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### Thesis

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A Critical Edition of John Bunyan's posthumously  
published treatise Of Antichrist, and His Ruine (1692)

A Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy of the Open Univeristy,

September 1983

by

William Robert Owens, B.A.

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## ABSTRACT OF THESIS

A critical edition of John Bunyan's posthumously published treatise Of Antichrist, and His Ruine (1692).

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Open University, September 1983 by

William Robert Owens, B.A.

This thesis is a scholarly edition of Bunyan's treatise Of Antichrist, and His Ruine. The text is based on the first edition of 1692, retaining the spelling, punctuation, grammar, capitalization and italicization of the original. Printer's errors have been corrected; inaccurate Scriptural references have been corrected in the text, and the original references noted in the apparatus. Explanatory notes to the text provide additional Scriptural references, definitions of words or phrases now obsolete or liable to misinterpretation, and cross-references to other works by Bunyan and his contemporaries.

The Introduction discusses first the circumstances of the publication of the treatise in a Folio collection of Bunyan's works edited by his friend and disciple, Charles Doe. It goes on to argue, on internal evidence,



that the composition of the treatise can be dated to the early 1680s. There follows a brief account of the Antichrist legend, tracing its inception in the early church, its development in medieval thought and art, and early Protestant identification of Antichrist with the papacy. The views of seventeenth-century Protestant commentators concerning the fall of Antichrist and the commencement of Christ's millennial reign on earth are outlined, and the extent of millenarian expectation in the 1640s and 1650s is described. Bunyan's early millenarian beliefs are discussed, especially as set forth in his treatise The Holy City (1665). Although some historians have argued that interest in Antichrist and the millennium died away after the Restoration, evidence is presented to show that Bunyan's concern with the fall of Antichrist was not unusual in the early 1680s. The main features of his treatise are discussed and set in context, particularly its style, Bunyan's concept of Antichrist, his account of the slaying of the witnesses, and his belief that God would use Kings to destroy the physical body of Antichrist.

## CONTENTS

Preface

Abbreviations

### INTRODUCTION

1. Circumstances of Publication	i
2. Date of Composition	xv
3. Bunyan, Antichrist and the Millennium	xxi
(i) <u>The Antichrist Legend</u>	xxi
(ii) <u>The Protestant Interpretation</u>	xxix
(iii) <u>Antichrist in England</u>	xli
(iv) <u>Bunyan and the Millennium</u>	xlvi
(v) <u>Antichrist in the Restoration Period</u>	lvi
(vi) <u>Of Antichrist, and His Ruine</u>	lxviii

### OF ANTICHRIST, AND HIS RUINE: AND OF THE SLAYING THE WITNESSES

Note on the Text	1
Text	6

### NOTES TO OF ANTICHRIST, AND HIS RUINE: AND OF THE SLAYING THE WITNESSES

175

Bibliography

## PREFACE

This edition of Bunyan's treatise Of Antichrist, and His Ruine, here presented as my Ph.D. thesis, has been prepared for eventual inclusion in the Oxford edition of Bunyan's Miscellaneous Works, currently in progress under the general editorship of Professor Roger Sharrock. The volume of which I am the editor will contain Bunyan's posthumously published works, thirteen in all, ranging from sermons and treatises to a lengthy commentary on the first ten chapters of Genesis. The editorial principles and style adopted throughout the thesis conform to those of the Oxford edition as laid down by Professor Sharrock.

Quotations from Bunyan's works in my Introduction and Notes to the Text are from the following sources. Those works included in the volumes of the Oxford Bunyan which have so far appeared are cited from that edition. Works which were first published with Of Antichrist, and His Ruine in the Folio edition of 1692 are cited from that edition. All other citations are from George Offor's edition published in three volumes in 1860-62, with the exception of Grace Abounding, The Pilgrim's Progress and The Holy War, which are cited from the Oxford editions. This assortment of editions is unfortunate, but unavoidable until the completion of the Oxford edition.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to various people who have helped me. I owe most to Professor Roger Sharrock, who first suggested that I become a Bunyan editor and has been unfailingly generous with advice and encouragement. My internal supervisors at the Open University, Professor Arnold Kettle and his successor Professor Graham Martin, have given me much friendly support throughout. Other colleagues in the Arts Faculty have been kind enough to take a helpful interest in my work; in particular I would like to thank Dr Anne Laurence for her useful suggestions and for the loan of books. I am grateful to Mrs Pat Wallace, who typed the manuscript for me, and to the Arts Faculty research committee for financial support.

Finally, to my parents and to my wife, who have given me help and support of a kind which cannot adequately be recorded here, I offer my warmest thanks.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### BUNYAN'S WORKS

- The Works of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr John Bunyan, [edited by Charles Doe] (London, 1692) 1692 Folio
- The Works of John Bunyan, ed. George Offor, 3 vols (Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1860-2) Offor
- The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan, general editor Roger Sharrock, 12 vols (Oxford, 1976- ) Oxford Bunyan
- Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners (1666), ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1962) G.A.
- The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which is to Come (1678, 1684), ed. J.B. Wharey, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1960) P.P.
- The Holy War (1682), ed. Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest (Oxford, 1980) H.W.

### OTHER WORKS

- A Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller (Brighton, 1981) B.D.B.R.
- John Brown, John Bunyan: His Life, Times and Work, rev. ed. Frank Mott Harrison (London, 1928) Brown

H.G. Tibbutt (ed.), 'The Minutes of  
the First Independent Church (now  
Bunyan Meeting) at Bedford  
1656-1766', Publications of the  
Bedfordshire Historical Record  
Society, 55 (1976)

Church Minutes

Dictionary of National Biography,  
ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee  
(London, 1908-9)

D.N.B.

Oxford English Dictionary

O.E.D.

Henry R. Plomer, A Dictionary of the  
Printers and Booksellers who were  
at work in England, Scotland and  
Ireland from 1668 to 1725 (Oxford,  
1922)

Plomer

Roger Sharrock, John Bunyan (London,  
1968)

Sharrock

Henri Talon, John Bunyan; The Man and  
his Works, trans. Barbara Wall  
(London, 1951)

Talon

William York Tindall, John Bunyan:  
Mechanick Preacher (1934; rep.  
New York, 1964)

Tindall

1 CIRCUMSTANCES OF PUBLICATION

Bunyan's treatise Of Antichrist, and His Ruine: And of the Slaying the Witnesses is one of sixteen of his works which were published posthumously. His death on 31 August 1688 occurred suddenly. Having gone to Reading to reconcile an estranged father and son, Bunyan was proceeding to London on horseback with the manuscript of his latest book when he was caught in heavy rain. He was able to preach at John Gammon's meeting in Whitechapel on 19 August, but developed a fever and died twelve days later in his sixtieth year.<sup>1</sup> His old friend and ministerial colleague, George Cokayne, saw his last work, The Acceptable Sacrifice, through the press, and both it and Mr. John Bunyan's Last Sermon were published in 1689.<sup>2</sup> Of Antichrist, and His Ruine was published together with eleven other previously unpublished manuscripts in a Folio volume which appeared three years later in 1692, The Works of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan, Late Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Congregation at Bedford. After the appearance of the main

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1 See A Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life, G.A., pp.173-74; Brown, pp.371-4. Gammon was the pastor of an open-communion congregation which met in Boar's Head Yard, off Petticoat Lane; see W.T. Whitley, 'The Hubbard-How-More Church', Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, II (1910-11), pp.49-50.

2 See Cokayne's preface to The Acceptable Sacrifice (London, 1689). Cokayne was a leading Independent minister who preached at St. Pancras, Soper Lane from 1648 until his ejection in 1662, after which he held meetings in his house in Red Cross Street. See D.N.B., s.v.; B.D.B.R., s.v., and for discussion of Cokayne's relationship with Bunyan, Richard L Greaves, 'John Bunyan's "Holy War" and London Nonconformity', Baptist Quarterly, 26 (1975), pp.160-1,165; Roger F. Pooley, 'A Study of the Language and Milieu of John Bunyan' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1977), pp.122-131.



body of his unpublished works in this Folio collection, only two of Bunyan's works remained in manuscript:

The Heavenly Footman and The Relation of My Imprisonment.

The former was purchased from Bunyan's son by Charles Doe and published by him in 1698; the latter was preserved by Bunyan's descendants until 1765, when it was sold and published as A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan.<sup>1</sup>

The prime mover behind the posthumous publication of Bunyan's works in Folio was his friend and disciple, Charles Doe, a Baptist comb-maker from Southwark.<sup>2</sup> Most of our knowledge about Doe and his relationship with Bunyan is derived from his spiritual autobiography, published in 1700 in A Collection of Experience of the Work of Grace. From this it seems that Doe was born about 1652, the son of a captain in the parliamentary army, and began his apprenticeship a year or two after the plague in London. He was apparently a sober youth, 'always addicted to put Questions' about religious matters, and in 1682 he was baptized a member of Thomas Plant's General Baptist congregation at Paul's-Alley in the Barbican, where he continued in fellowship 'until the Persecution began to be hot at the latter end of King Charles the second's Reign ... when all Meetings was fain to be in private'. He was tempted at first to comply

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1 See Doe's account in 'A Catalogue of all Mr. Bunyan's Books', included in his edition of The Heavenly Footman (London, 1698). The Relation of My Imprisonment is usually reprinted with Grace Abounding; see G.A., pp.xxiii-xxv.

2 He described himself in 1698 as 'the Person that first moved and procured the Printing in Folio, above Twenty of our Author Bunyan's Pieces', The Heavenly Footman, loc. cit.



with the law and attend the established Church, but followed his conscience in defiance of the authorities. By the time of James II's General Pardon of 1686, his fines for non-attendance had amounted to 'fourteen score Pounds, at 20l. a Month'.<sup>1</sup>

Around this time he became troubled about the doctrine of election, and about 1684 joined Stephen More's open-communion meeting at Deadman's Place in Southwark.<sup>2</sup> This was one of the oldest and best-known sectarian congregations in London, and it was here that Doe first heard Bunyan preach, shortly after the accession of James II in 1685:

I heard that Mr. Bunyan came to London sometimes, and Preach'd, and because of his Fame, and I having read some of his Books, I had a mind to hear him, and accordingly I did at Mr Moore's Meeting in a private House, and his Text was, The Fears of the Wicked shall come upon him, but the Desires of the Righteous shall be granted; but I was offended at the Text, because not a New Testament one, (for then I was very jealous of being cheated by Mens Sophisticating of Scripture, to serve their Turn or Opinion, I being then newly come into New Testament Light, in the Love of God, and the Promises,

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- 1 A Collection of Experience (London, 1700), pp.29-38, 50-52. For an account of Plant's church see Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster and Southwark, including the Lives of their Ministers from the rise of Nonconformity to the Present Time, 4 vols (London, 1808-14), III, 235-36.
- 2 A Collection of Experience, p.51. On More see Wilson, op. cit. IV, 140-42; W.T. Whitley, 'The Hubbard-How-More Church', Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, II (1910-11), pp.31-52; Murray Tolmie, The Triumph of the Saints: The Separate Churches of London 1616-1649 (Cambridge, 1977), p.36.

having had enough for the present of the Historical, and doing for Favour in the Old Testament) but Mr. Bunyan went on and Preached so New Testament-like, that he made me admire and weep for Joy, and give him my Affections.

And he was the first Man that ever I heard Preach to my new enlightened Understanding and Experience, for me thoughts all his Sermons were adapted to my Condition, and had apt Similitudes, being full of the Love of God, and the manner of its secret working upon the Soul, and of the Soul under the sense of it, that I could weep for Joy most part of his Sermons; and so by a Letter I introduced my self into his Acquaintance; and indeed I have not since met with a Man I have lik'd so well, for several Reasons: I was acquainted with him but about three Years before he Died, and then mis'd him sorely.<sup>1</sup>

As a result of Doe's admiration for Bunyan, he decided to begin selling his works. He explains how he was led to this decision one day in March 1686:

... as I was reading Mr. Bunyan's Book, Saved by Grace, I thought certainly this is the best Book that was ever writ or I read, except the Bible, and then I remembred I had received a great deal of Comfort in all of his Books.

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1 A Collection of Experience, p.52. This sermon provided the basis for The Desires of the Righteous Granted which was among the posthumous works published by Doe in the 1692 Folio.

Some time after my Assurance, and being under the Sense of the peculiar Love of God, it came into my mind, as I was upon my Stair-head, what work I should do for God, and about the middle of the Stairs, I reckoned, that to Sell Books was the best I could do, and by that time I came to the bottom, I concluded to Sell Mr. Bunyan's, and so I began to Sell Books, and have Sold about 3000 of Mr Bunyan's...<sup>1</sup>

In addition to selling Bunyan's works, Doe became an author himself. His most significant work, apart from his spiritual autobiography, was an attack on infant baptism which ran to six editions and attracted some attention.<sup>2</sup> He also published several accounts of miraculous cures, of which there was a spate in and around London between 1693 and 1695.<sup>3</sup> Some of these works were printed for him and published in his own name, but he was involved with other publishers in the printing and publication of books by Bunyan

1 A Collection of Experience, p.57.

2 The Reason why not Infant Sprinkling, but Believer's baptism ought to be approved (London, 1693; sixth edition, 1702). See also Thomas Hewerdine, Some Plain Letters in the Defence of Infant-Baptism ... Which may serve, for a Confutation of a small Treatise, Intituled, The Reason why not Infant-Sprinkling, but Believers-Baptism ought to be Approved (London, 1699) and A Just Vindication of Some Plain Letters in the Defence of Infant Baptism (London, 1702), pp.20, 36, 51-52.

3 See his 'Advertisement of Miraculous Cures' in W.[illiam] Eyre, Vindiciae Justificationis Gratuitae (second edition, London, 1695), pp. [302-304], accounts of cures experienced by Mary Maillard, a French refugee, David Wright, a shepherd, Elizabeth Savage and Susanna Arch, and his Narrative of the Miraculous Cure of Anne Munnings (c.1705; reprint, Totham, 1847). On the widespread contemporary interest in these events, see Hillel Schwartz, The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1980), p.69.



and a number of other nonconformist authors.<sup>1</sup> Exactly what his relationship was with the printer-publishers of these works is not clear, but it is likely that he assisted with financial backing, and acted as a distributor, selling godly books as well as combs. In the case of the Bunyan Folio, which was by far the largest project in which he was concerned, it seems that his chief role was as an editor, assembling copies of Bunyan's works, both published and unpublished, and preparing them for publication. The only description of his editorial activity comes in The Struggler, his address 'To the Christian Reader' of the Folio.<sup>2</sup> The Struggler is a valuable source of information about Bunyan, and about Doe's 'struggles' in assembling, editing and indexing the Folio. The account it provides of Bunyan's life and work as a preacher and writer is frankly admiring, not to say adulatory, but the description of Bunyan preaching in London and anecdotes about his disputations with learned scholars have an authentic ring, and add significantly to our knowledge.

According to Doe's account in The Struggler, plans for a complete edition of Bunyan's works had been under

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1 For a list of books in whose publication Doe claimed involvement, see A Collection of Experience, p.57. This includes works by Samuel How, Henry Denne, William Eyre and Matthew Fenn, as well as Bunyan.

2 See The Struggler (for the preceding Preservation of Mr. John Bunyans Labours in Folio) thinks it may answer the Desires of many to give the following Relation, 1692 Folio, sigs 5T2-5U1.

way before his death: 'it had succeeded in Mr. Bunyan's life time, even all his Labours in Folio, but that an interested Bookseller opposed it'.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that the bookseller referred to here was Nathaniel Ponder, publisher of many of Bunyan's most significant and popular works. Ponder had been involved in several disputes over unauthorized reprints of The Pilgrim's Progress, and was understandably reluctant to relinquish his hold over such a valuable property.<sup>2</sup> The first public announcement of a proposal to publish a collected edition of Bunyan's works finally appeared in an advertisement in Mercurius Reformatus, 11 June 1690:

Mr. John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress, and many other excellent Books, that have found great Acceptance, hath left behind him Ten Manuscripts prepared by himself for the Press before his Death: His Widow is desired to print them (with some other of his Works, which have been already printed, but are at present not to be had) which will make together a Book of 10s. in sheets, in Fol. All Persons who desire so great and good a Work should be performed with speed, are desired to send in 5s. for their first Payment to Dorman Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultrey, London: Who is empower'd to give Receipts for the same.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Ibid., sig. 5U.

2 See Frank Mott Harrison, 'Nathaniel Ponder: The Publisher of The Pilgrim's Progress', The Library, fourth series, XV (1934), pp.257-94.

3 Mercurius Reformatus: or the New Observator, Vol.2, number 27.

It would appear from this that Bunyan's widow, Elizabeth, had some part in planning the Folio, but she died early in 1691, and the task was evidently taken over by Doe.<sup>1</sup> The eventual publisher of the Folio, however, was not Dorman Newman, as announced in the advertisement, but William Marshall. Newman, who was one of the largest publishers of his day, had earlier issued both editions of Bunyan's The Holy War, but he apparently over-extended himself financially and went bankrupt in 1694.<sup>2</sup>

Whether the change of publisher was influenced by Newman's financial troubles is unclear, but in late 1690 or early 1691 William Marshall issued a broadsheet prospectus inviting subscribers to assist in the publication of Bunyan's works, 'Collected, and to be Printed in Folio, by Procurement of his Church and Friends, and by his own Approbation before his Death, that these his Christian Ministerial Labours, may be preserved in the world'. The proposed Folio is to contain 'Ten of his Excellent Manuscripts, prepared for the Press, before his Death: and Ten of his Choice Books already Printed, but long ago, and not now to be had'. It is to have a copper engraving

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1 Brown, p.388.

2 See Plomer, p.217. Marshall was a bookseller and bookbinder from 1676 to 1725, dealing chiefly in works of divinity; *ibid.*, p.198.



of the author prefixed, and will cost subscribers ten shillings a book unbound, twelve shillings bound. A list of persons authorized to accept and give receipts for subscriptions is attached.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this prospectus, Doe published a circular listing thirty Reasons why Christian People should Promote by Subscriptions the Printing in Folio the Labours of Mr. John Bunyan.<sup>2</sup>

The success of these efforts may be judged by Doe's subsequent claim that 'notwithstanding the many discouragements I have met with in my struggles in this so great a Work, we have ... gotten about 400 Subscriptions, whereof about thirty are Ministers, which also shews the great Esteem our Authors Labours are in among Christian people'.<sup>3</sup> With such a lengthy list of subscribers, Marshall was able to proceed with publication. In the back of one of the books he was issuing he placed an advertisement informing readers that 'There is now (November 1691.) in the Press,

- 1 The Labours of John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrims Progress, Late Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Congregation at Bedford, undated broadsheet. Apparently the practice of issuing Proposals inviting subscriptions for the publication of theological works was uncommon after about 1680; see Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800 (Cambridge, 1965), p.183.
- 2 Printed in the 1692 Folio, sig. 5T1<sup>b</sup>. In The Struggler Doe alludes to these Reasons 'which I distributed in my late struggles to effect this work'.
- 3 The Struggler, in 1692 Folio, sig. 5U1<sup>a</sup>.

and shortly to be sold by William Marshall, at the Sign of the Bible in Newgate-street, London, the scarcest part of the Labours of the great Convert, and eminent Gospel Minister, Mr. John Bunyan of Bedford ...<sup>1</sup>

In the event, the Folio did not appear until well into the following year. It was entered in the Stationer's Register for 3 August 1692.<sup>2</sup> John Dunton's Athenian Mercury carried an advertisement for it in the issue for 13 December 1692.<sup>3</sup> It contained a total of twenty-two works, twelve previously unpublished manuscripts and ten works which had been published in Bunyan's lifetime. The posthumous works were, in the order in which they appeared: An Exposition on the Ten First Chapters of Genesis, Of Justification by an Imputed Righteousness, Paul's Departure and Crown, Of the Trinity and a Christian, Of the Law and a Christian,

- 1 In a reprint of Samuel How's sectarian classic, The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning (London, 1692), last page.
- 2 G.E.B. Eyre and C.R. Rivington (eds), A Transcript of The Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708, 3 vols (London, 1913-14; rep. Gloucester, Mass., 1967), III, 406. The Folio was also entered in the Term Catalogues for Trinity Term, 1694, but no copies of that date are known to exist; see Edward Arber (ed.), The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, 3 vols (London, 1903-1906), II, 506-507.
- 3 The Athenian Mercury, Vol. 9, Number 1. George Offor may have been referring to this advertisement when he commented that 'John Dunton and others noticed, in terms of warm approval, the intended publication', 'John Bunyan', Notes and Queries, first series, 9 (1854), p.129.



Israel's Hope Encouraged, The Desire of the Righteous Granted, The Saints Privilege and Profit, Christ a Complete Saviour, The Saints Knowledge of Christ's Love, Of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, Of Antichrist, and His Ruine. The ten 'formerly printed' books did not include any of Bunyan's best-sellers, probably because of the reluctance of the original publishers to relinquish their rights.<sup>1</sup> They were: Saved by Grace, A Map of Salvation and Damnation, Christian Behaviour, A Discourse Touching Prayer, The Strait Gate, Some Gospel Truths Opened, Light for them that sit in Darkness, Instruction for the Ignorant, The Holy City, The Resurrection of the Dead. Doe evidently intended this 'First Volume', as it was described on the title page, to be supplemented by a further volume. Following the main text there is an 'Advertisement' informing readers that 'We shall endeavour to Print another Volume of Mr. Bunyan's Works, as speedily as we can, hoping you will give Incouragement by Subscription, when there is further notice given'. This notice did not appear for another fifteen years. Proposals for printing a second volume were published by William and Joseph Marshall in November 1707, but nothing came of it.<sup>2</sup> In 1724 John Marshall tried again:

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1 In their preface to the Folio, Ebenezer Chandler and John Wilson explain that not all Bunyan's works are included 'because the Propriety of several Pieces already Printed, is log'd in particular Persons hands, who were not willing to resign up their Right at reasonable Rates', 1692 Folio, sig. A2<sup>b</sup>.

2 See Arber (ed.), The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, III, 581.

The Second Folio of Mr. John Bunyan's, which some time since failed of the Encouragement expected from the then Subscribers, it is now proposed to print his most scarce and valuable Pieces in 8vo. on a beautiful Letter and good Paper ... So soon as Encouragement is given by an hundred Subscriptions, it will be put to the Press.<sup>1</sup>

Evidently subscribers did not come forward in sufficient numbers on this occasion either, for no such collection of Bunyan's works was published. Not until 1736-37 did a second edition of the Folio appear, including the second volume which Doe had planned. A third edition followed in 1767-68, with a preface by George Whitefield. This included three works not in the earlier editions, and was thus the first edition to fulfil Doe's ambition for a complete edition of Bunyan's works.<sup>2</sup>

Doe's Folio was furnished with an introductory epistle by Ebenezer Chandler, Bunyan's successor as minister of the Bedford congregation, and John Wilson,

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1 'Advertisement' in The Heavenly Footman (eighth edition, London, 1724), sig. B6<sup>a</sup>. John Marshall, a bookseller from 1695 to 1725, was probably a relative of William Marshall's; see Plomer, p.198.

2 For details of these and later editions, see 'Note on the Text', below, pp.3-5.

minister of the Tilehouse Street church, Hitchin.<sup>1</sup> They defended Bunyan's work against the charge that he lacked academic education, and eulogised his behaviour under persecution, his work in the ministry, and his success as an author. Commending the works published here for the first time, they mention particularly Bunyan's ability to bring 'deep things ... into a familiar Phrase': 'The Author indeed had a peculiar Phrase to himself in expressing the Conceptions of his Mind; his Words were his own, as well as his Matter'. They assured readers that the manuscripts were 'prepared by the Author for the Press before his Death; and are as he left them, without any mans Cultivation'. There seems no reason to doubt this. Charles Doe's editorial activity was apparently limited to supplying titles for some of the manuscripts, and he carefully lists these titles as his and not Bunyan's. His only interference with the text concerned his preparation of a large index to the volume,

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1 For an account of Chandler, see S. Hillyard, 'Memoir of the late Rev. Ebenezer Chandler', Evangelical Magazine, 24 (1816), pp.497-500; Brown, pp.397-401; H.G. Tibbutt, Bunyan Meeting Bedford, 1650-1950 (Bedford, 1950), pp.24-26. Wilson had been a member of Bunyan's congregation; he became minister of the Hitchin meeting in 1677; see G.E. Evans, Come Wind, Come Weather: Chronicles of Tilehouse Street Baptist Church, 1669-1969 (London and Tonbridge, 1969), pp.6-9; Richard L. Greaves, 'John Bunyan and Nonconformity in the Midlands and East Anglia', Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society, I (1976), p.163.



and as it happens only the second half of the Folio, the ten previously published works, was involved. In these works, words which Doe has indexed are printed in black letter type. Doe explains that he had marked up the printed texts, but 'had not time and conveniency (before this Folio was printed) to mark the Manuscripts for to be a black letter'd Word, as I had time for the formerly printed Books'.<sup>1</sup>

Despite Doe's best endeavours, the Folio was not an especially handsome production. The pagination is erratic throughout, several typefaces are used, and there are errors in running titles, probably due to the work having been farmed out to a number of printers in sections. Some attempt was made, possibly by Doe himself, to correct errors; pagination has been altered by hand in one or two places, printed slips have been pasted over some of the incorrect running titles, and on the end-paper of some copies an errata slip was pasted in, noting errors on eleven pages and promising a further list 'when we have read the Volume through, which may then be had gratis of Charles Doe at the sign of the Boors-head in the Burrough, London'.<sup>2</sup> One of the most valuable of Doe's contributions to the volume was his bibliography of Bunyan's works, arranged

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1 See The Struggler, 1692 Folio, sig. 5U1<sup>a</sup>.

2 For details of copies collated, see 'Note on the Text', below, p.2.

chronologically. This lists sixty works, and although it has been corrected by later scholarship, it remains the foundation of all Bunyan bibliographies.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, though he lists the works Bunyan left in manuscript, Doe gives no indication as to when Bunyan may have written any of these. To try to discover when Of Antichrist, and His Ruine was written it is necessary to work from internal evidence.

## 2 DATE OF COMPOSITION

Some earlier Bunyan scholars have tended to date the posthumously published writings, including Of Antichrist, and His Ruine, from the period just before Bunyan's death.<sup>2</sup> Leaving aside the question whether or not the internal evidence supports this late date, it seems somewhat unlikely in view of the fact that Bunyan published five substantial works in his last year, and had a sixth in press at the time of his death.<sup>3</sup> This is a larger number than he had published in any other single year, and it is difficult to believe

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1 'A Catalogue-Table of Mr. Bunyan's Books, and their Succession in Publishing, most according to his own reckoning', 1692 Folio, sig. 5T1<sup>a</sup>. An expanded version of this list is included as an appendix to Doe's edition of The Heavenly Footman (London, 1698). See Frank Mott Harrison, A Bibliography of the Works of John Bunyan, Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, No. 6 (Oxford, 1932).

2 See Offor, III, lxxi-lxxii; Tindall, p.134.

3 These were: A Discourse of ... the House of God, Good News for the Vilest of Men, Solomon's Temple Spiritualized, The Water of Life, The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate and The Acceptable Sacrifice.

that he could have produced this amount as well as writing the twelve posthumously published works. The most obvious gap in his writing career occurs during the second half of his twelve year imprisonment. He published nothing after the appearance of his spiritual autobiography, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, in 1666, until after his release from prison in 1672, when he published A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith.<sup>1</sup>

Some authorities, notably Henri Talon, have placed the composition of the posthumous works in this silent period, though offering no explanation as to why Bunyan did not publish them subsequently.<sup>2</sup> It is certainly possible that some of the posthumous works may have been written during this early period, but until each work has been examined in detail, a task which has not yet been undertaken, dates of composition must remain conjectural.

As far as Of Antichrist, and his Ruine is concerned, all the available evidence points away from this early date and towards a date in the early 1680s. The firmest single piece of evidence is Bunyan's reference to the work of Christian Magistrates in overthrowing Antichristian laws: 'Who is now afraid of the Act for burning of those that Papists call Hereticks, since by the King and

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1 Brown, p.174.

2 Talon, p.316.



Parliament ... the Life and Soul is taken out of it'.<sup>1</sup>  
 This can only refer to the 'Act for taking away the  
 Writ De Heretico comburendo' (29 Car. II, cap. IX), which  
 was enacted in 1677.<sup>2</sup> Although no-one had been burned  
 for heresy since 1612, a Welsh judge had threatened  
 some Quakers with the flames early in 1677. He was  
 later rebuked by the government after representations  
 to members of Parliament by leading Welsh Quakers.<sup>3</sup>  
 Bunyan's reference to the repeal of this writ means that  
Of Antichrist, and His Ruine cannot have been written  
 before 1677.

Three other internal clues suggest strongly that  
 the work was composed in the early 1680s. Perhaps the  
 most important is a reference to the sufferings of the  
 French Protestants: 'The Protestants in France had more

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1 Below, p.42.

2 The date of this Act is given as 1676 in Statutes at Large, V, 441, and as 1678 in English Historical Documents, VIII, 400. It was first introduced in the Lords in June, 1675, but due to prorogations, did not come to the Commons until March 1676/7. It went through all its readings with some amendments, and received the Royal assent on 16 April 1677. See Journals of the House of Commons, IX (1667-1687), pp.401-419; Journals of the House of Lords, XII, (1666-1675), pp.715-17; XIII (1675-1681), pp.99-120; Statutes of the Realm, V, 850.

3 See C.E. Whiting, Studies in English Puritanism from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660-1688 (London, New York and Toronto, 1931), pp.145-46.

favour formerly, than from their Prince they at this time have'.<sup>1</sup> There was increasing persecution of Huguenots by Louis XIV's government in the years leading up to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and in a work published in 1682, Bunyan makes a similar reference to their plight.<sup>2</sup> A further pointer towards the early 1680s is Bunyan's lament that 'This twenty years we have been degenerating, both as to Principles, and as to Practice', which presumably refers to the period from 1660 to 1680.<sup>3</sup> The third remark which seems significant in this context is Bunyan's injunction to his readers to pray that 'God would discover all Plots

- 1 Below, p.16. This remark is cited by William Hale White as evidence that Of Antichrist may 'probably be assigned to the close of the reign of Charles II', John Bunyan (London, 1905), pp.61-62. See also Bunyan's further reference to reports of murders 'from Foreign Parts', below, p.118.
- 2 See David Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century (1925; eighth edition, London, 1961), pp.304-306; G.R.R. Treasure, Seventeenth Century France (1966; second edition, London, 1981), pp.380-86. In The Greatness of the Soul (1682), Bunyan refers to 'the French Protestants, banished thence where they willingly would have harbour', Oxford Bunyan, IX, 235.
- 3 Below, p.19. Similar remarks are to be found throughout Bunyan's later writings; cf. 'Great complaints have we now among professors, of deadness in duties, barrenness of the ministry, and of the withdrawing of God from his people', A Holy Life (1683), Oxford Bunyan, IX, 317. See also the report of a general meeting of the church at Cotton End, 15 September 1679: 'it was taken notice of that the Church was much decayed in hir faith and love ... It was proposed ... that care might be taken to consider ... how we might jointly reforme and performe our dutyes', Church Minutes, p.84.



and Conspiracies' which might threaten the King and his government. Such a prayer would have particular significance in the years immediately following the 'discovery' of the Popish Plot, when plots and rumours of plots were widespread.<sup>1</sup>

There is one other more general point which would suggest that this work was composed in the early 1680s. This concerns its central focus on Antichrist as the Pope and the Roman Catholic church. In the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress, written before 1672 and published in 1678, Bunyan portrayed 'Giant Pope' as posing no great threat to the pilgrims: 'though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger dayes, grown so crazy and stiff in his joynts, that he can now do little more than sit in his Caves mouth, grinning at Pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails, because he cannot come at them'.<sup>2</sup> In the second part, however, published in 1684, the pilgrims are confronted by a ferocious monster: 'Its Body was like a Dragon, and it had seven Heads and ten Horns, It made great havock of Children, and yet it was governed by a Woman'.

Bunyan's marginal references to Revelation chap. xvii

1 Below, p.142 and note. This point is made by Richard L. Greaves, who also dates Of Antichrist to the early 1680s; see his Introduction to Oxford Bunyan, IX, xxiii-xxiv, and 'John Bunyan and the Fifth Monarchists', Albion, 13 (1981), p.91.

2 P.P., p.65; on the date of composition of Part One, see ibid., pp. xxix-xxxv.

indicate that this beast is Antichrist, the papacy, and although he is 'not only wounded, but lame', and expected to 'die of his Wounds', it is clear that he is perceived as a much more serious threat than formerly.<sup>1</sup> As with Bunyan's reference to 'Plots and Conspiracies', this changed perception is understandable as an expression of the anti-Catholic feeling whipped up in the aftermath of the Popish Plot scare. Looking back on these events, Bunyan wrote of the alarm which they aroused: 'our days indeed have been days of trouble, especially since the discovery of the Popish Plot, for then we began to fear cutting of Throats, of being burned in our beds, and of seeing our Children dashed in pieces before our Faces'.<sup>2</sup>

In another allegorical work published in the early 1680s, a parallel revival of interest in apocalyptic themes is evident. The Holy War is Bunyan's most complex and ambitious work, and scholars have long been aware of the millenarian strand in its multi-layered allegory.<sup>3</sup> There are a number of points of correspondence between this work and Of Antichrist, and His Ruine which increase

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1 P.P., pp.277-78, and Roger Sharrock's note.

2 Israël's Hope Encouraged, 1692 Folio, p.199. For other contemporary reactions to the Plot, see John Kenyon, The Popish Plot (London, 1972), pp.237-40; John Miller, Popery and Politics in England, 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 159-62.

3 See especially Tindall, pp.150-59; Talon, pp.250-54; Sharrock, pp.125-26, and his 'Introduction' to the Oxford edition, H.W., pp.xxviii-xxxiii.

the likelihood that Bunyan was writing them around the same time. Most notable, perhaps, is the description of the forcible occupation of Mansoul by the armies of Diabolus, and her subsequent liberation by Emanuel's forces. This would seem to represent the account in Revelation chap. xi of the slaying and resurrection of the witnesses, events to which Bunyan devotes much attention in Of Antichrist, and His Ruine.<sup>1</sup> Bunyan regarded the onset of these tribulations as the final sign by which the persecuted saints could tell that the fall of Antichrist and the commencement of the long-awaited millennium was at hand. Such expectations were as old as Christianity itself, and Bunyan was not alone in holding these views in the early 1680s.

### 3 BUNYAN, ANTICHRIST AND THE MILLENNIUM

#### (i) The Antichrist Legend

Antichrist is one of the most impressive and influential figures in Christian apocalyptic thought. The concept of a great and terrible enemy of God who would arise near the end of time to deceive the world and persecute the faithful has its roots in ancient Persian and Babylonian mythology, but the most important

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<sup>1</sup> H.W., pp.203-205, 222-25; below, pp.100-121.



features of the Christian version derived from Jewish eschatological prophecies.<sup>1</sup> The Book of Daniel, for example, foretold the rise of a monstrous many-horned beast, which would eventually be destroyed by a little horn having 'eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things'. This little horn would make war for a time against the saints, before finally being overcome by the 'Ancient of days'.<sup>2</sup> The significance of Daniel's apocalyptic vision for later New Testament authors is indicated by Christ's direct allusion to the approach of 'the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet'.<sup>3</sup>

In the New Testament, Antichrist is mentioned by name only in the epistles of St John, where he is characterised as both a singular and collective being who

1 On the origins and development of the Antichrist legend, and its sources in both Jewish and non-Jewish eschatology, see Wilhelm Bousset, The Antichrist Legend, translated by A.H. Keane (London, 1896), and Bousset's entry on 'Antichrist' in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings, 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-1921). See also entries in Encyclopaedia Biblica, ed. T.K. Cheyne and J.S. Black, 4 vols (London, 1899-1907); A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1898-1904).

2 Daniel vii.

3 Matthew xxiv.15. On the influence of Daniel's 'prophecy of Antichrist' see St Augustine, The City of God, John Healey's translation revised by R.V.G. Tasker, 2 vols (Everyman's Library, London, 1945), II, 304-306.

denies Christ and attempts to deceive the saints, and whose presence indicates that the end of time is imminent.<sup>1</sup> Of the other passages of the New Testament which were understood by the early church to refer to the Antichrist, one of the most influential was St Paul's description in II Thessalonians of a great 'man of sin' who would trouble the church in the last days, setting himself up in the place of God:

Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God ... And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming: Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders ...<sup>2</sup>

Without doubt, however, the most memorable characterisation of the Antichrist occurs in the Book of the Revelation. In its lurid symbolic creatures Christian exegetes found numerous references to Antichrist and to his role in the events which would herald the end of time

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1 I John ii.18,22; iv,3; II John vii.

2 II Thessalonians ii.3-9. St Augustine, after quoting from this passage, remarks 'This is doubtless meant of Antichrist and the day of judgment', The City of God, II, 295.

and the second advent of Christ. Revelation chap.xiii for instance, describes the rise to power of a many-headed beast whose body is made up of parts of various animals, and this beast is succeeded by another with two horns like a lamb who speaks like a dragon. He deceives many by his miracles, and his followers receive a mark on their hands or foreheads. This beast can be identified by his number: six hundred threescore and six. Chaps xvi and xvii describe how seven angels pour out seven vials of God's wrath upon a great whore who sits upon a scarlet beast with seven heads and ten horns. She is said to be drunk with the blood of the martyrs, and on her forehead is the legend 'Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth'.

Their appearance and activities, and the numbers and times associated with these weird beasts, provided the early Christian commentators with rich material from which to build up detailed accounts of Antichrist and the manner of his eventual destruction. In constructing these accounts they studied also the 'types' of Antichrist who appeared in both the Old and New Testaments and in early church history. Numerous false prophets and wicked, persecuting rulers were seen as prefiguring the great Antichrist who, it was believed was still to come. Non-christian writings were important additional sources of the developing tradition, especially the famous Sibylline Oracles. There were striking resemblances



between the figure of the warrior-Christ as portrayed in the Johannine Apocalypse and the Emperor of the Last Days whose rise was foretold in the Oracles, and both traditions prophesied the emergence of a prodigious, tyrannical enemy of God, the great Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most significant feature of the Antichrist tradition, however, and the most compelling reason for the fascination with Antichrist which persisted through the centuries, was his association with the imminent end of the world. St John had linked the rise of Antichrist to the 'last time', and the persecution which the early Christians suffered under the late Roman empire increased the urgency of their hope for the return of Christ. Such expectations were no doubt heightened by the account in Revelation chap.xx of a period of a thousand years during which the devil would be bound and the saints would reign with Christ in a world of peace and plenty. It was believed that the defeat of Antichrist would herald the inauguration of this glorious millennium, and it is not difficult to imagine how such

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1 See Bernard McGinn, Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages (New York, 1979), pp.12-21, 43-55; Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1957; revised edition, Paladin Books, London, 1970), pp.19-37; Marjorie Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford, 1969), Part 3: 'Antichrist and Last World Emperor', pp.295-392; Richard Kenneth Emmerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages (Manchester, 1981), pp.21-49.

a vision would appeal to the early, persecuted church. By the fifth century, however, the ecclesiastical authorities were anxious to suppress speculation about a literal future millennium. Following the teaching of St Augustine and others, the approved interpretation of this passage was that the binding of Satan and the thousand-year reign of the saints should be regarded allegorically as referring to the establishment of the Christian church in the world, and although the historical veracity of the Biblical account of Antichrist's rise and eventual destruction was not in doubt, it was not given to the Church to know when this would take place.<sup>1</sup> However, the idea persisted that a literal future millennium would effect a radical transformation of society, and many attempts were made to assign dates to the events which would herald its advent. There was intense apocalyptic excitement as key years such as 1000 and 1260 approached, and the horrors of the black death in the fourteenth century were widely regarded as harbingers of the end of time.<sup>2</sup> Such millenarian expectations were important in stimulating popular support for the crusades and for various radical political movements throughout the Middle Ages. The figure of

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1 See The City of God, II, 226-29, 276-93; McGinn, Visions of the End, pp.25-27; Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, p.29.

2 Emerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, pp.51-56; McGinn, Visions of the End, pp.88-90.



Antichrist could readily be identified with contemporary ecclesiastical and political rulers, and Norman Cohn has shown how powerfully the legend affected the multitudes of dispossessed poor in medieval society, among whom from time to time 'a collective sense of impotence and anxiety and envy suddenly discharged itself in a frantic urge to smite the ungodly - and by doing so to bring into being, out of suffering inflicted and suffering endured, that final Kingdom where the Saints, clustered around the great sheltering figure of their Messiah, were to enjoy ease and riches, security and power for all eternity.'<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages the Antichrist legend was added to and embellished by successive generations of commentators. Both orthodox and unorthodox exegetes could employ the legend, so fluid were almost all of its elements. The parallel between Christ and Antichrist was elaborated, with Antichrist being identified as a devilish, tyrannical parody of Christ, or as a hypocritical,

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1 Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, p.60 and passim; See also his article on 'Medieval Millenarism' in Sylvia L. Thrupp (ed.), Millennial Dreams in Action: Essays in Comparative Study (The Hague, 1962), pp.31-43. In McGinn's view, Cohn over-emphasises these aspects of medieval apocalyptic thought at the expense of 'those manifestations of apocalyptic traditions that were intended to support the institution of medieval Christianity rather than to serve as a critique, either mild or violent', Visions of the End, p.29. Cf. Emerson's discussion of radical and conservative uses of the Antichrist legend, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, pp.62-77.

deceiving pseudo-Christ. A mass of detailed 'information' circulated, dealing with the circumstances of his birth and parentage, the signs and events which would precede his rule, his deceit and tyranny, and his eventual destruction. The best known summary of the main features of the legend was the Letter on the Origin and Life of the Antichrist, composed in the tenth century by the French abbot, Adso. He explained that, although many forerunners of Antichrist have appeared through the ages, the true Antichrist will be a future individual man, born a Jew of the tribe of Dan. From the moment of his conception he will be possessed by the spirit of the devil, and he will rise to power by deceiving some with false miracles and persecuting others. He will extend his rule over the whole world for a period of three and a half years, during which time many, including Enoch and Elijah who will return to earth to bear witness against Antichrist, will be martyred for the faith. At the end of this period, Antichrist will attempt to ascend to heaven from the Mount of Olives, but he will be destroyed either by Christ himself or the archangel Michael. After an interval of unknown duration, the Day of Judgment will take place.<sup>1</sup> From the twelfth century

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1 Extracts from Adso's Letter are reprinted in McGinn, Visions of the End, pp.82-87; for a full treatment see Emerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, ch.3. See also Le Roy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, 4 vols (Washington D.C., 1946-54), I, 535-86 and passim.

this legend was given dramatic shape in the medieval plays of Antichrist, and artists pictured Antichrist and his activities in illuminated books and manuscripts, a tradition which achieved its fullest expression in the fifteenth century block-book illustrations of Antichrist's entire life 'from his devilish conception to his hellish destruction'.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) The Protestant Interpretation

The mass of lore about Antichrist which flourished throughout the Middle Ages was evidently current well into the sixteenth century. An early English reformer, Bishop John Jewel remarked that 'there is none, neither old nor young, neither learned nor unlearned, but he hath heard of antichrist'. Jewel, however, dismisses scornfully the 'sundry fond tales' which persisted from the medieval tradition.

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<sup>1</sup> Emerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, p.109 and passim. See also The Play of Antichrist, translated with an introduction by John Wright (Toronto, 1967); H. Th. Musper (ed.), Der Antichrist und die fünfzehn Zeichen, 2 vols (München, 1970), a facsimile reprint of a mid-fifteenth chiro-xylographic block-book account of Antichrist and the fifteen signs which would precede Doomsday. On later medieval plays of Antichrist, see Linus Urban Lucken, Antichrist and the Prophets of Antichrist in the Chester Cycle (Washington, D.C., 1940); Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London, 1972), pp.291-94.



Some say he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan; some, that he should be born in Babylon; some, that he should be bred up in Bethsaida and Corazin; some, that he should rise up in Syria; some, that Mahomet is antichrist; some, that he should overthrow Rome; some, that he should build up the city of Hierusalem; some, that Nero was antichrist; some that he should be born of a friar and a nun; some that he should continue but three years and a half; some, that he should turn trees upside down, with the tops in the ground, and should force the roots to grow upward, and then should flee up into heaven, and fall down and break his neck. These tales have been craftily devised to beguile our eyes, that, whilst we think upon these guesses, and so occupy ourselves in beholding a shadow or probable conjecture of antichrist, he which is antichrist indeed may unawares deceive us.<sup>1</sup>

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1 An Exposition upon the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, in The Works, ed. John Ayre, Parker Society, 4 vols (London, 1845-50), II, 902-3. Compare the anonymous author of An Exposition of the XI. XII and XIII. Chapters of the Revelation (n.p., 1623, but apparently first published in Elizabeth's reign): 'many, as well ancient as late writers ... have vainly imagined, that Antichrist is one singular person, which must sodainly start up, and after three civill yeares and a halfe depart again; and that he must be by birth a Jew, and of the Tribe of Dan ... and that he must reigne in Jerusalem ... and that he must kill Enoch and Elias ... with divers other such legendary phantasies ...', p.106. This author predicts the overthrow of Antichrist in 1666, pp.110-111. Needless to say, Catholic authors defended their futurist interpretation; see for example Andrew Cryghton, A Treatise of Antichrist (1620; facsimile reprint in English Recusant Literature, 1558-1640, Vol.360, ed. D.M. Rogers, Scholar Press, 1977); Froom, Prophetic Faith, II, 484-505.

As is clear from his final sentence, Jewel and other early Protestant reformers did not reject the idea that Antichrist existed, but they proposed a revolutionary new identification. Frequently in the Middle Ages individual popes and other ecclesiastical and secular leaders had been branded by their heretical or rebellious opponents as Antichrists.<sup>1</sup> The reformers took this a significant stage further, abandoning the concept of a future individual Antichrist, and instead identifying the entire historical succession of the papacy as the Antichrist, and the Church of Rome as the great whore of Babylon. A multitude of tracts, sermons and exegetical treatises was devoted to working out the correspondences between the biblical references and the papacy.<sup>2</sup> It is not difficult to understand why so much

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1 See Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, pp.80-81, 112, 211, 223.

