

The Judeo-Centric Eschatology of Thomas Case

LAWRENCE RABONE

lawrence.rabone@manchester.ac.uk

The University of Manchester

Puritan pamphlets and sermons from the 1640s often focus on ecclesiology and eschatology, which were two of the most important contemporary issues for ministers seeking to reform England.¹ This article explores the complexity of the relationship between ecclesiology and eschatology in Puritan theology through a study of the works of the English Presbyterian Thomas Case (1598–1682). During his long life, which passed through the reigns of four different monarchs as well as the English Commonwealth (1649–60), Case published twenty different collections of sermons and books. However, little secondary literature exists on Case.² This article shows for the first time that Case’s eschatology included belief in the restoration of the Jews.

In 2003, Richard Cogley introduced the term “Judeo-centric eschatology” to describe Christian belief in the ingathering of the Jews as a nation to the Land of Israel.³ Andrew Crome, building upon Cogley’s work, has documented just how widespread Judeo-centric eschatology was in

1. For an introduction to ecclesiology in the period see: Youngkwon Chung, “Ecclesiology, Piety, and Presbyterian and Independent Polemics During the Early Years of the English Revolution,” *Church History* 84, no. 2 (2015): 345–68. For an introduction to seventeenth-century eschatology see: Andrew Crome, *Christian Zionism and English National Identity, 1600–1850* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 29–104.

2. David Cressy has written on Case’s role as a historian of his own times: David Cressy, “Remembrancers of the Revolution: Histories and Historiographies of the 1640s,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1–2 (2005): 257–68. Edward Vallance has written about Case and the covenant: Edward Vallance, “An Holy and Sacramentall Paction: Federal Theology and the Solemn League and Covenant in England,” *The English Historical Review* 116, no. 465 (2001): 67–68.

3. Richard W. Cogley, “The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Restoration of Israel in the ‘Judeo-Centric’ Strand of Puritan Millenarianism,” *Church History* 72, no. 2 (2003): 304–32.

England, particularly in the 1640s and 1650s.⁴ Crome correctly observes that Judeo-centric eschatology was “more than Hebraism or a generalised belief in an end time Jewish conversion, but a detailed focus on the importance of both the Jewish people and the Holy Land itself as both a political and sacred space.”⁵ Such a belief helped to contribute to the phenomenon of Puritan philosemitism, which culminated when Oliver Cromwell unofficially readmitted the Jews to England in 1655 following the Whitehall Conference in London.⁶

Puritan Judeo-centric eschatology is worthy of attention as it stands apart from earlier Protestant eschatological beliefs. As part of a general prolegomenon, and in order to provide a point of comparison, I begin by briefly outlining Martin Luther’s attitude toward a Jewish restoration to the Land of Israel. A century before Case, Luther, in his vitriolic diatribe *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543), specifically devoted a section to countering the Jewish claim that God had given the Jews the Land of Israel and the city of Jerusalem.⁷ Luther wrote:

[...] they pride themselves tremendously on having received the land of Canaan, the city of Jerusalem, and the temple from God, [...but] they were exterminated and devastated by the Romans over fourteen hundred years ago—so that they might well perceive that God did not regard, nor will regard, their country, city, temple, priesthood, or principality [...] They remain stone-blind, obdurate, immovable, ever hoping that God will restore their homeland to them and give everything back to them.⁸

4. Andrew Crome, “The Proper and Naturall Meaning of the Prophets: The Hermeneutic Roots of Judeo-Centric Eschatology,” *Renaissance Studies* 24, no. 5 (2010): 725–41; *The Restoration of the Jews: Early Modern Hermeneutics, Eschatology, and National Identity in the Works of Thomas Brightman* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2014); “The Restoration of the Jews in Transatlantic Context, 1600–1680,” *Prophecy and Eschatology in the Transatlantic World, 1550–1800*, ed. Andrew Crome (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 127–50; *Christian Zionism*.

5. *Restoration of the Jews*, 2.

6. The definitive study on this remains David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England 1603–1655* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

7. Martin Luther, “On the Jews and Their Lies, 1543,” *Luther’s Works: The Christian in Society* 4, ed. Trans. Martin H. Bertram, Jaroslav Pelikan, and Helmut Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 172–74. Kenneth Austin, *The Jews and the Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020), 64.

8. Luther, “On the Jews and Their Lies, 1543,” 172–73.

Luther continued, "By virtue of their own merits they still hope to return there [the Land] again. But they have no such promise with which they could console themselves other than what their false imagination smuggles into Scripture."⁹

One reason Luther gave why God had rejected the Jews was their dispersal from the Land: "Why, even today they cannot refrain from their nonsensical, insane boasting that they are God's people, although they have been cast out, dispersed, and utterly rejected for almost fifteen hundred years."¹⁰

Luther also rejected belief in a future Jewish conversion. In *On the Ineffable Name and On Christ's Lineage* (1543), he wrote that "although there are many who derive the crazy notion from the 11th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans that all Jews must be converted, this is not so. Saint Paul meant something quite different."¹¹ For Luther, writing at the end of his life in the grip of anti-Judaism, the Jews were beyond redemption. By contrast, we will see that Case valorised the Jews by maintaining that they would yet be objects of divine mercy. What accounts for these differing attitudes toward Jewish Messianism? A full answer goes beyond the scope of this article, but I demonstrate in this article that a century after Luther some Reformed Orthodox theologians such as Case had come a long way in applying consistently a literal hermeneutic.

Having contextualised Case's eschatology in a broader context, it also needs to be situated in the much narrower context of intra-Puritan divisions in Civil War England. It is particularly significant that Case was a Presbyterian. Scholars have correctly noted that Judeo-centric eschatology was most common among Independents such as Thomas Goodwin, John Owen, William Bridge, and John Goodwin.¹² However, some scholars have

9. Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies, 1543," 174.

10. Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies, 1543."

11. Martin Luther, "Vom Schem Hamphoras," *The Jew in Christian Theology: Martin Luther's Vom Schem Hamphoras, Previously Unpublished in English, and Other Milestones in Church Doctrine Concerning Judaism*, ed. Gerhard Falk (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland, 1992), 167.

