THE ABSTRACT

The Fifth Monarchy Men: an analysis of their origins, activities, ideas and composition.

Few predictions can have been less accurate than the claim by the anonymous author of London's Glory (1661) that the Fifth Monarchists would prove a 'never to be forgotten Sect'. After brief literary glory as the subjects of Abraham Cowley's play Cutter of Coleman Street (1663), they languished in obscurity until revivified by Sir Walter Scott in 1822 in his novel Peveril of the Peak. Since they have no modern descendants, the Fifth Monarchists have not received the close study by denominational historians which the Quakers, for example, have enjoyed. The Fifth Monarchists' call for violent revolution has led Baptist and Congregationalist historians to minimize or ignore the close associations which these denominations had with the movement. The Fifth Monarchists showed few of the egalitarian tendencies of the Levellers and Diggers which have attracted so many modern historians. In the present century the Fifth Monarchists have been the subjects of only two brief monographs. In 1911 Miss Louise Brown published her work, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum, a careful and accurate survey of this aspect which, however, left untouched the broader issues of the nature of the movement, and the causes of its rise and decline. P.G.Rogers attempted a broader examination in the Fifth Monarchy Men (1966), but the brevity of this work and the inadequate research on which it was based made the results far from satisfactory.

Four main aspects of the Fifth Monarchist movement have been studied, and these are indicated in the title of the thesis. These are, firstly, the circumstances which explain the origins and spread of millenarian ideas in general during this period, and of Fifth Monarchist doctrines in particular, and, secondly, the social composition of the movement. Thirdly, an attempt has been made to establish what political, social, economic and religious structures were envisaged by the Fifth Monarchists, and to explain why specific proposals were made. Lastly, an examination has been made of the later history of the movement, and the subsequent careers of its members.

Chapters 1-3 sketch briefly the intellectual climate of the period, and then set the Fifth Monarchists in the context of the general European politico-religious situation following the Reformation. The unprecedented division of Western Europe was seen by many early Protestants as a cataclysmic event, explicable only in terms of the fulfilment of the prophecies of the end of the world.

Subsequent political developments, such as the French and Dutch Wars of Religion and the Thirty Years' War, were fitted into the prophetic schemes of Daniel and Revelation. The standard interpretation of the prophecies had to be modified only slightly to guarantee the triumph of the godly (Protestants) before rather than after the end of the world. As early as the 1530s there was an attempt at Münster to set up a New Jerusalem, though the revolutionary political and social doctrines associated with this episode served to discredit millenarianism for many years. But in the early part of the seventeenth century, when the Protestant cause was again in danger of extinction, millenarianism flourished once more. In England, the government was sufficiently strong to prevent another Münster, but a series of self-proclaimed prophets and messiahs, a number of millenarian Puritan ministers and the writings of the academics Mede and Brightman all testified to interest in millenarian ideas. There was also a popular and related concept of England as a chosen nation, entrusted with the execution of God's cosmic plans. When the civil war broke out in 1642, it was rapidly placed by Puritan preachers in a millenarian framework, and accepted in this way by many in the army and in Parliament. A study of the writings of clergy supporting Parliament in the period 1640-53 suggests that about 70% of them believed that a last age of unparallelled glory was about to dawn. But millenarianism was a very flexible concept, and many who looked forward to a time of spiritual perfection abandoned a doctrine which many in the army and the sects equated with social revolution. The execution of King Charles, making way for King Jesus, intensified millenarian excitement, but the Rump did nothing to answer these hopes. The emergence of the Fifth Monarchist movement was a response to the apparent apostacy of all in authority from the millenarian cause. Fifth Monarchists claimed the right of the individual citizen, as saint, to throw down ungodly governments because they had despaired of the magistrates or any in official position doing so. They were an opposition movement, and always remained such except briefly during the Barebones Parliament of 1653.

The composition of the Fifth Monarchist movement (chapter 4) reflects the importance of the New Model Army in its origin. Fifth Monarchism was a largely urban movement, and many of the towns where it flourished were garrison towns or naval establishments. Many of the saints had served in the army, as officers, soldiers, or chaplains. There are no Fifth Monarchist records comparable to the Quaker lists of births, marriages and deaths, but an analysis of the two hundred and thirty Fifth Monarchists whose occupations can be established gives some indication of their social composition. There was a small but important group of ministers and high-ranking army officers of relatively high social

origin. Of the remainder, a large proportion, about 30%, were engaged in the cloth and leather industry and trade. None of them was a large-scale merchant or producer. The movement attracted only small masters, journeymen, apprentices and labourers. Grace was more important than birth, and there was no discrimination against those who were economically unfree. Servants and labourers could play an important role, and women were also prominent.

A considerable amount of biographical information has been accumulated during the course of this study, and this has been summarized in the Biographical Appendix. The careers of some, such as Feake and William Medley, have been traced for thirty years after the last date when they were previously known.

The Fifth Monarchists were a very loosely-organized body, and never formulated a common programme. But their main objectives can be established, and these are discussed in chapters 6-8. The evidence is drawn from the numerous manifestoes, declarations, sermons and biblical expositions published in the 1650s, and from the State Papers. The limited data from the Restoration period suggest that these objectives remained constant. The Fifth Monarchists demanded the destruction of the privileged orders, the national ministry, the lawyers, the great merchants, and the ungodly magistrates and nobility. In their place, they sought to establish a theocracy, an oligarchy of the 'visible saints', and to establish a new social structure in which godliness not birth would be the criterion of superiority. They called for a cheap and decentralized legal system using the Mosaic Code, and for the relief of the poor and of debtors. The principle of private property was accepted, but there were demands that the lands of the ungodly should be confiscated and re-distributed. The saints sought the encouragement of domestic production by a policy of protection and by a trade war against the Dutch, despite the fact that the latter were a Protestant nation. Beggars, debtors and thieves were all to be used as a pool of cheap labour for domestic industry.

Despite the attacks on merchants, this programme cannot be classified simply as anti-capitalist. Its diversity is explained partly by the difference between the aspirations of the ministers and few gentry and those of the artisans. Yet even those who rebelled with Venner in 1661 called for protection and the utilization of beggars and thieves as cheap labour. Small masters saw the material advantages of such policies, even if they were 'capitalist' in tone. At the lowest social levels, the appeal of Fifth Monarchism lay probably in the generalized vision of health and wealth and the prospects of revenge on all those who enjoyed social superiority.

The Mosaic Laws may have attracted the saints because their provisions for thieves and debtors combined humanitarianism with the prospect of profit, but

their introduction had in fact been urged by a long series of Protestant and Puritan writers. The demand reflected a general Protestant interest in Jewish affairs. The concepts of the 'elect', the 'elect nation' and the 'second covenant', and the emphasis on the Bible directed interest towards the first chosen people, the 'people of the Book' and the first covenant. Many Fifth Monarchists and others looked for the conversion and return of the Jews, the adoption of the Mosaic Laws, and of the Seventh Day Sabbath, and one group adopted all the Jewish rites and proposed to rebuild the Temple.

Chapter 9 examines the later history of the movement. The return of censorship ended the flow of Fifth Monarchist pamphlets, and the State Papers are the main source after 1660. Quarter-sessions records and visitation returns yielded a little information, but local officials for the most part failed to distinguish between the idiosyncrasies of the various sects. After the Restoration, the movement gradually split into two parts. One of them became progressively more moderate, and was eventually absorbed into the Baptist and Congregationalist movements, which still retained pronounced millenarian tendencies. There is no evidence of a mass influx into Quakerism, as has sometimes been suggested. Relations between the Fifth Monarchists and Quakers were always very hostile; Quaker doctrines were highly offensive to the literalist and mostly predestinarian beliefs of the Fifth Monarchists. The second section turned towards violence, and participated in all the republican plots of the period, including the activities of Colonel Blood. In the 1670s they became involved with the Exclusionists. The Fifth Monarchist cause finally perished, with the Good Old Cause as a whole, at Sedgemoor in 1685.

In the conclusion (chapter 10) there is a brief survey of the development of millenarianism on the continent after Münster. A final summary follows.

THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN:
AN ANALYSIS OF THEIR ORIGINS, ACTIVITIES, IDEAS AND COMPOSITION

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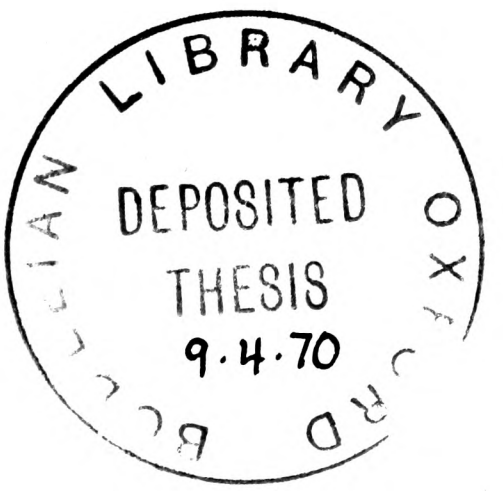
[MT 1970]



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Fifth Monarchy Men were a political and religious sect of the mid-seventeenth century, expecting the imminent coming of the millennium, or kingdom of heaven on earth. They differed from the other English millenarians of the period in ascribing to the private citizen, as one of the elect, the duty of helping to establish this kingdom by attacking the existing regime and, should Christ give the signal, by fighting against it.

The Fifth Monarchists were the first millenarian movement in England, but such ideas have been a recurring theme in many areas throughout history. They sustained the Jews during the Maccabaean revolt of 165 B.C. They swept through China in the Taiping rebellion of 1850-65, and have recurred frequently, for example in Brazil, and in Melanesia, where the islanders awaited the return of the dead, bearing riches, to set up paradise.[1] Wherever religion or folk-lore presented a Messiah or lost hero, a millenarian movement was possible. Any form of crisis, whether through conquest, plague, social disruption or religious innovation, was likely to produce such a movement. Mediaeval Christian Europe combined both these elements, and experienced a long series of millenarian movements from about 1100 onwards. The most radical support came from the poorest elements in town and country, with the destruction of the 'godless' landowners

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1. S. Thrupp, ed., Millenial Dreams in Action (The Hague, 1962), passim; P. Worsley, The Trumpet Shall Sound (1957), passim.

and clergy seen as the first step towards New Jerusalem. Christ and the 'Emperor of the Last Days', sometimes named as St. Louis of France or the Emperor Frederick II, played the same role of providing inspiration and justification.[1]

Western European society in the seventeenth century was of course very different from the societies mentioned above. The age of Bacon, Hobbes and Descartes represented a very different intellectual climate. Perhaps this explains why, when most millenarian movements are now accounted for in historical terms, the Fifth Monarchist movement is still seen as an interlude of insanity. A contemporary ascribed it to 'ill made brains and disturbed fancies, strongly tinctured with an hypocondriack melancholy'.[2] Modern historians have been still more brusque. Sir George Clark brushed aside Thomas Venner, one of the most militant saints, as a 'crack-brained enthusiast'. G. P. Gooch thought that 'one pamphlet alone had pretensions to sanity' (ironically choosing Venner's manifesto). H.N. Brailsford and Herschel Baker found the Fifth Monarchists' activities respectively 'picturesque' and 'ludicrous'.[3] Professor Trevor-Roper describes three prominent European millenarians as 'crackpots' and describes another, Comenius, as 'becoming dottier than ever'. His description of the group around the Welsh Fifth

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1. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1962), passim.

2. J. Hall, Confusion Confounded (1954), p.3.

3. Sir G. N. Clark, The Later Stuarts (2nd edn., Oxford, 1955), p. 22; G. P. Gooch and H. J. Laski , English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century (New York, Evanston and London, 1959), p. 225; H. N. Brailsford, The Levellers and the English Revolution (1961), p. 120; H. Baker, The Wars of Truth (New York and London, 1952), p. 85.

Monarchist Vavasor Powell as a 'knot of Tammany demagogues' implies that they were sane but merely rogues.[1] In a recent study of the English Revolution, Professor Roots apparently found the Fifth Monarchists unworthy of mention.[2] Modern writings have proliferated on radical seventeenth century movements, notably the Levellers and Diggers, which in some respects anticipated modern ideas. The Fifth Monarchists, however, have attracted only two historians. In 1911 Miss Louise Brown published a solid and reliable account of the movement during the Interregnum. Her book was concerned less with the nature of Fifth Monarchism than with its rôle in the political history of those years. Recently, in 1966, P. G. Rogers attempted a wider view, but the brevity of his book and inadequate research made the analysis somewhat superficial.[3]

The ridicule of the Fifth Monarchists by many modern historians stems from an assumption that they were an irrational movement, beyond the pale of analysis. Behind this lies a concept of rationality as a constant. By such a criterion, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a whole must be condemned. Numerous beliefs which are now seen as irrational were widely accepted then by the educated and ignorant alike. The basic premises of the Fifth Monarchists were that the whole of the Bible was literally true,

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1. H. R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (1967), p. 286 and n., 365.

2. I. Roots, The Great Rebellion 1642-1660 (1966).

3. L. F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (1911, reissued New York, 1965); P. G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (1966).

and that God did and would intervene in human affairs. Both doctrines were at the time unimpeachable. The hand of God was seen in the outcome of wars, in the visitations of plague, and in the fortunes of each individual. Even in the sceptical eighteenth century, Gibbon felt obliged by social convention to ascribe the triumph of Christianity primarily to Providence, despite his own belief in secondary causes alone.

Belief in the existence and intervention of supernatural powers existed in probably every society until the modern rise of science and scepticism. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no one denied the intervention of God. The Devil was seen as equally active. Both on the continent and to a lesser extent in England, the period saw a massive spread of the belief in witches, in league with Satan. Thousands were tortured and executed. Such beliefs were not confined to the ignorant or obscure. Princes and intellectuals, amongst them James I and Jean Bodin, believed in witchcraft and advocated its extermination by force.

The same period saw a widespread interest in astrology. In 1649, for example, William Lilly's almanac Merlinus Anglicus sold 18,500 copies.[1] During the civil war, rival astrologers predicted the fortunes and victory of their respective sides. A critic complained in 1561 that the common people were so dependent on astrologers 'that scarce would they ride or go any journey, unlesse they consulted with these blind prophets, or at least with their prophecies'.[2] Political prophecies were also very popular in

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1. H. R. Plomer, 'A Printer's Bill in the 17th Century', The Library, N.S., vii (1906), p. 42.
2. S. R. Maitland, Notes on the Contributions of the Rev. George Townsend (1841-2), ii. 106.

England, both the Galfridian type (using animals symbolically) and the Sibylline (which played on words and letters). In the reign of Henry VIII, the vicar of Isleworth used the prophecies of Bede, Merlin and the mould-warp to prove the imminent downfall of the king.[1] In societies where there was no concept of progress and the existing order was presented as that imposed by God, prophecies were naturally popular as a means of justifying change, and were often circulated during rebellions. The fact that an upheaval had been predicted suggested that it was preordained, or that it was part of God's overall plan. Accordingly, men were 'prone to believe any thing they would have, and any words that seem that way, they lay hold on; never regarding though the ground be foolish, and the coherence with the rest repugnant to their construction'.[2] William Lilly used the prophecy of the White King, purporting to have been written in the seventh century and describing the end of monarchy, to justify Parliament in the civil war. Charles I, he wrote, '<u>hath already acted such thing as the</u> White King <u>must</u>'.[3] But it seems that allegedly ancient prophecies predicting events already past were equally popular, and also prophecies of approaching disasters. Mother Shipton's prophecy of the fall of Wolsey, said to have been written before the event, probably dated from 1641. Yet it won widespread acceptance, and the Great Fire of 1666 was seen by

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1. M. H. Dodds, 'Political Prophecies in the Reign of Henry VIII', <u>Modern Language Review</u>, xi (1916), pp. 279-80.

2. J. Mede, <u>Works</u> (1672 edn.), pp. 878-9.

3. W. Lilly, <u>A Prophecy of the White King</u> (1644), p. 19; Lilly, <u>A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophecies</u> (1645), p. 26.

Prince Rupert as the fulfilment of one of her prophecies. The prophecy of Otwell Binns, describing tub-preachers, the Irish rebellion and the king's breach with Parliament, was said to date from 1600, but was probably written after the events it described.[1] Perhaps when war, famine and plague made life highly insecure, the idea that events could be foretold imposed some sort of pattern. If foreknowledge was interpreted as preordination, then all events, even disasters, could be accepted as part of the divine, cosmic plan.

This widespread belief in supernatural forces and their rôle in human affairs was quite consistent with contemporary rationality. Mechanical explanations of phenomena were as yet inadequate to challenge the primary role of supernatural causation, and in any case they were not widely known. Moreover, the relationship between scientific and supernatural explanation was not one of simple confrontation. The greatest progress in contemporary science was by the Neo-Platonist school, by Paracelsus and his disciples who combined a grasp of experimental method with alchemy and attempts to harness magical forces. The disciples of Paracelsus included John Thornborough, bishop of Worcester, a practising alchemist, and Walter Charleton, a Fellow of the Royal Society, who argued that 'we must quit the dark Lanthorne of Reason', and seek knowledge by illumination.[2]

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1. D.N.B., Mother Shipton; anon., Sixe strange Prophesies (1643), sig. A2-3v., A4-v.

2. A. G. Debus, The English Paracelsians (1965), pp. 103-5 and passim; P. M. Rattansi, 'Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution', Ambix, xi (1963), pp. 24-31.

The popularity of these 'irrational' ideas in this period does not, of course, explain the rise of millenarianism. But it shows that millenarianism, with its vision of God destroying the powers of evil on earth, was closely related to the prevailing world-picture of supernatural forces controlling human affairs. Popular beliefs in Providence, in prophecies and in the cosmic struggle of God and the faithful against Satan and his disciples, were all subsumed in the doctrine of millenarianism. Secular prophecies and astrological predictions were also often embraced. At a period of great religious and political crisis, the appeal of millenarianism was immense. The offence of the Fifth Monarchists was not the irrationality but the subversiveness of their particular formulation of these beliefs.

CHAPTER 2

THE ORIGINS AND RISE OF MILLENARIANISM TO 1649

The origins of seventeenth-century millenarianism are to be found in the tensions created by the Reformation, and in the new exegesis of the prophetic texts which these tensions produced. The vision of a New Jerusalem, contained especially in the books of Daniel and Revelation, gave a millenarian outlook to the early Church. At the popular level, Cerinthus and his sect at the end of the first century A.D. looked forward to a thousand years' reign of luxury and ease. Many of the Early Fathers, such as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Lactantius and Cyprian, indulged in a similar, if more spiritual vision. This teaching was undermined by St. Augustine, who imposed a metaphorical interpretation. The thousand years' reign became merely the work of the church on earth, and the first resurrection from the dead (Rev. xx.6) denoted only the change from sin to purity.[1] The Augustinian interpretation was accepted generally until the Reformation period.

The Reformation itself produced important changes in the approach to Daniel and Revelation. The vision of Daniel consisted of four beasts, representing world empires (generally accepted in this period as Babylon, the Medes and Persians, Greece, and Rome). The last beast had ten horns, or kings, and a little horn which destroyed several of the ten. After the destruction of the last

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1. E. L. Tuveson, Millenium and Utopia (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 1-17.

beast, the kingdom was given to the saints for ever - the 'Fifth Monarchy'. No dates were given, but there were cryptic references to a time of woe lasting 1290 days, and a fullness of joy beginning after 1335 days.[1] The prophecies of Revelation were still more involved. They described the reign of the Beast for 1260 days or 42 months. Two beasts persecute the saints, one from the earth with two horns, the other from the sea, with seven heads and ten horns. Two witnesses who testify against them are killed, lie dead for 3½ days and then rise again. During this persecution, God encourages the saints by punishing His enemies - the opening of the seven seals, the blowing of the seven trumpets and the pouring out of the seven vials of wrath. After this, Satan is bound for a thousand years; Christ and the saints reign for a thousand years, and then, at the end of the world, follows the battle of Armageddon, in which Satan is slain, and the Last Judgement begins.[2]

In 1522 Luther accepted the Augustinian interpretation. But by 1545 he had come to accept that Daniel and Revelation were genuine, if obscure historical prophecies, and that the Fourth Monarchy and the Beast both represented the papacy. The thousand years were a literal period of time, but were already over, having begun at the time of Christ. Though the Protestants might be comforted by the vials of divine wrath, Luther held that persecution would continue until the end of the world, which was imminent. Calvin was very cautious, accepting only that the Beast was the papacy, but many of

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1. Dan. vii and xii, passim.

2. Rev. vi-viii, xi-xiii, xvi, xx-xxii.

the leading figures of the Reformation, such as Bullinger, Oseander and Melancthon, accepted a position close to that of Luther.[1]

There were several reasons for the popularity of this new exegesis. The Protestant emphasis on the letter of Scripture instead of tradition and authority, and the new interest in the ideas of the early, 'pure' church, led naturally to a re-examination of Augustinian orthodoxy. Luther himself was influenced by Lollard and Hussite tradition, for they had in many respects preceded him in his new position.[2] Renaissance writers were attracted by a cyclical theory of history, and found support for their beliefs in Daniel's concept of history as the rise and fall of a series of basically similar world empires.[3] To prove that the Pope was Antichrist was naturally good propaganda for the Reformers, but the new exegesis had a far deeper attraction. Every Protestant was confronted with the fundamental problem of why God had allowed the Roman church to persecute the truth for a thousand years. By accepting the biblical prophecies, a complete answer was found: the whole of history was the working-out of an inscrutable but divine plan, leading to an inevitably just conclusion.[4] Illyricus re-wrote history to present this thesis,

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1. Tuveson, op.cit., pp. 17, 24-9; T. F. Torrance, 'The Eschatology of the Reformation', Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Paper no. 2, pp. 36-62; L. E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers (Washington, D.C., 1946-54), ii. 255-79. Froom's work is coloured by his own adventist beliefs, but on historical eschatology he is a sound guide.

2. Torrance, 'Eschatology', p. 43.

3. F. E. Manuel, Shapes of Philosophical History (1965), pp. 46-69.

4. S. A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters', Scottish Historical Review, xliii (1964), pp. 4-5.

which was adopted by John Foxe in his Acts and Monuments (1563), itself a major source-book.

The prophecies also explained the chaos following the Reformation, which seemed without parallel in the history of the church. The Bible predicted that the last days would be a time of woe, with wars, corruption and decay.[1] Interpreters were quick to point out that this prophecy appeared to be in progress. The wars and disputes, and the threat of destruction by the Emperor, Spain and France seemed to betoken the end of the world, and there was an almost universal Protestant belief in the imminent dissolution of all things. A typical English writer saw decay in the four elements of fire, water, air and earth; all plants were feebler, and men were 'not so long lived, nor of that goodly tall and strong constitution of body, as in former ages.'[2]

The new interpretation of the prophecies spread to England quite rapidly. Protestants who fled abroad under Henry VIII and Mary accepted the new ideas and translated the commentaries which contained them. In the 1540s George Joye translated the expositions by Oseander, Melancthon and Oecolampadius. Many other translations followed under Elizabeth, including in 1574 a compendium of the work of sixteen continental Protestants, arguing that the vials were in

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1. For example II Tim. iii. 1-13.

2. Anon., The Generall Signes and Fore-runners of Christs comming (?c. 1620), sig. A4v; V. Harris, All Coherence Gone (Chicago, 1949), passim; H. Baker, The Wars of Truth (London and New York, 1952), pp. 65-78.

progress and that Christ's coming was imminent.[1] English Protestants, including Latimer, Sandys, Jewel, Bale, Hooper and Cranmer, adopted this position.[2]

One of the returning Marian exiles was John Foxe, whose Acts and Monuments gave English apocalyptic ideas their greatest impetus. It narrated the history of the church, showing how in all ages true Christians had recognized the Pope as Antichrist. Foxe used not only the biblical prophecies themselves and the works of the Early Fathers, but the testimony of the great mediaeval heresies, the Albigenses, Waldenses, Hussites and Lollards, and of individual seers such as Joachim of Fiore, to look forward to the fall of the Pope, and the Turks, and a period of bliss when this world ended. Where possible he used English sources, including a sermon of 1388 by Ralph Wimbledon proclaiming that the world was about to end. Any prophecy which was conceivably relevant was included, such as the sayings of Merlin, the Sibylline oracles (which were said to have foretold the careers of Huss and Jerome of Prague) and Turkish prophecies. Foxe was not a millenarian, but later writers who were, including Fifth Monarchists, drew heavily upon his work.[3]

Luther and the early writers had confessed that whilst accepting the Biblical prophecies as genuine, they found them obscure and

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1. G. Joye, The exposicion of Daniel (Geneva, 1545); A. Oseander, The coniectures of the ende of the worlde, trans. Joye (1548); A. Marlorat, A Catholike exposition upon the Revelation, trans. A. Golding (1574).

2. Tuveson, op.cit., pp. 49-50; Froom, Prophetic Faith, ii. 355-419.

3. J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J. Pratt (1877), iii. 301ff, 721, iv.116-7. For Fifth Monarchist use of Foxe, see Note (p.43.

sometimes incomprehensible.[1] But naturally men wished to know exactly how far the prophecies had progressed. Many Calvinists, seeing themselves as especially favoured by God, claimed to have been favoured with prophetic powers. John Knox asserted that 'God hath revealed unto me secretes unknowen to the worlde, and.....hath made my tong a trumpet to forewarne realmes and nations.....of mutations and chaunges.'[2] The Fifth Monarchist Mary Cary declared that 'all Saints have in a measure a spirit of Prophesie.'[3] Thus commentators began to claim that each political event could be identified with complete confidence in Daniel and Revelation. Marlorat identified the first vial of wrath (Rev. xvi. 2) as the venereal disease which struck the French army during the Italian wars atthe end of the fifteenth century, and several others adopted this position.[4] John Mayer, minister of Little Wratting, Suffolk, thought the first vial referred to the Albigenses and Waldenses; the Puritan Henry Burton thought it signified Luther.[5] Another continental reformer, Jacobus Brocard, argued that the seventh and last vial was already in progress.[6] As early as 1597 one writer had fixed on 1666 as the

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1. Froom, Prophetic Faith, ii. 277.

2. Maitland, Notes on the Contributions, part ii, p. 116.

3. M. Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfall (1651), p.106.

4. Marlorat, op. cit., f. 225-v.; J. Mayer, Ecclesiastica Interpretatio (1627), p. 465; G. Gifford, Sermons upon..Revelation (1599), pp. 307-8; J. Trapp, A Commentary or Exposition upon...Revelation (1647), p. 556.

5. Mayer, op.cit., p. 474; H. Burton, The Seven Vials (1628), p. 14.

6. J. Brocard, The Revelation of S. Ihon reveled, trans. J. Sanford (1572), f. 140.

date when Antichristian Rome would fall, a prophecy which later found widespread support, and there was general agreement that Christ's coming was imminent.[1] The most important of these writers was John Napier of Merchistoun, the Scottish laird who invented logarithms, who reconciled for the first time all the prophetic numbers and identified all the seals, trumpets, woes and vials. Napier concluded that Rome and her allies would fall by 1639, and that the world would end about 1688.[2]

The apocalyptic spirit spread even to the Catholic world. Illyricus found a Catholic counterpart in Baronius. Campanella saw the kingdom of Spain, in alliance with the Pope, as the Fifth Monarchy (Dan. vii. 27), and this idea was sufficiently known for Milton to condemn it.[3] Some Catholic commentators, such as the Spanish writers Ribera and Alcazar, countered the Protestant apocalyptic school by arguing that all the biblical prophecies had been accomplished centuries ago. Cardinal Bellarmine and others took the opposite view that all these events were still in the far distant future. A third group, led by the Dominican monk Prierias, master of the papal palace at Rome, argued that the Papacy was the Fifth Monarchy, in being now and for ever.[4]

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1. T.L. (i.e. T. Lupton), Babylon is Fallen (1597), p. 26. Cf. anon., A Prophesie that hath Lyen hid, Above these 2000 yeares (1610), p. 45. See below, pp. 287-90.

2. J. Napier, A Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation (Edinburgh, 1593), passim.

3. T. Campanella, A Discourse Touching the Spanish Monarchy (1654), pp. 10-12; J. Milton, Complete Prose Works, i, ed. D. M. Wolfe (New Haven and London, 1953), p. 582.

4. Froom, Prophetic Faith, ii. 484-505.

Despite the pleasure with which it anticipated the punishment of God's enemies, the apocalyptic school was definitely pessimistic in outlook. There was no hope of real improvements before the end of the world. The thousand years' reign was either a figurative expression or had ended in 1000 or 1300. But this view of the thousand years was the only matter in which the apocalyptic school differed from the millenarian, which expected a reign of the saints on earth before the end of all things - and the chronology of Revelation was by no means self-evident.

The first millenarian development after the Reformation was in Germany and at a popular level. As early as 1520 a vagrant priest, Thomas Müntzer, established himself at Zwickau near the Bohemian border, and declared that the elect must rise up and annihilate the godless to prepare for Christ's coming and the millennium. He won a considerable following among the local weavers, mine-workers and peasants. The most important movement was in 1534-5 when the Anabaptists won control of the city of Münster and proclaimed it as the New Jerusalem. Its programme included polygamy, a ferocious legal code based on the statutes laid down in the Old Testament, and the abolition of the private ownership of money and many other goods; the social order was inverted completely. In June 1535 the New Jerusalem was captured by an army of mercenaries raised by the bishop of Münster, and the saints were put to the sword.[1]

Münster involved only the lower orders of society, its leader, John of Leyden, was a former tailor, and its only effect on orthodox

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1. Cohn, Pursuit of the Millennium, pp. 251-306; G. H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (1962), chap. xiii.

eschatology was to discredit millenarianism. But in time, reputable theologians did move towards a millenarian position without drawing any radical social or political conclusions. The study of the early history of the Church brought to light the fact that many of the Early Fathers, such as Tertullian and Irenaeus, had been millenarians, and this weakened the charge that such a belief was a new and seditious heresy. In the mid-seventeenth century Nathaniel Homes justified his millenarian ideas by printing several hundred pages of excerpts from Early Christian and Jewish writers. Baxter shrank from describing so many saints as heretics.[1] Moreover, the continued survival of the world, the victory of Henry of Navarre over the Guises, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and the successful rebellion of the Dutch gave grounds for a more optimistic outlook. Napier, who described these events, foresaw a period between the fall of Rome and the end of the world which could not be other than happy.[2] Professor Collinson describes the general belief of Elizabethan Puritans in 'some kind of apocalyptic victory which would bring in the discipline.'[3]

The first to reinterpret the prophecies in this light was Thomas Brightman (1562-1607), a minister educated at Cambridge, with strong Presbyterian views.[4] In his commentary, published

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1. N. Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1654), passim; R. Baxter, Which is the True Church (1679), p. 163.
2. Napier, op.cit., pp. 179-86.
3. P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (1967), pp. 389-90.
4. D.N.B.; B. G. Cooper, 'The Academic Re-discovery of Apocalyptic Ideas in the 17th Century', Baptist Quarterly, xviii (1959-60), pp. 352-6.

abroad in 1609, Brightman argued that although there were still many afflictions to come, there would be a thousand years' reign on earth, which had already begun. The millennium was the purified Presbyterian church, beginning about 1300 with Marsilio of Padua and then Wyclif, and destined to reach a glorious climax with the conversion of the Jews and the ruin of bishops, papists and Turks.[1] Brightman had some lay supporters, including among the gentry the Osborne family who gave him hospitality, but his work was published abroad and was not well-known until the 1640s.[2]

A different position was taken by Joseph Mede (1586-1638), a celebrated Cambridge theologian who stayed inside the Anglican church and was a friend of Archbishop Ussher. Mede systematized all the prophecies and concluded that there was to be a thousand years' reign on earth, and that it was entirely in the future; it would be '<u>in and during the day of judgement; which day of judgement should continue a thousand yeeres, beginning with the ruin of Antichrist.</u>'[3] The third contributor to the new exegesis was Johannes Alsted (1588-1638), professor of Philosophy at Herborn. According to his system, the first three vials were poured out

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1. Brightman, <u>Apocalypsis Apocalypseos</u> (Frankfort, 1609); English trans., <u>The Revelation of St. John Illustrated</u> (4th edn., 1644), esp. pp. 824-5; Brightman, <u>An Exposition of the 11th Chapter of Daniel</u> (1644), <u>passim</u>.

2. F. Osborne, <u>Traditional Memoirs</u> (1658), p. 34, cited by H. R. Trevor-Roper, <u>Religion, the Reformation and Social Change</u> (1967), p. 248n.

3. <u>D.N.B.</u>; Cooper, <u>art.cit.</u>, <u>Bapt.Quart.</u>, xix (1961-2), pp. 29-34; Mede, <u>The Key of the Revelation</u>, trans. R. More (1643), p. 121, 2nd pagin., p. 129; Mede, <u>The Apostacy of the latter Times</u> (1641), <u>sig.</u> A2-v.

between 1517 and 1625; the last four would be between 1625 and 1694, when the last judgement would begin. The saints would be raised from the dead, and the elect would reign on earth for a thousand years.[1] Fifth Monarchists drew heavily in later years on all three of these writers.[2] Mede and Alsted were writing in the 1620s, at a time in the Thirty Years' War when Protestantism seemed in danger of total extinction. In these circumstances, Brightman's millennium of gradual improvements seemed no longer relevant. Only a total transformation preceded by cataclysmic events could offer hope in the new conditions. The disasters of the 1620s produced a great wave of millenarianism on the continent.[3]

Despite press censorship, millenarian ideas did circulate in pre-revolutionary England. In 1586 Ralph Durden, a minister educated at Cambridge, was imprisoned for predicting the downfall of the Tudor monarchy, which he identified as the Beast of Rev. xvii. He prophesied that he would lead the Jews and all the saints to rebuild Jerusalem, and would defeat all the kings of the earth, who 'shall be obedient to us, and pay us tribute' for a thousand years. A mark on his thigh was final proof that he was the messianic king of Rev. xix. 16 who had 'on his thigh the name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.' Durden apparently submitted, for he remained for many years a minister in Essex.[4] A work by John Wilkinson, a

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1. J. Alsted, The Beloved City, trans. W. Burton (1643), pp. 13-19; cf. Cooper, art.cit., Bapt.Quart., xviii, pp.358-62.
2. See Note (p. 43).
3. See below, pp. 312-15 and note on p.43.
4. J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation (Oxford, 1824), II.i., pp. 693-4, II.ii., pp. 479-87; J. Venn and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses..to 1751 (Cambridge, 1922-7), ii. 77.

Brownist minister imprisoned for many years, was published posthumously in 1619 and concluded with the promise of Rev. xx. 4, that the saints would reign with Christ a thousand years.[1] John Stoughton, a London minister who died in 1639 and had been in the circle of the Puritan earl of Warwick, claimed in a tract published after his death that despite appearances, the princes were about to rise up, destroy the Pope and the Habsburgs and establish the last, millennial age.[2] In a sermon preached in the 1640s, the Independent minister Thomas Goodwin declared he had been a millenarian for twenty years.[3] Goodwin had been convinced by one Wood, whom he called the first English millenarian. This was probably Tempest Wood, born about 1575, educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and vicar of Lavington (alias Lenton), Lincs., from 1601. In the 1620s Wood sent his 'elaborate Meditations' on Revelation to Mede, with whom he had a long correspondence.[4] Wood may well have been the Lincolnshire vicar who was reported in 1629 to believe that Christ and the saints would eat and drink during a future reign on earth.[5] The exiled Independent church at Arnhem, to which William Bridge and Sidrach Simpson belonged, was later said to have consisted of

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1. J. Wilkinson, An Exposition of the 13. Chapter of the Revelation (1619), sig. Alv., p. 37.

2. J. Stoughton, Felicitas Ultimi Saeculi (1640), passim; Trevor-Roper, op.cit., pp. 258-9.

3. T. Goodwin, The World to Come (1655), p. 30.

4. T. Goodwin, The World to Come (1655), p. 19; J. Mede, Works (1672 edn.), pp. 581-605; Venn and Venn, Al. Cantab., iv. 454.

