130
- Herborn 42
- Hindson, Ed 122–3
- historicism xii, 14–15, 26, 27, 31, 65, 67–70, 78, 79, 80–1, 82, 109, 127, 129
- Hodge, Charles 94
- Hoffmann, Melchior 20–2
- Hogg, C.F. 100
- Horner, Barry E. 121
- House, Wayne 117
- Hughes, Archibald 105
- Hungary 28, 42
- Hunt, Dave 121
- Huntingdon, Samuel P. 123
- idealism 14, 130
- intelligent design 2
- Ireland, 1798 rebellion 71
- Irenaeus 23
- Irish Articles (1615) 45
see also Church of Ireland
- Ironside, H.A. 85
- Irving, Edward 75, 78–9, 80, 82, 85–6, 89, 128

- Islam 2, 3, 15, 39, 45, 66, 88, 124, 131
- Israel 105, 106, 107, 120, 129
see also Jews, return to Promised Land; Six Day War
- Jacobitism 68
- James VI and I, King of Scotland, England and Ireland 32–3
- Jansenism 83–4
- Jehovah's Witnesses 76, 99, 102
- Jenkins, Jerry B. 121
see also Left Behind series
- Jenkins, Philip 15–16
- Jerome 25
- Jesus People 113
- Jews, conversion of the 30, 31, 35, 39, 47, 57, 59, 65, 68–9, 88, 131
- Jews, rebuilding of Temple 56, 57
- Jews, return to Promised Land 38, 56, 57, 66, 68–9, 88
see also Israel
- Joachim of Fiore 24, 25
- John Chrysostom 23
- John of Leiden 21
- de Jong, James 49
- Josephus 24, 56
- Judaism 2, 3, 15, 45
see also Jews, conversion of the
- Jukes, Andrew 126
- Junius, Franciscus 27, 31, 32, 47
- Kac, Arthur W. 106
- Keach, Benjamin 52, 63
- Keith, Alexander 77, 86–7
- Kik, J. Marcellus 118
- Knox, Ronald 55
- Knollys, Hanserd 52
- Koelman, Jacobus 57
- Labrousse, Suzette 73
- Lactantias 23
- de Lacunza, Manuel 78–9
- Lacy, John 79
- Ladd, G.E. xiii, xiv, 13, 108, 116, 130
- LaHaye, Tim 121
see also Left Behind series
- Lambert, Bernard 83–4
- Lambert, Francois 27
- Lambert, Lance 121
- Lang, G.H. 99
- Larkin, Clarence 98
- Last Judgement 26, 68
- Laud, William 41, 46
- Leade, Jane 56
- Left Behind series 1, 112, 122, 125, 131
see also Jenkins, Jerry B.; LaHaye, Tim
- Leiden 27
- limbo 24
- Lindsey, Hal xii, 15, 111, 113, 114, 115, 117, 121, 129
- literalism 72, 87, 91
- Livingstone, John Henry 57
- Lloyd-Jones, Martyn 105
- Luther, Martin 25–6, 28
- Lutheranism 20, 21, 42, 95–6
- MacDonald, Gregory *see* Parry, Robin
- Machen, J. Gresham 104
- MacInnis, John Murdock 104–5
- Marsden, George 4, 5, 7, 8
- Mary I, Queen of England and Ireland 29
- Marx, Karl 76, 96
- Maton, Robert 47–8
- Matthys, Jan 21–2
- Mauro, Philip 99
- McCheyne, Robert Murray 79, 85–9
- McCosh, James 89
- McCrossan, T.K. 99
- McCulloch, William 62
- Mede, Joseph 42–4, 47, 49, 65, 67, 77, 82
- Meese, Ed 115
- Melancthon, Philip 28
- Mercer University 95
- Merlin 45
- Methodism 4, 8, 54, 56, 67–70, 95, 98
see also Wesley, Charles; Wesley, John
- Meyer, F.B. 126
- Meyer, Louis 102
- millennialism xiii
- millennium xiii
- Miller, William 75, 79–80
- Millerites 71

- Milne, Bruce A. 119
 mission 54, 55, 70, 85, 91, 120
 Moldavia 87
 Moltmann, Jürgen 14
 Montagu, Richard 41
 Montanism 23
 Moody Bible Institute 97, 105
 Moorehead, W.G. 97, 102
 More, Richard 43
 Mormonism 74, 75
 Mounce, Robert H. 116
 Muggletonians 56
 Muller, Richard A. 65
 Münster 20–2, 28, 36
 Murray, Iain H. 112, 118, 152n
- Nantes, Edict of (1685) 53–4
 Napier, John 32–3, 37, 47
 National Association of Christian Schools 108
 National Association of Evangelicals 5, 108, 115
 national election xiii, 1, 92, 93, 103
 National Religious Broadcasters 108
 National Sunday School Association 108
 ‘neo-evangelicals’ 104, 108
see also evangelicalism;
 Fundamentalism
- Neustadt 27
 New Jerusalem 21
New Scofield Bible (1967) xii, 109, 114
see also Scofield reference Bible (1909;
 second edition, 1917)
- New Zealand 105
 Newport, Kenneth 68
 Newton, B.W. 9, 77, 84
 Newton, Isaac 56, 58, 67, 128
 Newton, Thomas 82
 Niagara Bible Conference 97, 102
 Nicaea, Council of 24
 Noll, Mark A. 6, 112
 Norman, Larry 113
 Nostradamus 45
 novels, prophecy 96
- Ogilvy, George 72
 Oppenheimer, Robert 106
 Orthodox churches 15
- Owen, John 128
 Oxford, University of 13, 73
 Oxford University Press 92
- papacy 3, 15, 24, 25, 41, 45
 Papias 23
 Pareus, David 28, 42, 47
 Parry, Robin 126
 Pastorini prophecies 74
 Pember, G.H. 99
 Pendleton, James M. 95
 Pentecost, J. Dwight xii, 107
 Perkins, William 33
 Petrie, Alexander 47
 Piscator, Johannes 41–2, 43
 Poland 28, 87
 Pontard, Pierre 73
 postmillennialism xiv, 12, 33–4,
 48–9, 53, 54–5, 58–62, 63, 71, 72,
 90, 94, 117, 125, 126
 premillennialism xiv, 12, 34, 48–9,
 53, 54–5, 56, 63, 67–70, 72–91,
 119, 125, 126, 129
see also dispensationalism
- Presbyterian Church of England 80
 Presbyterianism 39, 88, 95, 96, 97,
 104, 106, 115
*see also names of individual
 Presbyterians and Presbyterian
 denominations; Westminster
 Confession of Faith* (1647)
- Preston, John 35
 preterism xiv, 14–15, 128
 Priestly, Joseph 57
 Princeton, university and
 seminary 89, 92, 94, 115
 Prophetic Witness Movement 107
 providentialism xiii, 2, 59
 purgatory 24
 Puritanism 4
- Quakers 56
- Ranters 56
 rapture 84, 97
see also dispensationalism
- Reagan, Ronald 110, 114, 115
 Reese, Alexander 99
 Reeves, Marjory 24

