

# The Basis and Practice of Christian Mission to Jews 1520–1860

By Rowland S. Ward

In this essay I want to address the Scriptural basis of Jewish mission as it developed historically and trace, at least in outline, the way in which it led to specific Jewish mission work through organised societies. Our chief focus will be the developments from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

In the period we are looking at, large scale conversion of the Jews was commonly associated with end-time events, and this remains the case for many today. Differing understandings of the future prospects for the church of God affected attitudes to the Jews. While perhaps a majority were post-millennial, believing Christ would return after the millennial period, from 1600 on there was an increased interest in Christ inaugurating a millennial reign on earth, so his coming was perceived as pre-millennial. But whether pre- or post- these terms did not necessarily mean what is commonly meant by them today. Given that millennial hopes of one kind or another kept Jewish mission and evangelism alive, it seems appropriate to outline the four basic views of the Book of Revelation as we begin. One should keep in mind that there may be aspects of one view that are included in forms of another, and that there are varieties within each view.

## MILLENNIAL VIEWS

1. The *futurist* view places everything after Revelation chapter 4 in the future, so that it describes trouble and tribulation belonging to the end times preceding a 1000 year reign of Christ on earth with his saints before the final resurrection. In Justin Martyr (103–165) about AD 150, we see belief in Christians as the true Israel, and while Jews are to be evangelised, it is not evident that large-scale conversion is envisaged. Justin advocates a form of pre-millennial teaching in which antichrist proper was equivalent to the man of sin and

was an individual —possibly a Jew—destined to overthrow the Roman Empire and establish a wicked and tyrannical rule for three and a half years based on a rebuilt Jerusalem. He would quickly be overthrown by the return of Christ, and an earthly millennial reign would follow. Justin states many held this millennial or *chiliasitic* view, but also admits that many true Christians believed otherwise.<sup>1</sup> The Alexandrian school, for example, took a more allegorical approach. The literalist approach of Justin and others probably owes a great deal to pre-Christian Jewish belief in the earthly restoration of ethnic Israel, modified by Justin's recognition that spiritual Israel is the true Israel of God. The eloquent Lactantius (ca 240–320) in Asia Minor was another who taught a future literal 1000 years of the reign of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

2. The *praeterist* view sees Revelation as fulfilled in the early period, either in the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 or in the collapse of the Roman Empire in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. This view had little currency beyond these events. The Jesuit scholar Luis Alcazar (1554–1613) revived it,<sup>3</sup> and of course it was a useful counter to the general Protestant historicist interpretation which saw the Papacy as the antichrist.

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1. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, 80.
2. *The Divine Institutes*, Book 7, Chapter 24.
3. In his *Vestigatio arcane sensus in Apocalypsi* [An Investigation into the Hidden Sense of the Apocalypse] (Antwerp, 1614).

3. As time went on without Christ's return the *historicist* view developed, which saw Revelation as an unfolding of history in advance so that each symbol could be identified with a specific historical event, usually taking it in chronological sequence, but sometimes recognizing a structure involving recapitulation. Lactantius was neglected in the Middle Ages until his literal millennium was taken up by others influenced by Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202), such as the Franciscan Alexander Minorita who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse around 1240. Alexander regarded the millennium as running from 326 to 1326 or soon after.<sup>4</sup> Another Franciscan, Nicholas of Lyra was influenced by Alexander, as well as by Jewish exegetes such as Rashi, and issued his lectures on Revelation in 1329. Nicholas in turn influenced Luther and Protestant approaches to interpreting Revelation in an historicist way.

4. The *idealist* view, which I regard as the substantially correct position, regards Revelation as giving the history behind history using symbolic language to describe the spiritual factors operating in every age. Augustine (354–430) at one time accepted the chiliasm futurist position. However, in his *City of God* (ca 420) he sufficiently confuted it<sup>5</sup> for it to gradually die away, although, contrary to some recent claims, it was never condemned by any of the early councils of the Church.<sup>6</sup> Tyconius, the dissident Donatist (fl. 375), and Augustine, later followed by such as the Venerable Bede (673–735), viewed the visions of the Book of Revelation as a kind of recapitulative treatment of the basic problems faced by the church in every age.<sup>7</sup> The millennium was generally seen as the whole period of church history until Christ returned. It was not necessarily a literal 1000 years. Belief in the general conversion of the Jews near the end

4. Robert E. Lerner, "The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (New York: Cornell University Press, 1992) 60.

5. Augustine, *The City of God*, Book 20, Chapter 7.

6. Contra e.g., Puritans, *The Millennium and the Future of Israel*, ed. Peter Toon (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970, 2002) 14. Compare Francis X. Gumerlock, "Millennialism and the Early Church Councils: Was Chiliasm Condemned at Constantinople?" *Fides et Historia* 36:2 (Summer/Fall 2004): 83–95.

7. Philip D. W. Krey, "The Apocalypse Commentary of 1329: Problems in Church History," in *Nicholas Lyra: The Senses of Scripture*, ed. Philip D. W. Krey and Lesley Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000) 268; Paula Fredriksen, "Tyconius and the End of the World," *Revue des études augustiniennes* XXVIII (1982) 59–75.

8. See this fully argued in Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defense of Jews and Judaism* (New York: Doubleday, 2008).

9. *The Creeds of Christendom with A History and Critical Notes*, ed. Philip Schaff, David S. Schaff, vol. 3, *The Evangelical Protestant Creeds, with Translations*, 6th ed. rev. and enlarged (1931; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983) 18. The bracketed words appear in the German text.

of history was common, based on Romans 11, but the idea that 'the first resurrection' of Revelation was literal, rather than spiritual, was firmly rejected. Interestingly, it is Augustine who develops a more positive attitude to the Jews than had previously existed. He considered that they should not be persecuted for they were a witness to the truth of Scripture.<sup>8</sup>

#### SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The early Protestants considered the millennium of Revelation 20 to be a period of 1000 literal years beginning either in the first century or with Constantine in the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. The more or less universal conviction of the Protestants of the 16th and 17th centuries was that the predicted antichrist or man of sin was most fully and clearly expressed in the papal system as represented in the Pope, and most thought this tyranny had existed since about the time of Hildebrand who became Pope Gregory VII in 1073. They believed the Reformation to be a decisive blow against the man of sin, and in general did not think the end of the world and the return of Christ were far away. In common with much of the church of earlier ages they thought that Romans 11 indicated a mass conversion of the Jews would also occur near the end of history.