2 See Froom, Prophetic Faith, I, 796-806; II, 373-442; Richard Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse (Abingdon, 1978), ch.5; Katherine R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford, 1979), ch.3; Paul Christianson, Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war (Toronto, 1978), ch.1; Christopher Hill, Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England (Oxford, 1971), ch.1; Emerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, pp.206-210; Jean Elizabeth Macfarlane, 'Antichrist in English Literature, 1380-1680' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida, 1980), pp.22-130. For accounts of the propagandist use of visual representations of Antichrist as the papacy, see R.W. Scribner, For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation (Cambridge, 1981), ch.6; Bauckham, op.cit., pp.238-250; Emerson, op.cit., pp.221-227.



energy was expended on this question, given the need of the new reformed churches to establish their authority against the weight of the traditional Church. The polemical value of the exercise was summed up by William Fulke in a sermon preached in 1570:

The greatest controversy that this day troubleth the world, is where the true church of God should be, the papists making great brags that it is on their side, and we affirming that it is on our side. This controversy will soon be cut off and brought to an end, if it may be showed that Babylon is Rome. For then cannot Rome be the church of Christ, but the church of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

Or as William Guild put it even more succinctly in the seventeenth century, 'if we prove the Pope to be Antichrist; Then all Poperie is overthrown, and all other Contraversies between them and us, easlie decyded'.<sup>2</sup>

Two of the books most influential in establishing and disseminating the doctrine of the Roman Antichrist were the Geneva Bible and John Foxe's Acts and Monuments. The translators of the Geneva version taught generations of English readers how to interpret the apocalyptic

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1 A Sermon preached at Hampton Court ... Wherin is playnly proved Babylon to be Rome, both by Scriptures and Doctors (London, 1570), reprinted with some abbreviations in Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.322-340. This quotation is from p.325. For a discussion of significant variations in approach underlying this consensus view, see Peter Lake, 'The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 31 (1980), pp.161-78.

2 Anti-Christ Pointed and painted out in his true Colours (Aberdeen, 1655), p.8.



scriptures with the aid of their introductory tables and marginal notes. Their introduction to the Revelation explained that in this book, 'The livelie description of Antichrist is set forthe, whose time and power notwithstanding is limited, and albeit that he is permitted to rage against the elect, yet his power stretcheth no farther than to the hurt of their bodies: and at length he shal be destroyed by the wrath of God ...' The Antichrist is identified unambiguously and repeatedly as 'the Pope with the whole bodie of his filthie creatures'.<sup>1</sup>

To the scriptural authority of the Geneva Bible, John Foxe added the authority of history. His great work recounted the story of the true church's history, which he divided into five periods. The first three hundred years after Christ was a 'suffering time' when the church was persecuted by the early Roman emperors. This changed under the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, whose reign marked the beginning of a 'flourishing time' for the church with the binding of

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1 The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition, introduction by Lloyd E. Berry (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969), marginal note to Revelation xvii.4. See also, for example, marginal notes to ix.11; xi.7,8. According to Berry ('Introduction', pp.15-17) these notes were replaced in editions published after 1599 with an even more strongly anti-Catholic commentary by Franciscus Junius. See also Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp.37-39.

Satan and the commencement of the millennium. This period of peace and stability continued for three hundred years, but the following three hundred years was a period of slow decline. Towards its end, Satan was beginning to break free of his bonds, and the next four hundred years witnessed the growing power of the Roman Antichrist, a time of desolation for the true church. The fifth period is the present, which began at the Reformation, 'wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appeare in his colour, and his Antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his Church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing'. This period of the church's history has continued for about two hundred and eighty years, and the time of its cessation is known only to God.<sup>1</sup> The best known aspect of Foxe's achievement is his account of the heroic resistance to Antichrist's power displayed by the hundreds of Marian martyrs, but as recent scholarship has indicated, no less influential was his demonstration of the importance of godly monarchs in the struggle against Antichrist. In thus bringing together an imperial tradition celebrating the godly princes who supported the true church, with a popular tradition of resistance

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1 Acts and Monuments, 3 vols (eighth edition, London, 1641), I, 1. This is probably the edition used by Bunyan; see Brown, p.154.

by the oppressed and persecuted saints, Foxe created a myth which could be employed as a valuable propaganda weapon against Rome and Catholic Europe by Tudor monarchs, and yet also in the long run be an inspiration to those who despaired of princes and preached resistance to both ecclesiastical and secular authorities.<sup>1</sup>

The early years of the seventeenth century saw the production of some of the most learned and influential attempts to interpret the mysteries of the Revelation and chart the course of Antichrist's destruction. It has been estimated that 'over a hundred systematic expositions of the Roman antichrist appeared in English or by British authors' between the years 1588 and 1628.<sup>2</sup> Among the most significant were John Napier, A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John (1593), Arthur Dent, The Ruine of Rome (1603), Thomas Brightman, A Revelation of the Revelation (1615), and Joseph Mede,

1 See William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London, 1963), passim. Later studies which question Haller's attribution to Foxe of an apocalyptic nationalism include Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, pp.106-109; Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp.39-46; Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.12-13, 71-72, 86, 126. See also, Hill, Antichrist, pp.13-14, 156; William Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (London, 1969), pp.23-25, 33-35; Frances A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London and Boston, 1975), pp.38-47 and passim.

2 Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, p.94.



Clavis Apocalyptica (1627).<sup>1</sup> All four clearly identified Antichrist with the papacy, and looked forward to the completion of his defeat in the foreseeable future. Napier dedicated his work to King James, recommending him to be 'ready waiting for that great day, in the which it shall please God to call your M. or yours after you, among other reformed Princes, to that great and universall reformation, and destruction of that Antichristian seat and citie Rome'. The final stage of that great struggle had commenced in 1541, Napier thought, and the Judgment Day would fall between 1688 and 1700.<sup>2</sup>

Dent directed his work at a much wider audience, in the conviction that all the saints should share the joy and comfort of knowing for certain that Antichrist would be destroyed, the more especially because 'this

1. The works of these writers, and many others, have been extensively studied. In addition to Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, ch.3; Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, chs.4-7; Lamont, Godly Rule, passim; Hill, Antichrist, passim; Froom, Prophetic Faith, II, 455-63, 512-18, 533-58, see Bryan W. Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975), passim; Peter Toon (ed.), Puritans, The Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600-1660 (Cambridge, 1970), passim, Ernest Lee Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (1949; rev. 1964; reprinted Gloucester, Mass., 1972), pp.47-85; Brian G. Cooper, 'The Academic Re-Discovery of Apocalyptic Ideas in the 17th Century', The Baptist Quarterly, 18 (1950), pp.351-362, 19 (1961), pp.29-34.
- 2 A Plaine Discovery (Edinburgh, 1593), sig. A4<sup>a</sup>, pp.14-22. On the Pope as Antichrist, see pp.41-59.

age is and shall be the very heate of the warre, and brunt of the battell betwixt Papists and Protestants ... betwixt the armies of Christ and the armies of Antichrist'. He looked forward to a great final battle, when the ten Protestant Kings of Europe would vanquish the armies of the Pope and the King of Spain. Dent refused to speculate about precise dates for these events, but he was prepared to 'guesse at an age' - the present one.<sup>1</sup>

Brightman believed that the book of Revelation contained within it an account of the entire sweep of human history, from the death of Christ to the end of time. Like Foxe, he saw the reign of Constantine as the beginning of a thousand year period when Satan was bound, but he did not regard this as a glorious millennium, since the church had to contend throughout with the growing power of Antichrist. At the end of this thousand years, about 1300, there was a metaphorical resurrection of the true church in the work of the early Reformers. This marked the commencement of a second millennium, of which three hundred years had passed. This was the millennium spoken of in Revelation chap. xx.5, and Brightman was confident that it would become increasingly glorious, especially after the ultimate victory over Antichrist: 'And indeed we waite nowe every daye, while the Antichrist of Rome, and the Turke shalbe utterly destroyed. Till this victory be obtained, the Church shalbe still in her

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<sup>1</sup> The Ruine of Rome (London, 1603), the Epistle to the Reader, pp.239-240, 259, 253-260, 263.



warfaring estate, she must keepe in Tents, and is to wrastle with many adversities. But after that this worke shalbe dispatched she shal keepe a most joyful triumph, as rejoising exceedingly by reason of those unspeakeable pleasures and delights, which she shal live in after this perpetually'.<sup>1</sup>

The most influential account of the prophecies in the Revelation, however, was offered by Joseph Mede. He believed that the visions of seals being opened, trumpets being sounded, and vials being poured out could be synchronized, so that they were seen to be unfolding in a rational, orderly plan. Some of the events prophesied would be taking place at the same time; others would happen sequentially. The account of the pouring out of seven vials of wrath in Revelation chap.xvi, for example, signified the gradual stages of Antichrist's ruin. The first was poured out when groups like the Waldenses and Hussites began to renounce the authority of the Pope; the second was the work of the reformers led by Luther in causing 'whole Provinces, Dioceses, Kingdoms, Nations, and Cities' to break away from Rome; the third was the enactment, particularly in England under Queen Elizabeth, of laws against the Catholics. These three vials had already been poured out; the fourth

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<sup>1</sup> The Revelation of the Revelation (Amsterdam, 1615), pp.845-53. For a lengthy demonstration that Antichrist is the Pope, see pp.622-770.



was being poured out at the time Mede was writing. He believed that Gustavus Adolphus would shortly seize the German Empire and so remove it from the domination of Rome. The fifth vial would be the destruction of Rome itself; the sixth the conversion of the Jews; and the seventh the final overthrow of Satan.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most far-reaching aspect of Mede's work, however, was his conclusion that the millennium lay not in the past, but in the future, after the destruction of Antichrist. This was a major departure from the position of most earlier Protestant commentators who had accepted a modified Augustinian view which rejected the concept of a future millennium as a chiliast heresy. Mede was aware of the startling novelty of his interpretation, and his book was not printed in English until 1643, when a translation was published by order of a committee of the House of Commons.<sup>2</sup> Mede was reluctant to assign dates, but it was clear enough from his work that the fall of Antichrist and the commencement of the millennium would take place some time in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup>

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1 The Key of the Revelation, translated by Richard More (second edition, London, 1650), Part 2 (separately paginated), pp.112-121.

2 Ibid., Part 1, pp.22-25, and Part 2, pp.121-125 where Mede admits the novelty of his views. See also Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.172-77; Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp.127-129; Firth, Apocalyptic Traditions, pp.214-228.

3 See Ball, A Great Expectation, p.118.

The extraordinary importance which was attached to a sound understanding of the identification of Antichrist in the early seventeenth century is well illustrated by Thomas Beard's remark that 'Next unto the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, there is nothing so necessarie as the true and solide knowledge of Antichrist'.<sup>1</sup> As long as Antichrist was located in Rome and clearly identified with England's external enemies, the doctrine worked to encourage a popular patriotism focussed on a Protestant monarchy which would defeat the Roman Antichrist by the power of the sword. Arthur Dent, for example, took the destruction of the Armada as evidence of the glorious success which the Protestant armies might expect in their forthcoming battle with the forces of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> The labours of these commentators from Foxe to Mede served to consolidate the Protestant identification of Antichrist, and to make the study of the apocalyptic scriptures both popular and respectable. Whether the millennium was placed in the past, as with Foxe, or in the future, as with Mede, there was an increasing sense of optimism about the future course of events, and England's role in them.

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1 Antichrist the Pope of Rome (London, 1625), the Preface to the Reader.

2 The Ruine of Rome, p.223. See Hill, Antichrist, pp.13-15, 62-66; Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.173-76.

(iii) Antichrist in England

This broad Protestant consensus about the nature of Antichrist and his approaching ruin began to break down with the rise to power of Archbishop Laud.<sup>1</sup> Under his influence Arminian bishops and clergy began to question the assumption that the Pope was the Antichrist, and partly in reaction to this, many Puritans began to extend the concept to include not only Rome but episcopacy in general. Some Puritans had always believed that the established church was insufficiently reformed and was still tainted with antichristian elements which needed purging. A few had taken their opposition to episcopacy to the point of separation, and there was a long tradition of separatist attacks on the bishops as antichristian persecutors. The early Baptist Leonard Busher described the 'lord bishops' as 'so many antichrists', and accused them of stirring up 'godly kings ... to battle against the saints'.<sup>2</sup> Puritan opponents of Archbishop Laud and the Arminian clergy returned to these older views of episcopacy, and many came to believe that Antichrist had not altogether been eliminated in England. For a short but crucial period in the early 1640's there was a broad agreement between sectaries and many

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1 See Hill, Antichrist, pp.34-39; Lamont, Godly Rule, pp.66-68.

2 Religious Peace: or A Plea for Liberty of Conscience (1614) in Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution 1614-1661, edited by E.B. Underhill, Hanserd Knollys Society (London, 1845), pp.35, 37. See Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, ch.2; Hill, Antichrist, ch.2.



conforming Puritans that episcopacy bore the marks of Antichrist and must be thrown down.<sup>1</sup>

During the political breakdown which preceded the outbreak of civil war, the idea that Antichrist's downfall was imminent became widespread. The works of earlier commentators on the apocalypse, including Brightman and Mede, were republished, and millenarian ideas were widely disseminated by Puritan preachers.<sup>2</sup> The struggle between Parliament and the King was transformed very quickly into a struggle between what an anonymous pamphleteer in 1642 called The Camp of Christ, and the Camp of Antichrist. Henry Wilkinson joyfully informed the House of Commons in 1643 of the 'generall talk throughout the household among the

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1 See especially Hill, Antichrist, ch.3; Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, ch.5.

2 For a discussion of millenarian themes in the sermons preached before Parliament, see John F. Wilson, Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars 1640-1643 (Princeton, N.J., 1959), pp.207-230. See also B.S. Capp's conclusion that about 70% of those ministers who published three or more works between 1640 and 1653 were millenarians, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth Century Millenarianism (London, 1972), pp.38-49; Tai Liu, Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640-1660 (The Hague, 1973), chs 1 and 2; Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (1965; reprinted, New York, 1968), pp.291-99.

domesticks: ... that Christ their king is coming to take possession of his Throne, they doe not onely whisper this, and tell it in the eare, but they speake it publickely'.<sup>1</sup> When the Royalist clergyman, Edward Symmons, questioned a group of Parliamentary soldiers who had been taken prisoner, they told him that they had taken up arms 'against Antichrist and Popery', because, they said, ''tis prophesied in the Revelation, that the Whore of Babylon shall be destroyed with fire and sword, and what doe you know, but this is the time of her ruine, and that we are the men that must help to pull her downe'. Symmons tried to persuade them that Antichrist was 'at Rome, and not here in England', but they retorted that 'all the true godly Divines in England ... were of their opinion, that Antichrist was here in England as well as at Rome, and that the Bishops were Antichrist, and all that did endeavour to support them, were popishly affected, Babilonish and Antichristian too ...'.<sup>2</sup> Apocalyptic excitement and millenarian expectations of this kind were rife throughout all sections of society.

Pamphleteers varied in the details of their chronologies, but in the words of one, it was 'generally thought by

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1 Babylons Ruine, Jerusalems Rising (London, 1643), p.21.

2 Scripture Vindicated, from the Misapprehensions Misinterpretations and Misapplications of Mr Stephen Marshall (Oxford, 1644), 'The Preface to the Readers', sig. A3a&b. This revealing episode is cited and discussed by both Lamont, Godly Rule, p.97, and Hill, Antichrist, pp.79-80.



the People of God, that the totall rooting out of Antichrist drawes neer'.<sup>1</sup> The execution of the king was welcomed by many radicals as a symbolic preparation for the imminent rule of King Jesus. An anonymous paper published by soldiers and junior officers of the army sent to Scotland in 1650 explained to the Scots that Charles's death was essential because it was clear that he was 'one of the ten horns of the Beast (spoken of, Rev. 17. 12-15)'.<sup>2</sup>

The sixteen-fifties did not, however, fulfil the high hopes of those who, like Milton, had been awaiting the day when the 'Eternall and shortly-expected King' would 'open the Clouds to ... put an end to all Earthly Tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and milde Monarchy through Heaven and Earth'.<sup>3</sup> Instead, alarmed conservatives were beginning to warn of the harmful democratic possibilities opened up by millenarian beliefs.<sup>4</sup> Disillusioned with Cromwell

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1 James Pope, The Unveiling of Antichrist (London, 1646), 'To the Reader', sig. a2<sup>a</sup>..

2 A Declaration of the English Army now in Scotland (London, 1650), extracts reprinted in A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), Puritanism and Liberty (1938; second edition, London, 1974), p.477.

3 Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England: And the Causes that hitherto have hindred it (London, 1641), in Complete Prose Works of John Milton, Vol.1 edited by Don M. Wolfe (New Haven and London, 1953), p.616; cf. Michael Fixler, Milton and the Kingdoms of God (Evanston, Ill., 1964), pp.102-6.

4 Hill, Antichrist, pp.90-93, 135-37.



and conservative parliaments, a number of Fifth Monarchists came to believe that the millennial reign of King Jesus would have to be expedited by armed force, and in 1657 a small group engaged in an attempted coup against Cromwell who in their eyes had succeeded Charles as the Beast.<sup>1</sup> Their actions indicate how wide the concept of Antichrist was becoming: from being associated with a massive external threat to England, then with ecclesiastical authorities and secular powers, he came for some radicals to be located in every man. This progressive enlargement is exemplified in Henry Denne's complaint that Antichrist had been too narrowly identified in the past.

There is a great question who is Antichrist; and divers answer many things diversely, every one according to his thoughts: Some think the Pope of Rome is Antichrist, some the Bishops, some the Turks, &c. But give me leave to tell you what I conceive, that to tye the name of Antichrist to a particular man, or to any particular succession of men, is to confine him unto too narrow a bound: I will not deny but that the Pope is a principall member of Antichrist, of the manne of sinne, the head, if you please. But I doe beleewe the Pope and Antichrist to differ, as

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<sup>1</sup> See Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.116-118; Hill, Antichrist, pp.120-23.

the part and the whole; as the head, and the body: And I conceive the great Antichrist, to be that mysticall body of iniquitie which opposeth Jesus Christ; Antichrist is as much as to say, against Christ ...<sup>1</sup>

(iv) Bunyan and the Millennium

Bunyan, who had served in the Parliamentary army and was reaching maturity during the Commonwealth years, followed the tendency of many radicals in extending the concept of Antichrist. Like Denne, with whom he was acquainted, he identified all enemies of the truth as members of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> His earliest writings were polemics against the Quakers, and Bunyan did not hesitate to brand them as Antichristian.<sup>3</sup> These early works reveal also that Bunyan shared many of the eschatological beliefs and millenarian hopes current at the time. In Some Gospel Truths Opened (1656) he admitted that 'no man can tel neither the day nor the hour' of Christ's return in judgement, but he drew his readers' attention to the remarkable contemporary fulfillment of the various signs which were to precede this great event, clear proof that

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1 The Man of Sin Discovered (1645), reprinted in Antichrist Unmasked, In three Treatises (London, 1645), p.29. On the ever-widening identification and internalization of Antichrist, see Hill, Antichrist, pp.123-30.

2 Sharrock, p.39. On Bunyan's belief that the Anglican church was Antichristian, see below, p.65 and note.

3 Oxford Bunyan, I, 46, 111, 182.

'the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is so nigh, even at the doors'.<sup>1</sup> In this work, and in his next, A Vindication of Some Gospel Truths (1657), Bunyan is at pains to emphasise the literal reality of the approaching judgement day, when Christ shall 'come the second time, and personally appear, and reign, in the world to come'.<sup>2</sup>

His confident expectation that Christ would shortly return 'in flaming fire' to raise the dead, judge the wicked, purge the Church, cut off the ignorant, and set up his glorious kingdom on earth, was not at all unusual; as we have noted, in the turmoil of the Civil War and its aftermath, millenarian expectation was rife throughout most sections of English society.<sup>3</sup> What was less usual and indicates that Bunyan had been influenced by more radical interpreters, was his apparent belief at this time that Christ would rule with the saints for the entire

1 Ibid., pp.84-89, 99.

2 Ibid., p.205, Cf. pp.124, 208.

3 Ibid., pp.87-92. The importance and extent of eschatological speculation and millenarian belief in this period is emphasised in the works cited on p.xlii above. See also Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971; Penguin University Books, 1973), pp.166-171.



period of the thousand years.<sup>1</sup> As Bryan Ball has shown, most conservative commentators believed that though the millennium would likely be inaugurated by Christ's return to earth in person, he would leave the government of his kingdom to the saints and return to heaven until the thousand years had elapsed.<sup>2</sup> Some, though not all of the adherents of the more radical view that Christ would reign with the saints were Fifth Monarchists, though even they were not united on this point.<sup>3</sup> As William York Tindall and, more recently, Richard L. Greaves have noted, Bunyan was in close contact with Fifth Monarchist leaders and sympathizers, including John Rogers, John Simpson,

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1 Oxford Bunyan, I, 205. Christopher Hill has drawn attention to Bunyan's acquaintance with radical ideas; see The World Turned Upside Down (1972; Penguin edition, 1975), pp. 97, 204-5, 404-9. See also Tindall, passim, for a detailed, though highly unsympathetic account of Bunyan in his sectarian milieu. Tindall takes the view that these early references to the coming of Christ 'are ambiguous in that they may imply the coming to judgement' (p. 262, n. 64), but while it is true that his remarks are not extensive, Bunyan's millenarianism seems clear; cf. editors' notes in Oxford Bunyan, I, 391, 397. For the view that there would be two judgement days, one at the commencement of Christ's millennial rule, the other at the end, see John Archer's influential treatise, The Personall Reign of Christ Upon Earth (London, 1642), pp. 14-15, 21-22.

2 A Great Expectation, p. 164.

3 Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 137.

George Cokayne and Henry Jessey, and his early millenarianism may owe something to their influence.<sup>1</sup>

In January 1661 a small group of Fifth Monarchists led by Thomas Venner engaged in a last desperate attempt to establish the rule of the saints by force of arms. Bunyan had been in prison for some months before Venner's rising, and he understandably rejected their disastrous reliance on the arm of the flesh, in conversation with the clerk of the court.<sup>2</sup> But if he disavowed attempts to expedite Christ's return by physical force, Bunyan's expectation of the imminent defeat of Antichrist and the establishment of the millennium remained undimmed. In 1665 he published from prison a long treatise entitled The Holy City, or, The New Jerusalem, an extended commentary upon the heavenly city described in Revelation chap.xxi. As Bunyan interpreted it, the new Jerusalem here portrayed is a symbolic representation of the glorious state of the true church of Christ when she is delivered from 'her long and antichristian captivity'. All this was figured forth in the history of the Old Testament city of Jerusalem:

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1 Tindall, ch.VI; Greaves, 'John Bunyan and the Fifth Monarchists', Albion, 13 (1981), pp.83-95. See also Sharrock, p.31.

2 A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan, in G.A., p.120.

Thus it was with Jerusalem in the letter; which threefold state of this city shall be most exactly answered by our gospel Jerusalem, by our New Testament church. Her first state was in the days of Christ and his apostles, and answereth to Jerusalem in the days of Solomon; her second state is in the days of anti-christ, and answereth to the carrying away of the Jews from their city into Babylon; and her third state is this in the text, and answereth to their return from captivity and rebuilding their city and walls again ...<sup>1</sup>

Bunyan here sees Christian history falling into three broad phases: the early church under Christ and the apostles; then a long period under the oppression of Antichrist, in which condition the true church still remains; then a final period of glory which is going to begin shortly with the overthrow of Antichrist. His imagination is stirred as he contemplates the impending liberation of the persecuted saints:

Never was fair weather after foul - nor warm weather after cold - nor a sweet and beautiful spring after a heavy, and nipping, and terrible winter, so comfortable, sweet, desirable, and welcome to the poor birds and beasts of the field, as this day will be to the church of God.... O how clearly will all the spiders,

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<sup>1</sup> Ofor, III, 401.



and dragons, and owls, and foul spirits of Antichrist at that day be discovered ... Now also will all the pretty robins and little birds in the Lord's field most sweetly send forth their pleasant notes, and all the flowers and herbs of his garden spring.... You know how pleasant this is, even to be fulfilled in the letter of it, not only to birds and beasts, but men; especially it is pleasant to such men that have for several years been held in the chains of affliction. It must needs, therefore, be most pleasant and desirable to the afflicted church of Christ, who hath lain now in the dungeon of Antichrist for above a thousand years. But, Lord, how will this lady, when she gets her liberty, and when she is returned to her own city, how will she then take pleasure in the warm and spangling beams of thy shining grace! ... Then will be a golden world; wickedness shall then be ashamed, especially that which persecutes the church.... It will be then always summer, always sunshine, always pleasant, green, fruitful, and beautiful to the sons of God.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout The Holy City, Bunyan was less concerned with the details of how Antichrist would fall than with describing the joyful and glorious condition of the perfected, purified church. Having endured so long

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp.409, 459; cf. Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, pp. 155-56.

under the tyranny of Antichrist, the saints would enjoy a 'complete conquest and victory over the world'.

Writing from prison, and with the memory of Venner's disastrous rising still fresh, Bunyan is careful to explain that the establishment of the new Jerusalem posed no threat to 'the governors of this world ... or a diminishing of ought they have', though if anyone tried to destroy it they would provoke divine wrath:

the kings and nations of this world shall one day bring their glory and honour to this city; but yet not by outward force or compulsion; none shall constrain them but the love of Christ and the beauty of this city.... if any shall, out of mistrust or enmity against this city and her prosperity, bend themselves to disappoint the designs of the eternal God concerning her building and glory, then they must take what followeth. Her God in the midst of her is mighty, he will rest in his love, and rejoice over her with singing, and will UNDO all that afflict her.<sup>1</sup>

In offering his description of the millennium, Bunyan shows himself familiar with other views held by the godly. There had indeed, he admitted, been some 'lingering and disputing about the glorious state of the church in the latter days; some being for its

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<sup>1</sup> Ofor, III, 429, 410.

excellency to consist chiefly in outward glory; and others, swerving on the other side, conclude she shall not have any of this: some conceiving that this city will not be built until the Lord comes from heaven in person; other again concluding that when he comes, then there shall be no longer tarrying here, but that all shall forthwith, even all the godly, be taken up into heaven: with divers other opinions in these matters'.<sup>1</sup> His own views on how the millennium would commence seem to have changed. In the early works, as we have noted, he stressed the imminent return of Christ in person to establish his millennial kingdom. In Prison Meditations, published in 1663, he again referred to Christ 'Who, when he doth again appear / Will with him let us reign'.<sup>2</sup> This belief is absent in The Holy City. Here it seems that Christ will not return in person until the end of the thousand years of the church's glory. Bunyan remarks, making this distinction, that 'the descending of this city is not the coming of the glorified saints with their Lord; because that even after the descending, yea and building of this city, there shall be sinners

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1 Ibid., pp.408-409.

2 Oxford Bunyan, VI, 49.



converted to God; but at the coming of the Lord Jesus from heaven with his saints, the door shall be shut; that is, the door of grace, against all unbelievers'.<sup>1</sup> Throughout The Holy City, Bunyan emphasizes that the work of rebuilding the city will be carried out by the saints themselves: 'those of the church in captivity that shall build this city, they shall be a people peculiarly fitted and qualified for this work of God'. Not everyone will assist in this work; just as it was recorded of ancient Israel that "'their nobles put not their necks to the work of the Lord" ... so we do expect it will be now ...'<sup>2</sup> But Bunyan is supremely confident of the outcome:

1 Offor, III, 403. A similar view was expressed by the Fifth Monarchist leader, Henry Danvers: 'After the thousand years is the Judgment day, Corporeal Resurrection, and personal coming of our Lord Jesus', Theopolis, or the City of God, New Jerusalem, in Opposition to the City of the Nations, Great Babylon (London, 1672), p.228. See Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, p.137. Bunyan's mature view is clearly stated in a posthumously published work: 'I ... look for the coming of Christ to Judgment personally, and 'twixt this and that, for his coming in Spirit, and in the power of his Word to destroy Antichrist, to inform Kings, and so to give quietness to his Church on Earth; which shall assuredly be accomplished, when the reign of the Beast, the Whore, the false Prophet, and of the Man of Sin is out', Of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 1692 Folio, p.456.

2 Offor, III, 404.

At this day the footsteps of the Lord will be so apparent and visible in all his actions and dispensations in and towards his people, this holy city ... that they all will shine before the world ... so that in short time he will have brought his church into that safety, and her neighbours into that fear and submission, that they shall not again so much as dare to hold up a hand against her, no, not for a thousand years. Re.xx.3.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem from this that Bunyan had come to visualise the millennium as a period when Christ would rule through the saints, and his emphasis on the important role of a godly minority in establishing it is striking. Richard L. Greaves has argued that Bunyan's eschatological views here have much in common with those of radical millenarian groups including the Fifth Monarchists, though he notes several discrepancies, notably Bunyan's repudiation of the use of force by the saints, his reluctance to name dates, and his lack of interest in the conversion of the Jews.<sup>2</sup> On this third point, however, Greaves would seem to be mistaken; Bunyan discusses the conversion of the Jews repeatedly and in some detail in The Holy City. In his view the Jews would be converted after the establishment of the millennial kingdom through the preaching

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1 Ibid., p.407.

2 Greaves, 'John Bunyan and the Fifth Monarchists', p.88.

of the saints, and Jews and Gentiles would dwell together in the New Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> It is true that most interpreters had argued that the conversion of the Jews would happen before the millennium, but Bunyan's view was shared by Henry Danvers, who argued that the great conversion would happen after the fall of Babylon and the beginning of the millennium, and the saints would be its instruments.<sup>2</sup>

(v) Antichrist in the Restoration Period

It is surely not without significance that The Holy City should have been written and published by Bunyan just before 1666, the year which had been the subject of so much speculation regarding its supposed connection with the number of the Beast of Revelation. Many millenarian expositors had prophesied that the year 1666 would see the destruction of Rome, the great Antichrist, and the commencement of the millennium.<sup>3</sup> Bunyan himself does not name dates, but

1 Offor, III, 413, 415, 419, 447-48.

2 Theopolis (1672), pp.235-47; cf. Hanserd Knollys, The World that Now Is; and the World that is to Come (London, 1681), p.21. For other Fifth Monarchist views see Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.190-1, 213-14. See also Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.107-9, 117, 118, 146-56; David S. Katz, Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603-1655 (Oxford, 1982), pp.89-107.

3 See Sharrock, pp. 44-5; Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.192-3, 213-14. See also Michael McKeon, Politics and Poetry in Restoration England: The Case of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1975), pp.190-2, 197-203, 208, 215-30, 241-57; Bernard Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press (London and Boston, 1979), pp.173-75.



the whole tone of The Holy City breathes confident expectance: 'the time of the return of the saints to build the ruinous city is near, yea, very near ...'; 'Though Satan and Antichrist have had their day in the world ... yet now at length God will strike in for a share with them, and his Son "shall divide the spoil with the strong"'.<sup>1</sup> It sounds like an imminent, not a faraway prospect.

However, 1666 passed with Bunyan remaining in prison and Antichrist seemingly unscathed. How far disappointment had anything to do with the fact that he published nothing more for six years it is impossible to say. There is no doubt that the manifest failure of the millennium to begin that year was a blow to the saints, and their enemies lost no opportunity to jeer

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1 Offor, III, 407-8, 444. Cf. F. E [ccles?], Christian Information Concerning these Last times ... whereby People may see, how very near Antichrist, or the great Whore of Babylon, is to her End (London, 1664): 'the Devil hath now but a short time, which makes him rage the more; for we live in these dayes, wherein Scripture-Prophecies are fulfilled ... and our God hath ... called us ... to be of that Number that must break in pieces the great Image, and now at last to ingage with the Lamb, to fight with the Dragon, and his Followers ... Antichrist shall have his mortal blow in this Island first, whereby all Nations that hear of it, their hearts shall be struck with fear, to hear what the mighty God hath done for his poor afflicted People in England, p.15.

at their dismay.<sup>1</sup> Some historians have suggested that these disappointments and increasing contemporary scepticism following the Restoration led to the rapid decline of millenarianism and concern with the fall of Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> There is certainly evidence that the particular brand of political activism associated with some of the Fifth Monarchists aroused much contemporary hostility, but there is little to suggest that millenarian ideas as such simply evaporated after the Restoration.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it the case that such ideas and attitudes were peculiar to a few backward-looking

- 1 See Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, p.193, and his Astrology and the Popular Press, pp.174-75; McKeon, Politics and Poetry in Restoration England, pp.202-3.
- 2 See H.R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (second edition, London, 1972), pp.292-93; Christopher Hill, 'John Mason and the End of the World', in Puritanism and Revolution (London, 1958), pp.323-36, though the views there expressed are somewhat qualified in his Antichrist, ch.IV; William Lamont, Godly Rule, pp.158, 172-73, but see also his recent study, Richard Baxter and the Millennium (London, 1979), for an important revision of his earlier views. William York Tindall argues that although millenarian speculation continued to flourish among Baptist Fifth Monarchy enthusiasts after 1660, it 'suffered the neglect of the sober and the fashionable', Tindall, pp.122-24.
- 3 See Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, ch.9, and Astrology and the Popular Press, pp.175-79. For further evidence of the survival of millenarian ideas and continued interest in Antichrist, see From, Prophetic Faith, II, 580-97, 640-95; Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp.171-73; Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.234-36; Miller, Popery and Politics, pp.88-90; J.A. de Jong, As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810 (Kampen, 1970), passim; Geraint H. Jenkins, Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660-1730 (Cardiff, 1978), pp.196-97; D.P. Walker, The Decline of Hell (London, 1964), pp.253-63.

Dissenting sects. Eschatological beliefs characterized all sections of society in Restoration England: royalist, Anglican, Presbyterian, sectarian, republican. What distinguished the various factions was not the habit of thinking eschatologically, but the particular policies which eschatological or millenarian predictions might be used to advocate.<sup>1</sup> Millenarian ideas have been shown to be significant in the thinking of some of the most prominent intellectual figures of the later seventeenth century, including Robert Boyle, Thomas Burnet, Henry More, Sir Isaac Newton, Richard Baxter and a number of latitudinarian bishops.<sup>2</sup> Far from dying away, such ideas persisted in various forms

- 1 This point is given detailed discussion with particular reference to Dryden's Annus Mirabilis in McKeon, Politics and Poetry in Restoration England, chs 5-8. Richard Baxter, writing in 1691, commented upon the attraction of millenarianism to both sectaries and conformists; see The Glorious Kingdom of Christ, Described and clearly Vindicated (London, 1691), p.12.
- 2 See especially Margaret C. Jacob, The Newtonians and the English Revolution 1689-1720 (Hassocks, Sussex, 1976), ch.3 and passim; Frank E. Manuel, The Religion of Isaac Newton (Oxford, 1974), pp.69, 89-101, 107-136; Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium, passim. The direction of these studies seems to bear out the account given by Hillel Schwartz of a shift away from earlier explanations which saw millenarianism as sporadic outbreaks of anxiety 'symptomatic of social or personal illness', towards a stress on 'the continuity and strength of millennial expectations' which are at 'the constant center of religious life'; see his review article and bibliography, 'The End of the Beginning: Millenarian Studies, 1969-1975', Religious Studies Review, 2 (1976), pp.1-15.



throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

What seems to have been taking place in the later seventeenth century, it may be argued, was not so much the gradual disappearance of millenarian beliefs, as a struggle to divest them of the seditious flavour they had acquired during the Commonwealth, and to rehabilitate them in the eyes of a restored Anglican church and monarchy. This struggle took many different forms. A few Anglicans simply turned the apocalyptic scriptures around to show that the real Antichrist had been Cromwell, and that the Restoration marked his predicted defeat.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 See for example, Hillel Schwartz, The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth Century England (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1980) passim; Jack Fruchtman, Jr., 'Politics and the Apocalypse: The Republic and the Millennium in Late-Eighteenth-Century English Political Thought' in Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, vol.10, ed. Harry C. Payne (Madison, Wisconsin and London, 1981), pp.153-64; W.H. Oliver, Prophets and Millennialists: The Uses of Biblical Prophecy in England from the 1790s to the 1840s (Auckland and Oxford, 1978), passim; J.F.C. Harrison, The Second Coming: Popular Millenarianism 1780-1850 (London, 1979), passim; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963; Penguin Books, 1968), pp.52-55, 127-30, 419-31, 878-83; Frank Kermode, The Sense of an Ending (Oxford, 1967), chs I and IV.
- 2 See Abraham Nelson, A Perfect Description of Antichrist, And his false Prophet, Wherein is plainly shewed that Oliver Cromwell was Antichrist, and John Presbiter, or John Covenanter his false Prophet (London, 1660); Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, ANTIXPISTOZ, The Great Antichrist Revealed, Before this time, never discovered (London, 1660).

Others took a more 'rational' line, attacking prevailing millenarian ideas as dangerous delusions, especially the search for Antichrist and predictions of his downfall. The anonymous author of An Essay to the Explaining of the Revelation, published in 1661, set out to counteract some of the more 'exotic interpretations that are usually forced upon the Revelation'. He rejected as wholly mistaken the notions that the whole book is an allegory; that it contains predictions of what will happen to the churches in all ages; and that its principal scope is the discovery of Antichrist. He is particularly concerned to do away with references to the Pope as Antichrist. All such interpretations should be rejected by rational Christians, since they stem from 'violent wresting of the Revelation'.<sup>1</sup> Another writer, Richard Hayter, was distinctly lukewarm about the identification of the Pope as Antichrist.<sup>2</sup> In any case, Hayter argued, Antichrist's final destruction will not happen until Christ's return in judgement, and that day may be hundreds of years hence. He scoffed at those who had expected it in 1654 and 1666: 'they which expect the destruction of the Whore, in our days, thinking that they shall live to see it done, may look till their eyes be out, and not see it come to pass.'<sup>3</sup>

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1 'A Preface to the Reader'.

2 The Meaning of the Revelation (London, 1675), pp.219-24.

3 Ibid., p.245; cf. pp.33-37.



Hayter was anxious to dispel such gross misinterpretations of scripture, because, as he remarked in his preface, 'a great in-let to our late Civil Wars, hath been the misinterpretation of the Revelation.'<sup>1</sup>

Other Anglican writers took very seriously the concept of a future millennium, and they attempted to produce more intellectually satisfying and politically acceptable interpretations of the apocalyptic scriptures. Perhaps the best known of these is the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, who in 1664 published A Modest Enquiry into the Mystery of Iniquity, defending the Church of England from the charge of Antichristianism levelled at her by the sectaries.<sup>2</sup> In doing so he felt it necessary to apologise to his more cultivated readers, who might understandably object that it is

something ignoble, inglorious, and  
ungentile, thus to tincture your style  
and soil your pen with the names of

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1 'To the Reader', sig. A3<sup>b</sup>.

2 More's millenarian beliefs are discussed by Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia, pp.92-99, where he emphasises their 'scientific' and 'progressivist' tendency. See also remarks on the political implications of Anglican millenarianism in M.C. Jacob and W.A. Lockwood, 'Political Millenarianism and Burnet's Sacred Theory', Science Studies, 2 (1972), pp.265-279; Jacob, The Newtonians and the English Revolution, ch.3; Hill, Antichrist, pp.148-9; Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium, pp.42-45, 52-54.



Antichrist and Antichristianism, of which the breath of the rude and ignorant vulgar usually smells as strong as of Onions and Garlick, and have so fouled these words by their unmannerly mouthing them without all . . . ayme, that they have made them now unfit to pass the lips of any civil person.<sup>1</sup>

More, however, does not believe that, because they have been abused by the vulgar, these matters should be ignored. To those who think that it is vain and frivolous to attempt to interpret the prophetic books, either because they are 'utterly incapable of any certain Solution', or because the attempt leads to nothing but 'Faction and Confusion . . . to the hazard of the subversion of States and Kingdoms, and the ruin and destruction of the Church of Christ', More replies that it is possible for reasonable and intelligent men to arrive at an agreed interpretation of these difficult scriptures. The task is all the more urgent in the face of the 'wild Applications Enthusiasts make of the Ten-horned Beast, and the Whore of Babylon, phansying in their mad mistaken zeal every legitimate Magistrate that Beast, and every well-ordered Church that Whore . . .'<sup>2</sup>

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1 A Modest Enquiry (London, 1664), sig. A3<sup>b</sup>.

2 Ibid., pp.185-87. Cf. his attack on 'affected Rationalists' in Paralipomena Prophetica (London, 1685), p.xvii.

To help him in his task, More drew upon the writings of earlier millenarian scholars, particularly Joseph Mede, whose work More vigorously defended. He compiled an elaborate 'Alphabet of Prophetick Iconisms', the study of which he hoped would enable it to be decided with certainty

whether those Comminations that threaten destruction to the Fourth Beast and the Whore ... do primarily signify any bloody or boisterous destruction, (such as the keen Fifth-Monarchy-men or any other Enthusiasts are over-forward to...imagine;) or whether the Mystery of God may not rather be accomplished in such an orderly Reformation as was made by the Sovereign Power of England in King Edward and Queen Elizabeth's time.<sup>1</sup>

In 1685 More defended his expositions of the apocalyptic scriptures as being useful

for the general Peace of Christendom, for Loyalty to Sovereigns, whether they be of the Reformed or Unreformed Religion, for securing to Monarchs their Crowns, for the preventing barbarous Bloodshed in the Christian World, and for the extinguishing Sects and Schisms, especially here in our own Nation.<sup>2</sup>

1 A Modest Enquiry, p.194.

2 Paralipomena Prophetica, p.iii.

More looked forward to the destruction of the Antichrist and the establishment of the millennium as confidently as any sectary, but his conservative Anglican millenarianism assigned to the established English church a central role in the unification of European Protestantism - a unification which would fulfil the work of the Reformation and bring about the ultimate defeat of Antichrist and the Catholic powers in Europe.<sup>1</sup>

A combination of the effects of persecution, the censorship, and disappointment at the failure of apocalyptic prophecies, seems to have contributed to some lowering of interest in the fall of Antichrist among the Dissenting sects during the late 1660s and 1670s.<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Cf. his remark in Apocalypsis Apocalypseos (London, 1680): 'the most certain sign of the downfall of Antichrist will be the raising again in the Reformed Churches a sincere and fervent Zeal after Truth and Holiness, hearty Love and Amity amongst themselves', p.xxv.
- 2 But see E. [anserd] K. [nollys], Apocalyptical Mysteries, Touching the Two Witnesses, the Seven Vials, and the Two Kingdoms, to wit, of Christ, and of Antichrist, Expounded (London, 1667); Edward Bagshaw, The Doctrine of the Kingdom and Personal Reign of Christ Asserted and Explained in an Exposition upon Zach. 14.5.9. (n.p., 1669); A Scheme of the whole Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ (n.p. 1671); Henry Danvers, Theopolis, or the City of God, New Jerusalem, in Opposition to the City of the Nations, Great Babylon (n.p., 1672); William Sherwin, The Times of Restitution of All Things, with the Neer Approach upon the Ruine of the Beast (London, 1675). The effects of the Regulation of Printing Act of 1662 on Quaker publications of the period are examined in Thomas O'Malley, '"Defying the Powers and Tempering the Spirit". A Review of Quaker Control over their Publications 1672-1689', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 33 (1982), pp.72-88.



This comparative lull was ended, however, by the extraordinary events surrounding the Popish Plot and the Exclusion crisis; and the expiry of the Press Licensing Act in May 1679 facilitated renewed speculation in print concerning the identity and fate of the Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> The Baptist leader, Hanserd Knollys, published a series of expositions of the apocalyptic scriptures, drawing out their fulfillment in contemporary events, and once again calculating the possible date of the approaching millennium.<sup>2</sup> Another leading non-conformist minister, Christopher Ness, published in 1679 A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist, which he dedicated to Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, in the belief that 'The work of your day is to pull down this cursed Antichrist, (here treated on), and to set up our blessed Christ in his Throne.'<sup>3</sup> Other pamphleteers fuelled the

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1 This revival of apocalyptic excitement is evident in the popular almanacs of the period studied by Bernard Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press, pp.175-77.

2 Mystical Babylon Unveiled (1679); An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (1679); The World that Now Is; and the World that is to Come (1681). Knollys's eschatological views as set forth in an earlier work, The Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven expounded (1674), are discussed in B.R. White, Hanserd Knollys and Radical Dissent in the Seventeenth Century (Friends of Dr. Williams's Library Thirty-First Lecture, London, 1977), pp.20-1, 24.

3 For an account of Ness (or Nesse), see D.N.B., s.v.

anti-Catholic paranoia created by the 'plot', retailing in gruesome detail the history of Rome's persecution of Protestants. The anonymous author of The Antichristian Principle fully Discovered (1679) provides a typically lurid example of the popular attitudes which were also expressed by the enormous pope-burning processions, in which images of the pope as Antichrist were paraded by vast crowds:

I have thus given you a draught of the bloody Beast, but it is but in little ... But look upon him as he is, view him, and behold the terror of his Looks: his eyes are flames that consume the Bodies of so many thousand Martyrs: see his mouth like Hell gaping for his prey: Blood gushes out of his open jaws like Rivers; his bloody Tusks are Racks and tormenting Engines, wherewith he grindes the bones of the Saints. His tail is arm'd with the Stings of Scorpions, wherewith he lashes Kingdomes; from his throat he belches forth Curses and excommunications, and denounces Judgements and Death upon all that oppose him.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Antichristian Principle, p.40; cf. Romes Thunder-Bolt, or, Antichrist displaid (London, 1632); The Solemn Mock-Procession: or the Tryal and Execution of the Pope and his Ministers, On the 17. of Nov. at Temple-Bar (London, 1680). See Sheila Williams, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679, 1680 and 1681', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, 21 (1958), pp.104-18. See also Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press, pp.91-4, 158-59; Miller, Popery and Politics, pp.182-88.

Unfortunately for the nonconformists, Shaftesbury and his Whig supporters failed to secure the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from the legitimate succession, and the subsequent Tory reaction brought persecution at its fiercest. The penal laws against nonconformity were strictly enforced, with Dissenters of all denominations once again being fined, imprisoned and forced to hold their meetings in secret under constant threat from government informers.<sup>1</sup>

(vi) Of Antichrist, and His Ruine

It was during these dark years of renewed persecution that Bunyan produced his own most sustained account of Antichrist and the millennium, published after his death as Of Antichrist, and His Ruine: And of the Slaying the Witnesses.<sup>2</sup> The opening 'Premonition' to the reader suggests strongly that the work was composed during a time of severe persecution, and its length and repeated protestations of political loyalty may indicate that Bunyan had intended to publish the work. He draws on the example of the Persian King Artaxerxes, who treated the Jews kindly, to make a plea for religious toleration,

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1 See Gerald R. Cragg, Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution 1660-1688 (1957; reissued New York, 1971), pp.22-26; Michael R. Watts, The Dissenters, Vol.I: From the Reformation to the French Revolution (Oxford, 1978), pp.253-57.