5. Mede, Works, pp. 773-4.

'crassi Chiliastae'.[1] John Mayer noted in 1627 that many men believed in the reign of the saints on earth.[2]

When authority began to crumble in 1640, these men emerged into view. In A Glimpse of Sions Glory (1641), Thomas Goodwin wrote of the dawning new world, and William Kiffin, later one of the leading Baptists, added an epistle. Goodwin declared that at present 'the saints have but little in the World; now they are the poorest and meanest of all', but soon 'the World shall be theirs.'[3] Jeremiah Burroughes, another Independent, predicted a future reign on earth, and argued that the prophetic texts were otherwise incomprehensible.[4] Also in 1641, John Archer prophesied a kingdom of heaven on earth, established by Christ in person and governed by the saints. It would be a time of universal peace and riches, heralded by the fall of Rome, which would occur in 1666. Archer had been a London lecturer in 1629, but was deprived by Laud. In 1631 he was presented by the Feoffees for Impropriations to All Saints', Hertford, but in 1638 it was reported that he had already been absent for over a year, and was not likely to return. Probably he had already fled abroad, and he became pastor of the church at Arnhem. He died abroad, in or shortly before 1642.[5] William Bridge

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1. G. Hornius, Historia Ecclesiastica et Politica (Leyden and Rotterdam, 1665), p. 268, cited by G. F. Nuttall, Visible Saints (Oxford, 1957), p. 148n.
2. Mayer, Ecclesiastica Interpretatio, pp. 503-4.
3. Goodwin, Glimpse, p. 28; for Goodwin's authorship, see J.F.Wilson, 'A Glimpse of Syons Glory', Church History, xxxi (1962), pp.66-73.
4. J. Burroughes, Moses his Choice (1641), pp. 485-7.
5. J. Archer, The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth (1642, 1st edn. 1641). For his career, see Biographical Appendix.

asserted in 1641 that 'I shall not prophecie if I say, The sword is now drawne, whose anger shall not be pacified till Babylon be downe, and Sion rais'd.'[1] Henry Burton, whilst a prisoner on Guernsey (from 1637 to 1640), announced his expectation that 'Christ alone may reigne' and that God would 'subject the Kingdome to Christs Government.'[2]

Though few of the laity ventured into print on the interpretation of the prophecies, apocalyptic and millenarian ideas certainly spread among them. At the highest level, the future James I had declared in 1588 that the Pope was Antichrist, and that the last age was at hand.[3] Many of the commentaries mentioned above were dedicated to laymen of high standing, such as the earls of Leicester and Essex. and Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer.[4] One of the few lay interpreters was Lady Eleanor Douglas who, though thought insane and put in Bedlam, shared many of the characteristics of radical Puritanism. In 1633 she predicted the execution of Charles I, and in 1625 she had declared that the last judgement was only 19½ years hence. She identified James I as the little horn (Dan. vii. 8). To symbolize her scorn for episcopacy, she poured tar over the altar at Lichfield Cathedral.[5] The fact that the

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1. W. Bridge, Babylons Downfall (1641), sig. A3.
2. H. Burton, The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets (1641),pp.43,88.
3. James I, A Fruitefull Meditation (1603 edn.), sig. A4v., B3v.
4. The works of Brocard, Gifford and Marlorat respectively.
5. E. Audley (later Douglas), A Warning to the Dragon (1625), esp. p. 100; Douglas, The Excommunication out of Paradice (1647), p. 16; Bethlehem Signifying the House of Bread (1652), p. 5;

(cont. over)

apocalyptic sermon preached by Ralph Wimbledon in 1388 went through at least sixteen editions between 1550 and 1635 testified to a much more widespread lay concern over the world's end.[1] The sermons at Paul's Cross were used by the government from 1534 as propaganda to persuade the population that the Pope was Antichrist, and about to fall.[2] The interests of the preachers were no doubt reflected in their sermons and conversation. The Puritan, Richard Rothwell (1563-1627), was so concerned with Daniel and Revelation that, despite a warning from Whitgift, 'he seldom preached abroad out of any other Scriptures'.[3] William Gouge described a common 'superstitious practise', by which people 'sit up all night at certaine times of the yeere, keeping themselves awake with talking one with another, playing on instruments,...upon a conceit that Christ will come in iudgement on some of those nights...and they would not then be found asleepe.'[4] It was thought necessary in 1552 to include in the liturgy three articles condemning millenarian ideas and the associated beliefs that hell was only temporary, and that the damned would be pardoned after the thousand years. Millenarianism also involved the belief that the soul could not go directly to heaven or hell

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Cont. S. G. Wright, 'Dougle Fooleries', Bodleian Quart. Rec., vii (1932), pp.95-8; cf. C. J. Hindle, A Bibliography of..Lady Eleanor Douglas (Edinburgh, 1936), pp. 1-10.

1. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, Short Title Catalogue..1475-1640 (1950), p. 601.

2. M. Maclure, The Paul's Cross Sermons (Toronto, 1958), passim.

3. S. Clarke, A Generall Martyrologie..Whereunto are added two and twenty Lives (1660), 2nd pagination, p. 87.

4. W. Gouge, Workes (1627), part ii, p. 234.

after death, but only after the Last Judgement at the end of the thousand years. Until the millennium began, the soul was in a state of sleep. Such doctrines struck at the terrors of hell, and thus weakened a vital sanction by which social order was maintained.[1] In the 1630s millenarian views were adopted by James Toppe, a Baptist schoolmaster of Tiverton, who expected Christ to reign in person.[2]

Otherwise, the only direct evidence of lay millennial excitement is the appearance of pseudo-prophets. In 1555 two women were punished for claiming that a new-born child had proclaimed that 'the kyngdom of God is at hand'. On 10 April 1561 William Geffrey was whipped through the streets of London for claiming that one John Moore was Christ. Two days later a man was put in the stocks for claiming to be 'kynge of all kynges.' In 1562 one Elizeus Hall of Manchester went to London, claiming to be a messenger sent by God to the Queen. He was imprisoned, and died in 1565. In 1586 John White, a shoemaker of Rayleigh, Essex, claimed to be John the Baptist.[3] The most notorious of these prophets was William Hacket,

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1. The Two Liturgies..of King Edward VI, ed. J. Ketley (Parker Soc., xiv, Cambridge, 1844), p. 537; Gouge, Works, pt. ii, p.295. For attacks on the eternity of hell and for the sleep of the soul see D. P. Walker, The Decline of Hell (1964) and C. Hill, 'William Harvey and the Idea of Monarchy', Past and Present, xxvii (1964), pp. 61-4.

2. W. H. Burgess, 'James Toppe and the Tiverton Anabaptists', Trans.Bapt.Hist.Soc., iii (1912-3), pp. 193-211.

3. The Diary of Henry Machyn, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Soc.,xlii, 1848), pp. 88, 255; J. Stow, A Summarie of the Chronicles of England (1598), p. 299; R. Holinshed, The Laste volume of the Chronicles of England (1577), p. 1815; Strype, Annals of the Reformation, I.i, pp. 400, 433-5, I.ii, p. 196, III.i, pp. 37-8.

a malt-maker, who in 1591 declared that Christ had returned in him, and was about to fulfil all prophecies. Two gentlemen who supported him, Coppinger and Arthington, proclaimed the news and invited people to call on Christ at one Walker's house in Broken Wharf. Hacket, they said, was to be king of Europe. A 'mightie concourse of the common multitude' followed them through the city, chanting their slogans, led by 'a great multitude of lads and young persons of the meaner sort'. Hacket was taken and executed.[1] In 1628 Edward Francklin, Esquire, was put in Bedlam after proclaiming in church that his brother was God, his son Christ, and one Lady Dyer was the Holy Ghost. A Warwickshire woman thought she was the 'Mother of God and of all things living.'[2] Two London weavers, Farnham and Bull, claimed in 1636 to be the two witnesses of Rev. xi. 3, asserting that the millennium was imminent and that even if executed, they would rise again on the third day and reign as king and high priest in Jerusalem. They both died of the plague in prison.[3] Had the authorities been less firmly in control, such instances would surely have multiplied, as they did after 1640.

Another element in the origins of Fifth Monarchism was the idea of the elect nation. Apocalyptic and millenarian ideas blended with the intense nationalism of the period and with the Calvinist

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1. R. Cosin, Conspiracie, for Pretended Reformation (1592), pp.55-8 and passim; Cal. S. P. Dom., 1591-4, pp. 75-6.

2. R. Hunter and I. Macalpine, Three Hundred Years of Psychiatry, 1535-1860, pp. 103-5, 144.

3. T. Heywood, A True Discourse of the Two infamous upstart Prophets (1638), passim; anon., False Prophets Discovered (1642), passim; Cal. S.P.Dom., 1637-8, pp. 66, 188, 606.

concept that only the predestined few, the elect, would be saved. England was the only major Protestant state, and this produced the belief that it was an elect nation destined by God to play a great part in destroying Rome to hasten the world's end, or in setting up the millennium. This doctrine was popular from the time of John Foxe, who showed how the earliest British kings had maintained the true religion, and how God had chosen the Englishman Wyclif as harbinger of the Reformation.[1] John Aylmer, a Marian exile and later bishop of London, argued that England produced Wyclif, who 'begate Husse, who begat Luther, who begat the truth. What greater honor could you or I have, then that it pleased Christ as it were in a second birth to be born again of men among you?' 'God is..English' and Elizabeth was 'gods chosen instrument.'[2] Even the continental reformer Martin Bucer of Strassburg accepted the claim. His description of a Christian utopia, De Regno Christi, was an account of what England might become under Edward VI.[3] English events predominated in most interpretations of the prophecies. Brightman explained the first vial of wrath as Elizabeth's expulsion of papists, and the third vial as Cecil's legislation against the Jesuits.[4] Mede saw this legislation and the defeat of the Armada as the third vial.[5] Robert Parker (c.1564-1614), a radical Puritan

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1. W. Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (1963), esp. chap. 7.
2. J. Aylmer, An Harborowe For Faith-full..Subiectes (Strassburg, 1559), pp. 99, 122.
3. C. Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford, 1946), pp. 100-3.
4. Brightman, Revelation, pp. 524, 532-3.
5. Mede, Key of the Revelation, 2nd pagin., p. 116.

minister who died in exile, explained the sixth vial as England, soon to make a way for the sacking of Rome and the conversion of the Jews.[1] Another minister, Richard Bernard, claimed that God had honoured England 'above all other places in the Christian world': the first Christian emperor was Constantine, born in England; the first Christian king was (the mythical) Lucius, king of England; and Wyclif was the first exponent of the truth. The defeat of the Armada, and the success of the Dutch and Huguenots were proof that the cause of God and England was one.[2]

The cautious foreign policy of the Stuarts, especially their refusal to enter the Thirty Years' War, was a severe blow to the theory of the elect nation. Commentators such as Mede turned to Gustavus Adolphus as God's champion, and the angel who poured out the fourth vial.[3] But the speed with which the theory reappeared after 1640 shows that it was only dormant.

The evolution of millenarian ideas was perhaps helped by a half-remembered precedent of the Lollards. Their leaders had identified the Papacy as the Beast and Antichrist, and their apocalyptic ideas were set down by Foxe.[4] A millenarian vision of a Lollard victory emerged at a more popular level, and chiliastic hopes have been recorded in East Anglia and Gloucestershire (early fifteenth century), at Newbury in the 1490s and in London and Wiltshire in the early sixteenth century.[5]

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1. R. Parker, The Mystery of the Vialls Opened (1651), p. 14.
2. R. Bernard, A Key of Knowledge (1619), pp. 127-9, 279.
3. Mede, op.cit., 2nd pagin., p. 117; anon., The Swedish Discipline (1632), sig. A4v. and passim.
4. Foxe, op.cit., iii. 132, 291.
5. J. A. F. Thomson, The Later Lollards (Oxford, 1965), p. 241.

The tension produced by the Reformation thus combined with nationalism, Protestant literalism, Calvinist elitism and perhaps Lollard tradition to produce widespread apocalyptic and millenarian beliefs. The civil war, breaking out in 1642, soon came to be seen as the decisive apocalyptic or millenarian struggle, intensifying earlier excitement. The war did not break out over primarily religious conflicts, but there was a long tradition among Puritans of interpreting all political events in an apocalyptic or millenarian sense. There was also a natural tendency for all forces discontented with the Stuart regime to coalesce in opposition to it, whatever the origins of that opposition. Although religion was not at first involved, there were several considerations leading Puritans to support the Parliamentary cause. Queen Henrietta Maria and many courtiers were Catholics, and to many the Laudian church seemed distinctly Catholic in spirit. Instead of trying to neutralize Puritan discontent, Charles identified his cause with that of the Church of England. Radical Puritans had begun long since to denounce the Anglican as well as the Catholic Church as part of Antichrist. Even Brightman had seen the episcopal church as merely luke-warm Laodicea (Rev. iii. 14-16).[1] John Wilkinson argued that every Anglican minister accepted the Mark of the Beast (Rev. xiii.17) by receiving letters of orders from a bishop.[2] Lady Eleanor Douglas saw Archbishop Laud as the beast from the bottomless pit (Rev. xvii. 8).[3] John Cotton, a leading New England

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1. Brightman, Revelation, p. 124.
2. Wilkinson, Exposition of the 13. Chapter, pp. 24-5.
3. E. Douglas, The Dragons Blasphemous Charge against Her (1651),p.3.

Puritan, described Anglicanism in 1642 as the kingdom of the Beast, and expected its collapse under the fifth vial.[1] Henry Burton described the bishops as the 'Limbes' of Antichrist, and John de la March, a Presbyterian gaoled with Burton on Guernsey, claimed they were God's two persecuted witnesses (Rev. xi. 3) and that all episcopal officials were parts of Babylon.[2] Thus the effect of the king's proclamation was to transfer to himself part of the millenarian odium already felt towards thechurch. This was evident in a pamphlet of 1642 which argued that as bishops sprang from the Antichristian Papacy, the king in defending them became the agent of Antichrist.[3]

The effect of the traditional use of military imagery by Puritan preachers was probably a further help in transforming the war into a crusade. Though they spoke of spiritual warfare, the concept of Puritan duty as a military struggle must have encouraged this view of literal warfare in 1642. 'The world is the great field of God,' declared Thomas Taylor in 1618, 'in which Michael and his Angels fight against the dragon and his angels.' Simeon Ashe argued in 1642 that 'when we were baptized we took press money, and vowed to serve under the colors of Christ.'[4] John Spencer, groom to Lord Saye and Sele, asserted in 1642: 'Here you must look for

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1. J. Cotton, The Powring out of the Seven Vials (1642), vial 5,p.5.
2. Burton, Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets, p. 33; J. de la March, A Complaint of the False Prophets Mariners (1641), sig.a1-v.,p.6.
3. Anon., The Camp of Christ, and the Camp of Antichrist (1642), passim.
4. M. Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (1966), pp. 277-80.

fight if ever you would come to heaven..The Lord hath told you, in the last dayes there should be terrible times,..do you not already perceive the very drops of blood begin to fall?..Christ seems now to set up his glorious standard.'[1]

These considerations combined to lead many Puritans to find a millenarian meaning in the war. Some, like Spencer, later a Fifth Monarchist, seem to have been convinced immediately, whilst others explained the war as both a defensive struggle against the king's evil counsellors and a war of the Lamb against the Beast, with adherence to the king tantamount to saying 'that the Devil is to be obeyed, and God is to be punished.'[2]

The extensive freedom of the press in the 1640s allowed for the first time the publication of the major millenarian works in England and in English. Brightman's work appeared in 1644, preceded by several short, popular versions, sometimes in verse.[3] Alsted's Diatribe was translated for the first time, and a summary was also published.[4] Mede's Clavis Apocalyptica was translated in 1643, and several of his other millenarian writings were published.[5] Napier's

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1. J. Spencer, The Spirituall Warfare (1642), pp. 3, 12, 13. For Spencer see the Biographical Appendix.

2. Anon., Englands Alarm to War against the Beast (1643), tit.pag., sig. B1, p. 16.

3. Brightman, Revelation of St. John; anon., Brightmans Predictions and Prophecies (1641); A Revelation of Mr. Brightmans Revelation (1641); Sixe strange Prophecies (1643), sig. A4; Reverend Mr. Brightmans Iudgement (1643).

4. Alsted, Beloved City (1643); anon., The Worlds Proceeding Woes (1642).

5. Mede, Key of the Revelation (1643 and '50); A Paraphrase of..St. Peter (1642 and '49); The Apostacy of the Latter Times (1641); Daniel's Weekes (1643).

commentary reached its fifth edition in 1645, and it also circulated in two popular versions.[1] The almanacs of Lilly and others such as John Vaux helped to spread apocalyptic ideas, and the newspapers proclaimed that 'Antichrist is falling.'[2] Moreover the works of Paracelsus and Boehme, both of whom held millenarian beliefs, were translated in the years after 1640.[3]

The conviction that God's saints were engaged in a millenarian struggle in England brought the prompt reappearance of the theory of the elect nation. Milton in 1641 remarked on the 'Precedencie which GOD gave this Iland, to be the first Restorer of buried Truth.'[4] The very turmoils of the war were seen as refining England's character. 'If this British Northern nation bee the people chosen of God to accomplish the last wonders of the world,' Christopher Syms asked, 'was it not necessary the nation it self be first purged?'[5] Even the cautious Presbyterian Herbert Palmer could see the new Reformation as 'the great expectation of the world' and the Independent Hugh Peter visualized the army of the elect nation conquering the world to establish the millennium.[6] William Bridge and Peter

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1. Anon., Napiers Narration (1642); J. Booker (?=H. Burton), The Bloudy Almanack (1647).

2. J. Vaux, Vaux.1643. A Prognostication (1643), sig. B2-v.; Certaine Informations, 27 (17-24 July 1643), p. 209.

3. D. Hirst, Hidden Riches (1964), pp. 76-109; P. M. Rattansi, 'Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution', Ambix, xi (1963), p.24.

4. Milton, Complete Prose Works, i. 526.

5. C. Syms, The Swords Apology (1644), p. 10.

6. H. Palmer, The Duty and Honour of Church-Members (1646), sig. A3; R. P. Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan (Urbana, 1954), p. 330.

Sterry were enthusiastic believers in the theory, but the most exalted view was that of the visionary William Sedgwick, who described England as the 'bosome of the earth where the divine glory chooseth to treasure up his richest Jewels:..Nothing heer but is spoken by God, made by the Word of God; and doth again speak God:..to make England a happy Canaan, Father, Son and Spirit agree to dwell in it.'[1]

The crucial development was the adoption and dissemination of millenarian views by Puritan preachers. The speed of this change is only explicable on the assumption that these beliefs were already widespread and were released and intensified, rather than created, by the war. The Scottish Resident in London, Baillie, complained that not only the sectaries but even the gravest of the Presbyterians 'such as Twisse, Marshall, Palmer, and many more, are express Chiliasts.'[2] The millenarian wave caught up large numbers of ministers, of Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist views alike. A complete statistical examination of its extent is not possible, but a guide can be obtained using the collections of the London bookseller George Thomason, by examining the new works of ministers living in England and supporting Parliament in the civil war in the period 1640-53, the greatest years of the movement.[3] In this period some 112 ministers published three new works, a number which ensures that

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1. W. Bridge, Christs Coming (1648), sig. A4; P. Sterry, Englands Deliverance (1652), p. 34; W. Sedgwick, The Leaves of the Tree of Life (1648), pp. 2-3.

2. R. Baillie, Letters and Journals (Edinburgh, 1775), ii. 156.

3. G. K. Fortescue, Catalogue of the Pamphlets..Collected by George Thomason (1908).

the most important clergy are included and their ideas fairly represented. Of these no less than 78, or just under 70%, can be identified as millenarians: they believed in an imminent kingdom of glory on earth, and often explained the civil war as its precursor. Moreover, since not all the works of all the authors have been examined, this is probably less than the true total. Well over a third were not sectaries but Presbyterians. Only four writers denounced millenarian ideas altogether, though several rejected the physical return of Christ and resurrection of the martyrs whilst accepting a millennial kingdom to come.[1]

Moreover, the millenarianism of many of these preachers, including the Presbyterians, was very unlike the calm and academic speculations of Mede, who had even hoped to see the fall of Rome without bloodshed.[2] Many had suffered persecution at the hands of the bishops and some had been forced into exile. Consequently their joy in the happy age to come was equalled or surpassed by their pleasure at the dreadful fate about to overtake their enemies. William Bridge urged upon the House of Commons a policy of simple revenge: 'enquire after this Babylonish company, and..repay them according to their demerits. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, burning for burning,..and blood for blood.'[3] Henry Jessey, the Baptist, looked forward to when God 'shortly will bring down every high thing.'[4]

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1. For details and names, see Note on pp. 44-7.
2. Mede, Key of the Revelation, 2nd pagin., pp. 28-9.
3. W. Bridge, Babylons Downfall, p. 10.
4. H. Jessey, The Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced (1647), sig. A6v.

Many of the ordinary laymen who were attracted to millenarianism may have been drawn primarily by the wish to humiliate their superiors and oppressors.[1]

To achieve the ruin of their enemies and the establishment of New Jerusalem, the preachers called for the zealous prosecution of the war: the millennium, the war, and the cause of God were presented as the same struggle. The Presbyterians were as bellicose as any. 'In vain are the high Praises of God in your Mouths', asserted Charles Herle, 'without a Two-edged Sword in your hands.'[2] Edmund Calamy declared that 'The Cause you manage is the Cause of God;..He that dies fighting the Lords Battle, dyes a Martyr.'[3] Stephen Marshall assured Parliament that 'All Christendom except the Malignants in England, do now see that the Question in England is, whether Christ, or Antichrist, shall be Lord and King.'[4] Even the cautious Richard Baxter could urge on the soldiers against the bishops as 'the Military Instruments of the Devil.'[5] The Scottish Presbyterians felt the same millenarian hopes about the war. Rutherford and Gillespie, two of the leading ministers, were both enthusiasts. There too the concept of the elect nation played its part in heightening expectations - though naturally the elect nation was Scotland.[6]

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1. See below, pp.183-5.
2. R. L'Estrange, The Dissenter's Sayings (1681), p.42.
3. Ibid., p.41.
4. L'Estrange, The Dissenter's Sayings: The Second Part (1681),p.73.
5. Ibid., p. 25.
6. S. A. Burrell, 'The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters', Scott.Hist.Rev., xliii (1964), pp. 1-24.

Many of the preachers joined the army as chaplains and some preached before Parliament.[1] Many of the leading politicians and officers seem to have accepted their millenarian views. Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane certainly did, and Baillie thought them no better than the Münster Anabaptists.[2] Oliver St. John was the patron of the Anglo-German millenarian Hartlib, whose avowed aim was '<u>the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.</u>'[3] Lord Brooke, one of the early Parliamentary leaders who died in 1643, was said to have boasted that he 'should see the millenary fooles Paradise begin in his life time.'[4] The translation of Mede was by Richard More, a Member of Parliament, and Alsted's <u>Beloved City</u> was dedicated to Sir John Cordwell, Alderman of London. Sir John Wray, a Lincolnshire Member, had long possessed an apocalyptic work of Robert Parker, later published in 1651.[5] Parker's son Thomas published a millenarian tract which was dedicated to Philip, earl of Pembroke.[6] Burroughes dedicated a millenarian work to the earl of Warwick who was to help God 'set up Ierusalem as the praise of the earth.'[7] William Prynne hailed the earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general,

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1. L. F. Solt, <u>Saints in Arms</u> (1959), <u>passim</u>; Trevor-Roper, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 294-344.

2. Baillie, <u>Letters and Journals,</u> ii. 260.

3. (A. von Frankenberg), <u>Clavis Apocalyptica</u> (1651), <u>sig.</u> *3.

4. W. Chestlin, <u>Persecutio Undecima</u> (1648), p. 56. I owe this reference to Dr. Robin Clifton.

5. R. Parker, <u>Mystery of the Vialls, sig.</u> A1v. I owe this point to Professor Trevor-Roper.

6. T. Parker, <u>The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel</u> (1646).

7. Burroughes, <u>Moses his Choice, sig.</u> A2v.

as the 'Generall of the Lord of Hosts', who was to set up Christ's kingdom.[1] A Parliamentary memorandum on the proposed Treaty of Uxbridge in 1644 reflected that all the prophecies spoke of great tribulations immediately before Christ's kingdom. 'So that the more our perswasions are, that we fight against the beast,' and that the beast was about to fall, 'the stronglier we may conclude that the contrary power shall overcome.' A compromise peace was therefore advised as the best way to stave off the ravages of the beast.[2] The celebrated continental scholar and millenarian, Comenius, and his associates John Dury and Samuel Hartlib, were in close contact with Cromwell and other Parliamentary leaders.[3] Among millenarians who became Fifth Monarchists, John Carew was a member of the Council of State, and the army officers Harrison, Overton, Rich and Danvers all held the rank of colonel or above.[4] A striking illustration of the widespread interest in millenarian ideas was provided later, in January 1654 by the numerous distinguished visitors to the Fifth Monarchist prophetess, Anna Trapnel. They included Col. Sydenham of the Council of State, Cols. West, Bennett and Bingham (all sometime Members of Parliament), Thomas Allen, later Lord Mayor of London, Lady Darcy and Lady Vermuyden.[5] Milton too seems to have

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1. W. Prynne, The Popish Royall Favourite (1643), sig.¶2.
2. Thurloe (1742), i. 54. I owe this reference to Mr. Blair Worden.
3. M. Spinka, John Amos Comenius (Chicago, 1943); R. F. Young, Comenius in England (1932); Trevor-Roper, op.cit., pp. 249-93.
4. For all these see Biog. Appendix.
5. A Trapnel, The Cry of a Stone (1654), pp. 2-3, 7; G. F. Nuttall, James Nayler; a Fresh Approach (1954), pp. 10,14 and passim. For Trapnel see Biog. App.; see also the distinguished visitors to the convert Sarah Wight: Jessey, Exceeding Riches, (1647) passim.

been swayed for a time by millenarian hopes.[1]

Even royalists shared some of the apocalyptic and millenarian spirit. An Anglican author in 1642 quoted Alsted, Mede and John Archer to prove the imminence of the millennium. He dedicated the work to Henry, viscount Newark, a prominent royalist, and inserted a commendatory note from Seth Ward, later bishop of Exeter and Salisbury.[2] Joseph Hall thought there could be no millennium, but only because the world was about to end. In 1651 a friend of Bishop Duppa had identified Antichrist (probably as Cromwell), and expected the world to end within two years. Duppa thought 'it might be so, for every body might see that the world was now drawn low, and in the dreggs.' Another royalist explained the two witnesses who would die and then rise again (Rev. xi. 3-12) as the execution of King Charles who would rise again in the person of his son.[3]

In Scotland, prominent lay millenarians included General David Leslie, who envisaged a European crusade to establish the millennium, and Archibald Johnston of Warriston, Scottish commissioner to the Westminster Assembly. A minority group of the Remonstrant faction of the Presbyterians, led by Johnston and James Guthrie, remained millenarians in the 1650s. In 1655 they were described as 'Fifth-monarchy-presbiterians', but apart from a belief in the millennium

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1. A. E. Barker, Milton and the Puritan Dilemma (Toronto, 1942), pp. 194-6.

2. T.B., Nuncius Propheticus (1642), passim.

3. J. Hall, The Revelation Unrevealed (1650), pp. 224-7 and passim; Sir Gyles Isham, ed., The Correspondence of Bishop Brian Duppa and Sir Justinian Isham, 1650-60 (1955), pp. 37-8; E. Hall, Lingua Testium (1651), passim.

and the rule of the godly, the only feature they had in common with the English movement was a violent hostility to the Cromwellian regime.[1]

Inevitably, the excitement and the millenarian ideas passed down to the common people and were reshaped in accordance with the people's own and different hopes. One development in the civil war period was the emergence of a large number of popular prophets in the tradition of Hacket. In 1644, for example, a labourer named Rowland Bateman claimed to be both the Son of God and Abraham, and said the king was his son Isaac. He announced that he must be hanged, and would rise again on the third day, and that the millennium would begin in nine years' time. Despite the confusion of his ideas, there were fears about the 'many severall sorts of People that hourly flocke unto him.'[2] Rhys or 'Arise' Evans, a Welsh tailor who had been a self-appointed prophet since the 1630s, stood up in St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, in 1647 and proclaimed that he was Christ. For a time he belonged to Chamberlen's Fifth Monarchist congregation, but later became a royalist propagandist.[3] Several women claimed to be with child by the Holy Ghost, and that their child would be the Messiah.[4] John Robins, a Ranter, claimed to be

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1. C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1962 edn.), p. 130; Burrell, art. cit., pp.20-1; Thurloe, iv. 557.

2. Anon., Beware of False Prophets (1644), passim.

3. D.N.B., Rhys Evans; anon., Strange Newes from New-Gate (1647), where Evan Price was probably an error for Rhys Evans; Minutes of the Lothbury Church, Bodl. MS. Rawlinson D 828, f.18.

4. Anon., A List of Some of the Grand Blasphemers (1654), brs.

God the Father, and found a number of disciples.[1] A sect arose at Andover in 1649 led by a rope-maker named William Franklin, who had deserted his wife to live with Mary Gadbury, who sold pins and laces and was accused of keeping a brothel. They moved to Hampshire (the land of Ham, Psalm cv. 23), and Franklin announced that he was Christ and about to establish the millennium. His 'very plausible' tongue won many converts, including a local minister. His followers also claimed to have visions, and ascribed to themselves such rôles as John the Baptist, the two witnesses and the angels who were to destroy God's enemies, among whom were listed several unpopular local figures. Franklin was arrested and recanted in 1650, when his sect already numbered five or six hundred.[2] George Foster, claiming to be the voice of God, declared that the chosen people of all lands would gather in Jerusalem to inaugurate the millennium.[3] Lodowick Muggleton, claiming that he and his friend John Reeve were the two witnesses, founded a sect which lasted for several centuries.[4] The London goldsmith, Thomas Tany, claimed descent from Henry VII and Aaron, High Priest of the Jews, demanded the crowns of England, France, Naples, Rome and Jerusalem, and proclaimed that he was to lead the Jews back to Israel. In 1655, inspired by a vision to kill

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1. Anon., A List of Some of the Grand Blasphemers (1654), brs.; All the Proceedings at the Sessions of the Peace holden at Westminster (1651), passim.

2. H. Ellis, Pseudochristus (1650), passim; Cohn, Pursuit of the Millennium, pp. 336-9.

3. G. Foster, The Pouring Forth of the Seventh and Last Viall (1656); Foster, The Sound of the Last Trumpet (1650), both passim.

4. D.N.B., Muggleton; J. Reeve and L. Muggleton, A Transcendent Spiritual Treatise (1652), pp. 4-5.

all the Members of Parliament, he attacked the House single-handed, wearing an ancient costume and armed with a rusty sword. The door-keeper was wounded, and Tany was sent to prison.[1]

Bizarre as these prophets seem, many were able to win popular support, and the sense of divine intervention in their daily lives was the same feeling which inspired many to millenarian enthusiasm. Many contemporaries testified that such enthusiasm was widespread amongst ordinary people. One author complained as early as 1642 that 'millenaries are most frequent with us; men that looke for a temporal Kingdome, that must begin presently and last a thousand yeares..to promote that Kingdom of Christ, they teach that all the ungodly must be killed, that the wicked have no propriety in their estates..This doctrine filleth the simple people with a furious and unnaturall zeale.'[2] The two heresiographers, Edwards and Pagitt, both included the expectation of an earthly reign by the saints 'in outward glory and pomp' as a popular heresy.[3] Another wrote in 1645 of the increasing belief in a time of 'prosperity, peace, riches, plenty, wealth, and glory, with such supreme power and Majesty, as never any Monarch in this world had before.'[4]

As early as May 1643 the soldiers at Wallingford were repeating a rumour that 'Christ shall come into the world and destroy King

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1. T. Tany, Hear, O Earth (1654), brs.; Thearauiohn High Priest (1652), passim; Thau Ram Tanjah (1654), brs.; The Nations Right (1651), p.1; A Perfect Account, 209 (3-10 Jan. 1655), p. 1666.

2. Anon., A Short History of the Anabaptists (1642), pp. 54-5.

3. T. Edwards, Gangraena, (1646), i. 23; B. Pagitt, Heresiography (2nd edn., 1645), p. 44.

4. J. Graunt, Truths Victory (1645), p. 44.

Charles, and that the Earl of Essex is accounted for John the Baptist.'[1] One William Bowling of Cranbrook, Kent, expounded the text 'this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise' (Luke xxiii. 43) as 'when I come personally to reign upon earth a 1,000 years, at that day shalt thou be with me in my Kingdom.' Philip Tandy, from near York, was confident that 'within these very few yeers I shall see him whom our soul loveth.'[2] Often the preachers directed their millenarian teaching at the lower classes. John Brayne, a minister at Winchester, had a vision that Christ would begin to reign 'first in England, where the meanest people, that are now despised, shall have first the revelation of Truth.' Thomas Goodwin presented this vision to the army.[3] Goodwin himself taught that 'God intends to make use of the common People in the great Worke of proclaiming the Kingdome of his Sonne.'[4] In 1647 William Sedgwick declared that Christ would come to judgement within a fortnight, and was said to have claimed that Christ had appeared in his study at Ely.[5] Several years earlier, in 1643, a preacher told the Commons that 'the generall talk throughout the household' - probably in London - 'among the domesticks, is, that Christ their King is comming to take possession of his Throne.'[6] Hugh Peter spoke of the universal

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1. Journal of Sir Samuel Luke, ed. I. G. Philip (1947), p. 76, quoted in C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution, p. 326.
2. Edwards, Gangraena (1646), iii. 36, 55.
3. Anon., A Vision, which One Mr. Brayne...had in September, 1647 (1649), brs.
4. Goodwin, Glimpse of Sions Glory, p. 6.
5. The Clarke Papers, ed. C. H. Firth (Camden Soc., new ser., xlix, liv, lxi, lxii, 1891-1901), i. 4.
6. H. Wilkinson, Babylons Ruine (1643), p. 21.

interest, 'Some looking to the prophesies that concern Gog and Magog: some casting their eye upon the drying up of Euphrates,..and most men disputing the slaying of the two witnesses; as much conducing to Gods designe in bringing about..the fifth Monarchy.'[1] The belief that Doomsday or the millennium would arrive 'such a day in such a week' was 'the common talk about London, and so consequently over England.'[2]

Thus by the mid-1640s the excitement arising out of the Reformation and intensified by the civil war had created millenarian hopes at all levels of society. The Fifth Monarchists, drawing upon the works of Brightman, Mede, Alsted and Archer, emerged from this wave of excitement, and stood within the line of millenarian development.[3] But by the time they emerged, millenarianism was already shrinking. The millenarian vision was by its nature flexible, appealing in different forms to different social groups. For the Presbyterians, following Brightman, it meant the universal establishment of that church: 'The kingdom of our Lord is come, when..Religion is countenanced, and Kings become nursing fathers to the Church; all the Saints do not become Magistrates, but God maketh Magistrates Saints or friends to them who are so.'[4] The events of the early 1640s were consistent with this vision, but it disappeared

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1. H. Peter, Gods Doings and Mans Duty (1646), p. 9; cf. Rev. xi.7, xvi.12, xx.8.

2. Anon., Doomes-day (1647), pp. 5-6.

3. See Note below, p. 43.

4. J. Durham, A Commentarie upon the Book of the Revelation (3rd edn., Amsterdam, 1660), p. 712.

with the triumph of the largely sectarian New Model Army and the purge of the Parliamentary Presbyterians in 1648. Those millenarians who were socially conservative shrank from these developments. Worst of all, the execution of Charles in January 1649 seemed to herald not New Jerusalem but a New Münster.

Note 1 - see pp. 12, 18.

The use made by Fifth Monarchist writers of Foxe and the academic millenarians and John Archer.

FOXE was cited by, among others:
C.Feake, The Genealogie of Christianity (1650), sig. D3.
J.Rogers, Ohel (1653), p. 23.
J.Pendarves, Arrowes against Babylon (1656), p. 1.
H.Danvers, Theopolis (1672), p. 211.

BRIGHTMAN
J.Rogers, Ohel, p. 24.
H.Danvers, Theopolis, p. 2.
J.Canne, Truth with Time (1656), p. 19.
J.Tillinghast, Generation-Work (2nd part, 1654), p. 253.
B.Stoneham, The Voice of a Cry (1664), p. 30.

MEDE
C.Feake, Genealogie, sig. D3.
J.Tillinghast, Knowledge of the Times (1654), p. 57.
Anon., A Door of Hope (1661), p.1.
J.Canne, Truth with Time, p.4.
V.Powell, The Bird in the Cage (1661), p. 35.

ALSTED
V.Powell, Bird in the Cage, p. 35.
J.Tillinghast, Knowledge, p. 57.
J.Canne, The Snare is Broken (1649), pp. 20-1.
Anon., Vavasoris Examen (1654), p. 18.

ARCHER
W.Aspinwall, Legislative Power (1656), p. 50.
J.Tillinghast, Knowledge, p. 57.
V.Powell, Bird in the Cage, p. 35.
M.Cary, The Little Horns Doom (1649), p. 17.

Note 2 - see p. 32.

The extent of millenarian ideas among ministers publishing three or more works, 1640-53.

Denominations are indicated (sometimes tentatively) as P = Presbyterian, I = Independent, B = Baptist, FM = Fifth Monarchist. Sources are given for all but Fifth Monarchists. Quakers, whose millennium was often an internal spiritual kingdom, are not included.

(i) Authors showing millenarian ideas:

Simeon Ashe (P)...signed the millenarian tract by H. Whitfield, Strength out of Weakness (1652), sig. a2.

John Arrowsmith (P)...his A great Wonder in Heaven (1647), p. 44.

John Bastwick (P)...R. L'Estrange, The Dissenter's Sayings (1681), 2nd part, p. 54.

John Bond (P)...ibid., p. 56.

John Brayne (?Seeker)...anon., A Vision, which one Mr. Brayne..had (1649).

William Bridge (I)...Christs Coming (1648).