Martin Luther (1483–1545), who thought the end was near but didn't set dates, initially had high hopes for the mass conversion of the Jews. Later his optimism changed to bitter invective due to their general refusal to believe. Luther thought 'all Israel' in Romans 11:26 was an ethnic description but remained puzzled over how the Jews could be saved given their stubborn rejection of Christ. He certainly did not accept that every individual Jew was included in the 'all'. Luther's initially dismissive view of Revelation began to change to a more positive one in 1528.

A few radicals in Luther's time thought of a future millennium, usually in the near future, and involving the earthly reign of the saints, and date setting was not infrequent among them. The first creedal condemnation of this chiliasm in its more extravagant form, as in Thomas Müntzer (1488–1525), occurs in the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, Article 17:

They condemn others also, who now scatter Jewish opinions, that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being every where suppressed [the saints alone, the pious, shall have a worldly kingdom, and shall exterminate all the godless].<sup>9</sup>

Views expressed in the Peasants' Revolt of 1524/25 are in the background.

Article 41 of the *Forty Two Articles of the Church of England* (1552/53) stated similarly: "They that go about to renew the fable of heretics called Millenarii, are repugnant to Holy Scripture, and cast themselves headlong into a Jewish dotage."

Doubtless the horror of the rebellion of radical Anabaptists, who set up the New Jerusalem at Münster in Germany in 1534/35, was also part of the background.

John Calvin (1509–64) thought of the expression 'all Israel' as describing all believers in Christ whether Jew or Gentile. Although he seems to be in the minority today there are good reasons for this position, not least that it is difficult to see how the conversion of a particular generation of Jews can be described as 'all Israel'. This is especially so given Paul's stress in the preceding sections on the Gentile mission as a means to provoke some Jews to faith, his emphasis on an elect remnant, and his appropriation of the Abrahamic promises to those who are true believers (cf. Romans 9:6). Calvin does not exclude significant conversion of Jews in the course of history. He writes in 1540 in his Romans Commentary:

Many understand this of the Jewish people, as if Paul was saying that religion was to be restored to them again as before. But I extend the word *Israel* to include all the people of God, in this sense, 'When the Gentiles have come in, the Jews will at the same time return from their defection to the obedience of faith. The salvation of the whole Israel of God, which must be drawn from both, will thus be completed, and yet in such a way that the Jews, as the first born in the family of God, may obtain the first place.'<sup>10</sup>

Although Calvin did not comment on the Book of Revelation as such, he viewed the millennium as referring to the trials of the church as she toiled on earth, and he dismisses futurism.<sup>11</sup> In other words the theology of the cross is not eclipsed in his thinking, and it looks as if he is basically Augustinian. He does recognise the Papacy as the predicted antichrist. He does not tie the millennium of Revelation 20 to a past or future age, but he does write in a very positive vein of the *present* kingly reign of Christ. Thus, in the Preface to the *Institutes* written in 1536 he states:

We, indeed, are perfectly conscious how poor and abject we are: in the presence of God we are miserable sinners, and in the sight of men most despised.... But our doctrine must stand sublime above all the glory of

the world, and invincible by all its power, because it is not ours, but that of the living God and his Anointed, whom the Father has appointed King, that he may rule from sea to sea, and from the rivers even to the ends of the earth; and so rule as to smite the whole earth and its strength of iron and brass, its splendour of gold and silver, with the mere rod of his mouth, and break them in pieces like a potter's vessel; according to the magnificent predictions of the prophets respecting his kingdom (Dan. 2:34; Isaiah 11:4; Psalm 2:9).<sup>12</sup>

If the notion of a future millennium had some following it was certainly not the view of the vast majority of Protestants in the 16th century. The Roman Church argued for a future antichrist—an individual who would harass the church for three and a half years at the close of the millennium which spanned Christian history.<sup>13</sup> This approach was elaborated by two Jesuit scholars, Francisco Ribera (1537–91) and Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621). Bellarmine thought of the antichrist as a Jew who would reign in Jerusalem for three and a half years.

In summary, in the 16th century Reformed community there was an historicist interpretation of Revelation with special reference to the Papacy and the Turk (i.e., Islam). The millennium, in so far as it is expounded, is in the past, and the first resurrection of Revelation 20 is taken in a spiritual sense not a literal one. There is a rather common belief in the future conversion of many Jews, usually as a prelude to further gospel blessing among Gentiles, and date setting is avoided. One can see all this in the notes to the very influential Geneva Bible (1557/1560), in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (1563) and in writers like Heinrich Bullinger (1557), Peter Martyr Vermigli (1558), Andrew Willet (1590) and his famous contemporary William Perkins.

#### SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The virtually universal Protestant reading of things to come in terms of a past millennium ending around 1070

10. Calvin, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* at 11.26 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd 1961) 255.

11. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Book 3, Chapter 25, Section 5. This appears to be the only reference to the millennium in Calvin. For a neat summary of Calvin's eschatology see the closing sentences of *Institutes*, 3.20.42 in commenting on the petition 'thy kingdom come'.

12. Beveridge's translation. Many passages in Calvin's comments on the Prophets and the Psalms are to similar effect.

13. Note Calvin's negative comment on this view at 1 John 2:18, *Commentary on 1 John* (1556).

or 1300, or of a millennium equating to the whole church period to the return of Christ, broke down somewhat in the seventeenth century. The historicist view was always subject to reinterpretation, particularly when social or political upheaval and change was present.

The tumultuous times undoubtedly contributed to shifts in Protestant views about the future. The execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 and the defeat of the Armada of Catholic Spain in 1588 furthered a new mood in England under Elizabeth I. Nor did the union of the crowns in 1603 dampen the interest in Britain's role in bringing about a brighter future. James VI of Scotland and I of England had written against the papal Antichrist as early as 1588, even predicting its overthrow. Perhaps the latter-day glory was at hand.

In Scotland John Napier (1550–1617), the mathematician generally regarded as the inventor of logarithms, published a commentary on Revelation in 1593. He gives detailed dates and employs the principle that a day in prophecy equates to a year. He predicted the fall of the Papacy in 1639 and the return of Christ and the end of the age between 1688 and 1700. He does not appear to have a place for the future conversion of the Jews as he refers the 144,000 in Revelation 7, whom he takes to be converted Jews, to the period around AD 70. He calculates the millennium as running from 300–1300. His significance is that he starts to predict the future with his detailed calculations.

Writing in 1602 John Welch (1570–1622) of Ayr, John Knox's son-in-law, acknowledged that Romans 11 foretold the general conversion of the Jews, and he noted

14. John Welch, *A Reply Against M[aster]. Gilbert Browne Priest* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1602) 288.