2 On the likely date of authorship, see above, pp. xvi-xxi.



and he expresses confidence that God can put it into the hearts even of ungodly kings to grant liberty of worship to God's people. In the meantime he counsels quietness and patience under suffering, warning his persecuted brethren not to blame the king for their troubles, for most often it is those who give bad counsel to the king who are to blame. He ends the 'Premonition' with a call to repentance and testifies that his motive in writing has been to demonstrate his loyalty to his king, his love to his brethren, and his service for his country.<sup>1</sup>

The treatise itself is organized under six broad headings. It opens with a detailed description of Antichrist, and then discusses in turn his forthcoming destruction, the manner of its accomplishment, the signs of its approach, the instruments God will use, and its causes. A brief 'Application' at the end points up

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1 Similar professions of loyalty to the king, while urging that he grant religious toleration, may be found in numerous Baptist Confessions and loyal addresses of the 1660s and 1670s; see Confessions of Faith, and other Public Documents, Illustrative of the History of the Baptist Churches of England in the 17th Century, edited by E.B. Underhill, Hanserd Knollys Society (London, 1854); Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution 1614-1661, edited by E.B. Underhill, Hanserd Knollys Society (London, 1846), pp.288-382.

some of the lessons to be learned from the contemplation of Antichrist's imminent fall. The inclusion of this 'Application' suggests that the work probably originated as a sermon which Bunyan subsequently enlarged into a treatise. According to his colleagues Chandler and Wilson, it was Bunyan's custom 'to commit his Sermons to Writing after he had Preached them'.<sup>1</sup> The marks of its sermon origins are observable in the structure of the work, with its numbered divisions and subdivisions in which scriptural texts are 'opened', and individual words and phrases have their meanings enumerated.<sup>2</sup> There is a good deal of repetition as Bunyan piles up scriptural examples, and reiterates important points. Most of his non-fictional works are organised in this way, and indeed sermon conventions are occasionally carried over into his fiction.<sup>3</sup> This

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- 1 'The Epistle to the Reader', 1692 Folio, sig. A1<sup>b</sup>. For other examples of the practice of turning sermons into treatises, see W. Fraser Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory from Andrewes to Tillotson (London, 1932), p.27.
- 2 On the use of divisions in sermon structure, see Mitchell, English Pulpit Oratory, pp.112-115; see also Perry Miller on the Puritan advocacy of a 'plain' style, The New England Mind (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp.331-361, reprinted in Stanley E. Fish (ed.), Seventeenth-Century Prose (New York, 1971), pp.147-186; Judson Boyce Allen, 'The Style and Content of Baptist Sermons in Seventeenth-Century England', Furman Studies, n.s. XV (1968), pp.1-21.
- 3 See Roger Sharrock, 'Life and Story in The Pilgrim's Progress' in Vincent Newey (ed.), The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views (Liverpool, 1980), pp.51-55. The fullest discussion of the style of Bunyan's non-fictional works is Talon, pp.106-130.



repetitious, analytical method of exposition was widely favoured by preachers, partly on the ground that it enabled auditors to remember the main points more easily.<sup>1</sup> Richard Baxter's anxiety to communicate was typical:

the more I have to do with the ignorant sort of people, the more I find that we cannot possibly speak too plainly to them ... Nay, I find, if we do not purposely draw out the matter into such a length of words, and use some repetition of it, that they may hear it inculcated on them again, we do but over-run their understandings, and they presently lose us.<sup>2</sup>

Bunyan likewise was well aware of the value of repetition; he spoke and wrote for an audience with 'short memories, and but little time to spare, which usually is the lot of the mean and poorer sort of men'.<sup>3</sup>

This awareness of his audience also influenced Bunyan's prose style. He dealt with them, he said, 'not in a nice distinction of words but in a plain and familiar Discourse'.<sup>4</sup> To learned readers who might complain that 'I have not so beautified my matter with

1 Caroline Francis Richardson, English Preachers and Preaching 1640-1670 (London, 1928), p.75.

2 Cited in N.H. Keeble, Richard Baxter: Puritan Man of Letters (Oxford, 1982), pp.49-50.

3 Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-Day Sabbath (1685), Offor, II, 361.

4 The Saints Knowledge of Christ's Love (1692), 1692 Folio, p.414.



acuteness of language', Bunyan retorted that 'words easy to be understood do often hit the mark, when high and learned ones do only pierce the air'.<sup>1</sup>

His advocacy of a 'plain' style did not mean that Bunyan excluded the use of literary artifice. In one of his early works he noted the value of 'similitudes', which 'if fitly spoke and applied, do much set off and out any point that either in the doctrines of faith or manners, is handled ...'<sup>2</sup>

Similes and metaphors may be drawn from the whole world of creation, the book of nature: 'This is the book out of which, both Christ, the prophets, and apostles, do so frequently discourse by their similitudes, proverbs and parables, as being the most easy way to convince the world'.<sup>3</sup> For the most part Bunyan's illustrations are homely ones, suited to the experience of his audience. In Of Antichrist, and His Ruine he looks forward to a time when Antichrist is no more, and the saints shall 'like the Sparrows, the little Robbins, and the Wren, sit and sing, and chirrup

1 The Holy City (1665), Offor, III, 398. Cf. 'I could also have stepped into a stile much higher then this in which I have here discoursed, and could have adorned all things more then here I have seemed to do ...', G.A., p.3.

2 The Holy City (1665), Offor, III, 409.

3 The Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Judgment (c. 1665), Offor, II, 112.

one to another, while their Eyes behold this dead Hawk'.<sup>1</sup> Christ cannot set up his kingdom on earth until Antichrist's church is destroyed, 'even as a Man whose Ground is full of Thorns, and Bryars, and Weeds, cannot sowe in Expectation of a Crop, until he hath removed them'.<sup>2</sup> Those who serve Antichrist are like the slaves of a whore: 'They must come when she calls, run when she bids, fight with and beat them that she saith miscall her, and spend what they can get by labour or fraud upon her, or she will be no more their Whore, and they shall be no more her bosom Ones'.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, though, Bunyan's use of similes and metaphors in Of Antichrist, and His Ruine is sparing. This may be because the work contains much detailed exposition, and is directed towards fellow believers rather than to a wider audience.<sup>4</sup> Within the limitations

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1 Below, p.52.

2 Below, p.161.

3 Below, p.57.

4 William York Tindall argues that Bunyan consciously adopted two distinct styles: 'a direct and simple prose, suitable for the conviction of the mature, and a familiar prose or verse, abounding in anecdote and metaphor, which he designed for the captivation of obstinate or difficult men', Tindall, p.171. This seems a useful distinction, if it is not applied too rigidly.

of the sermon conventions, however, Bunyan's style is often effective. His sentences can be memorably pithy:

When the Devil sees that he cannot do by Argument, he will try. if he can by Blows.<sup>1</sup>

They can combine a simple, colloquial vocabulary with beautifully eloquent cadences, as when he describes how future generations will talk of Antichrist as of a terror long past:

This will be some of the sweet Chat that the Saints shall, at their spare hours, have in time to come.<sup>2</sup>

In longer sentences the effect is sustained with alliteration and balanced repetition of words and phrases:

Now the Church of God shall read with great plainness the depths of Providence, and the turnings and Windings of all God's dark and intricate Dispensations, through which she hath waded in the cloudy and dark day: Now, I say, they shall see there was an harmony in them; and that if one of them had been wanting, the work and way of her Deliverance could not have been so full of the Wisdom, and Justice, and Goodness of God ...<sup>3</sup>

1 Below, p.104.

2 Below, p.165.

3 Below, pp.58-59.



A large proportion of the work is devoted to quotations from the Bible. Sometimes these are set down without alteration, but Bunyan frequently welds together phrases from a number of texts, forming an eloquent continuum.<sup>1</sup> Occasionally he alters the words to give his own imaginative rendition, as in his dramatic account of the sudden, unexpected destruction which will befall the supporters of Antichrist when they think they have gained victory over the saints:

Thus, as to Sense and Reason, all shall be hush, all shall be quiet and still: the Followers of the Lamb shall be down; the Followers of the Beast shall be up ... But Zeph.2. behold! While they thus sing in the window,  
14. Death is stradling over the threshold!  
While they are crying Peace and Safety,  
sudden Destruction cometh ...<sup>2</sup>

Similar examples of the intensity with which the words of Scripture gripped Bunyan's imagination are to be found not only in his allegories, but throughout his writings.<sup>3</sup> His total devotion to the Bible as the sole source of knowledge concerning spiritual and ecclesiastical

1 See, for example, below, p.54 and note.

2 Below, p.132; the original reads: 'their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds'. Cf. below, p.105, 1.3 and note.

3 See Sharrock, pp.64-66; U. Milo Kaufmann, The Pilgrim's Progress and Traditions in Puritan Meditation (New Haven and London, 1966), pp.151-165; Brainerd P. Stranahan, 'Bunyan's Special Talent : Biblical Texts as "Events" in Grace Abounding and The Pilgrim's Progress', English Literary Renaissance, 11 (1981), pp.329-343.

matters was asserted emphatically in his most important theological treatise, The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded (1659): 'thou must give more credit to one syllable of the written Word of the Gospel, then thou must give to all the Saints and Angels in Heaven and Earth'.<sup>1</sup>

When it came to interpreting the Scriptures, Bunyan did not regard his lack of formal education as any handicap. He shared to the full the religious anti-intellectualism and anti-rationalism of the sectaries, remarking on one occasion that 'though I am not skilled in the Hebrew tongue, yet through grace, I am enlightened into the Scriptures ...'<sup>2</sup> His favoured method of exegesis was the 'typological' or 'figural' method, widely used in the seventeenth century by exegetes of all religious groupings. Strictly defined, this was a method by which Old Testament events, persons and things were regarded as 'types' or 'figures' signifying 'antitypes' in the New Testament, especially

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1 Oxford Bunyan, II, 191. For a detailed account of Baptist and Quaker beliefs about the Scripture, see Ted LeRoy Underwood, 'The Controversy between the Baptists and the Quakers in England 1650-1689: A Theological Elucidation' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1965), pp.56-95.

2 Some Gospel-Truths Opened (1656), Oxford Bunyan, I, 39. Cf. Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (Penguin edition, 1975), pp.93-95.

the life of Christ.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century the method was frequently extended, so that the Biblical types could be taken as prefiguring also the experiences of the church and individual believers throughout the ages.<sup>2</sup> Herbert Palmer, preaching before Parliament, declared that 'The Records of Holy Scripture, whether they concern the actions of God or man, are not onely Stories of things done in that Age, but Prophecies also of future events in succeeding Generations'.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Taylor, one of the leading exponents of typological

- 1 The derivation of the word 'type' is outlined by K.J. Woolcombe, 'The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology', in G.W.R. Lampe and K.J. Woolcombe, Essays on Typology (London, 1957); an exhaustive study of the history and uses of the term 'figura' is provided in Erich Auerbach's essay, 'Figura', in Scenes from the Drama of European Literature, trans. Ralph Manheim (1959; rep. Gloucester, Mass., 1973), pp.11-76. See also Victor Harris, 'Allegory to Analogy in the Interpretation of the Scriptures', Philological Quarterly, XLV (1966), pp.1-23.
- 2 For recent discussions of typology which indicate its theological, political and literary uses in the seventeenth century, see Joseph A. Galdon, S.J., Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature (The Hague, 1975); Earl Miner (ed.), Literary Uses of Typology (Princeton, 1977); Barbara K. Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric (Princeton, 1979); Paul J. Korshin, Typologies in England 1650-1820 (Princeton, 1982).
- 3 The Glasse of Gods Providence Towards His Faithfull Ones (London, 1644), 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.



interpretation, recommended the Bible as 'a notable guide through the pilgrimage of our life'; the Christian who reads it properly will find that there is no condition he can be in 'but he shall see his own case in some of them, and so shall obtain instruction, direction and consolation by them'.<sup>1</sup> Bunyan employed typological exegesis for a variety of purposes: to prove theological points, to discover spiritual instruction in the Old Testament, and to adumbrate the future course of God's great plan of history as it moved towards its consummation.<sup>2</sup> In Of Antichrist, and His Ruine he frequently cites stories from the Old Testament as prefigurations of events which would take place at the time of Antichrist's fall. Recalling the judgements which overtook Pharaoh, Zedekiah and Babylon, all of whom 'in some things, were Figures of the great Whore', Bunyan considers that God will 'go the same way with his great Enemy now'.<sup>3</sup> He presents a list of 'parallel Cases' from the history of the Israelites which indicate that the Church will be utterly overcome for a short time

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1 David's Learning, or the way to True Happiness in a Commentary upon the 32. Psalm, in The Works (London, 1659), p.93.

2 For a discussion of Christological typology in Bunyan's works, see Richard L. Greaves, Introduction to Oxford Bunyan, VIII, xliv-1. Examples of typological exegesis may be found in nearly everything Bunyan wrote, but see especially Solomon's Temple Spiritualized (1688) and An Exposition on the Ten First Chapters of Genesis (1692).

3 Below, pp.70-71.

before the final destruction of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

While his typological reading of the Bible enabled Bunyan to discern what the future held in store for the saints and their enemies, his account of Antichrist's activity in the past is broadly historical, in line with earlier Protestant interpretations. However there was a significant division between those like Foxe who believed that Antichrist had not appeared until after the millennium which began under Constantine, and those who traced the rise of Antichrist back to the early church, and believed that the millennium had yet to begin. This second, more radical interpretation is followed by Bunyan. He describes how the leaders of the church 'so inveigled Constantine, that he bestowed upon them much Riches and Honour', and sees this pursuit

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1 Below, pp. 111-114. Cf. Hanserd Knollys, who explained that the apocalyptic scriptures were 'spoken in the words and language of the Prophets, and according to the custom of the Jews. For that ancient People, their State, Sufferings, and Ceremonies; their Temple, Worship, and Ordinances; their Kings, Priest and Prophets were in many things Typical, and in some particulars lively Types of Christ, and his Kingdom', An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), sig. A3<sup>a</sup>.

of worldly wealth as a mark of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup> By means of such flattery and deceit, Antichrist came to be set up as the head of the church, where he took the form of a great scarlet whore. The kings of the earth lusted after this whore, and fed her with the blood of the martyred saints. Throughout the ages a faithful few have protested against her, but she remains on her throne. Her destruction will not happen suddenly, but slowly by degrees affecting spirit, body and head. The process has already begun: Bunyan invited his reader to 'look back and compare Antichrist four or five hundred years ago, with Antichrist as he is now'.<sup>2</sup> God has already begun to fulfill his promise 'here in England! as also in Scotland, Holland, Germany, France, Sweeden, Denmark, Hungaria, and other places'.<sup>3</sup> In these countries the triumph of Protestantism was evidence that the spirit of Christ had overcome the spirit of Antichrist. The outward ordinances of

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1 Below, p.159. Cf. Milton's attack on the apostacy which set in under Constantine, in Of Reformation, Complete Prose Works, I, 554-69, 576-79. See Christopher Hill, Milton and the English Revolution (1977; Penguin Books, 1979), pp.84-85. Richard Baxter who, like Bunyan, was studying the apocalyptic scriptures in the early 1680s, defended Foxe's belief in a past millennium inaugurated by Constantine; see The Glorious Kingdom of Christ, Described and clearly Vindicated (London, 1691), pp.10, 39, 54. For a full discussion, see Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium, pp.68, 71, 192-93, 202-3, 278-79, 300, 305.

2 Below, p.31.

3 Below, p.32.



Antichrist, 'his Masses, Prayers for the Dead, Images, Pilgrimages, Monkish Vows, sinful Fasts, and the beastly Single-life of their Priests', had been swept away like dead leaves, and the civil laws which supported the worship of Antichrist had been overthrown by Christian magistrates, Kings and Princes.<sup>1</sup> Bunyan looks back with approval to the achievements of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth, who began the work of dismantling Antichristian laws. As a recent example of the continuation of this process, he instances the abolition of the punishment of burning for heretics, enacted in 1677.<sup>2</sup> Bunyan does not attempt to make direct correlations between particular historical events and scriptural texts, but his general emphasis on the historical manifestation of Antichrist, as an institution gradually being weakened both religiously and politically, follows traditional Protestant

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1 Below, p.37. Cf. Arthur Dent, The Ruine of Rome (1603): 'Now wee see that manie lawes are made in sundrie kingdoms and provinces to abolish that usurped power of the Bishop of Rome: Manie acts, edicts, and injunctions are set forth in sundrie nations and kingdomes of Europe to destroy, roote out, and deface all monuments of Idolatrie and superstition, which Antichrist had erected in all kingdoms', p.216.

2 Below, p.42.

interpretations from Bale and Foxe onwards.<sup>1</sup> He rehearses once again the familiar litany of Protestant arguments identifying Rome as the Antichrist and elaborating the causes of his ruin: his blasphemy against the Holy Ghost in setting up a church structure contrary to that laid down in the Scriptures; his attempts to deceive the faithful by false miracles and lying, wicked priests; his cruel persecution of the saints as evidenced by the massacres in France, Ireland and Piedmont; his interference in political affairs, setting kings against the saints just as the Jewish synagogue used Pilate to condemn Christ; his covetousness and pursuit of material wealth; his obstruction of the establishment of Christ's kingdom on the earth.<sup>2</sup>

Though the process of his destruction has been a protracted one, involving both the witness of faithful preachers and believers and the political actions of Protestant rulers, Bunyan is in no doubt that Antichrist will finally be defeated, and Satan will be bound up in hell for a thousand years. He looks

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1 See Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, passim; Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.68-108; Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.70-76.

2 Below, pp.144-163. Compare, for example, Foxe, Acts and Monuments (1641 edition), I, 2-38; William Guild, Anti-Christ Pointed and painted out in his true Colours (Aberdeen, 1655), pp.83-171; Christopher Ness, A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), pp.22-62; Benj.[amin] Keach, Antichrist Stormed (n.p., 1689), pp.39-102.

forward keenly to those 'Brave days when Antichrist is dead', imagining the joy of future generations of saints to whom Antichrist will no longer be a threat.<sup>1</sup> As in his earlier millenarian writings, however, Bunyan is reluctant to name any particular date when the overthrow of Antichrist would occur. He states firmly that the exact time 'is not certainly known by the saints' and bewails 'the forwardness of some in this matter, who have predicted concerning the time of the downfall of Antichrist, to the shame of them and their Brethren'.<sup>2</sup> Bunyan's position here is very close to that of John Owen who, in a sermon preached in 1680, emphasised that although there was a 'fixed, determinate time in the counsel of God, when Antichrist and Babylon, and idolatry and supersititon, together with that profaneness of life which they have brought in, shall be destroyed', that time is not revealed to the saints. Like Bunyan, Owen warns against attempts to calculate dates: 'Take heed of computations. How wofully and wretchedly have we been mistaken by this!'<sup>3</sup> Christopher Hill has

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1 Below, pp.51-59.

2 Below, pp.76-77.

3 The Use of Faith, if Popery should return upon us, in The Works of John Owen, edited by William H. Goold, 16 vols (1850-53 ; reprinted Edinburgh, 1965), IX, 505, 510.



suggested that such denunciations of chronological speculation are examples of the 'rethinking' which had to be undertaken after the Restoration and the failure of earlier millenarian hopes.<sup>1</sup> However Bunyan had never indulged in such speculation, and his knowledge of such mistaken predictions can only have strengthened his opposition to the practice.<sup>2</sup> Many expositors were quite undeterred by earlier failures, and continued to offer apocalyptic timetables.<sup>3</sup> Although deploring such attempts to assign precise dates, Bunyan nevertheless considered that they might have a grim purpose in the fulfillment of the divine judgement of Antichrist: 'this Mistake of of the Godly may become a Snare to Antichrist, and a Trap to her Upholders ... God might leave them to be snared, hardened and emboldened to run upon their unavoidable Destruction ...'<sup>4</sup>

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1 Antichrist, pp.146-47. Cf. Tindall, p.120: 'after 1660 many abandoned mathematical calculation for indeterminate hopes'.

2 For a survey of attempts to specify dates for apocalyptic events, and cautions against time-setting, see Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.96, 115-25, 233-34.

3 William Sherwin; for example, published a series of works demonstrating that Christ would return in 1700; see The True News of the Good New World (Shortly) to come (London, [1675?]), p.8; cf. the anonymous author of A Scheme of the Whole Book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ (n.p. 1671), appendix, who also favoured 1700. Pierre Jurieu calculated that Antichrist's reign would end between 1710 and 1715, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies (London, 1687), Part 2, p.54.

4 Below, pp.76, 78.

Instead of becoming entangled in futile attempts to set a date for Antichrist's fall, Bunyan concentrates on an exposition of the signs by which the saints could tell that it was drawing near. Such lists of the signs of the times were a traditional feature of religious discourse.<sup>1</sup> In the seventeenth century the signs commented upon included increasing sinfulness and immorality, wars and rumours of wars, spiritual declension among the godly, inadequate clergy, error and heresy within the church, intensified persecution of the saints, the spread of the gospel throughout the world, the conversion of the Jews, and the occurrence of supernatural phenomena.<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that these signs were, from the point of view of the saints, both hopeful and, potentially, depressing, and those proposed by Bunyan are similarly paradoxical. On the one hand, according to his account, many people will leave the church of Antichrist, and whole nations and their rulers will come

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1 See Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.150-58, 172, 342-45; Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.96-114.

2 For examples of such lists of signs published around the time Bunyan was writing, see Edward Bagshaw, Signes of the Times: or Prognosticks of Future Judgements, with the way how to prevent them (London, 1662), passim; Hanserd Knollys, An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), p.30 and idem, The World that Now Is; and the World that is to Come (London, 1681), Part one, pp.81-95, Part two, pp.18-20; C. [hristopher] N.[ess], The Signs of the Times (London, 1681), passim.



to abhor her. On the other hand, the true church will be subjected to renewed persecution, which, though it will last only a short time, will be more terrible than anything seen before.<sup>1</sup>

### The Slaying of the Witnesses

Bunyan's evidence for this sombre forecast is drawn chiefly from his exegesis of the account in Revelation xi of the slaying of the two witnesses:

I will give a power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth. . . . And when they shall have finished their testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city . . . And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry, and shall send gifts one to another; because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the earth. And after three days and an half the Spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven saying unto them,

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1 Below, pp.79-127.



Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud; and their enemies beheld them.

The interpretation of this passage, and the identity of these two witnesses had always been the subject of much debate. The most popular medieval view was that they represented Enoch and Elijah, who would return to earth to challenge Antichrist and convert many to Christianity before being killed. Their bodies would lie unburied for three and a half days, after which they would be taken back to heaven.<sup>1</sup> In contrast, following the historicist interpretation of Antichrist, the most common Protestant view was that the two witnesses signify, in Arthur Dent's words, 'all the faithfull Preachers and professors of the truth, which in all ages both former and later, have opposed themselves against the Pope, his Cleargie, his doctrine, his religion, and all his abhominable proceedings'.<sup>2</sup> When it came to working out a timetable for the slaying and resurrection of these witnesses, however, Protestant interpretations diverged sharply. The view taken by many commentators, particularly in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was that these events were already in the past. Foxe

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1 See Emmerson, Antichrist in the Middle Ages, pp.95-100; Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium, pp.145, 261.

2 The Ruine of Rome (London, 1603), p.136. Cf. the Genevan translators' note to Revelation xi.3: 'By two witnesses he meaneth all the preachers yt shulde buylde vp Gods Church'.

observed that the Council of Constance which had condemned Huss had met for nearly three and a half years, thus representing the death of the witnesses, and he took their resurrection to be the subsequent revival of their teachings in the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Similar interpretations were maintained throughout the seventeenth century, particularly by more conservative 'amillennialist' commentators who were anxious to place the millennium in the past.<sup>2</sup> The other, more popular view of the passage in the seventeenth century, held that the slaughter of the two witnesses was yet to come, an interpretation expounded most influentially by Joseph Mede. According to Mede and his followers, the witnesses, that is 'the interpreters and Defenders of the Divine Truth', would be put to death metaphorically, not literally: 'the whole politie of the reformed Church ... shall fall to the ground'. Likewise, the great earthquake which would accompany their resurrection represents metaphorically 'a great commotion of the Nations, and

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1 See Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, p.103.

2 See, for example, Arthur Dent, The Ruine of Rome, pp.145-150; William Guild, The Sealed Book Opened (London, 1656), pp.103-25; James Durham, A Commentarie upon the Book of Revelation (London, 1658), pp.481-492; Samuel Cradock, A Brief and Plain Exposition and Paraphrase of the Whole Book of the Revelation (London, 1696), pp.96-112. On 'amillennialism', see Ball, A Great Expectation, pp.161-63.



alteration of politick affairs; whereby indeed a way is opened for the Witnesses, and power given them of reviving, with so great increase of dignity and authority'. Mede believed that following this resurrection of the witnesses, Antichrist would be destroyed, Satan would be bound and the millennium would commence.<sup>1</sup>

Bunyan's interpretation of the slaying and resurrection of the two witnesses is broadly in line with that proposed by Mede, though there is no direct evidence that he had read Mede's work. Indeed, following his usual practice, Bunyan here claims that his own views have been arrived at independently: 'I do not question but many good Men have writ more largely of this Matter; but as I have not seen their Books, so I walk not by their Rules'.<sup>2</sup> According to his interpretation, the two witnesses have to be understood 'mystically' or metaphorically as the whole succession of professing saints who have borne witness for God against Antichrist throughout the

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1 The Key of the Revelation (second edition, 1650), Part two, pp.7-23. Occasionally individuals would proclaim themselves to be the literal manifestation of the Two Witnesses; for an account of the most successful of these, John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton, see Christopher Hill, Barry Reay and William Lamont, The World of the Muggletonians (London, 1983), passim. See also Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp.156-61.

2 Below, p.115. Cf. similar remarks claiming originality in The Holy City (1665), Offor, III, 398-99; Light for them that sit in Darkness (1675), Oxford Bunyan, VIII, 51; Solomon's Temple Spiritualized (1688), Offor, III, 464.



allotted period of 1260 years. At the end of this time they will be killed by Antichrist, not in a corporeal sense, though some may be physically slain, but again in a 'mystical' sense: 'there will be such Ruines brought both upon the Spirit of Christianity, and the True Christian Church State, before this Antichrist is destroyed, that there will for a time scarce be found a Christian Spirit, or a true Visible Living Church of Christ in the World...' This is a fearful prospect, and Bunyan wishes it were not true, but it 'looks so like the Text, and also so like the Dispensations of God with his Church of old, that I cannot but think it will be so'.<sup>1</sup>

Other commentators shared the view that a time of unparalleled tribulation lay ahead for the church, but Bunyan's account is couched in more general terms than most. He resists the temptation to speculate about where exactly the 'street of the great city' is located, or whether the references to the times of the witnesses' prophesying and death could offer clues to likely dates when these events might occur. Of the 'tenth part of the city' which is to fall at the

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1 Below, pp.109-111. Cf. 'God will have in his Church in the Wilderness, a sufficient succession of faithful men, that ... shall bear up the Truth above water, all the time of Antichrist's Reign and Rage', Of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, 1692 Folio, p.440.

resurrection of the witnesses he remarks 'Now where this Tenth part is, or which of the ten parts must fall first, or whether indeed a tenth part is already fallen, that I will leave to those that are wiser than my self to determine'.<sup>1</sup> Few contemporary exegetes displayed such reticence. Hanserd Knollys, for example, noted that the best historians and expositors place the start of the 1260 years about the year 428, in which case they will end about 1688. The saints will therefore have to suffer at least nine more years. Like Bunyan, Knollys stresses that the killing of the witnesses will not principally be corporeal: 'it is rather a Metaphorical Expression by which Jesus Christ meant and intended both a Civil and an Ecclesiastical Death ... the Darkness and blackness of the DAY of the Death of the two-Witnesses will be very great ...' The 'street of the city', however, must be London, because it is 'in England, especially in London' that the highest and most eminent testimony for Christ and against Antichrist has been borne.<sup>2</sup> Christopher Ness reported the latest opinion 'that the late Session of Parliament which put forth the Godly Ministry out of place (as

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1 Below, p.64.

2 Hanserd Knollys, An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), pp.23, 25.

well as Magistracy) at one time, was the time of killing the Witnesses'. He did not share this view, but agreed that these events were indicative of Antichrist's rage against the godly.<sup>1</sup> A French Protestant writing in 1685 thought that the persecution which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, when 'the Reformed Congregations are suffered no more to assemble', clearly represented the fulfillment of the slaying of the witnesses. He expected their resurrection in France to occur three and a half years after October 1685.<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Keach, writing in 1689, calculated that the 1260 years of the witnesses' testimony in England had been ended in 1685, when 'Popery came to be inthron'd in this Nation' thus accomplishing 'the slaughter and death of the Witnesses'. He pointed out that three and a half years later, in the middle of 1688 'was the very time of Gods lifting up his hand by his present Providence to save these distressed Nations'.<sup>3</sup> It

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1 A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), p.189.

2 A New Systeme of the Apocalypse, Written by a French Minister in the year 1685 (London, 1688), pp.220-21, 239-40. Cf. Pierre Jurieu, The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies (London, 1687), Part 2, pp.236-60. On Jurieu and other French millenarians, see Schwartz, The French Prophets, pp.11-20.

3 Antichrist Stormed (n.p., 1689), p.231; cf. his Distressed Sion Relieved (London, 1689), a lengthy poem dedicated to William and Mary, whose accession indicated to Keach that 'the slain Witnesses are a-getting out of their graves ...', sig.A6<sup>b</sup>.



must not be thought, however, that such notions were confined to enthusiastic sectaries. In 1689 Drue Cressener, a Cambridge scholar who corresponded with leading Anglicans including Simon Patrick, bishop of Chester, and William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, argued that the resurrection of the witnesses would occur in 1689 or 1690 at the latest.<sup>1</sup> John Evelyn recorded in his diary a conversation between Lloyd and Archbishop Sancroft in which they

entred into a discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist: both of them concluding, that the 3 Trumpet & Vial was now powering out; and my L.S. Asaph attributing the Killing of the two Witnesses, to the utter destruction of the Cevenes Protestants, by the French & Duke of Savoy, & the other, the Waldenses & Pyrennean Christians (who by all appearances from good history had kept the Primitive faith from the very Apostles times till now): The doubt His Grace suggested, was whether it could be made evident, that the present persecution had made so greate an havock of those faithfull people as of the other, & whether as yet, there were not some

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1 The Judgments of God upon the Roman-Catholick Church ... In Explication of the Trumpets and Vials of the Apocalypse, upon Principles generally acknowledged by Protestant Interpreters (London, 1689), pp.98-134.

among them in being who met together:  
 it being expedient from the Text: II,  
 Apoc: that they should be both slaine  
 together: They both much approved of  
 Mr. Meads way of Interpretation, and  
 that he onely failed in resolving too  
 hastily, upon the King of Swedens  
 successes, (Gustavus Adolphus), in  
 Germany.<sup>1</sup>

One of the most prolific millenarian authors of the  
 1680s and 1690s, Thomas Beverley, held that the  
 resurrection of the witnesses had begun at the  
 Reformation, but would be completed in August, 1697.  
 Following their resurrection, preparation would be made  
 for the return of Christ and the commencement of the  
 millennium in 1772.<sup>2</sup> Beverley's confidence and  
 persistence earned him a crushing rebuke from Richard  
 Baxter, who thought Beverley's exposition to be 'a  
 meer mistake from the Beginning almost to the End':  
 'and how you will be able to bear it when providence  
 and experience have confuted you in 1697 I know not'.<sup>3</sup>

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1 The Diary of John Evelyn, edited by E.S. de Beer,  
 6 vols (Oxford, 1955), IV, 636; cf. V, 25-26, 321-22.  
 See A.Tindal Hart, William Lloyd 1627-1717 (London,  
 1652), pp.235-39, 245-46.

2 See, for example, A Sermon Upon Revel.11.11, &c.  
 Summoning the Expectation of the Witnesses Rising:  
 And of the Great Concurrent Works Daily shewing forth  
 Themselves, and to be Compleat by 1697 (London, 1692).

3 Baxter, The Glorious Kingdom of Christ, Described and  
 clearly Vindicated (London, 1691), p.45. For his  
 belief that the saints had no reason to 'dream of a  
 kingdom of this world, or flatter themselves with  
 the hopes of a golden age', see The Autobiography of  
 Richard Baxter, abridged by J.M. Lloyd Thomas, edited  
 by N.H.Keeble (Everyman, London, 1974), pp.121-23;  
 Lamont, Richard Baxter and the Millennium, passim.

When 1697 did indeed fail to confirm the accuracy of his predictions, Beverley admitted his 'so great disappointment', but after 'the most Close Researches into the Sure Word of Prophecy', and aided by a message direct from God 'in the Night at the House of an Elect Lady, near Salisbury', he discovered that his original calculations were correct but that 'there is by a curious Artifice of Prophecy, a Reserve of 3 Years and a half, reaching to 1700 ...'<sup>1</sup>

These examples and quotations indicate quite clearly how the vicissitudes of the 1680s and 1690s provoked widespread speculation about the fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecies. It was understandably tempting for persecuted dissenting sects to believe that their own suffering had been foretold in the account of the slaying of the witnesses, but what renders Bunyan's contribution distinctive is his noticeable lack of interest in tying particular texts to specific historical or contemporary events.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Beverley, The Good Hope Through Grace (London, 1700), the preface; cf. pp.33-43.

2 Cf. the contemporary comment, complaining of the abuse of these texts by the sects: 'if some Christian State or Potentate crush any party whatsoever pretending to Religion, or some eminent persons of the same, then it is presently given out by the favourers of that party, that now the Beast is risen, hath slain the Witnesses', An Essay to the Explaining of the Revelation (London, 1661), sig. A3<sup>o</sup>.



His refusal of detailed reference to the external world may be explained in a number of ways. It may be that his awareness of the errors of previous commentators made him cautious of entering into matters which had been the subject of so much scholarly debate and disagreement. Or he may have been hoping at some stage to publish the work and so kept his account fairly general in an attempt to get it past the eye of the censor.<sup>1</sup> But it seems more likely that Bunyan felt that his more immediate homiletic purposes in promoting solidarity and instilling hope for the future among his persecuted brethren would not best be served by detailed speculation. Deliberately embracing ambiguity and paradox, Bunyan encourages his readers to interpret these apocalyptic texts for themselves, in the light of their own experiences.

Whatever the reason, Bunyan's evident foreboding that a time of great tribulation lay ahead before Antichrist would be defeated can hardly have been unrelated to the savage renewal of persecution in the early 1680s which was matched by the steadily

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1 Some of Bunyan's early works were among books seized in a raid on his publisher ordered by Roger L'Estrange in 1666; see Brown, p.172. Bunyan attacked L'Estrange under cover of allegory in The Holy War (1682), alluding to him as 'Mr Filth'; see H.W., p.xxxiii.

increasing harrassment of Protestants in France. Bunyan watched these events with increasing alarm.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have believed that such tribulation was a punishment because the spiritual life of the gathered churches was degenerating; in his later works he warns repeatedly of the dangers of spiritual laxity.<sup>2</sup> So it is not surprising that his earlier vision of 1665 of the speedy establishment of a gloriously perfected church, should have given way in the 1680s to a sombre expectation of a period of severe repression and decline before the great Antichrist would be destroyed and the church reign in safety and glory.

For all his sober assessment of the time of tribulation which lay ahead, Bunyan never wavered in his certainty that Antichrist would fall to make way for the promised millennium, when the persecuted saints would be vindicated and receive their reward: 'Now God, as I said, will have his Primitive Church-state set up in this World, (even where Antichrist has set up his;) wherefore, in order to this, Antichrist must

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1 Below, pp.16,118; cf. reference to the banishment of French Protestants in The Greatness of the Soul (1682), Oxford Bunyan, IX, 235.

2 Compare, for example, Seasonable Counsel: or, Advice to Sufferers (1684); Israel's Hope Encouraged (1692); Paul's Departure and Crown (1692).

be pulled down, down Stick and Stone; and then they that live to see it, will behold the New Jerusalem come down from Heaven, as a Bride adorned for her Husband'.<sup>1</sup> In the process of pulling down Antichrist, God would employ a variety of methods and instruments. The soul or spirit of Antichrist, for example, is gradually being overcome through the efforts of generations of faithful preachers of God's word, and enlightened Magistrates have been sweeping away the laws and ordinances which have supported Antichrist's authority. The manifest advance of the Protestant religion throughout various countries is clear evidence of the success of this process of destruction.<sup>2</sup> After the slaying of the witnesses, however, the weakening and fragmenting of Antichrist will begin to accelerate as God looses great earthquakes and hailstones upon the cities and nations which remain under Antichrist's control.<sup>3</sup> Finally, after the resurrection of the witnesses, the physical destruction of Antichrist's fleshly body will be carried out by the forces of the Protestant kings.

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1 Below, p.163. Cf. Bunyan's comment in An Exposition on the Ten First Chapters of Genesis : 'God's People ... now do own the Truth with hazard, and do hold it up by enduring much misery, according to the rage of wicked Men; but, I say, 'tis hoped others will reap the Fruits of our Travels, and that some of us shall live to see it ...', 1692 Folio, p.37.

2 Below, pp.29-46.

3 Below, pp.64-74.



Bunyan and Kings

Bunyan is repeatedly emphatic that this work belongs to monarchs alone: 'Antichrist shall not down but by the Hand of Kings'. Some kings, of course, will bewail Antichrist's fall, but the Protestant kings whom God will 'train ... up by the light of the Gospel' will be 'more Mighty and Powerful to bring her down, than shall be the whole World besides to uphold her'.<sup>1</sup> In support of this contention, Bunyan returns to the example of the ancient Israelites who, when they were prisoners in Babylon, 'did not fight their way through their Foes ... but waited in their captivated state with patience, until the Kings of the Medes and Persians came to deliver them'.<sup>2</sup> One of the first things these kings did was to grant liberty to the Jews to worship according to the law of their God, and Bunyan takes the opportunity to make an indirect plea for religious toleration. He recommends his readers not to be angry with the king if he seems tardy in the work of reformation, but instead to pray that 'God would make him able to drive away all Evil and evil Men from

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1 Below, pp.88-89.

2 Below, pp.134-35.

his presence; and that he may be a greater Countenancer than ever, of them that are holy and good'.<sup>1</sup>

Remarks like these about the king have occasioned a considerable variety of response among Bunyan's readers. In 1798 the Baptist minister, John Martin, was moved to celebrate Bunyan's steadfast loyalty to his king by publishing a tract entitled The Political Sentiments of John Bunyan. This consisted largely of extracts from Of Antichrist, and His Ruine in which Bunyan advocates patience with kings and asserts their divinely-appointed role in the downfall of Antichrist. Martin claims that his object in reprinting this material is to encourage ministers of the gospel to 'put their hearers in mind to be subject to principalities and powers; to obey magistrates ... and be able to prove, that christians must needs be subject, not only for fear of wrath, but also for conscience sake. Mr Bunyan was strongly of this opinion ...' Martin's motives, however, may not have been entirely disinterested. It seems that he had earlier aroused the wrath of his Baptist co-religionists by defending the Test and Corporation

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1 Below, pp.136-42. For a lengthy defence of his belief in the necessity for civil obedience and loyalty to secular authorities, see Seasonable Counsel: or, Advice to Sufferers (1684), Offor, II, 707-709, 738; A Confession of My Faith (1672), Offor, II, 601; Paul's Departure and Crown , 1692 Folio, p.181.

Acts and accusing Dissenters of disloyalty in sympathising with the French who seemed about to invade England. He was subsequently ejected from the Baptists, and his rather selective use of Bunyan's remarks seems to have been designed as propaganda in his own defence. He notes that Bunyan called for reformation within his own denomination, 'and I ... have thought it my duty to follow his example. For so doing, I have suffered somewhat, and am willing to suffer more'.<sup>1</sup>

Most Bunyan scholars have taken Bunyan's protestations of loyalty to the king in Of Antichrist, and His Ruine and elsewhere as in good faith. John Brown, Bunyan's biographer, believing the work to have been written near the end of Bunyan's life, found his trust in kings as God's instruments in the ruin of Antichrist somewhat puzzling: 'With James II. on the throne, at that very time striving might and main to re-establish that Popery which to Bunyan's mind was Antichrist'. Brown did not attempt, however, to resolve this paradox, simply noting that Bunyan makes this declaration against Romanism in Of Antichrist 'a manifesto of his loyalty to his Prince'.<sup>2</sup>

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1 See The Political Sentiments of John Bunyan (1798), pp.4, 12-13, and passim. On Martin, see D.N.B., s.v.

2 Brown, p.428; cf. p.329.



After an analysis of Bunyan's political thought, Henri Talon argues that 'When we read his work in the light of his life we can have no doubt as to his loyalty'.<sup>1</sup> Roger Sharrock notes Bunyan's declaration to the clerk of the peace shortly after his first imprisonment: 'I look upon it as my duty to behave myself under the King's government, both as becomes a man and a christian; and if an occasion was offered me, I should willingly manifest my loyalty to my Prince, both by word and deed', commenting that Bunyan 'remained a staunch and consistent supporter of civil obedience'.<sup>2</sup>

William York Tindall, however, has taken quite a contrary view of Bunyan's attitude to magistrates and kings, regarding his expressions of loyalty as 'dictated by judgment, policy, and the practice of the Baptists, who refused to admit their occasional interest in sedition'. He goes even further: 'That

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1 Talon, pp.301-302.

2 G.A., pp.120, 161; cf. pp.123-25. For other comments on Bunyan's loyalty to the monarch, see George Offor, 'Memoir of John Bunyan', in Offor, III, vii-viii, xxxvi; James A. Froude, John Bunyan (English Men of Letters series, London, 1880), pp. 86-88; Edmund A. Knox, John Bunyan in Relation to his Times (London, 1928), pp. 56-59; Vera Brittain, In the Steps of John Bunyan (London, 1950), p.329; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, John Bunyan (New York, 1961), pp.86-87; Lynn Veach Sadler, John Bunyan (Twayne English Authors series, Boston, 1979), pp.19, 84.

Bunyan cherished a deep and natural hatred of both king and government, like any normal Baptist of the time, is apparent from remarks scattered throughout his tracts, often next to professions of loyalty, which served to hide his real opinion from all but the elect and the inquisitive'.<sup>1</sup> Tindall's argument for ascribing anti-monarchical beliefs to Bunyan rests substantially upon his known links with Fifth Monarchists who had expressed opposition to kings at one time or another and spoke of the need to conceal their views from the authorities, and on attacks by Bunyan on the persecution and oppression under which the saints groaned. There can be little doubt that Bunyan supported the establishment of the English republic under Cromwell and that he must have regretted the return of Charles II. In 1653 he signed a document applauding Cromwell's decision to dissolve the Rump of the Long Parliament and suggesting two names for the nominated assembly which later became known as the Barebones Parliament. Members of his Bedford congregation in 1657 signed a protest against a proposal that Cromwell should take the title of king: they believed 'the forme of a Commonwealth as

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1 Tindall, pp.136-37.

opposed to Monarchy to be more expedient, yea, necessary, seeing the interest of no single person will probably be able long to stand against the interest and Family of the Stuarts, which the Commonwealth wisely managed may better doe.

Wherefore we declare that we still remaine faithful to the first good cause'.<sup>1</sup> In October 1659 the Bedford church agreed to set apart as a day of prayer the fifth of November following, to 'blesse God for our late deliverance', a reference to the defeat of Sir George Booth's royalist rising in July.<sup>2</sup>

Quite clearly, Dissenters generally, and Bunyan among them, had a lot to live down during the Restoration, and the fact that refusal to conform was frequently equated with sedition by the authorities made it doubly difficult for them to present

1 Brown, pp.94-96, 101-104, 122-23. See also H.G. Tibbutt, Bunyan Meeting Bedford 1650-1950 (Bedford, 1950), p.16.

2 See Church Minutes, pp.11, 34. For other references to national affairs in the Church Book, see pp.10-11, 26,29,30,35,36.



themselves convincingly as peaceable and loyal citizens.<sup>1</sup> Bunyan certainly never compromised on his refusal to accept that the secular powers had any authority to override what he considered to be the word of God, and to that extent his attitude resembled that of Christopher Feake, the Fifth Monarchist leader, who owned Cromwell's government as commanded by God, but added, 'It is one thing to own the government as commanded by God; another to own them as they want to be owned'.<sup>2</sup>

Yet when all this is given due weight, it remains difficult to accept that Bunyan's repeated expressions of loyalty to the king and submission to the authorities were cynically dishonest as Tindall suggests.

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- 1 In 1669, for example, a wayward member of the Bedford church responded to admonitions by attempting to 'charge the Church with rebellion ... that they had their hands in the blood of the king: that they were disobedient to government ...', *ibid.*, pp.41-42. Bunyan's jailor got into trouble for allowing Bunyan to go to London on parole, his enemies alleging that he 'went thither to plot and raise division, and make insurrection, which, God knows, was a slander ...', A Relation of My Imprisonment in G.A., p.120. Cf. Halifax's remark, 'It is not so long since, as to be forgotten, that the Maxim was, It is impossible for a Dissenter not to be a REBEL', A Letter to a Dissenter (1687), in The Complete Works of George Savil<sup>le</sup>, First Marquess of Halifax, ed. Walter Raleigh (1912; reprinted New York, 1970), p.139.
- 2 The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle, His Defiance to the Father of Lyes (1655), cited in Tindall, p.264.

After 1660 Bunyan seems to have accepted the restoration of kingship, concentrating only on his insistence that religious toleration be granted. When Charles II did issue his first Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, the liberty thus granted was quickly taken advantage of by Bunyan and his congregation.<sup>1</sup> Writing under renewed persecution in the 1680s, Bunyan was clearly looking back to this earlier period of religious freedom, and he makes effective use of the Biblical account of King Artaxerxes as a picture of the model king who grants religious toleration to his subjects, even though their beliefs may differ from his.<sup>2</sup> There seems no reason to doubt Bunyan's sincerity when he recommends his readers to pray that the king might become an effective instrument in God's hand for the destruction of Antichrist, difficult though it undoubtedly is to imagine Charles II a serious contender against Antichrist.

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1 See Brown, ch. X.

2 Below, pp.6-17, 137-40. Bunyan's expression of loyalty to the civil magistrate in all secular concerns, while resisting passively but resolutely any state interference in religious matters, is in line with other moderate sectarian thought; see W.K. Jordan, The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 4 vols (London, 1932-40), III, 531-32; H. Leon McBeth, English Baptist Literature on Religious Liberty to 1689 (New York, 1980), passim. See also Arnold H.J. Baines, 'Innocency Vindicated; or, Reproach Wip'd Off', Baptist Quarterly, xvi (1955), pp.164-70.