12. John F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640–1648* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 223–40; G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints: The Congregational Way, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), 146–48; Lawrence Rabone, "John Goodwin on Zechariah 13:3: Toleration, Supersessionism and Judeo-Centric Eschatology," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 96, no. 2 (2020): 45–66; Stanley P. Fienberg, "Thomas Goodwin's Scriptural Hermeneutics and the Dissolution of Puritan Unity," *Journal of Religious History* 10, no. 1 (1978): 32–49. Though Fienberg only devotes

made inaccurate and sweeping statements asserting that all Presbyterians rejected Judeo-centric eschatology.¹³ For example, Nabil Matar, in an otherwise excellent article demonstrating John Milton's belief in the restoration of the Jews, states:

Understandably, criticism of the idea of the Restoration [of the Jews] came from those who neither viewed Cromwell's ascendancy to power as divinely legitimized, nor identified Interregnum England with the shortly-expected kingdom of Christ. Specifically, Presbyterians in the Assembly of Divines were hostile to Cromwell's regime and to the whole millenarian heresy on which the justification of the civil wars, Pride's Purge, the regicide, and Cromwellian dictatorship rested [...] By opposing Cromwell, Presbyterians and Anglicans rejected all the theological arguments which he and his aides used to justify their revolutionary and sectarian actions—specifically the argument of the Jews' Restoration.¹⁴

Matar's claim that the Independents used Judeo-centric eschatology to justify the violence of the Puritan Revolution is highly contentious. Furthermore, his generalization that Presbyterians *in toto* rejected Judeo-centric eschatology is incorrect. Whilst Matar does provide examples of Presbyterians, such as Robert Baillie, who opposed both Cromwell and Judeo-centric eschatology, Case's Judeo-centric eschatology is a notable exception. While such a bifurcation of eschatologies occurred later in the decade, it is important to note that during the early years of the Long Parliament, and at the convening of the Westminster Assembly in 1643, Judeo-centric eschatology was not limited to the Independents. It was not until the breakdown of the Puritan brotherhood, following the end of the First Civil War in 1646, that a sharp distinction between the eschatologies of the Puritans and the

a few sentences to Case, he correctly mentions that Case and other Presbyterians in the early 1640s exhibited apocalyptic thought, though it was more moderate than that of the Independents (p. 45).

13. David Walker has also emphasised an antithesis between Presbyterian anti-millenarianism and Independent millenarianism. David Walker, "Thomas Goodwin and the Debate on Church Government," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 1 (1983): 93.

14. N. I. Matar, "Milton and the Idea of the Restoration of the Jews," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 27, no. 1 (1987): 115.

Independents developed.¹⁵ Until then, belief in Judeo-centric eschatology had both Presbyterian and Independent advocates.¹⁶

Before analysing Case's writings, it is important to contextualize the sermonic genre of Case's writings. Scholars have widely emphasized the importance of sermons in the 1640s as a tool for conveying both theological and political positions to both the leaders of the English nation and local parishioners.¹⁷ The most important subcategory of sermonic literature in the period was the Puritan parliamentary sermon, and these form a major part of the corpus of Case's printed sermons. Puritans preached approximately 240 sermons before Parliament in the 1640s, both on days of fasting and days of thanksgiving.¹⁸ John Wilson's monograph, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism During the English Civil Wars, 1640–1648* (1969), demonstrated comprehensively the importance of parliamentary sermons in providing an insight into how the tumultuous events of the decade were perceived by leading clergy. Case preached six sermons before Parliament;¹⁹ on average

15. For the chronology of the Presbyterian–Independent rift, see Tai Liu, *Discord in Zion: The Puritan Divines and the Puritan Revolution 1640–1660* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973), 29–56.

16. Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 16.

17. *The English Sermon Revised: Religion, Literature and History 1600–1750*, ed. Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter E. McCullough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); David Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. Peter E. McCullough, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

18. Wilson, *Pulpit*, 7.

19. Thomas Case, *Two Sermons Lately Preached at Westminster before Sundry of the Honourable House of Commons by Thomas Case* (London: Luke Fawne, 1641). Case preached just after the Battle of Edgehill: *Gods Rising, His Enemies Scattering; Delivered in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at Their Solemne Fast, 26. Octob. 1642. But, through Many Occasions and Hinderances, Not Printed Till This 25. Of May 1644* (London: Luke Fawne, 1644); *A Model of True Spiritual Thankfulness. Delivered in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, Upon Their Day of Thanksgiving, Being Thursday, Feb. 19. 1645, for the Great Mercy of God, in the Surrender of the Citie of Chester into the Hands of the Parliaments Forces in Cheshire, under the Command of Sir William Brereton* (London: Luke Fawne, 1646); *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons at Westminster, August 22. 1645. Being the Day Appointed for Their Solemn Thanksgiving Unto God for His Several Mercies to the Forces of the Parliament in Divers Parts of the Kingdome, in the Gaining of the Towns of Bath and Bridgewater, and of Scarborough-Castle, and Sherborn-Castle, and for the Dispensing of the Clubmen, and the Good Successe in Pembroke-Shire* (London: Luke Fawne, 1645); *Deliverance-Obstruction: Or, the Set-Backs of Reformation. Discovered in*

ministers preached around two sermons each before Parliament.²⁰ Case therefore preached to Parliament with above average frequency, a fact that demonstrates Case's prominence. The circulation of Puritan fast sermons, which were often printed after being delivered to Parliament, is an area that has not been extensively studied. That said, Christopher Hill has noted that parliamentarians were in general better than royalists at circulating their political messages to the wider population, and Michael A. G. Haykin estimates that the print run for Puritan fast sermons was around two to three thousand copies.²¹

The importance of parliamentary sermons, then, is beyond question. However, Ann Hughes has recently helped to sharpen analysis of these sermons by emphasizing the importance of contextualizing parliamentary sermons, which is something that I will do by briefly outlining Case's biography.²²

Case was born into a godly household in Kent in 1598 and was converted at the age of six.²³ In 1616, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, graduating BA in 1620 and MA in 1623.²⁴ Case was then ordained at some point in the 1620s by Presbyterians in Norwich.²⁵ He first pastored for a decade in Erpingham, Norfolk, and it was here that, in light of Bishop Matthew Wren's anti-Puritanism, he first came into trouble with the religious authorities.²⁶

a Sermon before the Right Honourable the House of Peers, in Parliament Now Assembled. Upon the Monthly Fast, March 25. 1646 (London: Luke Fawne, 1646). Wilson, *Pulpit*, 113.

20. James C. Spalding, "Sermons before Parliament (1640–1649) as a Public Puritan Diary," *Church History* 36, no. 1 (1967): 25.

21. Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 22. Haykin made this estimate in an unpublished talk entitled "John Owen" at the Delighting in God and His Word conference, held at the Old Meeting House, Norwich on March 13, 2017.

22. Ann Hughes, "Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 24 (2014): 57–77.

23. James Reid, *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of Those Eminent Divines, Who Covenanted in the Famous Assembly at Westminster, in the Seventeenth Century* (Paisley: Stephen and Andrew Young, 1811) 1:204.

24. Joel R. Beeke and Randall Pederson, *Meet the Puritans: With a Guide to Modern Reprints* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2006), 138.

25. Kirsteen M. MacKenzie, *The Solemn League and Covenant of the Three Kingdoms and the Cromwellian Union, 1643–1663* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 160.