Thomas Brookes (I)...The Glorious day of the Saints Appearance (1648), pp. 3-6.

Cornelius Burgess (P)...The Necessity and Benefit of washing the Heart (1645), p. 35.

Jeremiah Burroughes (I)...Moses his Choice (1641), sig. A2-v., pp. 485, 487.

Henry Burton (P later I)...The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets (1641), p. 88.

Richard Byfield (P)...The Power of the Christ of God (1641), sig. A1.

Edmund Calamy (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.i, pp. 35, 41.

John Canne (I/FM)

John Cardell (I/FM)...J. Spittlehouse, The Royall Advocate (1655), p. 44.

John Caryl (I)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 31.

Thomas Case (P)...ibid., p. 56.

Peter Chamberlen (B/FM)

Francis Cheynell (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 69.

Thomas Coleman (P)...ibid., p. 34.

Thomas Collier (B)...A Vindication of the Army - Remonstrance (1649), sig. A3.

Richard Coppin ('Universalist')...Saul Smitten (1653), p. 31.

Francis Cornewell (B)...The Vindication of the Royall Commission of King Jesus (1644), p. 12.

Walter Cradock (B)...The Saints Fulnesse of Joy (1646), p. 31.

William Dell (?Seeker)...The Way of True Peace (1649), sig. A2, A3v.

Henry Denne (B)...The Man of Sin Discovered (1645).

Joh Durant (I)...The Salvation of the Saints (1653), pp. 184-7, 191-2.

John Dury (irenicist)...Israels Call to March out of Babylon (1646), sig. A2-3v.

William Erbery (Seeker)...The Babe of Glory (1653)

William Goode (P)...Jacob Raised (1647), pp.8,10.

John Goodwin (I)...Dis-satisfaction Satisfied (1654), p. 10.

Thomas Goodwin (I)...A Sermon of the Fifth Monarchy (1654).

William Gouge (P)...The Progresse of Divine Providence (1645), sig. A4, p. 29.

Thomas Grantham (B)...Christianismus Primitivus (1678), p. 5.

William Greenhill (I)...An Exposition of the five first Chapters of..Ezekiel (1645), p. 134.

Charles Herle (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 59.

Gaspar Hickes (P)...The Glory and Beauty of Gods Portion (1644), p. 42.

Thomas Hill (P)...The Season for Englands Self-Reflection (1644), sig. A2-v.

Paul Hobson (B)...signed millenarian Confession of Faith, Of those Churches..called Anabaptists (1644), sig. A2v, B2v.

Nathaniel Homes (B)...A Sermon..before..Foote (1650).

George Hughes (P)...Vae-Euge-Tuba (1647).

William Jenkyn (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt. ii, pp. 56-7.

William Kiffin (B)...signed Baptist Confession of Faith (1644), sig. A2v, B2v.

Thomas Killcop (B)...ibid.

Hanserd Knollys (B)...An Exposition of the first Chapter of the Song of Solomon (1656), pp. 43-5.

Christopher Love (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt. ii, p. 62.

Thomas Manton (P)...Meate Out of the Eater (1647), p. 3.

Samuel Marshall (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit.,pt.ii, pp.27, 48, 53.

Thomas Mocket (?P)...The Churches Troubles (1642), p. 57.

Matthew Newcomen (P)...Jerusalems Watch-men (1643), pp. 6, 28.

Philip Nye (I)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt. ii, p. 34.

John Owen (I)...A Sermon..concerning the Kingdome of Christ (Oxford, 1652).

Herbert Palmer (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 56.

Thomas Parker (I)...The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel (1646).

Hugh Peter (I)...R. P. Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan, p. 330.

Vavasor Powell (I/FM)

Robert Purnell (B)...Good Tidings for Sinners (1649), pp. 22-3.

Samuel Richardson (B)...signed Confession of Faith (1644), sig. A2v., B2v.

Francis Roberts (?P)...Clavis Bibliorum (4th edn., 1675), p.581.

John Rogers (I/FM)

John Saltmarsh (Seeker)...L. F. Solt, Saints in Arms (1959), pp. 73-4.

Lazarus Seaman (P)...Solomons Choice (1644), sig. A2v., A3v.

William Sedgwick (Seeker)...Zions Deliverance (1642).

John Shaw (P)...Brittains Remembrancer (York, 1644), sig. B5.

Sidrach Simpson (I)...signed Whitfield, Strength out of Weaknesse, sig. a2.

Peter Sterry (I)...England's Deliverance (1652), pp. 38-40.

John Strickland (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.i, p. 42.

William Strong (I)...XXXI Select Sermons (1656), pp. 2-3.

John Tombes (B)...Saints no Smiters (1664), p. 26.

John Trapp (P)...A Commentary or Exposition (1647), p. 584.

Thomas Valentine (P)...Christ's Counsell (1647), pp. 19-20.

George Walker (P)...A Sermon Preached..Jan.29th 1644 (1645), p. 18.

Thomas Watson (P)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 31.

Jeremiah Whittaker (I)...signed Whitfield, op.cit., sig. a2.

Jeremiah White (I)...L'Estrange, op.cit., pt.ii, p. 55.

Henry Wilkinson (P)...Babylon's Ruine (1643).

Francis Woodcock (P)...Christ's Warning-Piece (1644).

Hezekiah Woodward (I)...Inquiries into the Causes of our miseries (1644), sig. Alv.

(ii) Authors not showing millenarian ideas:

Robert Bacon
Thomas Bakewell
Richard Baxter
John Biddle
Thomas Blake
Christopher Blackwood
Samuel Bolton
John Brinsley
Anthony Burgess
Daniel Cawdry
Humphrey Chambers
Samuel Clarke
John Collinges
Richard Culmer
Calibute Downing
Samuel Eaton
Thomas Edwards
Thomas Gataker
John Geree
John Graunt
Thomas Hall
Robert Harris
Richard Hollingworth
William Hussey
John Ley
John Lightfoot
Nicholas Lockyer
Thomas Moore sr.
Obadiah Sedgwick
William Spurstowe
Samuel Torshell
Richard Vines
John Webster
Thomas Whitfield

Of these, only four - Edwards, Graunt, Hall and Lightfoot - actually condemned millenarianism, though several in list (i), including Gouge, rejected a literal reign of a thousand years and the physical return of Christ, whilst accepting an imminent Kingdom of Christ on earth.

CHAPTER 3

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE FIFTH MONARCHIST MOVEMENT AND THE BAREBONES PARLIAMENT, 1649-53

The execution of the king in January 1649 was viewed with dismay by the majority of the population. But to the most militant of the godly, the removal of King Charles symbolized the clearing of the way for King Jesus. William Dell was alleged to have said that Charles 'was no king to him, Christ was his king.'[1]

On the day after the execution, John Owen, later Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, preached before the Commons. He placed the events of the previous day in their context by explaining that 'As the days approach for the delivery of the decree, so the shaking of Heaven and Earth, and all the powers of the World, to make way for the establishment of that kingdom which shall not be given to another people...must certainly grow.'[2] Three weeks later the regicide, Col. Tichborne, rejoiced that the Lord's 'great and glorious workings in these our dayes doth seem to point out that time to be neere at hand; when God himselfe doth shake the whole Earth and heavens' to set up a 'righteous and peaceable Kingdome of Christ.'[3] John Brayne's vision of the fall of all kings was published in 1649.[4] Lady Eleanor

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1. A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), p. 161.
2. J. Owen, A Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons (1649), sig. A3.
3. R. Tichborne, The Rest of Faith (1649), pp. 1, 45.
4. Anon., A Vision, which One Mr. Brayne..had (1649).

Douglas, who had proclaimed an imminent millennium, seeing 'the day of Judgement clothed in the Parliaments likenesse', was released from confinement and her prophecy of the king's execution was reprinted. One of her prophetic tracts was read before the Commons.[1] Edward Haughton, lecturer at Horsham in Sussex, explained 'upon what account the late Charls fell, these wars on foot being indeed part of the Battel you read of in the 16. and 19. Chapters of the Revelations: I say..that he with his armies fell, as the Popes second.'[2] John Eliot, a prominent New England Puritan, wrote that 'Much is spoken of the rightful Heir of the Crown of England, and the unjustice of casting out the right Heir; but Christ is the only right Heir.' Nathaniel Homes and Peter Sterry shared his view.[3]

Those saints who later became Fifth Monarchists saw the execution in the same light. The Welsh evangelist Vavasor Powell saw Charles as the King of the North who stumbled (Dan. xi. 15, 19); John Rogers, lecturer at Thomas Apostle's in London, saw Charles as one of the toes of the image in Dan. ii, destroyed by Christ.[4]

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1. E. Douglas, Sions Lamentations (1649), p. 8; From the Lady Eleanor, Her Blessing (1644), pp. 22, 25-6; Before the Lords second coming (1650), tit. pag.; Strange and Wonderfull Prophesies (1649), reprinted in Fugitive Tracts (1875), 2nd ser., no. 20.

2. E. Haughton, The Rise, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist (1652), sig. A5v.

3. J. Eliot, The Christian Commonwealth (1659), sig. B1v.; N. Homes, A Sermon..Preached Before..Thomas Foote (1650), p. 17; P. Sterry, England's Deliverance (1652), pp. 38-40.

4. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1653-4, p. 305; J. Rogers, Ohel or Bethshemesh (1653), p. 25. For Powell and Rogers, see Biographical Appendix.

John Spittlehouse, assistant to the Marshal-General (who controlled military security), argued that Charles was a part of Antichrist, destroyed 'as soon as the fatal blow was given.'[1] Mary Cary, the Fifth Monarchy prophetess, identified Charles as the little horn.[2] John Canne, chaplain to Col. Overton, argued in 1649 that the execution was 'Gods work,...don in Gods way.' A few years later he asserted that 'The high Court of Justice..before which the last of our kings had his tryal and sentence, was no other, then that throne of God, mentioned in Dan. 7.9,10.' 'Here began the Lord God Almighty, to call Kings and Kingdomes to an account.'[3]

Christopher Feake, vicar of Christ Church, Newgate, from 1649 but formerly a minister at Hertford, taught at Hertford in 1646 that there was in monarchy 'an enmity against Christ, which he would destroy'.[4] But no one dared to publish such views until immediately before the king's execution. Joseph Salmon, a Ranter in the army, urged the army to be 'the Executioners of that beast (Monarchy) which they had formerly wounded, and whose wound the Parliament had..salved over.'[5] An anonymous Scottish pamphlet claiming the support of the Scottish gentry urged Parliament to remove Charles.

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1. J. Spittlehouse, The first Addresses (1653), p. 23; Rome Ruin'd by Whitehall (1650), sig. b1v. For Spittlehouse, see Biog. App.

2. M. Cary, The Little Horns Doom (1651), p. 6. For Cary, see Biog. App.

3. J. Canne, The Golden Rule (1649), sig. A2v.; A Voice From the Temple (16-53), pp. 14-15. For Canne, see Biog. App.

4. T. Edwards, Gangraena (1646), iii. 148. For Feake, see Biog. App.

5. J. Salmon, A Rout, A Rout (1649), p. 13. On Salmon, see Cohn, Pursuit of the Millennium (1962), pp. 346-9.

'The quarrel is whether Jesus shal be King or no,' the author argued. 'O that England may never seek the death of crowned King Jesus! may never co[m]ply with dying Antichrist..'[1]

Once the execution had taken place, the most radical millenarians in the sects and the army ventured to express their approval, and to rebuke the army-officers for having so nearly apostasized. The 'wel-affected' saints of Blackburn recorded that their 'dying, sinking hopes' had been raised by Pride's Purge (of the Parliamentary Presbyterians), the execution of the king and the abolition of the Lords.[2] The first Fifth Monarchist petition, the Certain Quaeres, subscribed by the saints throughout Norfolk, was published on 19 February 1649 and began with an attack on the officers for trying to reach a settlement with the king. The signatories hoped the army would never be 'instrumental for the setting up of a meer natural and worldly Government, like that of Heathen Rome and Athens (as too many late overtures have caused us to fear).'[3] William Dell's congratulations to the army contained a rebuke. He spoke of the army as 'through a blessed necessity, being now doing that work of God, which once you had little minde to, viz. The procuring the Peace of the Kingdom, by subduing the great enemies of Peace.'[4] Christopher Feake also later condemned the army for attempting to preserve the monarchy.[5]

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1. Anon., Plaine Scottish, or Newes from Scotland (no date), p. 7.
2. Perfect Occurrences, 118 (30 March - 6 April 1649), p. 934.
3. Certain Quaeres (1649), pp. 3-4.
4. W. Dell, The Way of True Peace and Unity (1649), sig. A3v.
5. C. Feake, A Beam of Light (1659), p. 19.

Nevertheless, the death of Charles was a great triumph for the saints, and they saw it as the beginning of a world-wide revolution, in which all kings would be destroyed. Spittlehouse thought God had used England 'as a Theater to act a president of what he intends to do to all the Nations.'[1] Hugh Peter told the Commons in 1648 that he knew 'by Revelation' that 'This Army must root up Monarchy, not only here but in France, and other kingdoms round about;..This Army is that Corner stone cut out of the Mountain, which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces.'[2] John Canne expected that the Lord would 'eminently appear,...overthrowing the Thrones of Kingdoms every where in Europe.'[3] In a sermon graphically entitled The Shaking and Translating of Heaven and Earth, John Owen assured the Commons that God would 'sooner or later shake all the Monarchies of the Earth.'[4] John Durant, a preacher at Canterbury, thought that 'In a few years I beleeve a man may in sober speech ask, Where is the King of England? where is the King of France? where is the King of Spaine? where is the Danish, Swedish, Hungarian, &c. power?'[5] John Rogers agreed that kings would collapse 'over all the World ere long, till not one be left.'[6]

Many felt with Hugh Peter that England was not only the first of God's nations, but the instrument by which the godly revolution

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1. Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p. 5.
2. R.P.Stearns,The Strenuous Puritan(Urbana,1954),p.330.Cf.Dan.ii.34.
3. Canne, Voice From the Temple, p. 29.
4. J. Owen, Shaking and Translating (1649), p. 19.
5. J. Durant, The Salvation of the Saints (1653), p. 293.
6. Rogers, Ohel, introduction, p. 23.

was to be carried to all lands.[1] Spittlehouse warned the rulers of Rome to 'beware of Nol Crumwels Army, lest Hugh Peter come to preach in Peter's Chaire.'[2] One Thomas Banaster wrote that by England 'the Sword of the Lord' was to be 'sheathed in the sides of all Kingdoms by a civill war; England, thou hast begun to drink blood, and thou shalt yet drink one draught more to all the world, and they shall pledge thee round in a bowl of blood again.' He asked the kings of the world and all worldly men, 'How many times have you said, Hallowed be thy Name, Thy Kingdom come? you little know what you said,..you prayed for the Lords Power, Justice, and Judgement to fall upon you; behold it is come according to your desire.'[3] Wars were to be millenarian crusades, and the Fifth Monarchists saw the Dutch War of 1652-4 in this light. Vavasor Powell was rebuked because he 'durst call the States of Holland Embassadors, drunkards, and wish them to go home with this Answer, That Sion is built.'[4]

With the execution of the king, millenarian zeal in the army reached a peak. Col. Hewson, Governor of Dublin and a member of Rogers's congregation, rejoiced that God had made the army 'his sharpe threshing instruments to thresh the Nations.'[5] The fervour was illustrated best by the Declaration of Musselburgh, published

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1. See C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1962 edn.), pp. 123-52.
2. Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, p. 339.
3. T. Banaster, An Alarm to the World (1649), pp. 7-8, 14.
4. A. Griffith, Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus (1652), p. 13. On Fifth Mon. foreign policy, see below, pp. 196-201.
5. Severall Proceedings in Parliament, 90 (12-19 June 1651), p. 1379.

by the soldiers and junior officers in 1650 during the invasion of Scotland. Lamenting the apostacy of the Scots (who had accepted Charles II), they claimed they fought 'having these things simply in our eye, namely, the destruction of Antichrist, and the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.' They justified the execution of Charles as one of the ten horns of the beast (Rev. xvii), and declared they had 'proclaimed Jesus Christ, the King of Saints, to be our King by profession.' When God destroyed 'those his enemies that will not suffer Jesus Christ to be King..let not Scotland, nor any other Nation say, What dost thou?' It was, as Feake said later, 'as if <u>they were Fifth-Kingdom-men at the highest rate.</u>' Moreover, Cromwell himself commended the paper as 'a plaine, simple spirituall one.'[1] There was close liaison between the soldiers and the gathered churches. The troops in Scotland in 1650 wrote to Feake, Simpson and other church leaders.[2] In the summer of 1650 a number of officers, including Barkstead and Goffe, called on the godly to hold a day of seeking God to lament the darkening of His cause. The Congregationalist church at Sandwich wrote back that it was convinced that God was using the army to establish the kingdom of the saints. Many other congregations and garrisons took part.[3] In Wales the links were especially strong. Major-General Thomas Harrison was

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1. Anon., <u>Declaration of the English Army in Scotland, To the People in Scotland</u> (1650), pp. 3-5; Feake, <u>Beam of Light</u>, p. 30; W. C. Abbott, <u>The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell</u> (Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), ii. 302.

2. Anon., <u>A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ</u> (1654), p. 9.

3. Worcester College, Oxford, Clarke MS. 18, fos. 8-10, 42-4v., and <u>passim</u>.

the head of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, and was a millenarian.[1] Vavasor Powell was the most prominent minister on this body. When Harrison in 1651 was given the task of containing the invading Scottish army, the Welsh saints rushed to his assistance. Led by Powell, Morgan Llwyd of Wrexham, Walter Cradock and Jenkin Jones, these 'eminent Pauls of our time' raised horse troops from their congregations and joined Harrison in Cumberland. Sixty of them under Llwyd, Capt. Hugh Pritchard and one Capt. Taylor arrived early in June, and one of Harrison's soldiers reflected that 'surely the presence of the Lord (which we desire more then the increase of our forces) usually attends such.'[2] The saints left behind supported them with letters and prayers. 'The Faith of the Saints here,' wrote Llwyd's church at Wrexham, 'is much raised to a confident expectation of the greate works of God (by you worms) to thresh the mountains: we would not Idolize men, but rejoyce that we see our King hath girt on his sword, and goeth out Conquering and to Conquer.' The saints of Powell's churches in Radnor and Montgomery wrote that 'doubtless you are called to bring the King of Righteousness..to his Crown.'[3] When God's cause triumphed at the battle of Worcester, the Wrexham church wrote 'we conclude...Who can be against us if God of heaven be for us?'[4]

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1. For Harrison, see Biog.App. For the Commission, see below pp. 59.

2. C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1902), p. 328n; Mercurius Politicus, 53 (5-12 June 1651), p. 862. For Llwyd, see Biog. App.

3. Merc. Pol., 58 (10-17 July 1651), pp. 924-5.

4. Perfect Passages, 40 (7-14 Nov. 1651), pp. 320-1.

Despite any misgivings before the execution of the king, the saints were confident afterwards that the government, in the hands of the Rump, would set up Christ's Kingdom in England. William Rowse wrote from his ship, the 'Love in the Hope', to Speaker Lenthall that 'me thinks I see the kingdome of Jesus Christ begin to flourish, while the wicked..do now perish and fade like a blowne-off-blossome.'[1] William Dell told the Commons that when 'all, almost, that is great, and honorable, and noble, and Royall, and wise, and learned' was hostile to God's plan, 'How highly are you honored of him, and how happy are you, that You yet are found for it.'[2] Powell was a loyal admirer of the regime, and the soldiers at Musselburgh delivered a specific rebuke to the Scots for referring to the Rump as 'a pretended Parliament.'[3]

The saints' discontents, probably shared by all the radical millenarians, were set out in a second petition from Norfolk in 1649 seeking 'the advancement of Iesus Christ, the inlargement of his Kingdome here on earth.' It is worth quoting at some length. The saints complained that 'Still we see the scandalous and ignorant Clergy in many places, and where the godly Pastors are placed, much discouraged by the troublesome gathering of their maintenance by way of tythes..still we see the Lords Day as much broken as ever, still we see swearing, lying, Cursing, and Drunkenesse,..still we see all Schools (almost) as well Universities as others, to abound

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1. Severall Proceedings, 111 (6-13 Nov. 1651), p. 1714 (pagination erratic).

2. Dell, Way of True Peace, sig. A2.

3. V. Powell, Saving Faith Set Forth (1651), sig. A3v.; anon., Declaration of the English Army, p. 6.

with disaffected teachers, to the utter interruption of Godlynesse: still we see Lawyers to grow rich, by and of the ruines of poor men, by bringing to tryall things of no value: still we see Lords of Mannours to exact fines according to their own wills upon poor Tennants, urging that unparallel'd Oath of Fealty and Homage; and so of free born English, still made slaves by the marks of the Conquerour;...still we see the taxes to continue, and to lye as heavy upon us, as upon those who were the causers of them.'[1] This list includes most of the concerns of the later Fifth Monarchist movement: to purge the clergy, abolish tithes, reform the law and impose a puritanical morality, reduce taxes and remove the privileges of the rich. This petition did not mention some further major proposals: to transfer government from the 'carnal men' to the saints; to destroy the national church altogether; and to invert the social order altogether, as well as reforming its minor abuses.

Filled with enthusiasm in 1649, the saints had expected Parliament to implement this revolution. But it soon became apparent that the Rump was not a gathering of saints but a cautious and worldly body. The godly accordingly began to transfer their hopes to Oliver Cromwell. Dr. Peter Chamberlen, surgeon to Charles I and later to Charles II, and pastor of a congregation in Lothbury Square, greeted the Rump hopefully, and in April 1649 published some projected social reforms which he hoped it would undertake.[2]

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1. A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament, 294 (12-19 March 1649), pagin. hopelessly erratic.
2. P. Chamberlen, The Poore Mans Advocate (1649). For Chamberlen, see Biog. App.

But in 1650 he lamented to Cromwell, then in Scotland, that 'were there the same integritie with us at home as with you abroad, surely the Lord would bless us...Your counsels, at this distance, are soon forgotten; every man seekes his own...What will the end of these things bee?'[1] A few months later he told the Commons, in a tract, that though God had honoured them at first, now there was only chaos and dishonour. 'Would you now die like men, or live the Sons of God?' he asked them. 'Remember whereto you are exalted. Remember from whence you are fallen. Do the first works, and let the last be better then the first.'[2]

John Canne shared Chamberlen's disillusion. After the victory at Dunbar in 1650 he had declared that '<u>the Parliament of</u> Englands <u>Cause</u>...hath been proved sufficiently to be...the <u>Cause of GOD</u>.'[3] But he came to feel that the Parliament men were not true saints. In executing the king they had done God's work, but 'not that our Statesmen thought so, or so intended.' In 1653 he wrote of the Rump that 'taking no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel, but <u>flying upon the spoile</u>...God at last rejected them.'[4] Spittlehouse had been cynical about Parliament since 1650. 'There is an <u>Unum necessarium,</u>' he wrote, addressing the Commons and the Council of State, 'which is farr from their' [worldly men's] 'thoughts, and I feare not very neare yours (viz. the flourishing

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1. J. Nickolls, <u>Original Letters and Papers...of Mr. John Milton</u> (1743), p. 36.
2. P. Chamberlen, <u>Plus Ultra: To the Parliament of England</u> (1651), broadsheet.
3. J. Canne, <u>Emmanuel, or God With Us</u> (1650), p. 44.
4. Canne, <u>Voice From the Temple</u>, pp. 14-15.

of the Kingdome or Church of Christ) which ought to be your chiefe object to adorne.' Until this was done, 'you obstruct the descending of the new Jerusalem.'[1] Daniel Border, the millenarian Baptist editor of the Faithful Scout, wrote in 1652 of the Rump: 'Ye have promised Haulcion dayes; but I fear a monstrous Age.'[2]

In Wales the disillusioned tended to turn to Harrison, a fervent millenarian who was at the head of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, in which Vavasor Powell had a prominent rôle. Powell and his colleagues launched a fierce attack on scandalous ministers, though it seems likely that ministers with episcopalian sympathies were deemed scandalous ipso facto. The commissioners were accused of driving out all the clergy and teachers and growing rich on forfeited revenues. In reply, Powell asserted that 'many hundreds (if not thousands) have been converted in Wales', and that those ejected were 'un-preaching Curates, or scandalous in their lives.'[3] When confidence in the Rump was shrinking, the Commission seemed vitally important to the saints as the sole remaining means of implementing at least part of the godly revolution. Any surviving faith in the Rump was shattered on 1 April 1653 when it rejected a bill to prolong the Commission, which accordingly expired.[4]

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1. Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. A4, A5v.
2. Faithful Scout, 95 (5-13 Nov. 1652), p. 743.
3. A. Griffith, Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus; A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages..of the Armies, 125 (3-10 May 1652), pp. 1847-9. On the Commission, see S. R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate (1903 edn.), ii. 249-51; R. T. Jones, 'The Life, Work, and Thought of Vavasor Powell (1617-1670)' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis 1947), pp. 62-107.
4. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect., ii. 251.

Harrison's ideas satisfied even the most radical Welsh saints, but some of the most perceptive saints in London soon realized that Cromwell was no more likely than the Rump to meet their demands. Hitherto the saints had felt that the godly revolution to prepare for Christ would be undertaken by Parliament or the army. They had felt no need to do more than bear witness to the coming kingdom and remind the government of its divine mission. They had not thought it necessary to form any specifically millenarian movement to prepare the way for this kingdom, and had even taught that ordinary citizens should not meddle in politics. In 1649 John Canne told the Presbyterians that 'I cannot finde, either in Scripture, or other History, that any Ministers of Jesus Christ..did ever before Your time..deny the lawfulnesse of the Government under which they lived.' In 1651 a group of Independent and Baptist ministers, including Feake and John Simpson (minister of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate), affirmed that '<u>all People in Every Nation as well Members of Churches, as others...are to submit to the Civill Commands, not onely of such Rulers as are faithfull, but even to Infidels.</u>'[1] But now, in a mood of disillusion, it became apparent that unless the saints formed their own active organization to remove the apostate regime by propaganda or even violence, the millennium would never arrive. The Fifth Monarchist movement emerged as a reaction to fading, not rising expectations, and was in many respects 'an attempt to rally and organize what could be marshalled from the...millenarian impulses of the sixteen-forties.'[2]

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1. J. Canne, <u>The Improvement of Mercy</u> (1649), p. 12; anon., <u>A Declaration of divers Elders and Brethren</u> (1651), p. 3.
2. J. F. Wilson, 'Comment on "Two Roads to the Puritan Millennium"', <u>Church History</u>, xxxii (1963), p. 341.

The Fifth Monarchist movement first took shape shortly after the battle of Worcester in 1651, when 'divers Officers and Members of several Congregations' met Cromwell at Suffolk House, to urge him to 'press forward in promoting that glorious Cause...and particularly, to quicken the Parliament to do some honest and honourable works.' After two meetings they found that Cromwell preferred other advice, and went no more. Instead, in December 1651, they met together at Allhallows the Great in Thames Street, where Feake, Simpson and Henry Jessey were weekday lecturers, 'to pray for a new Representative, and to preach somewhat against the old.' Feake recorded that within half an hour the gathering had reached agreement on six objectives, or 'General Heads of Prayer', the first being that 'whatsoever stood in the way' of Christ's kingdom 'might be utterly pulled down, or brought to nothing.' They sought also the removal of ungodly magistrates and ministers, the ending of divisions among the godly, the fulfilling of promises made by Parliament and the army, and that the negotiations with the Dutch might produce nothing contrary to 'the Cause of Christ and his Kingdom, now carrying on in these Nations.' The first Fifth Monarchists were met with hostility by the government, army leaders and leading Independent churchmen. They were attacked by Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye and Sidrach Simpson when they gave an account of their ideas at a meeting at Fleetwood's lodgings in Somerset House. Their belief that the current government, and all regimes not in the hands of the saints, were 'pieces of the fourth monarchy' was condemned because it 'cut the sinews of all Magistracy whatsoever.'[1]

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1. Feake, Beam of Light, pp. 39-43; W. Erbery, The Bishop of London

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The Independent leaders stated that their intervention had failed, but very soon 'divers Leading men fell off, who at the first rejoyced and joyned in' the meeting. About the time of the outbreak of war with the Dutch (in June 1652), Feake and others had to begin again, summoning messengers from six London churches to London House and later to Blackfriars, probably at St. Anne's, where Feake held a lectureship. There they heard the scriptures expounded, wrestled with the Lord 'for the fulfilling of his Word', and dealt with other matters 'of General advancement to the Cause of God in these Nations and beyond the Seas' - a reference to the Dutch war. Cromwell and the Grandees were 'wonderfully displeased.'[1]

William Erbery, a Welsh millenarian and mystic, twice intruded into the Fifth Monarchists' meetings at London House in November 1652, and described them as utterly chaotic. He said the saints had 'founded a Structure of two stories high; not a Pulpit and Reading-Pue, but a stately frame of wood to preach and pray in two distinct Forms', one for the Independents and one for the Baptists. Erbery felt called upon to make violent interruptions, and only escaped being ejected by a hasty departure.[2]

Prominent among the earliest leaders of the Fifth Monarchists were Feake and John Simpson. Erbery also mentioned George Cockayne, Independent minister of St. Pancras, Soper Lane, and a Mr. Knight,

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Cont. (1653), p. 1; Bodleian MS. Carte 81, fos. 16-17: circular letter, 9 Jan. 1654; MS. Carte 81, fol. 214: anonymous letter, probably by Philip Nye, 1663/4; cf. L. F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men (1911), pp. 19-21.

1. MS. Carte 81, fol. 17; Feake, Beam of Light, pp. 43-6.

2. Erbery, Bishop of London, pp. 1-7.

perhaps Isaac Knight, rector of Fulham. Among the army officers present were Major William Packer and Captain John Spencer, formerly notorious as a tub-preacher.[1] Vavasor Powell, who was in London early in 1653, may have joined them. John Rogers, lecturer at St. Thomas Apostle's, admired the Fifth Monarchist meetings as an '<u>unparalleld exercise</u>', but was not allowed to participate, which he attributed to the '<u>self-conceit</u>, and <u>self-seeking'</u> of the leaders, who also spurned his own meetings. Their real reason was probably that Rogers, like Canne, Spittlehouse and others, still retained a firm faith in Cromwell as the saints' champion.[2] Many of the officers later connected with the Fifth Monarchists were serving outside London. Adjutant-General Allen and Capt. John Vernon were in Ireland, where they had helped the rigid Baptists to break up Rogers' mixed Baptist and Independent church at Dublin in 1651-2.[3] Capt. Edmund Chillenden was serving with Whalley's regiment in Scotland, though in April 1651 he was enlisting recruits in Coleman Street, London, and was involved there in 1652 in some sort of machination against the Rump. He wrote to a friend that Parliament was 'resolved to sit to perpetuity, but I hope they will have a sooner period than is dreamt of. Be silent in this; you shall hear more.'[4] Col. Henry Danvers was at this time still

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1. Erbery, <u>Bishop of London</u>, pp. 3, 7. For all these, see Biog. App., and for Knight and Cockayne see Matthews, <u>Cal.Rev.</u>, pp. 311, 124.
2. Rogers, <u>Ohel</u>, introd., p. 69.
3. Rogers, <u>Ohel</u>, p. 302. He cites Vernon by name, and 'A.G.A.' probably stands for Adj.-Gen. Allen. For Allen and Vernon, see Biog. App.
4. <u>A Perfect Diurnall</u>, 70 (7-14 April 1651), p. 954; Hist. MSS. Comm., li, <u>Leyborne-Popham MSS</u>, p. 104. For Chillenden, see Biog. App.

governor of Stafford.[1]

The Fifth Monarchists and the many discontented elements in the army intensified the attack on the Rump in the first months of 1653. Early in January soldiers and 'army preaching-men' at Allhallows called for a new Parliament, but were silenced by army and government authorities. At Blackfriars in March three officers attacked the Rump after a series of such preachings which had, according to a royalist newswriter, 'scandalized the whole parliament.' In the same month, the Rump postponed making any decision over the Dutch war 'that they might gaine a breathing time upon the preaching people, who are now very violent.' The speakers at Blackfriars were now preaching 'that they intended speedily to destroy that accursed parliament at westminster.' In April they demanded no peace with the Dutch 'or any Prince of the earth', and at Somerset House a young glazier predicted that his congregation 'should ere long see a greater destruction fall on the Parliament than ever befell the Cavaliers.' The 'preaching party' decided that Cromwell himself must go, for 'they must have both a new Parliament and General before the work be done;...these are not the people that are appointed for perfecting of that great work of God, which they have begun.'[2]

Major-General Harrison was not mentioned as attending these meetings, where his presence could hardly have escaped notice. But

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1650, p.211; ibid., 1651-2, p.566. For Danvers, see Biog. App.

2. C. H. Firth, 'Cromwell and the Expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653', Eng.Hist.Rev.,viii (1893), pp.528-9; Bodl. MS. Clarendon 45, fos. 223,204: newsletters, 1 April, 18 March.

his position as the hero of the preachers and the most violent critic of the Rump was well-known. Harrison was far more ready than Cromwell to take violent action against the Rump. A royalist agent went so far as to claim that the army and Parliament were divided into two factions following the two officers, and that Harrison's supporters were predominant in the army and 'doubted not but to bring their designe about before midsomer.' There was a rumour that Harrison had enlisted four thousand of the 'preaching people' in North Wales, which he denied when questioned by Cromwell. But it was perhaps a fear that Harrison might try to establish a power basis in Wales, as well as stories of the corruption of the Welsh commissioners, that had led the Rump to reject 'Major Harrisons Act for propagating the Gospell in Wales.' A royalist alleged that Cromwell was also hostile to the bill, but no evidence is known in support of this.[1]

The royalist agents appear to have exaggerated the differences between Cromwell and Harrison, which certainly existed, but were over methods rather than objectives. Cromwell complained that Harrison's followers were urging him to dissolve the Rump by force, 'the consideration of the issue whereof makes my hair to stand on end.' But both officers felt a total distrust of the Rump, which they shared with the army as a whole. Throughout 1652 the army had expressed its dissatisfaction at the failure of the Rump to carry out reforms, and its refusal to allow fresh elections. The crescendo

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1. Firth, 'Cromwell and the Expulsion', pp.529-31; MS. Clar. 45, fos. 206-v;204v;269: newsletters, 25 March, 18 March, 8 April 1653.

of Fifth Monarchist and army prayer meetings in 1653 made the issue pressing, and the Rump's alleged plan to replenish its numbers by a series of by-elections, thus postponing indefinitely a dissolution, led Cromwell to feel that action was essential. On 20 April 1653 he took his seat in the House, condemned the Rump's proceedings and, calling in a troop of soldiers, dissolved it by force.[1]

The dissolution of the Rump was welcomed almost universally, especially by the saints. It was reported that 'the pulpitt men of Blackfriers predicate alowd the Generall's wisdome for grubbing up the wicked Parliament, not leaving a rotten roote thereof.'[2] Vavasor Powell proclaimed that henceforth 'law should streame down like a river freely,' and then went back to North Wales to justify the change. He found a favourable response in Montgomery, and the gathered churches in the county of Radnor, where his influence was strongest, sent their congratulations to the government.[3] John Spittlehouse rushed into print within four days of the dissolution with an enthusiastic defence of the army's action.[4] Addresses and petitions poured in from the godly. On 25 April an unknown gathered church expressed confidence that Cromwell, 'whome we look upon as our Moses', would 'advance the Scepter of our Lord Jesus.'[5] The

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1. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,ii.223-37,245,248-65.

2. D. A. Johnson and D. G. Vaisey, Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion (Staffs. Records Committee, 1964), p.73.

3. Firth, 'Cromwell and the Expulsion', p.533; The Moderate Publisher,133 (13-20 May 1653), p.1070; The Perfect Diurnall,182 (30 May - 6 June), pp.2750-1.

4. J. Spittlehouse, The Army Vindicated (24 April) 1653.

5. Severall Proceedings,187 (21-28 April), p.2954.

commander-in-chief in Scotland, Robert Lilburne, and his officers expressed their belief that the work now was 'the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ' which they expected Cromwell to begin.[1] Paul Hobson and the Baptist church at Durham, Colonel Overton, the governor of Hull, and John Portman, secretary to the Naval Commissioners, all wrote expressing their hopes that Christ's kingdom was dawning.[2]

There was naturally a great wave of public speculation as to what was to replace the Rump, and how any new representative should be chosen.[3] The saints themselves were not united. The Norfolk petition of 1649, the Certain Quaeres, and a tract of 1651 entitled A Model of a new Representative, had advocated that the gathered churches alone should elect a new Parliament.[4] But many of the saints had not yet accepted what was later to be the standard Fifth Monarchist belief that none except themselves was loyal to Christ's kingdom. On 25 April John Rogers held a meeting of 'hundreds' at St. Thomas Apostle's. He hailed Cromwell as 'the great Deliverer of his people', and argued that God had chosen the general to select personally the new assembly. Rogers hoped it would be based on the Old Testament sanhedrin with seventy members, or alternatively

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1. Mercurius Politicus,153 (misprint fcr 155), (26 May - 2 June), pp.2477-8.