15. The drift of the volume can be gathered from title of the brief epitome published in 1641: *Reverend Mr. Brightmans judgement, or prophecies what shall befall Germany, Scotland, Holland, and the churches adhering to them Likewise what shall befall England, and the hierarchy therein. Collected out of his exposition on the Revelations, printed above forty yeares since. Wonderful to see how they are fulfilled, and in fulfilling, foreseeing and foretelling what our eyes have seen, and may see, both in the past, present and future state of our times. Declaring that the reformation began in Queene Elizabeth's dayes, is not sufficient for us under greater light. Finishing the work if we now withstand as heretofore, we are to expect, God hath a sad controversie with the land. This faithfull watchman or our English prophet (as he is cald) was persecuted and banished by the bishops, and this commentary condemned by them to the fire; which they could not effect in Queen Elizabeths raigne, till King James. Collected for the good of those who want time or coine, to purchase so large a volume*

16. W. J. Van Asselt, "Structural Elements in the Eschatology of Johannes Cocceius," *Calvin Theological Journal* 35 (2000) 96.

17. Crawford Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium, Literature & Theology 1550–1682* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000) 88–91.

18. Elnathan Parr, *A plaine exposition ...* (1620 edition) 406, 409.

that the annotations to the Roman Catholic Rheims Bible agreed. He then turned this against his opponent's view that antichrist was a Jew who would appear in the last three and a half years of history and deceive his fellow Jews for rejecting Christ. His grounds were that such is not indicated in Scripture nor is it credible given that shortly previous the Jews had been converted.<sup>14</sup>

In 1602 Thomas Brightman (1562–1607), a minister in Bedfordshire, wrote a very large book published posthumously in Holland [Latin 1609; English 1611, 1615, 1616], in which he contrived to derive two millennia from Revelation 20: (1) the period 300–1300 and, crucially, (2) a *future* period 1300–2300. About 1650 the power of Rome and the Turk would wane, the Jews would be converted, the final ruin of Antichrist would occur in 1686, and triumphs of the gospel would follow until the consummation in 2300.<sup>15</sup> Germany was seen as like the church of Sardis; Scotland and Holland, because more thoroughly reformed, were like Philadelphia, and England like Laodicea. This was a view hardly likely to encourage the more radical Puritans to stay in England, and the exit of many to America is not unrelated. Brightman influenced Dutch thinkers as well.<sup>16</sup> In his *Gravissimae Quaestionis* published in 1613, Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) also envisaged a second millennium beginning around 1500 with the restoration of the gospel, but it appears changing political circumstances led him to refrain from publishing his detailed position on this second millennium.<sup>17</sup>

In 1618 the exposition by Elnathan Parr (1577–1622) of Romans 8–11 came off the press. Parr is certain of the future calling of the mass of the Jews. Commenting on 11:26 he writes:

... the secret is this, that when the fullness of the Gentiles is come in there shall be a famous, notorious universal calling of the Jews.... The end of this world will not be until the Jews are called, and how long yet after that none can tell.<sup>18</sup>

He thinks the conversion of the Jews will mean 'life from the dead' in the sense that believers will be confirmed and also increased in number and graces (Parr, 365–366). He appears to represent the mainstream Puritan view in his time and his book ran to several editions. He does not connect his view with the 1000 years of Revelation 20, but interest in a future millennium was building.

In 1604 Johannes Piscator (1546–1625), the head of the important Reformed Academy of Theology at Herborn, issued his new translation of the Bible in German

(the first since Luther), which had notes supporting a future millennium. In his Commentary on Revelation published in 1613 these views were elaborated,<sup>19</sup> but he was strongly criticised by David Pareus of Heidelberg.

Johann Alsted (1588–1638), Piscator's colleague who succeeded him in 1625, was at first an adherent of the earlier position of a past millenium, but from 1622 onward he was moved away from this view, influenced by the upheavals of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), the death of Piscator and a disastrous fire in Herborn itself. His quite brief and sober *Diatribes de mille annis apocalypticis* published in 1627, published in English translation in 1643 as *The Beloved City*, advocates a full future millennium beginning about 1694, with Christ in heaven but the resurrected martyrs governing for him on earth.<sup>20</sup> Alsted argues for the conversion of the Jews utilising 34 passages mainly from the Old Testament.<sup>21</sup>

In 1621 William Gouge (1575–1653), Puritan minister of St Ann Blackfriars in London, published the book by Sir Henry Finch entitled *The World's Great Restoration. Or the Calling of the Jewes and (with them) of all the Nations and Kingdoms of the earth, to the faith of Christ*. In the Preface he stated:

Here are no Rabbinical conceits, no Jewish fables, no abrogated ceremonies, raked out of the ashes, but such a glory of the Church is here set forth as may stand with the doctrine of the Gospel, preached by the Apostles.

This book not only affirmed the general conversion of the Jews, although not every individual, but went further. The first conversion would occur 'about the time the Turkish tyrannie shall have lasted 350 years' (i.e., 1650), and the final overthrow of the Turks would occur 45 years later (1695) in a battle with the Jews at Jerusalem with heavenly assistance. The 12 tribes of the Jews would flourish again in Palestine and abound in spiritual graces; all nations would be converted and honour the Jews.

King James did not like some of the content and the author and publisher were arrested and only released after apology. Gouge was to be a leading member of the Westminster Assembly in the 1640s.

Napier and Brightman were Puritans who were critical of the half-reformed Laodicean English church. On the other hand, the quiet, irenic scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, Joseph Mede (1586–1638), was committed to the episcopal polity and worship of the Church of England under Archbishop Laud,<sup>22</sup> but was not given preferment because he identified the papacy as antichrist: under Laud's ascendancy (1633–40) any

books making such an identification could not be published. Mede's *Clavis Apocalyptica* [Key to Revelation] was published in Latin in 1627 and in fuller form in 1632. It drew from the earlier Protestant tradition as well as from Brightman, sought to synchronise Daniel and Revelation, and advocated a future millennial rule of the saints beginning no later than 1715. His presentation was careful and measured and appealed to people from the different sections of Protestant society in England. In 1642 an English translation of Mede's *Key* with commendatory preface by William Twisse (1578–1646), the first chairman of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was approved for publication by the Long Parliament. Mede's works were reprinted in the 1640s and in fuller form in 1664 and subsequently, and have impacted the more radical section of Christian thought on the last things ever since.

The same year (1642) a 59 page booklet, *The Personall Raigne of Christ Upon Earth*, by John Archer appeared, advocating essentially a pre-millennial scheme with a literal resurrection at its beginning and a general conversion of the Jews. Archer was minister of the English Independent congregation at Arnhem from 1638–42. Despite the title, Archer thought Christ would only appear briefly at the beginning of the millennium and then withdraw to heaven to rule this Fifth Monarchy (succeeding the Four World Empires of Daniel's visions) through believers who had died prior to the commencement of the millennium circa 1700.