26. Matthew Reynolds, *Godly Reformers and Their Opponents in Early Modern England: Religion in Norwich, c. 1560–1643* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), 171–72.

Persecuted in Norfolk, Richard Heyrick (1600–1667), a Presbyterian minister and Case's old school friend, invited Case to minister in Manchester around 1636.²⁷ Heyrick had previously moved from Norfolk to Manchester and was the warden of the Manchester Collegiate Church. On August 8, 1637, Case married Anne Mosley, a widow, in the Parish Church of Stockport.²⁸ This marriage to a pious woman in a notable Puritan family opened many doors for Case's preaching ministry.²⁹ However, he continued to encounter strong resistance during what were the final years of the Laudian persecution: in 1638–1639, he was accused at the Consistory Court of a range of offenses including leading conventicles, possessing "scandalous and offensive books," failing to kneel at communion, and speaking against the "sicknesses" of the Church of England, notably at Didsbury Church, Manchester.³⁰

In 1642, Case was summoned to the Westminster Assembly as one of the two Cheshire delegates.³¹ He effectively became an unofficial parliamentarian envoy to Manchester, distributing money to parliamentary forces in the North West on behalf of Parliament.³² On July 31, 1645, following the parliamentarian successes in the North West, the Committee

27. R. C. Richardson, *Puritanism in North-West England: A Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1972), 54, 64. For Heyrick, see Polly Ha, *English Presbyterianism, 1590–1640* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 132.

28. Henry Heginbotham, *Stockport: Ancient and Modern* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1882), 1:303.

29. Robert S. Paul, *The Assembly of the Lord: Politics and Religion in the Westminster Assembly and the 'Grand Debate'* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1985), 91.

30. Chester. Consistory Court papers. EDC 5, 1638. Miscellaneous. Quoted in Richardson, *Puritanism*, 31, 54–55.

31. Anon, *The Names of Those Divines That Are Nominated by the Knights and Burgesses of Each County, for the Consultation, or Assembly* (London: Joseph Huns Scot and Edward Blackmore, 1642), 1.

32. *Five Speciall Orders of the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament 1. Concerning Great Resort of People Unto This City of London, of Which Some Are Suspected to Be Persons Ill-Affected to the Peace of This City and Kingdome: Also That No Victuals or Other Provision Be Suffered to Be Carried out of London, without Licence: And That No Officer or Souldier of His Excellencies Army Be Permitted to Come into This City without a Certificate: 2. For the Reliefe of Manchester and Other Parts in Lancaster, against the Rising of the Papists There: 3. Concerning Some Souldiers Lately Come out of Ireland: 4. For a Search to Be Made in London, the Suburbes, and Townes Adjacent, for Armes: 5. That a Search Be Made for Horses, or Any Other Ammunition, Which Have Bin Sold or Pawn'd by Any of the Souldiers of the Army, Raised by the Parliament* (London: John Wright, 1642), sig.A3r.

for Plundered Ministers appointed Case to the Rectory of Stockport.³³ However, he remained the rector of St. Mary's, Stockport, for only nine months.³⁴

With the ascendancy of the Presbyterian cause in London, he received a call to St. Mary Magdalene Church, Milk Street, London. According to Elliot Vernon, Case's Milk Street pastorate in the 1640s shone as "a beacon of godly reformation."³⁵ However, in 1650 he suffered persecution again as he refused to take the Engagement and was sequestered.³⁶ He became involved in the opposition to the regicide that culminated in the execution of Christopher Love in 1651. Case was imprisoned and, during his six-month arrest in the Tower of London, wrote *Correction, Instruction; Or, A Treatise off Afflictions* (1652).³⁷ Following his release, he became the incumbent of St. Giles in the Fields, where he remained throughout the Interregnum.³⁸ Case supported the Restoration by both signing a declaration to Charles II upon his ascension in 1660 and traveling to Breda to accompany the monarch back to England.³⁹ However, though he was appointed a royal chaplain, he refused to subscribe to the Act of Uniformity and was ejected on August 24, 1662.⁴⁰ He continued to write and minister until his death in 1682.⁴¹

33. Heginbotham, *Stockport*, 1:303.

34. Edward W. Bulkeley, *The Parish Registers of Saint Mary Stockport, Containing the Baptisms, Marriages and Burials from 1584–1620, with Notes* (Stockport: Swain and Co., 1889), 2.

35. Elliot Vernon, "Godly Pastors and Their Congregations in Mid-Seventeenth-Century London," *Church Life: Pastors, Congregations, and the Experience of Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Michael Davies, Anne Dunan-Page, and Joel Halcomb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 58.

36. Vernon, "Godly Pastors," 58.

37. Ann Hughes, "Print and Pastoral Identity: Presbyterian Pastors Negotiate the Restoration," *Church Life: Pastors, Congregations, and the Experience of Dissent in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Michael Davies, Anne Dunan-Page, and Joel Halcomb (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 167.

38. Reid, *Memoirs*, 1:213–14. Thomas Jacombe, *Abraham's death, the manner, time, and consequent of it: opened and applied in a funeral sermon preached upon the death of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Case... June 14th, 1682: with a narrative of his life and death* (London: Brabazon [sic] Aylmer, 1682), 42.

39. Anon, *To the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty. The Humble and Grateful Acknowledgement of Many Ministers of the Gospel in, and About the City of London, to His Royal Majesty for His Gracious Concessions in His Majesties Late Declaration Concerning Ecclesiastical Affaires* (London: Joh. Rothwel, 1660).

40. Beeke, *Meet the Puritans*, 140.

41. Reid, *Memoirs*, 1:216.

Case's ministry certainly agrees with the observations of Polly Ha and Kirsteen MacKenzie on the vibrancy of Puritanism in Cheshire and Lancashire.⁴² Though the Puritan movement was concentrated predominantly in the south and east of England, Case found a ripe field for ministry in Manchester and Stockport. Case thus integrated into an important godly network of English Presbyterians with contacts in Norfolk, London, and the North West. These Presbyterians supported one another through the difficult days of Laud's persecution, the Civil War, the triumph of Independency during the Cromwellian era, and, finally, the persecution of all dissenters from 1662 to 1688.

Two sermons lately preached at Westminster, before sundry of the Honourable House of Commons (1641)

Case's *Two Sermons* contains the first two of the six sermons that Case preached to Parliament. They were also some of the earliest Puritan fast sermons preached before the House of Commons.⁴³ Preached in May 1641, they were strongly political in content.⁴⁴ Case's first sermon was on Ezekiel 20:25 and did not cover any eschatological or Judeo-centric themes.⁴⁵ His second sermon was on Ezra 10:2–3. In the latter, Case called for a further reformation: "Reform the Universities... Reform the Cities, reform the Countries, reform inferiour Schools of Learning; reform the Sabbath, reform the Ordinances, the worship of God, &c."⁴⁶ In particular, he warned against the "vaine Doctrines of Poperie and Arminianisme."⁴⁷ Case also stated that the reformation would advance most effectively if believers took a solemn covenant.⁴⁸ Judeo-centric eschatology is also absent in this sermon.