- Reform Act (1832) 76
 Republican Party 2
 Restoration (1660) 52
 Revelation, canonicity of 23, 25–8,
 35–6
 revival 4, 17, 18, 36, 54, 58, 63, 67,
 68, 70, 85, 89, 113
 see also Great Awakening
 Revolutionary War, American
 (1775–83) 53, 71
 Riddlebarger, Kim 120–1
 Rietkerk, Wim 116
 Rimmer, Harry 104
 Rippon, John 62–3, 67
 Robertson, O. Palmer 120
 Robertson, Pat 111
 Roman Catholic Church 15, 21, 27,
 39, 46, 59, 68, 74, 76, 79, 102, 131
 see also papacy
 Rothmann, Bernt 20–2
 Rowlands, William J. 99
 Rupert of Duetz 24
 Russell, Charles Taze 76
 Russell, J. Stuart 128
 Russian revolution (1917) 93, 103
 Rutgers University 57
 Ryle, J.C. 85
 Ryrie, Charles Caldwell 107
- Sale-Harrison, Leonard 103
 Sandeen, Ernest R. xiii, 13
 Satan 26
 Schaeffer, Francis 116
 Schmucker, Samuel 95
 Scofield, Cyrus I. 101–2
Scofield reference Bible (1909; second
 edition, 1917) xii, 13, 92, 99,
 101–2, 119, 129
 see also *New Scofield Bible* (1967)
 Scopes Trial (1925) 93
 Scotland 28
 Scroggie, W. Graham 100
 Second Helvetic Confession
 (1566) 16, 28
 Second World War 104, 105–6
 Seventh-Day Adventist Church
 75–6, 80, 99
 Shakers 74, 80
 Shepherd, Norman 11
- Sibbes, Richard 35, 36
 Six Day War 105, 113, 115
 Sizer, Stephen 111
 Society for Biblical Literature 11
 Smith, James Elishama 75
 Southcott, Joanna 8, 56, 74
 Spurgeon, C.H. xiv, 13, 81, 96, 98
 Stanley, Brian 6
 Stein, Stephen 58, 61
 Stewart, Kenneth J. 6–8
 Stine, Milton H. 95–6
 Stokes, Bob 116
 Stott, John 126
 Strasbourg 29
 Sweden 99
 Swedenborg, Emanuel 73
- Tatford, F.A. 107–8
 Testament of the Twelve
 Patriarchs 22
 Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of
 England (1563) 45
 see also Church of England
 Thompson, Don 114
 Toft, Mary 56
 Toplady, A.M. 54
 Torrey, R.A. 102
 Trans World Radio 116
 Tregelles, S.P. 83–4
 Treloar, Geoff 6
 tribulation xiv, 84
 see also dispensationalism
 Trinity College Dublin *see* Dublin,
 University of
 Tuveson, Ernest L. xiii, 13
 Twisse, William 44
- Ubertino de Casale 24
 UK Atomic Energy Authority 107
 United Nations 107
 universalism 126
 Ussher, James 11, 40–1, 43–4, 45–6,
 47, 49, 128
 USSR 107, 115
 see also Communism; Reagan,
 Ronald
- Van Impe, Jack 121
 Vine, W.E. 100

- Vos, Geerhardus 131
- war on terror 2, 123
- Ward, John 'Zion' 75
- Walvoord, John F. 106–7, 108
- Ward, W.R. 6–7, 8, 15
- Warfield, B.B. 100
- Watt, James 115
- Watts, Isaac 18, 61
- Weinberger, Caspar 115
- Welles, Orson 114
- Wells, David F. 112
- Wesley, Charles 5, 54–5, 67–70, 71
- Wesley, John 5, 98
- West, Nathaniel 95, 96, 97
- Westminster Assembly 44, 91
- Westminster Confession of Faith
(1647) 45, 48, 85
- Westminster Theological
Seminary 11–12
- Wheaton College 6
- Whiston, William 56, 58
- Whitby, Daniel 54, 64
- Wilcock, Michael 119
- Wilkinson, Paul R. 121
- Wilson, Brian R. 14
- Wolffe, John 6
- World Relief Commission 108
- Wroe, John 75
- Wycliffe, John 25
- Yale College 57
- Zens, Jon 119
- Zionism 93, 95, 103, 120, 131
- Zwingli, Ulrich 25