2. Severall Proceedings,188 (28 April - 5 May), pp.2959-60; R. Overton, More Hearts and Hands (1653); Cal.S.P.Dom., 1652-3, pp.292,392,425. For Overton and Portman, see Biog. App.

3. For the debate see A. H. Woolrych, 'The Calling of Barebone's Parliament', Eng.Hist.Rev.,lxxx (1965), pp.492-513.

4. Anon., Certain Quaeres, p.6; A Model, p.3.

one member from each county.[1] Spittlehouse was even more enthusiastic about the Lord General. His first thoughts were that the only 'real Members of this Commonwealth are included in the Congregational Churches, and the Army, and their well-wishers.' Asking 'Whether it be the proper work of the Congregational Churches...to rule the Nations...in a Magistratical employment,' he concluded it was 'altogether improper.' God had ordained that the army alone should rule the kingdom. Representatives should be chosen by and from the army; moreover only officers should have a vote, as 'a means to keep the private Souldiery at quiet.' Fifth Monarchism was never an egalitarian movement. In a later pamphlet, dated 19 May by Thomason, Spittlehouse urged that there should be no elections of any sort and that Cromwell, a second Moses, should have total freedom of choice. He was the 'chief Ruler appointed by God over us,' and to criticize him was to criticize God. Spittlehouse, a soldier against the Stuarts for eight years, was accepting Cromwell as an absolute ruler by divine right.[2] In June a petition signed by several hundreds in Norwich and Norfolk, on behalf of 'thousands of others', urged Cromwell alone to select godly men for the new assembly.[3] The saints of Newcastle described the decision that Cromwell and the officers were to choose the representatives

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1. J. Rogers, To His Excellency the Lord Generall Cromwell. A few Proposals relating to Civil Government (1653), brs.

2. Spittlehouse, Army Vindicated, pp.3,6,1 (misprint for 9),11; A Warning-piece Discharged (1653), pp.10,13,24. For Fifth Mon. views on society and government in general, see chap. 6, below.

3. Severall Proceedings,194 (9-16 June), p.3070.

as 'such a mercy as goes beyond what we would have believed that our eyes should ever have seen.'[1]

The new assembly, often known as the Barebones Parliament after a member named Praise-God Barbone, was in fact chosen by Cromwell and the officers.[2] But many of the saints had not wanted to give Cromwell, or the army as a whole, any such powers. Several Norfolk churches, including those of Christopher Pooley at Wymondham and Richard Breviter at North Walsham, both prominent Fifth Monarchists in the mid-1650s, ventured to nominate people they wished to be in the new assembly.[3] From Denbigh came a petition bearing 153 signatures, urging Cromwell to allow the gathered churches to nominate the members. It was signed by Morgan Llwyd, and by John Browne and John James, both of whom later sat in the Barebones Parliament.[4] In fact, however, all six Welsh members were nominated by Harrison and Powell, without a vote of any sort, although Harrison did invite comments on their choice.[5] William Aspinwall, formerly a prominent figure in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was content that the army, as the 'Lambs Military Officers', should hold power and 'demolish the Kingdom of Antichrist', providing they were holy men, 'throughly purged.' But he wanted minor

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1. A Perfect Diurnall,180 (16-23 May), pp.2718-9.
2. Woolrych, 'Calling of Barebone's Parliament', passim.
3. J. Nickolls, Original Letters and Papers of State (1743), pp.124-5. For Pooley and Breviter, see Biog. App.
4. Ibid., pp.120-1. For Browne and James, see Biog. App.
5. C. H. Simpkinson, Thomas Harrison, Regicide and Major General (1905), p.297.

officials to be recommended by the congregations.[1] The gathered church meeting at the 'Chequer without Aldgate', to which Chillenden belonged, suggested that treble the required number of members should be chosen, apparently by the Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist churches, and then selected by lot.[2] The most determined opposition to Cromwell came predictably from Feake and the meetings at Blackfriars. Looking back from 1659, Feake saw the outcome of the Barebones experiment as the betrayal of the saints by hypocrites in the army. All they had done was to 'pretend to roll the Government of this Nation upon the Saints,...as if they would introduce the Kingdom of Christ, or the fifth Kingdom.' But when the saints set about this task, and 'the work and Cause prospered in their hands', the army drove them out.[3] Feake seems to have been almost as suspicious before the assembly met. On 5 May the French ambassador wrote that the Anabaptist preachers, probably meaning Feake and Simpson, were declaring that this was still nothing like the promised reign of the saints.[4] Feake was said to have preached at Christ Church on 8 May that 'although the General had fought their Battles with successe, yet he was not the Man, that the Lord had chosen, to sitt at the Helme.'[5] At the Monday meetings at

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1. W. Aspinwall, A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy (1653), pp.4,6,7. For Aspinwall, see Biog. App.

2. Nickolls, Original Letters, p.122.

3. Feake, Beam of Light, pp.48,50.

4. Public Record Office, Baschet Transcripts, P.R.O. 31/3.90,f. 662-v.: Bordeaux to Brienne, 5/15 May 1653.

5. MS. Clar. 45,f.380-v.: newsletter, 13 May 1653.

Blackfriars on 16 and 23 May, the preachers urged 'by revelation' 'the necessity of Monarchy in this Nation, but bestowed it...on a new Line', presumably King Jesus.[1] Powell was absent in Wales at this time, involved in a storm of his own making when he raised a troop of horse consisting of several hundreds of his saints, only to have it disbanded by the sheriff of Montgomery.[2] But his own and Simpson's views were probably close to those of Feake.

The position of Major-General Harrison is far from clear. One writer thought he was so close to Cromwell, and 'so much his Excellencys Creature of late, that he is now esteemed a property of his.' It was also reported that some accused 'his Saintship for double dealing with the Brethren, and that all along, as they trusted him, he discovered all to the General.'[3] But the royalist newswriters also spoke of great enmity between the two officers. On 6 May Harrison was reported to have written to a friend 'that the Lord had now at last made the General instrumentall to put the power into the hands of his people...contrary to his intentions; that it was the Lord's worke & no thanks to his Excellency.' This may have referred only to friction over who was to nominate the Welsh members, as Professor Woolrych suggested, but it certainly points to some disagreement.[4] Harrison was thought to have the support of a third of the army, and a royalist claimed that in

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1. MS. Clar. 45,fos.400,436v.: newsletters, 20 May, 27 May.
2. Ibid.,f.484v.: newsletter, 3 June.
3. Ibid.,fos.399v.,380v.: newsletters, 20 May, 13 May.
4. Firth, 'Cromwell and the Expulsion', p.529; Woolrych, 'Calling of Barebone's Parliament', p.499.

June some of Cromwell's associates had tried to cajole Harrison into resigning his commission, urging that 'such a pretious pillar was not to be hazarded in the continuall rage of warre.' However he stood firm, and even offered to serve without pay if necessary. This may well have been merely rumour, but Cromwell did ban 'Harrisons gathered Churches at Blackfryers' about this time and attempted in vain to silence Feake.[1] The royalist agent's most extreme report was in mid-May when he wrote that Harrison had preached to the gathered churches 'that there would speedily be a King again; but not one of the former Race, nor such carnall persons, as some eminent in present power; but a man after Gods owne heart, and a King anointed with the Spiritt.' The agent thought that Harrison was seeking the crown for himself, but in fact he was probably referring to King Jesus. Shortly after the fall of the Rump he had told the Council of Officers that he was 'assured the Lord General sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the Scepter.'[2] Though the two officers may have had some premonition of the differences which later brought them into mutual antagonism, at this stage they were firmly united on essentials. Both looked forward with confidence to the meeting of the saints.

The assembly met for the first time on 4 July, and Cromwell addressed the members in emotional terms before handing over power. 'Truly you are called by God to rule with Him, and for Him,' he said. 'I confess I never looked to see such a day as this...when Jesus

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1. Johnson and Vaisey, Staffordshire and the Great Rebellion, p.73; MS. Clar. 46,fos.9,32v.: newsletters, 24 June, 1 July.

2. MS. Clar. 45,f.380; J. Heath, Flagellum (2nd edn., 1663), p.134.

Christ should be so owned as He is, at this day.'[1] The House published a declaration with a strongly millenarian tone, comparing the age to that immediately before the birth of Christ. It expected Christ's 'glorious coming, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords,.. ..who is still to ride on prosperously, conquering, and to conquer, till he hath subdued all his enemies.'[2] Some of the free-men of London presented a remonstrance during the first week, urging the members to 'accomplish the grand design of your professed Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in these Overturning, Overturning, Overturning dayes,...indeavour the erecting of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ to the uttermost parts of the earth.' Parliament was to launch a crusade against Rome, and was advised that 'the most facile way thereunto is, by invading France and Holland, and so erect your Standard before the Towers of Babylon.'[3] Part of this remonstrance was derived from a tract published by Spittlehouse on 5 July, in which he laid down a programme for the inauguration of Christ's kingdom.[4] On 4 August a number of justices from Kent presented a petition against tithes in which they noted that 'though the Kings of the Earth have bin unwilling that the anointed Jesus should reign,..yet...the day of the accomplishment of the Promises...is dawned.'[5] Similar expressions came from the churches at Exeter,

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1. Abbott, Writings and Speeches,iii.61,63. For the Barebones Parliament see Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,ii.286-328; H. A. Glass, The Barbone Parliament (1899).

2. Severall Proceedings,199 (14-21 July), p.3142.

3. The Moderate Intelligencer,10 (4-11 July), pp.109-10.

4. Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p.4.

5. Mercurius Politicus,165 (4-11 Aug.), p.2636.

Bideford and Luppit, in Devon, and from Gloucester.[1]

The feeling that the reign of the saints was beginning spread far beyond the churches. At the end of June a worried customs official in Hull wrote that a purge of the staff was in progress, and that the Fifth Monarchist John Canne 'has such influence with the Council of State that he can place or displace whom he likes.'[2] Even the Leveller John Lilburne, imprisoned in Newgate, thought it worth appealing for help to Feake, whom he had never met.[3] Feake himself forgot his doubts for a moment, and introduced at Christ Church a jubilant hymn he had composed:

'How pleasant are the dayes of ioye
to Sions children all:
With trembling wee rejoyce to see
proud Babylon downe fall.'

An enemy remarked with some pleasure that in the absence of Fifth Monarchist music, Feake had been obliged to use 'Prelatical Tunes.'[4]

Following an analysis published in June 1654 of those members for and against the national ministry and the universities, the Barebones Parliament has been divided by Glass into a moderate party of 81 and a radical party of 61, or of 84 and 60 according to

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1. Mercurius Politicus,168 (25 Aug. - 1 Sept.), pp.2696-7; A Perfect Account,138 (24-31 Aug.), pp.1100-1.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1652-3, p.426.

3. J. Lilburne, The Afflicted Mans Out-Cry (1653), title page.

4. 'Mr. Feake's Hymne: August ye 11: 1653 Christ Church', MS. amongst Thomason Tracts in Brit. Mus., E 710 (13); J.N., Proh Tempora! Proh Mores (1654), p.6.

Gardiner.[1] But this classification is of little help, and it was recognized as early as 1 August that the 'radical party' was itself divided.[2] Only twelve Fifth Monarchists can be identified, Harrison and the regicide, John Carew being the best-known. Francis Langden and John Bawden sat for Cornwall, Col. Danvers for Leicester, Jacob Caley for Ipswich, and Arthur Squibb, a member of the Committee for Sequestrations, for Middlesex. Col. John James, a former Governor of Worcester, John Browne, a regicide, Hugh Courtney, Richard Price and John Williams were all supporters of Powell and Llwyd and represented Wales.[3] Thomas Baker, Sheriff of Shropshire in 1649, was a benefactor of Powell, and may have belonged to the group, and there were possibly others on the fringe.[4] Of the group of twelve, five were some-time members of the Council of State, six were justices of the peace, two had been Sheriffs, and nine held army or militia commissions. Thus even the most radical elements hardly deserved the royalist criticism surprisingly shared by Spittlehouse, that the members were 'such pitifull Creatures as were never heard of till these times made them infamous...no better then Attorneys, Tanners, Wheelwrights, and...the meanest sort of Mechaniques.'[5] The Fifth Monarchist members acted together as a group. They

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1. Glass, Barbone Parliament, p.64; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect., ii.310. The original list is printed in A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, ed. T. Birch (1742),iii.132. (henceforth Thurloe).

2. Thurloe,i.393.

3. See Biog. App. for all these.

4. H. T. Weyman, 'Shropshire Members of Parliament', Trans.Shrops. Arch.Soc., 4th series, xi (1928), pp.177-8.

5. MS. Clar. 45,fos.381v.-2; Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p.2.

never appear on opposite sides in the lists of tellers in Parliamentary divisions, nor in the only extant complete division list.[1] They discussed tactics amongst themselves and with the Blackfriars preachers. Cromwell said later that 'the persons that led in the meeting were Mr. Feake and his meeting in Blackfriars, Major-General Harrison, and those that associated with him at one Mr. Squibb's house; and there were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House day by day.' A member of Barebones agreed that it was Squibb's house 'where most of their imaginations were formed and shaped.'[2] The Fifth Monarchist and other members attended the Blackfriars meetings, and actually taught there.[3] The Blackfriars preachers commented on Parliamentary affairs, and moderate members were 'unsainted and condemned into the fourth Monarchy, and looked upon as obstructors of Reformation,...if not thorough paced to all the Principles of Reformation held forth by Mr. Feake and others... ..and stickled for by some in the House.'[4]

Even if the Fifth Monarchists acted together, they comprised a meer twelfth of the membership. But there were many other members of a radical outlook who shared some of their aspirations. Moreover, the moderates did not constitute a united party. Barebones was an assembly of individuals and very small groups, with no true parties.

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1. Commons' Journals, vii (1813), pp.282-363; Thurloe, iii.132.
2. Abbott, Writings and Speeches, iv.489; L.D., 'An Exact Relation', A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts...of the late Lord Somers, ed. Sir Walter Scott (1809-15), vi.283.
3. L.D., 'Exact Relation', p.273; anon., A True State of the Case of the Commonwealth (1654), p.20.
4. Anon., An Answer To a Paper entituled A True Narrative (1653), p.3.

In no less than 32 of the 67 recorded divisions at least one pair of the tellers was a combination of one of Gardiner's supposed radicals and a supposed moderate.[1] A member might be a moderate on law reform but radical over religious matters, or vice versa. The situation was so fluid that the prominent 'moderates' Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley and Walter Strickland acted as 'radical' tellers with Carew, Courtney and Harrison respectively, two of the divisions being on law reform. But Pickering was a moderate on the issue of tithes, when the 'moderate' Col. Bennet voted as a radical.[2] This fragmentation made it impossible to predict the outcome of any vote, especially as absenteeism was a serious problem. Though there were nominally 144 members, only once between the end of July and mid-November did the numbers recorded reach ninety.[3]

The assembly began quite favourably for the Fifth Monarchists. They obtained places on most committees, and on 14 July Williams and Courtney were added to the Council of State.[4] The saints concentrated on securing major law reforms and the destruction of the national church. The removal of the existing law and church was a pre-requisite for the establishment of the millennium: they were 'Out-works of Babylon,' which 'must be taken down before there could be a coming at the main Fort,' and since there was widespread dis-

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1. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect., ii.308-10.
2. C.J., vii.282, 286, 304, 335, 352.
3. C.J., vii.344.
4. Glass, Barbone Parliament, pp.91-2; C.J., vii.284-5.

content with both, any attack was likely to attract considerable support.[1] On 15 July there was a radical motion for a vote on whether to abolish immediately the system of tithes, the financial basis of the state church. This was defeated, but the radicals forced a debate lasting four days, when the whole issue was referred to a committee. Harrison acted as a teller on the radical side, and was presumably prominent in the debate; he was placed on the committee, along with Squibb, Danvers and Courtney.[2] On 27 July Carew was a teller for the radical side in a motion that there should be total freedom of preaching in public places, another effort to undermine the national church. This too was defeated, by eleven votes.[3] The cause of religious reform was thus checked, but it was not yet despaired of. John Rogers attended the tithes committee's meetings, to give evidence against the system, despite being attacked by the 'rude rabble'. In September Spittlehouse submitted a tract to the committee, expressing confidence that tithes would soon be abolished.[4]

With religious affairs now removed to committee, attention was transferred to the law. There was widespread interest in law reform, and a committee had been established on 20 July, with a largely moderate membership. But attempts were now made in the

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1. A True State, pp.14-15. For Fifth Monarchist views on the law and the church see chaps. 7, 8, below.

2. C.J.,vii.285-6.

3. C.J.,vii.290.

4. J. Rogers, Sagrir (1653), sig. b3-c2; J. Spittlehouse, An Explanation of the Commission of Jesus Christ (1653), sig. A2.

main body of the House to secure immediate and far-reaching changes. On 5 August a resolution was passed without a division that the court of Chancery should be abolished, and a bill drawn up to this effect.[1] The radicals may have chosen a time when few of their opponents were present, but there was clearly strong feeling against Chancery. When the law debate was resumed on 19 August the moderates tried to secure an adjournment, but failed, and a motion was carried that there should be a completely new body of law. Courtney and Squibb were among the tellers for the majority, as well as the 'moderate' Wolseley. A new committee was established to prepare a bill, with Harrison, Squibb and Barbone among its members.[2] But by mid-October the new legal term had begun, and no bill had appeared. Harrison and other impatient members suggested that Chancery should be suspended at once for a month, and this motion was carried by three votes. But when a bill was introduced to this effect, its opponents rallied their forces and defeated it by the casting vote of the Speaker.[3]

Another of the Fifth Monarchists' objectives was, allegedly, to destroy the army which was seen as 'the great Impediment in the way of their Monarchy.' They attempted this first by opposing the bill to renew the assessment, the tax which financed the army. Defeated in this, they tried to force a change in the army leadership by attacking the officers as 'Janisaries', and urging the

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1. C.J.,vii.286,296.
2. C.J.,vii.304.
3. C.J.,vii.335.

Blackfriars preachers, whose 'Patrons' they were, 'to cast dirt upon all persons in Trust and Power, in the Army and elsewhere, by proclaiming them to be Pensioners of Babylon.'[1] This account was from a very hostile source, and it is unlikely that the saints wished to destroy the army in which many still held commissions and which had been seen for several years as the most hopeful instrument of Christ. But there probably were attacks on some officers. Another account of the assessment debate stated that the 'dissenters' accused the officers, like the Rump, of growing rich on forfeited estates, and demanded that they should serve without pay to lower taxes. Harrison, as noted already, was alleged earlier to have offered to serve without payment. The 'dissenters' also argued that assessment by counties was an unfair mode of taxation, and should be altered.[2]

The deep divisions and the confused situation inside the House produced discontent very rapidly. Some felt, unjustly, that Cromwell had called the assembly merely as an opportunity to assume supreme power, and some members refused to furnish the lodgings provided for them because they felt they would not be there long enough to justify the expense.[3] A royalist agent reiterated the message that 'Cromwel and the Parliament can not, nor will agree' on 5 August and 2 and 16 September, 'so that you may shortly expect a

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1. A True State, pp.19-20.

2. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,ii.313 and note; see p.72, above.

3. MS. Clar. 45,f.398; Sir John Birkenhead, Bibliotheca Parliamenti Libri Theologici (1653), p.7; MS. Clar. 46,f.112: newsletter, 22 July.

dissolution.'[1] The French ambassador repeated a rumour that the army leaders and Parliamentary moderates would ally to purge the Anabaptists.[2]

The Fifth Monarchist group was itself becoming discontented, since nothing had been achieved. Moreover, their opponents had rushed through a bill to establish a High Court of Justice. A motion to introduce this bill had been defeated on 28 September, with Squibb and Barbone as tellers for the Noes, who feared such a court might be used against radicals as well as royalists. But on 21 November, whilst the saints were absent at the Blackfriars prayer-meeting, the bill was introduced and pushed through all its stages in the course of a single morning.[3]

The Fifth Monarchists' discontents had begun long before this episode, and since August they had been highly suspicious of Cromwell's negotiations with the Dutch. The saints saw the Dutch war as a means of both hastening the millennium and securing economic advantages, and Feake warned that if Cromwell came to terms, 'God's vengeance would follow upon such a heathenish peace.' In November, Harrison and his supporters were said to 'rail and preach every day' against the negotiations.[4] The failure to secure law and church reform also produced bitterness, so that by September the

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1. MS. Clar. 46,fos.158v.,230v.,274-v.: newsletters, 5 Aug., 2 and 16 Sept.

2. P.R.O. 31/3.92,f.30: Bordeaux to de Brienne, 14/24 Nov. 1653.

3. C.J.,vii.325,353-4; L.D., 'An Exact Relation', p.273; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,ii.317-8.

4. Thurloe,i.441-2,534,612. On Fifth Monarchist foreign policy, see below pp.196-201.

'murmuring people' were abusing not only the Rump but the Barebones Assembly 'for treading in their steps.'[1] The leading saints drew back from the regime. Harrison attended ninety-nine Council meetings from May to July, but only seven from August to December, and Carew behaved similarly. Williams and Courtney were not re-elected to the new Council on 1 November.[2] Harrison was said to be 'under a cloud' in October, and intending to 'leave this place, and to come no more.' The Fifth Monarchists wrote to 'the Churches all the Nation over, to blast that part of the House that agreed not with them; and at a set meeting at a Members house', doubtless Squibb's, there were consultations on whether 'to leave the House and Remonstrate against them as hinderers of Reformation and not fit to Govern the Nation any longer.'[3]

The saints outside the House were as disillusioned as those within. The preachers heaped 'scandalous and scurrilous aspersions' upon Parliament, the Council and the army, and 'peremptory predictions of their remove or downfall, and the bringing in of another interest and other persons to predominate.'[4] Spittlehouse was arrested for writing seditious petitions against Thurloe, and Peter Chamberlen was arrested on a charge of threatening to assassinate Cromwell. By good fortune, 'as from the Lord', the witnesses

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1. A. Evans, The Bloudy Vision of John Farley (1653), sig. A4-v.
2. C.J.,vii.343-4; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1652-3, pp.xxxiv-xl; ibid.,1653-4, pp.xxxvi-vii.
3. Hist. MSS. Comm.,xliii, Somerset MSS., p.158; Thurloe,i.612; Answer To a Paper, p.3.
4. Thurloe,i.591.

failed to agree, and Chamberlen was released.[1] At Blackfriars on 28 November Feake and his colleagues denounced Cromwell as 'the man of sin, the old dragon, and many other scripture ill names.' Exasperated at last, Cromwell summoned the preachers two days later and accused them of casting ill odour on the government. Feake retorted that it was the General's 'tampering with the king, and his assuming an exorbitant power, which made these disorders; and so held forth the fifth monarchy.' Cromwell then tried an alternative approach, setting Peter Sterry to preach 'obedience, as the most necessary way to bring in the kingdom of Christ.' This produced predictably little response.[2]

Cromwell and many moderate members may well have been hoping that the extremists would secede, but this did not happen. It became apparent that the cause of the Fifth Monarchists, hitherto defeated, was not wholly lost. On 3 November a bill for the abolition of Chancery, providing alternative arrangements for equity cases, was at last introduced, and was read twice and committed. On 17 November a major step was taken when a motion was carried to take away the right of lay patrons to present to benefices, and a bill was ordered.[3] The tithes committee reported at last on 2 December, but only increased the Fifth Monarchists' dissatisfaction by its recommendation that the system of tithes should be

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1653-4, pp.277,294,446; Church Book of Lothbury Square, Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 828,f.16.

2. Thurloe,i.621; P.R.O. 31/3.92,f.65: Bordeaux to de Brienne, 1/11 Dec.

3. C.J.,vii.346,352.

retained. Harrison apparently said that he would 'rather submit his judgement in the case than prove pertinacious where he finds better judgements patronise it.' But most of the saints were determined to oppose the report and forced a debate lasting four days, at the end of which they defeated the first clause by two votes, with Danvers acting as teller. The clause had provided for a body of commissioners (who were named) who were to eject unfit ministers and approve all new ones. Its opponents objected to it probably both as an instrument of a continuing state church, and because it consisted largely of Presbyterians and cautious Independents.[1]

The moderates were reminded forcibly that they were still unable to control the assembly, and despaired of ever doing so. The vote against tithes was a vote against property, and highly alarming. Accordingly, the moderates assembled in the House early the following Monday morning, 12 December, before most of their opponents had arrived, and despite fierce criticism from Harrison, who was present, resolved to surrender their power to Cromwell. Wolseley, who took a leading part in this, had earlier been in favour of radical law reforms but declared that the recent vote had endangered property and that law itself was likely to be destroyed. About thirty-five members remained in the House but were driven out by a party of soldiers under Col. Goffe. He derided them as 'but a degree above a Conventicle', and was alleged to have added that Parliament 'was not so fit for them as Mr. Squibb's house.'[2]

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1. C.J.,vii.361; Hist. MSS. Comm.,xliii, Somerset MSS, p.159.
2. L.D., 'Exact Relation', p.283 and note; J. Hall, Confusion Confounded (1654), p.6; A True State, p.22; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,ii.326-8.

The apologists of the resignation claimed there had been in Barebones a radical party, comparable to the Münster Anabaptists, seeking 'the plucking up of all Ecclesiastical and Civil policy, laying all waste that they might enter and devour at pleasure.' One correspondent believed that 'if the house had sate a weeke longer, law and the ministry had been voted down.' A former member claimed the radicals had sought to establish the fifth monarchy, ruling 'by a Divine and extraordinary right' which would give them authority 'to possess all mens properties and Estates.' It would have produced 'blood and confusion.'[1]

These charges contained some truth. There had been an attack on the state church, and although property itself had not been questioned, tithes and the right to present to benefices, which were seen as forms of property, had been condemned. A former member who defended the Parliament's record denied they had sought the 'destroying of the law, or putting it down'; they had wished only for a 'reducing the wholesome, just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date.'[2] This may have been true for most, but in November John Rogers had stated that 'It is not enough to change some of these Lawes, and so to reforme them (as is intended by most of you)...O no: that wil be to poore purpose, and it is not your worke now, which is...bringing in the Lawes of God given by Moses for Re-publique Lawes.'[3] By confusing the small Fifth

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1. Hall, Confusion Confounded, p.7; Thurloe,i.754; Answer To a Paper, p.2.
2. L.D., 'Exact Relation', p.278.
3. Rogers, Sagrir, sig. A4-v.

Monarchist group with radical members as a whole, it was easy to hang the label of fanaticism around the necks of all.

With the fall of Barebones, the Fifth Monarchists went into permanent and unwavering opposition. They reviled Cromwell for accepting the resignation of the assembly and so disrupting the reign of the saints. But the Barebones Parliament had been only a very rough approximation to the saints' reign. The bitterness with which they saw its fall sprang probably from their realization that the new regime would be far less favourable to the Kingdom of Christ.

CHAPTER 4

THE DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION OF THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN

The Fifth Monarchists were an essentially urban movement. The London area was dominant throughout: it contained at least twenty-nine groups in the second half of the century, though their frequent migrations, dissolutions and re-formations prevent exactness, and membership probably overlapped. Only about forty-three groups are recorded for the rest of the country, excluding Wales, although the records are less complete.[1] In the 1650s the Fifth Monarchists were confined largely to the southern half of England. There were eight groups in Norfolk and Suffolk, and Devon and Cornwall were important areas. In Wales, Fifth Monarchist ideas emanated from Vavasor Powell and Morgan Llwyd, who were based at Radnor and Wrexham respectively. Powell was a great evangelist who established a further twenty churches, but it is not possible to determine how many of these can be called Fifth Monarchist.[2] North of the Midlands there was only one real centre, embracing Liverpool, Manchester and Cheshire. In addition, there were isolated strongholds at Hull and Sheffield. Large parts of the country seem to have been untouched by Fifth Monarchist ideas, including most of the North, South Wales, many parts of the Midlands and the traditionally Puritan county of Essex.[3]

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1. See Appendix II for a list of all known Fifth Monarchist groups.
2. T. Crosby, The History of the English Baptists (1738-40), i.377 see below, p.134.
3. See Appendix II.

After 1660 this distribution altered. London remained predominant, but Fifth Monarchist activities ended in North Wales and East Anglia. Itinerant preachers from London visited Devon and attempted also to win over the North. They won considerable support in Yorkshire, Durham and Westmorland, mainly among disaffected and militant Baptists and former soldiers, with whom they engineered the Yorkshire plot of 1663.[1]

Apart from these regional centres, Fifth Monarchist churches were scattered, but were usually in fairly large towns, and often close to or on the sea. A list found by Secretary Thurloe, probably dating from 1656, showed agents in Bristol, Dartmouth, Portsmouth, Newport (Isle of Wight), Lewes and Sandwich, besides the Hull and Manchester/Liverpool groups.[2] Another group existed at Southampton.[3] Of those in East Anglia, Ipswich and Woodbridge were on river estuaries. Most of the inland churches were also in towns, such as Abingdon, Devizes, Canterbury, Reading, Oxford, Warwick, Lincoln, Sheffield, Bedford and Exeter.[4] In East Anglia the saints avoided the villages and congregated in the towns, at Norwich, North Walsham, Ipswich, Bury and Woodbridge.[5] The village

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1. See below, pp.278,282 ff.

2. Thurloe State Papers,vi.187.

3. G. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity (1911-14), i.143.

4. Thurloe,vi.187; Turner, Orig. Recs.,i.118; Public Record Office, S.P.29/136,f.65: A. Corley to Williamson, 4 Nov. 1665; A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), p.199; Bodl. MS. Clar. 81, f.199: Sir W. Armorer to (Clarendon), 12 April 1664.

5. Thurloe,iv.687,vi.187; anon., Certain Quaeres (1649), tit. pag.; The Complaining Testimony (1656), sig. A2.

groups that did exist, as at Skegby (Notts.) and Chalfont St. Giles (Bucks.), were unimportant, apparently taking no part in the national movement.[1] Where a Fifth Monarchist minister was beneficed in a village, as in the case of Tillinghast at Trunch (Norfolk) or Thomas Palmer at Aston-on-Trent (Derbyshire), his real interests were elsewhere. Palmer spent much of his time in Nottingham and London, and Tillinghast eventually left Trunch and moved to London. Similarly John Rogers left and ultimately forfeited his rich living at Purleigh (Essex) and settled in the capital.[2]

The areas of Fifth Monarchist strength show few common characteristics. London and East Anglia were relatively prosperous, with Parliamentarian and Puritan traditions. Wales was poor, royalist and Anglican. East Anglia, London and Devon were all important as cloth-producing areas, and an analysis of the social composition of the saints shows a high proportion of cloth-workers.[3] But there is no total correspondence, for other clothing centres, such as Essex, Yorkshire and the south-west midlands supported few or no Fifth Monarchist groups.

Most of the Fifth Monarchist centres, being lowland towns, possessed good road and river communications. Reading, Abingdon and Oxford were all on the Thames, one of the major commercial routes, and most centres were within fairly easy reach of navigable

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1. Turner, Orig. Recs.,i.155,78.

2. D.N.B., T. Palmer, Rogers, Tillinghast; Matthews, Cal. Rev., p.380; J. Tillinghast, Mr. Tillinghasts Eight Last Sermons(1655), preface by Feake, sig. A3v-4. See Biog. Appendix for Palmer and Tillinghast.

3. See below, pp.97-9.

water. But North Wales, the central parts of northern England, important after 1660, and Devizes formed notable exceptions.[1] Some of the smaller towns were situated on important roads. In Cheshire, for example, Nantwich was on the London to Holyhead road, and Great Budworth on the London-Carlisle route. Ipswich and Wymondham were on the main routes from Norwich and Yarmouth to London.[2] But other East Anglian centres, such as North Walsham and Syleham, were not on any major roads. Road and river communications provide on the whole very little explanation of Fifth Monarchist distribution.

A more important circumstance was the influence of a strong local leader in a particular area. Powell and Llwyd were responsible for the whole movement in North Wales, created despite hostile traditions. Many of Powell's followers did not accept his Fifth Monarchist beliefs, and tried to minimize them. After the Restoration, when Llwyd was dead and Powell in prison and moderating his views, no Fifth Monarchist activities were reported in Wales. Powell's fiercest disciples were prepared to accept licences from the government in 1672.[3] In South Wales, where social and economic conditions were similar to more further north, the Puritan movement

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1. T. S. Willan, River Navigation in England, 1600-1750 (1936), pp.vi,32.

2. G. Scott Thomson, 'Roads in England and Wales in 1603', Eng.Hist. Rev.,xxxiii (1918), p.242; J. Ogilby, Britannia (1675), maps facing pp.44-5,72-3,90-1,106-7.

3. Thurloe,iv.359; T. Richards, Wales under the Indulgence (1672-1675) (1928), pp.1ff,221-2; Turner, Orig. Recs.,ii.1201/4; V. Powell, The Bird in the Cage (1661), p.35; anon., Vavasoris Examen et Purgamen (1654), pp.18-19.

was dominated by Cromwellian supporters, Cradock and Philip Jones, and Fifth Monarchism did not appear.[1] John Wigan alone was responsible for bringing Baptist and Fifth Monarchist ideas to Cheshire and the Manchester area, and the churches at Budworth and Nantwich reflect his work. John Canne established the congregation at Hull, where he was chaplain to the garrison under Overton and it survived after his removal.[2]

The importance of East Anglia to the movement largely reflected the dominating influence of William Bridge, the millenarian Independent minister of Great Yarmouth. Nearly all the Fifth Monarchist ministers there began their careers under him, were influenced by him, and continued to seek his advice after becoming Fifth Monarchists.[3] In the west the Baptist, Thomas Collier, played a similar role, creating a passively millenarian movement, many of the members of which later became Fifth Monarchists, such as Glasse and Nathaniel Strange.[4]

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1. A. H. Dodd, 'A Remonstrance from Wales, 1655', Bull. Bd. Celtic Studies,xvii (1956-8), p.283.

2. W. T. Whitley, Baptists of North-West England, 1649-1913 (London and Preston, 1913), pp.41-7; Thurloe,vi.187. For Wigan, Canne and Overton see Biog. App.; W. Whitaker, One Line of the Puritan Tradition in Hull (1910), pp.22-3,35; Bodl. MS. Rawl. A57,f.312: H. Smith to O. Cromwell, 11 Feb. 1658.

3. J. Browne, History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk (1877), passim; E. Calamy, An Account of the Ministers.. Ejected (1713), p.647; Norfolk Record Office, 'Church Book of Gt. Yarmouth, 1642-1664', pp.51-2,54; anon., The Failing & Perishing of Good Men (1663), sig. A3.

4. G. F. Nuttall, 'The Baptist Western Association 1653-1658', Journ. Eccles. Hist.,xi (1960), pp.213-8; for Glasse and Strange, see Biog. App.

As an urban movement (except in Wales) the Fifth Monarchists provide no opportunity of testing the recent assertion that the wood-pasture areas of England were the sources of religious dissent. There seems to be no correlation between these areas and such rural groups as did exist.[1] The Quakers proved that sectarianism could flourish in the country, but the towns were more immediately promising. They constituted large assemblies of people of differing social and regional origins, accustomed to fresh ideas brought by immigrants and visiting traders. Literacy was higher in the towns, so that new ideas could be obtained from books and pamphlets, and since there were several clergy in the larger towns, there was some measure of freedom of choice in religion even before 1640. The traditional social controls of squire and parson, still dominant in the manorial areas of the country, were totally absent in the town. The control of the master over his servants was considerable, but during the interregnum his displeasure sometimes failed to prevent his servants from joining a radical sect.[2]

The preoccupation of the Fifth Monarchists with political power probably also contributed to the movement's urban nature. Expecting the new regime of Christ and wanting to be at hand, Fifth Monarchist ministers tended to move to the towns, especially London.[3]

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1. J. Thirsk, The Agrarian History of England and Wales, iv (Cambridge, 1967), p.464; Prof. Everitt is preparing an article on the subject. See note at the end of this chapter.

2. MS. Rawl. A 47, fos.26-7v.: A. de Samand to ..., no date; P. Chamberlen, The Disputes between Mr. Cranford and Dr. Chamberlen (1652), sig. A2v. For a later example see C. Doe, A Collection of Experiences (1700), p.30.

3. For examples see above, p.189.

Ejected ministers converging on London more than filled the gaps in the leadership caused by the Restoration.[1]

Apart from the towns, the major source of Fifth Monarchist recruitment was the army, where millenarian excitement was intense in the later 1640s and early '50s. Like the large town, the New Model was a very different social organization from that with which most of its members were familiar. Traditional patterns of deference did not exist; birth was not of paramount importance, and the ordinary soldier could see himself not as a mere servant, but as a citizen and saint. Some thirty-four Fifth Monarchists appear to have been officers, and at least fifty-six are identifiable as common soldiers. The true total of the latter was probably far higher.[2] Many of the Fifth Monarchist ministers had been officers, including Wigan, Thomas Palmer, Simpson and Skinner, and Powell and Llwyd had raised troops and fought under Harrison. Helme had fought either as a soldier or officer, and Rogers, Canne and Marsden had all served as chaplains.[3]

Fifth Monarchism was brought to Hull by the army garrison, and many other churches probably originated in this way. The navy, too, was important. It was another new social form, and was another

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1. See below, pp.271-2.