It is important to start our survey of Case's writings here because these sermons have a strong "apocalyptic vein," as Michael Mullett notes.⁴⁹ These sermons also show that Case's plan for the nation's reformation was grounded in the covenant concept. Tai Liu has described this emphasis on

42. Ha, *English Presbyterianism*, 129; MacKenzie, *Solemn League*, 20–22.

43. Wilson, *Pulpit*, 240, 242, 245–47, 249, 278.

44. John Walter, *Covenanting Citizens: The Protestation Oath and Popular Culture in the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 88.

45. Case, *Two Sermons*.

46. Case, *Two Sermons*, 21–22.

47. Case, *Two Sermons*, 28.

48. Case, *Two Sermons*, 23. For background to taking the covenant see MacKenzie, *Solemn League*, 3–5, 10–14. For Case and the covenant see Case, *Two Sermons*, 47.

49. Michael Mullett, "Case, Thomas (Bap. 1598, D. 1682), Clergyman and Ejected Minister," *ODNB* (2004).

God choosing a nation and keeping covenant with them as “the embodiment of a Puritan millenarianism in the early stages of the English Revolution when the concept of the Kingdom of Christ was still understood primarily in the religious sense.”⁵⁰ Case’s theology, rooted as it was in the importance of a national covenant, also included a Jewish restoration to the Land as Case saw God’s covenant with Israel having an ongoing place in the divine plan.

Gods Waiting to be Gracious unto His People (1642)

Apart from the aforementioned two sermons, *Gods Waiting* is Case’s earliest work. Based on sermons preached in Milk Street, London, the title page explains that it was printed in the capital, to be sold at Thomas Smith’s shop in Manchester. Smith had been selling Puritan works in Manchester throughout the 1630s, for which he had been brought before the Consistory Court in 1638.⁵¹ Hence, Case’s publishing network illustrates that, even while he was ministering in London, he still used his contacts in Manchester to promote godliness in Lancashire. Case’s main text was Isaiah 30:18, “And therefore will the Lord wait that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you: for the Lord is a God of judgment. Blessed are all they that wait for him.”

The tone of this eschatological sermon is optimistic as Case encouraged England to wait for the Lord. Case stated that “the righteous salvation of God toward his poor people in England is comming, and that not farre off.”⁵² He continued, “God certainly, my Brethren, intends to doe good to England, and (I could beleeve) it is neer, even at the very door.”⁵³ In seeking to understand where England was situated on “the clock of providence,” Case listed twelve reasons why God was blessing England. His explanation of these reasons runs to almost eighty pages.⁵⁴ Helpfully, he also listed his twelve reasons in a condensed bullet point form.⁵⁵ The first bullet point has three sub-points and reads:

50. Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 26.

51. Richardson, *Puritanism*, 10; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 193.

52. Thomas Case, *Gods Waiting to Be Gracious Unto His People, Together with Englands Encouragements and Cautions to Wait on God* (London: Thomas Smith, 1642), 55.

53. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 56.

54. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 57–136.

55. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 137–38.

1. The neere approach of Babylons downefall, witnes
 1. The probability of the drawing neer of the calling of the Jewes.
 2. The cold sweat that stands on Antichrists limbs.
 3. Gods call of his people out of Babylon.⁵⁶

Thus, the calling of the Jews is the first piece of evidence Case presented for the first reason that he gave for why he believed that God was blessing England. That his readers might “observe wherabout the finger of God is in the Diall of Providence,”⁵⁷ Case then exegeted Daniel 12. According to Case, in this chapter “we find a Prophesie of the finall restauration of the Jewes.” He focused particularly on verse 11, which reads, “And from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abominable desolation set up, there shall be a thousand, two hundred and ninety days.”⁵⁸

Case’s reasoning that God’s deliverance for England was near is as follows: the ceasing of the daily sacrifice, and the setting up of the abomination of desolation took place under the emperor Julian, who tried to rebuild the Jewish Temple in 360 AD; adding 1290 to this date gives the year 1650. Case concluded, “And before this full and finall restauration of the Jewes (whenever it comes) Babylon must [fall] down, Rome must be destroyed, and it is very probable that these may be the beginnings of that glorious work.”⁵⁹ Thus, in 1642 Case was suggesting that the Jews might be called by 1650. He further noted that the seven vials of Revelation 16 were at his time of writing being poured out on the Roman anti-Christian system, a judgement that would one day give way to the reign of Christ.⁶⁰ Case hence ties in his belief in the calling of the Jews with the fall of Babylon (the Ottoman Empire) and Rome (the Roman Catholic Church). His emphasis on this triad of eschatological events fits in with Richard Cogley’s work on Judeo-centrism, which argues that belief in the ingathering of the Jews in the early modern period entailed an expectation that other imminent and monumental geo-political events would happen, notably the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.⁶¹

Case then referred to an interpretation of Revelation 16:18 given by the Presbyterian Thomas Brightman (1562–1607). This verse on the

56. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 137.

57. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 56.

58. This translation is from the 1599 Geneva Bible.

59. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 57.

60. Case, *Gods Waiting*, 67.

61. Cogley, “Fall of the Ottoman Empire,” 304–32.

fourth vial of judgment describes an angel pouring out his bowl on the sun such that the inhabitants of the earth are scorched. In 1611, Brightman had linked this to Isaiah 30:26, which prophesies of a time when “the light of the Sun shall be seven-fold as the light of seven dayes.”⁶² Case also linked Revelation 16:18 and Isaiah 30:26.⁶³ Herein we see that Case’s apocalypticism was indebted to the exegesis of Brightman. Indeed, Case’s emphasis on the year 1650 as marking a prophetic watershed was a view first put forward by Brightman in his posthumously published commentary on Daniel 11:26–45 and Daniel 12.⁶⁴ Case clearly read Brightman attentively and in another sermon referred to him by name.⁶⁵ In sum, in 1642 Case stated that the first reason why his English hearers could be assured that God was showing them favour was that He was preparing to regather the Jews, something that would likely be accomplished by 1650. Brightman, whom Crome has shown was so influential in diffusing such Judeo-centric eschatological ideas in England, influenced Case in this interpretation.⁶⁶

The Quarrell of the Covenant (1643)

Judeo-centric eschatology is also present in Case’s sermons on the Solemn League and Covenant. The Solemn League and Covenant summarized Parliament’s military and political alliance with the Scots and promised a Presbyterian settlement. The Covenant was an important theme in Case’s early works. However, as Edward Vallance notes, the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 has received far less scholarly attention than, for example,

62. Thomas Brightman, *A Revelation of the Apocalyps, That Is, the Apocalyps of S. Iohn Illustrated Vvith an Analysis & Scolions Where the Sense Is Opened by the Scripture, & the Events of Things Foretold, Shewed by Histories. Hereunto Is Prefixed a Generall View: And at the End of the 17. Chapter, Is Inserted a Refutation of R. Bellarmine Touching Antichrist, in His 3. Book of the B. Of Rome.* (Amsterdam: 1611), 434–35.