The position of Thomas Goodwin (1600–80), co-pastor with Archer (1639–40), was the same, although who influenced whom is unclear. Goodwin's views on Revelation are derived from sermons he preached in 1639. They were posthumously published in his *Collected Works* in 1681. There is also his *Sermon on the Fifth Monarchy* published in 1654. Goodwin is generally said to be the author of the brief *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory*, published 1642, but the content, which has Christ actually reigning on earth with his saints for 1,000 years, might suggest as author another of the Independent party, such

19. Howard Hotson, *Johann Heinrich Alsted, 1588–1638: between Renaissance, Reformation, and Universal Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 208.

20. Johann Alsted, *The Beloved City* (London, 1643) 13, 17.

21. Hotson, *Ibid.*, 198; also Howard Hotson, *Paradise Postponed: Johann Heinrich Alsted and the Birth of Calvinist Millenarianism* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000) 135.

22. S. Hutton, "The Appropriation of Joseph Mede," in *The Millenarian Turn: Millenarian Contexts of Science, Politics and Everyday Anglo-American Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries Volume III*, ed. J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001) 9.

as Jeremiah Burroughs.<sup>23</sup> Goodwin thought antichrist would be overthrown in 1666. As already noted, Alsted's work was published in English translation in 1643 under the title *The Beloved City: Or the Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years*.

It was powerful stuff in the context of the competing parties in the English church and the outbreak of civil war in 1640. Quoting Christopher Hill, Gribben notes:

The collapse of censorship saw a fantastic outpouring of books, pamphlets and newspapers. Before 1640, newspapers were illegal; by 1645 there were 722. Twenty-two books were published in 1640; over 2,000 in 1642 (Gribben, *The Puritan Millennium*, 195).

Each part tended to see the future glory in terms of the elevation of their particular view of the church. Independents and Presbyterians had been allies in 1641 but this alliance had collapsed by 1649. The Independents were not impressed with the Scots' royalist sympathies and, while there was a strong optimistic streak in Scottish thinking, it was more what we would call post-millennial than pre-millennial in orientation. Further, Presbyterians looked for a national church, Independents one to which only the regenerate would belong. It is no accident that pre-millennial and extravagant views of the future belonged mostly to Independents and Baptists, and it is no accident that the Fifth Monarchy men of the 1650s, who talked of helping God bring in the reign of the saints by force, were drawn from their ranks.

One of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, Robert Baillie (1602–62), while perhaps more in the Augustinian mould so far as the millennium is concerned, is certainly not one who rejects the conversion of the Jews.<sup>24</sup> Referring to Romans 11:12 he writes:

... we grant willingly that the nation of the Jews shall

23. Robert Baillie (*A dissuasive from the errors of the time* [London: Samuel Gellibrand, 1645] 79), identifies Goodwin as the author, a conclusion that can be otherwise established. See A. R. Dallison, "Appendix II," in *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, ed. Peter Toon (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1970) 131–136.

24. Contra in measure Dallison, "Contemporary Criticism of Millenarianism," in *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel*, 107.

25. George Gillespie, "A Sermon Preached Before the Honourable House of Commons at their late solemn fast, Wednesday March 27, 1644," in *The Presbyterian Armoury*, 3 vols. Vol. 1. *The Works of George Gillespie* (Edinburgh: Robert Ogle and Oliver and Boyd, 1846) 22.

26. James Durham, *A commentarie upon the book of the Revelation* (London, 1658) 333, 725.

27. W. J. Van Asselt, "Structural Elements in the Eschatology of Johannes Cocceius," *Calvin theological Journal* 35 (2000) 95, 96, 100.

be converted to the faith of Christ; and that the fullness of the Gentiles is to come in with them to the Christian Church; also that the quickening of that dead and rotten member, shall be a matter of exceeding joy to the whole Church. But that the converted Jews shall return to Canaan to build Jerusalem, that Christ shall come from heaven to reign among them for a thousand years, there is no such thing intimated in the Scriptures in hand (Baillie, *A Dissuasive*, 243).

His fellow Scottish Commissioner George Gillespie (1613–48), in a sermon before the English Parliament in 1644, suggested 1643—the year the Assembly began—marked the beginning of the promised blessing for the church. Yet he cautions:

That which I have said, from grounds of Scripture, concerning a more glorious, yea, more peaceable condition of the church to be yet looked for, is acknowledged by some of our sound and learned writers who have had occasion to express their judgment about it: and it hath no affinity with the opinion of an earthly or temporal kingdom of Christ, or of the Jews' building again of Jerusalem and the material temple, and their obtaining a dominion above all other nations, or the like.<sup>25</sup>

The influential *Commentary on Revelation* by James Durham (1622–58) appeared in 1658. Durham spoke highly of Mede<sup>26</sup> but differed from him in some particulars. Durham considered that the millennium had likely begun in 1560—the year of the Scottish Reformation—and that what he considered the Gentile Church would come to a flourishing condition with the overthrow of the papal antichrist and the general calling of the Jews following (Durham, 727). He was cautiously of the view that the Jews would be restored to Palestine (617–620).

None of these writers subscribe to a pre-millennial scheme and their general outlook was to be virtually universal in Scotland until the 1820s.

The *Dutch Annotations* of 1637, ordered by the Synod of Dort (translated into English and published 1657 at London), render Romans 11:26 (ungrammatically) as "Then all Israel shall be saved. As regards Revelation 20 a future millennium is rejected: the church has no promise of being free from persecution at any point before the Last Day, and a literal resurrection at the beginning of the millennium is repugnant to the Bible's teaching of a general resurrection at the Last Day. This approach is found in representative Reformed writers such as Johannes Cocceius (1603–69)<sup>27</sup> of Franeker and Leiden,

and Francis Turretin (1623–87) of Geneva,<sup>28</sup> although the latter is uncertain as to whether the conversion of the Jews is successive through history or simultaneous.

The English *Annotations* (1645), largely the work of men who were also members of the Westminster Assembly, recognise the future calling of the Jews but do not decide between the ethnic or spiritual Israel view of 'all Israel' in Romans 11:26; and similarly in the 1658 edition. The millennium is thought to be a future period of a literal or non-literal 1000 years.

The documents of the Westminster Assembly are singularly careful in dealing with eschatology.<sup>29</sup> *The Directory for the Public Worship of God* (1644) outlines the matter of public prayer as including:

... to pray for the propagation of the gospel and kingdom of Christ to all nations; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed churches abroad from the tyranny of the antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk....