The Imperial Tradition

It has been suggested by Christopher Hill that Bunyan's reliance on kings to protect the saints from Antichristian persecution and eventually to destroy Antichrist, looks back to the earlier imperial tradition emphasising the apocalyptic role of kings which derived from Bucer and Foxe.<sup>1</sup> According to Arthur Dent, one of the more forceful exponents of this tradition, although Popish kings will lament the overthrow of Antichrist, the Protestant kings of Europe 'shal be the instruments of God to pul down great Babylon'. The text most frequently cited in support of this prediction was Revelation xvii.16: 'And the ten horns [i.e. kings] ... shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and burn her with fire'. That there was some agreement among commentators as to the likely identity of these kings is indicated by Dent: Antichrist will be destroyed 'by the tenne kings of Europe, or kingdomes of Europe, which some very learned doe reckone up to bee these, England, Scotland, Germany, France, Spaine, Denmarke, Sweueland

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1 Antichrist, p.148.



Poland, Russia, and Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Earlier separatists shared this belief in the divinely appointed role of kings. Henry Barrow, for example, writing from prison, looked confidently to Queen Elizabeth to abolish the persecuting, Antichristian Church of England; Leonard Busher, in a work addressed to James I, pointed out to him that just as the Roman Antichrist had been exalted to a position of worldly power through the love of kings, 'so she shall have her consummation and abolition from that height and dignity, by the hatred of kings, who again shall take their power and authority from her, and therewith defend the peace and persons of the saints and servants of Jesus; and now for religion's peace, will use their power and authority against the bloody persecution of antichrist and all his bloody bishops and ministers, and so become nursing fathers

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1 The Ruine of Rome (1603), pp.234,256. For other accounts of the ten kings, see John Napier, A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John (Edinburgh, 1593), pp.213-215; A Plaine Explanation of the Whole Revelation of Saint John (London, 1622), pp.109-110; Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation, translated by Richard More (second edition, London, 1650), Part two, p.111; Hezekiah Holland, An Exposition or ... Epitome of the most choice Commentaries upon the Revelation of Saint John (London, 1650), pp.134-35; William Guild, The Sealed Book Opened, or, A Cleer Explication of the Prophecies of the Revelation (London, 1656), pp.266,312.

unto the Church of Christ'.<sup>1</sup>

It may be that Bunyan's belief in the apocalyptic role of kings draws upon the earlier imperial tradition, as Hill has suggested. But he was certainly not alone in holding this belief in the 1680s. Hanserd Knollys, for instance, looked forward to the time when the English king would 'joyn with those other Kings of the Earth, that then shall hate the Whore (Mystical-Babylon) ...'<sup>2</sup> He saw the increase of Popery in England as a real threat to the safety of the king, and the Popish Plot, 'this late bloody traiterous design of Popish Recusants', was proof that 'no Kings, or Kingdoms have more just Cause to hate ... that great WHORE ... than this our Nation, King, and Kingdom ...'<sup>3</sup> Christopher Ness, in a more extended treatment of Antichrist's rise and fall, likewise saw 'Potent and Pious Princes' as 'Instruments in the

- 1 See Barrow, The First Part of the Platforme (1590), in The Writings of Henry Barrow, 1587-1590, ed. Leland H. Carlson (London, 1962), pp.227-249; Busher, Religion's Peace: or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience in Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution 1614-1661, ed. E.B. Underhill, Hanserd Knollys Society (London, 1846), p.58. Cf. Lamont, Godly Rule, p.48-49; Christianson, Reformers and Babylon, pp.73-92.
- 2 An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), pp.35-36.
- 3 Mystical Babylon Unveiled (n.p., 1679), p.31; cf. his An Exposition of the Whole Book of the Revelation (London, 1689), p.208.



hand of God to pull down Antichrist'. Ness gives us a glimpse of the extent of this belief among the godly, in an account of the quarrel between Louis XIV and Pope Alexander VII in 1662, which was resolved only after Louis had despatched troops.

This Commotion betwixt these two, made many good Men (that wait for the consolation of Israel, in the Accomplishment of that Word [the Kings shall hate and burn the Whore] to be yet fulfilled) to hope that God was putting it into the heart of the King of France, to execute his Vengeance upon Babylon. However it was clearly discover'd to be the declining Age of Antichrist, for the Pope durst not use those bruta fulmina of his Predecessors against the King, but must satisfie him in all things that he demanded ...

But if Ness had doubted whether Louis had done more than pour out 'some drops of the Vials' upon Antichrist, he was convinced that the activities of Protestant kings in diminishing the power and authority of Antichrist would grow more 'lively and vigorous' as the date of his downfall approached: 'God will kindle a fire in the hearts of those Kings, and they shall make Rost-meat of the Whore'.<sup>1</sup> A French

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1 A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), pp.85,88,89,91,111. See David Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century (1925; eighth edition, revised, London, 1961), pp.300-301.



commentator had greater faith in Louis XIV, though he agreed that 'we shall be extremely surprised at the re-establishment of the Reformed Churches in France, because we know the King to be of opposite Sentiments to them'. The witnesses were slain now in France, but within three and a half years God will 'change the heart of the King and of his Council, and ... we shall see the Reformed Religion get upon the Throne in France ... as it is the King of France who contributeth most to the Glory of the Papacy; So it shall be the King of France, that shall contribute most to its ruin'.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident therefore that Bunyan's reliance upon kings was not at all unusual in the 1680s. To the contemporary scriptural exegesis of sectarian preachers may be added the sensational predictions of some of the popular astrologers, who drew upon medieval prophecies of the last emperor in their descriptions of forthcoming disasters and wars which would usher in an age of tranquillity under the benign rule of a messianic conqueror.<sup>2</sup> Ezerel Tong, who

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1 A New System of the Apocalypse (London, 1688), p.232. Cf. Bunyan's remarkable comment on Louis: 'I doubt not but that God will make that Horn also one of them (in his time) that (indeed) shall hate the Whore', below, p.16. For other comments on the apocalyptic role of Louis in the destruction of Antichrist, see Christopher Ness, A Compleat and Compendious Church History (London, 1681), pp.489-90; Drue Cressener, The Judgments of God upon the Roman-Catholick Church (London, 1689), pp.207-9, 241-3.

2 See Capp, Astrology and the Popular Press, pp.172-77; cf. Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp.490-92.

had been involved in the Popish Plot allegations, published in 1680 a collection of prophecies concerning Charles II's forthcoming role as the leader of the Northern monarchs who would turn their wrath upon the great Whore.<sup>1</sup> Such expectations were a recurrent feature of Charles's reign. One ardent royalist wrote of Charles in 1666:

Ere many years, all Christendome shall see  
Great Britaines King Gods Instrument to be;  
 Christs Sacred Gospel Truth he will advance,  
 Throughout all Holland, and wide-skirted France.  
 And with his own right hand will tumble down  
 Base Antichrist, and take from him his Crown.  
 False Sects and Schismes, with all vain opinions,  
 Shall not take root or bide in his Dominions.<sup>2</sup>

It should perhaps be noted that Bunyan carefully stressed that it is the work of Protestant kings to destroy Antichrist, and this may be one reason why Of Antichrist, and His Ruine was never published in Bunyan's lifetime. In the aftermath of the Exclusion crisis, when it was clear that the successor to the throne would be the Duke of York, a confessed Roman Catholic, Bunyan's attack on the Roman Antichrist, and his appeal to his readers to pray that Charles would 'drive away all Evil and evil Men from his

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1 The Northern Star: The British Monarchy (London, 1680); this and a number of similar works are discussed by Capp, loc.cit.

2 George Eliot, An English-Duel (1666), cited in McKeon, Politics and Poetry in Restoration England, pp.248-49.

presence', would hardly have escaped the attention of the authorities.<sup>1</sup> As Richard L. Greaves has remarked, 'Bunyan's insistence in this work that Antichrist must be destroyed, and his frank acknowledgement that until that time peace were impossible, were explosive in their implications'.<sup>2</sup> With the failure of Monmouth's rising there was even greater need for caution. There is no evidence of Bunyan's attitude to Monmouth, but some of his acquaintances were associated with him. His publisher, Benjamin Alsop, left his business to serve as a captain in Monmouth's army and was afterwards exiled in Holland.<sup>3</sup> Another acquaintance, Matthew Mead, was expected by Monmouth to raise the Dissenters of London and Wapping. Even though Mead rejected 'such ungodly deliverers as Monmouth, Gray and ye rest of their party, sayeing that God will cause deliverance and ruine Babylon in his

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1 Below, p.142.

2 Oxford Bunyan, IX, xxiii.

3 Alsop published The Holy War with Dorman Newman in 1682, and thereafter published The Greatness of the Soul (1682); A Case of Conscience Resolved (1683); A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity (1684); Seasonable Counsel (1684). See Plomer, p.5.



own way by a holier generation', he also had to go into exile.<sup>1</sup> Bunyan's fears for his own security at this time are indicated by the deed of gift which he had drawn up in December 1685, making over all his worldly possessions to his wife.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising that Of Antichrist, and His Ruine remained unpublished in his lifetime.

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- 1 Cited in Peter Earle, Monmouth's Rebels: The Road to Sedgemoor 1685 (London, 1977), p.65; cf. pp.77-8, 154. On Bunyan's relationship with Mead see Richard L. Greaves, 'John Bunyan's "Holy War" and London Nonconformity', The Baptist Quarterly, 26 (1975), pp.164-65. The Bedford church corresponded with Mead's congregation in 1690; see Church Minutes, p.92. See also D.N.B., s.v.
- 2 See Brown, pp.337-39. Cf. Charles Doe's comment that 'it pleased the Lord to preserve him out of the hands of his Enemies in the severe Persecution at the latter end of King Charles 2d's Reign, though they often searched and laid wait for him, and sometimes narrowly miss'd him', The Struggler, in 1692 Folio, sig. 5T2<sup>a</sup>.

OF ANTICHRIST, AND HIS RUINE  
AND OF THE SLAYING THE WITNESSES

## OF ANTICHRIST, AND HIS RUINE

Note on the Text

Of Antichrist, and His Ruine was published only once in the seventeenth century, four years after Bunyan's death, in the Folio edition of The Works of that Eminent Servant of Christ, Mr. John Bunyan, Late Minister of the Gospel, and Pastor of the Congregation at Bedford, The First Volume (London, 1692). This was edited by Charles Doe and published by William Marshall at the Bible in Newgate-street. Marshall operated as a bookseller and bookbinder from 1676 to 1725, dealing chiefly in works of divinity; the 1692 Folio was the first work by Bunyan that he published.<sup>1</sup>

## 1692 FOLIO EDITION

Title-page: OF / ANTICHRIST, / AND / His RUINE: /  
And of the / Slaying the Witneffes, / [rule] / By  
JOHN BUNYAN. / [rule]

Collation: Fol. 3N-3R<sup>2</sup> (\$2 signed); 18 leaves,  
pp.467-502.

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1 Plomer, p.198.



Contents: 3N1<sup>a</sup> title and beginning of text headed: 'A / PREMONITION to the READER.', 3N1<sup>b</sup>-3N2<sup>b</sup> text of the 'Premonition', signed 'Thine in the Lord, / J. BUNYAN. / [rule]', 3N3<sup>a</sup>-3R2<sup>b</sup> text. Text printed in double columns separated by vertical rules, except that on 3N2<sup>b</sup> the rule is omitted; 3N3<sup>a</sup> has abbreviated title, 'OF / ANTICHRIST'; 3R2<sup>b</sup> has widely spaced double rules following conclusion of text.

Running titles: A Premonition | to the Reader. [3N1<sup>b</sup>-3N2<sup>a</sup>]; A Premonition, &c. [3N2<sup>b</sup>]; Of Antichrift, | and his Ruine. [3N3<sup>b</sup>-3R2<sup>a</sup>]; Of Antichrift, &c [3R2<sup>b</sup>]; all between rules.

Catchwords: (selected) 3N2<sup>b</sup> OF 301<sup>b</sup> ties. 3P2<sup>a</sup> EVERY 3Q4<sup>a</sup> Antichrift, 3R1<sup>a</sup> (even.

Copies collated: Bodleian Library, Oxford; British Library; Bunyan Meeting Library, Bedford<sup>1</sup>; Bunyan Meeting Library, Bedford<sup>2</sup>; Cambridge University Library; County Hall Library, Bedford<sup>1</sup>; County Hall Library, Bedford<sup>2</sup>; County Hall Library, Bedford<sup>3</sup>; County Hall Library, Bedford<sup>4</sup>; County Hall Library, Bedford<sup>5</sup>; Guildhall Library, London.

## LATER EDITIONS

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Of Antichrist, and His Ruine was published only in collected editions of Bunyan's works. These later editions have no textual authority, so mention of them may be brief. A second, augmented edition of Doe's Folio was published in two volumes in 1736-37, edited by Samuel Wilson (1702-1750), a leading Baptist minister in London and the grandson of John Wilson, the joint author with Ebenezer Chandler of the preface to the 1692 edition.<sup>1</sup> Of Antichrist, and His Ruine is included in volume 2, pp.348-387. Some of the incorrect Biblical references of the 1692 edition are corrected, though some errors are introduced and a few references omitted, but this was the best edition of the work to appear in the eighteenth century. The third edition, published in 1767-68 with a preface by George Whitefield, removed all Bunyan's marginal notes and Biblical references. This highly unsatisfactory practice was followed in the Edinburgh edition of 1771, and in the edition in six volumes with notes by William Mason which was published between 1784 and 1792.

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1 See 'Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Wilson; Formerly Pastor of the Church in Goodman's Fields, London', The Baptist Magazine, XI (1819), pp.141-45.

In 1853 the devoted Bunyan scholar George Offor published a new edition of the works in three volumes. The text is modernized, but based upon the earliest editions available to Offor, and editorial interpolations are indicated by square brackets. Some useful bibliographical information is included, but Offor's introductions and notes to the text adopt a somewhat over-heated evangelical tone. This was probably due to Offor's belief that mighty efforts were being made 'to exalt the Man of Sin, and again to inthral this country in the satanic yoke of Popery, or that of its dark, ill-shapen brother Puseyism'. He regarded his new edition of Bunyan's works as a valuable weapon in this contemporary struggle, and particularly recommended Bunyan's treatise on 'that awful word Antichrist' as 'a home-thrust at the enemy'.<sup>1</sup> Offor's edition was reissued with some revisions in 1859-60, and again in 1862. A further edition in four volumes was published by Henry Stebbing in 1859-60, but Offor's remained the standard edition. The only edition of Of Antichrist, and His Ruine to appear in the twentieth century was published in America in 1966.<sup>2</sup> Although this was also

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1 Offor, I, vii.

2 John Bunyan, The Ruin of Antichrist (Reiner Publications, Swengel, Pa., 1966).



the first publication of the treatise as a separate work, the edition has no scholarly significance. It lacks an introduction, the few explanatory notes are mostly of an evangelical kind, and the text reverts to the practice of omitting Biblical references.

The text that follows is based on the British Library copy of the 1692 Folio. The editorial method follows that laid down by Roger Sharrock as general editor of The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan (in progress; Oxford, 1976- ). The spelling, punctuation, grammar, capitalization and italicization of the original text have been retained. Mere printer's errors, of which there were about thirty-three, have been silently corrected; inaccurate Scriptural references have been corrected in the text, and the original references noted in the apparatus. All Biblical quotations have been left as Bunyan cited them; significant deviations from the King James version are recorded in the Notes to the text.

O F  
**ANTICHRIST,**  
 A N D  
**HIS RUINE:**

And of the  
**Slaying the Witnesses,**

By J O H N B U N Y A N.

A  
 PREMONITION to the READER.

**A**fter that God had delivered *Babylon* and her King into the Hands of the Kings of the *Medes* and *Persians*, then began the Liberty of the Jews, from their long and tedious Captivity: For though *Nebuchadnezzar* and his Sons did tyrannically enslave, and hold them under; yet so wrought God with the Hearts of those Kings that succeeded them, that they made Proclamation to them to go home, and build their City, Temple, &c. and worship their own God according to his own Law. But because I would not be tedious in enumerating Instances for the clearing of this, therefore I will content my self with one, and with a brief Note upon it. It is that in the Seventh of *Ezra*: *And whatsoever will not do the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let Judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be to Death, or to Banishment, or to Confiscation of Goods, or to Imprisonment.* This is the Conclusion of a Letter that King *Artaxerxes* gave to *Ezra* the Priest and Scribe, when he granted his Petition, and gave him leave to go to *Jerusalem* to build the Temple, and to offer Sacrifice there to the God whose House is in *Jerusalem*. And a Conclusion it was both comfortable and sharp; comfortable to *Ezra* and his Companions, but sharp unto his Enemies. I shall here present you with a Copy of the Letter at large.

12 *Artaxerxes* king of kings, Unto *Ezra* the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and as such a time:

13 I make a decree, That all they of the people

of *Israel*, and of his priests and levites in my realm, which are minded of their own free-will to go up to *Jerusalem*, go with thee.

14 Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand:

15 And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of *Israel*, whose habitation is in *Jerusalem*.

16 And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of *Babylon*, with the free-will-offering of the people; and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God; which is in *Jerusalem*:

17 That thou mayst buy speedily with this money, bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat-offerings, and their drink-offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God, which is in *Jerusalem*.

18. And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren, to do with the rest of the silver and gold, that do after the will of your God.

19 The vessels also that are given thee, for the service of the house of thy God, those desire thou before the God of *Jerusalem*.

20 And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to borrow, bestow it out of the kings treasure-house.

21 And I, even I *Artaxerxes* the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever *Ezra* the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily:

22 Unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred

N n n

hundred



## A

## PREMONITION to the READER.

1. After that God had delivered Babylon and her King into the Hands of the Kings of the Medes and Persians, then began the Liberty of the Jews, from their long and tedious Captivity: For though Nebuchadnezzar and his Sons did tyrannically enslave, and hold them under; yet so wrought God with the Hearts of those Kings that succeeded them, that they made Proclamation to them to go home, and build their City, Temple, &c. and worship their own God according to his own Law. But because I would not be tedious in enumerating Instances for the clearing of this, therefore I will content my self with one, and with a brief
- 2 Chron. 36.6.  
Ezra 1.
- Ezra 7.26. Note upon it. It is that in the Seventh of Ezra: And whosoever will not do the Law of thy God, and the Law of the King, let Judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be to Death, or to Banishment, or to Confiscation of Goods, or to Imprisonment. This is the Conclusion of a Letter that King Artaxerxes gave to Ezra the Priest and Scribe, when he granted his Petition, and gave him leave to go to Jerusalem to build the Temple, and to offer Sacrifice there to the God whose House is in Jerusalem. And a Conclusion it was both



comfortable and sharp; comfortable to Ezra and his Companions, but sharp unto his Enemies. I shall here present you with a Copy of the Letter at large.

Ezra 7.

12 Artaxerxes king of kings, Unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time:

13 I make a decree, That all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and levites in my realm, which are minded of their own free-will to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.

14 Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand:

15 And to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem.

16 And all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of Babylon, with the free-will-offering of the people; and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of their God; which is in Jerusalem:

17 That thou mayst buy speedily with this money, bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat-

offerings, and their drink-offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God, which is in Jerusalem.

18 And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren, to do with the rest of the silver and gold, that do after the will of your God.

19 The vessels also that are given thee, for the service of the house of thy God, those deliver thou before the God of Jerusalem.

20 And whatsoever more shall be needful for the house of thy God, which thou shalt have occasion to bestow, bestow it out of the kings treasure-house.

21 And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily:

22 Unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oyl, and salt without prescribing how much.

23 Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven: for why should there be wrath

against the realm of the king and his sons?

24 Also we certifie you, that touching any of the Priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom, upon them.

25 And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not.

26 And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

2. This is the Letter; and now for the scope thereof.

First, Generally.

Secondly, Particularly.

Generally. The general scope of the Letter is this: A Grant given by the King to Ezra the Scribe, to go to Jerusalem, and build there the Temple of God, and offer Sacrifice in it according to the Law: with Commissions annexed thereunto, to the King's Lieutenants, Treasurers and Governours on that side the River, to further the



work with such things as by the King was commanded they should.

But we will consider the matter particularly.

1. As to the manner of the Grant which the King gave to Ezra and his Brethren to go thither.

2. As to the King's Grant, with reference to their Building, and Way of Worship.

3. With reference to the King's Liberality and Gifts towards the building of the Temple, and by what Rules it was to be bestowed.

4. As to the way that the King concluded they should be governed in their own Land.

5. With reference to the King's Charge to his Officers that were thereabout, not to hinder Ezra in his Work.

6. And Lastly, with reference to the King's Threat and Commandment to do Judgment if they should hinder it.

First, As to the Manner of the Grant that the King gave to Ezra and his Brethren to go to build, it was such an one as forced none, but left every Jew to his own choice, whether he would go, or forbear. The words are these: Artaxerxes, King of Kings, unto Ezra the Priest, a Scribe of the Law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time: I make a Decree, That all they of the People of Israel, and of his Priests and

Ver. 12,  
13.

Levites in my Realm, which are minded of their own free-will, to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee.

Thus gracious then was the King: He made a Decree, That all they of the Captive Jews, their Priests and Levites, that would return to their own Land, to build their Temple, and to sacrifice there, might: He would hinder none, force none, but left them free, to do as they would.

3. Secondly, As to the King's Grant, with reference to their Building, and Way of Worship there, Ver.14. nothing was to be done therein, but according to the Law of the God of Ezra, which was in his hands. Hence, when he was come to Jerusalem, he was to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem; to wit, What was wanting in order to the Temple and Worship of God there, according to the Law of his God, which was in his hand. Also when they went about to build, and to sacrifice, all was to be done Ver.23. according as was commanded by the God of Heaven: Yea, this was granted by the King, and his seven Councillors.

- Ver.17. Thirdly, As to the King's Liberality towards Ver.22. the building of this House, &c. it was large: He gave Silver, Gold, Bullocks, Rams, Lambs; with Wheat, Wine, Oyl, and Salt; but would by his Royal Power, give no Orders how in particular things should be bestowed, but left all that to

Ver. 18. Ezra the Priest, to do with it according to the Will, Word, or Law of his God.

Fourthly, As to the way that the King concluded they should be governed in their own Land, it was by their own Laws; yea, he did bid Ezra the Priest, after the Wisdom of his God that was in his hand, set Magistrates and Judges, which might Judge all the People, &c. only he bid him make them such, which did know the Law of his God: Also the King added, That they should teach it to them that knew it not.

4. Fifthly, As to the King's Officers, he gave them a Charge not to hinder, but further this Work. To further this Work, not by putting their hand thereto, (that was to be left to the Jews alone, especially to Ezra, according to the Law of his God,) but that they should speedily give him such things which the King had commanded, to wit, Silver, and Wheat, and Wine, and Oyl, and Salt, for their encouragement; and to do therewith, as by the Law of their God they should. Further, That they should not impose Toll, Tribute, or Custom, upon the Priests, Levites, Singers, Porters, Nethinims, or Ministers.

Ver. 20,  
21, 22.



Sixthly, And now we come to the Conclusion, to wit, the King's Threat and Command to do Judgment on them that obeyed not the Law of Ezra's God, and the King.

Considering what hath been said before, I conclude,

1. That this King imposed no Law, no Priest, no People upon these Jews; but left them wholly to their own Law, their own Ministers, and their own People: All which were the Laws of God, the Priests of God, the People of God, as to their Building of their Temple, and the Worship of their God.

2. He forced not THIS People, no, not to their Land, their Temple, nor their Worship, by his or their Law; but left them free to their own mind, to do thereabout as they would.

3. He added not any Law therefore of his own, either to prescribe Worship, or to enforce it upon the Jews.

5. But you will say, Upon what then was the Threatning and the Command to punish grounded? I answer, Upon a supposed breach of two Laws. He of the Jews, that in Jerusalem, rebelled against the Law of the Lord, was in his own Land left by the King to be punished by the same Law, according

to the Penalties thereof: And he of the King's Officers, that refused to do the King's Laws, that refused to give the Jews such things as the King commanded, and that would yet exact such Customs and Tributes as the King forbad, should be punished by the King's Laws, whether unto Death, or unto Banishment, or unto Confiscation of Goods, or to Imprisonment.

And if all Kings would but give such Liberty, to wit, that God's People should be directed in their Temple-Building, and Temple-Worship, as they find it in the Law of their God, without the additions of Man's Inventions: And if all Kings did but lay the same Penalty upon them of their pretended Servants that should hinder this Work, which this brave King Artaxerxes laid upon his; how many of the Enemies of the Jews, before this time, would have been hanged, banished, had their Goods confiscated to the King, or their Bodies shut up in Prison! The which we desire not; we desire only that this Letter of the King might be considered of, and we left to do as is there licens'd and directed: And when we do the contrary, let us be punished by the Law of God, as we are his Servants: and by the Law of the King, as we are his Subjects; and we shall never complain.

6. Only I cannot but observe how prettily it is done of some, who urge this Text to colour their Malice, Ignorance and Revenge withall, while they cry, The Law of God, and The Law of the King, when they will neither let, according to this Scripture, the Law of God, nor the Law of the King take place: Not the Law of God; for that they will not leave us to that, to square and govern our selves in Temple-Work, and Sacrificing by. Nor will they do the Law of the King, which has made void, ipso facto, whatever Law is against the Word of God; but because themselves can do, they will force us to do so too.

Before I leave this, I would touch once again upon the candour of this King Artaxerxes, who thus did: Because he gave this leave and license to the Jews, contrary (if he had any) to his own National Worship; yea, and also to the impairing of his own Incomes. Methinks he should have a Religion of his own; and that, not that of the Jews, because he was a Gentile; and not, as we read of, proselyted to the Jews Religion. Indeed, he spake reverently of the God of Israel, and of his Temple-Worship, and Sacrifices, as did also several other Kings; but that will not prove that he was adapted to that Religion.



7. That his Incomes were impaired, 'tis evident; because he took off Toll, Tribute, and Custom from them, of whom mention is made afore; nor is it, I think, to be believed, that he did exact it of their Brethren. But we may see what the Lord can do; for thus to do, was put into the Heart of the King by the God of Heaven. This therefore ariseth not of Nature: No more did the Kindness of Cyrus, or Darius, of whom we read in the beginning of this History. As God therefore did put it into the Hearts of the wicked Kings of Babylon, to distress his Church and People for their Sins; so he put it into the Hearts of the Kings of the Medes and Persians, who were to be, in a sense, their Saviours; to ease them of those Distresses, to take off the Yoke, and let them go free. Indeed, there was an Artaxerxes that put a stop to this Work of God, and he also was of the Kings that had destroyed the Babylonians; for it doth not follow, because God hath begun to deliver his People, that therefore their Deliverance must be compleated without stop or let. The Protestants in France had more favour formerly, than from their Prince they at this time have; yet I doubt not but that God will make that Horn also one of them (in his time) that (indeed) shall hate the Whore. As the Sins of

Ver. 27.

Chap. 4.

God's People brought them into Captivity; so their Sins can hold them there; yea, and when the time comes that Grace must fetch them out, yet the Oxen that draw this Cart, may stumble; and the way through roughness, may shake it sorely. However, Heaven rules, and overrules; and by one means, and another, as the Captivity of Israel did seem to linger, so it came out at the time appointed; in the way that best pleased God, most profited them, and that most confounded those that were their implacable Enemies. This therefore should instruct those that yet dwell where the Woman sitteth, to Quietness and Patience.

8. To Quietness. For God rules, and has the dispose of things. Besides, it is a kind of arraignment of his Wisdom, to be discontent at that which at present is upon the Wheel. Above all, it displeases him that any should seek, or go about to revenge their own Injuries, or to work their own Deliverances; for that is the work of God, and he will do it by the Kings: Nor is he weak, nor has he mist the opportunity; nor doth he sleep, but waketh, and waiteth to be gracious.

This also should teach them to be Patient, and put them upon bearing what at present they may undergo, patiently. Let them wait upon God;

patiently let them wait upon Men, and  
patiently let them bear the fruits of their  
own Transgressions; which though they should be  
none other but a deferring of the Mercy wished  
for, is enough to try, and crack, and break their  
patience, if a continual supply, and a daily  
encrease thereof be not given by the God of  
Heaven.

And before I do conclude this, let me also  
add one word more; to wit, To exhort them to look,  
that they may see that which God at present may be  
doing among the Babylonians.

When God had his People into Babylon of old,  
he presented them with such Rarities there, as he  
never shewed them in their own Countrey. And is  
there nothing now to be seen by them that are not  
yet delivered from that Oppression, that may give  
them occasion to stay themselves and wonder! What,  
is Preservation nothing? What, is Baffling and  
Befooling the Enemies of God's Church nothing? In  
the Maryan days here at home, there was such sweet  
Songs sung in the Fire, such sweet Notes answering  
them from Prison, and such Providences, that Coals  
of burning Fire still dropped here and there upon  
the Heads of those that hated God; that it might,  
and doubtless did make those that did wisely



consider of God's Doings, to think God was yet near, with, and for, a despised and afflicted People.

9. I conclude then, first with a word of Counsel, and then with a word of Caution.

First, Let us mend our pace in the way of Reformation, that is the way to hasten the downfall of Antichrist. Ministers need reforming, particular Congregations need reforming; there are but few Church-Members but need reforming. This twenty years we have been degenerating, both as to Principles, and as to Practice; and have grown at last into an amazing likeness to the World, both as to Religion, and civil Demeanour: Yea, I may say, so remiss have Churches been in instructing those that they have received into fellowship with them; and so careless have the Received been, of considering the Grounds of their coming in to Churches, that most Members, in some places, seem now to be at a loss; yea, and those Churches stand with their fingers in their mouths, and are as if they would not, durst not, or could not help it.

My Second, is, A word of Caution.

First, Take heed of over-looking, or of shutting your Eyes upon your own Guilt: He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper. It is

incident to some Men, when they find repentance is far from them, to shut their Eyes upon their own Guilt, and to please themselves with such Notions of deliverance from present Troubles, as will stand with that course of Sin which is got into their Families, Persons, and Professions, and with a state of Impenitence: But I advise you to take heed of this.

10. Secondly, Take heed of laying the cause of you Troubles in the badness of the Temper of Governours. I speak not now with Reflections upon any: excepting those concerned in this Caution: God is the Chief, and has the Hearts of all, even

1 Sam. 14. of the worst of Men, in his hand. Good temper'd  
 47, 48.  
 2 Sam. 12. Men have sometimes brought Trouble; and bad temper'd  
 9, 10, 11.  
 1 King. Men have sometimes brought Enlargement to the  
 18.  
 2 Chro. Churches of God: Saul brought Enlargement, David  
 19. 2.  
 Chap. 20. brought Trouble: Ahab brought Enlargement; Jehosa-  
 35, 36,  
 37. phat and Hezekiah did both some times bring Trouble:  
 Chap. 32. Therefore, the good or bad tempers of Men sway  
 24, 25. nothing with God in this matter; they are the Sins  
 or Repentances of his People, that maketh the Church  
 either happy or miserable upon Earth.

Take heed, I say therefore, of laying of the Trouble of the Church of God at the doors of Governours; especially at the doors of Kings, who

1 King. 18. 7. 1 King. 12.

seldom trouble Churches of their own Inclinations;  
 (I say, seldom; for some have done so, as Pharaoh;) )

1 Sam. 22. But I say, lay not the Cause of your Trouble there;  
from ver. 9. to ver. 19.  
 Dan. 6. hear with other Mens Ears, and act and do by the  
from ver. 4. to ver. 17.  
 Judgments of others: (Thus did Saul, when he  
 killed the Priests of the Lord; and thus did  
Darius, when he cast Daniel into the Lyons Den:)  
 But rather labour to see the true Cause of Trouble,  
 which is Sin; and to attain to a fitness to be  
 delivered out thence, and that is by Repentance,  
 and Amendment of Life. If any object, That  
 God oft times delivers his of meer Grace: I  
 answer, That's no thanks to them; besides, we must  
 mind our Duty. Further, When God comes to save  
 his People, he can cut off such Objectors, if  
 they be impenitent, as the Sinners of his People;  
 and can save his Church, without letting of them  
 be Sharers in that Salvation: So he served many  
 in the Wilderness; and 'tis to be feared, so he  
 will serve many at the Downfall of Antichrist.

I shall say no more, but to testifie my  
 Loyalty to my King, my Love to my Brethren, and  
 Service for my Countrey, has been the cause of  
 this my present Scribble. Farewell.

Thine in the Lord,

J. BUNYAN,



O F  
A N T I C H R I S T.

11.           ANTICHRIST is the Adversary of Christ; an Adversary really, a Friend pretendedly: So then, Antichrist is one that is against Christ; one that is for Christ, and one that is contrary to him: (And this is that Mystery of Iniquity.) Against him in Deed; for him in Word, and contrary to him in Practice. Antichrist is so proud, as to go before Christ; so humble, as to pretend to come after him; and so audacious as to say that himself is he. Antichrist will cry up Christ; Antichrist will cry down Christ: Antichrist will proclaim that himself is one above Christ. Antichrist is the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition; a Beast, hath two Horns like a Lamb, but speaks as a Dragon.
- 2 Thes. 2.7.
- Rev. 13. 11.

Christ is the Son of God; Antichrist is the Son of Hell.

Christ is Holy, Meek, and Forbearing: Antichrist is Wicked, Outragious, and Exacting.

Christ seeketh the Good of the Soul: Antichrist seeks his own Avarice and Revenge.

Christ is content to rule by his Word: Antichrist saith, The Word is not sufficient.

Christ preferreth his Father's Will above Heaven and Earth: Antichrist preferreth Himself

and his Traditions above all that is written, or that is called God, or worshipped.

Christ hath given us such Laws and Rules as are helpful and healthful to the Soul: Antichrist seeketh to abuse those Rules to our hurt and Destruction.

12. Antichrist may be considered either more particularly, or more generally.

1 Joh. 2.18. 1. More particularly: And so there are many Antichrists.

2 Thes. 2.3. Rev. 19.2. 2. More generally: And so the many maketh but one Great Antichrist, one Man of Sin, one Enemy, one great Whore, one Son of Perdition.

Again, Antichrist must be distinguished with respect to his more Internal and External Parts; and so there is the Spirit, Soul, or Life; and also the Body and Flesh of Antichrist. The Spirit, or Soul, or Life of Antichrist, is that Spirit of Errour, that Wicked, that Mystery of Iniquity, that under colour and pretence of Verity, draweth Men from Truth to Falshood. The Body, or Flesh of Antichrist, is that Heap of Men, that Assembly of the Wicked, that Synagogue of Satan that is acted and governed by that Spirit. But God will destroy both Soul and Body; He shall consume the glory of his forrest, and of his fruitful field, both Soul

1 Joh. 4.3. 2 Thes. 2.7. Isa. 10. 18.

and Body, (or from the Soul, even to the Flesh;) and they shall be (both Soul and Body) as when a standard-bearer fainteth.

A partic-  
ular Des-  
cription  
of Anti-  
christ.

Antichrist therefore is a mystical Man, so made, or begotten of the Devil, and sent into the World, himself being the chief and highest of him. Three things therefore go to the making up of Antichrist; the Head, Body, and Soul. The Devil, he is the Head; the Synagogue of Satan, that is the Body; that wicked Spirit of Iniquity, that is the Soul of Antichrist. Christ then is the Head of his Church; the Devil is the Head of Antichrist; the Elect are the Body of Christ; the reprobate Professors are the Body of Antichrist; the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of Life that acteth Christ's Body; that wicked Spirit of Iniquity, is that which acteth the Body of Antichrist. Thus therefore are the two great Mighties set forth before us, who are the Heads of those two Bodies; and thus are those two Bodies set before us, who are to be acted by these two Spirits.

13.

1 Joh.  
3.8.

The reason why Christ came into the World, was, That he might destroy all the Works of the Head of Antichrist, and they which he endeavoureth to compleat by his wicked Spirit working in his Body. And the reason why Antichrist came into the



World, was, That the Church, which is the Body of Christ, might be tried, and made white by suffering under his Tyranny, and by bearing witness against his Falshoods. For, for the Tryal of the Faithful, and for the Punishment of the World, Antichrist was admitted to come. But when he came, he first appeared there where one would have thought there had been no place nor corner for his Reception.

The Devil then, made use of the Church of God to Midwife this Monster into the World, as the Apostle plainly shews, there he first sat, shewing himself. Here therefore was his first appearance, even in the Church of God: Not that the Church of God did willingly admit him there to sit as such; he had covered his Cloven-foot; he had Plumbs in his Dragon's Mouth, and so came in by Flatteries; promising to do for Christ and his Church, that which he never meant to perform. For he shewed himself that he was God; and in appearance, set his Heart to do as the Heart of God. And who could have found in their hearts to shut the door upon such an one? True, he came, when he came thither, out of the bottomless Pit; but there came such a Smoak out thence with him, and that Smoak so darkened the Light of the Sun, of the Moon, of the Stars, and of the Day, that had they been upon their Watch, as they were not, they could not have perceived him

2 Thes.  
2.4.

Where  
Antichrist  
first  
appeared.

Ezek. 28.  
2, 6.

2 Thes. 2.4. 7 1 Thes. 5.4.

Rev. 9.  
2, 3.

from another Man. Besides, there came with him so many Locusts to usher him into the House of God, and they so suited the Flesh and Reason of the Godly of that day, that with good Words, and fair Speeches, by their crafty and cunning Sleights, whereby they lay in wait to deceive, they quite got him in, and set him up, and made him a Great One, even the Chief, before they were aware. Further, He quickly got him a Beast to ride on, far, for sumptuous Glory, beyond (though as to Nature, as Assish a Creature as) that on which Balaam was wont to ride: And by this Exaltation he became not only more stately, but the Horns of the Beast would push for him.

Rev. 17.1,  
2, 3, 4,  
5.

14. Again, This Man of Sin, when he came into the World, had the Art of Metamorphizing, and could change himself, both in form and shape, into the likeness of a Beast, a Man, or Woman; and the Kings of the Earth, with the Inhabitants of the World, began then to love such Women dearly; wherefore they went to her into the Bed of Love, and defiled themselves with the filthiness of her Fornications, gave her their Troth, and became her Husbands, and beloved Sons; took up Helmet and Shield, and stood to defend her; yea, though Christ himself, and some of the chief of his Followers, cried out of her shame, and of the evil of their doings; yet would she be audacious.

Also this Woman had now arrayed her self in Flesh-taking Ornaments, of the colour of Purple and Scarlet, and was decked with Gold, and Precious-stones, and Pearls, after the manner, or attire of Harlots. Thus came she to them, and lay in their Bosoms; and gave them out of her Golden Cup of the Wine of her Fornication; of the which they bibbed till they were drunken; and then, in requital, they also gave her of such Liquors as they could, to wit, to drink of the Blood of Saints, and of Martyrs of Jesus, till she, like these Beasts, was drunken also.

Now when they were drunken, they did as Drunkards do, revel, roar, and belch out their own shame, in the sight of them that were sober: Wherefore they cryed out upon such Doings, and chose rather to die, than to live with such Company. And so 'tis still with them where she yet sitteth, and so will be till she shall fall into the hands of the strong Lord, who will Judge her according to her ways. And that she must do, as is implied by this, That her Fornications are in a Cup; she has therefore but her Cup to be drank out; wherefore when it is empty, then, whether she will or no, the Lord God will call her to such a reckoning, that all the Cloaths on her Back, with what Pearls and Jewels she has, shall not be able to pay the shot.

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Of the Ruine of Antichrist.

15.        ANtichrist, as was said, had a time to come into the World; and so must have a time to go out again: For although he saith that he is a God, yet must he be subject to the Will of God; and must go, as well as come, according to that Will. Nor can all the fallen Angels, with all the Members and Limbs of Antichrist, cause that this their Brat should abide so much as one day longer than our God's prefixed time. And this the Head of Anti-  
christ understandeth very well: Wherefore the

Rev. 12.        Holy Ghost saith, Wo to the Inhabiters of the Earth,  
12.                and of the Sea; for the Devil is come down among  
2 Thes.        you, having great wrath, because he knows he hath  
2.8.                but a short time.

Rev. 17.        Besides, the Text says plainly, The Lord shall  
11.                destroy him, and that he goeth into Perdition: Also  
Ch. 19.20.     the Church of God believes it, and the Limbs of  
Antichrist fear it.

Now when, or as his time shall come to be destroyed, so he shall be made a hand of; and that with such Instruments and Weapons of God's Indignation, as best shall be suited to his several Parts.

Such Weapons as are best for the destroying of his Soul, shall be used for the destroying of

it; and such Weapons as are best for the destroying of his Body, shall be made use of for the destroying of it.

The Soul of it destroyed, and how.

And therefore, as to his Soul, or that Spirit of Errour that governs him in all his works of mischief; this must be consumed by the Spirit of Christ's Mouth, and be destroyed by the brightness of his coming.

16. This we have in the words of Paul: For  
 2 Thes. 2. (saith he) the Mystery of Iniquity (the Spirit of  
 7, 8. Antichrist) doth already work; only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way: And then shall THAT wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming. The Apostle here treateth of Anti-christ, with reference to his more subtile and spiritual part, since that indeed is the chiefest of Antichrist: Wherefore, he calls it that wicked; not, that wicked one, as referring to the whole; but that wicked, as referring to the mystery or spirit of iniquity, the Heart and Soul of Antichrist; and tells us, that the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming.

Isa. 10.4.  
Rev. 2.16.

Now, by the Spirit of his Mouth, I understand his Holy Word; which is called, The Word and Breath of his Lips: And also, The Sword of his Mouth. By the Brightness of his Coming, I also understand, not only his Presence, but an encrease of Light by his Presence; not only to help Christians to begin to bear witness against some parts and pieces of the Errours of Anti-christ, but until the whole is rooted out of the World: By this, I say, must the Soul, Spirit, or Life of Antichrist be taken away. But how shall Christ by this Rod, Sword, or Spirit of his Mouth, consume this Wicked, this Mystery of Iniquity? Not by himself immediately, but by his Spirit and Word in his Church; the which he will use, and so manage in this Work, that they shall not rest till he by them has brought this Beast to his Grave.

Ps. 80.  
13.

This Beast is compared to the wild Boar, and the Beast that comes out of the Wood to devour the Church of God, (as we read in the Book of Psalms;) But Christ, with the Dogs that eat the Crumbs of his Table, will so hunt and scour him about, that albeit he may let out some of their Bowels with the Tushes of his Chaps, yet they will not let him alone till they have his Life: For the Church shall single him out from all Beasts, and so



follow him with Cryes, and pinch him with their Voices, that he alone shall perish by their means. Thus shall Christ consume and wear him out by the Spirit of his Mouth, and destroy him with the Brightness of his coming.

Hence you find again, That this Wicked, is to melt and consume away as Grease: For the Lord Jesus shall consume him, and cause him to melt away; not all at once, but now this part, and then that; now his Soul, and after that his Body, even until Soul and Body are both destroyed.

17. And that you may be convinced of the Truth of this thing, do but look back and compare Antichrist four or five hundred years ago, with Antichrist as he is now, and you shall see what work the Lord Jesus has begun to make with him, even with the Spirit, and Soul, and Life of Antichrist; both in confounding and blasting of it by this Spirit of his Mouth, as also by forcing of it to dishonourable Retreats, and by making of it give up to him, as the Conquerour, not only some of his superstitious and diabolical Rites and Ceremonies, to be destroyed; but many a goodly Truth, which this vile One had taken from his Church, to be renewed to them: Nay, further, he hath also already began

to take from him both Kingdoms and Countreys, tho' as to some not so absolutely as he shall do by and by: And in the mean time, this is the Plague wherewith the Lord shall plague or smite the

Zech. 14. 12. People that have fought against Jerusalem: Their  
 Isa. 17. 4, 5, 6. flesh shall consume away while they stand upon  
their feet, and their eyes shall consume away in  
their holes, and their tongue shall consume away  
in their mouth. And how has this long ago been fulfilled here in England! as also in Scotland, Holland, Germany, France, Sweeden, Denmark, Hungaria, and other places! Nor hath this Spirit of Antichrist, with all his Art and Artificers, been able to reduce to Antichrist again, those People, Nations, or Parts of Nations, that by the Spirit of Christ's Mouth, and the brightness of his coming, have been made to forsake him, and to turn from him to Christ: The Reason is, for that the Lord has not retreated, but is still going on in the Spirit of his Mouth, and his Brightness, to make that Conquest over him that is determined, in the way that is determined: Of which more shall be spoken afterward; for the Path-way that he goeth, is as the shining Light, which shines more and more unto Noon. True, the Fogs of Antichrist, and the Smoak that came with him out of the bottomless Pit,

has darkened and eclipsed the glorious Light of the Gospel: But you know, in Eclipses, when they are on the recovering hand, all the Creatures upon the face of the Earth cannot put a stop to that course, until the Sun or the Moon have recovered their Glory. And thus it shall be now; the Lord is returned to visit the Earth, and his People with his primitive lustre; he will not go back, nor slack his hand, until he has recovered what

Jer. 23.  
20.

Antichrist has darkened of his. The Anger of the Lord shall not return, until he has executed, until he hath performed the Thoughts of his Heart; in the latter days ye shall consider it perfectly: There-

Isa. 30.25,  
26.

fore he saith again; The Light of the Moon shall be as the Light of the Sun (was in her Eclipse;) and the Light of the Sun shall be sevenfold, as the Light of seven days, in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound, &c. As the Verse before has it: In the day when the Towers fall.

18.

For (as was said before) as to the recovery of the Light of the Gospel from under Antichristian Mists, and Fogs of Darkness; Christ will do that, not by Might nor Power, but by the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming: Wherefore,

Isa. 30.25, 26. 7 Isa. 30.15, 16.



the Soul of Antichrist, or that Spirit of Wickedness by which this Gospel-light hath been diminished, must be consumed and destroyed by that Spirit also. Nor can any other way of Conquest over that be thorough, and lasting; because that Spirit can by no other means be slain. The Body of Antichrist may be destroyed by other Instruments, but Spirits cannot be killed but by Spirits. The Temporal Sword then may kill the Body, but after that it hath no more that it can do; wherefore, the other must be dealt with by another kind of Weapon: And here is one sufficient, the Spirit against the Spirit; the Spirit and Face of Christ, against the Spirit, that Wicked, of Antichrist. And by this Spirit of Christ's Mouth, all the Spirit that is in all the Trinkets and Wash of Antichrist shall also be destroyed; so that those Trinkets, those Rites, Ceremonies and Ordinances of this Man of Sin, shall be left as Carrion upon the face of the Earth, and shall stink in the Noses of Men, as doth the corrupted Blood of a dead Man.

The Ordina-  
nances of  
Antichrist.