63. Case, *God’s Waiting*, 62.

64. Thomas Brightman, *A Most Comfortable Exposition of the Last and Most Difficult Part of the Prophecie of Daniel from the 26. Verse of the 11. Chap. to the End of the 12. Chapter. Wherin the Restoring of the Iewes and Their Callinge to the Faith of Christ, after the Utter Overthrow of Their Three Last Enemies, Is Set Forth in Livelie Coulours* (Amsterdam: 1635), 103. For a discussion of Brightman’s view see Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatalogical Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 117. Crome, *Restoration of the Jews*, 103.

65. Thomas Case, *Spirituall Vvhordome Discovered in a Sermon Preach’d before the Honourable House of Commons Assembled in Parliament, Upon the Solemn Day of Humiliation, May 26. 1647* (London: Luke Favne, 1647), 7.

66. Crome, *Restoration of the Jews*.

the Scottish National Covenant of 1638.⁶⁷ Case's sermons on the Covenant illustrate how, in the early modern period, politics and theology were not kept in separate spheres but, rather, God was seen as providentially at work through current events. In this section, I develop the connection between the Covenant and radical eschatology already established by other scholars. Liu, for example, has noted that "to the Puritan divines, the Covenant represented another stage in the providential design towards the final triumph of the Kingdom of Christ on earth."⁶⁸ Crawford Gribben has also noted that when the English Parliament took the Covenant they saw it as a step towards 'eschatological victory'.⁶⁹ I demonstrate that, for Case at least, this strong eschatological expectation expressed at the signing of the Covenant also included belief in the imminent calling of the Jews.

The Quarrell of the Covenant contains three of Case's sermons on the Covenant. The first sermon discusses how the Covenant could be violated, the second answers objections to subscribing to the covenant, and the third gives guidance on how to keep the Covenant. In the second sermon, Case cited Jeremiah 50:4–5, in which the Jewish nation takes the covenant, and offered an interpretation relating to the future calling of the Jews.⁷⁰ Jeremiah 50:4–5 reads, "In those days, and in that time, saith the Lord, the children of Israel shall come, they and the children of Judah together, going and weeping: they shall go, and seek the Lord their God. They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, Come, and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten."

For Case, the passage has a three-fold fulfilment:

1. The Literal or Inchoative Day,
2. The Evangelical or Spiritual Day,
3. The Universal or Perfect Day.⁷¹

Case related the first of these days to the day when, after seventy years of exile in Babylon, the Jews returned from exile, crossing the River Ahava after a fast day (Ezra 8). He noted that "this was the first day wherein this

67. Vallance, "An Holy and Sacramentall Paction," 50.

68. Liu, *Discord in Zion*, 27.

69. Crawford Gribben, "The Church of Scotland and the English Apocalyptic Imagination, 1630 to 1650," *The Scottish Historical Review* 88, no. 225 (2009): 47.

70. Thomas Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant, with the Pacification of the Quarrell. Delivered in Three Sermons on Levit. 26. 25. And Jere. 50. 5.* (London: Luke Fawne, 1643), 28–29.

71. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 29.

Prophesie began to be fulfill'd in the very letter thereof."⁷² For Case, the evangelical day is the day in which this promise was "fulfilled in a Spirituall Sence," when people who once lived in Paganism or "Antichristian superstition," including Popery, came to "the pure way of Gospel worship."⁷³ Case adds that "this was fulfilled in Luthers time, and in all those after Separations which any of the Churches have made from Rome...."⁷⁴ Finally, "the third day wherein this Prophesie or Promise is to be made good, is that Universall day, wherein both Jew and Gentile shall convert unto the Lord."⁷⁵ For Case, this is "that Day of the Restitution of all things [Acts 3:21], as some good Devins conceive, When 'ten men out of all Languages of the Nations, shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you' (Zechariah 8:23)."⁷⁶ Case then cited Zechariah 8:20–22 to further illustrate his point about the universal day in which all peoples, cities, and nations shall join "together in an holy League and Covenant, to seek the Lord."⁷⁷ In that perfect day, Case outlined that Isaiah 30:26, which we have previously noted Brightman emphasised, would have its fulfilment. This verse reads, "The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, 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."⁷⁸

Case posits that chronologically the first fulfilment of this verse, the literal day, had already been fulfilled, but the third one, the universal day, was still to be fulfilled. Thus, he situated himself and his readers in the evangelical day, though he gave his sermon a strong eschatological thrust by stating his conviction that he and his hearers were "upon the dawning of the third day."⁷⁹ Overall, Case applied a three-fold interpretation to restoration passages, seeing a primary historical meaning, a present application, and a future fulfilment. In this way, Case employed a literal hermeneutic, though he allowed for typological interpretations of Scripture.

Case then read before his congregation in its entirety the Solemn League and Covenant and explained why his congregants should take the

72. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 29.

73. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 30.

74. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 30.

75. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 30.

76. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 30.

77. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 31.

78. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 31.

79. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 31.

covenant.⁸⁰ One reason that he gave was that the calling of the Jews would take place soon:

The calling of the Jews, and the fulnesse of the Gentiles, is not farre behinde; in as much as God begins now to poure out this promise in the Text, upon the Churches, in a more eminent manner, then ever we, or our fathers saw it, in a Gospel sence; And surely, Gospel performance must make way for that full and universall accomplishment thereof, which shall unite Israel and Judah, Jew and Gentile, in one perpetuall Covenant unto the Lord that shall never be forgotten.⁸¹

In summary, *The Quarrell of the Covenant* provides further examples of Case's Presbyterian Judeo-centrism. Case's defence of the crown rights of King Jesus was matched with a belief in a future Jewish conversion.

Jehoshaphat's Caveat to His Judges (1644)

A year later, in *Jehoshaphat's Caveat*, Case preached to the Commissioners for the Court-Martial on 2 Chronicles 19:6–7. These parliamentary judges in the Council of War listened to Case's sermon on August 17, 1644, the day after martial law was legislated in London.⁸² Case called for these leaders of the city, as servants of God, to judge royalists justly.⁸³ The final paragraph of this sermon is eschatological. Case stated:

80. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, pp. 34–38, 59–66.