Similarly, in Larger Catechism 191 the petition 'thy kingdom come' is said to require prayer to the end that 'the gospel [be] spread throughout the whole world, the Jews called, the fullness of the Gentiles brought in ...' but in the Confession itself (1646) there is no mention of the calling of the Jews, nor in any of the Assembly documents is Revelation 20 cited or referred to.

The *Savoy Declaration* of the English Independents (1658) does go further in its version of the Westminster Confession, stating [Ch. 26.5]:

... so according to his promise we expect that in the latter days Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the adversaries of his dear Son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through a plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceable and glorious condition than they have enjoyed.

In all the millennial interest in the ferment of the first half of the 17th century, it is evident that the attitude to the Jews was motivated in the last analysis by religious interest. Hence their admission to England under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell in 1656 was a means to bring them under the sound of the gospel, that their conversion might be hastened and the reign of Christ begin.<sup>30</sup>

Following the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660

there was a moderation of extravagant notions of things to come in England, although there remain side by side the views that Christ comes after the millennial period and that he comes before it. In 1691 the notable Richard Baxter (1615–91) published a refutation of Thomas Beverley's theories, which included the inauguration of the millennium in 1697, entitled *The glorious kingdom of Christ, described and clearly vindicated against the bold asserters of a future calling and reign of the Jews, and 1000 years before the conflagration &c.* Baxter dedicated the volume to Increase Mather (1639–1723), whose position he acknowledged was more moderate.<sup>31</sup> In America a generally pre-millennial position with emphasis on the Jews' future conversion was held by many Christian leaders, such as Mather, the first President of Harvard and the author of *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669).

#### EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Deism blighted much of the first half of the 18th century, although it did serve to restrain some speculations into a more rational mould, and the idea of toleration after the religious strife of the preceding century was influential. Early free-thinker and human-rights advocate John Toland (1670–1722) published *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews* in 1714, drawing on the recently published massive and pioneering *History of the Jews* by the French Huguenot Jacques Basnage (1653–1723). Unlike Basnage, Toland does not concern himself with or argue for the conversion of the Jews,<sup>32</sup> but believed the Jews should be able to retain the Mosaic law minus the sacrificial system. Isaac Newton held that the Jews would be restored to Palestine and rebuild the temple some centuries hence.<sup>33</sup> Prominent Unitarian preacher, scientist and philosopher Joseph Priestly (1733–1804) believed in human progress bringing about the millennium. In his *Letters to the Jews Inviting Them to an Amicable Discussion of the*

28. Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P & R Publishing, 1997) 3:574–589.

29. Derek Thomas, "The Eschatology of the Westminster Standards," in *The Westminster Confession into the 21st Century*, vol. 3, ed. Ligon Duncan (Fearn: Mentor, 2009) 307–379, esp. 351ff.

30. Anthony Fletcher, "Oliver Cromwell and the Godly Nation," in *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*, ed. John Morrill (London: Longman, 1990) 211–212.

31. J. A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea* (Kampen: J.H.Kok, 1970) 89.

32. Pierre Lurbe, "John Toland and the Naturalization of the Jews," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, vol. 14 (1999) 37–48.

33. S. Snobelen, "The Mystery of This Restitution of All Things': Isaac Newton and the Return of the Jews," in *Millenarianism in early European Culture: The Millenarian Turn*, ed. J. E. Force and R. H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2001) 95–118 at 110.

*Evidences of Christianity* (London, 1787), he argued for his rational version of Christianity and maintained the perpetual obligation of the Jews to observe the Mosaic law. He also asserted God would restore them to Palestine when they were obedient. As late as 1819 US President John Adams expressed the wish that the Jews be again in Judea as an independent nation, but he did not operate from Trinitarian Christian principles and entertained the hope that the Jews, thus restored, would become 'liberal Unitarian Christians'.<sup>34</sup>

In 1700 William à Brakel (1635–1711), the Dutch Second Reformation writer, argued at length for future conversion of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine.<sup>35</sup> In an Appendix to his *Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament* (1703), English clergyman Daniel Whitby (1638–1726) agreed, but specifically linked the millennium of Revelation 20 with the future period of gospel blessedness he believed would follow on the fall of antichrist and the conversion of the Jews. He was open to the possibility of Jewish return to Jerusalem but denied the temple would be rebuilt. He thus systematized the earlier post-millennial-type position which had not settled on a particular position on the Revelation 20 passage. The influential Lutheran pietist and biblical scholar J. A. Bengel (1687–1752) held pre-millennial views. He distinguished an earthly millennium followed by a heavenly one when conditions on earth would be difficult, and calculated Christ's return to occur in 1836. John Wesley (1703–91) acknowledges his debt to Bengel and in his early years appears to maintain a form of pre-millennialism, but he is not very clear or dogmatic; he certainly accepts a future calling of the Jews.

So many prophecies refer to this grand event, that it is surprising any Christian can doubt of it. And these are greatly confirmed by the wonderful preservation of the Jews as a distinct people to this day. When it is accomplished, it will be so strong a demonstration, both of the Old and New Testament revelation, as will doubtless

convince many thousand Deists, in countries nominally Christian; of whom there will, of course, be increasing multitudes among merely nominal Christians. And this will be a means of swiftly propagating the gospel among Mahometans and Pagans; who would probably have received it long ago, had they conversed only with real Christians.<sup>36</sup>

With a view to relieving Jews of the financial disadvantages on aliens and the prohibition of the un-naturalized owning land, the Whig English parliament passed a naturalization bill in May 1753. It was commonly called the 'Jew Bill' since Jews could not comply with existing long-standing naturalization procedures designed to exclude Roman Catholics, as there was a requirement to receive communion in the Church of England. Under pressure from certain London merchants and the Tories, the Act was repealed later that year. It is clear that the Whigs thought that the measure would stimulate trade, but also that it was a general belief among them, but not among the Tories, that the Jews' conversion as predicted in Scripture would be furthered.

Cotton Mather (1663–1728) of New England held his father Increase's views for most of his life, and even projected the return of Christ for around 1697 (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 91), but in an unpublished essay some years before he died he rejects belief in the *en masse* conversion of the Jews. He now thought the Old Testament prophecies had been fulfilled in the return of the Jews from exile in Babylon in the 6th century BC and in the conversion of many Jews in the first century AD, and that now the only true Israel consists of those who worship Christ.<sup>37</sup>

The remarkable Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) was a prominent advocate of an optimistic post-millennial position, and stated: "Nothing is more certainly foretold than this national conversion of the Jews is in the 11th chapter of Romans."<sup>38</sup> He was particularly influential on both sides of the Atlantic through his correspondence with John Erskine (1721–1803), a leader of the evangelicals in the Church of Scotland. Indeed, Erskine maintained a strong missionary interest and even thought that the revivals associated with George Whitefield might be a precursor of the return of Christ. Erskine also corresponded with Calvinistic evangelicals like the English Baptist John Ryland (1753–1825). Edwards himself came to think of the revivals as preparatory to the latter day glory. The revivals certainly quickened hope for the better times many Protestants believed were predicted. Indeed, it has been suggested that the theology of Edwards and the example of David Brainerd

34. "John Adams Embraces A Jewish Homeland." Jewish Virtual Library. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/US-Israel/adams.html> accessed 1 July 2010.