Now therefore will the Beauty of Antichrist fade like a Flower, and fall as doth a Leaf when the Sap of the Tree has left it; or as the Beauty departeth from the Body, when the Soul, or Life, or Spirit is gone forth. And as the Body

cannot be but unpleasant and unsavoury when under such a state; so the Body of Antichrist will be to Beholders, when the Lord has slain the Spirit thereof. It is the Spirit of Antichrist that puts Life into the Body; and that puts lustre into the Ordinances of Antichrist, as the Light of the Sun, and of the Moon, and of the Stars do put lustre upon the things of this Visible World: Wherefore, when this Spirit, and Soul, and Life of Antichrist is slain, then it will be with him as 'twould be with the World, had it no Light of the Sun, of the Moon, or of the Stars.

19. And hence, as the loss of our Natural Life is

\*Eccl. 12.  
1, 2, 3.

compared to the loss of these\* Lights; so the loss of the Life, Soul and Spirit of Antichrist is compared to these things also. For, the Soul of Antichrist is compared to a Heaven; and her Ordinances and Rites, to the Ordinances of Heaven: Wherefore, when the Lord comes to fight against her with the Spirit of his Mouth, he saith, The Stars of the Heaven thereof shall be darkened, and the Constellations thereof shall not give their light; because he will slay that Spirit of Antichrist that is in them.

Isa. 13.  
Isa. 34.  
Rev. 6.  
13, 14.

Take things therefore more distinctly, thus: The Antichristian Spirit, is the Heaven of Antichristians; their Sun, Moon and Stars, are their

Superstitious Ordinances; their Earth is the Body or Flesh of Antichrist, otherwise called the Church and Synagogue of Satan. Now as the Earth cannot live, and be desirable, without the Influences of the Spirit of the Heavens; so neither can Antichrist live, when the Lord shall darken the Light of his Heaven, and shall slay the Spirit thereof. Hence you read, as I touched before, that when his Heaven shall be rolled together as a Scroll, all the host thereof, unto which I  
 Isa. 34.4. compare the Ordinances of Antichrist, shall fall down, as the Leaf falleth off from the Vine, and as a falling Fig from the Fig-tree. But how, or why doth the Leaf, or the Fig fall from the Tree? Why, because the Spirit, or Sap of the Tree, is gone from them.

20. Therefore, the first and chief proceeding of the Lord with the Man of Sin, is, to slay his Soul, that his Body may also be consumed: And when the Spirit of Antichrist shall be made to leave both the Body and Ordinances of Antichrist, 'twill be easie to deal both with the one and the other. And First, for the Ordinances of Antichrist; because the Spirit of Errour is in them, as well as in the Body it self. When that Spirit, as I said, has left them, they will of themselves even moulder



Nahum 3.  
15, 16,  
17.

away, and not be: As we have seen by Experience here in England, as others also have seen in other Countreys. For as concerning his Masses, Prayers for the Dead, Images, Pilgrimages, Monkish Vows, sinful Fasts, and the beastly Single-life of their Priests, though when the Spirit of Antichrist was in them, they did bear some sway in the World; yet now, of what esteem are they? or who has reverence for them? They are now blown together under Hedges, as the dry Leaves, for the Mice and Frogs to harbour in: yea, the Locusts too camp in the Hedges among the dry Leaves, in the cold day, and when the Sun arises, they fly away: When 'tis a cold day for them in a Nation, then they lurk in the Hedges, though their Ordinances lye there, as Leaves that are dry, and fallen down from the Tree; but when the Sun ariseth, and waxeth warm, they abide not, but betake them to their Wings, and fly away. But one would think that fallen Leaves should have no great nourishment in them: True, if you have respect to Men, but with Vermin any thing will do: We speak then of them with reference to Men, not with respect to the very Members of Antichrist: And I say, as to them, when the Spirit of Antichrist is gone out of these Ordinances, they will be with them as dry Leaves that no body seeketh

after. The Ordinances therefore of Antichrist are not able to bear up themselves in the World, as the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus are; for even the Ordinances of Christ, where the Spirit of Christ is not, are yet in some esteem with Men: But THESE, when the Spirit of Delusion has left them, are abhorred, both Skin and Bones: For in themselves they are without any sense, or rationality; yea, they look as parts of things which are used to Conjure up Devils with: These were prefigured by the Ordinances that were NOT good, and by the Judgments whereby one should not live: For what is there, or can there be of the least dram of Truth or Profit in the things that are without the Word, that being the only stamp by which one is distinguished from the other? I say, What is there in any of them, to the Man whose Eyes are open, but Delusion and Deceit! Wherefore, as has been express'd already, when the Lord Christ, by the Spirit of his Mouth, &c. shall drive this Mystery of Iniquity from them, and strip them of that Spirit of Delusion that now by its craft puts bewitching Excellency upon them, they will of themselves become such stinking Rivers, Ponds and Pools, that Flesh and Blood will loath to drink of them; yea, as it was with the Ponds and Pools of

Ezek. 20.  
25, 26.

Egypt, they will be fit for nought but to breed and hatch up Frogs in.

21. Wherefore these Ordinances shall be rejected, not one of them shall find favour with Men on Earth; when the Lord, by the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming, shall have separated their Spirit from them.

Now, by Ordinances of Antichrist, I do not intend things that only respect Matters of Worship in Antichrist's Kingdom, but those Civil Laws that impose and enforce them also: yea, that inforce THAT Worship with Pains and Penalties, as in the Spanish Inquisition: For these must, as the other, be overthrown by Christ, by the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming: For these Laws, as the other, took their Being, and have their Soul and Life by the Spirit of Anti-christ; yea, as long as there is Life in them, 'tis because the Spirit of that Man of Sin yet remaineth in them. Wherefore, these are also Great Ordinances, though of another Nature than are those mentioned before: Great, I say, are they; forasmuch as neither the Church of Antichrist, nor his Instruments of Worship, can either live or stand without them. Wherefore, it was admitted to the



Image of the Beast, not only to speak, but to cause. To speak out his Laws of Worship, and cause that as many as would not worship the Image of the Beast, should be killed. And mark, This is because that the Life that was communicated to the Image of the Beast, was by him also communicated to his Word and Authority. Wherefore, these Laws must not be separated from those in which the Spirit of Antichrist is; yea, they are the very Pillars and Sinews by which Antichristianism remains: And were these dis-spirited, the whole Building would quickly become a ruinous Heap.

Dan. 3.           What could the King of Babylon's golden Image have done, had it not been for the burning fiery Furnace that stood within the view of the Worshippers? Yea, What could that horrible Command, to Pray, for Thirty Days, to neither God nor Man, but to the King, have done, had it not been for the dark Den, and the roaring Lyons there in readiness to devour those that disobeyed it? As therefore the burning fiery Furnace, and the Den of Lyons, were the support of the horrible Religion of the Babylonians of old; so Popish Edicts are the support of the Religion of Antichrist now; and as long as there is Spirit, that is, Authority, in them, they are like to those now mentioned; the

Chap. 6.

Spirit of such Laws is that that makes them dreadful: For as the Furnace would have been next to nothing, if void of Fire; and the Den as little frightful, if destitute of Lyons; so these Laws will be as insignificant, when Christ has slain that Spirit that is in them; that Spirit that causes that as many as will not worship the Image of the Beast, should be killed.

22. Nor can any Sword reach that Life of Anti-christ that is in these, but the Sword of Christ's Mouth: Therefore, as all the religious Rites and Ceremonies of Antichrist are overthrown by his Spirit working in his, as Christians; so those Antichristian Laws will have their Soul and their Life taken from them also by this Spirit of his Mouth working in some of his, as Magistrates, and no otherwise; for before Kings and Princes, &c. come to be enlightened about the evils that are in such Edicts, by the Spirit of the living God, they will let this Image of the Beast both speak, and cause, &c. But when they shall see, they will say, Let it be decreed that this Prop of Antichrist be taken down. It was decreed by Darius, That they that prayed, for Thirty Days, to any God but him, should  
 Dan. 6.9. be cast into the Den of Lions: But this was before he saw; but when he came to see, then he decreed

22. 7 omitted.

again; a Decree that quite took away the Power of that which he had decreed before.

Nor are we without Instances of this kind nearer home: Who is now afraid of the Act for burning of those that Papists call Hereticks, since by the King and Parliament, as by the Finger of God, the Life and Soul is taken out of it. I bring this to shew you, That as there is Life in wicked Antichristian Penal Laws, as well as in those that are superstitiously Religious; so the Life of these, of all these, must be destroyed by the same Spirit working in those that are Christ's, though in a diverse way.

Nor will the Life of these Sinews, as I have called them, be taken away, but as God shall enlighten Men to see the abominable filthiness of that which is Antichristian-Worship: As would easily be made appear, if some that dwell in those Countreys where the Beast and his Image have been worshipped, would but take the pains to enquire into Antiquity about it. As the Noble King, King Henry VIII. did cast down the Antichristian-Worship; so he cast down the Laws that held it up: So also did the good King Edward his Son. The Queen Elizabeth brave Queen also, the Sister to King Edward, hath left of things of this nature, to her lasting Fame,



behind her. And if one such Law of Antichrist hath escaped the hand of one, another hath taken it, and done that execution on it that their Zeal and Piety prompted them to.

23. There is yet another thing that the Spirit of Antichrist is immediately concerned in; and that is, the Antichristian Names of the Men that worship the Beast: The Names, I mean, that Antichrist hath baptized them into: For those Names are breathed upon them by the very Spirit of Antichrist; and are such as are absolutely Names of Blasphemy, or such as do closely border thereupon; some such as Elihu durst not for his Life give unto Men, only he calls them Flattering Titles. Now therefore, of the Danger (though not of the Names themselves) you read sufficiently in the Scripture; and perhaps the Holy Ghost has contented himself with giving of Items that are general, that Men might, as to them, be the more cautious of what Names they give one to another: But this is clear, they are worn by Men of Spiritual Employ: But since they are but mentioned, and are not distinctly nominated, how should we know which are they, and which not? Verily, by searching the Word of God, and by seeing by that what Names we are allowed to give unto Men, with reference to their Offices, Dignities and

Job 32.  
21, 22.

Rev. 17.

Rev. 11.  
13.

Places: For God has a Quarrel with the Names, as well as with the Persons that wear them; and when his Son shall down with Antichrist, he will slay seven thousand Names of Men, as well as the Persons of the Worshippers of the Beast.

24. But there are Things, as well as Men; and  
 Isa. 2. these also have been Baptized into those Names by  
 18.  
 Job. 22. the very Spirit of Antichrist, and must be destr-  
 29.  
 Zech. 11. Brightness of his Coming: The Idols he will  
 17. utterly abolish; and there are Men that are Idols,  
 as well as Things: Wherefore, let Men have a care,  
 as to shun the Worship of Idols, so that they bare  
 not the Name, or stand in the Place of one: And  
 the Reason of this Caution, is, because Name and  
Thing are both abominable unto God.

To give you the Number of these Names that the Spirit of Antichrist has Baptized Men into, (besides the Things that do also wear such Blasphemies upon them,) would be a Task too great for me, and too wearisom for you. It shall satisfie then, that I give you Notice that there are such Things, and Men, and Names; and that I put you upon search to find out what they be. But whatsoever of the Spirit, or Soul, or Life of Antichrist is in these Names, Men, or Things, must

Job. 22.29. 7 Job. 22.28.

be consumed by Christ, by the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming.

Rev. 13.  
13, 14.

Another thing that I would touch upon, is this; to wit, The Lying Legends, and False Miracles that Antichrist cries up: These, by the means of which such as dwell upon the Earth are deceived, and made to adore and worship the Beast: These have their Life and Soul (as had those mentioned before) from the Spirit of Wickedness; and must be destroyed as they, namely, by Christ, the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming: For these are not of the Body of Antichrist, but rather such Implements, or whatever you will call them, by which the Spirit and Soul of Antichrist is conveyed into, and kept also alive in the Body of Antichrist, which is the Church and Synagogue of Satan; you may call them Organs and Means by which that Wicked worketh in the Mysteries of Iniquity, for the begetting of, and maintaining a lying and false Belief of the Religion of the Beast: Nor can it be thought, but that, as the Antichristian Statists of Antichrist, mentioned before, do put a dread and fear upon Men that are Worshippers of the Beast, and his Image, to the holding of them still to his Service; so these Legends and Miracles do, on the other hand, abridge and bind their Consciences to that Worship;



but all because of that Spirit of Antichrist that is in them.

So then, here is the Spirit of Antichrist diffusing it self into all the things pertaining to the Kingdom of the Beast; for it dwells in the Body of Antichrist; it dwells in the Matters and Things of Worship of Antichrist; it dwells in the Titles and Names that are Antichristian; and it dwells in the Laws, Legends and Miracles of Antichrist. And as it is the Spirit of Antichrist, so it must be destroyed; not by Sword, nor by Bow, but by Christ, as fighting against it with the Spirit of his Mouth, and as conquering of it by the Brightness of his Coming.

25. We come now to discourse of the Body or Flesh The Body of Antichrist destroyed, and how. of Antichrist, and of the Destruction of that; for that must be destroyed also. Now the Body of Antichrist, is that Church or Synagogue in which the Spirit of Antichrist dwells, or unto which the Spirit of Antichrist is become a Soul and Life.

And this is to be destroyed, either as it is a Body Mystical, or under the more gross Consideration.

First, As it is a Body Mystical, and so it is to be destroyed Absolutely.

Secondly, As it is to be considered more Grossly, and so it is to be destroyed Conditionally.

That is, if Repentance doth not save the Men that have gone to the making up of this Body, and to the rejoicing in it.

As she is a Body Mystical, so she is to be destroyed the same way that the things of Anti-christ, of which we discoursed before, were to be destroyed; to wit, by Christ, the Spirit of his Mouth, and the Brightness of his Coming.

Rev. 18.  
21.

This then is the summ, as to this: That the Church of Antichrist, as a Church, shall be destroyed by the Word and Spirit of Christ. Nor can any thing in Heaven prevent it, because the strong God has decreed it: And a mighty Angel took up a Stone, like a great Mil-stone, and cast it into the Sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that Great City Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. This City, Babylon, is here sometimes considered in the whole, and sometimes as to the parts of it; but always, whether in whole, or in part, as some, or else as the whole of the Anti-christian Church; and as such, it must not be destroyed, but by the means aforesaid. By which means her Witchcrafts, spiritual Whoredoms, spiritual Murthers, Thefts and Blasphemies, shall be so detected, and made manifest, so laid open, and so discovered, that the Nations shall abhor her,

Ver. 11. flee from her, and buy her Merchandize no more.  
Hence her tempting things rot, and moulder away;  
for these will not keep, they are things not last-  
ing, but that perish in the using: What then will  
they do when they are laid by? Therefore it

Ver. 14. follows, All things which were (thy) goodly and  
dainty (Ones) are departed from thee, and thou  
shalt find them no more at all. Now, if when she  
had things to trade with, her Dealers left her;  
how shall she think of a Trade, when she hath  
nothing to traffick with? Her things are slain,  
and stink already, by the Weapons that are made  
mention of before; what then will her Carkass do?  
It follows then, that as to her Church-state, she  
must of necessity tumble: Wherefore, from Ver. 22.  
to Ver. 24. you have the manner of her total Ruine,  
as a Church, and something of the Cause thereof.

26. But as she must, with reference to her Body,  
be considered Mystically as a Church; so also she  
must be considered as a Body of Men, (this is that  
which I called more grossly) and as such, against whom  
the Wrath of God will burn, and against whom, if  
Repentance prevent not, he will have Indignation for  
ever. These, I say, are them; to wit, as they are  
the Body of the People, that have been seduced by  
this Spirit of Antichrist, that have been made use



of to do all the mischiefs that have been done both to True Religion, and to the Professors of it, for this many hundred years, wherefore these must not escape: Wherefore you find, that after Anti-christ, as to the Spirit and Mystery of Antichrist, is slain, that the Body of Antichrist, or the heap of People that became her Vassals, come next to be dealt withall.

Rev. 19.  
17, 18.

Therefore, the Angel that standeth in the Sun, makes a Proclamation to all the Fowls that fly in the midst of Heaven, to gather themselves, and to come unto the Supper of the Great God; that they may eat the Flesh of the several sorts of the Men that have been the Lovers, the Countenancers, the Upholders and Defenders of her Antichristian State, Worship, and Falshoods: For abundance of their Hearts shall be hardened, and made yet more obdurate, that they may be destroyed for the wickedness that they have done.

Ver. 19.

Wherefore, you find (as did the Enemies of the Church of old,) that they might revenge themselves for the loss of their Idol, or Antichristian state, begin a new War with the King, whose Name is the Lord of Hosts: And I saw the Beast, and the Kings of the Earth, and their Armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the

Horse, and against his Army.

Their implacable Malice remained when their Church-state was gone; wherefore they will now at last make another attempt upon the Men that had been the Instruments in Christ's hand to torment them that dwelt on the Earth: Of which more hereafter.

Now therefore is the last stroke of the Batter, with reference to the destroying the Body of Antichrist; only the Head of this Monster remains, and that is S A T A N himself: Wherefore, the next News that we hear, is, that he is taken  
 Rev. 20.1, also: And I saw an Angel come down from Heaven,  
 2, 3.  
having the Key of the bottomless Pit, and a great Chain in his hand; and he laid hold on that old Serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless Pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the Nations no more, until the thousand years should be fulfilled, &c.

27. Now therefore there will be nothing of Anti-christ to be seen throughout the Nations, but ruinous heaps, and desolate places. It is said of the Army of the Man of Sin, when he came into the Land of God's People, though it was before him as the Garden of Eden, yet behind him 'twould be as a

Rev. 20.1, 2, 3. 7 Rev. 2.1, 2, 3.

Joel 2, 3. desolate Wilderness; such ruines would he make of the Flock of God, and of all their Ordinances, and heavenly Dainties. But when the Days that I have Brave days when Anti-christ is dead. spoken of, shall come, it will be to him a time of Retaliation: For it shall then be done unto Anti-christ, as he hath done to the Church of God: As he hath made Women Childless, so shall he be made Childless; as he has made Zion sit upon the Ground, so now must this wicked One come down and sit in the dust; yea, as he has made many Churches Desolations, so now shall he be also. made a Desolation. Wherefore, who so will find his Body, they must look for it in the side of the Pit's Mouth; and whoso will find his Friends and Companions, they must look

Ezek. 32. for them there likewise: They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain, with all her multitude: her graves are round about him, all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword: Though their terrour was caused in the land of the living, yet have they born their shame with them that go down to the pit: he is put in the midst of them that be slain. There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude. There is Edom, her King, and all her Princes, &c. There be the Princes of the North, all of them, which with their might are laid with them that are slain by the sword, and bare their shame with them that go down.



to the pit. For as Babylon has caused the slain of Israel to fall; so at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the Earth. The Margin reads it thus:

Jer. 51. Both Babylon is to fall, O ye slain of Israel!  
 49. and with Babylon, the slain of all the Earth. Now then she is gone down, when all these things shall be fulfilled: And what remains now, but to talk of her, as folk use to do of them that are dead: For the day will come that the Church of God shall have no more of Antichrist, Babylon, or the Mother of Harlots, than only the Remembrance of her; to wit, that there was such an Enemy of God in the World; that there was such a Superstitious, Idolatrous, Bloody People in the World. Wherefore, the

28. People that shall be born, that shall live to serve God in these happy days, they shall see Antichrist only in its ruins; they shall, like the Sparrows, the little Robbins, and the Wren, sit and sing, and chirrup one to another, while their Eyes behold this dead Hawk. "Here (shall they say) did once the Lyon "dwell; and there was once a Dragon inhabited: Here "did they live that were the Murtherers of the "Saints; and there another, that did use to set his "Throat against the Heavens: But now in the places "where these ravenous Creatures lay, grows Grass,

Isa. 35. "with Reeds and Rushes, (or else, now their Habit-

- "ation is cursed, Nettles grow, and so do Thorns  
 "and Brambles, where their Palaces were wont to  
 "be.) And as no Good was with them while they  
 "lived, so their Name stinketh now they are dead:  
 "yea, as they wrought Mischiefs, and lived like the  
 "wild Beasts when they enjoyed their Abundance; so  
 Chap. 34. "now the wild Beasts of the Desart, yea, they of  
 "the Desart, shall meet with the wild Beasts of the  
 "Island: And the Satyre shall cry to his Fellows,  
 "Their Houses shall be full of doleful Creatures,  
 "even as Devils and Wicked Spirits do haunt the  
 "desolate Houses of the Wicked, when they are dead."  
 Chap. 13. And Babylon, the glory of Kingdoms, the beauty of  
the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God over-  
threw Sodom and Gomorrah: It shall never be inhab-  
ited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation  
to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch  
tent there: neither shall the Shepherds make their  
fold there.
29. A while after this, as was hinted before, the  
 Christians will begin with detestation to ask what  
Antichrist was? Where Antichrist dwelt? Who were  
 his Members? And, What he did in the World? And  
 it shall be answered by them that shall have  
 skill to consider his Features by the Word, by way  
 Chap. 14. of taunt and scorn, Is this the Man that made the

Earth to tremble, that did shake Kingdoms? That made the World as a Wilderness, and destroyed the Cities thereof, that opened not the House of his Prisoners? All the Kings of the Nations, even all of them lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch; and as the raiment of those that are slain, thrust through with a sword, that go down to the stones of the pit, as a carcass trodden under feet.

There will be a strange Alteration when Anti-christ is dead, and that both in the Church, and in the World. The Church, and the Members of it then, shall wear the Name of their God in their Foreheads; that is, they shall be bold in the Profession of their King, and their God; yea, it shall be their Glory to be godly; and carnal Men shall praise them for it: The praise of the whole Earth shall the Church of God be in those days.

Then there shall no more be a Canaanite in the House of the Lord: No Lyon shall be there; the Unclean shall no more tread in the paths of God's People, but the ransomed of the Lord shall walk there.

Glory that has not been seen nor heard of by the People that used to walk in Sack-cloth, shall



now be set in the Land of the Living. For as it was said of Christ, with reference to his day; so it shall be said of Saints, with reference to this day: Many Kings and righteous Men have desired to see the things that will be seen then, and shall not see them: But without all doubt, the Men that shall be born at this time, will consider that these Glories, and Liberties, and Priviledges of theirs, cost the People that walked in the King of Babylon's fiery Furnace; or that suffered the Tryals, Troubles and Tyranny of the Antichristian Generation, more Groans and hearty Wishes than they did them that shall enjoy them. Thus then it will go; the Afflicted prayed for them, and the Possessors bless God for the enjoyment of them.

Oh! now shall the Church walk in the Light of the Lord, and sit every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid!

Isa. 30.  
14.

For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet chuse Israel, and set them in their own land, and the stranger shall be joyned with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord, for servants and hand-maids: and they shall take them captives, whose

captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors. And it shall come to pass in the day that the Lord shall give thee rest from thy sorrow, and from thy fear, and from the hard bondage wherein thou wast made to serve. That thou shalt take up this proverb against the King of Babylon, and say, How hath the oppressor ceased? the golden city, (or, the Exactress of Gold) ceased? The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, and the scepter of the rulers. He who smote the people in wrath with a continual stroke; he that ruled the nations in anger, is persecuted, and none hindreth. The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they break forth into singing. Yea, the fir-trees rejoyce at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us.

31. Also the World will now be (as it were) another thing than it was in the days of Antichrist: Now will Kings, and Princes, and Nobles, and the whole Commonalty be rid of that Servitude and Bondage which in former times (when they used to carry Bell and the Dragon upon their Shoulders) they were subjected to. They were then a burthen to them, but now they are at ease. 'Tis with the World, that are the Slaves of Antichrist now, as

it is with them that are Slaves and Captives to a Whore: They must come when she calls, run when she bids, fight with and beat them that she saith miscall her, and spend what they can get by labour or fraud upon her, or she will be no more their Whore, and they shall be no more her bosom Ones. But now! now it will be otherwise! Now they will have no Whore to please! Now they will have none to put them upon persecuting of the Saints! Now they shall not be made, as before, guilty of the Blood of those against whom this Gentleman shall take a pet! Now the World shall return, and discern between the Righteous and the Wicked; yea, they shall cleave to, and countenance the People of God, being perswaded, as Laban was of Jacob, that the Lord will bless them for his Peoples sakes: For at this day, the remnant of Jacob shall be (among the Gentiles) in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord, as the showers upon the grass, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men.

Micah  
5.7.

Also in these days Men shall come flocking into the House of God, both Kings, and Princes, and Nobles, and the Common People, as the Doves do to their Windows: And for that cause it is spoken to the Church, with reference to the latter days, saying, Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them

Isa. 54.2,  
3.



stretch forth the curtains of thy habitations:  
spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy  
stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right  
hand, and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit  
the Gentiles, and make the desolate places to be  
inhabited.

32. Now will be broken up those Prophecies and Promises that to this day lye as under Lock and Key, and that cannot be opened until they be fulfilled. Now will the Spirit of God be poured forth abundantly; and our Rivers shall be in high places, that is, shall break forth from the Hearts of Great Ones; yea, then shall our Waters be made deep: And I will cause their Rivers to run with Oyl, saith the Lord God. Then shall the Differences, the Divisions and Debates that are among the Godly, cease: For Men shall see Eye to Eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion; yea, the Watchmen of God's People shall do so; for it is for want of Light in them, that the Lambs have so butted one another.

Ezek. 32.  
14.

Isa. 52.  
8.

Now the Church of God shall read with great plainness the depths of Providence, and the turnings and Windings of all God's dark and intricate Dispensations, through which she hath waded in the cloudy and dark day: Now, I say, they shall see there was an harmony in them; and that if one of them had been

Rev. 15,  
3, 4.

Chap. 19.  
1, 2.

wanting, the work and way of her Deliverance could not have been so full of the Wisdom, and Justice, and Goodness of God: Wherefore now will that Song be sung with clearer Notes than ever: Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty: just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints: Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorifie thy name? for thou only art holy: for all nations shall come and worship before thee; for thy judgments are made manifest. And again, for True and righteous are thy judgments, for thou hast judged the great Whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hast avenged the blood of thy servants at her hand.

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Of the Manner of the Ruine of Antichrist.

33. What Antichrist is, I have told you; and that as to his Soul and Body. I have also told you where, or in what things the Spirit and Life of Antichrist lyeth, and how he shall reign for a time. I have moreover shewed you that he shall be destroyed, and by what, and that with reference both to his Soul and Body. Wherefore, waving other things, I shall here only present you with a few short hints

concerning the Manner of his Downfall.

There is the Downfall, the Time of the Downfall, and the Manner of the Downfall of Antichrist.

The Manner of the Downfall of Antichrist, may be considered, either with respect to the suddenness, unexpectedness, terribleness, or strangeness thereof. It may also be considered with respect to the way of God's procedure with her, as to the gradualness thereof. As to the suddenness thereof, 'tis said to be in an hour. It is also said to be, when by her unexpected, for then she saith, I sit as a Queen. For the terribleness of it, The Nations shall shake at the sound of her fall. And for the strangeness thereof, it shall be to the Wonder of the World; it will be as when God overthrew Sodom.

Rev. 18. 7, 8.  
Ezek. 31, 16, 17.  
Isa. 13.19.  
Ezek. 26. 18.  
Rev. 18.8.  
Isa. 47.9.

But I shall not enlarge upon this Method in my Discourse, but shall shew you the Manner of the Ruine of Antichrist, with respect to the gradualness thereof.

Antichrist then shall be brought to Ruine gradually; that is, by degrees: A part after a part; here a fenced City, and there a high Tower, even until she is made to lye even with the Ground. And yet all shall be within the compass of God's Days, Hours, or Moments; for within the compass of these limited times Antichrist shall be destroyed.

Isa. 13.19. 7 Isa. 14.12. Ezek. 26.18 7 Ezek. 16.18.



34. Now, (as I said,) He, She, Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, Antichrist, shall be destroyed; not all at once, after the way of our counting of time; but by step after step, piece after piece. And perhaps there may be in the words now following, Jer. 51.31 something that signifies this: They shall shew the King of Babylon that his City is taken at one end. This is also shewed by the Vessels in which is contained the Wrath of God for her, together with the manner of pouring of it out. The Vessels in which it is contained are called VIALS: Now a Vial is that which letteth out what is contained in it by degrees, and not all at once.

There are also Two things to be considered, as to the Manner of its being poured out of them. The First respecteth the Nature of the Vial. The other, the Order of the Angels that poured forth this Wrath.

For the First: The Vial, as it letteth out what is in it by degrees; so it doth it with certain Gusts, that are mixed with Strength and Violence, bolting it out with noise, &c..

As for the Order of the Angels, or that Order that they observe, they plainly shew, that this Enemy must come down by degrees; for that those Vials are by them poured out one after another,

Jer. 51.31 7 Isa. 51.31.

Rev. 16.2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 17. each one working something of their own effects, before another is poured forth. The First is poured forth upon the Antichristian Earth: The Second, upon her Sea: The Third is poured forth upon her Rivers: And the Fourth, upon her Sun: The Fifth is poured forth upon the Seat of the Beast: The Sixth, upon her Euphrates: And the Seventh, into her Air. And, I say, they are poured forth not all at one time, but now one, and then another. Now, since by these Vials Antichrist must fall: and since also they are poured forth successively: 'Tis evident that this Man of Sin, this Son of Perdition, is to fall and die by degrees. He would not die at all, as is manifest by his wrestling with it; but he is a strong God that Judges, and therefore he must come down: His Friends also, with what Cordials they can, will labour to lengthen out his Tranquility; but God hath set his Bounds, and he cannot go beyond the time appointed.

Rev.12. We must also put a difference betwixt her being fought withall and wounded, and that of her dying in the death. Michael and his Angels have been holding of her in play a long season; but yet she is not dead: But, as I said, she shall descend in battel, and perish, and shall be found no more for ever.

Rev. 16. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 12, 17. ] Rev. 16. 2, 3, 8, 10, 12, 17.

35. To speak then to the Manner of the Ruine of this Antichrist, with respect to the gradualness thereof: It must piece after piece be overthrown, until at last every whit thereof is rolled down from the Rocks, as a burnt Mountain.

A tenth part falls first.

Rev. 11.  
Chap. 17,  
18.

And hence we read that this City falls first in a tenth part thereof, even while nine parts remain yet standing: Nor doth this tenth part, notwithstanding the Faith and faithful Testimony of the Two Witnesses, quite fall, untill they are slain, and also raised again: For 'tis said, The same hour that the Witnesses were raised, the tenth part of the City fell; the tenth part of that City that reigneth over the Kings of the Earth; which City is Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, or the Great Whore.

Chap. 16.  
19.

By the City then, I understand the Church of Antichrist in its utmost Bounds; and so it reacheth as far as the Beast with Seven Heads and Ten Horns hath dominion. Hence this City is also called Cities, as one Universe is called by the Name of several Countreys, &c. And them Cities also are called the Cities of the Nations: For as when they are put together, they all make but one; so when they are considered a-part, they are found in number Ten, and answer to the Ten Horns



upon the Heads of the (Seven Headed) Beast that carries her, and do give her Protection.

This then I take to be the meaning: That the Antichristian Church is divided into Ten parts, and each part is put under one of the Horns of the Beast for Protection: But that Aid and Protection shall not help, when God shall come to execute Judgment upon her: For it saith, A tenth part of the City fell; that is, First, and as a fore-runner of the Fall of all the rest: Now where this Tenth part is, or which of the ten parts must fall first, or whether indeed a tenth part is already fallen, that I will leave to those that are wiser than my self to determine.

36. But since I am speaking of the Fall of a tenth part of Antichrist; a word or two about the Means of the Fall thereof.

The Means of the Fall of this tenth part, is an Earthquake; yet not such as is universal, over the face of all, but an Earthquake in that tenth part where that City stood that should fall. Now by Earthquakes here, cannot be meant any thing but such a shaking as unsettleth the Foundations of this tenth part: But whether it shall be in this tenth part, as a City, or in it as a State, that I shall not determine; only my Thoughts are,

That it shall be an Earthquake in that Kingdom where this tenth part shall happen to be: An Earthquake not to overthrow further than is appointed; and that is the City which is called the tenth part of the Great Antichrist. So far as that State is a State, so far then it is shaken for Reformation, not for Destruction; for in the Earthquake were slain Seven thousand (Names) of Men; and the remnant were affrighted, and gave Glory to the God of Heaven. But thus much for the First: Great Babylon falleth first, in a tenth part of it.

The nine parts fall.

Again, The next step that the strong God taketh towards the utter Overthrow of Antichrist, will be more sore upon the whole, though not at first universal neither; yet in conclusion, it shall throw down the Nine parts that are left: For thus it is recorded: And the Cities of the Nations fell: The Cities of the Nations, the Antichristian Churches; otherwise called the Daughters of the Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth.

37. Now to shew you the Hand of God in this Second stroke, wherewith the Lord will smite this Enemy.

1. Here we have a great Earthquake.

2. And then, The Fall of the Cities of the Nations.

Rev. 16.  
18.

For the Earthquake, it is said to be such as never was, so mighty an Earthquake, and so great; for it extended it self as far as the other Nine Cities had any Ground to stand on; for it shook the Foundations of them all.

The fall of the Cities, was not immediately upon the shake that was made, but the Earthquake produced an Irruption, an Irruption in the nine remaining parts of this City: And such an Irruption as is of the worser sort; for it divided them into a three headed division: And the great City was divided into three parts: The great City, to wit, the Powers by which they were upheld. The meaning then is this; when God shall strike this Man of Sin the second time, he will not be so sparing as he was at first, when he strook but a tenth part to the ground; but now he will so shake, so confound, so divide, so raise up Antichrist against himself, to wit, in the Body and Members of him, that they shall set to fighting, and to tearing one another in pieces, until they have consumed the whole of these nine parts. It was, saith the Text, divided into three parts; which divisions are the worst of all: It will be



therefore such a division as will bring them all to ruine. Hence it follows, And the Cities of the Nations fell.

Wherefore, this three-cornered Irruption will be the most dreadful to Antichrist that ever was: it will be like that that was in Jerusalem when she came to be laid even with the Ground; and like that that came upon the Armies of the Gentiles, when they came up to fight against Jehosaphat.

38. For when the children of Ammon and Moab stood up against the inhabitants of Mount Seir, utterly to slay and to destroy them: and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another. This, I say, is the Division that this mighty Earthquake shall make betwixt the Horns that are left to these nine parts that remained, when the tenth part of the City fell. And this will come to pass through the encrease of the heat of God's Anger: For he is angry with the Waters where the Woman sitteth, because they have delivered up his Beloved to the bloody Whore; wherefore, he now will give them Blood to drink in fury.

2 Chron.  
20.23.

Deut. 32.  
42.

Hence his beginning to deal with Antichrist, is called, the beginning of Revenges: I will make (saith God) mine arrows drunk with blood, (and my

Deut. 32.42.] Deut. 33.42

sword shall devour flesh,) and that with the blood  
of the slain, and of the captives, from the begin-  
ning of revenges upon the enemy. And therefore it  
 Isa. 34.8. is said again, that when God comes to do this work  
 Ch. 63.4. upon this Antichrist, it is because it is the Day  
 of the Lord's Vengeance, and the Year of Recomp-  
 ences for the Controversie of Zion: For the day of  
vengeance will be in his heart, when the year of his  
redeemed is come.

A Peace therefore cannot be made among these  
 Cities when God has forbidden it: Wherefore the  
 Effect of all, is, The Cities of the Nations fall.  
 There is therefore like to be no more good days  
 for Antichrist after this Earthquake has begun to  
 shake her: No, nothing now is to be expected of  
 her, but Rumours, Tumults, Stirs, and Uproars:  
 Jer. 51. One Post shall run to meet another, to shew the  
 31, 46, 47. King of Babylon that his City is taken at one end.  
 And again, A rumour shall both come in one year;  
and after that, in another year, shall come a  
rumour and violence in the Land, Ruler against  
Ruler, &c. So that this Earthquake has driven  
 away Peace, shaken the Foundations, and will cast  
 the nine Cities down to the ground.

39.

Great  
Babel  
falls.

And this is a Second stroke that God will give this Man of Sin, and a Third cometh quickly. Wherefore it follows upon the Downfall of these Cities of the Nations, that Great Babylon came into remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath. Now then, have at Great Babylon. Great Babylon! What is that? Why, I take it to be the Mother, the Metropolitan, the Great Whore herself: For though sometimes, by the Great Whore, or Great Babylon, we may understand, the Church of Anti-christ in general; yet by it is meant more properly, the Mother of the Daughters, of whose Overthrow we have spoken before. We are now then come to the Threshold of the Door of the House of the O L D One; to the Door of the Mother of Harlots, and Abomination of the Earth. This then that but now is said to come into remembrance with God, is that which gave being to the Cities destroyed before; to wit, the Mistress, the Queen, the Mother-Church, as she calleth her self.

And this is the Wisdom of God concerning her, that she should not be the first that should Die; but that she should live to see the Destruction of her Daughters, and pine away under the sight and sense of that, even until Judgment also shall overtake her self.



40. Thus Pharaoh and his chief Ones did live to see the greatest part of Egypt destroyed before Judgment overtook them, but at last it came to their doors also.

Jer. 52.  
8, 9, 10,  
11.

Zedekiah lived to see his Children slain before his face, before Judgment overtook him to his own personal destruction.

Jer. 25.  
15, —26.

Babylon also, when God sent the Cup of his Fury unto her, yet was to live to see the Nations drink before her: Take the cup of my fury (said God to the Prophet,) and cause all the Nations to whom I send thee, to drink it: To wit, All the Kingdoms of the World which are upon the face of the Earth. And Shebash shall drink after after them. But what was Shebash? may some say.

Dan. 4.  
22.

I answer, It was Babylon, the Princess of the World, and at that time the Head of all those Nations, (as this Queen is now the Mother of Harlots.) Wherefore, the same Prophet, speaking of the Destruction of the same Shebash, saith,

Jer. 51.  
41.

How is Shebash taken! How is the praise of the whole Earth surprized! How is Babylon become an astonishment among the Nations!

Now, if this was the method of God's Proceeding with his Enemies in the way of his Judgments of old, why may we not suppose that he will go

the same way with his great Enemy now: especially since those Judgments mentioned before, were executed upon those, which, in some things, were Figures of the great Whore. Besides, we read here plainly, that when the Cities of the Nations were fallen, Great Babylon came into remembrance before God, to give her to drink of the Cup.

From all which I conclude, as I did before, that the Mother, the Metropolitan, the Lady of Kingdoms, shall live to see her Daughters executed before her face: After which she shall come into Consideration her self; for she must assuredly drink of the Cup.

41. This Destruction therefore must be last, for the Reasons urged before, and also because she most deserves the bottom of the Cup. The bottom is, the dregs, the most bitter part, and that where the most heat, and fiercest Wrath of God doth lye. Wherefore, although you find that by the First Earthquake a great slaughter was made, and that a tenth part of the City fell; yet from that Judgment some did escape: And the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of Heaven. But now, this Earthquake, by virtue of which the Cities of the Nations fall, and as an effect of which Great Babylon is come into remembrance before God,

Psal. 75.  
8.

Rev. 11.  
13.

41. 7 omitted.

neither spares one of the Daughters of this Whore, nor any Man that is a Lover of them; but it so is seconded by a Hail-storm, and that Hail-storm worketh so in wrath, that not one escapes by Repentance. Every Hail-stone was the weight of a Talent, which some say is six pounds above Half an hundred weight: By this therefore God shews, that now his Anger was wrought up to the heighth. I know not wherewith so to compare these Hail-stones, as with the Talent of Lead that was laid over the Mouth of the Ephah, which was prepared to hold the Woman, whose Name was Wickedness, this very Whore of Babylon: For that Talent of Lead was to keep down this Mistress, that she might get no more out of the Ephah, and these Hail-stones are to banish her out of the World: Therefore it follows, that she must have the most heavy Judgment, even the bottom of the Cup.

Zech. 5.  
5, 6, 7,  
8, 9,  
10, 11.

42. And great Babylon came into remembrance before  
Gen. 30. God. To remember with God, is to visit either with  
22. Grace or Wrath. God is said to remember Rachel,  
when he visited her with the Blessing of a Fruitful  
Chap. 8.1. Womb. It is said also that God remembred Noah,  
when the time came on that he was to be delivered  
from the Flood. Here also he is said to remember  
Babylon, that is, to visit her with his Anger for  
the wickedness that she had committed:



To give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath.

Rev. 18  
24.

Now then is the time of Iniquity, when it will be come to the full; and now also is the time of God's Anger, when it will be come to the full: Now therefore must the Murthers, and Thefts, and Blasphemies, and Fornications, &c. belonging to this Mother of Harlots, be recompensed to the full, to wit, with the Dregs of this Cup: Yet since the Hail-stones come by weight, and the Wrath comes by measure, (for so a Talent and a Cup imports,) it follows, that the Almighty God, even in the midst of the heat of all this Anger, will keep to the Rules of Justice and Judgment while he is dealing with this Enemy: He has not Passions, to carry him beyond Rules of Judgment; nor Weakness, to cause him to fall short of doing Justice: Therefore he has (as was said) his Judgments for her by weight, and his Indignation by measure: But yet this Weight and Measure is not suited to her Constitution, not with an intent to purge or refine her; but it is disposed according to the Measure and Nature of her Iniquity, and comes to sweep her, as with the Beesom of Destruction, until she is swept off from the face of all the Earth.

43. And thus I have shewed you the manner of the Ruine of Antichrist; that is, That it will be gradual, part after part, until the whole be overthrown. And this Truth may be applied both to the Soul, as well as to the Body of Antichrist: For the Soul, Spirit, or Life of Antichrist must also after this manner be destroyed. And hence it is said to be consumed, that is, by degrees: For to consume, is to destroy by degrees: Only this Caution I would have the Reader remember, That much of the Soul of Antichrist may be destroyed, when none of her Daughters are; and that the Destruction of her Spirit is a certain fore-runner of the Destruction of her Body in the manner that we have related.

Now since she is dying, let us ring her Passing-Bell; for when she is dead, we that live to see it, intend to ring out.

Ezek. 26.  
19, 20, 21.

For thus saith the Lord God, When I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; when I shall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee; when I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit, with the people of old time; and shall set thee in the low parts of the earth, in

places desolate of old, with them that go down to the pit, that thou be not inhabited, and I shall set glory in the land of the living. I will make thee a terrour, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God.

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Of the Signs of the approach of the Downfall of Antichrist.

HAVING in the fore-going Discourse spoken of Antichrist his Ruine, and the Manner thereof, I now come to speak of the Signs of the approach of her Destruction. And whether I shall hit right, as to these, that I must leave to Time to make manifest; and in the mean while to the wise in heart to judge.

That she shall fall, there is nothing more certain; and when she is fallen, that she never shall rise again, is also as firmly decreed; yea, and shewed too by him that cast the Mill-stone into the Sea, and said, Thus with violence shall that great City, Babylon, be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. This is therefore her Fate and Destiny, from the Mouth of the Holy



One; and is sealed up in the Scriptures of Truth, for the comfort of the People that have been afflicted by her.

True, the time of her Fall is not certainly known by the Saints, nor at all believed by her; wherefore, her Plagues must come unlooked for by her. And as to the Saints, their Guesses, as to the time of her Ruine, must needs be conjectural and uncertain. For her part, she shall say, and that when she stands where she must suddenly fall, Isa. 47. 7, I shall be a Lady for ever. And as to the Saints 8, 9. that would very willingly see her Downfall, how often have they been mistaken as to the set-time thereof.

Nor have I been without Thought, but that this Mistake of the Godly may become a Snare to Antichrist, and a Trap to her Upholders. For what can be a greater Judgment, or more effectually harden the Hearts of the Wicked, than for them to behold that the Predictions, Prophecies, Expectations and Hopes of their Enemies (as to their Ruine) should quite (as to the time) be frustrate, and made void.

Moses prophesied, and the People hoped that Numb. 14. God would give Israel the Land of Canaan; and yet 40. the Canaanites beat them. Jos. 7.5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Jer. 37.

Jeremiah prophecied that the Enemy should come and take the City Jerusalem; but because he came once, and went back without doing it, how stout and hardened were the hearts of that People against all the rest of his Prophetick Sayings, as to such a thing. Now the Errour lay not in these Prophets, but in the Peoples mistaking the times: And if Mistakes do so much harden the heart of the Wicked, what will they do to such of them who make it their business to blind and harden their hearts against God, by Abusing all Truths? Surely, when Men seek to harden their hearts by abusing of Truth, they will do it to purpose, when they have also the advantage of the weakness of their professed Enemies to do it by: especially when their Enemies shall say they speak by the Word of the Lord, and Time shall manifest it to be both a Mistake and a Falshood.

It is to be bewailed, namely, the forwardness of some in this matter, who have predicted concerning the time of the Downfall of Antichrist, to the shame of them and their Brethren: Nor will the wrong that such by their boldness have done to the Church of God, be ever repaired by them nor their Works. But the Judgments of God are a great Deep; and therefore who can tell, since the Enemy of God would not be convinced by

the power of Truth, and the vertuous Lives of some, but that God might leave them to be snared, hardened and emboldened to run upon their unavoidable Destruction, by the Lyes and Lightness of others. They begin to vaunt it already, and to say, Where is the Word of the Lord, as to this, let it come now. But when Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past, then was the time for him to be hewen in pieces. I shall not therefore meddle with the Times and Seasons which the Father hath put in his own power; no, though they as to Antichrist's Ruine are revealed; because by the Holy Ghost there is a Challenge made, notwithstanding the time is set, and by the Word related to the Man of Wisdom to find it out if he can.

1 Sam. 15.  
32, 33.

Rev. 13.  
18.

If Samson's Riddle was so puzzling, what shall we think of this? And though the Angel hath intimated, That this sealed matter shall be opened towards the time of the end; yet 'tis evident, some have either been so hasty, or presumed too much upon their own Abilities: For I am sure they have missed the Mark, hardened the Heart of the Enemy, stumbled the Weak, and shamed them that loved them.

Dan. 12.9.

But since the Most High hath irreversibly determined her Downfall also, let us see if we can have better success in discoursing upon the Signs,



than others have had who have medled with the Timing thereof.

First  
Sign.

First then, The Downfall and Ruine of Antichrist draws near, when the Church and People of God are driven from all those hiding-places that God has prepared for them in the Wilderness. The Church of God, when the Dragon did his worst, had an hiding-place prepared her of God, that she might not utterly be devoured by him; and so shall have till the time of his end shall come.