2. C. H. Firth and G. Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army (Oxford, 1940), passim; SP.28/121b,123-5, passim (muster-rolls); SP.28/142,i-iii, passim (regimental lists).

3. C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1902), p.328; Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.339,380,529; E. Calamy, A Continuation of the Account (1727), p.501; SP.29/88,f.128: information, ?1663; A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages, 216 (23-30 Jan. 1654), p.3092; D.N.B., Canne, Llwyd, Palmer, Powell, Rogers. See Biog. App. for Helme, Skinner and Marsden.

centre of millenarian enthusiasm. At the highest level, the millenarian Sir Henry Vane was chairman of the Admiralty Committee for a time, and the Fifth Monarchists Carew and Rich were among the Navy Commissioners.[1] During the First Dutch War (1652-4), Admiral Deane wrote of his hope that 'Christ alone may be exalted, which is the end of these terrible shakings.' Admiral Lawson wrote that the war was 'in order to the design of God in the exaltation of Jesus Christ.'[2] John Portman, deputy treasurer to the fleet and secretary to the generals at sea, was a Fifth Monarchist, and so was his brother Edmund, clerk to the Treasurer of the Navy.[3] The celebrated captain, Owen Cox, was a Fifth Monarchist. William Pestell, captain of the 'Satisfaction', and at Hull in 1653, was a government informer against the Fifth Monarchists after the Restoration, and was probably a renegade saint. Capt. Henry Hatsell, the Plymouth agent of the Navy Commissioners between 1652-8, was arrested at Exeter in 1661 as a leader in an alleged Fifth Monarchist plot.[4] There were certainly close connections between the saints and the navy. In 1653 John Simpson and the Baptist Henry Jessey held a service on board Blake's flagship. The same year, John Rogers held a meeting of several congregations

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1. Letters and Papers Relating to the First Dutch War 1652-1654, ed. S.R. Gardiner and C.T. Atkinson (Navy Records Soc.,xiii, xvii,xxx,xxxvii,xli,lxvi, 1899-1930), i.53,vi.106,189.

2. Ibid.,iv.369,46.

3. Ibid.,iii.324,v.106-7. See Biog. App. for the Portman brothers.

4. Ibid.,i.18-20,23,26,65,iii.131-3,v.53-4,63,251-2. See Biog. App. for Cox and Hatsell.

in London, and called on God to bless 'our friends in the Fleet.'[1] Woodbridge was a naval ship-building centre, and Ipswich was also a naval base: Fifth Monarchist groups existed at both, and at many other important ports.[2]

The actual numbers of Fifth Monarchists are highly elusive. The saints wished to impress and their enemies were alarmist, so that both gave inflated figures. The highest estimate, by Feake in 1655, was 40,000.[3] In 1659, a peak period, a royalist thought they numbered 20-30,000 armed men, and that 5,000 had assembled recently at Horsham (Sussex).[4] There were rumours that year of a secret list of 7,000 saints.[5] Venner's risings led people to speculate on the strength of the saints. It was alleged in 1657 that the 'gang' numbered 10-15,000. In 1661 there were said to be 5,000 Fifth Monarchists in London, and 30,000 in the rest of the country.[6] Vavasor Powell boasted in 1655 that he could produce 20,000 armed supporters in Wales.[7]

All these figures were merely guesses, and are totally unreliable. Despite Powell's boast, for example, he was able to secure

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1. Ibid.,v.411; Severall Proceedings in Parliament,177 (10-17 Feb. 1653), p.2790.

2. Letters and Papers,iv.39,v.249,260,268,270,399,vi.115; see above, p.88.

3. MS. Rawl. A 26,f.242: Col. Whichcote to (?Cromwell), 18 May 1655.

4. MS. Clar. 61,f.103: J. Hopebetter (=Major Wood) to H. Simpson (?Hyde), 3 June 1659.

5. Thurloe,vii.687.

6. Hist. MSS. Comm., 4, Appendix to 5th Report, p.163; Diary of Henry Townshend,ed. J. W. Willis-Bund (1920), p.66. vol.i

7. Thurloe,iii.137.

only 322 signatures for his petition, 'A Word for God'. Admittedly, local authorities put pressure on people not to sign, but the petition had been phrased to attract the widest possible support.[1] The size of congregations varied enormously, from the 57 at Woodbridge over thirty years to the seven hundred at Danvers's London church in 1682.[2] The Fifth Monarchists were an elitist movement, and called for a high level of political commitment, and it seems probable that their numbers never exceeded ten thousand. This is obviously very small in terms of the national population, but the numbers of genuine Levellers and Commonwealthsmen were probably no greater. In any case the rising of 1661 was to remind contemporaries that numbers were less important than determination.[3]

The membership of the Fifth Monarchist movement consisted of three distinct groups. There was a number of army officers, some from the gentry, some risen from the ranks, who had not lost their millenarian zeal. There was a number of clergy, some from the universities, many having connections with the army.[4] These two groups were small in number but provided much of the leadership and produced most of the pamphlets. But they were far from typical. Contemporaries described the saints as 'the worst of men, the Scum, and very froth of baseness'; 'very inconsiderable, and indeed despicable'; the 'Scum, the very raf of Billingsgate'. Their

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1. Thurloe, iv.383-4.
2. 'Churchbook of Woodbridge', Dr. Williams's Lib., Harmer MSS. 76.5, fos.2-3; SP.29/419, f.102: information, 1 June 1682.
3. For Venner's rising see below, pp.266-7
4. See above, p.93, and below, pp.109.

meetings were said to be full of journeymen and women.[1] These were hostile accounts, but even Feake remarked that the saints were a 'company of illiterate men, and silly women.'[2] In the church lists which survived, women easily outnumbered men.[3]

An analysis of the occupations of 232 Fifth Monarchists produces the following results:[4]

1. GENTRY/ESQUIRES — 20

2. BENEFICED MINISTERS, PROFESSIONAL/OFFICIAL

Ministers 34	physicians 4 (+1)	'medical man'
teachers 3 (+4)	navy officials 2	gaoler
publisher	(recorder)	(sequestrator)
ship-owner/capt.	receiver-general (of taxes, in Devon)	

48

3. AGRICULTURE

Yeomen 7 (+1)	husbandmen 2 + 2 wives	cow-keeper		
labourers 7 + 2 wives			21	13%

1. Anon., Londons Glory, or, The Riot and Ruine of the Fifth Monarchy Men (1661), p.5; Thurloe,vi.185,iii.136-7,v.759.

2. M. Cary, The Little Horns Doom (1651), sig. a6.

3. 'Churchbook of Lothbury Square', MS. Rawl. D 828,f.17; 'Mill Yard Minutes', Dr. Williams's Lib., MSS. 533 B.1, index of members; 'Woodbridge Churchbook',fos.2-3.

4. Entries in brackets are not included in the totals and refer to the subsidiary occupations of persons counted elsewhere, e.g. artisans who practised several trades. Servants have been counted under their trades where known. Classes 1-2 are probably almost complete totals; classes 3-11 are only a small sample. To avoid distortion, percentages are therefore based on the totals of 3-11 only. All sources are given in the Biographical Appendix. It is not certain how long the Abingdon church remained 5th Mon. after Pendarves's death; only members up to 1664 have been included.

4. (SHIP-)BUILDING AND ALLIED

Bricklayers 2	glaziers 2	millwright		
plasterer	shipwrights 2		8	5%

5. WOODWORK, METAL

Basketmaker	carpenter	clock-maker		
cooper	cutlers 2	goldsmiths 2		
gunsmith	ironmonger	joiners 2		
silver-refiners 2	silversmith	silver-spinner		
smiths 3	watchmaker		20	12%

6. MANUFACTURE/DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD, DRINK AND OTHER CONSUMABLES

Apothecaries 2	bakers 2	brewers 2		
brewer's clerk	butcher	chandler		
cheesemonger	(coalman)	(coffee-house-keeper)		
coffee and liquor seller	(distiller)	grocers 2		
liquor-shop-keeper	maltsters 4 (+ 1)	mealman + a wife of		
merchants 3	miller (+ 1)	oilman		
shopkeeper	tobacco-cutter	(tobacco-merchant)		
tobacco-pipe-maker + wife	tallow-chandler	victualler		
			31	19%

7. MANUFACTURE/DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTH AND LEATHER

Button-sellers 2	cap-maker	clothworker
cobbler	collar-maker	cordwainers 3
draper	feltmaker	girdler
haberdasher	hat-makers 2	hot-presser
linen-drapers 2	milliner	ribbon-weaver
shoe-makers 2 + wife	silk-dyer	silk-man
silk-stocking-maker	silk-throwsters 3	silk-weavers 2

7. MANUFACTURE/DISTRIBUTION OF CLOTH AND LEATHER Cont.

tailors 16	weavers 2 (+ 1)	woolbroker		
woolcomber	woollen-drapers 3 + wife		55	33%

8. TRANSPORT

Coachman	waterman		2	1%

9. MISCELLANEOUS

Bag-mender	book-binder	book-seller		
bottle-maker/ brush-maker	broom-man	rope-maker		
scriveners 2	upholsterer	yeomen of London 4 ('yeoman' in this context was probably a term of status not occupation, which is unknown)	13	8%

10. LABOURERS 7 4%

11. APPRENTICES/SERVANTS OF UNKNOWN TRADES

Apprentices 4 (+ 1)	servants (i.e. apprentices or journeymen) 4 (+ 3)	7	4%

TOTAL, professional or above 68

TOTAL, below professional 168

TOTAL 236

The first two classes of this table are probably nearly complete, and their members are relatively well-known. The later ones

are only a small sample, and though probably roughly representative, are weighted towards the London area.

The Welsh membership is almost completely omitted, because of the impossibility of establishing which of Powell's followers were genuine Fifth Monarchists. Professor Dodd ventured to ascribe occupations to only sixteen of the signatories of the 'Word for God', and these were not necessarily Fifth Monarchy men. They were:[1]

yeoman 5	husbandman	weavers 2	glovers 2
dyer	tanner	tailor	shopkeeper
mason	surgeon		

The table shows clearly how few Fifth Monarchists were engaged in agriculture at any level - only about one-seventh. Since many in this category were from Middlesex or Abingdon, the real proportion may be still smaller, for it is at least possible that the term yeoman referred to status not occupation, and a labourer was not necessarily engaged in agriculture.

The movement was able to attract persons in most of the 'mechanic' occupations, both small producers and retailers, but there were no big producers and only three 'merchants', which was in any case a flexible term. The clothing industry and trade was dominant, involving about a third of the total. The church at Exeter established by John Carew was said to consist largely of weavers and worsted-combers.[2] Overall, more saints were engaged in making than selling. None were capitalist clothiers.

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1. Dodd, 'Remonstrance', pp.286-92.

2. A. Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter, 1650-1875 (Manchester, 1962), p.15.

The figures and other sources show that the Fifth Monarchists did attract the very bottom strata of society, excluding paupers, - the labourers and servants, that is, apprentices and journeymen. Some of the latter might later become masters themselves, but in certain industries the majority were destined to remain wage-earners. Added together, these groups comprise about a sixth of the total, and perhaps more since many who were described by their trade only may well have been servants rather than masters. The importance of this group is the greatest contrast with the composition of the early Quakers, who attracted few (but rather more) professional men and substantial producers, large numbers of artisans and small retailers, but almost no labourers or servants. In the country their support came from yeomen and husbandmen.[1] The Fifth Monarchists seem to have been the only movement to appeal to these groups, treat them as equals and include them within their projected franchise. Several active and important saints belonged to these groups. John More was forbidden to join Chamberlen's church by William Webb, his master, but did so after a public disputation, and soon played a leading part in the congregation, venturing to criticize Chamberlen as well as publishing several tracts.[2] John Clements, perhaps identical with the servant of that

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1. A. Cole, 'Social Origins of the Early Friends', J. Friends' Hist. Soc.,xlviii (1957), pp.99-118. R. T. Vann has argued recently that the early Quaker movement had a much higher proportion of gentry, prosperous yeomen and rich tradesmen ('Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum', Past and Present,xliii (1969), pp.71-91). If this is so, there was a much greater contrast between Quaker and Fifth Monarchist social composition.

2. See Biog. App. for More.

name, was present at the Fifth Monarchist rally at Abingdon in 1656, and was prominent in the group which seceded from John Simpson's church.[1] Another servant, Alexander de Samand, was ordered to stop attending the services of Powell, Feake and Simpson, whom his master thought 'Mad men'. But he refused to go to the preachers whom his master named, and forced a disputation to debate the issue. Since his master disallowed Feake and Powell as disputants, de Samand rejected Seaman and Preston, 'for I count not them Ministers', and also ventured to prophesy judgement against Cromwell and all who opposed the Fifth Monarchy.[2] Samuel Clarke, a member of the Bell Lane church till 1673, later became assistant minister of the Baptist congregation at Mill Yard, despite being a mere labourer.[3]

The table suggests that Dr. Hill's description of the Fifth Monarchist movement as the 'victims of early industrial society' is largely but not entirely true.[4] It obtained support from the food industry and from other mechanics who, though humble, retained their independence in this period. It seems to have attracted little support from the soap-boiling, ship-building, sugar-refining or tobacco-making industries which employed the largest concentrations of labour. But it was strong in the brewing industry, where labour was also concentrated, and it was strongest in the clothing industry which was passing into the control of mercantile capitalists.

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1. See Biog. App. for Clements.

2. MS. Rawl. A 47,f.26-7: A. de Samand to ..., no date.

3. (W. T. Whitley), 'The Bell Lane Church', Trans. Baptist Hist. Soc.,iv (1914-15), p.128. See Biog. App. for Clarke.

4. Review in Eng. Hist. Rev.,lxxxiii (1968), p.397

The English cloth industry was still carried on by the small master craftsman in his own workshop, assisted by a few journeymen or apprentices belonging to the household. But his materials were supplied and his products collected by one or more clothiers who were, in effect, his employers. Masters and journeymen alike were becoming mere wage-earners, and the gilds passed into the control of mercantile oligarchies. During the period 1640-60 the tailors, weavers and other craftsmen made a last but unsuccessful attempt to win back control.[1]

At the same time the cloth industry was undergoing another upheaval. In some areas, for example Suffolk and the west, the old, heavy cloth had been driven out by foreign, mainly Dutch competition, and the industry was in steep decline. In Essex, part of Norfolk, and elsewhere new cheaper textiles, the 'New Draperies', had been introduced, and prosperity restored.[2] Lower costs and freedom from restrictions in these latter areas made entry to the rank of master easier, and the unit of production in Norfolk, for example, was very small. But the very small producer was all the more dependent on the middleman for his materials and on the London merchant for the distribution of his products. Moreover, freedom from restric-

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1. G. Unwin, Industrial Organization in the 16th and 17th Centuries (Oxford, 1904), passim; E. Lipson, The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries (1921), pp.36,44-5; M. James, Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution 1640-60 (1932), pp.193-240; F. Consitt, The London Weavers' Company (Oxford, 1933), esp. pp.146-50.

2. B. E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-1642 (Cambridge, 1964), chap. 7; K. J. Allison, 'The Norfolk Worsted Industry in the 16th and 17th Centuries', Yorkshire Bull. of Econ. and Social Research, xii (1960), pp.73-83,xiii (1961), pp.61-77.

tions permitted the rise of some big producers, and the employment of labour on a piecemeal basis instead of for a fixed term. In a depression the producer could simply lay off his workers.[1] In the Old Draperies a master was obliged to retain his assistants even during a depression, though this gave little protection when a clothier chose to run down his stocks and provided no new work.[2] Much of the London cloth industry, especially the silk industry, was situated in any case in the outer suburbs, beyond the reach of gild protection, and it was here that many of the Fifth Monarchist groups were to be found, in Shoreditch, Stepney, Bermondsey, Morefields and Southwark.[3] These changes took place over a period of two centuries or more, though the civil wars intensified the industry's troubles, disrupting the good communications vital for supplies and distribution. Stockpiles of wool and cloth were easy plunder for both sides.[4] A recovery at the end of the wars was checked by the renewal of Dutch competition with the end of the Thirty Years' War. Other major industries, such as food or building, were much more local in character, and less prone to sudden fluctuations. Rural artisans were usually also husbandmen, so that in bad times they still had subsistence.[5] But the urban worker was made destitute. Textile workers in densely populated areas, wholly

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1. Supple, Commercial Crisis, pp.153-62.
2. G. Unwin, 'Industries', Victoria County Hist., Suffolk, ii.255-66: C. Wilson, England's Apprenticeship 1603-1763 (1965), pp.66-7.
3. See Appendices I and II.
4. James, Social Problems, pp.56-61, 159-66.
5. Allison, art.cit., xii.74, xiii.70.

dependent on wages, were the most important elements in most of the mediaeval European millenarian outbreaks.[1]

Large numbers of saints thus were drawn from occupations with a high level of social and economic insecurity. But economic crisis was not responsible for producing the movement. The years of greatest disruption in the cloth industry were during the war. Cloth exports were high during the Dutch war of 1652-4, although they were hit by Cromwell's later war with Spain. The years when prices rose most steeply were 1646-50, and the army, where millenarianism was strongest, was sheltered from this inflation by a rise in wages in 1649.[2] The millenarian wave of the 1640s sprang rather from political and religious upheavals. Only after 1649 was this wave transformed into an organized, lower-class movement, stimulated by the king's execution and then the realization that the Grandees were betraying the millennium.[3]

The rise of the Fifth Monarchists followed the decline of the Levellers. Both were strong in the army and in London, and they shared many social and political objectives. Although the membership of both movements was minute in terms of the national population, and such objectives as the abolition of tithes and law reform would be widely attractive, it has been argued that Fifth Monarchism was

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1. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1962), pp.220-2,250/4, 266,280-1.

2. E. H. Phelps Brown and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables...', Economica, new ser.,xxiii (1956), p.313; C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1902), p.186; James, Social Problems, pp.159-66.

3. See above, pp.48-62.

the 'inevitable product of the failure of the left-democratic revolution to consummate itself.' It is very likely that fringe supporters of the Levellers drifted into a later movement with some common ideas, but it is certainly not true that only after the Levellers' defeat 'did enthusiasm for the thousand-year reign of Christ and his saints begin to spread.'[1] The enthusiasm was more widely spread in the 1640s; only the organization began after 1649. Moreover, there were important differences between the Levellers who sought to widen the franchise, and the elitist Fifth Monarchists who wanted not to reduce property qualifications, but to replace them with the new criterion of godliness. None of the leading Fifth Monarchists had been Levellers. Chillenden and William Allen had been army Agitators in 1647, but had not advocated Leveller ideas, and Chillenden had previously quarrelled with Lilburne, his former bebefactor.[2] Col. Rich had attacked a widening of the franchise at the Putney debates, and Harrison criticized the Levellers and was distrusted by them as a 'gilded' hypocrite.[3] Overton replied to a suggestion that he was a Leveller in very guarded terms: 'if a leveller be one, who bears affection to anarchy, destroying propriety or government, then I am none. But if upon the account of New-market and other engagements, for the setling of

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1. P. Zagorin, A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution (1954), p.105.

2. The Clarke Papers, ed. C. H. Firth (Camden Soc., new ser.,xlix, liv,lxi-ii, 1891-1901),i.78,85,100,189,193,199-200,277,338,377, 430; J. Lilburne, The Legall Fundamentall Liberties (1649), p.21.

3. Clarke Papers,i.315,ii.185, Lilburne, op.cit., p.31.

a well-grounded government, redress of grievances...&c. if this be levelling, I was and am a leveller.'[1] The only clear case of a Leveller becoming a saint was Thomas Dafferne, a friend of Lilburne, whose London house later became a Fifth Monarchist rendezvous.[2]

Fifth Monarchist writers showed no sympathy towards the Levellers. John Canne attacked them as atheists who denied heaven and hell, and de‿fended the execution of Trooper Arnold after the Leveller mutiny of 1648.[3] Morgan Llwyd criticized the Levellers as 'ye sharp people' who deserved to 'suffer as malefactors.'[4] Spittlehouse asserted that the saints 'abominate any wicked action under the notion of Leveling', and Chillenden claimed that when Leveller petitions were introduced at religious services he always 'caused them to be throwne by.'[5]

The discussion so far has tried to show why certain groups might be attracted to Fifth Monarchism. Two further problems remain: why any gentlemen or ministers should have supported a movement so antipathetic to the existing social order, and why, among the artisans, some individuals became saints whilst others did not.

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1. Thurloe,iii.110-1.

2. Lilburne, op.cit., p.36; Thurloe,vi.349. See Biog. App. for Dafferne.

3. J. Canne, The Discoverer (1649), p.9; The Discoverer, 2nd part (1649), p.52.

4. M. Llwyd, Gweithiau, ed. T. E. Ellis and J. H. Davies (Bangor and London, 1899, 1908),ii.237.

5. J. Spittlehouse, An Answer to one part of the Lord Protector's Speech (1654), p.1; Thurloe,iv.365.

Millenarians, including Fifth Monarchists, were not explicit as to why they had adopted their creed, beyond listing Biblical references. Arguing that the early Church had been millenarian, they accused their opponents of being the innovators. Aspinwall even claimed King David as an early Fifth Monarchy man.[1] In the political sphere they claimed to represent the 'Good Old Cause', the 'very same things being contended for by us yt were then' by Cromwell and others who had 'turned yr backs upon yr own practises, principles & ingagements.'[2]

Explaining why some millenarians did not become Fifth Monarchists, or rapidly fell away, Feake observed that 'the spirit of the world carried...them away.'[3] The hostility of property-owning millenarians to the social doctrines of the saints does explain why most avoided the movement. Contemporaries expressed surprise that any gentleman should become a saint.[4] The few who did, such as Rich and Overton, had often served in the army for almost all their adult lives, and thought as soldiers not gentry. Even then they repudiated the more radical social programmes that were suggested.[5] Among the early leaders who deserted rather than oppose the Protectorate were Major William Packer and Capt. John Spencer, both of whom had enriched themselves and bought crown lands.[6]

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1. W. Aspinwall, The Legislative Power (1656), p.12; N. Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1654), pp.4ff.
2. MS. Rawl. A 29,f.628: Rogers to T. Brookes, 29 Aug. 1655.
3. C. Feake, A Beam of Light (1659), p.44.
4. SP. 29/375,f.208: Sir Brian Broughton to Williamson, 27 Nov. 1675.
5. See below, pp.186-8.
6. D.N.B., Packer; (W. T. Whitley), 'Theobalds and Colonel Packer', Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.,iv (1914-15), pp.58-63.

Similar considerations appear to have influenced the behaviour of ministers. Large numbers had served in the army, as chaplains or soldiers.[1] Those who had business interests on a large scale, or had close connections with the government, or accepted places from it, avoided Fifth Monarchism, however zealous their millenarianism. Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Sterry, Peter, Kiffin and Knollys fell in this category, condemning Fifth Monarchism as a threat to order.[2] Feake in 1653 attacked the 'gaping professors of these times' who sought to serve Mammon as well as God.[3]

Educational levels were also important. Twenty-one Fifth Monarchists had had a university education, nineteen ministers and two gentlemen, Carew and Danvers.[4] But the movement attracted no theologians, although several Doctors of Divinity, such as Goodwin, Owen and Homes, were enthusiastic millenarians. The saints' lack of academic ability is manifest in their pamphlets, and only one, Tillinghast, was able to produce a systematic study of the prophetic texts.[5] Moreover the educated ministers, like the gentry, were not to be found amongst the most radical and violent of the saints.

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1. See above, p.93.

2. D.N.B., under each name; Bodl. MS. Carte 81,fos.16-17v.: letter of Owen and others, 9 Jan. 1654; J. Nickolls, Originall Letters (1743), p.160; Thurloe,i.621.

3. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 39942,f.13v.: sermon by Feake, 10 July 1653.

4. The ministers are Baylie, Browne, Chamberlen, Cockayne, Feake, Habergham, Helme, Marsden, A. and T. Palmer, Pendarves, Postlethwaite, Powell (?), Rogers, Stoneham, Taylor, Tillinghast, Woodall. Danvers is not certain, but the words 'of Trin. Col. Cx' are on the title page of the copy of his Mystery of Magistracy in the Congregationalists' Library, London.

5. See below, p.257

Amongst artisans, place, property and education were not important influences, but membership of the army was important, and there was a close relationship between military service and saint-hood.[1]

Membership of a Fifth Monarchist or any gathered church answered two needs. It provided assurance of salvation and a small, close-knit society offering company and assistance to its members. The need for certainty of salvation was not new in the period 1640-60. The break-up of the universal church had raised the problem of which was the true path to salvation, and the doctrine of predestination probably increased anxiety by denying the possibility of earning a place in heaven. Two collections of 'experiences of grace' (spiritual autobiographies given by persons wishing to join a gathered church) were published by John Rogers and by the Independent Henry Walker, with a preface by Vavasor Powell, and show prolonged attempts to obtain certainty. Several people had been seeking assurance for twenty, thirty-four and forty years, and many confessed to lingering doubts even after becoming church-members.[2] Such doubts were self-generating. Ann Megson feared that because she could doubt her election she must be damned, since the true elect were beyond doubt.[3] Another woman was comforted when William Perkins told her that 'a desire to believe was faith

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1. See above, p.93.

2. H. Walker, Spirituall Experiences, Of sundry Beleevers (2nd. edn., 1653), pp.4,7,33,217,233,275,376,382; pp.1-408 contain 61 cases, and J. Rogers, Ohel (1653), pp.393-439 contains a further 38.

3. Rogers, Ohel, p.416.

it selfe', and so brought salvation. But she soon reflected that a desire to be rich was not the same as wealth itself, and relapsed into her former despair.[1]

What was new in the 1640s and '50s was the degree of religious liberty which enabled people to try various religious movements in their search for assurance. Tabitha Kelsall had been a Baptist and a Ranter before joining Rogers.[2] Even acceptance by a gathered church was not a guarantee of salvation: the only guarantee was a subjective feeling of certainty.[3] Consequently ministers found it hard to create any stability. John Simpson condemned men's frenetic search for new rites 'to get solid comfort to their soules, apprehending that they are undone creatures, and cannot be true Saints, unlesse they be under the true practise of all Ordinances.'[4] Thomas Mall, Independent minister at Exeter, asked the saints of Devon whether they were 'troubled with a Vertigo in your Heads, and giddiness in your understandings?...Have not you been up and down; now of this mind, then of that, embracing and following those opinions, and ways, which the times have smiled upon?'[5]

The fear of hell and damnation, implanted deliberately by the preachers, increased anxiety over salvation, and was described in

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1. Walker, Spirituall Experiences, pp.115-8.
2. Rogers, Ohel, p.2 (pagination erratic: p.412 is followed by pp.1-12, then 413 ff.)
3. Tillinghast, Mr. Tillinghasts Eight Last Sermons, p.155.
4. J. Simpson, The Great Joy of Saints (1654), 2nd pagin., p.47; cf. J. Pendarves, The Fear of God: What it is (1657), pp.2-3.
5. T. Mall, The Axe at the Root (1668), p.13.

vivid terms by many of the saints. Terrified at the age of ten by preachers 'thundring' on the agonies of the damned, John Rogers expected every night to be seized by the devil, brooded on the '_endlesse_, _easlesse_ and _remedilesse_ torments' in store, cursed 'that ever I was born', and thought he 'heard the _damned_ roaring and _raving_, and saw them...*roasting*, and their frisking and frying in everlasting torments.' Before long he lost his reason.[1] Edward Wayman dreamed that he was seized and torn by a great black dog, (the devil). One woman was terrified when her dog jumped on her bed one night, thinking the devil had come to take her away.[2] A girl of eleven dreamed of 'fire...shreeking' and a 'burning lake', and saw the 'Devill with his chaines' waiting for her.[3] Sarah Barnwell related how a preacher used an outbreak of plague in Dublin to dwell 'on the sad _condition_ of some (even _Professors_) that were in _Hell howling_! Oh! this sad doctrine struck deep to the heart.'[4] Nine members of these two churches were tempted or did attempt to commit suicide, to end at least the torments of this life. Rogers tried to kill himself several times. One small girl tried to choke herself by swallowing feathers from her pillow. Powell too had once tried to take his life.[5]

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1. Rogers, _Ohel_, pp.419-20,426,429-30.
2. _Ibid._, p.409; Walker, _op.cit._,p.175.
3. Walker, _op.cit._, pp.362-4.
4. Rogers, _Ohel_, p.415.
5. _Ibid._, pp.9,427,435; Walker, _op.cit._, pp.6,25-6,230,235,273, 354,358; (E. Bagshaw), _The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell_ (1671), p.12.

The saints often described the events which started them on their search for God. Bereavement was mentioned by ten of the group. Elizabeth Avery lost three children, and with them all meaning in life. Mary Turrant lost her husband through the plague and her children were murdered by the Irish rebels. Another woman was driven to distraction by the (mistaken) belief that her daughter had committed suicide. One lost her husband and found their business ruined; yet another lost her children by smallpox.[1] The terrors of warfare were also emphasized. Francis Bishop, a conscript, told of his panic under fire, and how he was court-martialled and sentenced to death. Terrified of imminent hell, he experienced a vision in his cell during the night and found faith and hope.[2] Major Andrew Manwaring was reminded of sin and hell when his father was killed by the Irish rebels and he himself was wounded fifteen times on the field at Tredagh.[3] One woman confessed her indifference to religion during the 'fulnesse of outward enjoyments', but sought assurance of salvation after seeing her husband and child killed by the royalists at the siege of Liverpool.[4] A sailor told of his capture by the Turks, French and Dutch, and of his near shipwreck, which moved him first to a fear of hell and then to a sense of God's grace.[5] Other saints told of illnesses, unhappy

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1. Rogers, Ohel, pp.403-4,11,12,413,415; Walker, op.cit., pp.26, 43,60,68-9,164-5.
2. Rogers, Ohel, pp.398-9.
3. Ibid., pp.2-3.
4. Walker, op.cit., pp.813.
5. Ibid., pp.385-94.

marriages and desertion.[1] John Bywater was struck with terror as a small child when he saw a public execution and visualized his own torments in hell.[2]

Sometimes a person sought a new status in a church when economic disaster had undermined his place in society. Such disasters, he reflected, 'did not make us low in the sight of God, though before men' they might.[3] Humphry Mills was the son of a High Sheriff, but when his father died the family broke up and he was sent to London as an apprentice, a change which he resented bitterly. He was also a failure at business and told how he had lost £1,400 even since his conversion, but being 'confident in Christ' he could 'over-look the World.' Adrian Strong observed that he had lost his money but found in Christ a better alternative. One saint brushed aside 'all things in the world as vaine, muck, and trifles.' Another said he faced adversity with the same spirit as Job: 'the Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh, blessed be the name of the Lord.'[4] When economic circumstances were mentioned, church membership always appeared not as a justification of profit but as a compensation for loss. But two women testified to the belief that God rewarded the godly with economic success. One admitted that she was often 'pondering how to be rich', but without success. Eventually she began to fear that this failure was a sign

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1. Ibid., pp.34,140-3,168-70; Rogers, Ohel, p.413.
2. Rogers, Ohel, p.395.
3. Walker, op.cit., p.74.
4. Rogers, Ohel, pp.410,9; Walker, op.cit., pp.8-18,58,246.

of damnation. Seeing her 'neighbours...flourish and prosper in the world more then I, I began to doubt that I did but play the hypocrite, and that perhaps they did pray at home more then I.' Brought thus to a state of despair, she found assurance only after a vision.[1]

These autobiographies show how the saints themselves explained their conversion, but they seem to relate more to the occasion than the cause. Bereavement and personal setbacks were universal, but only a small minority reacted by becoming sectarians. Only a knowledge of the hereditary and environmental background of each individual would provide a partial explanation, and little information of this kind exists. Professor Walzer has suggested that immigrants to the large towns, lost and uprooted from the society they knew, were attracted to Puritanism because it offered them a place in a new social group.[2] This theory, though unsupported, seems quite plausible. After returning from New England, Raphael Swinfield asked to join Rogers's church because he was '<u>walking</u> alone, and very <u>desolate</u> for want of such a society as this.' But only seven of the sixty-one saints in Walker's book appear to have moved from the provinces to London, and the move does not seem to have influenced their spiritual development.[3]

The family background of the saints seems a more fruitful line of approach. Only a minority mentioned such details, but eight, including Rogers, said they were from Puritan or 'godly' families.

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1. Walker, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.78-84;cf.p.34.

2. M. Walzer, 'Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology', <u>History and Theory</u>,iii (1963-4), p.78.

3. Rogers, <u>Ohel</u>, p.398; Walker, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp.8-9,35,54,166,298,399, 359.

Eight more said they had been seeking assurance of salvation since childhood or adolescence which probably means they were from Puritan homes where such a subject would be familiar from an early age. Three more had been in quest of salvation for between twenty and forty years, which probably took them back to their childhood. So nineteen of the group of 99 may well have been influenced by Puritan backgrounds, whilst only one, Col. Hewson, stated that he was from a profane family.[1]

The two congregations were Independent not Fifth Monarchist, but numerous later Fifth Monarchists were mentioned in the autobiographies, and the membership was probably fairly similar. London and East Anglia, traditionally Puritan areas, were Fifth Monarchist and sectarian strongholds. The isolated church at Skegby, Notts., was no doubt planted by the Fifth Monarchist minister Thomas Palmer of Aston, but the fact that the village had a Puritan minister in the 1630s may have prepared the way.[2] It is likely that there was a common (but not total) correlation between sectarianism and second-generation Puritanism.

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1. Rogers, Ohel, pp.393-6,403,409-11,414,419-26; Walker, op.cit., pp.5,33,77,88,140,161,217,357,376,382.

2. R. A. Marchant, The Puritans and the Church Courts in the Diocese of York, 1560-1642 (1960), p.316.

Note - see p.92.

No verdict can be passed on Prof. Everitt's theory until his article appears giving the evidence. But it is perhaps worth noting that most of his evidence comes from the 1670s and later. The list of General Baptist churches in the 1650s printed in W. T. Whitley, Minutes of the General Baptist Churches (1909-10), i.lxvi-vii shows no correlation with forest areas. It is at least possible that it was in these areas that dissent survived or retreated after 1660, rather than originated. George Fox told of Baptists moving to the forest areas of Leicestershire after 1660 to escape persecution - G. Fox, Journal, ed. J. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), pp.428-9.

CHAPTER 5

THE FIFTH MONARCHISTS IN OPPOSITION, 1653-60

In accepting the resignation of Barebones and establishing the Protectorate, Cromwell removed the fear of an attack on law and property, but exposed himself to the threat of a major breach in the army. Besides many staunchly republican officers, the army contained a number of high-ranking Fifth Monarchists, including Major-Generals Harrison and Overton, and Rich, Courtney and Wigan, with Allen and Vernon on the fringe of the movement.[1] The royalists believed that 'Harrison will have a strong party against the protector, and that we shall suddenly hear of an army on foot against him.'[2] But the expected clash did not materialize. On 21 December Harrison was asked 'if he could own and act under this present power, and declaring, that he could not, had his commission taken from him.'[3] He never showed powers of political leadership, but in any case there was little he could have done. The regiments most likely to give support, his own and those of Rich and Overton, were far distant in Scotland and at Hull. When details of the new regime eventually reached the north, a number of Harrison's troops deserted and returned to England, including the quarter-master and chaplain, and many of the Welsh contingent.[4] Major Wigan of

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1. See Biographical Appendix for all these.
2. Thurloe State Papers, i.650.
3. Ibid., i.641.
4. The Faithfull Scout, 129, (27 Jan. - 3 Feb. 1654), p.1267; A Perfect Diurnall, 215 (30 Jan. - 6 Feb.), p.3098 (misprint for 3312).

Cromwell's regiment resigned his commission and returned to his former occupation as a minister in Manchester. Cornet Caithness, of Cromwell's Life-Guards, also resigned.[1] Overton came to London and told Cromwell of his discontents, but he promised to continue to serve against the common enemy, the royalists in Scotland, and not to act against the government.[2] Col. Rich remained in the army for some time. Perhaps he hoped, like the author of The Cause of God (1659), that even after the fall of Barebones, Cromwell was still only deceiving the moderates, and would soon 'throw off this Mantle and come forth in his own true Spirit,...to exalt Jesus Christ.'[3] But resentment was certainly strong. Hugh Courtney wrote that the 'people of God are highly dissatisfied', especially as the solemnities with which the regime was inaugurated were 'too much after the old fashion.' Allen wrote from Ireland that ' 'Tis a day of darkness and confusion, very unlike that day of the glorious reign of Christ.'[4] After seeing Cromwell as hero and saint for many years, the millenarian officers found it impossible to recast him abruptly as the agent of Antichrist. Allen admitted, after airing his discontents, 'I love and honour him still', and decided to retain his commission. He remarked that it was for God to establish the millennium 'in his due time, and in the meane time it will con-

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1. Sir C. H. Firth and G. Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army (Oxford, 1940), pp.484-5; Thurloe,ii.215.