81. Case, *The Quarrell of the Covenant*, 62.

82. Thomas Case, *Jehoshaphats Caveat to His Judges. Delivered in a Sermon before the Honourable the Commissioners for the Court Martiall, by Vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament Dated the 17th of August 1644* (London: Luke Fawn, 1644), 1. For background to the "Ordinance for the establishment of Martial Law within the Cities of London and Westminster and the lines of communication," adopted on August 16, 1644, see John M. Collins, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Martial Law and the Making of the High Courts of Justice, 1642–60." *Journal of British Studies* 53, no. 4 (2014): 866–67. This is printed in John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments: Beginning the Sixteenth Year of King James, Anno 1618. And Ending the Fifth Year of King Charles, Anno 1629. Digested in Order of Time. Containing the Principal Matters Which Happened from the Meeting of the Parliament, November the 3d, 1640. To the End of the Year 1644* (London: D. Browne et al., 1721), 5:723–24.

83. Mullett writes that Case "preached against mercy for royalists." Mullett, "Case, Thomas." This is incorrect. Case says that those who have acted willingly to obstruct the Reformation should be punished severely (pp. 12–19), but those who have acted in ignorance should be shown mercy (pp. 19–22). Overall, the sermon's tone is moderate and does not call for bloodlust. See also Reid, *Memoirs*, 1:209–10.

There is a promise worth your reading; “And Saviours shall come up on mount Zion, and shall judge the mount of Esau, and the Kingdome shall be the Lords” [Obadiah 1:21]. Literally it respects the times of the calling of the Jewes and Gentiles; When God will raise saviours and Deliverers to rescue them out of the power and captivity of all their enimies [...] upon these Edomites God strengthneth the hands of those Saviours to doe execution, and then the Kingdome (i.e. Iudah and Israel made into one Kingdome againe as at the first, as vers. 17. 18. 19. 20.) should be the Lords: he would raigne over them immediately himself [...] this is the Literall sense.⁸⁴

This is a good illustration of Judeo-centric eschatology, as Case sees this passage as having a future fulfilment for Israel. Case is not explicit about a restoration to the Land of Israel, though his reference to the Jews being rescued from “captivity” would suggest that Case had a physical restoration in mind. Case then applied Obadiah 1:21 to the judges’ current situation, challenging them to enforce justice and so act as the saviors of England: “But there is also a Gospell sense, which respects deliverances of the Church in the time of the Gospell, from the tyranny and oppression of cruell Edomites, hatefull and blood-thyrsty Antichristian enimies.”⁸⁵

So again, Case made a contemporary application of the text to exhort his hearers. However, Case put forward the literal meaning first, namely that the Jews shall be restored.

Spirituell Whordome Discovered (1647)

The final sermon to be surveyed in this study was based on Hosea 9:1. It was preached at a critical juncture in the English Civil War before the House of Commons on a day of humiliation. Case’s focus was not on the restoration of the Jews but rather on the need for godliness in England. In passing, he referred to Judeo-centric eschatology as he addressed Members of Parliament:

And for your encouragement know, that though your troubles and distractions be great; yet you have a mighty God to stand by you, who hath promised that Jerusalem shal be built, and the wall shal be raised, even in troublous times [Daniel 9:25]. It relates as wel to

84. Case, *Jehoshaphats Caveat*, 30–31.

85. Case, *Jehoshaphats Caveat*, 31.

Gospel-Reformation, as to *the full and final* return of the Jews: and the Lord make it good to you, and by you [*emphasis mine*].⁸⁶

Here Case cited Old Testament Scriptures that prophesy the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the return of the Jews in order to encourage his hearers that God could yet restore and rebuild England. Yet, he acknowledged that in the first instance these passages apply to a future calling of the Jews. Significantly, with his reference to Jerusalem and the return of the Jews, Case alluded to a physical Jewish restoration to their land and a rebuilt city of Jerusalem. Michael Mullett has asserted that Case's "earlier millenarianism dulled" by 1645.⁸⁷ However, this example of Judeo-centric eschatology from 1647 shows that Case's preaching was still strongly apocalyptic even as the influence of the Independents was rising, and that of the Presbyterians waning.

Sensus Literalis and the Analogy of Faith

Case's Judeo-centric eschatology is even more striking when one considers how unlikely it is that he ever met a Jew. How, then, can his Judeo-centric beliefs be explained? We have already seen that he read Brightman and was influenced by his eschatology. Another reason is that Case generally favored a literal hermeneutic over an allegorical one.⁸⁸ This is particularly evident in *Jehoshaphat's Caveat*, where Case stated explicitly in his Judeo-centric interpretation of Obadiah 1:21 that he read it according to the literal sense. Raymond Brown has defined the *sensus literalis* hermeneutic as "the sense which the human author intended and which his words convey."⁸⁹ Case's emphasis of the *sensus literalis* follows the principles of Puritan hermeneutics that developed from the hermeneutics of Martin Luther, William Tyndale, and John Calvin.⁹⁰ These Reformers broke, to a greater or lesser

86. Case, *Spirituell Vvhordome*, 37–38.

87. Mullett, "Case, Thomas."

88. Crome makes a similar argument about Puritan hermeneutics in general: Crome, "Proper and Naturall Meaning," 725–41.

89. Raymond E. Brown, "The Literal Sense of Scripture," *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Joseph Fitzmeyer Raymond Brown, and Jerome Murphy (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1968).

90. For Luther's hermeneutic see Charles J. Scalise, "The Sensus Literalis: A Hermeneutical Key to Biblical Exegesis," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 42, no. 1 (1989): 58–59. For Tyndale see William Tyndale, *The Obedie[N]ce of a Christen Man and How Christe[N] Rulers Ought to Governe, Where in Also (If Thou Marke Diligently) Thou Shalt Fynde Eyes to Perceave the Crafty Conveyance of All Iugglers* (Antwerp: 1528), cxxxii–cxxxiii. For Calvin

extent, with the Roman Catholic hermeneutic known as the *quadriga*.⁹¹ This four-fold method, which permeated medieval exegesis, taught that the Scriptures had a literal, allegorical, tropological (moral), and analogical (mystical or eschatological) sense.⁹²

For example, Martin Luther emphasized a literal hermeneutic and, in 1520, he largely rejected the *quadriga*.⁹³ Luther described his hermeneutic in his *Reply to Emser* (1521):

Origen received his due reward a long time ago when his books were prohibited, for he relied too much on this same spiritual meaning, which was unnecessary, and he let the necessary literal meaning go. When that happens Scripture perishes and really good theologians are no longer produced. Only the true principal meaning which is provided by the letters can produce good theologians. The Holy Spirit is the simplest writer and adviser in heaven and on earth. That is why his words could have no more than the one simplest meaning which we call the written one, or the literal meaning of the tongue.⁹⁴

This emphasis on the literal interpretation instilled within the nascent Protestant movement a dynamic that fostered a close reading of the text studied in its original context and language. This paved the way for discontinuity in the way in which interpreters related to biblical passages ostensibly relating to Israel's restoration. Because Case did not read Scripture through the *quadriga*, which favored the development of figurative interpretations of Scripture, he thus was more likely to interpret Israel not as referring to the church, which would be a spiritual reading of the text, but as referring to the Jews. As we have seen in the introduction, however, Case's vision of Judeo-centric eschatology would not have been endorsed by Luther. Yet both Luther and Case largely rejected the *quadriga*. So there must be other factors that caused Case to embrace Judeo-centric eschatology. I posit that

see Richard Burnett, "John Calvin and the Sensus Literalis." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 57 (2004): 1–13.