Of this you read in the 12<sup>th</sup>. of the Revelations, a place worthy to be noted for this. But now, when the time of the Ruine of Antichrist draws on, then is the Church deprived of her Shelter, and laid open, as one would think, to be utterly swallowed up for ever, having no more place in the Wilderness, that is, among the Nations, to hide her self from the Face of the Serpent. But how comes this to be a S I G N of the approach of the Ruine of Antichrist? Why thus: The time of this Beast's War with the Church of God, and the time that the Church shall have an hiding-place in the Wilderness, are both of a length, the one continuing Forty two Months; the other, A thousand two hundred and threescore Days. Now since the War that this Beast makes with the Woman and her Seed,

Rev. 13.5.  
Chap. 11.  
2.  
Chap. 12.  
1, 2, 3,  
4, 5, 6.

and the Woman's hiding-place in the Wilderness from his Face, are, for length of time, the same; what hindreth but that when the Woman and her Seed can find no more shelter in the Nations, the time that the Beast hath allotted him to make War against her, should be finished also? When we therefore shall see that Plots and Conspiracies, that Desigus for utter Ruine, are laid against God's Church all the World over; and that none of the Kings, Princes, or Mighty States of the World, will open their Doors, or give them a City for refuge; then is the Ruine of Antichrist at hand: For Haman's Plot, though the most universal that ever yet was hatching, (being laid in an Hundred twenty seven Provinces,) did but presage the Deliverance and Exaltation of the Jews, and the hanging of Haman and his Sons: Yea, and I take it, that the very day that this great Enemy had set for the utter overthrow of the Church, God made the Day in which their Deliverance began, and that from whence it was compleated; and I take that to be a Type of this.

44. There is but one thing that I can think of that can give matter of a shew of Doubt about this thing; and that is, Though the time of this War against the Saints, and that of the Woman's

shelter in the Wilderness as to length, be one and the same; yet whether they did commence together, and begin to take their rise, as men do that begin to run a race? A word therefore to this. I suppose they did commence much together; for else with whom should this Beast make War, and how should the Church escape? Or, if the Beast began his War before the Woman began to have a hiding-place, why was she not swallowed up, since in the Wilderness was her only place of shelter? Again, What needed the Woman to have a place of shelter in the Wilderness, when there was no War made against her? And yet this must be, if her Thousand two hundred and threescore Days, began before the Beasts Forty two Months: But they ended both together; for the Beast could not kill the Witnesses before they had finished their Testimony; which Testimony of theirs lasted this full time that the Beast had granted him to make War with them, to wit, One thousand two hundred and threescore days: Therefore their Times went out together, as will be made appear, if you consider also that the Witnesses were slain, by virtue, not of the Old, but of a New War levied against them; and that, as it should seem, at the very time when her hiding-place was taken from

Rev. 11.  
3.



her; for then indeed, for a little season, will the Church of God be overcome, as I shall shew by and by.

Wherefore, let God's People consider and remember, that when God's Church is absolutely forlorn, and has no hiding-place any longer in the World, the Kingdom of Antichrist will quickly begin to tumble. Nor is this the alone place from whence we may gather these Conclusions.

45. The time of Pharaoh's Tyranny, of his Life, and of the Deliverance of the Children of Israel, came out much together; as any will discern that shall consider the History of them.

David, when Saul did sorely persecute him, fled last into the Wilderness to Achish the King of Gath, a Philistine, for shelter; and he gave him Ziklag for his Refuge. And that place so continued to David, till just about the time in which Saul must die; and then behold, David's Ziklag is burnt with Fire, and himself stript naked of Harbour! But what matter! The time of Saul's Life, as well as of David's Ziklag, was now upon expiring; for within three or four days after David became the King of Israel.

And thus also it was with the Babel Beast: His time expired, when the Captivity of Israel

Dan. 5.  
25, 26,  
27, 28.

Ch. 31.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. 7 Ch. 34.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

was upon the finishing: Then was the time of his Land come, and in that very night was Belshazzar the King of the Caldeans slain.

46. Thus therefore it will happen to the Church in the latter days: Her place of shelter in the Wilderness; her Ziklag will be taken from her, about the time that the War that the Beast has to make upon the Woman and her Seed shall be finished. But now the Church is not therefore immediately delivered, when her Ziklag is taken from her; for after that, the Beast levieth a new War, to the overcoming and killing of the Church: I say therefore, That this is a Sign, not of the Down-fall of Antichrist, but of the Approach thereof: For the Churches Bondage shall continue but three days, and a little after this. Much like to this was that of David; for after he had lost his Ziklag, for two or three days he had sore distress: But lo, then came the Kingdom to him.

Indeed, Sense and Reason saith it is a fearful thing for the Church of God to be exposed to the rage of her Enemy all over the World at once; and that all Nations should shut up their Gates, let down their Portcullaces, bolt up their Doors, and set open their Flood-gates to destroy them: But so will be the Dispensation of God, to the end Deliverance may be the sweeter, and the

Enemies Fall the more headlong, and the Arm of God the more manifest, both for the one, and against the other. And in this will that Scripture be fulfilled: And there will be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book.

Dan. 12.  
1.

47. Let us gather up what has been said again; namely, That it is a Sign of the Approach of the Ruine of Antichrist, when God's Church can find no more shelter in the Wilderness; because when her Ziklag is burned, the time of the War that the Beast is to make against her, is finished. Wherefore, when she hath given one desperate struggle more, and laid the Church of God, or his Witnesses, for dead, in the Street of his great City, for three days and an half, then comes the Kingdom, and the long, long-look'd for Rest and Glory. Wherefore it remains, That an Angel should stand in the Sun, and make Proclamation to all the Fowls that flie in the midst of Heaven, to gather themselves together to the Supper of the Great God: That they may eat the flesh of Kings, and the flesh of Captains; the flesh of mighty Men, and the flesh of Horses, and of them that sit on them; and the flesh of all men, both free and

Rev. 19.



bound, both small and great. This is to be after the Forty two Months of the Beast, and consequently after the Thousand two hundred and threescore Days that the Church was to be in Sackcloth; yea, after the Resurrection of the Witnesses, as is evident by that which follows: And the Beast was taken, (that is, after the Second Year) and with him the false Prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the Beast, and them that worshipped his Image; these both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

48. The Second Sign. Secondly, Another Sign of the Approach of the Ruine of Antichrist, is this: Towards the end of her Reign, the Nations will be made to see her baseness, and to abhor Her and her Ways: They will, I say, be made to see these things, in order to her Ruine: Also, when they shall be made to see, her Ruine will not be far off: For so long as the Nations and their Rulers shall continue in that dead sleep that she hath bewitched them into, by their drinking of the Wine of her Fornication; so long we have no ground to think that her Ruine is at the door: But when God shall lay her before Kings, and shall discover her nakedness to the

Nations, then be sure her Destruction is at hand.

Hence you read, that precedent to her Downfall:

Rev. 18.1. An Angel comes down from Heaven, and lightens the Earth with his glory. [The Earth;] that is, the Kingdoms, Countreys and Nations where the Woman sitteth, or they that border thereupon.

[Lightned;] to let them see the Filthiness of the Whore. [With his Glory;] with the Doctrine that he had Commission to Preach against her, for the discovering of her Lewdness to the Earth. This also was the way that God took with backsliding Israel of old, (and she was a Type of our religious Babel,) when he intended to bring her to Judgment for her Sins; and this is the way that God will take to destroy our religious Antichrist, when he comes to deliver his People out of her hand.

Ezek. 16.  
37.

For though the People that suffer at her hand, can do nothing against her, but lay in Prayers and Tears against her before the God of Heaven, and bare their Witness against her before the Gods of the Earth; yet when Kings shall come to be concerned, and they will count themselves concerned when they shall see how they have been deceived by her; then let her look to it.

Nahum 3.  
5, 6, 7.

Behold, I am against thee, saith the Lord of Hosts; and I will discover thy skirts upon thy face, and I will shew the Nations thy nakedness,

and the Kingdoms thy shame: and I will cast  
abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile,  
and will set thee as a gazing-stock. And what  
follows? And it shall come to pass, that all they  
that look upon thee, shall flee from thee, and say  
Nineveh is laid waste, who will bemoan her? whence  
shall I seek Comforters for thee?

49. Wherefore, there wants nothing but that she  
be discovered to the Nations and their Kings; for  
did they but see her, though they lay yet in her  
bosom, they would rise up against her, that she  
must die: Wherefore it is written again, I will  
Ezek. 28. bring forth a fire out of the midst of thee; it  
17, 18. shall devour thee: and I will bring thee to ashes  
upon the Earth, in the sight of all them that  
behold thee.

The chief of the Wisdom of Antichrist this  
day is laid out, if perhaps by it she may cover  
her nakedness, and keep it from the Eyes of Kings  
and their People. But God has said it shall not  
Isa. 47. avail: Thy nakedness shall be uncovered; yea, thy  
3. shame shall be seen: I will take vengeance, and I  
will not meet thee as a man. But how will he make  
her naked? Verily, by Kings. But how shall Kings  
do it? Why, by virtue of the Glory of the Angel:  
Rev. 17. Yea, They shall make her desolate and naked; they  
16. shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.



Let this, I pray, be considered, That Anti-christ shall not down but by the Hand of Kings. The Preacher then kills her Soul, and the King kills her Body. And why should not the Kings have it granted unto them, that she should fall by their hand? The Kings are those that she has abused, that she has in the grossest manner abused, and has served her self of them: But the time of the end of Antichrist, Mystery Babylon is coming, Jer. 27.7. And then many Nations and great Kings shall serve themselves of him.

Nor shall all the Tricks, Lies and Deceit under which formerly she us'd to shroud her self, be able to prove a Balm to her any longer: No, Jer. 46.11. In vain shalt thou use many Medicines, for no cure shall be unto thee; the Nations have heard of thy shame.

50. Babylon has for a long time been a Lady of Kingdoms, and a golden Cup in the Lord's Hand: Rev. 18.3. The Nations also have largely drank of her Cup, and the Kings have committed Fornication with her: But now the Angel is come down, and hath lightned the Earth with his glory: Wherefore now it follows immediately, Babylon is fallen! is fallen! That is, in the eyes and esteem of the Nations, as well as otherwise.

shall serve themselves of him. 7 shall serve themselves of that.

True, some of the Kings will bewail her Fall, and will cry, Alas! Alas! when they see that they cannot help her; for that they shall see, as is evident, because they stand afar off to lament her, afar off for the fear of her torment. The Kings therefore into whose hands God shall deliver her, and who shall execute his Judgments upon her, shall be more Mighty and Powerful to bring her down, than shall be the whole World besides to uphold her.

And this observe further, That as the Kings that shall hate her, shall hate her because in the light of the glory of the Angel they are made able to see her filthiness; so the Kings that shall bewail her, are such as in Judgment are left in the dark, and that shall be bewitched by her to the end.

The Prot-  
estant  
Kings.

This therefore will let us see something of the meaning of God, in that he has drawn off from her some of the Kings already; to wit, that he might train them up by the light of the Gospel, that they may be expert, like Men of War, to scale her Walls, when the King of Kings shall give out the Commandment to them so to do.

There has been a great deal of talk in the Countreys, about the Ruine and Destruction of Babylon; but could we see more of the Kings engaged against her, we should hope groundedly that

her Fall was at the door. Well, blessed be God for what Kings there are, and the Lord turn the Hearts of many more to hate her.

Some, as I said before, have adventured to fore-tell the Time of her Downfall; but give me the Signs thereof. This therefore is a Sign, a Sign that her Downfall approaches, when God shall lay her nakedness before the Nations, and put it into the Hearts of Kings to abhor her. The Signs of the Times the Lord Jesus would have us mind; and because the Jews neglected them, though as to the Time they hit pretty right, yet they missed of the thing that the time brought forth.

51. Thirdly, A Third Sign of the approach of the Ruine of Antichrist, is this: When Babylon is become the Habitation of Devils, &c. then the Downfall thereof is upon us. True, Babylon was always an Habitation for Devils; but not an Habitation only for them; Israel once dwelt there, and our Antichrist was sometimes a place of Residence for good Men. The meaning then, is, When you shall see the Church and People of God so forsake her that she is left in a manner to her self, and to her Disciples, then she is to fall quickly: When you hear it proclaimed by them that are yet in her, of God's People, We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed: forsake her, and let us go

Jer. 51.8,  
9.



Zech. 10.  
8, 9, 10,  
11, 12.

every one to his own to his own Countrey: Then she will soon be hissed out of the World: For this is the way of the Wisdom of God; namely, To bring his People out of a City, or Place, when he intends the Ruine of that place. When God was about to destroy the old World, he put his Noah into an Ark: When God was about to destroy Sodom, he sent his Lot away thence to Zoar: When Christ was about to destroy Jerusalem, he bid his Disciples flee from the midst of that: And when there shall be by God a hissing for his People; and when they shall hear him, and obey, and gather to him, then you shall see what will become of this Enemy of Christ: I will hiss for them, and gather them; for I have redeemed them.

I say therefore, when Babylon shall become the Habitation of Devils, a Hold for all foul Spirits, and a Cage for every unclean and hateful Bird, then Babylon is fallen.

And thus the Angel that lightned the Earth with his Glory, proclaimed, Babylon the Great is fallen! is fallen! and is become the Habitation of Devils, and a Hold for every foul Spirit, and a Cage for every unclean and hateful Bird. Wherefore it must be, that by that her time is come that she should fall, God will have gleaned his

People from the midst of her. And when God shall have gleaned his People from the midst of her, those that are left behind will appear more than ever to be what they are, to wit, Devils, foul Spirits, and hateful Birds; wherefore, now will Antichrist appear in his own most proper colours.

But to Comment a little upon the words.

Rev. 17.5. Babylon,] Mystery Babylon. The Antichristian Church.

52. Is fallen, is fallen.] In the Eyes and Faith of the Godly, by her dropping into the dregs of Degeneracy, and so is become the Habitation of Devils, &c. in order to her falling into utter and unavoidable Destruction for ever.

Is become.] That is, through the labour of the Fanners and Winnoers that God hath sent to to fan Babilon, and to fetch out his People, that she might be left to her Chaff: I will send (saith God to Babylon,) Fanners, that shall fan her, and that shall empty her Land (of good Men;) for in the day of trouble they shall be against her round about.

An Habitation of Devils.] Devils: Not such by Nature, but by Practice. Incarnate Devils: For when the time is come that Babylon must be destroyed, she shall be found to be an Habitation for the most vile of the Sons of Men: For as

Devils have acted towards the World; so shall the Sons of this Sorceress, and this Whore, act towards Christ and his Members in the latter days. And perhaps, the departing of Zion from the midst of her, will blow her up into this Spirit of Devilism. Let God's People therefore, when Anti-christ is towards her end, look for nothing from her, but what the Devil, in times past, used to do; to wit, all sinful Subtilty, Malice, Wrath, Fraud, Deceit, Lying, Murther, false Accusings, and implacable Madness of Spirit to do them mischief. (But Lord God! think I, what will become of Good Men! and where will they be safe in such days? Only I comfort my self, by saying to my self again, This is a Sign that the Ruine of Antichrist is at the door.) But this I say, He must needs be a tuneable Man, that shall be able in those days to sing this Song to himself at all Seasons: For this is to drive Reason backward, and to set the Cart before the Horse. For what will the good Man's Reason say, when it seeth all Babylonians are become Devils, but that the Church of God will certainly be torn in pieces? But behold! the Text and the Holy Ghost runs counter: Babylon is fallen! is fallen! and (or, for it) is become the Habitation of Devils. These words for certain are the words of an holy Angel; for



it could not have entered into the Heart of meer Man to have conceived them.

53.           An Habitation.] To be an Habitation (for Devils,) is to be their House, their Dwelling-place, their Place of Priviledge, their Place of Rest and Abode, or thither whither they have right to go. And thus will Babylon be; that is, an House, an Habitation, a Dwelling-place, and a Place of Rest, only for devilish minded Men; thither may such Men come; for such her Doors stand open, and there may such inhabit. When therefore you see good Men come out thence, and all sorts of Wicked Men flock in thither, then know that Babylon is near her end.

54.           And a Hold for every foul Spirit.] Under-stand by Spirit, either those that are Devils by Nature, or such as are such otherwise. But I think that the Angel chiefly intends all manner of unclean and filthy Spirits; and so the Church and Members of Babylon, their only place of safety: Or if you understand it of the Uncleanness of the Mark. 9.25. Spirits and Minds of Men, then the meaning is, that they are called foul Spirits, in allusion to those of Devils which go by the same Name. But however, or which way soever taken, it seems Babylon is their

Judg. 9. Hold; that is, their place of Defence: For by an  
46. 49.  
1 Sam. 22. Hold, we often understand a place of Strength, a  
4.  
Castle, a Fort, a Tower; so that these

Devils, these foul spirited Men, these Babylonians, will not only find House-room and Harbour in Babel, but Shelter, Defence and Protection, when she is near her Ruine: yea, they will find her an Upholder to them, and a Countenancer of them, in all their foul and devilish Pranks; yea, such an Hold shall she be to such foul Spirits in such foul Acts, that it shall not be possible that they should be driven from her, or from them: For an Hold is often taken in the Scriptures for a place that is Impregnable, and must be so taken here. This intimates then, that some faint Opposition by the Kings and Nations will be made against these Inhabiters foul Spirits, but to little purpose, until the time of her Land shall come; for in their Hold they still will be secured and defended from what Reason, Law and Scripture can or would do unto them. Thus then we see how Babel towards her end, will be filled, and with what, to wit, with Devils, and foul Spirits; yea, and that she will not only be an Habitation, but a Place of Defence for such.

55. And a Cage for every unclean and hateful

Isa. 34. Bird.] Those that before are called Devils, and  
 11, 12, 13, foul Spirits, are also here called Birds, unclean  
 14, 15, 16, and hateful Beasts. By the term [Birds,] he may  
 17.  
 Jer. 5.25, and hateful Beasts. By the term [Birds,] he may  
 26, 27. allude to that of the Prophet Isaiah, where these

unclean Birds are mentioned. And by Cage, he may allude to the Prophet Jeremiah, from whom, as I think, the Holy Ghost takes these words; but then we must put Men in the place of Birds, and the Babylonian Kingdom for the Cage.

E V E R Y unclean Bird.] As was said before, A Hold for E V E R Y foul Spirit. These unclean Birds therefore are not all of one feather, or kind, but of A L L and E V E R Y Kind; and it intimates, that the worst Act of all Professions, shall be, as in a Cage, in Babylon, a little before her Downfall. But I say, if they will not be all of one Feather, yet in their Temper they will somewhat agree, being either in Shape, Monstrous; of Appetite, Ravenous; or, of Inclination, Lovers of the Night: For of all these sorts were the forbidden, or unclean Birds among the Jews. Now since these unclean Birds are not all of one Feather, or Kind, it intimates that the basest of all Sorts, Sects, Professions and Degrees, shall take Shelter in Babylon towards her End; and that they shall there, in their Temper, unanimously agree to shew themselves monstrous, to devour and eat up the Poor and Needy, and to blow out the Light of the Gospel.



A Cage.] Not to Imprison them in, but for them to sit and Sing in, to confer their Notes in, to make melodious Musick in; I mean, Melodious to their own thinking; for the Ass thinks that he sings full favouredly, and the Owl endeavours to lift up her Voice above all the Birds of the Wood: But it will be a Prediction of her Fall, and that her Ruine is at the door.

56. Of these Birds Zephaniah speaks, when he Prophesies of the Downfall of Nineveh, saying,  
 Zeph. 2. The Coromorant and the Bittern lodge in the upper-  
 13, 14. most lintels of it, their voice shall sing in the  
windows (when) desolation shall be on the threshold.  
 An unseasonable time to sing in; for when Death is coming in at the Door, Mourning should be in the Chambers: But this is the Judgment of God, That she should be a Cage for every unclean Bird to sing in, even then when her Destruction and Desolation cometh upon her.

To Sing, as in a Cage, doth also denote Security, and that the Heart is far from fear; for she saith, I shall see no sorrow, in that hour in which her Judgment comes.

But is this a Sign of the Approach of the Ruine of Antichrist? And must those that shall live to see those days, rejoyce when these things

begin to come to pass? Are not these things rather a Sign that the utter Overthrow of the Church of God is at the door? Indeed, to Sense it is, and Reason will be apt to say so: But hark what the Holy Ghost saith! She is fallen! is fallen now!

When therefore we shall see Men like Devils; yea, every foul Spirit, and hateful Bird, flock to, and take shelter in Babylon; let us not be frightened or dejected, but pluck up our Hearts, and say, This is one of the Signs that the Downfall of Babylon is near. Wherefore it follows, after that the Prophet had told us that these Birds should dwell in the Land of the People of God's Curse, That the wilderness and the solitary places should be glad for them, (for that they are there,) and the desart shall rejoyce, and blossom as a Rose: It shall blossom (saith he) abundantly, and rejoyce, even with joy and singing: the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it: the excellency of Carmel and Sharon: they shall see the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God. And to support the Weak from those fears that in those days will be pulling of them down, he adds, Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not: behold, your God will come with vengeance,

even God with a recompence, he will come and save you. Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the parched ground shall become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water: in the habitation of dragons where each lay, shall be grass, with reeds and rushes. And an highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness, the unclean shall not pass over it, but it shall be for those: the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein. No lion shall be there, nor any ravenous beast shall go up thereon, it shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk there. And the ransomed of the Lord shall return and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

Amos  
5.8.

What say ye now, ye Sons of God! Will you learn to make a Judgment of things according to the Mystery of the Wisdom of God, or will ye longer conclude according to Sense and Reason? He turneth the shadow of death into the morning: And commands oft-times, that the fairest Day should succeed the foulest Night. Wherefore, when we see these Devils,



foul Spirits, and unclean Birds in Babylon; yea, when we see good Men leave her, and the vilest run in to her, then let us sing the Angels Song, and say, Babylon the Great is fallen! is fallen! and is become the Habitation of Devils, and a Hold for every foul Spirit, and a Cage for every unclean and hateful Bird.

4th. Sign.      Fourthly, Another Sign of the approach of the Ruine of Antichrist, is, The Slaying of the Witnesses: For the Witnesses are to be slain before the Fall of Antichrist; and that by the hand of the Beast, who shall manage the Members of Antichrist, having qualified them before that Work, with those Qualifications of which you read in the Sign foregoing. For what can better fit a Generation for such a Work, than to be themselves all turned Devils, and also Succourers of all foul Spirits. Wherefore, they must be the wickedest of Men that shall do this; the very Scum of the Nations, and the very vilest of People. Nor is this a New Notion: God threatned to give his Sanctuary into the hands of Strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoyl: to Robbers, Burglers, and they should defile it. Again, saith God of his People, I will bring the worst of the Heathen, and they shall possess their houses. For the truth is, this Work is too bad for Men either

Ezek. 7.  
20, 21.

Ver. 24.

of Reason or Conscience to be found in the practice of. The Hang-man is usually none of the best: The Witnesses are also to be slain; but not a Man, but a Beast must slay them; a Den of Thieves, a Hold of foul Spirits must do it.

That the Witnesses must be slain before the Fall of Babilon, has been hinted already. Also, that their Death is a fore-runner of the Ruine of Antichrist, has before been touch'd upon; but in this place I shall a little enlarge.

Rev. 11.

And therefore I proceed: And when they shall have finished their Testimony, the Beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and overcome them, and kill them: And their dead bodies shall lie dead in the street of that great City, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified. And they of the people, and kindred, and tongues, and nations, shall see their dead bodies three days and an half, and shall not suffer their dead bodies to be put into graves. And after three days and an half the Spirit of Life from God entred into them, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon them that saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying, Come up hither: And they ascended to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.

Thus you see their Death is before their Deliverance. Also their Death is to be by the Hand of the Beast; to wit, by the Men that have and hold this Mark, and that of his Image, and that are of the number of his Name. You see also that their Death is not only a Fore-runner of their Deliverance, but a Sign that that their Deliverance is at the door; since the one is but three Days and an half before the other.

And if a short Comment upon this Text will give a little Light to the Reader, I shall not count my labour lost.

And when they shall have finished their Testimony.] When, or about the time they have done their work of Witness-bearing for God in the World: When they have made or are making an end of giving their Testimony for Christ, and against the Witchcrafts, Idolatries, Sorceries, Fornications, Thefts, Murthers, and Wickedness of Antichrist: Then, and not till then.

Rev. 13.1.  
Rev. 11.7.

The Beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit.] The Beast: The Power that carrieth and beareth up Antichrist, the Mother of Harlots: The Beast upon which the Woman sitteth, and by the Heads and Horns of which she is protected and defended; he is said to ascend out of the Bottom-

Rev. 11.7. 7 Rev. 11.3.



less-Pit; for that he manifesteth by his Doings, that he was born there, and came to the work of the King thereof.

- Rev. 11.           Shall make war against them.] We read that he made War against them all the time of their Propheying in Sackcloth, while they were bearing their Testimony against his Doing; and that his
- Rev. 12.           Commission was, That he should have leave to make War so long. But here we read again, that when they had finished their Testimony, and so consequently he had run out the time of his first Commission for War, he makes War again. So that this War which now he raiseth against them, seems to be another, a new War, and such as is grounded upon other, to wit, new Arguments, besides those upon which his first War stood. By his first War, he sought to beat down and overthrow their Testimony:
- Rev. 13.4. By this War he seeketh to overthrow themselves. The first War he made, was grounded upon a vain Confidence of his Ability to destroy their Faith; but this last was grounded upon madness against them, because their Testimony had prevailed against him: Wherefore, Torment wherewith these Witnesses by their Testimony tormented him and his Followers, was the cause of this last War. .And this is
- Rev. 11.           insinuated, when he saith, They made merry for  
10.               their victory over them, because these two Prophets,

(to wit, by their Testimony,) tormented them that dwelt on the Earth.

The Beast therefore will make a War against the Witnesses all the time of their Prophesying Rev. 11.3. in Sackcloth, which will be a Thousand two hundred and threescore Days. In all which time they shall give him the foyle, and overcome him by their Faith and Testimony; and be proclaimed more than Conquerours over him, through the Christ that loved them. But now, in this second War he overcomes them, he overcomes them, and kills them.

Jezabel for a long time made War against Elias the Prophet, seeking to overthrow the Worship of God which he maintained, and to establish the Religion of Baal: But when she saw that by all she could do she got nothing, but that the Prophet got the day of her Worship, Priests, and Worshippers, she breaks out into a rage, as one tormented almost to death, and raises a new War; not now against his Religion, but his Person, and desperately swears by Ch. 19.2. all the Gods that she had, That by to morrow that time the Life of the Prophet should be as the Life of one of her Priests whom he had slain for an Idolater. When the Devil sees that he cannot do by Argument, he will try if he can by Blows.

1 Kings  
18. 26.

Rev. 11.3. 7 Rev. 12.20.

1 Kings 18.26. 7 1 Kings 3.26.

Ch. 22.24. When Zedikiah, the Son of Chenanah, saw that with Argument he could not overcome Micaiah, he steps to him, and takes him a box o'th' Ear. This New War, is a box o'th' Ear which the Beast will give the Witnesses, because they overcame him by their Faith and Testimony, all the time that the first War lasted.

Now how long this second War will last, and what struglings the Witnesses will make before he shall overcome them, I know not: This I know, that the Text saith, By this War he shall overcome them.

And shall overcome them.] Saints are not said to be overcome, when they are Imprisoned, Banished, and Killed for their faithful Testimony: No, by these things they overcome. To Overcome then, is to get the Mastery, to Subdue, to turn out of Possession, to take and hold Captive, to strip the Subdued of Power and Priviledge, as is sufficiently manifest both by Scripture and Reason: For of whom a man is overcome, of the same he is brought in bondage.

2 Pet. 2.  
19, 20,  
21.

So then, when he is said to Overcome them, 'tis meant, he shall get the Mastery of them, they shall grow faint before him, have no Heart or Spirit to bear up in their Profession against him:



Against him, I say, as she did the Thousand two hundred and threescore Days War with him; for then they were Overcomers, and did bear away the Garland.

Deut. 25.  
17, 18,  
19.

Nor do I, for my part, wonder at this, when I consider that these Witnesses are a Succession of good Men; and that when Israel came out of Egypt of old, the feeble and weak handed did come behind.

It will be the Lot therefore of the Church, in the latter end of the Reign of the Beast, to be feeble and weak in their Profession, the valiant Ones have gone before: These will come in, when those that were able have bravely born their Testimony, or when they are upon finishing of that: In

comparison of whom, they that come after will be but like Eggs to the Cocks of the Game; wherefore they must needs be crushed, cow'd and overcome.

Isa. 10.  
14.

And then will the Beast boast himself, as did his Type of old, and say, Mine hand has found, as a nest, the riches of the people; and as one gathereth Eggs that are left, have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or that opened the mouth, or peeped.

A sad time, and it is to happen to the People that are left, to the latter end of the Witness-bearers; and that too, when they shall have finished their Testimony.

Deut. 25.] Deut. 17.

Isa. 10.14.] Isa. 10.13.

Of this Tyranny the Cruelty of Amalek was a Type; who, as was hinted before, smote the hindermost, the weak: But his Judgment is, That he shall perish for ever.

And shall overcome them.] There are Two ways of Overcoming; to wit, by Power and Policy: And perhaps by both these ways they may be overcome. However, overcome they shall be; for so saith the holy Word of God; yea, the Beast shall overcome them. Wherefore, the Church of God, at that day, will be under such a Cloud as she never was since Christ's day.

Now how long they shall thus be held Captive before they are brought to Execution; whether the Beast will ride in Triumph while they are in his Bounds; or whether he will suddenly kill them; that Time, and Observation, and Experience must make manifest: But kill them he shall, that's most certain; for so says the Holy Ghost.

And shall overcome them, and kill them.] In this method therefore God will suffer the Beast to proceed with the Church of God, after she has sufficiently born her Testimony for him in the World. He shall war against them, but that is not all: He shall overcome them, but that is not all; he shall overcome them, and kill them.

And kill them.] Of their slaughter also I

Exod. 32. shall speak a word or two. But first I would note,  
18.  
Acts 7. as all know, that there is a difference to be put  
34.  
Jer. 12. betwixt Killing and Overcoming: For though every  
11.  
Acts 8.32. one that is Killed, is Overcome; yet every one that is  
overcome, is not killed: Men may be overcome, and  
yet live; but when they are killed, 'tis otherwise:  
There may be a Cry heard from the Mouth of them  
that are Overcome, but not from the Mouth of them  
that are Killed: They that are Overcome, may  
consult their own Enlargement and Deliverance; but  
they that are Killed, cannot do so. I do therefore  
distinguish betwixt being Killed and Overcome,  
because the Text doth so: He shall make war  
against them, and shall overcome them, and kill  
them.

And kill them.] From these words therefore  
I will take occasion to enquire,

1. How they are to be considered as to this  
Slaughter.

2. What Death they must die to accomplish  
this Prophecy.

First, How they are to be considered?

Rev. 11. I Answer: Not in a Carnal or Natural, but in  
a Mystical sence. For, First, They are called  
Witnesses. Secondly, They are put under the number

Acts 8.32. 7 Acts 11.32.



of Two: My two Witnesses. Both which are to be Mystically taken.

First, Because their Testimony standeth not in their Words only, but in their Conversation; yea, in their Suffering also: And that is a mystical Witness-bearing.

Numb. 35.  
30.  
Deut. 17.  
6.  
Ch. 19.  
15.

Secondly, They go under the Number of Two: Not because there were indeed two such Men in the World, but because Two are a sufficient Number to bear Witness; and God's Church, in the most furious heat and rage of Antichrist, has been at least of such a number of professing Saints, to proclaim against the Beast and his Worship, in the Name of God. To think that there have been two such Men in the World, is ridiculous; for these Witnesses must continue to give their Testimony for God against Antichrist, a Thousand two hundred and three-score Years. Nor can they Scripturally bear this Title, My two Witnesses, but with respect to their Propheying so long. The Witnesses therefore are nothing else but a successive Church, or the Congregation of God abiding for him against Anti-christ, by reason of a continual Succession of Men that is joynd by the special Blessing of God unto it.

Secondly, What Death they must die? I Answer, Not a Corporeal one, but that which is Mystically

such. And I chuse to understand it thus, because this suiteth best with their State and Condition, which is mystical. Besides, thus did they (when they did overcome,) slay their Enemies, even with

Rev. 11.5. the Fire or Sword of their Mouth: If any man will hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their mouth and devoureth their enemies: If any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. As therefore they went about to kill their Enemies, so their Enemies will kill them: But they sought to kill their Enemies by their Testimony, as to their Antichristian Spirit, and Church state; and their Enemies will kill them, as to their Christian Heat and fervency of Mind; and also as to their Christian Church state. So that, (at least so I think,) there will be such Ruines brought both upon the Spirit of Christianity, and the True Christian Church State, before this Antichrist is destroyed, that there will for a time scarce be found a Christian Spirit, or a True Visible Living Church of Christ in the World: Nothing but the dead Bodies of these will be to be seen of the Nations; nor them neither, otherwise than as so many ruinous Heaps. For the Love that I bare to the Church of Christ, I wish, as to this, I may prove a false Prophet: But this looks so like the Text, and also

so like the Dispensations of God with his Church of old, that I cannot but think it will be so. For the Text, I have spoken to that already; wherefore I will now present you with some things that look like parallel Cases.

First, When the Church was coming out of Egypt, just before they were delivered from Pharaoh, they were in their own Eyes, and in the Eyes of their Enemies, none other than dead: It had been better (said they to Moses) that we had served the Egyptians, than that we should die in this wilderness. The People said so, Moses feared, and Pharaoh concluded they were all dead Men. Also Paul tells us, that they were Baptized (that is, Buried) unto Moses, in the Cloud, and in the Sea. They were, for the time, to use the Expression, a dead Church, both in the Eyes of Pharaoh, in the Eyes of Moses, and also in their own.

And 'tis to be taken notice of: As the Witnesses in the Text were slain but a little before the Ruine of Antichrist began; so this Church was baptized in the Sea but a little before Great Pharaoh was drowned there.

Secondly, In the time of Elias, which time also was typical of this, what Church was there to be seen in Israel? None but what was under Ground,



buried in Dens, and in Caves of the Earth: Yea, the Prophet could see none, and therefore he cried to God, and said, Lord, they have digged down thine Altars, and slain thy Prophets; and I am left alone, and they seek my Life! What visible living Church was now in the Land, I mean, either with reference to a godly Spirit for it, or the Form and Constitution of it? What was, was known to God, but dead to every Man alive.

1 King.  
19. 14,  
18.  
Rom. 11.  
3.

Thirdly, What was the dry Bones that we read of in the 37<sup>th</sup>. of Ezekiel, but the Church of God, and also a Figure of what we are treating of? And why called dry Bones, since the People were alive, with their Substance, Wives and Children; but to shew, that that Church of God was now, as to their Spirit and Church State, accounted as dead, not only by themselves, but by the King of Babylon, and the Nations round about? Babylon then was the Valley, and the Grave; and the Church of God were the Bones: Bones without Flesh, Sinews or Skin; Bones exceeding dry; yea, so dry and dead were they, that the Prophet himself could not tell whether ever they should live again.

Ezek. 37.  
11.

Ver. 2.

Ver. 3.

Now this, as I said, was a State that was not to end with the Church of Israel, but to be acted over once again by the Beast with the Church of the

Ezek. 37.11. 7 Exod. 30.11.

New-Testament: Yea, it is an easie matter to make their Witnesses in this their Death, and the Church of Israel in this their Grave, in many things to symbolize.

Fourthly, Take another Instance, or rather Comparison, unto which the Church of God compared her self, when under the King of Babylons Tyranny: And that is, she counted her self as the Dung that the Beast lets fall to the ground from behind him. And doth this look like a Visible Church State? Or has it the smell or savour of such a thing?

Jer. 51.  
34.

Nebuchadnezzar (said she) hath swallowed me up like a Dragon; he hath filled his belly with my delicates; he hath cast me out. Pray, what would you think of a Man, of whom one should tell you, That he was eaten up of a Dragon; made to fill the Belly of a Dragon; and cast out as the Dung of a Dragon? Would you think that such an one did all this while retain the Shape, Form or Similitude of a Man? Why, thus the Church said she was, and thus the Church shall be again: For she is once more to be Overcome, to be overcome and killed; and that by the Beast, the Dragon's Whelp, of which the King of Babylon was a Type. And therefore I conclude the Premises; that is, That the Beast will kill the Church that shall be in the latter days, as to her

Jer. 51.34. 7 Jer. 50.34.

Christian Spiritedness, and her Church State. And I could further add, That if we hold they die Corporeally, we must conclude, that their Natural Body being slain, shall lie Three Years and a half in the Street; yea, that their Resurrection shall be Corporeal, &c. But why we should think thus, as yet I can see no Reason, since the Persons are such Mystically; the Beast Mystically so; the Street in which they be, Mystically such; and the Days of their unburied State, to be taken Mystically likewise. But we will pass this, and descend to other things.

Fifthly, I will yet add another thing. When Israel was coming out of Babylon; yea, while they were building of the Temple of God, which was a Figure of our Church State now under the Gospel; they were not only troubled, hindred and molested in their Work, but were made for a time to cease and let the Work lye still.

Ezra 4.23. Now (says the Text) when the Copy of King Artaxerxes Letter (which he sent to forbid the Jews in their work) was read before Rehum and Shimshai the Scribe, and their Companions, they went up in haste to Jerusalem unto the Jews, and made them to cease by force and power. Then ceased the work of the House of God which is at Jerusalem:



so it ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius the King of Persia.

And I pray, since their Temple-Worship was a Type of a New-Testament Church State and Worship, what doth their causing of that Work to cease signifie to us, but that we must have a time also to cease as they? And since their Temple-work was caused to cease before the House was finished, what face could there be at present thereupon, but that, to look to, it was like some deformed, battered, broken Building, or as such an one that was begun by foolish Builders? Yea, and since the Jews left off to build God's House at the Command of the Heathens, what did that bespeak, but that they had lost their Spirit, were quashed, and so as to their Temple-work, killed, as it were, to all intents and purposes? And thus it will be, a little before the Church of God shall be set free from the Beast, and all his Angels: For these things were writ for our Admonition, to shew us what shall be done hereafter; yea, and whether we believe or disbelieve hereabout, Time will bring it to pass.

I do not question but many good Men have writ more largely of this Matter; but as I have not seen their Books, so I walk not by their Rules. If I mistake, the Mistakes are only mine; and if I shall merit Shame, I alone must bear it.

Some may think they have said enough, when they assert, That for the Witnesses to be Killed, is, To be Dead in Law: But I Answer, That is not to be Overcome. They are here said to be Overcome; and that is more than to be Dead in Law: For a Man may be Dead in Law, and yet not be Overcome; and if so, then far enough off from being Killed. So then, for as much as they are said to be Overcome and Killed, it must be more than to be Dead in Law. Besides, the Text supposeth that they had yielded up, as dying Men do their Souls, their Spirit of Life into the hands of God: For it saith concerning them, That at their Resurrection, the Spirit of Life from God entred (again) into them: Into them, antecedent thereunto: And after three days and an half, the Spirit of Life from God entred into them, and they stood upon their feet. Thus it was concerning the dry Bones, of which mention was made before: Then said he unto me, Prophesie unto the wind, prophesie, son of man, and say to the wind, Thus saith the Lord God, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, thay they may live. And thus much concerning their Killing.

57. Now, as I said, since in Death, the Body doth

1 Cor. 12. not only lye dead, but the Spirit of Life departs  
27.  
Eph. 3.6. therefrom; it is to shew, that not only their  
Ch. 4.12. Bodies, their Church State, shall die, (for

Ch. 5.23.  
Col. 1.  
18.

Churches are called Bodies,) but that Spirit of Life that acted those Bodies, shall be taken up to God. There shall, for a time, be no Living Visible Church of Christ in the World: A Church, but no Living Church, as to Church State: A Church in Ruines, but not a Church in Order: Even as there was once a Christ, but no Living Christ in the Grave; yet the Gates of Hell shall not prevail to an utter Overthrow thereof, no more than they prevailed to an utter Overthrow of Christ; but as one did, so shall the other, revive, and rise again, to the utter Confusion and Destruction of their Enemies: Yea, and as Christ, after his Resurrection, was, as to his Body, more Glorious than he was before; so the Witnesses, after their Resurrection, shall be more Spiritual, Heavenly, and Exact in all their Ways, than they were before they were killed. Resurrections are always attended with new Additions of Glory; and so shall the Church of God, as to her Church-state, be in the latter days.

But yet the Beast shall not altogether have his Will, (if that at all was his Will,) that these Witnesses, in this Second War, should be conquered to a Compliance with Antichrist in his foolish and vain Religion: For it is not with dead Men to comply; but as they are dead to their own Church-

Ch. 5.23. 7 Ch. 6.23.



state, so they are to his. When the Jews had killed Christ, it was beyond all the Art of Hell to cause that his Body should see Corruption; so when the Beast has killed the Witnesses, he shall not be able to corrupt them with any of his Vices.

Hence you find, that not the Witnesses, but the Dwellers upon the Earth were them that danced after the Devils Pipe, when he had fulfilled their Murther.

58. Nor doth this Murther, as to the fulfilling of it in those Nations where the Woman sitteth, seem to be a great way off, if all be true that from Foreign Parts some have said: For what a withdrawing of God and of his Spirit is there already in some of the Churches of God! The Word worketh not that sound Repentance which it was wont to do: Preachers preach for little, but to spend themselves, as Men that are wounded do when with groans they let out their Life. Where (say some) is the Spirit and Life of Communion? And where that Practical Holiness that formerly used to be seen in the Houses, Lives and Conversations of Professors? The whole Head is sick, and the whole Heart faint already; and how long will it be before Churches die of the wound that the Beast has given them, Time must make appear: But die I perceive they

must; for if the Wound already given will not kill, repeated Blows shall.

By all that I have said, I do not deny but that many of the People of God may die Corporeally, by the Hand of the Beast, in this second War that shall be made by him against the Witnesses: But should as many more die, that will not prove that that Death will be that that by the killing of the Witnesses is intended.

59. Some thing I would bestow upon the Reader, for him to carry with him as a Memorandum, while he reads this Account of Things: As,

First, This Victory of the Beast, is not to be until the Witnesses have finished their Testimony; and so by all that he shall do, he shall not hinder the Revelation of any of the Truths that they either were to bring to light, or to confirm by their Witness-bearing.

Witnesses are not always bound to speak:

Eccl. 3. There is a time to keep silence: And thou shalt be  
7.  
Ezek. 3. dumb. But how shall we know when this time is  
26.  
come?

1. When a sufficient Testimony has been given for Christ, and against Antichrist, before the God of Heaven; for he must be the Judge.

Mat. 10. 2. When her Enemies forbear to plead against  
19. her by Argument, and rather betake themselves to

Blows.

3. When the Spirit of Testimony-bearing is taken from the Church; for that is not essential to Christianity, but is given and taken away as there is occasion.

Joh. 9.27. 4. When Testimony-bearing becomes a vain or needless Repetition, when they have heard sufficiently of things before.

60. Secondly, This Victory of the Beast shall not invalidate or weaken their Testimony; no, not in the Eyes of the World; for they will still remember, and have a reverence for it: This is intimated by this, That they of the People, and Kindreds, and Tongues, and Nations, (that are neither the Witnesses, nor they that in the next Verse are called the Rev. 11.9. Inhabiters, or they that dwell upon the Earth,) shall not suffer their dead Bodies to be buried, or put into graves.

Thirdly, This shall not lengthen the Reign and Tranquility of the Antichristian Kingdom; nor frustrate, drive back (or cause to tarry) the glorious freedom and liberty of the Saints.

But some may say, This will be a SAD Day.

So it will, and gloomy; but it will be but short, and the Righteous shall have dominion over them next Morning: 'twill last but Three days and an half; nor shall it come, but for the Sins of



Churches and Saints, and to hasten the Downfall of the Kingdom of the Beast, and for the sweetning to the Church her future Mercies. Christ Jesus, our Lord, in Answer to the Question of his Disciples, about the Destruction of Jerusalem, presented them with a Relation of many sad things; but when he was come even to the Hearts of Men, and had told them that they should fail for fear: He said, When these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads for your redemption draweth nigh.

Luk. 21.  
25, 26,  
27, 28.

'Tis as ordinary as for the Light to shine, for God to make black and dismal Dispensations, to usher in bright and pleasing; yea, and the more frightful that is which goes before, the more comforting is that which follows after. Instances abundance might be given as to this, but at present let this suffice that is here upon the Paper before us; namely, The State of the Witnesses, with their glorious Resurrection.

61. Fifthly, Another Sign of the approach of the Ruine of Antichrist, will be this: The great Joy that will be in her, and among her Disciples, when they shall see that the Witnesses are slain, and lye dead upon the spot: And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoyce over them, and make merry, and send gifts one to another, because these two Prophets tormented them that dwell on the earth.

Rev. 11.  
10.

Babylon has been always a merry City, and her Disciples merry Men; but the poor Church of Christ has been solitary, and as a Wife forsaken; her Tears upon her Cheeks bear her witness, and so doth her Sackcloth-weed.

Hence our Babylon, under the Name of Nineveh, is called, The Rejoycing City. Only her Joy is distinguished from that which is the Joy of God's People, by these Two things.

Zeph. 2.  
15.

Jer. 50.  
10, 11.

First, Either she rejoyceth in outward and carnal Glory, or else in the Ruine of the Church of God. This last, to wit, The (supposed) Ruine of the Church of God, is that which will be now the cause of her Glorifying. And this is the Joy that God complaineth of, and for which he said that he would punish Babylon: Caldea shall be a spoil: all that spoil her, shall be satisfied, saith the Lord; because ye were glad, because ye rejoyced, ye destroyers of mine heritage, &c. The Joy therefore of Babylon, Antichrist; the Joy that she shall conceive in her Heart upon the slaughter of the Witnesses, is a sure Sign of her unavoidable Ruine and Destruction. These two Prophets tormented her; they were to Babilon, as Mordecai was to Haman, a continual Plague and Eye-sore: As also was David to the wretched Saul: But now they are overcome, now they are killed; now she rejoyceth, and maketh

merry. And this her Joy was of old prefigured by them that in her Spirit have gone before her: As,

62.

First, When the Philistines had, as they thought, for ever overcome Samson, that Nazarite of God, how joyful were they of the Victory!

Judg. 16.  
23, 24.