2. D.N.B., Overton; J.R., The sad Suffering Case of Major General Rob. Overton (1659), pp.4-5; Thurloe,iii.67,110-2.

3. Anon., The Cause of God, p.22.

4. Thurloe,i.639-40,ii.215.

cern his poor people not to be dreaming of reigning like kings hear on earth, but rather to prepare for that which was their maisters portion.'[1]

Of the Fifth Monarchist members of Barebones, Arthur Squibb lost or resigned his place on the Committee for Compounding, and disposed of his reversion to a Tellership at the Exchequer.[2] John Browne remained hostile until his death in 1654, but some of the others, John James, Richard Price and John Williams, even continued for a time to serve on county committees.[3] Early in February 1654 Harrison was ordered to retire to his father's house in Staffordshire, and after some delay he complied, having 'declared to live peaceably.' By May he was thought to be 'already forgotten, and totally layd aside.'[4]

The London preachers reacted far more violently to the fall of Barebones, and poured out a torrent of invective against the apostate. At Christ Church on 19 December 1653 Feake and Vavasor Powell described him as 'the dissemblingest perjured villaine in the world.' The next day Feake discoursed on the little horn of Dan. vii. 8, and by denying that it was Charles I implied that it was Cromwell.

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1. Thurloe,ii.214; Bodl. MS. Rawl. A 13,f.26: Allen to Hart, 5 April 1654.

2. Squibb was missing from the list of Commissioners for Compounding on 10 Feb. 1654: C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660 (1911),ii.839; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1654, p.272.

3. MS. Rawl. A 47,f.30: J. Browne to J. Wright, n.d.; Cal. of Committee for Compounding, Dom., p.686; Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord., ii.971,976-7,1070,1085,1087.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1653-4, p.386; The Moderate Intelligencer,168 (8-14 March 1654), p.1333; Bodl. MS. Clar. 48,f.57: Hyde to Bellings, 10/20 March 1654; MS. Clar. 48,f.227: same to same, 19/29 May.

Powell prophesied that the government would soon fall, and demanded 'Lord, wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?' Both preachers were arrested on the following day, and the Blackfriars meetings were banned. Feake and Powell were released after a few days and promptly resumed their attacks. Feake was rearrested, along with John Simpson who had announced a vision that Cromwell would fall within six months, and on 28 January they were ordered to be imprisoned at Windsor. Powell escaped to Wales.[1] Col. Danvers was urging all the churches to join in a general attack on Cromwell, but nothing materialized at this time.[2]

Having silenced the three leading critics, the government and its supporters launched a campaign of counter-propaganda. Cromwell ordered a day of fasting and humiliation for 24 March, suggesting that people should ask forgiveness for seeking more 'for Saints having rule in the world, then over their own hearts.'[3] The General Baptists issued a declaration asserting their faith in the millennium, but arguing that until Christ appeared, the saints were rather 'patiently to suffer from the world, as the Scriptures direct them,...than any wise to attain the Rule and Government therof.'[4]

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1. Thurloe, i.641; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1653-4, pp.308-9,449; Cal.S.P.Venetian, 1653-4, p.169; Hist. MSS. Comm., lv, Var. Coll. II, p.270; Public Record Office, P.R.O. 31/3/92, fos.107-8: Bordeaux to Servien or Brienne, 19/29 Dec. 1653; ibid., fos.115,117-v.: Bordeaux to Mazarin, same to Brienne, both 22 Dec./1 Jan. 1653/4; Severall Proceedings, 222 (22-29 Dec.), p.3512; Faithfull Scout, 129 (27 Jan. - 3 Feb. 1654), p.1269.

2. Thurloe, iv.365.

3. Mercurius Politicus, 197 (16-23 March 1654), pp.3353-4.

4. The Humble Representation (1654), reprinted in W. T. Whitley, Minutes of the General Assembly (1909-10), i.4.

Early in January, the leading Independent ministers, Owen, Thomas Goodwin, Nye and Sidrach Simpson, composed a circular letter condemning the Fifth Monarchists by whom 'the Gospell hath bin dishonored, the way of Christ evil spoken of, the power of Magistracy weakened, and the Civil peace of the Nation endangered.' This paper was sent to other parts of the country, including East Anglia.[1] Kiffin and other Particular Baptists wrote a similar letter on 20 January, accusing the Fifth Monarchists of bringing 'shame and contempt to the whole nation,' and recalling the tyranny of others who had claimed a divine right to rule, such as the late king.[2] The Independent minister John Goodwin denied the right of the saints to accelerate God's plans, and reprinted to good effect the Declaration of divers Elders and Brethren (1651), in which Feake and Simpson had argued the duty of all Christians to obey even infidel rulers.[3]

The government's most immediate problem was to silence Feake and Simpson who continued to lead the movement from their prison at Windsor, and were confident that God would bring them a speedy release.[4] Feake's congregation published fourteen letters he had sent them, attacking the apostacy of eminent men and urging the faithful to be ready 'to make a standing Army for the King of Saints,

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1. Bodl. MS. Carte 81,f.16v.: circular letter, 9 Jan. 1654; ibid., f.214v: defence of ?Nye, 1663/4.

2. J. Nickolls, Original Letters (1743), p.160.

3. J. Goodwin, Ἐνυκρητισμός or Dis-satisfaction Satisfied (1654), pp.10-11; The Loyal Intelligencer,73 (23-30 Jan. 1654),pp.132-3.

4. The Grand Politique Post,164 (7-15 Feb. 1654),p.1304; Certain Passages,8 (3-10 March),p.62; ibid.,15 (28 April - 5 May),p.123.

in the time appointed of the Father.'[1] Simpson wrote similar letters to his congregation at Allhallows the Great, urging them to 'help Christ to the throne of England.'[2]

As part of their propaganda, Simpson and other Fifth Monarchists recounted visions they had had of the imminent destruction of Cromwell.[3] The most celebrated visionary was Anna Trapnel, daughter of a shipwright of Stepney, a member of Simpson's congregation at Allhallows, and subject to visions since 1647.[4] In January 1654 she went to Whitehall to attend the examination of Powell and fell into a trance lasting many days, during which she uttered a torrent of divinely-inspired verse, prophesying that the Lord would 'batter' Cromwell and his friends.[5] Shortly afterwards the Lord directed her to visit Cornwall, which she did after taking leave of Feake and Simpson. She stayed at the house of Capt. Langden, one of the Fifth Monarchist members of Barebones, and met another former member, Major Bawden. The local clergy were openly hostile and soon procured a warrant for her arrest on the grounds that she was a second Holy Maid of Kent, spreading subversion. Langden and Bawden stood surety and she was bound over. But the case was attracting considerable notoriety. One Ensign Randall was cashiered

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1. C. Feake, The New Non-conformist (1654), esp. sig. A3.
2. Anon., The Old Leaven Purged out (1658), 2nd pagin., p.9.
3. For Fifth Monarchist attitudes to visions, see below pp.247-8.
4. A. Trapnel, The Cry of a Stone (1654), pp.3,4,7,10-11.
5. Ibid., pp.19,61; Trapnel, Strange and Wonderful Newes (1654), passim; Severall Proceedings, 225 (12-19 Jan.), pp.3562-4; cf. C. Burrage, 'Anna Trapnel's Prophecies', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxvi (1911), pp.526-35. See Biog. App.

for visiting her, and the government was persuaded in April to have her re-arrested and taken to London. She was kept in Bridewell during June and July, receiving many visitors.[1]

On 13 July the government released John Simpson, with orders not to come within ten miles of London. There seemed to be some hope that his views had moderated, and it was reported that he 'prays for the present power.'[2] But this change was of limited value since Simpson proved unable to carry his followers with him. Many condemned his apostacy, and though he broke the order and went to London in December to plead 'his Sameness to what he ever was,' his audience decided he was not 'fully enlightned about the Kingdome of Christ.' Even a stormy interview with Cromwell, whom Simpson accused of breaking his word over tithes, committing treason by becoming sole head of state, and persecuting the saints, failed to convince his congregation.[3]

Moreover, Simpson's new and questionable moderation was offset by the growing extremism of John Rogers. Rogers had been a devoted admirer of Cromwell, but in December 1653 he sent a private letter to the Protector, and published an open letter, both calling for action against the 'Antichristian Clergy' and the 'Heathenish Lawes',

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1. Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea (1654), pp.1-10,13,19ff.; Trapnel, A Legacy for Saints (1654), pp.49ff; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1654, pp.86, 134,436,438; Certain Passages,14 (14-21 April), p.111; The Weekly Intelligencer,328 (18-25 April), pp.229-30; Merc. Pol., 201 (13-20 March), pp.3429-30; A Perfect Account,179 (7-14 June),p.1425.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1654, pp.253,256,438.

3. Severall Procs.,253 (27 July - 3 Aug.), p.4003; ibid., 255 (10-17 Aug.), p.4034; Clarke Papers,ii.xxxiv-vii,iii.13-15.

and warning Cromwell that if he rejected God, God would reject him, which would 'make our souls mourne.' In the published letter he advised Cromwell to rely on those members who were 'faithful to Christ' in Barebones. 'When the Wise men (of the world)...faile you,' he urged, 'then send for the Daniels,...to confer with you upon the Prophecies.'[1] By January he was criticizing Cromwell as a dissembler, accused him in February of breaking promises, and launched a comprehensive attack in March, lamenting the apostacy of the great.[2] In May he prayed to have 'no lord protector but our Lord Jesus', and accused the government of having broken all the Ten Commandments. 'O thou black Whitehal! thou black Whitehal!' he exclaimed. 'Fah, fah, it stinks of the brimstone of Sodome, and the smoke of the bottomlesse pit.[3] His house had already been searched for seditious papers, and he cannot have been surprised when he was arrested, in bed, on 27 July: in fact he said 'he did much desire to have been in prison.' He was lodged in Lambeth Palace and preached daily to a large number of visitors including Simpson.[4] Before his arrest he had taken care to put his views into print, comparing the regime and its probable fate with that of Charles I.[5]

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1. J. Rogers, To His Highnesse Lord General Cromwel,..The humble Cautionary Proposals (1653), brs.; MS. Rawl. A 47,fos.32-5: Rogers to Cromwell, no date, probably Dec. 1653.
2. W. Erbery, An Olive Leaf (1654), p.2; Certain Passages,5 (10-17 Feb.), p.38; ibid.,6, pp.41-2; Thurloe,ii.196.
3. Thurloe, iii.483-5.
4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1654, pp.434,438; Mercurius Jocosus,4 (28 July - 4 Aug.), p.19; Severall Proc.,253 (27 July - 3 Aug.), p.4003; ibid.,255 (10-17 Aug.), pp.4033-4; Rogers, Jegar-Sahadutha (1657), introd., p.6.
5. Rogers, Mene, Tekel, Perez (1654), p.8 and passim.

With the leading Fifth Monarchists thus removed, lesser figures carried on the campaign. Among them was Col. Edward Lane, who compared Cromwell to Jehu, and accused him of gilding old idolatry with 'specious pretence.' Rogers added a fiery preface from his cell, declaring that the millennium was dawning, and comparing his lot with that of Christ - 'Welcome Cross! welcome Crown!'[1] Thomas Higgenson argued that God would shortly destroy all rulers. William Aspinwall warned of the 'sad..calamities' about to sweep the world.[2] A delegation from Chamberlen's church visited Cromwell in February 1654 to plead for Christ's kingdom, and to attack the lawyers and the national ministry.[3] John More, a member of the church, published a letter to Cromwell, denouncing him as the little horn (Dan. vii. 8) and the Beast of Revelation.[4] The saints also furthered the cause by pirating old millenarian sermons by Thomas Goodwin, now seen as a great apostate. Additional support for millenarianism, though not for the Fifth Monarchists' political position, was provided by Nathaniel Homes's Resurrection Revealed. This large and erudite 'proof' of the coming millennium won Homes the title 'Chiliastorum Achilles.'[5] Fifth Monarchist zeal was also

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1. E. Lane, An Image of our Reforming Times (1654), sig. A1v-2v.,p.17.

2. T. Higgenson, Sighs for Righteousness (1654), passim; W. Aspinwall, A Premonition of Sundry Sad Calamities (1654), p.2 and passim. See Biog. App. for Higgenson.

3. MS. Rawl. D 828,f.339-v.: Lothbury Church Book, 7 Feb. 1654.

4. J. More, A Trumpet sounded (1654), passim. See Biog. App. for More.

5. T. Goodwin, A Sermon of the Fifth Monarchy (1654), and The World to Come (1655); Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1654); T. Hall, Chiliasto-mastix redivivus (1657), p.2.

sustained by hopes of great events in 1656. It was calculated that 1656 years passed from the Creation to the Great Flood, and since a similar length of time had passed since the birth of Christ, comparable wonders were anticipated. Morgan Llwyd held this view, as did John Tillinghast, who expected the fulfilment of the prophecies and the beginning of the millennium in 1656.[1]

Attacks on the regime in sermons and pamphlets brought notoriety to the saints, but were unlikely to shake the government. The Fifth Monarchists saw an opportunity for more effective opposition when a Parliament was summoned for 3 September 1654. Spittlehouse published a tract on 1 September, setting out the benefits of the Fifth Monarchy and accusing Cromwell of high treason for breaking the act of 1649 against government by a single person.[2] The London Fifth Monarchists produced a joint manifesto to coincide with the meeting of the new Parliament. They recalled the army declarations of St. Albans and Musselburgh and lamented that the government was 'so fully gorged with the flesh of Kings, Captains, and Nobles, &c. (i.e. with their Lands, Mannors, Estates, Parks, and Palaces) so as to sit at ease, and comply with Antichrist.' Regular meetings were established to settle the details of the Fifth Monarchy. The manifesto was signed by 150 people from ten congregations, representing the whole churches of Rogers and Chamberlen, and part of those of Feake, Raworth, Knollys, Simpson, Jessey, Barbon, Fenton and Highland.

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1. M. Llwyd, Gweithiau, ed. T. E. Ellis and J. H. Davies (Bangor and London, 1899, 1908), i.79-80; J. Tillinghast, Generation worke, 3rd part (1654), pp.171ff. For Fifth Monarchist beliefs relating to Biblical prophecies, see below, pp.256-8.

2. Spittlehouse, Certaine Queries (1654), passim.

Signatures from other churches were omitted, as were those from outside London, including 'hundreds out of Kent', since it was hoped that these saints would draw up separate representations.[1]

The main Fifth Monarchist plan was for a petition to be circulated in the army and then presented to Parliament by Harrison (who was said to have been elected in eight different constituencies). The petition stated that the regime was worse than that of Charles I, and urged Parliament to extirpate this new tyranny and restore a 'state of perfect liberty.'[2] Cromwell countered this challenge firstly by attacking the 'mistaken notion' of Fifth Monarchism in his opening speech, claiming it threatened law, liberty and property.[3] Spittlehouse published a prompt vindication, for which he and his publisher, Livewell Chapman, were sent to join Rogers in prison at Lambeth.[4] Cromwell had Harrison arrested on 9 September, to be released a few days later after a friendly warning. The more dangerous members of Parliament were excluded by the imposition of the Recognition on 12 September, by which only those who swore to be loyal to the regime were allowed to enter the House.[5]

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1. Anon., A Declaration of Several of the Churches of Christ (1654), passim, reprinted in Trans. Baptist Hist. Soc.,iii (1911-12), pp.129-53; MS. Clar. 49,f.58v.: G. Greene to ..., 23 Sept. 1654.

2. MS. Clar. 49,fos.58v.,59: G. Greene to ..., 23 Sept, 25 Sept.; Hist. MSS Comm.,lxiii, Egmont MSS,i, p.546.

3. Abbott, Writings and Speeches,iii.437.

4. J. Spittlehouse, An Answer to one part of The Lord Protector's Speech (1654); Cal.S.P.Dom.,1654, pp.378,389; J. Rogers, Jegar-Sahadutha (1657), introd., p.15. For Chapman, see Biog. App.

5. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,iii.187 and note.

By the end of the year the cause had suffered further setbacks. Col. Rich had been removed from the army, possibly in connection with the petition which three colonels, Okey, Saunders and Alured, had drawn up against the Protector and circulated in the army.[1] Overton was also removed. He was accused of being privy to a plot by his subordinates to seize Monk and put himself at the head of a bid to destroy the government. Overton denied the charge, but captured papers showed the strength of his disaffection, and the government took the opportunity to silence a dangerous critic. He was brought to London in January 1655 and gaoled first in the Tower and then in Jersey. His regiment was purged.[2]

The government was naturally alarmed at the possibility of an alliance between the various disaffected groups and critics within the army. In the spring of 1654 one of Chamberlen's congregation, a French physician named Naudin, was arrested for plotting with M. de Baas of the French embassy to turn the army against Cromwell and to persuade Harrison to lead an Anabaptist rising. The affair caused a crisis in Anglo-French relations.[3] In the latter half of the year there were constant rumours of a massive conspiracy of the Levellers, Commonwealthsmen, Royalists and Fifth Monarchists. Overton was to hand over Hull to the king. Harrison and Rich were to lead a Fifth Monarchist rising. William Allen and Hugh Courtney

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1. Thurloe,iii,55; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,iii.211,217.

2. Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,iii.228-32.

3. Ibid.,iii.125-6,136; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1654, pp.289,372; Severall Proceedings,243 (18-25 May 1654), p.3866; P.R.O. 31/3/95,f.100: de Baas to Mazarin, 25 June; ibid.,fos.105v-6,166v.: Bordeaux to Brienne, 28 and 30 June.

were said to be stirring up sedition already in the west. The government responded by arresting Wildman, the Leveller, in February 1655 and placing Allen under arrest at the same time.[1] A chance to dispose of the leading Fifth Monarchists was soon presented through Feake and Rogers.

Feake and ten of his followers were summoned before the Protector after the publication in December 1654 of his Oppressed Close Prisoner, accepting Cromwell as the de facto but not the de iure ruler, but Feake was not released.[2] Requests for the release of Rogers in January 1655 were turned down with the comment that 'if hee was at liberty, he would offend so high' that none could save him.[3] However Cromwell did grant him an interview on 6 February in the presence of twelve followers. A crowd of 250 which tried to follow was turned back. Rogers accused the Protector of being an apostate and persecutor, and was accused in turn of seeking confusion and bloodshed: 'you long to be at it; you want but an opportunity.' Cromwell argued, somewhat facetiously, that 'A Prisoner is a free man, as Christ hath made you free, and so you are a Free man', and when Rogers began to discourse of the reign of the Beast, he cut him short, remarking 'they are things I understand not.'[4] As Rogers was led away, another deputation arrived to demand

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1. Gardiner, op.cit.,iii.228-32,269-70; Thurloe,iii.140,147-8,194; Ralph Josselin, Diary,1616-1683, ed. E. Hockliffe (Camden Soc., 3rd ser.,xv, 1908), p.109; R. Vaughan, The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1839),i.136,155.

2. Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.60; Clarke Papers,iii.15.

3. Severall Proceedings,279 (25 Jan. - 1 Feb. 1655), p.4426; anon., The Faithful Narrative of the late Testimony (1655), pp.2-3.

4. Faithful Narrative, pp.4-9,12,35.

the release of the prisoners. It consisted of Harrison, Rich, Carew, Courtney, Clement Ireton (brother of the late general) and Arthur Squibb. Cromwell told them that Feake and Rogers were gaoled for sedition, not religion, and dismissed them.[1] But on 13 February an informer told the government that Harrison, Feake and Rogers were involved in a plot, and that one plotter had said of Cromwell, 'would I had his flesh between my teeth.'[2] Next day Cromwell summoned the Fifth Monarchist deputation to answer for 'divers Printed treasonous Papers...to promote designs of Insurrection.' The saints ignored this summons since an illegal government had no authority to issue orders, but they were fetched next day and examined by Cromwell, with the Fifth Monarchist preachers Simpson, John Pendarves of Abingdon and one Bankes also present. Carew attacked Cromwell because he 'took the Crown from the head of Christ, and put it on his own.' They all criticized the Parliament, 'whereby power is derived from the people, whereas all power belongs to Christ.' Far from pledging not to attack the government, they asserted that 'arms may be taken up against it.' In reply, Cromwell accused Harrison of preaching sedition, Carew of trying to subvert army officers, Rich of hindering tax collection, and Courtney of inciting men to arms in London, Norfolk and the west. The four saints were placed under house arrest for a few days, and ultimately Harrison and Courtney were lodged in Carisbrook Castle, Carew in Pendennis Castle in Cornwall and Rich at Windsor.[3]

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1. Faithful Narrative, p.41.
2. Thurloe, iii.160.
3. Clarke Papers, ii.242-6, iii.23-4; Merc. Pol., 245 (15-22 Feb. 1655), p.5147, ibid., 246 (22 Feb. - 1 March), p.5163; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect., iii.266-8. For Pendarves see Biog. App.

Feake and Rogers remained in prison, but their spirit was far from broken. Rogers complained of his treatment and of the high prison fees at Lambeth. His gaoler replied that he had tried to stir up trouble, and that by arguing over the amount of fees he had contrived to pay nothing. Rogers preached through the prison windows every Sunday to a 'great concourse of People', and at the end of March he was moved to join Feake at Windsor.[1] Feake managed one day to seize the chapel pulpit, and railed against the government until he was pulled down. He abused the Protector as an 'Apostate, Covenant breaker, Jugler, Usurper, Tyrant, and Persecutor.' He taught his small son to run round singing 'The Protector is a foole', and Rogers taught his maid to rail. When locked in his cell, Feake preached all day through the windows until 'he could scarce speake for hoarsenesse', and the governor ordered his troops to beat on their drums for hours to drown the preacher. But Feake managed to subvert discipline, and one serjeant said he would 'suffer his head to be cut off' before he would touch the prisoners.[2] The prisoners sent letters to their congregations which were read out at Allhallows.[3] Rogers also tried to 'convert' ministers who supported the Protectorate. 'It is good for us to bee poore,' he wrote to Thomas Brookes, 'who must possesse all things.'[4]

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1. Thurloe,iii.136,485-6; Rogers, Jegar, introd., pp.9-14; Mercurius Fumigosus,43 (21-28 March), p.338; Perfect Proceedings,288 (29 March - 5 April), p.4565; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1655, p.579; Clarke Papers,iii.32.
2. MS. Rawl. A 26,fos.239-51: account by Col. Whichcote, 18 May 1655; ibid.fos.252-4: 'A true relation of the..dealings exersised by ye Governor of Windsor Castelle..towards..ffeacke & John Rogers; Rogers, Jegar,pp.5-9; Perfect Account, 226 (2-9 May), p.1808.
3. Perfect Account,217 (28 Feb. - 7 March), p.1736; Weekly Post,124 (24 April - 1 May), p.1792.
4. MS. Rawl. A 29,f.629: Rogers to Brookes, 29 Aug. 1655.

Late in September the government moved the prisoners to the Isle of Wight, where at Carisbrook they joined Harrison and Courtney.[1] Feake soon secured a removal to the mainland, whereupon he broke an order and went to London where he was placed under armed guard again.[2] Carew and Courtney were freed finally in October 1656, Rogers and Feake in December. Harrison was released but restricted to his house at Highgate in March 1656, and Rich was freed probably about the same time.[3]

The government had removed the leading saints for a considerable period, but this failed to remove all the danger. In 1655 the Fifth Monarchists adopted the policy which the government feared - of seeking alliances with other disaffected groups, and trying to subvert the army.

Vavasor Powell had been spreading disaffection in Wales since the beginning of the Protectorate. Morgan Llwyd was said to have preached that God had chosen Harrison, not Cromwell, as His lieutenant on earth. John Williams, a former member of Barebones, called Cromwell a king in all but name, and 'as great a tirant as the former.' The Welsh saints were rumoured to be repairing pistols, listing troops and riding round in armed parties; Powell was not above threatening to send a party of soldiers against a tenant who fell behind with the rent. Powell and others were indicted, but no

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1655, pp.374,598; Clarke Papers,iii.53; Rogers, Jegar, pp.18 (misprint for 22)-33.

2. Clarke Papers,iii.61; Thurloe,v.755-9; anon., The Prophets Malachy and Isaiah (1656), preface by Feake, p.17; Publick Intelligencer,6 (5-12 Nov. 1655), p.94.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1656-7, pp.130,194; Rogers, Jegar, p.113.

trial followed, and all the sheriffs and justices were said to be his friends, appointed through Harrison during the Propagation period, and they listened to his seditious sermons with approval.[1]

By February 1654 Powell was said to be drawing up a remonstrance against the government, but nothing further was heard of this for some time. This was partly because Powell's militancy provoked opposition among the 'richer sort' of his followers, who threatened to arrest him to avert trouble.[2] One of John Williams's harangues was interrupted by the crowd demanding the return of the king.[3] One of Powell's enemies published a violently abusive pamphlet, alleging that he had misappropriated public money, and that his followers, such as Williams, claimed to have seen Christ on earth, and compared Him to '_old_ Rice Williams _of_ Newport' with 'a large grey beard.'[4] The elders of Powell's church published a vindication of their pastor, but instead of defending his millenarian ideas, they tried to minimize them, claiming that he 'doth very seldom, and then sparingly touch upon' them.[5] Powell's rumoured 20,000 supporters, 'ready to hazard their blood in defence of their cause', did not materialize.[6] It was in fact against the royalist rising of March 1655 that Powell did take up arms. He

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1. _Thurloe_,ii.93,114 (misprint for 120),124,128-9,174,226.
2. _Ibid._,ii.116,124.
3. _Ibid._,ii.46.
4. A. Griffith, _Strena Vavasoriensis_ (1654), esp. p.6.
5. Anon., _Vavasoris Examen, & Purgamen_ (1654), p.19 and _passim._
6. _Thurloe_,iii.136,291.

raised a force from the church and 'charging himself in the Van' was wounded in a successful engagement. Llwyd too supplied the government with information of royalist plans.[1]

But trouble recommenced when the royalist scare had been replaced by the hated rule of the Major-Generals. Major-General Berry met Powell who assured him that he was only drawing up a private petition.[2] But when in December 1655 the petition appeared, entitled A Word for God, with 322 signatures, it appeared far from innocuous. Seeking to attract all discontented forces, it accused the government of betraying the 'Good Old Cause' (defined as both the 'Advancement of Christ's Kingdom' and 'the Privileges of Parliament'), and attacked tithes and the heavy rate of taxation. A copy was handed to Cromwell by Richard Price, the former member of Barebones.[3] The Word for God was proof of the danger of a union of the Fifth Monarchists with other malcontents. At a mass meeting of five hundred at Allhallows on 3 December it was read out by Cornet Day (of Harrison's former regiment) and John Simpson. Day and Livewell Chapman, thought to be Powell's publisher, were arrested and Powell himself went into hiding, though he did later express some repentance to Berry over the petition.[4]

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1. Ibid.,iii.207,252; Weekly Post,218 (13-20 March), p.1746; Faithful Scout,219 (16-23 March), p.1744.

2. Thurloe,iv.228; Merc. Pol.,285 (22-29 Nov. 1655), p.5788.

3. Thurloe,iv.380-4; A. H. Dodd, 'A Remonstrance from Wales, 1655', Bull. Board Celtic Studies,xvii (1956-8), pp.279-92; anon., A True Catalogue (1659), p.10.

4. Clarke Papers,iii.62; Thurloe,iv.321,343,359,379,394; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1655-6, pp.109,576; Pub. Intelligencer,12 (17-24 Dec.), p.192. For Day see Biog. App.

The paper had spread far outside London, and the government was alarmed at the likely consequences. It retaliated by distributing loyal replied to Powell, such as Richardson's Plain Dealing, the Animadversions upon a letter and Paper, and a profession of loyalty by about nine hundred saints in South Wales.[1] But discontents were reported all round the country. Anna Trapnel had returned to Cornwall to visit Carew, and though her success was limited, there were ominous rumours of joint assemblies of Fifth Monarchists and Quakers. When questioned by a party of soldiers, Trapnel declared 'thou art of the Army of the Beast.'[2] At Lewes in Sussex there was trouble involving Walter Postlethwaite, a Fifth Monarchist minister who feared that God would abandon this apostate nation and go to America and thence to the East Indies to 'set up the Government of Jesus Christ amongst the Barbarous Places.' In the autumn of 1655 many of the sectaries in Lewes prepared a petition to Cromwell calling for the release of Feake and other saints, the abolition of Chancery and tithes, and the disbanding of the army. But the Fifth Monarchist group refused to participate on the grounds that a petition implied recognition of the government.[3]

Rather more serious was the trouble in East Anglia. The establishment of the Protectorate made little initial impact, apart

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1. S. Richardson, Plain Dealing (1656); anon., Animadversions (1656); anon., The Humble Representation..of several Churches..in South Wales (1656); Thurloe, iv.445,531.

2. Merc. Pol.,312 (29 May - 5 June 1656), pp.6997-8; Pub. Intelligencer,13 (24-31 Dec. 1655), pp.193-4.

3. W. Postlethwaite, A Voice from Heaven (1655), sig. A6v.-7; Thurloe,iv.151,161. For Postlethwaite see Biog. App.

from an attack by Tillinghast and by Richard Breviter's church at North Walsham.[1] In October 1654 about fifteen churches met to discuss the duty of the saints, perhaps through the influence of Courtney and of Tillinghast, whose preaching tours covered East Anglia and reached to London and Lewes.[2] But the arrest of Harrison and Rich destroyed any lingering hopes of the Protector, and discontent spread rapidly round Norwich and North Walsham.[3] The government warned the militia to be vigilant and distributed a letter from Cromwell against the Fifth Monarchists throughout the eastern part of the country.[4] New attempts to stir up agitation after the Word for God met with some success. On 12 March 1656 messengers from twelve churches in Norfolk and Suffolk met at Norwich to debate the coming millennium and the duty of the saints towards the present government. The majority felt that though the millennium was at hand, they should accept the present powers, and they would regard trouble-makers with 'great sorrow and grief of heart.' But the dissatisfied minority held a rally in April, led by Stoneham of Ipswich, Habergham of Syleham, Woodall of Woodbridge and Taylor of Bury St. Edmunds, when they planned a petition based on Powell's, calling on Cromwell to resign. They claimed, however, to be 'free from designe or intendment of trouble', although a few saints

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1. J. Tillinghast, Generation Worke, 3rd part (1654), epistle from Breviter's church, and passim.

2. Clarke Papers, ii.xxxiii-iv; J. Manning's epistle in Tillinghast, Elijah's Mantle (1658), sig. A2; Feake's preface in Mr. Tillinghasts Eight Last Sermons (1655), sig. A7v.

3. Thurloe, iii.328, iv.472-3; Josselin, Diary, p.115.

4. Thurloe, iii.311, iv.170.

around North Walsham were 'tending to blood', led by Pooley, a shop-keeper named Rudduck and Buttevant of the lifeguard. Major-General Haynes kept a close watch and assured them they would find no friends in the army if they attempted a rising.[1]

Opposition to the government diminished in Wales after the Word for God. A number of the signatories apostasized and accepted livings in the national ministry they had condemned.[2] Moreover, Morgan Llwyd was moving away from Powell's position. Long influenced by the mystic ideas of Jacob Boehme and William Erbery, and disappointed by the failings of the saints, he began to turn towards a kingdom within.[3] He seemed to sympathize with Cromwell's policy towards men such as Feake, remarking that 'if a good man be in a wild fit...it's kindness to him...to keep him alone a while.' Llwyd soon developed doubts after signing the Word for God, and wrote to Powell, 'Is this the Doore out of Babilon? or do ye Knocke at a wrong gate?...Lett us...without private mutterings tend our own work and waite within ourselves on God.'[4] He accepted a government salary in October 1656, became estranged from Powell, and began to

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1. Thurloe, iv.329-30, 472-3, 581, 687, 698, v.166-7, 187, 219, 220; Merc. Pol., 301 (13-20 March 1656), pp.6029-30; T. Carte, A Collection of Original Letters (1739), ii.104.

2. R. T. Jones, 'The Life, Work, and Thought of Vavasor Powell (1617-1670)' (Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1947), p.158; T. Richards, Religious Developments (1923), pp.224-5.

3. E. Lewis Evans, 'Morgan Llwyd and Jacob Boehme', Jacob Boehme Soc. Quart., I.iv (1953), pp.11-16; W. Erbery, A Call to the Churches (1653), p.22; Llwyd, Gweithiau, i.89-90. For Fifth Monarchist attitudes to mystic ideas, see below, pp.216-8.

4. Llwyd, Gweithiau, ii.222-3; Jones, 'Vavasor Powell', pp.146-7.

consider non-Calvinist ideas on salvation. The Welsh movement was deprived of one of its two pillars.[1] Henceforth there were only occasional reminders of Welsh militancy. Powell was said to have presided over a suspicious meeting of four hundred people from seven or eight counties in June 1656.[2] He was on a list of Fifth Monarchist agents found in April 1657, but denied any connection with Venner's rising.[3] In March 1658 John Williams was predicting that blood would be spilled that summer, but nothing materialized.[4]

Llwyd was not alone in changing course. The removal of the ablest leaders and the failure of the saints' expectations sapped enthusiasm. Thurloe claimed that 'their own party desert them every day.' As early as 1654 Tillinghast reflected how 'godly Ministers and people not many years past, did provoke one another from Christs second coming, and harp upon it, as neer; and how at present few speak of that'. The Quaker, George Whitehead, toured East Anglia in February 1657 and found the cause even at North Walsham 'of late somewhat shattered.'[5] John Simpson began to preach against the Fifth Monarchists, condemning plots, and advocating passive obedience to the government. This provoked a breach between militant and moderate elements at Allhallows, and the

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1656-7, pp.132,167; Nat. Lib. Wales MS. 11,439 D: Powell to Llwyd, 23 April 1657, transcribed in Jones, op.cit., pp.391-2.

2. Thurloe,v.112.

3. Ibid.,vi.187; Jones, op.cit., pp.391-2.

4. MS. Rawl. A 61,f.29: information, no date (? March 1658).

5. Carte, Orig. Letters,ii.104; Thurloe,iv.698; Tillinghast, Generation-Work, 2nd part (1654), p.161; G. Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters (typescript 1952), p.221.

former eventually seceded under John Portman.[1] Simpson also launched another internal controversy over the seventh-day Sabbath against Spittlehouse and other Fifth Monarchists who had adopted it.[2] William Aspinwall put forward a very moderate new proposal, that the Fifth Monarchists, 'the best and truest friends unto Government', might even hold office under the Fourth Monarchy, if they discharged it in a godly manner.[3]

But there was no universal movement towards moderation. Indeed, from 1655 there were deliberate attempts by the Fifth Monarchists to subvert the army. A paper circulated in August 1655, entitled A Short Discovery of his Highness's Intentions concerning Anabaptists in the Army, accused Cromwell of planning a purge of Baptist officers, argued that Barebones had represented the spirit of the 'Good Old Cause', and urged the army to fight for their 'liberties and civil properties.' At least a thousand copies were printed, and many sent to Wales. It was found to have originated in the circle of Spittlehouse, and the authorship was traced to John Sturgeon, one of Cromwell's lifeguard and a Baptist pastor, with both Leveller and royalist links. He was arrested late in August. Two similar tracts appeared in the next two months, reproaching Baptists who remained passively in the army with 'retaining the

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1. Thurloe, iv.545; anon., The Old Leaven Purged out (1658), passim.

2. J. Spittlehouse, A Manifestation of sundry gross absurdities, and A Return to some Expressions (both 1656). On the seventh-day Sabbath see below, pp. 231, 237-8.

3. W. Aspinwall, The Legislative Power (1656), pp.36-7.

mark of the Beast.'[1] A paper in November 1655 launched a more comprehensive attack on the government for high taxes, failures in foreign and commercial policy, and for gaoling the saints, (a category widened to include Ludlow and Okey). It ended with a vision of Feake and Rogers judging the world.[2]

The campaign continued in 1656. In September a tract addressed to the soldiers of Hull, following Canne's expulsion, claimed that God was punishing the apostate army, citing its defeat in the West Indies by 'fifty Cow-killers.' The garrison should return to God's duty and disobey the officers. Otherwise they would be 'the most monstruous wretches that ever trampled on the ground throughout the Globe of all the Earth.'[3] A Looking-Glasse in October reprinted speeches and army declarations of the period 1647-53 to demonstrate the apostacy of the age. More important was England's Remembrancers, a tract distributed during the Parliamentary elections of 1656 urging voters to choose godly men to revive the 'Good Old Cause' and establish Christ's kingdom. It was spread round the north, in London, round Norfolk and Suffolk by Buttevant, and at the Fifth Monarchist meetings of Thomas Venner in Swan Alley, Coleman Street.[4]

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1. A Short Discovery is reprinted in Thurloe,iii.150-1; Clarke Papers,iii.51; Thurloe,iii.149,738-9; anon., The Protector (So called) In Part Unvailed, passim; anon., A Ground Voice, p.5 and passim. For Sturgeon see Biog. App.

2. Ro. Bl., A Letter from a Christian Friend (1655), pp.2,5,6,8. The author may have been Robert Blackborne, a naval official and friend of Portman, or Cornet Blackwell, a friend of Allen.