91. Wilson, *Pulpit*, 145.

92. Walter C. Kaiser, "A Short History of Interpretation," *An Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics: The Search for Meaning*, ed. Walter C. Kaiser and Moisés Silva (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 222.

93. *History*, III: Renaissance, Reformation, Humanism, 86–87.

94. Martin Luther, "Answer to the Hyperchristian, Hyperspiritual, and Hyperlearned Book by Goat Esmer in Leipzig—Including Some Thoughts Regarding His Companion, the Fool Murner, 1521," *Luther's Works*, ed. Eric W. Gritsch and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 178.

one reason for this was that Luther was influenced more strongly than Case by medieval anti-Judaism. A century after Luther, Case was somewhat more removed from the traditions and stereotypes held by the medieval church against the Jews. Crucially, in the hundred years between Luther and Case, Christian Hebraism had flourished amongst the Puritans, which gradually helped to overturn anti-Jewish prejudices.⁹⁵ Case was thus ministering in an intellectual milieu that was more willing to see positive promises concerning the future of Israel in Scripture.

An example of Case emphasizing the *sensus literalis* can be found in his exposition of 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18, entitled *Movnt Pisgah, or, a Prospect of Heaven* (1670). Commenting on the trumpet of God which is sounded when the Lord descends from heaven to raise believers who have died (verse 16), Case advocated the *sensus literalis*. He first outlined the metaphorical (analogical) sense, which sees the trumpet as a metaphor for the “Vertue and Power of Christs Voyce and Proclamation.”⁹⁶ However, he rejected this interpretation, stating, “But why we may not take it literally and in propriety of speech, I see no reason, so for the voyce of an audible Trump, which shall be lowder than all the former.”⁹⁷ Case followed standard Puritan hermeneutics, which favored the literal sense unless there was good reason why a verse’s literal sense could not be the correct interpretation.⁹⁸ Case also supported his literal interpretation by adding, “Our Lord calls it, The great sound of a Trumpet.”⁹⁹ This is an allusion to the dominical prophecy in Matthew 24:31. Bringing in another Scripture from elsewhere in the canon to confirm the interpretation is an example of the analogy of faith.¹⁰⁰

95. For a survey of Puritan interest in Hebrew and Jewish books see Lawrence Rabone, “The Circulation of Menasseh ben Israel’s Works in Puritan Libraries in England: The Testimony of Late Seventeenth-Century Library Auction Catalogues,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* (Forthcoming).

96. Thomas Case, *Movnt Pisgah, or, a Prospect of Heaven Being an Exposition on the Fourth Chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, from the 13th Verse, to the End of the Chapter, Divided into Three Parts* (London: Dorman Newman, 1670), 81.

97. Case, *Movnt Pisgah*, 81–82.

98. See Crome, *Restoration of the Jews*, 30–36, 42–55. Mark Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth: The Christology of the Puritan Reformed Orthodox Theologian, Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 90–92.

99. Case, *Movnt Pisgah*, 82.

100. For the place of the analogy of faith in the history of Christian hermeneutics see H. Wayne Johnson, “The ‘Analogy of Faith’ and Exegetical Methodology: A Preliminary Discussion on Relationships,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 31, no. 1 (1988): 69–80.

The analogy of faith is a Reformed hermeneutic which states that the meaning of a particular Scripture can be determined by comparing different Scriptures which shed light on the Scripture one is interpreting.¹⁰¹ Case referred several times to this hermeneutic and employed it repeatedly as he sought to make his interpretations of individual verses consistent with the whole tenor of Scripture.¹⁰² The analogy of faith hermeneutic fosters a very close reading of any individual biblical text, seen within the context of the rest of the canon of Scripture. It also places less emphasis on traditional interpretations of the Scripture. Case applied the analogy of faith to verses such as Obadiah 1:21 and therefore interpreted "Mount Zion" as literally Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Thus, his emphasis on the *sensus literalis* and the analogy of faith helps to explain why he came to believe in Judeo-centric eschatology.¹⁰³ In this way, Case and many early modern Puritan exegetes began to adopt a hermeneutic that in many ways marked the beginning of the development of the historical-grammatical method.

Another reason why Puritans such as Case adopted Judeo-centric eschatology is due to the importance of typology in Puritan hermeneutics.¹⁰⁴ Case saw biblical events as real historical events which were also types and shadows prefiguring events yet to take place at the end of history. We saw this particularly in *The Quarrell of the Covenant* where Case saw Jeremiah 50:4–5 as having three fulfillments. If one reads a biblical prophecy about Israel's restoration purely from a historical-grammatical or historical-critical hermeneutic one may conclude that the passage was fulfilled in the Jewish restoration from the Babylonian exile; or, from a supersessionist perspective, it has been claimed that because of Jewish disobedience, the Jews have forfeited the right to such promises of restoration. However, typology provides a way for the interpreter to hold on to the promises of Scripture yet to be fulfilled, while also seeing these same scriptures partially fulfilled in the first coming of Christ or the experience of the church.

As Brian McNeil notes, "typology is distinct from the allegorical interpretation of the OT which claims that the "real" meaning of the OT text is

101. Jones, *Why Heaven Kissed Earth*, 88–90.

102. See for example Case, *Mount Pisgah*, Part 3, pp. 14, 26, 34.

103. The general relationship between eschatology and the analogy of faith is discussed in Robert L. Thomas, "A Hermeneutical Ambiguity of Eschatology: The Analogy of Faith," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 23, no. 1 (1980): 45–53.