And the Lords of the Philistines gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoyce; for they said, Our god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hands. And when the people saw him, (saw him in Chains,) they praised their god; for they said, Our god hath delivered into our hands our enemy, and the destroyer of our countrey, who slew many of us. Poor Samson! while thou haddest thy Locks, thy Liberty, and thine Eyes, thou didst shake the Pillar that did bear up their Kingdom! But now they have conquered thee, how great is their Joy! How Great is their Joy, and how Near their Downfall! This therefore is a Joy that is like that we have under Consideration, to wit, the Joy of them that dwell upon the Earth; for that the Witnesses that did bear up the Name of God in the World, were overcome and killed.

63.

Secondly, Like to this, is that which you read of in the First Book of Samuel, concerning the Men that had burnt David's Ziklag: Ziklag was poor David's place of safety; nor had he any else but that under the whole Heaven: But the Children of

1 Sam.  
30, 16.



the East came upon it, and took it; set it on fire, and carried thence all David's Substance, with his Wives and his Children. (Very ill done to a Man in Affliction; to a Man that went always in fear of his Life, because of the rage of his Master Saul.) But how were they that had got the Victory? Oh! joyful, and glad, and merry at heart at the thoughts of the Richness of the Booty! Behold, they were scattered abroad upon all the earth, eating, and drinking, and dancing, because of all the great spoil that they had taken out of the Land of the Philistines (from Ziklag,) and out of the Land of Judah. Here again you find a joy and merriment like these that we have under Consideration, and that upon such like Accounts. Nothing pleases the Wicked more, than to see the Godly go down the wind; for their Words, and Lives, and Actions are a plague and a torment to them: As 'tis said of these two Prophets, They tormented them that dwelt on the Earth.

64. Thirdly, While the Church of God lay dead in Babylon, and as Bones exceeding dry; what a trampling upon them was there by Belshazzar, a little before his Death! He called for the Golden and Silver Vessels that his Father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the Temple of God that was at Jerusalem, (those holy Vessels once dedicated to the Worship and Service of God,) that his Princes,

Dan. 5.1,  
2, 3, 4.

his Wives and his Concubines might drink therein. An high Affront to Heaven: They drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, and of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone: And all to shew what a Conquest, as he thought, he had got over the God of Heaven, and over his People that dwelt in Jerusalem, and over his Ordinances and Vessels used in his Worship and Service: Yea, this he did with such Joy that was not usual, as is intimated by his doing of it before a Thousand of his Lords, and that till he had drank himself drunken. But all this while, as was hinted before, the Church of God, as it were, lay dead, at his Feet; or as the Phrase is, as Bones exceeding dry. This too will be the Joy of the Beast and his Followers in the latter days; they will make war with the Witnesses; they shall overcome them, and kill them; and when that is done, they shall rejoyce over them, and make merry. But as Belshazzar soon after this, saw the Hand-writing that made his Knees knock together; and as he lived not to see the light of another day; so'twill be with the Beast and his Followers; the next News that we hear upon this Mirth and Jollity, is, the Tenth part of his Kingdom falls, and so on till the whole is ruined.

65. Thirdly, Moab also, in the day that Israel was taken Captive by their Enemies, could not forbear

but skip for joy, so glad was he in his heart thereat. But what saith the jealous Lord? Make him drunken, for he magnifieth himself against the Lord: Moab also shall be a derision: For was not Israel (saith God) a derision to thee? was he found among thieves? for since thou spakest of him, thou skippest for joy. Of all things, God cannot away with this: For when the Wicked would rejoyce that they have been suffered to make havock of the Church of God, they deny the Wisdom and Power by which they were permitted to do this, and offer

Jer. 48. 26, 27, 28.

Habbak. 1. 15, 16.

Isa. 10. 15, 16, 17, 18.

Sacrifice to their own Net and Drag; which provoketh the Holiness of Israel: Shall the Ax boast it self against him that heweth therewith? or shall the Saw magnifie it self against him that shaketh it? As if the Rod should shake it self against him that lifteth it up; or as if the staff should lift up it self, as if it were no wood. But what follows? Why, Burning and Consuming of Soul and Body of them that do such a thing: - And this Text I the rather bring, because 'tis to be the Portion of Antichrist.

And therefore let this be a Caution to the Men that wonder after the Beast, to caution them to Repentance, for he will assuredly go into Perdition. What! shall the Witnesses of God be killed! Shall the Beast stand glorying over them



while they are dead, with his Feet in their Neck? and shall none be angry at it? Let them that love themselves look to themselves: God will be concerned, and will assuredly for this quickly put a period to the Kingdom and Reign of Antichrist.

Jer. 50.  
23.

\* Prot-  
estant  
Kings.

And although this glorying Mistress of Iniquity, this Antichrist and Babilon, may say that her Power is the Hammer of the whole Earth; yet God will cut him in sunder, and break him in pieces with his Bout-Hammers, with the \*Kings of the Earth, that he will use to do this work withall; that is, when this last Sign is fulfilled: I call it the last Sign; I find none that doth intervene betwixt the Slaying of the Witnesses, and the beginnings of the Ruine of Antichrist but this.

66. But a little to Comment upon their Joy, as the Holy Ghost doth set it forth. The Cause of their Joy we have touched already; which was, for that they had slain their Tormentors: For, as was shewed you, the Witnesses had been their Tormentors: But when they shall overcome them, and kill them, they rejoyce, make merry, and send Gifts one to another.

This repeating, and repeating with Aggravation, doth manifest, that at that day their Joy will be exceeding great: They shall rejoyce, and make merry, &c. They shall rejoyce over them, over their slain, their Enemies, their tormenting

Enemies. This Joy therefore, is a Joy that flows from Victory, from Victory after a War that has lasted a Thousand two hundred and threescore Years. They shall rejoyce, as they do that have a most potent, vexatious and tormenting Enemy lying dead at their foot, and as those that ride in triumph over them. They shall therefore rejoyce as Conquerors use to do, who make the Slaughters of their spoiled Enemies the Trophy of their Joy.

For the Devil, that great Deceiver of Mankind, will so flush up, and bewitch the Men that wonder after the Beast, with the Victory that they shall get over the faithful Witnesses for God and his Son, that they will think ('twill never be day) that the Victory is so compleat, so universal, so thorough, that the Conquest must be lasting. And from Sense and Reason they will have ground to think so; for who now is left in the World any more to make head against them? But here comes in that which will utterly spoil this Joy; these conquered, killed, dead Men must come to life again, and then what's become of their Joy? And great fear fell upon all that saw them. Wherefore, this Joy must fade and vanish: But, I say, the Followers of the Beast will be far from thinking so; for they will rejoyce over them, make merry, and send Gifts one to another, concluding that these Tormentors shall

Rev. 11.  
11, 12.

67. never torment them more. But Jacob's Blessing upon his Son Gad, shall be fulfilled upon these Witnesses: Gad (saith he,) a troop shall overcome him; but he shall overcome at the last. So then, these
- Gen. 49. 19. Conquerors must not always rejoyce, though they will suppose they shall, and also make merry too.
- 1 Sam. 25. 36. And make merry.] To make merry, is more than
- 2 Sam. 13. 28. to rejoyce: To rejoyce, doth shew the present Act
- Eccl. 10. 19. of the Soul; but to make merry, is to use the Means as will keep this Joy alive, and on foot. Joy is one thing, and the Continuance of it is another. Joy may be begotten by a Conceit, a Thought; but it cannot be maintained so; because Deliberation
- Jer. 31.4. will come in and spoil it, if sufficient means is not used to continue it: Wherefore he adds, They rejoyced over them, [And made merry.]
- Luk. 15. 25, 32. [And made merry.]
- Judg. 19. 6, 9. [And made merry.]

And there are Five things that are usually made use of to keep up wicked Joy. (1.) There is, The Merriment of Musick. (2.) The Merriment of Feasting. (3.) The Merriment of Laughter. (4.) The Merriment of Fleshly solace. (5.) Revenge upon a supposed Enemy. So then, by these Five things we see what is the way that sinful Joy is maintained in the Hearts of wicked Men; and also by what means the Limbs and Brats of Antichrist will keep up that Joy that at first will be conceived in their hearts at the thought that now they



have killed their Tormentors. (1.) They shall have Musick. (2.) They shall have Feasting. (3.) They shall have Laughter. (4.) They shall have fleshly Solace. And, (5.) They shall have their fill, for the time, of Revenge. Thus therefore shall they rejoyce over them, and make merry, all the time of that little, short Everlasting that they are to live in the World.

68.        And make merry.] To make merry, to make wicked Mirth, there must be a continual Fraternity, or Brotherhood in Iniquity, maintained among them, and that where none may come to interrupt; and that they will be capable of doing any where then, for that their Tormentors will be dead. Wickedness shall walk with open face in those days; for then there will be none alive for God and his ways; wherefore, the Beast and his Train may do what they will: Now will be the time for Men to live carelessly and wantonly, and to make their Wantonness their Joy, (after the manner of the Zidonians,) for there will be none to put them to shame.

And shall send Gifts one to another.] This is another Token of their Gladness, and also a means to buoy them up still: And it will be a Sign that they have joynd hand in hand to do this wickedness, not dreaming of the Punishment that must follow. This sending of Gifts to each other,

and that after they have slain these two Prophets, doth also declare that they will be far from Repentance for the Commission of so great an Offence. Nay, it signifies further, that they were resolved, and determined to quench all manner of Convictions one in another that might arise in their hearts for the Sin which they had committed: For a Gift blinds the Eyes of the Wise, and perverts the Judgment of the Righteous; how much more then will it stifle and choak appearances of such upon the Spirits of wicked Men! I question not at all but many have been, by the Favours and Gifts of wicked Men, drawn down into the Belly of Hell.

Now what these Gifts will be, either as to kind or quantity, that I can say nothing to: But probably, whatever they will be, there will be but little of their own cost in them. Victors and Conquerors do use to visit their Friends with their Spoils won in Battel, with the Spoil of the Enemies of their God.

And this was David's way, after he had recovered the loss that he had sustained at the burning of his Ziklag; he sent to his Friends of what he had taken from his Enemies, as Token of Victory: David sent of the spoil (says the Text) unto the Elders of Judah, even to his friends; saying,

1 Sam.  
30, 26.

Behold a Present for you of the Spoils of the Enemies of the Lord! And why may not those we have now under Consideration, do so to their God, and their Friends also? Spoyling is like to be one of the last of the Mischiefs that Antichrist shall do to the Church of God in this World: And methinks, since the Beast will have power to Overcome, and to Kill, he should also have power to Take away: Hast thou killed, and also taken possession? said the Prophet to wicked Ahab.

Ezra 9.7.  
Dan. 11.  
33.

69. However, whatever their Gifts may be, and at whose cost soever bought, 'tis a sign their hearts will be open, they shall send Gifts one to another: Their merry days will then be come, and their Enemies will then be dead at their feet; wherefore, now they will have nothing to do but to rejoyce over them, and to make merry, and to send Gifts one to another.

Zeph. 2.  
14.

Thus, as to Sense and Reason, all shall be hush, all shall be quiet and still: The Followers of the Lamb shall be down; the Followers of the Beast shall be up, cry Peace and safety, and shall be as secure as an hard Heart, false Peace, and a deceitful Devil can make them: But behold! While they thus sing in the window, Death is stradling over the threshold! While they are crying Peace and Safety, sudden Destruction cometh: By that



1 Kings  
1. they have well settled themselves at their Table with Adonijah, they shall hear it proclaimed with sound of Trumpet, The Witnesses are risen again.

Rev. 11.  
15, 16. Now the Christians Pipes will go again; and surely the Earth will be rent with the sound of their Shouts and Acclamations, while they cry with joyful Sound, The Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.

Isa. 66.  
14. But wo to the Wicked, it shall be ill with them; for the Lord Jesus will now begin to shew his Jealousie, and to make known his Indignation towards those that have thus cruelly slain his Prophets, digged down his Altars, and made such havock of the afflicted Church of God. Now will he whet his glittering Sword, and his hand shall take hold on Vengance, that he may render a Recompence to his Enemies, and repay them that hate him.

Deut. 32.  
40, 41. But this he will not do immediately by himself, but by such Instruments as have been spoken of before: Of which more particularly to treat, shall be that I shall next take in hand.

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Of the Instruments that God will use to bring  
Antichrist to his Ruine.

70. Although I have hinted at this before, yet it may be convenient briefly to touch it again. Anti-christ, as I have told you, consisteth of Soul and Body, and must be destroyed by such Instruments as may most properly be applied to each. Further, As to the Soul, Spirit or Life of Antichrist, and its Destruction, of that we have also spoken already: It remains then that now we discourse of the Ruine of his Body and Flesh.

I then take it, That the Destruction of her Flesh shall come by the Sword, as managed in the Rom. 13. Hands of Kings, who are God's Ministers for the Punishment of evil Deeds, and the Praise of them that do well. Not that the Church, even as a Church, shall be quite exempt, and have therein no hand at all; for she, even as such, shall with her Faith and Prayers help forward that Destruction.

The Church therefore, as a Church, must use such Weapons as are proper to her as such; and the Magistrate, as a Magistrate, must use such Weapons as are proper to him as such. When the Church of Israel were Prisoners in Babylon, they did not fight their way through their Foes, and the Countreys to Jerusalem; but waited in their capti-

vated state with patience, until the Kings of the Medes and Persians came to deliver them. Nor is it to be slighted, but to be thought on seriously, that before there was an Israelite Captive in Babylon, their Deliverer Cyrus was prophesied of: Which Cyrus did afterwards come and take Babylon, and deliver the Captives, as it was foretold he should. He saith unto Cyrus, He is my Shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem ; Thou shalt be built, and to the Temple, Thy Foundation shall be laid. And again, Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right-hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him, &c. I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways: he shall build my City, and he shall let go my Captives, not for price, nor reward, saith the Lord of Hosts. And this accordingly he did, to wit, when the time was come; as may be seen in those holy Records where these things are made mention of. Indeed, as I said, the Church is not excluded; she may, and ought, with her Faith and Prayer, and holy Life, to second this work of Kings. Wherefore, when God speaks of bringing down the lofty City, and of laying it low in the Dust by the Church, he saith they shall do it by their Feet, and with

Isa. 44.  
28.

Chap. 45.  
1. — 13.

2. Chron.  
36.22, 23.  
Ezra Ch.  
1, 2, & 3.

Isa. 26.  
5, 6.



their Steps: The foot shall tread it down, even the feet of the poor, and the steps of the needy.

71. By Feet and Steps, I understand the good Lives of the Children of God: But now, when Kings come to deal with her, as Kings, they serve her as Samuel served Agag, as a Judge, cut her in pieces with their Swords: Or as you have it elsewhere, They make her desolate and naked; they eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. The Sword will be put into their Hands for this very purpose. Thus therefore must their Deliverance be begun.

It is also to be considered, That after these first Kings of the Medes and Persians had broken the Yoak of the King of Babylon from off the Neck of the Captive Church, and had given her license to go to her place to build her Temple and City, and to sacrifice there according to the Law of their God, (as both in Ezra and Nehemiah we read;) and when their Work was hindred by Under-Officers, or they endeavoured so to do, they pleaded the License that they received to Build and Sacrifice by the Decree of the first Kings, and so finished their Deliverance: They went not on in head-strong manner, as Ezra. 4.3. if they regarded neither King nor Caesar: But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the chief of the Fathers of Israel, said unto them that sought to hinder their work, You have nothing to do

- with us to build an House to the Lord our God,  
but we our selves will build it unto the Lord God  
of Israel, as King Cyrus the King of Persia hath  
commanded us. And as they said, so also they did:
- Ch. 6.14. The Elders of the Jews builded and they prospered,  
through the prophesying of Haggai the Prophet, and  
Zechariah the Son of Iddo, and they builded and  
finished it, according to the commandment of the  
God of Israel, and according to the commandment of  
Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes King of Persia.
72. Yea, they did not only accept of the Kindness of  
Kings, but did acknowledge that Kindness with  
Thanksgiving, as a Gift of the God of Heaven: For
- Ch. 7.13,  
14. the Kings had commanded and given leave to the  
Jews to go to Jerusalem, to build their Temple,  
and to do Sacrifice there, according to the counsel  
of the Priests that were at Jerusalem, and accord-  
ing to the Law of God that they had in their hand.  
For Artaxerxes sent Ezra the Priest to enquire  
after the Condition that Jerusalem and Judah was  
in, according to, or by the Law of God that was in  
his hand. And he had license also further to do
- Ver. 18. with the King's Silver and Gold, which he gave for  
the service of the House of the Lord, according to
- Ver. 25. the Will, Word or Law of HIS God. And thou Ezra  
(says the King,) After the Wisdom of thy God (that  
is, after his Word,) which is in thy hand; set

Magistrates and Judges which may judge the people  
that are beyond the River, all such as know the  
Law of thy God, and teach ye them that know them  
not. And whosoever will not do the Law of thy  
God, (that is, Worship, and walk by the Rule of  
his Testament,) and the Law of the King (that is,  
shall refuse to give Ezra such things as by the  
King was appointed for Ezra's help in the further-  
ing of the Worship of God, according to the Law  
 Ver. 26. of his God,) let judgment be executed speedily  
upon him, whether it be to death, or to banish-  
ment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprison-  
ment. This was therefore a wonderful gracious  
 License that the King gave now to Ezra: He  
 imposed nothing upon him or the Jews in Matters of  
 Religion and Worship, but left him and them wholly  
 to the Law, Will and Word of God, only he laid  
 check upon wicked and ungodly People: That if  
 they did things contrary to the Laws of Ezra's God  
 or did slight the King's Law, as aforesaid, that  
 then such Penalties and Pains should be inflicted  
 upon them.

To the same purpose was the Decree of Cyrus,  
 and that of Darius, to put it in execution. Also  
 the Penalty enacted against such Offenders, was  
 full as sharp and severe: Also I make a decree  
 Ezra. 6. (said the King,) that whosoever shall alter this  
 1.-11. word, let timber be pulled down from his house;



and being set up, let him be hanged thereon, and let his house be made a dunghil for this.— And the God that hath caused his name to dwell there, destroy all Kings and People that shall put to their hand to alter and to destroy this House of God which is at Jerusalem: I Darius have made a decree, let it be done with speed.

73.           Indeed, sometimes a stop was put to this work  
 Ezra. 4.       by the Kings, and the Jews were made to cease by  
 11, - 21.     force and power, the which the good People did bear  
                   with patience: Also they waited to see their God  
 Chap. 4.       go before them among the Kings, who at length took  
 23, 24.       away Artaxerxes, who for a time had put a stop to  
 Chap. 5.       the Work, and brought in another, who gave leave  
                   that with speed it should be set on foot again.

                  The Jews did also in these vacancies, or times  
 in the which hindrances were put, carry it very  
 tenderly and lovingly to those Kings that at  
 present they were under, submitting of their Bodies  
 and their Goods to their Will, and meekly endured  
 the Tryal and Affliction, serving them with all  
 faithfulness, watching to save their Lives from the  
 hands of bloody Men. Also when the King's Laws,  
 Dan. 6.       22.  
 Est. 2.21,   and the Law of their God, did at any time come in  
 22, 23.  
 Chap. 7.9.   Competition, they would indeed adhere to, and do  
 the Law of their God; yet with that tenderness to  
 the King, his Crown and Dignity, that they could at  
 all times appeal to the righteous God about it.

Nor did they lose by so doing; yea, they prospered; for by this means Mordecai was made a Great Man, and a Saviour of his People. By this means also was Daniel made a great Man, and helpful to his Brethren.

Kings, I say, must be the Men that must down with Antichrist, and they shall down with her in God's time.

74. God hath begun to draw the Hearts of some of them from her already, and he will set them, in time, against her round about. If therefore they do not that Work so fast as we would have them, let us exercise Patience and Hope in God: 'Tis a wonder that they go so fast as they do, since the Concerns of whole Kingdoms lye upon their Shoulders, and that there are so many Sanballat's and Tobias's to flatter with them and misinform them concerning the People that are delivered but in part. See what an ugly Account was given of Jerusalem by the Enemies of the Jews, even then when they were in the hands of their Deliverers: Be it known to the King, that the Jews which came up from thee to us, are come to Jerusalem, to build the rebellious and bad City, and have set up the walls thereof, and joyned the foundations.—Be it known to the King, That if this City be builded, and the walls set up again, then will they not pay toll, tribute and

Ezra 4.7,  
8, 9, 10,  
11, 12,  
13.

custom, and so thou shalt endamage the revenue of the Kings. Oh! what a Be it known, Be it known, is here! But were not these Gentlemen more afraid of losing their own Places and Preferments, than of the King's losing of his Toll and Custom? But the whole was a Lye, though it hindred the Work for a time, and the Patience of the People, and their Loyalt̄y to the King, did Conquer and Overcome all.

75. I speak the more to this, because (as I have said) I believe that by Magistrates and Powers we shall be delivered and kept from Antichrist; and because God has already begun to do it by such, by which also she shall be destroyed: And I have a few things to present to good Men, to be conversant in, in such a day as this.

Let the King have verily a place in your Hearts, and with Heart and Mouth give God Thanks for him; he is a better Saviour of us than we may be aware of, and may have delivered us from more Deaths than we can tell how to think. We are bidden to give Thanks to God for all Men, and in the first place, for Kings, and all that are in authority.

1 Tim. 2.  
1, 2.

Be not angry with them, no, not in thy Thought; but consider, if they go not on in the Work of



Reformation so fast as thou wouldest they should, the fault may be thine; know that thou also hast thy cold and chill frames of heart, and sittest still when thou shouldest be up and doing.

Pray for Kings to the God of Heaven, who has the Hearts of Kings in his Hand: And do it without wrath and doubting: Without wrath, because thy self is not perfect; and without doubting, because God governeth them, and has promised to bring down Antichrist by them.

Pray for the long Life of the King.

Pray that God would always give Wisdom and Judgment to the King.

Pray that God would discover all Plots and Conspiracies against his Person and Government.

Pray also that God would make him able to drive away all Evil and evil Men from his presence; and that he may be a greater Countenancer than ever, of them that are holy and good, and wait and believe, that God that has begun his quarrel with Babylon, Antichrist, the Mother of Antichrist, the Whore; would in his own time, and in his own way, bring her down by the means which he has appointed.

76.

I do confess my self one of the old-fashion Professors, that covet to fear God, and honour the King. I also am for blessing of them that curse me, for doing good to them that hate me, and for pray-

ing for them that despitefully use me, and persecute me: And have had more Peace in the practice of these things, than all the World are aware of. I only drop this, because I would shew my Brethren that I also am one of them; and to set them right that have wrong Thoughts of me as to so weighty Matters as these.

Jer. 51.  
42.

Isa. 23.  
4, 5.

Now these Kings whose Hearts God shall set to destroy Antichrist, shall do it without those inward Reluctancies that will accompany inferiour Men: They shall be stript of all Pity and Compassion. Hence they are compared to the mighty Waves of the Sea, which saith, when the wrecked and dying Marriners cry out for Mercy for themselves, and for their Children, I am a SEA; I travel not, nor bring forth children; neither do I nourish up young men, or bring up virgins: I have therefore no pity for these, or any of them: Therefore they must be swallowed up of this Sea, and sink like a Stone in the midst of these mighty Waters.

And thus much for the Means by which God will destroy the Body and Flesh of Antichrist.

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Of the Causes of the Ruine of Antichrist.

77. Although the Causes of the Ruine of Antichrist be to some conspicuous enough, yet to some they may be otherwise; yea, and will to all Kings and People whose Eyes shall be held, that they may not see the Judgment, in the reasonableness and equitableness thereof; and these shall wail when they see the Smoak of her Torment; and these shall cry, Alas! Alas! Wherefore, for further Edification, as I have treated of the Man of Sin already; so will I now, Of the Causes of his Downfall. And,

First Cause.

2 Thes.  
2.

Ezek. 28.  
1, 2, 3,  
4, 5, 6,  
7, 8, 9.

First, He must down, for that he hath usurped, and taken the Name and Attributes of God upon himself: He hath said, I am God: He hath sat in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God; yea, and that in contempt and scorn of any other, exalting himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; yea, hath cried down all Gods but himself: Wherefore it must needs be, that he be brought to Judgment, that the Truth of his Saying may be proved. And for this cause he is threatned, under the Name of the Prince of Tyrus: Because thine heart is lift up (saith the Lord,) and thou hast said, I am a God: Therefore I will bring strangers upon thee, the terrible of the nations, and they shall draw their swords against the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy brightness:



They shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain, in the midst of the seas. Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee, I am a God? But thou shalt be a man, and no God, in the hand of him that slayeth thee.

78. If God will not give his Name or Glory to another, be sure he will not be under another; but this to have, and thus to do, Antichrist has attempted. But how? In that he has been so bold as to prescribe and impose a Worship besides, and without reverence of that which God has prescribed and imposed: For to do this, is, to make one's self a God. Thou shalt have none other Gods but me, is the First Command: And the First, to enforce the Second, Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, or the likeness of any thing that is in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, or in the Waters under the Earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: For he that thus doth, is an Idolator; and he that these things doth impose, is one that shews himself a God. But this doth Antichrist do: And 'tis worth the noting, That God forbids not only Images, but the Likeness of any thing; Books, Altars, Fancies, Imaginations, or any thing in Heaven above, or in the Earth beneath, to bow down to, or to make them a Means to worship

or come to God by, if he has not commanded nor tolerated them in his Holy Word.

Thus saith the Lord: And, I am the Lord, is the Stamp, the Seal and Sign of all true Rules of Worship; and therefore it is so often repeated both in Moses, and in the Prophets, where God commandeth Worship to be performed, and imposeth the Means and Methods of it. Now this, Thus saith the Lord, Antichrist has rejected; and, I am the Lord, he hath assumed to himself; and therefore without the Law, the Word and Commandment, hath framed and imposed a Worship, exalting himself in the Temple of God, although he is but the Man of Sin, above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.

79. Nor is he in this his so foul a Fact, without

Rev. 13.  
4.

them that Adore, Worship his Image, and Wonder after him; yea, he hath got by this means almost the whole World to himself, who say, Who is like unto the Beast? Who is able to make war with him?

And that they might shew their resolvedness to stand by him, they receive his Mark in their Forehead, or in their Hand: His Mark; that is, they either openly or seriously become his Disciples, and Worship him according to the Rules, Methods and Ways that he hath prescribed. Wherefore, these with him, are also to drink of the fierceness of

Rev. 14.  
9, 10.

the Wrath of Almighty God: If any man worship the Beast, and his Image, and receives his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation: And he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy Angels, and in the presence of the Lamb.

But I say, for that Antichrist hath thus taken the Place of God, prescribed and imposed a Worship as a God, got the World to worship and wonder after him as after a God: Therefore shall he die the death of the Uncircumcised, both in the Soul, Spirit, Body or Flesh of Antichrist; therefore will God enlighten, and gather, and set the Kings and Nations against him, that both he and his may be buried, and have their dolesom Withdrawing-rooms from the World in the Sides of the Pit's Mouth.

80.

Second Cause.

Secondly, Antichrist must be destroyed, because he hath set himself against the S O N of God; against the Father, and against the Son. He had a spite against the S O N betimes, even then when he came forth but in little bits, when he attempted to deny that he was come in the flesh. But seeing he could make no earnings of that, he hath changed his methods, and seeks to run him out

1 Joh. 4.  
1, 2, 3,  
4.



and down by other means and ways: Because therefore he hath set himself against the Son of God, the King, therefore he must die. That he hath set himself against the S O N of God, is also evident; for he hath his Name from thence: He is therefore called Antichrist. That he hath set himself against him, is yet further evident; for that he hath endeavoured to take from him his Headship over, and his Offices for and in the Church, which is his Body. He hath plainly endeavoured to be Head, for that he hath striven to take his Wife from him, and to cause that she should be called H I S: Yea, he hath endeavoured by all Inventions to prostrate her to his Lusts, to deflowr her, and to make her an Adulteress. He has been worse than Pharaoh, who took Abraham's Wife; and worse than Abimelech, who lusted after Isaac's: Yea, worse than Phalti, who run away with David's; for as much as she is higher, beloved better, and cost more than did any of these: would it not be counted an high Affront, for a base, inferiour Fellow, to call himself the Head of the Queen? Yet thus has Antichrist done, and worse; he has called himself the Head of the Universal Church of God.

Gen. 12.  
Chap. 26.

1 Sam. 25.  
44.

And as he has attempted to be Head in his stead, so to be King, Priest and Prophet.

(1.) He has attempted to wrest his Scepter and Kingdom from him, in that he hath endeavoured to thrust himself into his Throne, which is the Heart and Conscience of his People. The Heart and Conscience is that which Christ claimeth for his own proper and peculiar Seat: My Son, give me thy heart. That Christ may dwell in your heart by faith. In this therefore the Church is not to be for another Man, so will he be for her; but this Throne Antichrist has lusted for, attempted to take, and made war with Christ and his Church, because they would not yield up to him this glorious Throne of his, and therefore he must die.

Eph. 3.  
17.

81. (2.) He hath intruded upon the Priestly Office of Christ, hath called himself High-Priest; though the Lord hath said, Because thou rejectest knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no Priest to me: seeing thou has forgotten the Law of thy God, I will also forget thy Children. But he will make himself a Priest; he hath invented Sacrifices for the Quick and the Dead; he hath put, as he presumes, Merit and Worth into these Sacrifices; he hath commanded that those that worship, should have Faith in, and expect Benefit by these Sacrifices; although he offereth to his God nought else but the Flesh of the Hogg, and of the Mouse, with the Broth of his abominable things. Many and

Isa. 66.  
17.

sundry ways he hath set himself up to be High-Priest, though God knows no High-Priest but one, though the Church ought to know no High-Priest but one; yea, though no High-Priest but one can approach God's Mercy-Seat, to do for us the necessary and desired Work.

82. (3.) He hath intruded upon the Prophetical Office of Jesus Christ. What else means his Pretences to Infallibility? And that too, when he imposes unwritten Verities, abominable Traditions, blasphemous Rites and Ceremonies; and forbids, or dispenseth with the holy Commands of God? Yea, when he enforceth these his Omrian Statutes, and doth impose the Works of the House of Ahab, he doth all in the Name of the Lord Christ, when himself hath set himself in his place, and in his room: This is Mystery Babylon, the Mystery of Iniquity: This is Antichrist's Soul and Body, and as such, must be destroyed. But,

Mic. 6.  
16.

83. Thirdly, Antichrist must be destroyed, because he hath blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, and so set himself above the Father, the Son, the Spirit; against A L L that is called God. The Holy Ghost is that Spirit of Truth that Christ has promised to give unto his Church, to help her in the understanding of his holy Word, and to enable her to believe,

Third Cause.



and walk humbly and holily before God and Man. The Spirit of Antichrist, is that Spirit of Errour that hath puffed up the False Church into a conceit of her self, and unscriptural Worship; and that hath made this False Church, which is his Body, to ascribe all the horrible things and acts thereof, to the Wisdom, Guidance, Directions or Operations of the Holy Ghost: As,

1. In all her unscriptural Councils, Assemblies and Convocations, they blasphemously father what they do upon the Holy Ghost, and make him the Inventaer and Approver thereof.

2. She also blasphemeth the Holy Ghost, in accusing and condemning the Holy Scriptures of Insufficiency, for that she saith, though it is a Rule, yet but an imperfect one; one deficient, one that is not able to make the Man of God perfect in all things, without the Traditions, Inventions, and Blasphemous Helps of Antichristian Wisdom.

3. She hath also blasphemed the Holy Ghost, in that she hath set up her own Church-Government, Offices, Officers and Discipline: None of all which is the Church of Christ directed to by the Wisdom of the Spirit of God in his Testament.

4. She hath also sinned against the Holy Ghost, in that she hath, as it were, turned the

Holy Ghost out of doors, in concluding that he, without the Works of the Flesh, is not sufficient to govern the Hearts of Worshippers, in the Service and Worship of God.

84.           5.       She hath also thus sinned, in that she hath wrought many lying Miracles in the face of the World, and imposed them upon her Disciples for the confirming of her Errours and blasphemous Opinions, to the confronting of the true Miracles wrought by the Holy Ghost; and also to the concluding, that there was an insufficiency in those that were true, to confirm the Truth, without the addition of hers; which she has wrought by the Power of Satan, and the Spirit of Delusion, only to confirm her Lyes.

1 King.  
13. 4, 5,  
6, 7, -  
33, 34.

6.       She hath sinned against the Holy Ghost, in that she hath, with Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, striven against the Judgments wherewith God hath punished her, to call her back from her wicked way; and persisted therein, to the effectual proving of her self to be the lewd Woman.

7.       She hath sinned, by labouring to hide all her wickedness, by Lies, Dissimulations, and filthy Equivocations of her Priests, Fryars, Jesuites, &c. I say, her labouring to hide the wickedness that she hath committed against Kings, Countreys, Nations, Kingdoms and People. She hath

1 King. 7 2 King.

hid these things by the Means or Persons made mention of before; as by the Tail; for they indeed are the Tail of the Beast, that cover his most filthy Parts: The Prophet that speaketh Lies, he is the Tail. But,

85. Fourth Cause. Fourthly, Antichrist must be destroyed, for the horrid Outrage, and villanous Murthers that she hath committed upon the Bodies of the Saints. For there is none, as to these things, for Cruelty, to be compared with the Church of Antichrist, and her Followers: For upon whom hath not her Cruelty been shewed; have they never so little stood in her way, though never so innocently and honestly by so doing, stood to the Truth and Verity of God? Yea, the promoting of her own Superstition, Idolatry, and blasphemous Rites and Ceremonies, have been so pursued by her, that she has waded through a Sea of innocent Blood for the accomplishment thereof.

The poor Church of God is a sensible bleeding Witness of this, and so has been for hundreds of Years together: Witness the Chronicles of all Nations where she hath had to do; yea, and the Sackcloth and Ashes, and Tears, and Widows, and Fatherless Children, and their Cryes, of all which the holy Word of God is a sufficient Confirmation: For in her, when God shall come to make inquisition

Rev. 18.  
24.



for blood, will be found the blood of Saints and Prophets, and of all that were slain upon the earth. And yet has she such a Whore's Forehead, such a blindness in her Judgment, and such an hard and obdurate Heart, that it is not possible she should ever repent. Murthers have so natural to her, and in them her hand has been so exercised, that it is now become a Custom, a Trade, a Past-time to her, to be either in the Act, or laying some Foundation for Murthers: Witness those Plots, Designs, Conspiracies, and frequent Attempts that are, one or other of them, continually on foot in the World for the comission of Murthers.

86. Nay, the Text last mentioned seems to import, that Blood is so Natural to her, that she sticketh not at any Condition, Sex, Age, or Degree, so she may inbrue her Hands in Blood. In her was found the Blood of Saints and Prophets, and of all other Carnal, Natural, Ignorant, Graceless Men that have been slain upon the Earth. 'Tis She that sets Kings and Kingdoms at variance: 'Tis She that sets Parents and Children at variance, by her abuse of the Word of our Lord and Christ. And besides, is it not easie, if we do but consider those bloody Massacres that have been committed by her Hand, both in France, Ireland, Piedmont, and in several places besides, without wronging of her, to conc-

lude, that the Blood of Thousands, that have not known their Right-hand from their Left in Religion, hath been shed, to quench, if it might have been, her insatiate Thirst after Blood. Therefore, for these things shall she be Judged, as Women that shed Blood are Judged; because she is an Adultress, and Blood is in her Hands. She has been as a Beast of Prey: Nay, worse; for they do but kill and tear for the hunger of themselves, and of their Whelps; but she, to satisfie her wanton and beastly Lusts: They have cast lots for my people (saith God;) they have given a Boy for an Harlot, and a Girl for Wine, that they might drink; and therefore must Antichrist be destroyed. Forbearance is no Payment, God's Patience, is not a sign that he forgetteth to take Vengeance; but rather, that he waiteth till his Own are come out of her, and untill her Iniquity is filled up: For then he will execute the Judgment written, and will remember, as has been said, the Babylonians, and all their Ways.

87. Fifthly, Antichrist must be destroyed, because she hath put out of Order, and confounded the Rule and Government that God has set up in the World. I say, she has put it out of Order, and confounded it in all places where she rules; so that it cannot accomplish the design of him that

Fifth Cause.

ordained it, to wit, To be a Terrour to evil Works, and a Praise to them that do well.

Wherefore we read, That those Horns or Kings where Mystery Babylon sitteth, are upon the Heads of that Beast that carrieth her, which Beast is her Protector. Magistracy is God's Ordinance, appointed for the good of Society, and for the peace and safety of those that are good. But this Antichrist has, where she rules, put all out of order; and no wonder, for she has be-puddled the Word of God; no wonder then, I say, if the Foundations of the World be out of course. 'Tis She that hath turned the Sword of the Magistrate against those that keep God's Law: 'Tis She that has made it the Ruine of the Good and Vertuous, and a Protection to the Vile and Base. Wherefore, when the Holy Ghost tells us, that the time is coming in which God will count with the bloody-minded, for the Murthers that they have committed; he in a manner doth quite excuse the Magistrate, saying, Wo to the bloody City! it is full of lies and robbery, the prey departeth not: The noise of a whip, the noise of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and the jumping chariots: The horse-man lifteth up both the bright sword, and the glittering spear;



Nahum 3.  
1, 2, 4.

and there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases; and there is no end of their corpses, they stumble upon their corpses. But what is the cause of all this slaying, and the reason of this abundance of Corpses? Why, it is because of the unsatiable Thirst of the Bloody City after Blood; and, Because of the multitude of whoredoms of the well-favoured Harlot, the Mistress of Witchcrafts, that selleth Nations through her whoredoms, and Families through her witchcrafts. But doth this bloody City spill this Blood by her self simply, as she is the adulterated Whore? No, this Church has found out a Trick; that is to say, to quarrel with Christ in his Members, and to perswade the Powers where she rules to set ensnaring Laws to catch them, and to execute the same upon them.

88. Thus when the Synagogue of Satan, of old, had Taken Christ, and Accused him, they made Pontius Pilate to Condemn and hang him. But God has begun to shew to some of the Kings this Wickedness, and has prevail'd with them to P R O T E S T against her. And in the mean time, for those that are yet in the Bed of Love with her, the Holy Ghost doth, in the Text last mentioned, and in Rev. 18.24. much excuse them for the Blood that they have shed, and for the Injuries that they have done to his

People; because they have not done it of their  
 meer Inclinations, nor in the prosecution of  
 their Office, but through the Whoredoms and Witch-  
 crafts of this well-favoured Harlot, who hath with  
 false Doctrines, false Promises, and causeless  
 Curses, prevailed on them to do it. And they have  
 done it, rather of Fear, than Favour. Some indeed  
 have more doted upon her Beauty, and have more  
 thoroughly been devoted to her Service: But they  
 also had not that aptness to do so of themselves,  
 but have been forced to it by the power of her In-  
 chantments: Therefore, I say, the main Guilt  
 shall be laid at her door, for that she in chief  
 has deserved it. Son of Man (says God,) take up  
a lamentation for the Princes of Israel. Why?  
 Because their Mother, the Church, was at that  
 time adulterated, and become a Lioness, had lain  
 down with the Heathen, and so brought forth young  
 Lions, that is, Rulers: And S H E brought up one  
of her Whelps, it became a young Lion, it learnt  
to catch the prey, it devoured men. It learnt,  
 It learnt: But of who but of its Dam, or of the  
 Lioness to whom she had put it to learn to do such  
 things? Therefore they are to be lamented and  
 pitied, rather than condemned, and their Mother  
 made to bear the blame. Wherefore it follows,

Ezek. 19.  
 1, 2, 3.

She was pulled up in fury, she was cast down to the ground, and the East wind dried up her fruit: her strong rods were broken and withered, the fire consumed them, and now she is planted in the wilderness, (in the Provinces of Babylon,) in a dry and thirsty ground: And fire has gone out of a rod of her branches, which hath devoured her fruit, so that she hath no strong rod to be a scepter to rule: This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation.

89. Sixth Cause. Sixthly, Antichrist must be destroyed, Because of her exceeding Covetousness. Religion, such as it is, is the thing pretended to: But the great things of this World, are the things really intended by her in all her seeming Self-denials and Devotions. And for this Covetousness also it is that this Destruction is to fall upon her: Wo to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house (to his Church,) that he may set his nest on high; (for he could not do the one, before he had obtained the other:) for then indeed they began to be high, when they had so inveigled Constantine, that he bestowed upon them much Riches and Honour; and then it was cried by an Angel, and the Cry was heard in the City, Constantinople! Wo, wo, wo! this day is Venom



poured into the Church of God! (as both My Lord Cobham and Mr. Fox witness in the Book of Acts and Monuments.)

Nor has any Generation since, the World began, been so insatiably greedy of Gain, as this poor People have been: They have got Kingdoms, they have got Crowns, they have got, — What have they not got? They have got everything but Grace and Pardon. Did I say before, That Religion is their pretence? Doth not the whole course of their way declare it to their Face? Every one of them,  
 Jer. 6. 13.  
 Ch. 8.10. from the least even to the greatest, is given to Covetousness; from the Prophet even to the Priest, every one dealeth falsely: Money, Money, as the Pedler cryes, Broken or Whole, is the Sinews of their Religion: And 'tis for that they set Kingdoms, Crowns, Principalities, Places, Preferments, Sacraments, Pardons, Prayers, Indulgences, Liberty; yea, and Souls and Bodies of Men, Women and Children, to sale: Yea, 'tis for this that they have invented so many Places, Offices, Names, Titles, Orders, Vows, &c. 'Tis to get Money, to rob Countreys, that they may make their Nests on high: And indeed they have done it, to the amazement of all the World: They are clambred up above  
 'tis for this that they have 7 'tis for this that have they

Kings, and Princes, and Emperours: They wear the Tripple-Crown: They have made Kings bow at their Feet, and Emperours stand bare-foot at their Gates: They have kicked the Crowns of Princes from their Heads, and set them on again with their Toes: Thus their Covetousness has set them high, even above the Suns, Moons and Stars of this World: But to what end? That they may be cast down to Hell.

90.                   Seventhly, Antichrist must be destroyed,  
The Seven- Because he standeth in the way of the setting up  
th Cause.       of the Kingdom of Christ in the World. Many  
Princes were in Edom before there was a King in  
Israel; and Christ has suffered Antichrist to set  
up before him: And he standeth in his way, and  
has so overspread the World in all places with  
that which is directly contrary to him, that he  
cannot set up his Kingdom, until that which is  
Antichrist's is tumbled down to the ground; even  
as a Man whose Ground is full of Thorns, and  
Bryars, and Weeds, cannot sowe in Expectation of  
a Crop, until he hath removed them: And these  
Seeds has Antichrist sown where the Kingdom of  
Christ should stand: Upon the land of my people  
shall come up bryars and thorns; yea, upon all  
the houses of Joy in the Joyous City: Because  
the Palaces shall be forsaken, the Multitude of

Isa. 32.  
13, 14,  
15.

Kings, and Princes, and Emperours: They wear the Tripple-Crown: They have made Kings bow at their Feet, and Emperours stand bare-foot at their Gates: They have kicked the Crowns of Princes from their Heads, and set them on again with their Toes: Thus their Covetousness has set them high, even above the Suns, Moons and Stars of this World: But to what end? That they may be cast down to Hell.

90. Seventhly, Antichrist must be destroyed,

The Seven-  
th Cause.

Because he standeth in the way of the setting up of the Kingdom of Christ in the World. Many Princes were in Edom before there was a King in Israel; and Christ has suffered Antichrist to set up before him: And he standeth in his way, and has so overspread the World in all places with that which is directly contrary to him, that he cannot set up his Kingdom, until that which is Antichrist's is tumbled down to the ground; even as a Man whose Ground is full of Thorns, and Bryars, and Weeds, cannot sowe in Expectation of a Crop, until he hath removed them: And these Seeds has Antichrist sown where the Kingdom of Christ should stand: Upon the land of my people shall come up bryars and thorns; yea, upon all the houses of Joy in the Joyous City: Because the Palaces shall be forsaken, the Multitude of

Isa. 32.  
13, 14,  
15.



the Cities shall be left; the Forts and Towers shall be like Dens for ever, a joy of wild Asses, a pasture for flocks, (this is to happen to the Church of God,) until the spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be counted for a forest: And the Antichristian Synagogue be turned into a Wilderness.

91. When God came from Egypt with his People, to set up his Kingdom in Canaan, he cast out the Heathen before them in order thereunto: (Thou hast brought a Vine out of Egypt, thou has cast out the Heathen, and planted it.) Wherefore, Antichrist must be removed and destroyed for this: For Antichrist is in flat Oposition to Christ, as Tibni was to Omri: Wherefore, Antichrist must die. The reason is, because Christ's Kingdom shall be Peaceable, without Molestation; and Glorious, without the Fumes and Fogs of Antichristian Darkness: Because also, as the World hath seen the manner of the Reign of Antichrist, and how tyrannical and outragious a Kingdom his is; so they shall see the Reign of Christ, by his Word and Spirit in his People, how peaceable, how fruitful in Blessedness and Prosperity his Kingdom is. And hence it is that God purposeth to bury Antichrist, before he sets glory in the land of

Psal. 80.  
8.

1 King.  
16. 21,  
22, 23.

Ezek. 26.  
20, 21.

the living: As also you read in the Book of Revelations; for there you find the Kingdom of Antichrist was destroyed before the New Jerusalem was set up. When Men intend to build a New House, if in the place where the Old one stood, they first pull down the Old one, raise the Foundation, and then they begin their New. Now God, as I said, will have his Primitive Church-state set up in this World, (even where Antichrist has set up his;) wherefore, in order to this, Antichrist must be pulled down, down Stick and Stone; and then they that live to see it, will behold the New Jerusalem come down from Heaven, as a Bride adorned for her Husband.

New Wine is not put into Old Bottles, nor a new Piece into an old Garment; nor shall any of the old Antiscriptural Ordinances, Ceremonies, Rites, or Vessels of the Man of Sin, be made use of, or accounted any thing worth, in this day of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. And thus I have shewed you something of Antichrist, of his Ruin, and of the Manner and Signs of the Approach thereof; together with the Means and Causes of his Ruine: All which I leave to the Judgment of the godly, and beg their Instruction where they see me to be out; and shall conclude, after a short word of Application.

92. First, Must Antichrist be destroyed? Then this informs us, that a time is coming wherein there shall be no Antichrist to afflict Gods Church any more. 'Tis Antichrist, Antichristians, and Antichristianism, that is the Cause of the Troubles of Christians, for being Christians. And therefore 'tis from the consideration of this that it is said, Men shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and their Spears into Pruning-hooks, and that they shall learn war no more: Yea it is from the consideration of this, that it is said, The Child shall play with venomous and destroying Beasts, and that a little Child shall lead the Wolf, the Leopard and the young Lion, and that the weaned Child shall put his Hand into the Cockatrice's Den, and catch no hurt thereby. For as was said before, 'tis through the instigation of this spirit of Errour, that the Governours of the World have heretofore done hurt to Zion, and I say now again, All things shall turn to their right course, and occupy their places, as do the Bodies in the higher Orbs.