35. Wilhemus à Brakel, *The Christian's Reasonable Service*, vol. 4 (Morgan, PA: Soli Deo Gloria, 1995) 510–534.

36. John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament at Romans 11:12*.

37. Mel Scult, *Millennial expectations and Jewish liberties: a study of the efforts to Convert the Jews in Britain, Up to the Mid Nineteenth Century* [Studies in Judaism in Modern Times, vol. 2] (Leiden: Brill 1978) 49–50.

38. Jonathan Edwards, *A History of the Work of Redemption* (repr. Grand Rapids: Associated Publishers & Authors, n.d.) 313.

(1718–47) were the two major forces in the missionary movement of the 19th century. John Ryland named his sons Jonathan Edwards Ryland and David Brainerd Ryland (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 177).

With the upheavals of the American War of Independence (1776) and then the French Revolution (1789), many Protestants saw God's providence as bringing about conditions for the overthrow of the papal anti-Christ, the conversion of the Jews and widespread gospel triumphs throughout the world. While there was much unfounded speculation about unfulfilled prophecy, the major leaders stressed the preaching of the gospel as the great means used by the Spirit of God to bring about these changes. Mission organisations were formed. The first was the *Baptist Missionary Society* by Carey, Ryland and a few friends in 1792. In 1795 the interdenominational *Missionary Society* (later called the *London Missionary Society* [LMS]) followed, with the Scot Daniel Bogue (1750–1825) a driving force, but stricter Evangelical Church of England men held back until 1899 when they formed their own *Church Missionary Society*. The *Religious Tract Society* (1799) and the *Bible Society* (1804) augmented these missionary bodies.

While a common view was that the latter day glory was about to break forth, Bogue wrote: "But I beg you to consider that in aiming to propagate the gospel, we are to be guided by what God enjoins as a duty, not by what he delivered as a prediction" (De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea*, 187).

That duty was to preach as commanded by Christ, Bogue continued. Only through preaching would the millennium be realized, and then only in God's time. There were those in the Missionary Society who thought that the conversion of some of the Jews was a necessary prelude to the widespread conversion of the heathen. In 1801 a converted German Jew, Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey (1774–1850), came to London under the auspices of the Missionary Society, and continued theological studies at Daniel Bogue's Academy at Gosport. In 1805 he was set apart to preach at Aldgate (London) where a number of poor Jewish immigrants from Europe lived. The LMS encouraged this work, and a collection of essays by various leaders was published by Henry Hunter in 1806 under the title *The Rise, Fall, and Future Restoration of the Jews*. It was in this same year also that Napoleon began to change the laws that restricted Jewish freedoms and rights in Europe.

Frey was not able to persuade the Society to adopt some of his schemes for providing a boarding school and employment for Jewish converts, and in 1809 he and some others formed *The London Society for the*

*Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews* on an interdenominational basis. The interest was significant at this time especially, due to the stimulus given by Claudius Buchanan (1766–1815), an evangelical minister of the Church of England. He had investigated Jewish communities in India, and fascinated many with his claims about the origin of these groups, ill founded though those claims may have been. The highly influential Anglican leader Charles Simeon (1759–1836) was a great supporter and continued so until his death.<sup>39</sup> William Wilberforce (1759–1833) was a member, as well as other prominent people in society. The Society soon had the patronage of the Duke of Kent, Queen Victoria's father.

However, there were tensions over how to handle the ecclesiastical status of converts given the interdenominational basis. A mutual arrangement was struck by which the non-Church of England directors withdrew and the Society became a Church of England one. Anglican supporters injected new funds to cover some £14,000 debt incurred in erecting the Episcopal Jews' Chapel and school in Bethnal Green. Lewis Way (1772–1840), a wealthy minister of the Church of England, contributed £10,000 of this.<sup>40</sup>

Following the inheritance of a large legacy from John Way (who was not related, despite bearing the same surname) Lewis Way devoted his fortune, and also his home, to religious works.... In 1817–18 he made a long journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, and Russia, investigating Jewish communities and worship. On reaching Moscow he had four fascinating audiences with Tsar Alexander I. In 1823 Way made a further trip, to the Holy Land, where he met Lady Hester Stanhope. On his return he established the Marboeuf (English protestant) Chapel in Paris, and devoted his

39. See Michael Eldridge, *Charles Simeon and the Jewish People 'The Warmest Place in His Heart'* at [www.cmj.org.uk/downloads/charles-simeonandthejewishpeople.doc](http://www.cmj.org.uk/downloads/charles-simeonandthejewishpeople.doc) accessed 14 July 2010.

40. For the early history see R. H. Martin, "United Conversionist Activities Among the Jews in Great Britain 1795–1815: Pan Evangelicalism and the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews," *Church History* 46.4 (December 1977) 437–452. For early criticism of management and activities see H. H. Norris, *The Origin, Progress and Existing Circumstances of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity Amongst the Jews* (London: J. Mawman, 1825). Norris' assessment is very negative. He was a long-time director of the SPCK and chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury. The story of the London Society (now known as *The Church's Ministry Among Jewish People*) is told in a recent coffee-table type book, by Kevin Crombie, *Restoring Israel: 200 Years of the CMJ Story* (Christ Church Jerusalem: Nicolayson's Ltd., 2008). In 1841 an interdenominational society based in Blackfriars was formed called the *British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews*.

latter years to the idea of establishing a Hebrew college (to train missionaries to the Jews) at [his property in] Stanstead. This never came to fruition....<sup>41</sup>

It can be seen that interest in the Jews and their conversion was not just the interest of uneducated people, but attracted strong interest from all sections of society, particularly the educated.