104. Austin, *The Jews and the Reformation*, 99. Thomas M. Davis, "The Exegetical Traditions of Puritan Typology," *Early American Literature* 5, no. 1 (1970): 11–50.

something with no continuity with the historical intention of its writer.”¹⁰⁵ Rather, “typology argues for a continuity in God’s plan such that the OT is a true “prefiguration”...of what God would do in the NT.”¹⁰⁶ Typological interpretations emphasize key themes running through Scripture from Genesis to Revelation.¹⁰⁷ So, while some Reformers, particularly Lutherans, made an antithesis between law in the Old Testament and grace in the New Testament, others, particularly Reformed Genevans, divided the Bible into a covenant of works in Genesis 1–3 and a covenant of grace running in continuity from Genesis 4 to the culmination of God’s plan with the gathering of the redeemed in the New Jerusalem (Revelation 21–22). Key New Testament themes such as redemption and atonement through the blood of Christ were seen according to this interpretive framework to be foreshadowed in the Levitical sacrificial rites. Because typology allows for multiple fulfilments of prophetic texts, the interpreter could see passages about the restoration of the Jews as applying to the restoration from Babylon, the spiritual restoration of the Christian to God, and a future eschatological restoration of Israel. Allegory, in contrast to the literal sense, makes void the historicity of the text. In contrast, typology preserves the literal sense, while also allowing room for a spiritual interpretation. Modern readers may find Case’s understanding of three different applications of one verse, all with a different temporal scope, out of place with modern approaches to biblical interpretation claiming to be literal. And yet, his approach is not allegorical. Typology is thus an aspect of the *sensus literalis*, and the importance of typology in Puritan hermeneutics is one factor to be considered when trying to account for Puritan belief in Judeo-centric eschatology. For Puritans such as Case, God was ultimately a God of continuity, working out His eternal purposes in the historical realm. With such an interpretive and theological framework, we can better understand how Case came to believe that God had not broken His promises and covenant with Israel.

105. Brian McNeil, “Typology,” *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, ed. R. J. Coggins and J. L. Houlden (London: SCM Press, 1990), 713.

106. McNeil, “Typology,” 713.

107. For a classic example of the typological approach of a moderate Puritan see Thomas Taylor, *Christ Revealed: Or the Old Testament Explained, a Treatise of the Types and Shadowes of Our Saviour Contained Throughout the Whole Scripture: All Opened and Made Usefull for the Benefit of Gods Church. By Thomas Tailor D.D. Late Preacher at Aldermanbury. Perfected by Himselfe before His Death*, ed. William Jemmat (London: R. Dawlman and L. Fawne, 1635).

Conclusion

Belief in the ingathering of the Jews before the second coming of Christ has waxed and waned in different contexts in church history. Before Case, leading continental Reformers who greatly influenced the English theological scene, such as Martin Luther and John Calvin, had given no place in their theological systems for the restoration of the Jews.¹⁰⁸ However, by the 1640s there were many Puritans in England. With their emphasis on the *sensus literalis*, the plain interpretation of Scripture led to a greater interest in the Jewish people whose history is told in Scripture. As the allegorical hermeneutic central to the *quadriga* drifted out of usage in Puritan England, it was no longer so easy for Christians to interpret Jewish restoration passages without referring to Jews. Rather, prophetic texts that speak of a Jewish return to the Land of Israel began to take on deep significance when read through a *sensus literalis* hermeneutic. Thomas Case is thus another London minister who needs to be considered in future surveys of Judeo-centric eschatology.

Case's Judeo-centric eschatology is important for historians of theology and historical theologians but should also be of interest to general historians of Protectorate politics. Case was not directly involved in the movement for the readmission of the Jews to England. This was because the peak of his prominence as a national figure had passed a decade before readmission debates reached their peak in 1655. However, the philosemitic sentiments that flowered in the 1650s were already growing in the 1640s and Case was involved in propagating a form of eschatology that often led to a sympathy for living Jews.

Besides showing that Judeo-centric eschatology could be found amongst proponents of the Covenanting movement, this study has also shown how Case's ministry encompassed London, Norfolk, Lancashire, and Cheshire. His dynamic ministry, which continued even after the national demise of Presbyterianism as a political force in the 1650s, demonstrates the vitality

108. Luther's "The Prologue to the Romans" dealt with the Judeo-centric chapters 9–11 of the same epistle in just two paragraphs and made no reference to the Jews whatsoever. This preface had an important influence in England, being printed in the first translation of the New Testament printed in English, by William Tyndale. William Tyndale, *The Newe Testament* (Antwerp: Marten Emperowr, 1534), ccxv–ccxvi. Martin Luther and Andrew Thornton (trans.), "Vorrede Auff Die Epistel S. Paul: An Die Romer," *Martin Luther: Die Gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch 1545 Aufs New Zugericht*, ed. Hans Volz and Heinz Blanke (Munich: Rogner & Bernhard, 1972), 2254–68. For Calvin on Judeo-centric eschatology see Rabone, "John Goodwin."

of English Presbyterianism. This is in keeping with recent scholarly findings as historiography of English and Scottish Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s has gradually moved away from the older narrative which largely only emphasized the “failures and fragmentation” of the movement.¹⁰⁹ To quote Ann Hughes, a leading proponent of this revisionist approach, “While it is obvious that the highest hopes of the Covenant were never fulfilled, the pessimistic account of English Presbyterianism needs to be modified.”¹¹⁰ Hughes adds that Presbyterianism’s “failures at the formal, institutional level can be balanced by opportunities for preaching, publishing, and pastoral efforts in parishes, and by the range of informal associational activity facilitated by the combination of godly reformation and religious liberty established in England in the 1650s.”¹¹¹ Case succeeded in all these areas in ministering to his flock and leaving a rich legacy of devotional literature. In sum, to quote Anthony Wood, Thomas Case was “a great... firebrand in the church” and this article has shown that he should be considered in future studies of Judeo-centric eschatology.¹¹²

109. Ann Hughes, “The Remembrance of Sweet Fellowship: Relationships between English and Scottish Presbyterians in the 1640s and 1650s,” *Insular Christianity: Alternative Models of the Church in Britain and Ireland, c. 1570–c. 1700*, ed. Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó Hannracháin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 172; Elliot Vernon, “A Ministry of the Gospel: The Presbyterians During the English Revolution,” *Religion in Revolutionary England*, ed. Christopher Durston and Judith D. Maltby (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 115–16; MacKenzie, *Solemn League*, 1.

110. Hughes, “Remembrance,” 172–73.

111. Hughes, “Remembrance,” 173.

112. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses, an Exact History of All the Writers and Bishops Who Have Had Their Education in the Most Ancient and Famous University of Oxford, from the Fifteenth Year of King Henry the Seventh, Dom. 1500, to the End of the Year 1690 Representing the Birth, Fortune, Preferment, and Death of All Those Authors and Prelates, the Great Accidents of Their Lives, and the Fate and Character of Their Writings : To Which Are Added, the Fasti, or, Annals, of the Said University, for the Same Time* (London: Tho. Bennet, 1692), 2:529.