Isa. 11.  
6, 7,  
8, 9.

93. Secondly, Is Antichrist to be destroyed, and must she have an end? Then this gives us to understand, that a day is coming when Antichrist shall be unknown, not seen, nor felt by the Church



of God. There are men to be born who shall not know Antichrist, but as they read in the Word that such a thing has been. These shall talk of her, as Israel's Childrens Children, were to talk of Pharaoh, of his Cruelty; of his Tasks, of his Pride, of the Red Sea, and how he was drowned there: They shall talk of them, as of those that have been long dead; as of those who for their horrible wickedness, are laid in the Pits mouth. This will be some of that sweet Chat that the Saints shall, at their spare hours, have in time to come. When God has pull'd this Dragon out of the Sea, this Leviathan out of his River, and cast his dead Carkass upon the open Field, then shall those whose Ancestors have been put into Terrors by him, come flocking to see the Monster; and shall rejoyce for all the Mercy. In that day, the Church of God shall say, O Lord I will praise thee, though thou wast angry with me, thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me. — In that day shall ye say, Praise the Lord, call upon his Name, declare his doings among the People,

Ezek. 32. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. &c. O how sweetly did David, and the Church in his day, sing of the Ruines of the Egyptians, and the Deliverances of their Fathers, which had been in times of old! to wit, what God did in Egypt, what he did at the red Sea; what he did to Sihon,

Isa. 12. Psal. 66. Psal. 105. Psal. 106. Psal. 136. Psal. 66.] Psal. 67.

to Og, and to the remnant of the Gyants: How he divided the Waters of Jordan, and gave the Land of Canaan in its Fruitfulness among his People: How that tho' Pharaoh and his Horsemen and Chariots were terrible then, yet now there is nothing left but their Souls, their Feet, and the Palms of their Hands; nothing but that which can do no hurt; nothing but what may minister an Occasion of joyful remembrance of them.

94. Thirdly, Is Antichrist to be destroyed?

Zech. 2.6. Then this calls aloud to Gods people to make haste

to come out of her. Ho, ho, says the Prophet:

He cries out as if the People were asleep: Come

forth, and flee from the Land of the North. The

People of God in the latter days will want a

Heart to come out of her, with that fear of her

Plagues as they should: Wherefore another says,

Rev. 18. Come out of her, my people, that ye be not part-

4.

akers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her

plagues. When Israel was carried into Babylon,

'twas not that they should dwell there for ever:

Jer. 29.

4, 5, 6,

7.

Tho they were bid to build them Houses, and beget

them Children there. But when they had builded,

planted Vineyards, and got Wives and Children

there, 'twas hard getting them from thence again:

for now they were as it were Naturalized to the

Coutrey, and to the Manners of it. But God will have them out, (but they must not think to carry thence their Houses and Vineyards on their backs,) or he will destroy them with those Destructions wherewith he hath threatned to destroy Babylon it self. Flesh will hang behind, because it favour-eth the things of the Flesh, plenty of which there is in that Coutrey: But they that will live after the Flesh must die. Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. But why, (some may say,) must we come out? I answer, Because God has Temple-work to doe, Temple-worship to doe, Temple-Sacrifices to offer, and none of these things can by any means be done, but at Jerusalem. But if you still object and say, The Lord has raised us up Prophets in Babylon, and we will not come out; you must not murmur if you feel what is to follow. And that such may know upon what bottom they stand, let them read this last quoted in the Margent.

2 Cor. 6.  
17, 18.

Jer. 29.  
15, 16,  
17, 18,  
19.

95. Fourthly, Must Antichrist be destroyed? Then what mean they, who were to appearance once come out, but now are going thither again? If it cost



Rev. 14.  
6, 7, 8,  
9, 10.  
Chap. 13.  
16, 17.

Lots Wife dear for but Looking back, shall not it cost them much dearer, that are going back, that are gone back again? and that, A F T E R the Angel had fled through the midst of Heaven, preaching the Gospel to those that dwell on the Earth? They that received the Mark of the Beast at first, before this Angel came forth, are, when compared with these, excusable: Wherefore, they are not threatned with that smoaking Wrath, as are these which are here under Consideration.

You dread, that which is like to become of them that will be so mad to run into an House, when Fire is putting to the Gunpowdèr-Barrel, in order to its blowing up: Why thus do they, let their pretended Cause be what it will, that are returning again to Babel. Are her Plagues pleasant or easie to be born? Or dost thou think that God is at play with thee, and that he threatneth but in jest? Her Plagues are Death, and Mourning, and Famine, and Fire; and are these things to be overlooked? And they that, as before is hinted, shall receive the Mark of the Beast in their Forehead, or in their Hand, and shall worship him, they, The same shall drink the Wine of the Wrath of God: And will this be a delightsom Draught? Remember how ill God took it, that his People of old, in Ch. 14.9, 10. ] Ch. 9. 14.9, 10.

their Hearts, though but in their Hearts, went back again into Egypt. You may say, But I have Friends, Relations and Concerns in Babylon. And I answer, So had Lot in Sodom; but for all that, he must either quickly come out, or run the hazard of being burned there with them. But methinks, a People that belong to God, should be willing to leave all to follow him: Besides, his Presence is promised at Jerusalem, there also will he accept thy Offerings.

Gen. 19.  
14,15,16.

96. Fifthly, Is Antichrist to be destroyed? Then let them that love God, his Son, and his Zion, cry to God that it may be hastned in its time. One of the Songs of Sion, is, That Babylon shall be destroyed: The Cries of the Souls of them that were slain for the Witness of Jesus, is, That Babylon may be counted with, and that their Blood may be revenged upon her: The Promise is, That Babylon shall be destroyed: And do we hold our tongues? The Church of God will not flourish as it should, until Babylon is destroyed: The World will never be in its right wits, until Babylon is destroyed: The Kingdom of Christ will never be set up, in and by his Church, as it ought, and shall, until Antichrist is destroyed: There will never be Peace upon Earth, till Antichrist is destroyed: And God has promised that there shall be Peace, and Truth, and Glory, when

Psal. 137.

Babylon is destroyed: And do we hold our Peace? Besides, your Innocency in Suffering; your Honesty towards God, in your Testimony for his Truth; the substantial Ground which you have for the bottom of your Faith, as to things controverted betwixt Antichrist and you, will never be manifested as it will then; and so consequently, you never so brought out to the Light, and your Enemies never so put to shame as then: Then shame shall cover her that said unto thee, Where is the Lord thy God? Wherefore, as I said, cry unto the Lord, keep not silence, give him no rest, let him not alone, until he has delivered his miserable People out of the Mouth of this Lyon, and from the Paw of this Bear.

97. Sixthly, is Antichrist to be destroyed? Then let us live in the Expectation of it; and let this be one of our Songs in the House of our Pilgrimage. God bids his People, while in Babylon, to let Jerusalem come into their mind: And writes to them that then were in her, to acquaint them that he remembered them still, and would assuredly deliver them from that place and state: And wherefore doth he thus, but to beget an Expectation in them of their Salvation and Deliverance? The Lord is so pleased with the Faith and Expect-
- Jer. 51.  
50.
- Chap. 29.  
13, 14.



ation of his People, as to this, that they seldom are herein concerned as they should, but he steps in with them, and warms their hearts. The reason is, because the Faith of God's people, as to the Downfall of Babylon, stands upon as sure a Foundation as doth the Salvation of their Souls; and that next to that, God is as much delighted in what he has purposed to do against Babylon, as in any thing else in the Earth: And therefore, if you consider it well, the great and glorious Promises that are to be fulfilled on Earth, are to be fulfilled when Antichrist is dead and buried: These Bits are too good even for his Children to have, so long as this Dog is by, lest he should snatch at the Crumbs thereof; wherefore they are reserved until he is gone: For thus saith the Lord, That after seventy years be accomplished at Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word towards you, in causing you to return to this place: For I know the thoughts that I think towards you, saith the Lord; thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you an exected end: This is in Jeremiah the Twenty ninth. And in Chapter the Thirty first, he adds, Therefore they shall come, and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord, for wheat,

Ver. 12,  
13, 14.

and for wine, and for oyl, and for the young of  
the flock, and of the herd; and their soul shall  
be as a watered garden, and they shall not sorrow  
any more at all: Then shall the Virgin rejoyce  
in the dance, both young men and old together;  
for I will turn their mourning into joy, and will  
comfort them, and make them rejoyce from their  
sorrow: and I will satiate the soul of the  
priests with fatness, and my people shall be  
satisfied with my goodness, saith the Lord.

Ver. 8,9.

Again, in the Thirty second Chapter, still speak-  
ing of the same thing, he saith, Yea, I will  
rejoyce over them to do them good, and I will  
plant them in this land assuredly, with my whole  
heart, and with my whole soul. I conclude this  
with that which I find in Chapter the Thirty  
third: And I will cleanse them from all their  
iniquity whereby they have sinned against me; and  
I will pardon all their iniquities whereby they  
have transgressed against me: And it shall be to  
me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before  
all the Nations of the Earth, which shall hear of  
all the good that I do unto them; and they shall  
fear and tremble, for all the goodness, and for  
all the prosperity that I procure unto it.

98. Seventhly, Must Antichrist be destroyed? Then this should make us glad, when we see the Signs of his Fall presenting themselves to our view. Indeed, the Signs of his Fall, or those that fore-run it, are terrible, and amazing to behold: But what of that, since the Wrinkles that are in their Faces threaten not us, but them? A Man is angry, and will punish; yea, and whets his Sword, makes his Rod, and he speaks not a word, but Blood, Blood is in it. Indeed, this should make them that are concerned in this Anger, be afraid; (but the judgment is, they are fast asleep.) But what is in all this of Terrour to them, for the pleading whose Cause he is so angry with the other? Nothing whereat the Innocent should be afraid. Cold Blasts in November, are not received with that gentleness as are colder in March and April; for that these last cold ones are but the farewell Notes of a piercing Winter; they also bring with them the Signs and Tokens of a comfortable Summer. Why, the Church is now at the rising of the Year; let then the Blasts at present, or to come, be what they will, Antichrist is assuredly drawing towards his Downfall: And though the Devil, knowing what is to be done to him, and to his Kingdom, shall so blind his



Disciples, and fright the Godly, do something like it upon the Church of Christ; yet we should look thorough these Paper-Winkers, and espy in all this, that Fear, yea, certain terrible Judgments are following of him at the heels, by which not only the Soul, Spirit and Life of Antichrist, but the Body thereof, yea, Body, and Soul, and Head, are quickly to go down thither; from whence they, as such, shall not arise again. Amen.

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NOTES TO  
OF ANTICHRIST, AND HIS RUINE

p.6, 1.14. clearing: demonstration, proof.  
 Cf. Richard Bentley, A Dissertation upon the  
 Epistles of Phalaris (1697): 'Every one [of  
 these Passages] are true, and may be perfectly  
 clear'd. O.E.D.

p.15, 1.1. prettily: cleverly, cunningly.  
 Cf. Pepys, Diary (23 Sept. 1667): 'I find how  
 prettily this cunning Lord can be partial and  
 dissemble it in this case'. O.E.D.

p.16, 11.22-23. The Protestants in France. See  
 above, pp.xvii-xviii.

p.16, 11.25-26. that Horn ... shall hate the Whore:  
 'And the ten horns which thou sawest upon the beast,  
 these shall hate the whore', Rev. xvii. 16. For  
 examples of contemporary speculation about Louis  
 XIV's apocalyptic role, see above, pp.cx-cxi.

p.17, 11.4-5. the Oxen ... may stumble. Cf. 'Uzza  
 put forth his hand to hold the ark; for the oxen  
 stumbled', I Chron. xiii. 9.

p.17, 11.17-18. that which at present is upon the Wheel: the present course of events. Cf. 'these breadths, and lengths, and depths, and heights of God, are to be discerned ... in every Providence, in every change, in every turn of the wheel that passeth by us in this world', The Saints Knowledge of Christ's Love , 1692 Folio, p.410. Cp. John Taylor, Works (1630): 'The wheele of Time would turne'; James Howell, Epistolae Ho-elianae (1645): 'Till the great Wheel of Providence turn up another spoke'. O.E.D.

p.17, 11.18-20. to revenge their own Injuries. Cf. Hanserd Knollys: 'Christ's Ministers and his Churches of Saints, when they are injured, wronged, and hurt by Persecution, Oppression, Imprisonment ... ought not to betake themselves to their material Arms, but to their Spiritual Prayers', An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p. 1679), p.17.

p.17, 11.20-21. he will do it by the Kings. Bunyan's view that God would employ kings to destroy Anti-christ's body is elaborated below, pp.134-143; see above, pp. xcix-cxiv.

p.17, 1.23. waiteth to be gracious. Cf. 'And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you', Isaiah xxx. 18.



p.18, l.21. the Maryan days. Cf. 'those in the Marian days ... could shout for joy, and clap their hands in the very flames for joy', Seasonable Counsel (1684), Offor, II, 700; 'Did we but look back to the Puritans, but specially to those that but a little before them, suffered for the word of God, in the Marian days, we should see another life than is now among ... professors', A Holy Life (1684), Oxford Bunyan, IX, 345.

p.19, ll.10-11. This twenty years ... degenerating. See above, p.xviii.

p.19, ll.20-21. with their fingers in their mouths: helplessly inactive, looking foolish. Cf. Cromwell in a letter of 1649: 'To stand with our fingers in our mouths'. O.E.D.

p.19, ll.25-26. He that covereth his sins, shall not prosper: Prov. xxviii. 13.

p.20, l.1. incident: apt to occur. Cf. Ralph Austen, Treatise of Fruit Trees (1657): 'Which is not incident in this way of grafting'. O.E.D.

p.21, ll.19-20. So he served many in the Wilderness. See Numb. xiv. 28-35; Deut. i. 34-40.

p.22, ll.1-2. a Friend pretendedly. Cf. Edward Haughton: 'The great Antichrist is one that is pretendedly for Christ, but is really against Christ', The Rise, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist: Together with the Reign of Christ (London, 1652), p.13.

p.23, l.23. acted: moved to action, animated. Cf. Robert Barclay, An apology for the ... Quakers (1678): 'They are not acted nor led by God's Spirit'. O.E.D.

p.25, l.2. tried, and made white. Cf. 'Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried', Dan. xii, 10.

p.27, ll.13-14. as Drunkards do. Cf. Mr. Wiseman's catalogue of the sins that accompany drunkenness: 'oaths, blasphemies, lies, revellings, whorings, brawlings, &c.', The Life and Death of Mr. Badman (1680), Offor, III, 648.

p.27, l.27. to pay the shot: the charge due, especially at a tavern or for entertainment. Cf. Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary (1617): 'The shot demanded must be paid without expostulation'. O.E.D.

p.28, l.20. he shall be made a hand of: made an end of, destroyed. Cf. 'Hadst thou not had them to help thee, Diabolus had certainly made a hand of thee', H.W., p.250. (These examples suggest that emendation of P.P. first edition reading, 'He had doubtless made a hand of me' to 'made an end of me', is unnecessary: P.P., p.70.)

p.30, l.19. the Beast that comes out of the Wood. Cf. the Monster which comes out of the woods in P.P., pp.277-78.

p.30, l.21. Dogs that eat the Crumbs of his Table. Cf. 'yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters' table', Matt. xv. 27.

p.31, 1.1. pinch: seize, bite. Cf. Chapman, Iliad (1611): 'Like a sort of dogs that at a lion bay, And entertain no spirit to pinch'. O.E.D.

p.32, 1.26. Smoak ... out of the bottomless Pit: 'And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace', Rev. ix. 2. Cf. 'The smoke, I take to be the Doctrines and Traditions of Antichrist', The House of the Forest of Lebanon, 1692 Folio, p.445.

p.34, 1.17. Trinkets and Wash: decorations and cosmetic. Cf. Fuller, Church History (1655): 'The Administration of that Sacrament was not loaded with those Superstitious Ceremonies ... of Crossing, Spittle, Oyl, Cream, Salt, and such like Trinkets'; Samuel Butler, Remains (1759, written before 1680): 'Th' artificial Wash of Eloquence Is Daub'd in vain upon the clearest Sense'. O.E.D.

p.38, 1.10. prefigured. See above, pp.lxxvi-lxxix.

p.38, 1.26. the Ponds and Pools of Egypt: Ex.vii. 19; viii. 5.

p.40, 1.11. dis-spirited: deprived of vigour or force. Cf. Thomas May, The History of the Parliament which began in 1640 (1647): 'They woulde vaporate and dis-spirit the power and vigour of Religion'. O.E.D.

p.42, 11.4-5. the Act for burning Hereticks. See above, pp.xvi-xvii.



p.42, 11.21-26. Bunyan rather noticeably excludes mention of the Stuarts. For a discussion of contemporary veneration of Elizabeth which implied a condemnation of her successors, see John Miller, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1973), pp.73-74.

p.43, 1.7. Antichristian names: ecclesiastical titles; see also above, p.160. Cf. Benjamin Keach's attack on Antichrist's 'long muster Roll of officers, that are so numerous, as well as unscriptural', Antichrist Stormed (n.p., 1689), p.79.

p.45, 1.4. Lying Legends, and False Miracles. A frequent target of Protestant polemical literature. Cf. William Guild's discussion of Antichrist's 'fained miracles and lying wonders', Anti-Christ Pointed and painted out in his true Colours (Aberdeen, 1655), pp.155-171. See Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971; Penguin University Books, 1973), esp. pp.59-61, 85-89.

p.45, 1.21. statists: politicians, statesmen. Cf. Browne, Religio Medici (1643): 'Statists that labour to contrive a Commonwealth without poverty, take away the object of charity'. O.E.D.

p.50, 1.9. Batter: a heavy blow or series of blows; see Joseph Wright (ed.), The English Dialect Dictionary, s.v. Cf. 'The Church is God's Tower, or Battery, by which he beateth down Antichrist', The House of the Forest of Lebanon — , 1692 Folio, p.454. Cf. also the use of battering-rams by Emanuel's forces in H.W., pp.69-70, 77, 81.

p.54, 1.14. the Name of their God in their Foreheads:  
'a Lamb stood on the mount Sion, and with him an hundred  
forty and four thousand, having his Father's name  
written in their foreheads', Rev. xiv,1; cf. xxii. 4.

p.54, 11.20-21. no more be a Canaanite in the House  
of the Lord: 'in that day there shall be no more the  
Canaanite in the house of the Lord of Hosts', Zech.  
xiv. 21.

p.54, 11.21-24. No Lyon ... walk there: 'And an  
highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called  
The way of holiness ... No lion shall be there ... but  
the redeemed shall walk there: And the ransomed of the  
Lord shall return, and come to Zion ...', Isaiah xxxv.  
8-10.

p.55, 11.4-6. Many Kings and righteous Men ... shall  
not see them: 'many prophets and righteous men have  
desired to see those things which ye see, and have not  
seen them ...', Matt. xiii. 17.

p.55, 11.9-10. the King of Babylon's fiery furnace.  
Cf. 'Nebuchadnezzar will have his fiery furnace, and  
Darius his lion's den for Nonconformists', Christian  
Behaviour (1663), Offor, II, 553.

p.55, 11.17-18. sit every Man ... make him afraid:  
'But they shall sit every man under his vine and under  
his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid',  
Micah iv. 4.

p.56, 1.23. Bell and the Dragon: properly Bel and the  
Dragon, the Babylonian gods whose stories form one of  
the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel. See  
R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia of  
the Old Testament, 2 vols (Oxford, 1913), I, 652-64.

p.57, l.11. this Gentleman shall take a pet. Cf. 'The old Laws, which are the magna charta, the sole basis of the Government of a Kingdom, may not be cast away for the pet that is taken by every little Gentleman against them', Israel's Hope Encouraged ,  
1692 Folio, p.212.

p.57, ll.23-24. as the Doves do to their Windows:  
'Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?', Isaiah lx. 8.

p.58, l.11. our Rivers shall be in high places: 'I will open rivers in high places, and fountains in the midst of the valleys ...', Isaiah xli. 18.

p.58, ll.15-17. Then shall the Differences... among the Godly, cease. Cf. 'when saints have the rubbish of antichristian darkness and trumpery removed, then they shall have ... but one heart, one soul, one judgment, one mind ...', The Holy City (1665), Offor, III, 437; see also pp.419, 453, 524-525.

p.60, ll.20-21. Antichrist ... brought to Ruine ... by degrees. The usual Protestant view. Cf. Arthur Dent: 'it [Rome] shall fall in the credite and estimation of her doctrine: It shall fall in wealth and riches: It shall fall in power and authoritie. And in all these it shall fall by degrees ...', The Ruine of Rome (London, 1603), p.215; Christopher Ness: 'God doth not destroy this grand Enemy of his Church all at once, but consumes him in his wrath by little and little', A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), p.75.



p.60, 1.22. here a fenced City, and there a high Tower: 'A day of the trumpet and alarm against the fenced cities, and against the high towers', Zeph. i. 16.

p.62, 11.10-13. by these Vials ... by degrees. Cf. Joseph Mede: 'The Effusion of the Phials signifieth the ruine of the Antichristian Beast ... the seven Phials are so many degrees of the ruine thereof. For like as the Beast grew up by degrees: he is (also) so to be abolished by degrees', The Key of the Revelation, translated by Richard More (second edition, London, 1650), Part 2, pp.112-113. See above pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

p.62, 11.18-20. God hath set his Bounds. Cf. Geneva Bible: 'God hathe limited the times of Antichrists tyrannie', note to Rev. xi. 2.

p.62, 11.25-27. she shall descend ... for ever: 'he shall descend into battle, and perish', I Sam. xxvi. 10; 'Thus with violence shall ... Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all', Rev. xviii. 21.

p.63, 11.4-5. rolled down ... as a burnt Mountain: 'I will ... roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain', Jer. li. 25.

p.65, 11.19-20. The Cities of the Nations, the Antichristian Churches. Although Rome is the chief enemy here, Bunyan, in common with other sectaries, regarded the Anglican church as one of her Antichristian daughters. His Bedford congregation expelled a member on the grounds that, 'In a great assembly of the Church of England he was openly and profanely bishopt, after the Antichristian order of that generation, to the

great profanation of God's order, and heart breaking of his Christian brethren', Church Minutes. p.64. Cf. references to the Book of Common Prayer as 'Antichristian' in I Will Pray with the Spirit (1662), Oxford Bunyan, II, 285, and discussion of the 'antichristian church' in A Confession of my Faith and Reason of my Practice (1672), Ofor, II, 615-16. Cf. H.[anserð] K.[nollys]: 'By [the Cities of the Nations,] we may understand all National Churches: As the great Whore is called [the great City,] the Mother of Harlots, so all National Churches, her Daughters are here called [the Cities of the Nations] who shall fall with her; that is, All the three parts of Mysticall Babylon, namely, the National Churches of the Papists, of the Lord Bishops, and of the Presbyterians; these three sorts only are for National Churches', An Exposition of the Whole Book of the Revelation (London, 1689), p.200. See Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Visible Saints: The Congregational Way 1640-1660 (Oxford, 1957), pp.56-69.

p.65, 11.21-22. Mother of Harlots, and Abominations of the Earth: Rev. xvii. 5. Cf. Bunyan's word 'To the Mother of Harlots' in The Holy City (1665), Ofor, III, 399.

p.66, 1.11. Irruption. Sometimes, as here, confused with eruption; see O.E.D. s.v. The sense here is as in Hamlet I. 1. 69: 'This bodes some strange eruption to our state'.

p.67, 11.23-24. Blood to drink in fury: 'I will give thee blood in fury and jealousy', Ezek. xvi. 38; cf. Isaiah li. 17.

p.69, 11.4-6. Great Babylon ... his wrath: Rev.xvi. 19.

p.69, 11.25-26. sight and sense: knowledge, consciousness. Cf. 'the sinner now, at the sight and sence of his own nothingness, falleth into a kind of despair', Saved by Grace (c.1676), Oxford Bunyan, VIII, 204; 'This sight and sense of things worketh in him sorrow', P.P., p.83, and Roger Sharrock's note, p.326. Cf. William Dyer: 'Then they had a sight, and sense of their sins', Mount Sion, Or, A Draught of That Church which Shall never be destroyed (London, 1689), p.51.

p.71, 1.4. Figures of the Great Whore. Just as Christ was prefigured in the Old Testament, so was Antichrist; see above, pp.lxxvi-lxxix. Cf. Pierre Jurieu: 'Cain, Goliah, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and the other oppressors of the truth and the faithful, have been types of Antichrist', The Accomplishment of the Scripture Prophecies (London, 1687), Part 1, p.234.

p.72, 1.3. seconded by a Hail-storm. Cf. Christopher Ness: 'When our ... blessed Jesus shall come forth Conquering and to Conquer the World ... he hath a ... Shower of Hail-Stones wherewith to knock down not only all the Romish Rooks ... but also to Brain all the Grandees of the Earth, that lend their Power to uphold the tottering Whore of Babylon', The Signs of the Times (London, 1681), p.59.

p.72, 1.11. Ephah. A Hebrew dry measure, said variously to have contained from four and a half to nine gallons; see Ezek. xlv. 10-13.



p.73, 11.24-25. the Beesom of Destruction : Isaiah xiv. 23. Cf. Christopher Ness: 'Christ comes to sweep this lump of defilement (Antichrist) out of the great House of the World, with the Besome of destruction', A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), p.76.

p.77, 11.19-22. the forwardness of some ... who have predicted. On Bunyan's aversion to chronological speculation, see above, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

p.77, 11.25-26. the Judgments of God are a great Deep: 'thy judgments are a great deep', Psalm xxxvi. 6.

p.78, 11.10-11. Times and Seasons ... in his own power: 'It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power', Acts i. 7.

p.78, 1.16. Samson's Riddle. See Judges xiv. 12-19.

p.78, 1.23. stumbled: puzzled, nonplussed. Cf. 'these Talkative Fools ... do stumble the World', P.P., p.85; 'To question Election is to ... stumble the faith of the Town of Mansoul', H.W., pp.240-41.

pp.79-85. In arguing that the periods of forty-two months and 1260 days spoken of in Revelation xi.2, 3; xii.6 and xiii.5 are equal in length, Bunyan is assuming a thirty day month. The principles for interpreting prophetic time had been established by John Napier, who explained that 'a propheticall day is a yeare, the week seven yeres, the moneth thirtie years (because

the Hebrew and Grecian moneth hath thirtie daies) and consequentlie the propheticall yeare is 360. yeares', A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of Saint John (Edinburgh, 1593), p.2. Bunyan's belief that these periods had begun and would end together was also widely shared. For an elaborate demonstration of how they synchronized, see Joseph Mede, The Key of the Revelation, translated by Richard More (second edition, London, 1650), pp.2-4. On the central importance of this 1260 day period in apocalyptic computation, see Bryan W. Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975), pp.115-25.

p.80, 1.7. Plots and Conspiracies. Cf. William Dyer: 'there have been Plots upon Plots, and Conspiracies one after another, against the Church of Christ, but all in vain', Mount Sion, Or, A Draught of That Church which Shall never be destroyed (London, 1689), p.74.

p.80, 1.13. Haman's Plot. See Esther iii-vii.

p.80, 1.22. a Type of this. On Bunyan's use of typological exegesis, see above pp. lxxvi-lxxix.

p.82, 11.10-13. As well as Bunyan's marginal reference, see Ex. xii. 40-41; Acts vii. 6.

p.87, 11.24-27. Kings ... shall eat her flesh. Cf. 'We know, that in Israel, God stirred up Kings, who at times suppress'd Idolatry there, and plagued the Persecutors too, as Jehu, Hezekiah, Josiah, &c. And he has promised that, even in Gospel times, Kings shall

hate the Whore, make her desolate, and naked, and shall eat her Flesh, and burn her with Fire', The House of the Forest of Lebanon , 1692 Folio, p.453. See above, pp.xcix-cxiv.

p.90, 11.9-10. Signs of the Times: 'can ye not discern the signs of the times?', Matt. viii, 3. See above, pp.lxxxv-lxxxvi.

p.90, 11.15-16. Babylon is become the Habitation of Devils: Rev. xviii. 2.

p.91, 1.25. by that: by the time that. Cf. 'Now by that these Pilgrims had been at this place a week, Mercie had a Visitor ...', P.P., p.226. Cf. also above, p.132, 1.27.

p.95, 11.15-16. until the time of her Land shall come: 'all nations shall serve him ... until the very time of his land come: and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him', Jer. xx. 7.

p.96, 11.16-17. unclean Birds among the Jews. See Deut. xiv. 12-19.

p.96, 1.19. Sects: heretical groups. Cf. 'The Pharisee was a sectarian, one that deviated, that turned aside in his worshipping from the way of God, both in matter and manner of worship; for such an one I count a sectarian', A Discourse upon the Pharisee and the Publican (1685), Offor, II, 219.

p.97, 1.2. confer their Notes: obsolete form of 'compare notes'. Cf. Hamon L'Estrange, The Reign of King Charles (1655): 'All their informers assemble, and confer their notes together'. O.E.D.



p.97, 11.22-23. I shall see no sorrow ... Judgment comes: Rev. xviii. 7, 10.

p.99, 1.23. Mystery of the Wisdom of God: 'we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery', I Cor. ii. 7.

p.100, 11.9-10 to p.118, 1.19. The Slaying of the Witnesses. See above, pp.lxxxvi-xcviii.

p.101, 1.2. The Hang-man is usually none of the best. Jack Ketch, the public hangman from 1663 to 1686, was notorious for his clumsy sadistic executions; see D.N.B., s.v.

p.102, 1.5. the number of his Name: 'he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name', Rev. xiii. 17.

p.103, 1.26. insinuated: suggested, implied. Cf. Andrew Willett, Hexapla in Genesin (1605): 'It was God that talked with him, and not an angel, as the words of the text insinuate'. O.E.D.

p.104, 1.7. give him the foyl: repulse him. Cf. Nathaniel Bacon, Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England (1647): 'the Lords recieved the first blow, and gave the first foil'. O.E.D.

p.104, 11.8-10. more than Conquerours ... that loved them: 'in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us', Romans viii. 37.

p.104, 11.16-17. got the day of: got the victory over. Cf. Daniel Rogers, Naaman the Syrian, his Disease and Cure (1642): 'Shew us how we may get the day of our adversary'. O.E.D.

p.105, 1.3. steps to him, and takes him a box o' th' Ear. A lively rendering of the text, which reads: 'Zedekiah ... went near, and smote Micaiah on the cheek'.

p.106, 1.15. Cocks of the Game: game-cocks. Cf. 'Well said, Father Honest ... I know that thou art a Cock of the right kind', P.P., p.247.

p.107, 1.16. Bounds: obsolete form of bonds. O.E.D.

p.109, 11.20-21. The Witnesses ... a Successive Church. See above, pp.lxxxvii-xc. Cf. Hanserd Knollys: 'These two Witnesses are the faithful Ministers of Christ ... And they are also the visible, true, constituted, Gospel-Churches of Christ', An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), p.10.

p.111, 1.5. parallel Cases. See above, pp.lxxvi-lxxix.

p.111, 11.14-15. Baptized ... unto Moses, in the Cloud, and in the Sea: I Cor. x. 2.

p.113, 1.4. to symbolize: to agree or harmonize. Cf. Thomas Jackson, Commentaries upon the Apostles Creed (1613): 'Thrice happie is that Land ... where ciuill pollicie and spiritual wisdom ... doe rightly symbolize'. O.E.D.

p.114, 11.15-16. the Temple ... a Figure of our Church State. For an extended treatment of Bunyan's belief that 'there lies, as wrapt up in a mantle, much of the glory of our gospel matters in this temple which Solomon builded', see Solomon's Temple Spiritiualized (1688), Offor, III. 464.

p.115, 11.19-20. these things were writ for our Admonition: I Cor. x. 11.

p.115, 1.22. hereabout: concerning this. Cf. Philip Hunton, A Vindication of the Treatise of Monarchy (1644): 'Reade what I have said here-about'. O.E.D.

p.115, 11.24-25. I have not seen their Books. On Bunyan's claim that his views have been arrived at independently see above, p.lxxxix and note.

p.117, 11.3-4. no Living Visible Church. Bunyan's view is more gloomy than that of most other commentators; Hanserd Knollys, for example, thought that when the witnesses are killed, 'There will be even then a Remnant of the Womans Seed, which will keep the Commandments of God, and have the Testimony of Jesus', An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), p.33.

p.117, 1.8. the Gates of Hell shall not prevail: 'I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it', Matt. xvi. 18.

p.118, 11.12-13. from Foreign Parts. Probably another reference to contemporary persecution of French Protestants; see above, pp.xvii-xviii.

p.118, 11.13-14. what a withdrawing of God. See above, pp.xviii, xcvi.

p.118, 1.17. to spend: to exhaust or wear out. Cf. John Flavel, Husbandry Spiritualized (1669): 'It spends a minister to preach, but more to be silent'. O.E.D.



p.118, 11.21-22. where that Practical Holiness that formerly used to be seen in the Houses, Lives and Conversations of Professors? Such spiritual declension is the theme of A Holy Life (1683), where Bunyan predicts that 'the iniquity of the last times will infect and pollute the godly. I mean the generality of them', Oxford Bunyan, IX, 345. Cf. 'The Soul of Religion is the practick part', P.P., p.79.

p.120, 11.25-26. the Righteous shall have dominion over them next morning: 'the upright shall have dominion over them in the morning', Psalm xlix. 14. Bunyan may have been recalling the Geneva translation which reads 'the righteous ...'

p.122, 11.2-4. Church of Christ has been solitary ... her Tears upon her Cheeks: 'How doth the city sit solitary ... She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks ...', Lam. i. 1-2.

p.122, 1.24. as Mordecai was to Haman. See Esther iii-viii.

p.122, 11.25-26. David to the wretched Saul. See I Sam. xviii-xxiv.

p.123, 1.1. her Joy was of old prefigured. See above, pp.lxxvi-lxxix.

p.124, 11.8-13. Bunyan's quotation conforms to the Authorised Version, except that the word 'scattered' should be 'spread'. The Geneva translation reads 'scattered', and Bunyan may have been recalling this; see note on p.120, 11.25-26 above.

p.124, l.17. go down the wind: decline. Cf. William Cave, Primitive Christianity (1673): 'In the time of Constantine when Paganism began to go down the wind'. O.E.D.

p.126, ll.7-8. away with: tolerate, endure. Cf. Browne, Religio Medici (1643): 'Some ... can with greater patience away with death'. O.E.D.

p.126, l.24. Men that wonder after the Beast: 'and all the world wondered after the beast', Rev. xiii. 3.

p.127, l.10. Bout-Hammers: heavy two-handed hammers used by blacksmiths, or sledge hammers; see Joseph Wright (ed.), The English Dialect Dictionary, s.v.

p.130, l.15. with open face: brazenly. Cf. Przipovius' Dissertatio de pace (tr. 1653): 'Men ... who ... did ... with open face, as they say, vent blasphemies and Impieties'. O.E.D.

p.130, ll.20-21. (after the manner of the Zidonians,)  
for there will be none to put them to shame: Judges xviii. 7.

p.131, l.6. one in another: presumably a form of 'one with another' or 'one and another', meaning together. Cf. Richard Grafton, A Chronicle ... of the Affayres of England (1568): 'When all the Scottes were assembled, they were one and other fiftie thousand fighting men'. O.E.D.

p.131, ll.8-9. For a gift blinds the Eyes of the Wise, and perverts the Judgment of the Righteous: Exodus xxiii. 8.

p.132, 11.8-9. Hast thou killed, and also taken possession?: I Kings xxi. 19.

p.132, 11.22, 26-27. cry Peace and safety: 'when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them', I Thess. v. 3.

p.132, 11.23-24. an hard Heart, false Peace, and a deceitful Devil. Cf. characters in H.W.: Mr. Hard heart, Mr. False Peace, Lord Deceit (pp.25, 144).

p.132, 11.24-26. While they thus sing in the window, Death is stradling over the threshold! Another example of Bunyan's lively rendering of scriptural texts; the original reads, 'their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds'.

p.132, 1.27. By that. Cf. above, p.91, 1.25 and note.

p.133, 11.13-14. slain his Prophets, digged down his Altars: 'Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars', Rom. xi. 3.

p.133, 11.14-15. made such havock of the afflicted Church: 'Saul ... made havock of the church', Acts viii. 3.

p.134, 11.14-15. the Sword ... in the Hands of Kings. See above, pp. xcix-cxiv.

p.134, 11.15-18. the Church ... shall with her Faith and Prayers help forward that Destruction. Cf. Arthur Dent on the instruments God will use to overthrow Anti-christ: 'the Magistrate by the sword, the Minister by the word, and the people by their prayers', The Ruine of Rome (London, 1603), p.253.



p.136, 11.5-6. as Samuel served Agag: 'And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal', I Sam. xv. 33.

p.136, 11.8-9. They make her desolate and naked; they eat her flesh and burn her with fire: Rev. xvii. 16.

p.139, 1.16. vacancies: periods of inactivity. Cf. James Heath, Flagellum: or, the life and death ... of Oliver Cromwel (1663): 'In so long an interval and vacancy of War, from which this Nation had been blessed'. O.E.D.

p.139, 11.23-28. Cf. Hanserd Knollys' advice to the saints that, though they ought to 'pray for Kings, and all that are in Authority' and obey them, yet if they command that which God has forbidden, God must be obeyed, and they must 'patiently suffer', An Exposition of the Eleventh Chapter of the Revelation (n.p., 1679), p.43.

p.140, 1.16. Sanballat's and Tobias's: Neh. vi.

p.141, 11.15-16. conversant in: occupied, engaged in. Cf. William Lilly, Christian Astrology (1647); 'He was a meer Fisherman, or man conversant in water'. O.E.D.

p.142, 11.6-7: without wrath and doubting: I Tim. iii. 8.

p.142, 11.14-15. Plots and Conspiracies. Cf. 'our days indeed have been days of trouble, especially since the discovery of the Popish Plot ...', Israel's Hope Encouraged . . . , 1692 Folio, p.199. Plots and rumours of plots were frequent from soon after the Restoration onwards; see David Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (second edition, Oxford, 1956), pp.559-61, 592, 596-7.

p.142, l.17. evil Men. On the possible implications of this remark, see above, pp.cxii-cxiii.

p.142, ll.25-26. fear God, and honour the King: I Peter ii. 17.

p.142, ll.26-27 to p.143, ll.1-2. See Matt. v. 44.

p.143, ll.4-7. This somewhat opaque remark may suggest that Bunyan felt it necessary to reassure those who might have suspected him of sedition. A similarly defensive note is apparent in another work when, after a lengthy passage urging the virtues of civil obedience, he comments, 'I speak not these things, as knowing any that are disaffected to the government ... But because I appear thus in public, and know not into whose hands these lines may come, therefore thus I write. I speak it also to show my loyalty to the king, and my love to my fellow-subjects ...', Seasonable Counsel (1684), Offor, II, 709.

p.144, ll.12-13. he hath usurped ... the Name and Attributes of God. A frequent allegation in Protestant polemical literature; cf. William Guild, Anti-Christ Pointed and painted out in his true Colours (Aberdeen, 1655), pp.92-109; Christopher Ness, A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), p.23. See Richard Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse (Abingdon, 1978), p.104.

p.146, 1:15. Fact: crime, evil deed. Cf. Burnet, History of my own time (written before 1715): 'All who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned'. O.E.D.

p.147, 11.12-13. die the death of the Uncircumcised: Ezek. xxviii. 10.

p.147, 1.18. in the Sides of the Pit's Mouth. Cf. 'Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit', Ezek. xxxii. 23.

p.147, 1.25. earnings: gain, profit. Cf. Thomas Brooks, A Golden Key to open Hidden Treasures (1675): 'If thou wouldst make any earnings of thy reading this treatise, then thou must - Read, and believe what thou readest'. O.E.D.

p.152, 1.6. lying Miracles. See note to p.45, 1.4 above.

p.153, 11.3-4. the Tail of the Beast, that cover his most filthy Parts. Cf. 'Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all the disciples of him. Of whom, Prelates, Priests and Monkes, are the body, these pild [bald] Friers are the taile, which covereth his most filthy part', Lord Cobham in Foxe, Acts and Monuments (1641 edition), I, 732.

p.153, 1.7. horrid Outrage, and villanous Murthers. For contemporary descriptions of Antichrist's cruelty and persecution, see above, p.lxvii. Cf. 'We need look no farther ... than to the Papists and their companions. How many have they in all ages hanged, burned, starved, drowned, racked, dismembered, and murdered, both openly



and in secret?', Christian Behaviour (1663), Offor, II, 553. Cf. also William Guild, Anti-Christ Pointed and painted out in his true Colours (Aberdeen, 1655), pp.124-136; Benj.[amin] Keach, Antichrist Stormed (n.p., 1689), pp.16-19, 25, 86-97.

p.154, 1.3. Whore's Forehead: 'thou hadst a whore's forehead, thou refusedst to be ashamed', Jer. iii. 3.

p.154, 11.10-11. Plots, Designs, Conspiracies. See note to p.142, 11.14-15 above.

p.154, 1.26. France, Ireland, Piedmont. Cf. 'We shall not need here to call you to mind about the massacres that were in Ireland, Paris, Piedmont, and other places, where the godly, in the night before they were well awake, had, some of them, their heart blood running on the ground. The savage monsters crying out, Kill, kill, from one end of a street or a place to the other', Seasonable Counsel (1684), Offor, II, 702.

p.155, 11.11-13. Joel iii. 3.

p.155, 11.14-15. Forbearance is no Payment. Proverbial; see Morris Palmer Tilley, A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Ann Arbor, 1950), F584.

p.156, 11.1-2. See Rom. xiii. 3; I Peter ii. 14.

p.156, 11.3-6. Rev. xvii. 3, 12-15.

p.156, 11.6-8. Cf. 'I believe, that magistracy is God's ordinance, which he hath appointed for the government of the whole world', A Confession of My Faith (1672), Offor, II, 601. See above, pp.lxix, xcix-c, cvi.

p.156, l.10. be-puddled: made unclear, dirtied. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy (1642): 'While their tradition was cleare ... and not so bepudled ... with the mixture of Hereticks'. O.E.D.

p.156, ll.11-12. Foundations of the World be out of course: 'the foundations of the earth are out of course', Psalm lxxxii. 5.

p.156, l.18. count: settle accounts; see Joseph Wright (ed.), The English Dialect Dictionary, s.v.

p.157, l.24. in the Bed of Love with her: 'And the Babylonians came to her into the bed of love', Ezek. xxiii. 17.

p.159, ll.1-10. Ezek. xix, .12-14.

p.159, l.12. exceeding Covetousness. Avarice was frequently alleged by Protestant commentators to be a mark of the Roman Antichrist; cf. Foxe, Acts and Monuments (1641 edition), I, 4; Benj.[amin] Keach, Antichrist Stormed (n.p., 1689), pp.108-9. Like other sectaries, Bunyan also attacked ministers of the established church for covetousness: 'would the people learne to be covetous, they need but look to their Minister, and they shall have a lively, or rather a deadly resemblance set before them, in both riding and running after great Benefices, and Parsonages by night and by day', A Vindication of Some Gospel Truths Opened (1657), Oxford Bunyan, I, 127. Cf. P.P., pp.103-106. See Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (1972; Penguin edition, 1975), pp.102-106.

p.159, 11.18-20. Hab. ii. 9.

p.159, 11.23-24. Constantine ... bestowed upon them much Riches and Honour. See above, pp.lxxix-lxxx.

p.159, 11.24-26 to p.160, 11.1-3. See Acts and Monuments (1641 edition), I, 732.

p.160, 11.14-15. Money, Money, as the Pedler cryes, Broken or Whole. Offor comments (II, 78): 'The principal cry of the travelling pedlars was for broken or light money, to exchange for their wares: now obsolete'.

p.160, 11.23-24. make their Nests on high: 'Woe to him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, that he may set his nest on high', Hab. ii. 9.

p.161, 11.1-6. Cf. Foxe's attack on the Pope: he 'advanceth himselfe above Kings and Emperours, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, Kings to lead his Horse by the bridle, some to kisse his feet, placing and displacing Emperours, Kings, Dukes, and Earles, whom and when he listeth', Acts and Monuments (1641 edition), I, 2. Cf. also Henry More, An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches (London, 1669), pp.61-63; Christopher Ness, A Distinct Discourse and Discovery of the Person and Period of Antichrist (London, 1679), pp.44-46.

p.161, 11.12-14. See Gen. xxxvi. 31; I Chron. i.43.

p.162, 11.23-24. the Reign of Christ, by his Word and Spirit in his People. Bunyan does not expect that Christ will reign personally throughout the millennium; see above, pp.liii-liv.



p.163, 11.15-16. See Matt. ix. 16-17; Mark ii. 21-22; Luke v. 36-37.

p.164, 11.8-11. See Isaiah ii. 4; Micah iv. 3.

p.164, 1.22. Orbs: the spheres which, in pre-Copernican astronomy were thought to circle the earth carrying with them the planets and stars. Cf. Sir Matthew Hale, The Primitive Origination of Mankind (1677): 'In matters Astronomical ... we find the old Hypothesis of the Heavenly System called since in question by Copernicus, Galilæus, and Kepler; the solidity of the Orbs detected to be untrue, by the plain discovery of Tycho Brahe and others'. O.E.D.

p.165, 1.9. the Pits mouth. See note to p.147, 1.18, above.

p.166, 11.6-7. nothing left but their Souls, their Feet, and the Palms of their Hands; 'they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands', 2 Kings ix. 35. Given the clear allusion to this text, 'souls' should perhaps be emended to 'skulls'.

p.168, 1.1. Lots Wife. See Gen. xix. 26; Luke xvii. 32. Cf. the monument to Lot's wife in P.P. pp.108-9, 279.

p.170, 11.9-11. Micah vii. 10.

p.174, 1.3. Paper-Winkers. This rather puzzling expression seems to refer to the leather 'blinkers', sometimes called 'winkers', which are attached to a horse's bridle on each side to prevent him seeing sideways. Bunyan's meaning seems to be that Satan attempts to put such 'winkers' over the eyes of the godly to prevent them seeing the signs of Antichrist's fall, but being only paper, the saints are able to look through them. The expression was emended to 'Paper-Windows' in editions after the first down to George Offor's. This may have been because of the rarity of the usage 'winkers'; the only example of this sense in the O.E.D. before the mid-eighteenth century is 1587.

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glory in his Davidical Kingdome of the thousand year  
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