3. Anon., To the Honest Souldiers of the Garrison of Hull (1656), brs. On the West Indian incident see Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,iv.139-40.

4. Reprinted in Thurloe,v.268-71; Thurloe,v.272-3,297,342.

Despite the pressure of the Major-Generals, both Harrison and Rich were apparently elected to Parliament.[1]

This vigorous propaganda campaign failed to shake the government's control over the army. Rather more successful, at least at first, were the Fifth Monarchists' negotiations during the winter of 1655-6 with the Commonwealthsmen, led by Vice-Admiral Lawson, Capt. Lyons and Col. Okey. The Fifth Monarchists were represented by Portman, Squibb, Clement Ireton and Thomas Venner, a cooper who had returned from New England, and had been removed from his post at the Tower on a charge of plotting to blow it up.[2] A list of Fifth Monarchist contacts, found in 1657 but probably dating from the time of the negotiations, listed agents throughout the country, including the well-known names of Vavasor Powell, Stoneham and Taylor, Wigan and Capt. Langden.[3] The basis of the alliance was to be the Healing Question of Sir Henry Vane, which had called for a new government on a mixed republican and theocratic basis. Harrison and Rich had refused to take part in these talks, and the meetings broke down altogether when the Fifth Monarchists refused to agree to any form of government in advance, and certainly not to the suggested government of forty ex-Rumpers. Thurloe was fully aware of the proceedings, and in the summer of 1656 arrested Lawson, Lyons, Okey, Rich, Venner and Portman, as well as Ludlow and Bradshaw. Portman lost his naval post, Rich was detained in Windsor

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1. P.R.O. 31/3/100,f.20: Bordeaux to Brienne, 23 Aug./2 Sept. 1656; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1656-7, p.67.
2. Thurloe,v.197,vi.185; on Venner see ibid.,iii.520 and Biog. App.
3. Thurloe,vi.187.

Castle and Harrison, whose house at Highgate was a Fifth Monarchist rendez-vous, was sent to Pendennis.[1] Wentworth Day, released in July, was rearrested in September for spreading seditious papers and, as has been mentioned, John Canne was banished from Hull where Fifth Monarchist ideas were infecting the fleet and garrison.[2] Rich and probably Harrison were freed in October along with Carew and Courtney, when the elections were safely over.[3]

Not all the Fifth Monarchists were cowed by the government's intervention. Nathaniel Bunch, a cobbler's apprentice who attended Venner's meetings, claimed there were six thousand armed men ready to destroy the regime and determined 'to have the protector suffer at Whitehall gate as the late king did.' John Jones preached to the congregation in March 1656 that it was not murder 'to destroy such as are enemies against Michael your prince.'[4] Thurloe was convinced that their 'intention is to trye for it with the sword, if they can get any convenient number together.' Several Baptist assemblies had been held in March, and Danvers, who 'would faine be in armes' and Buttevant had tried to stir them to a rebellion, though in vain.[5] At Swan Alley, John Gardiner and others were preaching on

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1. Thurloe, iv.698, v.197, 248, 407, vi.185-6; Gardiner, Comm. and Protect., iv.259-61, 264-6; Vane, A Healing Question (1656), reprinted in Somers Tracts, vi.304-15; Carte, Orig. Letters, ii.104, 111-2; Clarke Papers, iii.68-9; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1656-7, pp.71, 112, 581; E. Ludlow, Memoirs, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894), ii.10.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1656-7, pp.41, 52, 116, 431.

3. Ibid., p.130; Merc. Pol., 331 (9-16 Oct. 1656), pp.7333-4.

4. Thurloe, iv.621, 650. For Jones, see Biog. App.

5. Ibid., pp.191, 629, 698.

such texts as Deut. xxxii.42, 'I will make mine arrowes drunk with blood..'. The congregation 'wept, that the tears ran down their faces, sighed, and groaned' during the service.[1]

When John Pendarves died in September 1656 of 'plague in ye gutts', his funeral at Abingdon provided an opportunity for a massive Fifth Monarchist rally.[2] Representatives came from all over the country, Buttevant, Portman and John Jones from London, Rudduck and others from East Anglia, Langden from Cornwall and one 'Thom. Cann' (probably a mistake for John) from Hull. Joining with the Abingdon Fifth Monarchists, the saints debated their duty for two days. The question was put, '<u>whether Gods people must be a bloody people</u> (in an active sense)', and was carried with enthusiasm. On the third day a party of fifty soldiers dispersed the saints by force, the saints crying 'Lord appeare, now or never for confounding of these, thine and our Enemies', whilst the women shouted 'Hold on, ye Sons of Syon.' Five saints, including Rudduck, were arrested and sent to Windsor Castle, and John Canne claimed 'the Souldiers were more <u>wilde</u> and <u>savage,</u> then the Beasts they rid upon.' Thurloe claimed that but for this action there would have been a rising at Abingdon, but the Fifth Monarchists were probably correct in denying this.[3]

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1. Thurloe,v.60-1.

2. MS. Rawl. D 859,f.162: note on death of Pendarves.

3. Anon., <u>The Complaining Testimony of..Sions Children</u> (1656), <u>sig.</u> A2-v; W. Ley, <u>Ὑπερασπιστὴς, or, A Buckler for the Church of England</u> (Oxford, 1656), p.15; W. Hughes, <u>Munster and Abingdon</u> (Oxford, 1657), pp.88-9,92-4; anon., <u>True Catalogue,</u> pp.12-13; J. Canne, <u>The Time of the End</u> (1657), p.80; <u>Thurloe</u>,vi.185; anon., <u>A Witnes to the Saints</u> (1657), pp.5-6.

A few days before the funeral, the militant resolutions were published of a series of Fifth Monarchist meetings, probably in London. Praising the work of John of Leyden as a worthy precedent, the saints condemned Cromwell as the little horn, and decided that their duty was a 'smiting work', to 'visibly appeare in a millitary posture for Christ' and throw down 'Nations, Provinces, Universities, Corporations, Cities, Towns, Kings, Rulers, Chief Captains,' and so on.[1] Other saints gave proof of their resolution. In Ireland, Allen, Vernon and other Baptist officers resigned in November 1656 rather than appear any longer to accept the regime.[2] Feake had announced in July 1656, whilst still under armed guard, that Cromwell's 'Counsells are evill, that his government is evill..that his workes are evill.' As soon as he was released in December, he went to the Allhallows meeting, declaring that the 'government is as Babylonish as ever', and that 'the churches are gathering corruption', and called for a purge: 'I am for rending and dividing yet more.' Simpson, Jessey and Kiffin, who were present and urged moderation, were taunted by the crowd with cries of 'courtier' and 'apostate.'[3]

By the beginning of 1657 the militant saints of Venner's congregation were planning a rising. They had created a secret organization in London, with five groups of twenty-five members,

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1. Anon., The Banner of Truth Displayed (1656), pp.26,28,48-9,71.
2. Thurloe,v.670.
3. Anon., Prophets Malachy and Isaiah, epistle by Feake, p.14; Thurloe,v.755; Publick Intelligencer,64 (29 Dec. 1656-5 Jan. 1657), p.1099.

only one member in each cell knowing details of the others. They obtained maps and telescopes, and studied the disposition of the government's troops. Attempts to win over Fifth Monarchist groups, however, met with little success. Feake and Chapman were excluded for some unknown reason. Harrison and Carew refused to join them, Carew saying they 'were not of a Gospell spiritt'. John Rogers had been warned against them by the Abingdon and Ipswich churches and declared 'he would be hanged before he would goe out with this spiritt.'[1] Most Fifth Monarchists refused to take up arms unless God had given a clear signal. Otherwise they would be 'more capable of being cut down with the grass, then of cutting down the grass.'[2] The conspirators had no such sign, and were themselves divided over timing. Feuds with other groups forced them to break off contacts to avoid betrayal, and there was friction even with Portman's militant saints. A manifesto was printed, declaring that the kingdom was Christ's, that it would be ruled by a sanhedrin chosen by the saints, that laws would be derived from the Bible, and that there would be a reform of all land tenures. It was planned to attack a troop of horse, andthen proceed through Epping Forest towards East Anglia, where they hoped to gain most recruits. Spoil was to be held in common, and it was resolved that for the time being the army was to be the chief enemy, rather than the priests and lawyers. About eighty saints were to assemble at Mile

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1. Thurloe,vi.185; C. Burrage, 'The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', Eng. Hist. Rev.,xxv (1910), pp.726,729,731-3.

2. J. Canne, The Time of the End (1657), epistle by J. Rogers, sig. A7v. For Fifth Monarchist ideas on rebellion see below, pp.166-73.

End Green in Shoreditch on the evening of 9 April 1657. But the rebellion was a fiasco. Government troops arrived whilst the saints were still gathering, arrested twenty rebels, and seized arms, five hundred copies of the manifesto and (according to one unlikely report) five or six thousand pounds. Venner was sent to the Tower, remaining there until 1659, and Cornet Day and other prisoners were lodged in the Gatehouse and at Lambeth. Harrison, Rich, Danvers, Courtney, Lawson and Okey were detained briefly, but were soon found not to have been implicated.[1] The Venetian Resident asserted that the plotters had arms for 25,000, and proposed to slaughter all the nobility, and that similar plots had been unearthed in other parts of the country. Forces were certainly sent to other regions, and Thurloe probably treated as suspects all the agents named in the captured list.[2] But the only other known attempt at a rising was when a group of sixty was broken up and captured one night near Epping. The prisoners were produced at Whitehall at six o'clock the next morning.[3]

Predictably, Venner's plot brought down a heap of abuse on the saints. The Protector condemned them in Parliament, and Henry

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1. Burrage, 'Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', pp.722-47; C. H. Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate (1909),i.213-8; Thurloe,vi.163, 184-8,194,291,vii.622; Clarke Papers,iii.105-6; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1656-7, pp.344,351; Hist. MSS. Comm.,iv, App. to the 5th Report, Sutherland MSS, p.163; Pub. Intelligencer,78 (6-13 April 1657), pp.1291-2; ibid.,71 (misprint for 80), p.1312; Merc. Pol.,357 (9-16 April), pp.7726-7; ibid.,358,pp.7742-3.

2. Cal.S.P.Venetian,1657-9, pp.45-6,53; Hist. MSS. Comm.,iv, App. to the 5th Rep.,Sutherland MSS, p.163.

3. Lord John Russell, The Life of William Lord Russell (1819), pp.13-14; Firth, Last Years, p.218n.

Cromwell thought that only a final settlement, a new monarchy, would solve the problem. They were accused of carrying out the Devil's policy, and of preaching communism.[1] With the failure of the prophecies, and perhaps of the plot, the movement seemed to be in decline. Rogers noted in the summer of that year that the saints' 'Coldness, Cowardliness, and Carelessness is (almost) incredible', and that many were drifting away, convinced that there would be no millennium, or that it was far off, or that it would be set up in Germany or elsewhere.[2]

The next challenge to the regime came not from a major group but from John Sturgeon, recently cashiered over his Short Discovery. In May 1656 he had been preaching against the government at Reading, and drawing vast crowds. Shortly afterwards he was one of a group of Baptists and Levellers who offered their support to Charles II on condition that the king should restore the Long Parliament, establish liberty of conscience and abolish tithes.[3] Although this offer was rejected, Sturgeon crossed to the continent and continued to intrique. In May 1657 he was arrested in London trying to smuggle in copies of Killing No Murder, a tract which appeared falsely in William Allen's name and urged Cromwell's assassination.[4]

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1. Abbott, Writings and Speeches, iv.489; Thurloe, vi.222; anon., The Downfall of the Fifth Monarchy (1657), p.10; T. Hall, Chiliasto-mastix redivivus (1657), p.53.

2. Rogers, Jegar, introd., pp.3,37.

3. Thurloe, iv.752; T. Crosby, The History of the English Baptists (1738-40), i, appendix, pp.72-86.

4. Firth, Last Years, i.225-33.

During the first half of 1657, a scheme to make Cromwell king was being canvassed.[1] This was opposed by the Fifth Monarchists, who held that the crown belonged only to Christ. But since they already saw Cromwell as the arch-enemy, it is unlikely that Venner's plot sprang from this cause, as a royalist asserted. The claim that 'because they have sworn against kingship the name of emperor will content them' is equally implausible.[2] The saints pointed out that at Musselburgh monarchy had been seen as one of the ten horns of the Beast. Saul had been punished for accepting a crown against the will of God, and God 'did never institute or approve the office of a King, or Kingly government.' From Hull came a report that the Fifth Monarchists were 'very high' whilst the issue was open, and Feake declared that God's favourites, Moses, Gideon and Nehemiah, had refused the crown and that 'we Fift-monarchy-men cannot justify the present proceedings.'[3] Anna Trapnel published her visions on the subject:

> 'Spirit and Voice hath made a league
> Against Cromwel and his Crown
> The which I am confident the Lord
> Will ere long so strike down...
> ...And his posterity
> They shall not sit upon his throne.'[4]

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1. Ibid., i.128-200.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1656-7, p.344.

3. Anon., English Liberty and Property Asserted (1657), pp.3,6,7,8; MS. Rawl. A 57,f.312: H. Smith to Cromwell, 11 Feb. 1658; Thurloe,vii.57-8.

4. Trapnel, untitled book of verse in Bodleian, S.1.42 Th., p.273.

Before long the London Fifth Monarchists showed signs of reviving confidence. In June 1657 a vindication appeared of Venner's attempted rising. The saints appeared indignant that the government had interrupted their 'smiting work', and justified rebellion by claiming that 'in this Dispensation, a Sword is as really the appointment of Christ, as any other Ordinance in the Church.'[1] Many leading saints appeared to be adopting a militant position, partly through the belief that the 42 months of the Beast's dominion (Rev. xi. 2), calculated from the beginning of the Protectorate, would expire in June 1657. Rogers was said to have preached that Venner's cause was good, but 'they did not time it well; however they would not desist till they had the Tyrants head from his shoulders.' Canne published a tract arguing that the saints would unite and destroy Cromwell at the end of the 3½ years, and Feake added a preface comparing Cromwell to Barabbas.[2] There was a report in June that Harrison, Canne, Feake and Rogers 'professe themselves ready for an insurrection; the time being now come, as they say, wherein the three yeares and halfe is at an end, in which the witnesses have lyen dead, and that there will be a resurrection of them.' However their inactivity in April 1657 made it unlikely that they would stir unless there was a sign from heaven, and Cromwell felt sufficiently confident to free Harrison, Rich and Lawson in July from all remaining restrictions.[3]

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1. Anon., A Witnes to the Saints (1657), pp.2,6-7,8.

2. T. Hall, Chiliasto-mastix, p.54; Canne, Time of the End, sig. A5, pp.185,198.

3. Thurloe,vi.349; Clarke Papers,iii.113.

Although the end of the 3½ years passed without incident, Rogers set about raising the spirit of the saints by instituting a series of weekly meetings to promote the coming kingdom, and invited Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Seekers and Seventh-Day Sabbatarians to participate. He produced a declaration, entitled A Reviving Word, with 120 signatures, and members can be identified from the churches of Rogers, Venner, Chamberlen, Simpson, and Barbone.[1] But in February 1658 Rogers was seized along with Courtney and Portman on a charge of possessing seditious books designed to create disaffection in the army. Numerous copies of the pamphlet, probably Some Considerations by way of Proposal, were seized in Courtney's room. It defended Venner's manifesto, and urged that the saints should be Christ's 'Battle-axe' in setting up the new kingdom.[2] The prisoners were kept in the Tower, where Portman handed out to the soldiers copies of the Musselburgh Declaration of 1650. This pamphlet, commended by Cromwell at the time as a 'simple spiritual one', was now condemned as 'seditious' by his officials. Courtney was not released until September, and Portman not until February 1659.[3] Feake and Cornet Day preached in support of the prisoners, but soon afterwards Day was arrested with Canne, John Belcher (a bricklayer who was a Fifth Monarchist

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1. Rogers, A Reviving Word for the Quick and the Dead (1657), pp.22-4, 59, 66-8.

2. Thurloe, vi.775; anon., Some Considerations (1658), sig. A2v., C1; Publick Intell., 120 (1-8 Feb. 1658), p.286; ibid., 121, pp.299-301, 321 (pagination erratic).

3. Abbott, Writings and Speeches, ii.302; Publick Intell., 122 (15-22 Feb.), pp.333-4; Merc. Pol., 404 (18-25 Feb.), pp.339-40; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1658-9, p.145; Thurloe, vii.619,620,623.

and Seventh-Day Baptist) and others at a meeting in Swan Alley on 1 April 1658. Feake attacked these arrests too, and was therefore put in the Tower for a few days to silence him. But he and Rogers were both released on 16 April, in time to attend Day's trial on 22 April.[1] Day and another defendant, John Clark, both refused to plead, denied the legality of the government, produced the Act of 1649 against the rule of a single person and asserted that not they but the magistrates were guilty of treason. Day also asked for twelve witnesses to be called to prove his claim that the Protector was a 'jugler.' Ignoring these issues, the magistrates imposed a heavy fine and imprisonment of twelve and six months respectively. Canne and the other prisoners found there were no charges against them, but when Canne demanded an apology for his arrest, he was sent to Newgate for contempt and for handing out copies of the Musselburgh Declaration in court.[2]

During these clashes with the authorities, the Fifth Monarchists did not lose sight of their main objective of winning over the army, the Baptists and the Commonwealthsmen. Canne hoped that at the end of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years the 'wise shall understand', and the Commonwealthsmen, though 'not enlightned further' than in civil matters, would join against the little horn.[3] John Rogers, now a champion of

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1. Thurloe,vii.18,58-9; anon., A Narrative; Wherin is faithfully set forth the sufferings of John Canne (1658), passim; Clarke Papers,iii.146; Merc. Pol.,409 (25 March - 1 April), p.430; ibid.,411,p.453; Publick Intell.,119 (5-12 April), p.446. For Belcher, see Biog. App.

2. A Narrative, passim; A True Catalogue, p.13. For Clark see Biog. App.

3. Canne, Time of the End, pp.166-7,195; Canne, The Time of Finding (1658), sig. A1.

republicanism as well as the millennium, probably influenced by the company of Vane whilst in prison, also pressed for a union with the 'upright' Commonwealth party.[1] The most important bid to win over the Baptists was in May 1658. A conference of the western Baptists was being held at Dorchester, led by Thomas Collier; and other prominent Baptists, such as Kiffin, were also present. During the proceedings, Carew, Allen and Vernon arrived and urged that the Fifth Monarchists and Baptists should combine. But Kiffin and Collier opposed this with determination, and eventually carried the day.[2]

In June the Fifth Monarchists almost had a taste of power when the government, feeling its unpopularity, apparently contemplated bringing Rich, Vane and Ludlow on to the Council.[3] This scheme was dropped, but in the eighteen months after Cromwell's death on 3 September 1658 the saints were rarely far from the centre of the nation's turbulent affairs as the Revolution disintegrated.

On Oliver's death, his son Richard succeeded peacefully, but without his father's power or prestige the Protectorate was a much weaker structure. The Fifth Monarchists, like other dissident groups, realized that their prospects were more encouraging. There was a surge in morale and strength, and Rogers wrote that their 'hopes are the highest throughout England (to see such a Reviving

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1. Rogers, Jegar, p.19; Rogers, Διαπολιτεία. A Christian Concertation (1659), p.22.

2. Thurloe, vii.138-40; B. R. White, 'The Organisation of the Particular Baptists, 1644-1660', Journ. Eccles. Hist., xvii (1966), p.222.

3. Thurloe, vii.154.

in the midst of the years, of the Old Cause.'[1] Several hours before Oliver's death they sent emissaries round the country to spread the good news, and were reported, surprisingly, to have chosen Lambert as well as Harrison as their leader, and earlier they had also been negotiating with Fleetwood.[2] Within a few days they were inveighing openly against the government. Feake preached that 'if they had brought a Devil out of Whitehall in the shape of a man' he would have been made Protector.[3] Chillenden had hitherto adopted a quietist position, probably in gratitude for the Protector's leniency when he was cashiered from the army after an affair with his maid, but now he too launched a violent attack on Richard.[4] Harrison caused some embarrassment by being elected to Richard's Protectorate Parliament.[5]

As respect for Oliver's memory faded, his work began to be undone. The cases of political prisoners detained without trial were reviewed. John Portman had remained in the public view by escaping briefly from the Tower in December 1658. His case was debated in Parliament in February 1659, and he was released.[6]

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1. Rogers, The Plain Case of the Common-weal (1659), p.8.

2. Thurloe,vii.415; MS. Clar. 53,f.234v.: F. Hancock (i.e. Sir A. Broderick) to ?Hyde, 20 Jan. 1657.

3. Clarke Papers,iii.163.

4. E. Chillenden, Nathans Parable (1653), sig. D2; The Phanatique Intelligencer,1 (21 March 1660), p.8.; MS. Rawl. A 8,f.127: Otes to Jeffes, 15 Nov. 1653; Clarke Papers,iii.162.

5. Clarke Papers,iii.171-2; Cal.S.P.Venetian,1657-9, p.285.

6. Merc. Pol.,548 (30 Dec. 1658-6 Jan. 1659), pp.134-5; Publick Intell.,157 (27 Dec. - 3 Jan.), pp.127-8; Thurloe,vii.619,620, 623; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1658-9, p.284; Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., ed. J. T. Rutt (1828),iii.494; C.J.,vii.607.

Courtney was freed about the same time. Overton too pressed for a review, and an apologia for him was published. In March he made a triumphant return to London, and was released.[1] Sturgeon, however, was being sought on a charge of high treason, probably because of his royalist intrigues.[2]

Richard's Parliament on the whole had little more sympathy for the sects or the 'Good Old Cause' than its predecessors, and the Fifth Monarchy Men must have viewed with relief the growing hostility of critics in the army, and their intrigues with republicans in the Parliament. The crisis came on 22 April 1659 when Fleetwood and the officers forced Richard to dissolve his assembly, a manoeuvre in which Harrison was said to be involved.[3] All the opponents of the Protectorate hastened to offer their ideas as to how the 'Good Old Cause' might best be restored. Two clear strands of Fifth Monarchist thought became apparent. One group looked back to Barebones as the highest attainment of the Cause, and advised Fleetwood to use it as his guide.[4] Chamberlen called for a Parliament not to be elected 'by a confused Rabble, nor yet returned by a more Corrupt Sheriff; but to be chosen, or at least approved by the several Congregations.' Feake published a history of the Fifth Monarchists, emphasizing Musselburgh and Barebones, and

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1. Perfect Diurnall,1 (21 Feb.), p.7; Cal.S.P.Ven.,1657-9, pp.292, 298,300; J. R., Sad Suffering Case; D.N.B., Overton.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1658-9, p.582.

3. G. Davies, The Restoration of Charles II (San Marino, California, 1955), p.84; MS. Clar. 60,f.323v.: Mordaunt to Hyde, 10 April 1659.

4. Anon., A true Copie of a Paper delivered to Lt. G. Fleetwood (1659) passim; The Cause of God, And of these Nations (1659),p.21.

recalling the apostacy of the Rump.[1] Meetings of the junior officers and saints pressed for a new sanhedrin of seventy members, 'butt the cry was great against itt, as a thinge the people of England would nott be bound by', and all these pleas were unheeded.[2]

Many Fifth Monarchists, however, supported a different and much more widely popular view of the 'Good Old Cause', in calling for the return of the Rump. In April 1653 the saints had greeted its fall with joy, but Rogers had come to see the saints as not only the sectarians but all supporters of Parliament against the rule of a single person. He had even hoped that Richard's Parliament would assume sovereignty.[3] William Allen urged the army to find where it had apostasized by seeing when God's providence had deserted it, and suggested it was when the Rump was expelled.[4] Many other pamphlets were urging the same course, and the Grandees eventually adopted it.[5]

Under the Rump the Fifth Monarchists' fortunes continued to rise. They were recognized as uncorrupted opponents of the Protectorate and rewarded accordingly. From May to August Canne was made editor of the government press, Mercurius Politicus and The Publick

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1. P. Chamberlen, The Declaration and Proclamation of the Army of God (2nd edn., 1659), p.5; C. Feake, A Beam of Light (1659), pp.23,29,48ff.

2. Clarke Papers, iv.21.

3. Rogers, Plain Case, pp.10,14,20-2.

4. W. Allen, A Faithful Memorial (1659), reprinted in Somers Tracts, vi.498-504.

5. Davies, Restoration, pp.87-90.

Intelligencer.[1] He utilized the opportunity to publish a declaration by himself, Jessey and others thanking God for His 'never-to-be-forgotten shaking and overturning providence,' and declaring that 'the day of Redemption draweth nigh.'[2] Rich and Allen were given regiments, as was Overton, with Wigan as his Lieut.-Col. Vernon was made Quarter-Master-General, and Courtney was discussed (though not chosen) as Governor of Beaumaris. Chillenden was recommissioned, and Cornet Day was released.[3] Richard Price, Powell's supporter, was given the command of all the militia forces in North Wales, and John Bawden was made a major in the Cornish militia. Courtney, Carew, Danvers, Clement Ireton, Col. John James, Rich and John Williams all became Commissioners for the Militia in one or more counties.[4]

These changes represented a great accession of strength to the Fifth Monarchists, whose morale was now high. Canne called for a national day of 'Holy Rejoycing in the Lord,...for his late Salvation begun'. He claimed that the fall of Richard 'strengthens me in my former opinion, viz. That the Earth-quake is begun.'[5] Rogers welcomed the Rump, and outlined his new ideal (borrowed, he admitted,

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1. C.J.,vii.652,758; Clarke Papers,iv.43.

2. Publick Intelligencer,176 (9-16 May), p.426.

3. Clarke Papers,iv.19,25,60; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1658-9, pp.375,382,387; ibid.,1659-60, pp.13,45,47,296,562; Merc. Pol.,278 (misprint for 575) (7-14 July), p.582.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1659-60, pp.16,50,93,565; Firth and Rait, Acts and Ords.,ii.1290,1294,1312,1322,1324-8,1331,1334-5.

5. Publick Intell.,176 (9-16 May), pp.426-9; J. Osborne, An Indictment against Tythes (1659), epistle by Canne, sig. A3.

from Vane) of 'a holy, Christian, and Theocratick Commonwealth' which protected 'fundamental Rights', especially the people's 'power of chusing their own Rulers unto the Supreme Trust.' He condemned the 'rigid fifth Mon. man' who denied this right.[1]

The success of the Fifth Monarchists in achieving a position of considerable importance in the state provoked a torrent of attacks from critics who realized that the saints were now dangerous as well as irritating. On 6 June 1659 a paper was scattered in the London streets claiming that the Fifth Monarchists were 'Arm'd, officer'd, and every way in a Readiness' to attack the army on the following Tuesday, burn the city, and massacre 'all considerable People of all sorts'. Vane and Feake were said to be the leaders.[2] Another tract warned Londoners that the saints would deprive them of religion, laws, property, liberties and life.[3] In 1660 a satirical catalogue was published of pseudo-Fifth Monarchist books, with titles such as the following:

> 'The Saints shall possess the Earth; proving, That it is lawful for the brethren to stab, cut the throats of, or any way make an end of the Wicked of this World, if so be there will thereby any profit accrue to themselves.'[4]

Canne's editorial post enabled him to retaliate to some extent. In July he printed an accusation that the malignants of Tiverton,

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1. Rogers, Mr. Pryn's Good Old Cause Stated and Stunted (1659), pp.10,20; Rogers, Christian Concertation, pp.17,45,59; Rogers, Mr. Harrington's Parallel Unparallel'd (1659), p.6.

2. Anon., An Alarum to the city and Souldiery (1659); Bodl. MS. Tanner 51,f.74: J. Ireton to Fleetwood, 6 June 1659.

3. Anon., The Londoners Last Warning (1659), passim.

4. Anon., Bibliotheca Fanatica (1660), p.7.

in order to win popular support to oppress the saints, had arroused the whole town at dead of night with an invented story that the Fifth Monarchists, Quakers and Baptists were murdering the citizens.[1]

Although they had won a stronger position, the Fifth Monarchists soon became dissatisfied when they saw that the Rump, as before, was failing to reform the law or the church or in any way hasten Christ's kingdom. In August they thought it necessary to reprint extracts from old millenarian sermons, army declarations and speeches, warning those who had 'warped aside' to 'Remember Lots Wife' (Luke xvii.32). They condemned the Rump for its inactivity, and for containing so many 'Mercenary Lawyers' and supporters of the Protectorate.[2] The following month a group of Fifth Monarchists, Baptists and Levellers, including Jessey, Powell, Allen, Vernon, Courtney, Portman, Clement Ireton, Price, Wigan, Danvers, Overton and Day, demanded that all former supporters of the Protectorate should be removed from office, and that the law and ministry should be reformed on biblical lines.[3] Even Canne, when giving encouragement to the Rump as early as May, had thought it necessary to warn the members of God's wrath if they ignored His work.[4] The Rump caused specific irritation by barring Harrison from office, being unable to forgive his part in their fall in

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1. Merc. Pol.,580 (21-28 July), pp.617-8; Loyall Scout,13 (22-29 July), pp. 108-9; Weekly Post,13 (26 July - 2 Aug.), pp.106-7.

2. Anon., The Fifth Monarchy or Kingdom of Christ..Asserted (1659), pp.51-2 and passim.

3. Anon., An Essay towards Settlement (1659), brs.; answered by E. Johnson, An Examination of the Essay (1659).

4. J. Canne, A Seasonable Word (1659), p.6.

1653, by keeping Feake and Simpson out of their former livings at Christ Church and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and by removing Canne.[1] Members in the army had their own grievances. Wigan complained that Fifth Monarchists were discriminated against, and Ludlow stated that the Grandees had only agreed with the greatest reluctance to reinstate Overton and Rich.[2]

There was widespread discontent with the Rump, especially in the army, since arrears had still not been paid. Moreover the Grandees were disenchanted when their creation tried to assert its independence. Some toyed with the idea of a military junto, with Richard restored as a nominal Protector, some remained loyal to the Rump, and others, like Lambert, intrigued with the Fifth Monarchists. By July the situation was being described accurately as one of 'universal confusion.'[3] Edward Hyde had long thought the Fifth Monarchists were 'like to make madd worke, and will be the first who must begin the worke' of creating an anarchy which would produce the Restoration.[4] The royalists listened hopefully to reports that the Fifth Monarchists were arming apace, and ignored the suggestion that the saints were 'like Weomen whose tongue is their best weapon'. News of Harrison was sought after eagerly, and since the saints were 'the fittest instruments to promote the confusion', they would if necessary have to be 'cajoled' into a rising. Royalist news-writers

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1. Anon., A Faithfull Searching Home Word (1659), pp.8,9,10.
2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1659-60, pp.45-6; Ludlow, Memoirs,ii.82,95.
3. Davies, Restoration, pp.144-50; MS. Clar. 66,f.74v.: R. Bramble (i.e. Col. Phillips) to (Hyde), 28 Oct. 1659; Thurloe,vii.704.
4. MS. Clar. 55,f.4: Hyde to the king, 24 May/3 June 1657.

speculated on a rumoured secret list of seven thousand Fifth Monarchists preparing for action, and on a rumoured rally of five thousand saints at Horsham on 1 June. They concluded hopefully that 'Wee dayly expect a Massaker.'[1]

The second dissolution of the Rump, if predictable, occurred quite suddenly. The Rump attempted to assert its authority by revoking the commissions of the most hostile officers, including Lambert, Desborough and Packer. Unwilling to be destroyed by their own creation, the Grandees expelled the assembly on the next day, 13 October, and removed those army officers who remained faithful to the Rump.[2] Some of the saints rejoiced at the fall of the Rump, which had done little to satisfy them. A tract by Stoneham and his church rejoiced that the army could now set up Christ's kingdom, and Feake added a preface reviling the Rump as 'several broken pieces of those Governments that have lately suffered shipwrack.'[3] Chamberlen had been very critical of Parliamentary pretensions, asking 'Whether it were not far more honourable for Parliaments to have their Authority from God,...then derived...from the People, who themselves never had it?'[4] In November a paper, entitled

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1. MS. Clar. 57,f.132v.: Sir G. Crowe to Mr. Ro. (i.e. ?Roots), Feb. 1658; MS. Clar. 61,f.173v.: Roberts (i.e. Cooper) to G. Coles (i.e. Hyde), 10 June 1659; MS. Clar 63,f.40: the king to ? Hyde, 24 June 1659; MS. Clar. 67,fos.250v-251: A. Graves (i.e. Phillips) to (Hyde), 16 Dec. 1659; MS. Clar. 61,f.320: H. (i.e. Broderick) to (Hyde), 24 June 1659; Hist. MSS. Comm.,xv, Braye MSS,pp.204, 208; Thurloe,vii.687; MS. Clar. 61,f.103: J. Hopebetter (i.e. Wood) to H. Simpson (i.e. ?Hyde), 3 June 1659.

2. Davies, Restoration,pp.151-2; Ludlow, Memoirs,ii.148-9.

3. B. Stoneham, A Serious Proposal (1659), pp.5,11.

4. P. Chamberlen, Legislative Power in Problemes (1659), p.2.

A Claim for Christ and his Laws, was handed in by the saints to the Committee of the Army, urging it to recognize that only Christ and His laws could stand when all other foundations were collapsing.[1]

But the Fifth Monarchists were now hopelessly fragmented. Some were still loyal to the Rump, whilst others attacked both the Rump and the Grandees. A manifesto appeared in October, signed by many of the instigators of the Essay towards a Settlement, regretting that they expected 'no more reformation or liberty from Wallingford house', the Grandees' headquarters 'than we had these last seven years from Whitehall.' A number of Baptist churches in the midlands and south-west also subscribed, including Abingdon.[2] A similar tract in December demanded the recall of the godly members of Barebones, supplemented by other men of the same nature.[3]

The Grandees were as suspicious of the Fifth Monarchists as the Rump had been. Harrison was still excluded from any office, and Carew was barred from the Committee of Safety, though Rich retained his commission.[4] The position of the Grandees was weakened, however, by the fact that both General Monk in Scotland and the navy refused to accept their coup. Moreover, Overton fortified Hull, where he was Governor, and held out for the Fifth Monarchy, condemning the Grandees, Monk, and even the Rump, which he had supported against the Grandees as recently as 11 October.[5]

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1. Occurrences From Forraign Parts,42 (22-29 Nov. 1659), p.488.
2. Anon., A Warning-Piece to the General Council (1659), pp.6,9,10.
3. Anon., A Faithfull Searching Home Word (1659), pp.38-9.
4. C. H. Firth, The Life of Thomas Harrison (Worcester, Mass., 1893), p.51; Ludlow, Memoirs,ii.148-9; Davies, Restoration, p.157.
5. R. Overton, The Humble and Healing Advice (1659), p.5 and passim; A Letter from Ma. Gen. Overton (1659),brs; MS. Clar. 67,f.220v.: J.S. (i.e. Shaw) to Hyde, 15/25 Dec. 1659; Weekly Post,26 (25 Oct. - 1 Nov. 1659), p.201.

Overshadowed by the threat from Monk, the regime of the Grandees lacked any stability. Attempts to win over the navy, at a meeting at which Courtney was present, proved unsuccessful, and Lawson remained loyal to the Rump.[1] The General Council of Officers resolved on 10 December to call a new Parliament, despite Rich's pleas for the Rump. In the mean time they created a new body called the 'Conservators' or 'keepers of Fundamentals', nominating Harrison, Carew, Overton and Lawson among others.[2] But this move failed to widen their support. Many regiments refused to accept their authority. When Rich's regiment was sent, without its colonel, to reduce the garrison at Portsmouth which supported the Rump, Rich joined his forces and the whole regiment declared for Parliament and joined the garrison.[3] The Grandees eventually despaired of controlling the situation, and allowed the Rump to reassemble on 26 December. Rich and Overton were thanked by the House, and Rich was given a new commission. Arthur Squibb was released from the Isle of Man.[4]

The return of the Rump proved a hollow victory for the 'Good Old Cause'. Monk was alone in having financial security and therefore dependable troops, and when he marched into London in February 1660 and recalled the Presbyterians excluded from the Long Parliament

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1. M.H. (probably Mark Harrison), A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Fleet (1659), passim; Davies, Restoration, pp.183-4.

2. Davies, Restoration, pp.185-6; Ludlow, Memoirs, ii.163,165,173-4.

3. Ludlow, Memoirs, ii.183-4.

4. Merc. Pol., 604 (19-26 Jan. 1660), p.1049; C.J., vii.799; Davies, Restoration, pp.187-9,256; Publick Intell., 209 (26 Dec. - 2 Jan. 1660), p.976.

in 1648, the Restoration became inevitable. There were only a few last efforts to uphold the old cause. William Allen, now colonel of an Irish regiment, made a new appeal to the army, but without result.[1] Col. Rich was deprived of his command for filling his regiment with fanatics, abusing the Rump for spurning Harrison, and seeking 'to break all civil authority to make way for the Fifth Monarchy.' But he rejoined his regiment near Beccles, and tried to stir up his troops to make another stand. The gathered churches of East Anglia were said to be planning to raise forces to help him. But when government troops advanced, the plan collapsed, and Rich was imprisoned until May.[2]

Overton made an equally short-lived attempt. He regarded Monk as 'imbargued with that Spirit...which...Diametrically opposes the designe of God,' and in January 1660 he wrote to Monk in support of the Rump, opposing the return of the secluded members and any government by a single person. In February he condemned those who sought to restore the king, and when he was dismissed by Parliament on 6 March, he boldly 'declared for Jesus Christ.' But he soon found that his soldiers were unreliable, and was forced to submit.[3]

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1. W. Allen, A Word to the Army (1660), passim; Clarke Papers,iv. 165,252.