The London Jews' Society, as it was commonly known, reported in 1861, when Anthony Ashley-Cooper (1801–85), the 7th Earl of Shaftsbury was its President, that it maintained

29 ordained missionaries, 26 unordained missionary agents, 61 colporteurs, scripture readers, school-masters and mistresses etc., the greater part of them Christianized Jews, distributed among 39 stations in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The work carried on at the missionary station in London indicates the course pursued by the agents generally; the gospel is carried into the Jewish quarters, from house to house; inquirers are daily instructed; Divine service is regularly performed in the Hebrew, English, and German languages. Adjoining the chapel in Palestine Place are schools for 100 Hebrew children; 754 have been admitted. There is also a college for training Jewish missionaries. The New Testament has been translated into Hebrew, and both Old and New widely circulated among the Jews,—during the last 10 years to the extent of 27,000 of the former and 15,000 of the latter. Tracts and treatises in various languages, on Jewish controversy, have been largely circulated, with which the Jews have been most favourably impressed. The society has also published the Liturgy in Hebrew. The report states, that when the society was formed, there were not 50 Christian Jews known in the United Kingdom. Now, in the Church of England and Ireland, there are nearly 70 ordained ministers of the seed of Abraham; and there are hundreds of converts. In the society's chapel in London, 881 adults and children, of the House of Israel, have been baptized. In the society's schools at home and abroad, 1,000 children are generally under regular instruction.<sup>42</sup>

Lewis Way's influence impacted the wealthy London

41. Robert Brown, "Way, Lewis (1772–1840)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online ed., Oct 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com.rp.nla.gov.au:2048/view/article/28905, accessed 14 July 2010]

42. Samuel Low, Jr., *The Charities of London* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1861).

43. Lewis Way, *The Latter Rain*, 2nd edition (London 1821), cited by D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989) 88.

banker Henry Drummond (1786–1860), who became a Vice-President of the London Jews' Society in 1823. It appears that Way was the first to stress that the Old Testament promises had *primary* and *literal* reference to Israel.<sup>43</sup> The Scottish minister and orator Edward Irving (1792–1834) had begun his meteoric ministry in Hatton Garden, London the previous year. In 1826 Way and Irving were among the 20 or so guests at the first of a number of conferences on prophecy hosted by Drummond at his estate in Surrey. Out of these came a negative view of the future for the church. The glorious promises of the Old Testament could only be fulfilled by the return of Christ and the re-establishment of Israel.

The new view did not win its way overnight. Irving and Drummond ended up in the highly liturgical Catholic Apostolic Church. But the emphasis on a pre-millennial advent made some headway. In particular a strongly futurist and dispensational form advanced among some of the followers of John N. Darby (1801–82), who propounded also the idea that before what he regarded as a coming seven-year tribulation, believers would be raptured away from the earth. As evangelicalism suffered eclipse in the second half of the 19th century and lost itself in a mere social gospel, the allegedly literal interpretative method and pre-millennial dispensational approach became a very strong reaction among American evangelicals and remains so. But among others, including Bishop J. C. Ryle (1816–1900) and C. H. Spurgeon (1834–92), a moderate pre-millennial view was very commonly found.

Of course this historicist approach with a literalistic method also resulted in the specific predictions of Christ's return, as by William Miller (1782–1849), an American Baptist preacher who considered 1843 or 1844 to be the date of the second advent. The failure of the date led to some of his followers (but not Miller himself) forming groups with other peculiarities. The most significant and successful was the Seventh-day Adventist Church, dating from 1844 but organized under that name in 1860. It continues a futurist and historicist interpretation of prophecy, but regards the formation of the State of Israel as a political rather than a prophesied event. The Millerite excitement tended to polarize opinion and discredit futurism and historicism among the mainstream, leaving its advocacy to the fringe.

In Scotland there had never been great interest in a pre-millennial approach, and the fact of Irving's excesses only ensured that remained the case except for a few, such as the saintly brothers Horatius Bonar (1808–89) and Andrew Bonar (1810–92). Their friend Robert Murray McCheyne (1813–43) certainly believed that the

restoration of the Jews to their own land and their conversion would occur soon,<sup>44</sup> but it is difficult to find specific pre-millennial teaching in his writings.

We have seen that the London Jews' Society was operated from 1809. It had many auxiliaries in other parts of the United Kingdom. From its beginning in 1810 the *Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, edited by Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson (1778–1831), regularly included articles and reports related to Jewish missionary endeavour, but it was not until 1837 that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, now with an evangelical majority, appointed a Committee on the Conversion of the Jews to the Faith of Christ. In 1838 it was decided to send a commission of enquiry to Palestine and Eastern and Central Europe. Those sent were Rev. Dr. Alexander Keith, who had written much on prophetic subjects, Rev. Professor Alexander Black of Aberdeen, a brilliant linguist, Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne of St Peter's Dundee, then convalescing in Edinburgh, and his friend Rev. Andrew Bonar. M'Cheyne and Bonar were the only two to complete the entire missionary journey, and their very large book-length report was duly published in 1842.<sup>45</sup>

But already the Church had resolved on mission work to the Jews. In 1841 Rev. Daniel Edward (d. 1896) was sent to work in Iasi, now within the borders of Romania, while a few months later Rev. Dr. John "Rabbi" Duncan (1796–1870) and two assistants went to Budapest, where the first Jewish mission centre was established. There were many encouragements. Two notable converts were Alfred Edersheim (1823/4–1889) and Adolf Saphir (1831–91), the latter more in the theological line of the Brethren, although serving as a Presbyterian minister.

A meeting was held in the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, London—the church built for Edward Irving—on 7th November 1842 to form the *British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews*. Those present included Robert Murray M'Cheyne. It was agreed to co-operate with the Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews. The society later became known as the *International Society for the Evangelisation of the Jews* and ultimately merged with the *Barbican Mission to the Jews* (founded 1879) to form *Christian Witness to Israel*.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

It will be seen from this review that there was significant impetus to Jewish evangelism from understandings of Scripture that are defective. However, the point to remember is that Jewish evangelism is an obligation however one reads Romans 9–11 or Revelation 20.

Commitment to Jewish evangelism does not require one to believe (a) that there is a future millennial period of great peace and prosperity for the church on earth before or after Christ's return climaxed by the last judgment. After all, the millennium of Revelation 20 looks to be much more a recapitulation of the inter-advent period showing the blessedness of the departed saints reigning with Christ in heaven as conflict continues on earth.<sup>46</sup>

Nor is one required to believe (b) that only some future period before Christ's return is one of great tribulation for the church, rather than the whole period of the church's time on earth; or (c) that one is to understand the OT promises in a basically literalistic way so that rather than being fulfilled in and through the church as the Israel of God comprised of believing Jews and Gentiles, they are to be fulfilled in some future earthly restoration of ethnic Israel; or (d) that one should be agnostic or pessimistic about future prospects for the gospel this side of Christ's return, rather than optimistic, based on the Lordship of Jesus and the promise of a rich harvest, despite losses, from the sowing of the seed of the word of God.

In the period reviewed, the foundation of various still current positions can be found. Calvin appears to have regarded the gathering of Jews and Gentiles by gospel preaching as occurring throughout the ages according to God's gracious election, resulting in the final total Israel of God. N. T. Wright provides a recent robust argument for this position.<sup>47</sup> Others, particularly in the Scottish and earlier Puritan tradition, are positive for a widespread future calling of the Jews and consequent further blessing of the Gentiles, without tying this to a particular view of Revelation 20. This is the kind of position argued for in Iain Murray's popular book *The Puritan Hope*,<sup>48</sup> published in 1971, although I suspect a lot of sympathizers with this approach would class themselves

44. For example, note the sermon on Hosea 2:14 preached in December 1839 applied to Israel's return in R. M. M'Cheyne, *The Passionate Preacher* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1999) 73–78. N. R. Needham classifies M'Cheyne as post-millennial (*Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, ed. N. M. de S. Cameron [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993] 563).

45. Reprinted in slightly abbreviated form (446 pages) edited by Allan M. Harman: A. A. Bonar and R. M. M'Cheyne, *Mission of Discovery: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Evangelism: The Journal of Bonar and M'Cheyne's Mission of Inquiry* (Fearn: Christian Focus, 1996).

46. Note the classic treatment in B. B. Warfield, "The Millennium and the Apocalypse," in *Works of Benjamin B. Warfield*, vol. 2 (repr. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003) 643–664.

47. N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1991) 231–257.

48. Iain H. Murray, *The Puritan Hope: Revival and the Interpretation of Prophecy* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971).

today as optimistic a-millennialists rather than as post-millennialists. Some think the return of many Jews to Palestine was the specific fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, while others see it merely as occurring in God's providence without claiming that it has an unequivocal Biblical warrant. There are those who are futurist in some measure, while others, such as the present writer, see the classic signs operating throughout Christian history, so that for them there are no clear chronological indicators still to occur to signal the return of Christ.

Many earnest Christians in the forefront of Jewish evangelism advocate some form of pre-millennialism. I think there are substantial objections to that approach, particularly when the basic unity of the people of God as a people saved by grace in both old covenant and new

covenant times, emphasized so well by the olive tree illustration in Romans 11, is denied. I recognize that by no means do all pre-mills do so. Nevertheless, there are points for all Christians to keep in mind: the organisation of Jewish believers into distinct churches can only at best be a temporary expedient; the spotlight in Jewish evangelism must not be on prophecy and Middle East politics but on Jesus Christ; we can never claim God's special approval of Israel while she persists in unbelief, nor suppose she is beyond criticism; we must not only speak but practice the truth in love; and we need an even hand for Jew and Gentile, for Israeli and Palestinian. United in this way as the church of Jesus, and confident in the Lordship of Christ, the authority of his Word and the power of the Spirit, let us be up and doing!■

### ***In Brief: Robert Baillie on the Chiliasm of John Archer, Jeremiah Burroughs and Thomas Goodwin***

They [the Independents at Holland, Rotterdam and Arnhem] are not content with some few little touches of Chiliasm, which yet Master Cotton tells us are but fleshly imaginations (AA): But they run themselves over head and ears in the deepest gulph of that old Heresie. The glimpse of Sions glory Preached at a Fast in Holland by T. G. (which commonly report without contradiction that I have heard declares to be *Thomas Goodwin*) avers, That Independency is a beginning, or at least a neer antecedent of Christs Kingdom upon Earth (BB): That within five years Christ is to come in the flesh (CC); and by a Sword of Iron, to kill with his own hand the most of his enemies (DD); and thereafter to passe over a thousand years (EE) as a worldly Monarch (FF) with his Saints: Who shall live with him all that time in all sorts of fleshly delights (GG). Master Archer the onely Pastor that ever they had, whose praises they sound forth so loud in their Apologetick, would perswade us of the same, and more grosse stories (HH). Master Burrows in his late Sermons upon *Hosea*, runs in the same way.(II).

(AA) Cottons 6. Viall, p. 9. *I dare not take up such carnall imaginations, as that Christ shall come bodily, and reigne here upon Earth.* (BB) Glimpse of Sions glory, p. 33. *If God have such an intention to glorifie his Church, and that in this world, what manner of persons ought ye to be, because ye are beginning this despised worke, gathering a Church together, which way God will honour? certainly, the Communion of Saints, and Independency of Congregations, God will honour.* (CC) Daniel 12.11. ... "now reckon so many yeares according to the number of the days, it comes to 1650."... (DD) Ibid. *in the Epistle. Take this rule, That all Texts of Scripture are to be understood literally, except they make against other Scriptures, or except the very coherence of Scripture shew it otherwise.* Ibid. p. 17. *Indeed, if we put upon allegoricall senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them literally, why should we not?* Ibid. p. 21. *Christ is described*

*in the 19. of the Revelation, with his Garments dyed in blood, when he doth appeare to come and to take the Kingdome: when he appeares with many Crownes upon his head, that notes his many victories.* Ibid. p. 17. *The promise that is made, Rev. 12. He shall rule them with a Rod of Iron, and as the Vessels of a Potter they shall be broken to shivers. What shall we make of this?* (EE) Ibid. p. 14. 15. *The reigning with Christ 1000 yeares, is not meant of reigning with him in Heaven, but it must be meant of Jesus Christs comming and reigning here gloriously for 1000. yeares.* (FF) Ibid. p. 17. *What shall we make of this, except there be a glorious reign of Christ with his Saints? Christ is said to make them Kings, so as to have power and dominion in the world.* (GG) Ibid. p. 13. *There is no reason why that of the 26. of Matth. v. 29 I will drink it new with you in my Fathers kingdome, may not be taken literally.* (HH) Archers personall reign, p. 5. *I call this last state of his, Monarchical, because he will governe as earthly Monarchs have done, that is, universally over the world in these dayes, known, and esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the world is not sinfull, having all Nations and Kingdomes doing homage to him, as the great Monarches of the World had.* (II) Burrows [Burroughs] upon *Hosea*, p. 145. *These are the new Heavens and the new Earth that are to be created; and this meant of the Church plainly: For the Text, Verse 12. speaks of building houses, and inhabiting them, and of planting Vineyards, and eating the fruit of them, upon these new Heavens, and this new Earths creation.* Ibid. p. 191. *And literally we are to understand many Scriptures that tend this way, concerning the fruitfulness of the Earth, and the outward externall glory that then shall be in the creatures.*

Robert Baillie, *A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time* (1645; 2nd 1646) 79, 80, 85–87.