2. Hist. MSS. Comm.,li, Leyborne-Popham MSS, pp.157-8,162-6,168-9; Ludlow, Memoirs,ii.238; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1659-60, p.571; Merc. Pol., 609 (23 Feb. - 1 March 1660),p.1134; ibid.,610, p.1157; C.J.,vii. 866; Parliamentary Intelligencer,10 (20-27 Feb.), p.144; Nuttall, Early Quaker Letters, p.279; MS. Clar. 70,f.110v.: ?Seymour to Hyde, 9 March 1660.

3. Overton, Humble..Advice, p.5; Publick Intell.,213 (23-30 Jan.), pp.1038-9; Clarke Papers,iv.245-6; Parl. Intell.,12 (5-12 March), pp.182-3; Merc. Pol.,610 (1-8 March), p.1155; Ludlow, Memoirs,ii. 246-7; MS. Clar. 70,f.110v.

The saints were now silent. Livewell Chapman, the major Fifth Monarchist publisher since 1653, was in hiding from March and in prison from May. John Rogers, who had gone to Ireland, was arrested as early as January.[1] Huge plots were invented involving the Fifth Monarchists, and served as a pretext for the arrest of Courtney, Allen and Vernon.[2] Vavasor Powell had been seized, without a charge, in February, and by April the royalists were already raiding the houses of prominent Independent and Baptist ministers.[3]

Charles II was proclaimed on 8 May, and entered London on 29 May. The saints were not solely responsible for the Restoration. But their vociferous demands for political, social and religious revolution discredited the republican governments which proved unable to contain them. In 1653 they had been partly responsible for the conservative reaction which led to the Protectorate. Their activities, and the rumours of imminent massacres and spoliation, helped to lead in 1660 to the general belief that there could be no settled order until the king returned.

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1659-60, pp.572,575,328; Merc. Pol.,19 (3-10 May), p.292.

2. 'Copy of a Notable Letter', Brit. Mus. MS. Stowe 185,fos.168-70: 8 April 1660; SP.18/220,f.65-v.: R. Jones to T. Taylor, 4 April 1660; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1659-60, p.573; MS. Clar. 71,f.250: Hall (i.e. Halsall) to Hyde, 13 April 1660; ibid.,f.343: (Wood) to G. Coles (i.e. Hyde), 20 April 1660.

3. H. Jessey, The Lords Loud Call to England (1660), pp.13,18 and passim.

CHAPTER 6

THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN

The Fifth Monarchists saw existing society as the creation of the antichristian Fourth Monarchy. In looking forward to the millennium, they demanded that its whole structure should be remodelled in accordance with the pattern laid down in the Bible, especially in the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation. The essence of their beliefs was a declared readiness to destroy by force the kingdoms of the world, to invert the social order, and thereafter to be the rulers of the earth. Fifth Monarchism was a loosely co-ordinated movement and never possessed a common programme. There were a number of important differences dividing the saints, but there was also a considerable measure of agreement over fundamental ideas.

It was the saints' professed readiness to take up arms to implement the kingdom of heaven that brought them most into disrepute. Many groups had preached the millennium without calling upon their adherents to do anything more than purify themselves and wait. The Fifth Monarchists, however, justified their more aggressive attitude by citing favourable scriptural passages. Harrison quoted Daniel vii.18 to the sceptical Ludlow: 'the saints...shall take the kingdom..' But Ludlow was able to quote in reply from Daniel vii.22, that 'judgment was given to the saints.'[1] The Bible presumably justified rather than determined the saints' attitude. This attitude

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1. E. Ludlow, Memoirs, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894),ii.7-8. My italics.

aprang partly from the political-religious situation in Europe in the century since the Reformation. The continental wars and the English civil wars were seen as the struggles of Christ's champions against the disciples of the Devil. When the Grandees, the Rump and Cromwell all apostasized, the Fifth Monarchists could claim to be God's cause in its true form, pursuing the activist approach which had been followed since 1642.[1]

The saints asserted their belief in violence in nearly all their pamphlets, and even face to face with the Protector.[2] Naturally, their opponents portrayed them as a bloodthirsty band forever scheming massacres. In fact the Fifth Monarchists staged only two minor risings in the whole course of the movement, and the problem is thus raised of how militant they really were.

Cromwell himself asserted that the saints were eager to spill blood. 'You long to be at it; you want but an opportunity', he told them. Thurloe believed the saints had a 'constant meeting to put us into blood.'[3] Alarmist propaganda was spread to increase public hostility. There were rumours in June 1659 that the Fifth Monarchists were about to fire London. In July the town of Tiverton was in uproar over an alleged plot by the saints to massacre the inhabitants.[4] William Prynne asserted that the saints wished to throw down all governments 'and set up a popular Anarchy.'[5]

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1. C. Feake, A Beam of Light (1659), passim; Bodl. MS. Rawl. A 29, f.628: J. Rogers to T. Brookes, 26 Aug. 1655; anon., The Fifth Monarchy,..Asserted (1659), p.36 (misprint for 48). See above, chapters 2 and 3, and p.108.
2. For example, anon., The Faithfull Narrative of the late Testimony (1655), p.34.
3. Anon., Faithfull Narrative, p.35; Thurloe,v.122.
4. Above, p.158-9.
5. W. Prynne, A true and perfect Narrative (1659),p.20.

The Fifth Monarchists were insistent that they must bear witness, as Rogers put it, 'praedicando, praecando, or praeliando.'[1] Over preaching and praying there was unanimity. They were to 'denounce the wrath of God against Rulers, for their Apostacies and abhominable hypocrisies; yea, and to deale particularly with them, laying the finger on the sore, pointing unto the Abhominations by name.'[2] Tillinghast declared the fact that God's plans were unchangeable was no excuse 'for us...to sit still and do nothing... to the effecting these glorious things.' They lived in the time of the fulfilment of the prophecies and 'of necessity must the Witnesses of Christ in this Age bear forth such a testimony of truth as may lay a foundation' for Christ's kingdom.[3] The saints agreed that they had a military duty. Rogers stressed that they 'must be at it, when they have the Call.' Such prominent saints as Harrison, Courtney, Simpson and Pendarves argued that the Protectorate was illegal, and that arms could be taken up against it without sin.[4] John James, a Fifth Monarchist preacher executed in 1661, said that Christ would 'use his People in his hand as his Battle-ax...and Weapons of War'; the same phrase was used by other saints.[5] It was

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1. Anon., Faithfull Narrative, p.34.

2. W. Llanvaedonon, A Brief Exposition upon the Second Psalme (1655), p.23.

3. J. Tillinghast, Generation-Worke, 3rd part (1654), p.221; Tillinghast, Knowledge of the Times (1654), p.345.

4. Clarke Papers, ii.242-6.

5. Anon., A Narrative of the Apprehending...of John James (1662), p.34; anon., Some Considerations by way of Proposall (1658), sig. C1v. Cf. Jer. li.20. For James, see Biog. App.

asserted that 'a Sword is as really the appointment of Christ, as any other Ordinance in the Church...And a man may as well go into the harvest without his Sickle, as to this work without...his Sword.'[1] Mary Cary thought it lawful for the saints 'to fight against such as would murther, and destroy them (as the Associates of the Beast would).'[2] At the funeral of Pendarves in 1656 the gathered saints resolved that 'Gods people must be a bloody people (in an active sense).'[3]

Besides threatening violence, the Fifth Monarchists rejected altogether the legality of the Protectorate. Anna Trapnel bluntly told a soldier who questioned her: 'The Lord Protector we own not; Thou art of the Army of the Beast.' Postlethwaite refused to sign a petition to the Protector lest he be thought to have accepted the legality of the regime. Feake and Spittlehouse accepted it only as a de facto regime.[4] Several asserted their right to rebel. Rogers argued that only godly governments need be obeyed, and that if Cromwell disagreed, he should not have fought against Charles I. William Llanvaedonon thought it 'No Treason against the Royall Law of King Jesus, whatever it may be against the Lawes of men, to seeke to draw men from their obedience to these...perverse Rulers.' Carew and Courtney were accused of trying to subvert officials and

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1. Anon., A Witnes to the Saints (1657), p.6.
2. M. Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfall (1651), p.125.
3. W. Hughes, Munster and Abingdon (Oxford, 1657), pp.88-9.
4. Publick Intelligencer,13 (24-31 Dec. 1655), pp.193-4; Thurloe, iv.151; C. Feake, The Oppressed Close Prisoner (1655), pp.54,60; J. Spittlehouse, The Royall Advocate (1655), p.19.

stir up resistance, and a pamphleteer attacking Cromwell asserted that he would as soon 'pluck out my right eye, as yeild to pay him Taxes.'[1] After 1660, many Fifth Monarchists accepted that God had restored the Stuarts to punish the people for their sins, and accordingly recognized the validity of the monarchy as long as God appeared to support it. But Henry Danvers and Thomas Palmer argued the right and duty of the saints to overthrow the regime, and there were numerous plots and attempted risings seeking to do this.[2]

These militant statements provided ready material for critics, but they represent only one aspect of the Fifth Monarchist position. The majority of saints were not ready to spring to arms as soon as opportunity arose. They wanted to be convinced by some clear divine signal that Christ Himself was calling them. John Canne explained that though the saints would smash the powers of the world, they 'do abhor all secret Designes and Plots,' and that it was 'belowe their Principles, to provide Pikes and Muskets, or any such Ammunition.' Their own inclinations and the ending of the prophetic periods were 'no ground for action.' The saints would 'remain in their Chambers' until God gave the call. Then, 'so clear and certain will the thing bee (they having the word of God and his spirit for it, providence likewise leading the way) that they shall publikely declare, what they intend to do', and the government's support would wither away.[3] This meant in practice

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1. MS. Rawl. A 47,f.35: J. Rogers to Cromwell, no date; Llanvaedonon, Brief Exposition, p.47; Clarke Papers,ii.245; anon., The Protector (So called,) In Part Unvailed (1655), p.76.
2. Below, chapter 9, pp.279-80 and passim. For Palmer, see Biog. App.
3. J. Canne, Truth with Time (1656), sig. B1v, B2; Canne, The Time of the End (1657), p.206; Canne, The Time of Finding (1658), sig. A2v-A3.

that the violence of most of the saints was strictly verbal, for the majority never did feel that God had called them to arms. Rogers warned that if the saints stirred before 'the Time and the Season', they were 'more capable of being cut down with the grass, then of cutting down the grass.'[1] Simpson, Chillenden, Chamberlen and Morgan Llwyd all repudiated violence.[2] William Allen reflected that 'we Have had many years of blood, and warr enough to make good men desire an End.' His friend Vernon urged the saints to 'wait still in weeping, in supplication until the times of refreshment' should come.[3] Aspinwall even claimed that the saints, 'the best and truest friends untc Gcvernment', could hold office under the Fourth Monarchy, though more often saints felt that this would be to contaminate themselves.[4] After the Restoration, Vavasor Powell saw no scriptural warrant 'to affirm, that there are no Magistrates now in being in the World, or that the Magistrates, under and belonging to the fourth Monarchy, are not to be obey'd.' Even in the great prophetic year 1666 the saints refused to rise without a clear sign from heaven.[5] All these expressions of moderation sprang

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1. Canne, Time of the End, epistle by Rogers, sig. a7v.

2. Thurloe, iv.365,545; J. Ives, Saturday no Sabbath (1659), p.59; M. Llwyd, Gweithiau, ed. T. E. Ellis and J. H. Davies (Bangor and London, 1899, 1908), ii.237.

3. MS. Rawl. A 13, f.26: Allen to T. Hart, 5 April 1654; W. Allen, The Captive Taken from the Strong (1658), epistle by Vernon, sig. A8.

4. W. Aspinwall, Legislative Power (1656), p.36; Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.76; anon., A Ground Voice (1655), p.7; Bury and West Suffolk Record Office, 'Church Book of Bury St. Edmunds', transcribed by J. Duncan, p.16.

5. V. Powell, The Bird in the Cage, Chirping (1661), p.35; on 1666 see below, pp. 287-90.

probably from the reflection, voiced in 1655 by Feake, that 'Tyranny it self is not so ugly a monster by many Degrees...as is Anarchy.'[1]

Fifth Monarchism, however, was a heterogeneous movement. Many pamphleteers were army officers or educated ministers who provided much of the leadership but formed only a small proportion of the total membership. Their views on violence, and some other issues, were significantly different from those of the masses, who represented different social groups. All the saints believed in the imminence of the millennium, but the leaders were hesitant to produce anarchy in seeking to establish Christ's kingdom. There was sometimes conflict and tension between the groups. Rogers opposed Venner's plot in 1657, and when a delegation from Venner's church visited him, his wife told them that 'he durst not speake with us,...for ought she knew, wee came to murther her husband.' Despite his opposition, some of his followers joined both Venner's risings, and one of them declared 'wee did not live in age to expect miracles; that Babilon cannot bee destroyed,...by only faith and prayer; but you must be of courage,...and proceed by force.'[2] Though Simpson preached caution, his more radical followers split off, formed their own congregation and negotiated with Venner.[3]

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1. Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.11; H. Danvers, The Mystery of Magistracy (1663), p.18.

2. C. Burrage, 'The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', Eng. Hist. Rev., xxv (1910), pp.729,733; Thurloe, iii.136; compare the list of Rogers's followers in his A Reviving Word (1657), pp.66-8, and anon., A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ (1654), with the plotters listed by Burrage, p.738. Atwood, Gardner, Gregson, Grove, Hancock, Medley, Rutter and Simmons were involved.

3. Anon., The Old Leaven Purged (1658), passim; Burrage, art.cit., p.731.

One of the London saints, John Jones, preached that it was not murder to kill Cromwell, and Venner's risings were a natural result of this attitude. The plotters were determined to go ahead although Harrison, Carew, Feake and Rogers refused to join them, and despite so many setbacks that they 'began to thinke that surely the Lord had not a purpose that wee should now begin the worke.'[1] This attitude outlived Venner. In 1661 William James, preaching in Whitechapel, 'prayed yt God would putt an Axe into ye hand of some of his servants' to cut down king and bishops. Nathaniel Strange, a preacher and former officer, had urged the saints in 1664 to attack Whitehall and seize Charles II and the Duke of Albemarle, and two years later one Captain Harris was trying to stir up the saints to arms.[2]

The governments under Cromwell and Charles II certainly failed to appreciate that the violent language of the leading saints clothed relatively moderate codes of behaviour. But vigilance was justified by the very different principles held by some at least amongst the masses, and for some years there was a real possibility of violence.

A second feature dividing the Fifth Monarchists from contemporary millenarians, besides their declared readiness to use violence when God commanded, was a willingness to elaborate the political, social and economic structure of the kingdom of Christ. Mede and Alsted had not envisaged political or social changes in the millennium. Alsted thought it would consist not in 'bodily pleasures...

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1. Thurloe, iv.650; Burrage, art.cit., pp.726,732.
2. See below, pp.280-1.

but...Spirituall joyes.' Presbyterian millenarians envisaged a godly king and an established Presbyterian church-system in an unchanged society.[1] John Archer prophesied long life, health and riches, but did not discuss the structure of society.[2] Thomas Goodwin and Nathaniel Homes, Independent pastors but also academics, discussed millenarian society with great caution. Homes thought there would be peace, prosperity and long life and 'No superiority of persons' but he confessed also that his 'heart trembles to think of a popular parity; a levilling Anarchie, to which these times, to my terrour, much incline among the multitude.'[3] Goodwin asserted that the saints would 'eat, and drink, and build houses' in the millennium, and that 'God intends to make use of the Common People in the great Worke of proclaiming the Kingdome.' But he added hastily that its establishment must be the work 'of Great ones, of Noble, of Learned ones.'[4] The Fifth Monarchists proved to be much bolder and more specific in their predictions.

In describing the government in the millennium, the Fifth Monarchists were unanimous that the saints would reign with Christ their king. They were somewhat hesitant to usurp the divine prerogative of settling constitutional details, feeling they ought rather to 'wait for such issue as the providence of God should bring things

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1. J. H. Alsted, The Beloved City (1643), p.70; see above, pp.17-18, 41.

2. J. Archer, The Personall Reigne of Christ (1642), pp.27-30.

3. N. Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1654), pp.507,523; Homes, A Sermon, Preached Before...Thomas Foote (1650), p.32.

4. T. Goodwin, A Sermon of the Fifth Monarchy (1654), p.31; Goodwin, A Glimpse of Sions Glory (1641), pp.5,7.

to.'[1] But many did venture to make speculative arrangements.

The first problem, over which there was considerable disagreement, was to decide whether Christ intended to appear and reign in person. Mary Cary, John Rogers and Thomas Tillam thought that Christ would be present.[2] John Archer had thought that Christ would come at first and then withdraw, whereas Danvers believed that He would not appear until the end of the thousand years.[3] Aspinwall doubted whether Christ would appear at all, but the most popular position was that of Tillinghast, who divided the millennium into an evening and a morning kingdom. The first would be founded and run by the saints, and Christ would only appear in the second, when perfection had been attained.[4] This theory both justified the Fifth Monarchists' activist approach, and gave them liberty to organize the first part of the millennium as they thought best.

Many Fifth Monarchists described the characteristics of the ideal ruler, as depicted in the Old Testament. Danvers said they should be wise, godly, well-known, just, and haters of covetousness, citing appropriate texts, and this formula was used often.[5] All

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1. Thurloe,vi.186; anon., Some Considerations (1658), sig. A2v-B1.

2. M. Cary, Little Horns Doom, p.213; J. Rogers, Ohel (1653), p.24; T. Tillam, The Two Witnesses (1651), pp.109-10. For Tillam, see Biog. App.

3. Archer, Personall Reigne, pp.16,22; H. Danvers, Theopolis (1672), p.89.

4. W. Aspinwall, A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy (1653), p.4; J. Tillinghast, Mr. Tillinghasts Eight Last Sermons (1655), p.62.

5. Danvers, Mystery of Magistracy, p.3. See also anon., An Essay towards Settlement (1659), brs; J. Rogers, To his Excellency (1653), brs; anon., Some Considerations, pp.15-16. Most texts were from Deut. and Exodus.

suggestions concerning the government were based on the Bible. Up to 1653 several saints saw Cromwell in the light of an Old Testament Judge, and were ready to concede him absolute power.[1] If Christ did appear in person, the government would of course be monarchical, and in 1659 the saints were alleged to have refused to swear against a Single Person lest this should exclude Christ.[2] They were resolute, however, in attacking any earthly monarchy, except perhaps for Harrison's cryptic reference in 1653 to a godly monarchy.[3] Feake had preached as early as 1646 that monarchy was by nature antichristian, and the saints were unanimous in 1657-8 in opposing the scheme to make Cromwell king. Camshaw Helme and Anthony Palmer, two ministers who became notable Fifth Monarchists after the Restoration, had joined in a petition against the proposal.[4] Rogers and Carew were hostile to the rule of any single person, and when accused of seeking to oust Cromwell to instal Harrison in his place, Rogers denied that he had the 'least... thought...of throwing down one man to set up another.'[5]

Until Christ arrived, the government was to be by the small minority who formed the elect, organized into a church-parliament

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1. See above, pp.66,68-9.

2. Anon., Certain Quaeres (1649), p.6; T. Carte, Original Letters (1739),ii.203.

3. See above, p.72.

4. T. Edwards, Gangraena (1646),iii.147-8; J. Nickolls, Original Letters (1743), p.121; see above, pp.149-9. For Helme and Palmer, see Biog. App.

5. MS. Rawl. A 47,fos.33-4: Rogers to Cromwell, ?Dec. 1653/Jan. 1654; J. Cornubiensis (i.e. J. Carew), The Grand Catastrophe (1654), pp.11-12; Rogers, Jegar-Sahadutha (1657), p.39.

based on the Jewish Sanhedrin. Even Rogers, who for a time saw Cromwell as a second Moses, accepted this as the ideal government.[1] The tyranny of the godly over the unregenerate was one logical result of Calvinist elitism, and there was certainly nothing democratic in the Fifth Monarchists' programme. The Norfolk petition of 1649 demanded 'what right or claim meer natural and worldly men have to Rule and Government,' asking 'How can the kingdom be the Saints' when the ungodly are electors, and elected to Govern?' Carew, Harrison, Courtney and Rich objected to the Protectorate because 'it had a Parliament in it, whereby power is derived from the people, whereas all power belongs to Christ.' In 1659 the Ipswich congregation condemned popular elections altogether.[2]

Instead of the ungodly, only church-members were to vote, with each congregation nominating representatives to a sanhedrin.[3] In 1651 a number of ministers, including Feake and Simpson, published a slightly more liberal proposal, opening the franchise to all the 'visible saints', that is, God's elect, and thus including those who belonged voluntarily to Presbyterian churches.[4] Barebones Parliament in 1653 was not chosen in this manner, but a number of gathered churches, including Fifth Monarchist ones, did press their

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1. Anon., Certain Quaeres, p.6; Rogers, To his Excellency, brs.

2. Anon., Certain Quaeres, p.8; Clarke Papers, ii.244; B. Stoneham, A Serious Proposal (1659), p.3.

3. Anon., Certain Quaeres, pp.6-7; anon., A Cry for a Right Improvement (1652, misprint for 1651), p.9; anon., A Model of a New Representative (1651), pp.3-4; D. T., Certain Queries (1651), p.8.

4. Anon., A Declaration of divers Elders (1651), pp.5,8.

nominees on Cromwell.[1] Venner's group in 1657 urged that the elect, the 'Lord's Freemen', should choose a supreme council, to last one year.[2] In 1659 some of the saints called for a sanhedrin of seventy members, and Chamberlen called for rulers to 'be chosen, or at least approved by the several Congregations.'[3] Government by the visible saints was the system adopted in Massachusetts and New Haven, where Aspinwall and Venner had lived for many years, and the English saints must have been encouraged by this example.[4]

Some Fifth Monarchists showed traces of the more democratic tendencies in radical political thought in the interregnum. Aspinwall asserted that the rulers must be chosen by the 'suffrage of the people', though he emphasized that they must then be approved by the gathered churches, and that candidates must be church-members.[5] Recognizing that the number of the godly was small, Mary Cary was prepared to allow 'civil and blamelesse' men to supplement them.[6] John Rogers came near to Sir Henry Vane's position in the later years of the Protectorate, urging that not only saints but all supporters of the (republican, oligarchic) 'Good Old Cause' should be electors, but this was not a common Fifth Monarchist

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1. J. Nickolls, Original Letters, pp.94,124-6.
2. W. Medley, The Standard Set Up (1657), p.18.
3. Clarke Papers,iv.21; P.Chamberlen, The Declaration and Proclamation of the Army of God (1659), p.5.
4. G. L. Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts (New York, 1960), pp.45ff,63; W. Aspinwall, Legislative Power (1656), p.25.
5. Aspinwall, Legislative Power, pp.22-4.
6. M. Cary, Twelve New Proposals (1653), p.12.

standpoint.[1] Rogers seems to have been alone in referring to the radical new concept of 'natural Rights' and '<u>fundamental Rights</u>', which the Levellers had adopted, and to which the Quakers occasionally referred. Rogers, however, thought that such rights could be forfeited, for example by those who had not supported Parliament.[2] A similar concept may have been behind the phrase affirming the 'just Civill Liberties of English men' which appeared in Powell's <u>Word for God</u>, though this was a deliberate attempt to win support from outside the Fifth Monarchist movement.[3]

The Fifth Monarchists' wish was to restrict choice to the godly, and their ideal was to leave it to God alone. Similarly, Vane looked forward to when God and men would choose magistrates together.[4] In 1653 the saints' wish took the form of urging Cromwell alone, as God's instrument, to choose all the members of Barebones.[5] It also found expression in the importance which the Fifth Monarchists attached to the system of lot, 'wherein', said Danvers, 'the Lord also was called into the choice.' He cited numerous Old Testament parallels, including the choice of King Saul

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1. J. Rogers, <u>Christian Concertation</u>, (1659), pp.59-60; Rogers, <u>The Plain Case of the Common-weal</u> (1659), p.10.

2. Rogers, <u>Christian Concertation</u>, pp.42-3,59-60; Rogers, <u>Mr. Pryn's Good Old Cause</u> (1659), p.10; Rogers, <u>Sagrir</u> (1653), <u>sig</u>. A2; C. Hill, <u>Puritanism and Revolution</u> (1962), p.79; H. N. Brailsford, <u>The Levellers and the English Revolution</u> (1961), p.262; H.Barbour, <u>The Quakers in Puritan England</u> (New Haven and London, 1964), p.245; E. Burrough, <u>Good Counsel</u> (1659), p.23.

3. <u>Thurloe</u>,iv.382.

4. Anon., <u>The Tryall of Sir Henry Vane</u> (1662), p.121.

5. See above, pp.67-8.

and the Jewish sanhedrin by lot.[1] Thomas Tillam condemned playing cards and dice because they profaned a method by which God made known His wishes to men, and were thus 'the highest abuse of this glorious appeal by way of lot.'[2] In 1653, Chillenden's congregation had suggested that Barebones be composed of men chosen out of a larger number 'by lot, after solemn prayer (a way much owned by God..).'[3] Though the idea that God's will could be ascertained by this practice was coming under attack in the seventeenth century, lots were also used for this purpose by the Baptists, by the Moravians and later by the Methodists.[4]

The aim of the Fifth Monarchists was to use power to enforce godly discipline on the masses. Far from withering away in the millennium, the duties of the magistrate would expand into new spheres. John Eliot, a New England minister whose vision of the millennium was published by Livewell Chapman, visualized officials over every ten, fifty, hundred and thousand people, with a separate law court for each group of fifty.[5] Danvers wrote that the magistrates were to study the Mosaic laws and then punish the ungodly, and Aspinwall affirmed that they would bring 'terrour to them that

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1. Danvers, Mystery of Magistracy, pp.4-5.
2. T. Tillam, The Temple of Lively Stones (1660), p.357.
3. Nickolls, Original Letters, p.122.
4. W. E. H. Lecky, History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism (1865),i.307 and note; J. J. Goadby, Bye-Paths in Baptist History (1871), pp.298-301; W. H. G. Armytage, Heavens Below (1961), pp.49-50.
5. J. Eliot, The Christian Commonwealth (1659), pp.4,12,7 (misprint for 15); cf. Exod.xviii.21.

do evil.'[1] Mary Cary advised them to sponsor evangelism and punish drunkards, whoremasters and swearers. Those guilty of such vices were condemned fiercely.[2] The saints were to behave with purity and sobriety, uncorrupted in a sinful world. The Banner of Truth said they would be 'a pure and chaste people', not defiled by women.[3] Hostile propagandists were of course delighted when Chillenden was expelled from the army and his church after an affair with his maid had come to light.[4] A similar charge was made against Harrison, and Spittlehouse was accused of drunkenness, but apparently without evidence.[5] Behaviour was to be grave. Aspinwall said that in the millennium the saints would not 'break jests, to make the carnal multitude merry.'[6] John More argued that laughter itself was a sin, though 'When the Anchant of dayes shall sit downe...Upon a burning fiery throne...Then the godly shall Laugh it amaine.' Chamberlen, his more moderate pastor, replied that some laughter sprang from joy, not unbelief.[7] The

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1. Danvers, Mystery of Magistracy, pp.6-7; Aspinwall, Legislative Power, p.28.

2. M. Cary, Twelve New Proposals, passim; Cary, A Word in Season (1647), pp.1-2; anon., The Failing and Perishing of Good Men (1663), p.13; Llwyd, Gweithiau,i.89; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38856, f.79: 'A doore of hope opened into the valley of Achan', ?1663.

3. Banner of Truth (1656), p.37.

4. Anon., The Phanatique Intelligencer (1660), p.8; MS. Rawl. A 8, f.127: S. Otes to R. Jeffes, 15 Nov. 1653; E. Chillenden, Nathans Parable (1653), passim.

5. Anon., A Pair of Spectacles for the Citie (1648), p.5; Thurloe, iii.136.

6. Aspinwall, Legislative Power, p.25.

7. MS. Rawl. D 828, f.39: Church Book of Lothbury Square.

saints insisted on sobriety in dress. Distinctions in dress, enforced by a series of sumptuary acts, served to indicate and perpetuate social differentiation. To attack the finery of the upper classes, as did the Fifth Monarchists and Quakers, was to attack the social structure.[1] John Pendarves called on the saints to dress plainly as a sign, 'a light amidst a crooked generation', symbolizing that the saints were 'not of this world' but were 'crucifying the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eyes, and pride of life.' He also emphasized the needs of the poor, and asserted that the 'clothing of Christ in his poore members' was 'to be preferr'd before providing such needlesse trimmings.'[2] Rogers condemned lawyers for their long, powdered hair, Trapnel criticized saints who followed the latest French and Spanish fashions, and Tillam attacked effeminate men who wore long hair and shaved off their beards.[3] Mary Cary condemned people, especially saints, who followed 'fickle, nice, phantastical, and foolish' fashions, remarking 'how unsuitable to their high calling! as if they had not things of a higher nature to minde.' But she thought that in the millennium the saints would appear in 'rich apparel'.[4] Harrison and Chamberlen were from a higher position in society, and showed different ideas. Both wore their hair long. Harrison appeared in

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1. Q. Bell, Of Human Finery (1947), passim; Barbour, Quakers, pp.167-8.
2. J. Pendarves, Arrowes against Babylon (1656), suffix entitled Endeavours for Reformation in Apparrel, pp.19-20,21,25.
3. E. Rogers, The Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy man (1867), p.91; A. Trapnel, untitled book of verse in Bodleian (1658), p.553; Tillam, Temple, pp.292-3.
4. Cary, Little Horns Doom, pp.268-9.

Parliament in 'a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace', and even went to his execution 'accoutred in a velvet coat and things very compleat.'[1]

The Fifth Monarchists recognized that both the elect and the reprobate might belong to any social group, and their programme cannot be defined wholly in terms of class. Rogers prophesied doom to 'all that are involved with the Beast', to the beggar as well as the Lord Protector.[2] Nevertheless, the saints did see the millennium as a social revolution, and their enemies accused them of seeking to annihilate the upper levels of society. Feake had indeed taught in 1646 that there was in aristocracy 'an enmity against Christ'. In 1660 he was accused of wanting to destroy the aristocracy and gentry and make the 'Rulers of the Earth...sit bare-breeched upon Hawthorn-Bushes.'[3]

The demand for social revolution sprang from two sources. The first was a desire for vengeance by people feeling oppressed or humiliated by their social superiors. The saints often showed more enthusiasm for uprooting Babylon than for planting Jerusalem, and their favourite text was Psalm cxlix.8 with its promise of binding kings with chains and nobles with fetters of iron. Anna Trapnel

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1. Portrait of Harrison in P. G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (1966), p.108, and of Chamberlen in Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America, vol.i,ed. C. H. Greene and J. L. Gamble (Plainford, New Jersey, 1910), p.72; L. Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, ed. C. H. Firth (1906), p.281; anon., Observations Upon the Last Actions..of..Harrison (1660), p.4.

2. Canne, Time of the End, epistle by Rogers, sig. a8.

3. Edwards, Gangraena,iii.148; J. Feak, pseud., A Funeral Sermon (1660), p.15; anon., Bibliotheca Fanatica (1659), p.7.

waited hopefully for the Lord to 'batter' the great men of the earth, praying

> 'O come with vengeance, come dear Lord,
> That there bloude may drop out,
> That do now rob and steal from thee'.[1]

Morgan Llwyd anticipated with relish 'plague, flame, sword, and hailestones great' falling on the proud and mighty. Venner's rebels thought themselves chosen by God to 'Thrash the Mountains', and John Simpson preached of his vision of when the 'wicked, ungodly, and unbelieving men shall be raised as slaves, and vassals, and be brought forth in chaines and fetters, before the dreadfull tribunall'.[2] Belcher and Squibb anticipated the ruin of existing rulers and a state of 'dignity and prosperity' for the saints.[3]

A second source of the demand for social revolution was the belief, common to many believers in predestination, that secular aristocracy was as nothing compared to the aristocracy of the elect. 'A Nation', it was said, 'is more beholding to the meanest Kitchin maid in it, that hath in her a spirit of prayer, than to a thousand of her profane swaggering Gentry.'[4] John Rogers condemned the 'corrupt Naughty Nobles' and derided nobility as 'but a fancy for children and fools.' True nobility consisted 'not in outward

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1. A. Trapnel, The Cry of a Stone (1654), p.19; Trapnel, Voice for the King of Saints (1658), p.19.

2. Llwyd, Gweithiau, i.79; Medley, Standard Set Up, pp.11,23; J. Simpson, The Great Joy of Saints (1654), p.118.

3. E. A. Payne, 'More about the Sabbatarian Baptists', Bapt. Quart., xiv (1951-2), pp.162-3.

4. Anon., Failing and Perishing, p.13.

pompe and vanity, but in inward grace and piety. I forget (says honest old Fox) Lords, and ladies, for society of his Saints...And as Christ...with his Nobility (viz. Saints) arises bigward; Earthly Kings and their Nobilities doe fall backward.'[1] Foxe used this concept to disregard the social hierarchy, but for the Fifth Monarchists it was a justification for destroying the social structure. The Barebones Parliament was said to have considered a plan to abolish all titles of honour.[2] Feake preached that in the millennium there would be 'no difference betwixt high and low, the greatest, and the poorest beggar.' Another pamphleteer predicted that 'the Commoner shall be a Freeman, and no longer remain in bondage.'[3] The saints showed their scorn for the existing social order by sometimes refusing hat-honour and using the 'thee' form, like the Quakers. When Venner and his companions were brought before Cromwell in 1657, it was noted that they would 'not put off their hats to the Protector, and thou him at every word.' Officials had to pull off Wentworth Day's hat at his trial in 1658, whereupon Day retorted that he was no Quaker but that he kept on his hat because 'he could not own their authority.'[4] Similarly, Feake and his supporters kept on their hats as a protest when psalms were sung at Christ Church in 1654.[5]

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1. Rogers, Ohel, pp.11,22-3.
2. MS. Clar. 46,f.71: newsletter, 8 July 1653.
3. Thurloe,v.755; anon., The Year of Wonders (1652), p.16.
4. Hist. MSS. Comm.,iv, App. to 5th Report, Sutherland MSS, p.163; anon., A Narrative; Wherein is faithfully set forth (1658), p.7; Barbour, Quakers, pp.163-6.
5. J.N., Proh Tempora! Proh Mores (1654), p.6.

Despite Feake's reference to the end of inequality, millenarian society would be far from egalitarian. Simpson expected the saints to appear as kings, and another author saw them as nobles and princes.[1] Spittlehouse spoke of '<u>our new built</u> Arrastocracy.' He thought the nobility could be 'excellent ornaments', but the existing nobleman, who cared little for God's work, was 'the foulest fiend the Devill hath upon earth.' Echoing Münster, where John of Leyden had reigned as a messianic king with twelve 'dukes', formerly artisans, Anna Trapnel prophesied that God would make the saints earls and potentates.[2]

The Fifth Monarchists' hope of a social revolution in the millennium sprang from their dissatisfaction with both existing society and their place within that society. Not all the saints, however, were social revolutionaries. The few, but important, high-ranking officers and the educated ministers adopted a more conservative position. One defended social differences by arguing that 'Variety <u>is the</u> beauty <u>of the universe, and an exercise of</u> Vertue. <u>Where would</u> bounty, <u>and</u> humility <u>be, if there were not</u> Rich?'[3] Suggesting in 1653 that the army should elect the new assembly, Spittlehouse wanted to restrict the franchise to the officers, as 'a meanes to keep the private Souldiery at quiet', and because the soldiers had dangerous ideas. He also noted that the 'distinctions of <u>Masters</u> and <u>Servants</u> are not taken away but

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1. Simpson, <u>Great Joy</u>, p.118; anon., <u>Some Considerations</u>, p.121.

2. Spittlehouse, <u>Rome Ruin'd by Whitehall</u> (1650), pp.327,342; N. Cohn, <u>The Pursuit of the Millennium</u> (1962), p.305; A. Trapnel, <u>Cry of a Stone</u>, p.40.

3. Anon., <u>The Cause of God</u> (1659), <u>sig</u>. B2.

maintained' in the New Testament.[1] Peter Chamberlen sought to exclude the 'confused Rabble', and hoped that by his schemes for the poor, they would accept their social status without complaint and become 'more tractable to all duties and commands,' for there were 'none more untractable, then idle Beggars.' Many years after the Restoration he wrote to Archbishop Sheldon, expressing his scorn for 'Mechanick Church Wardens.'[2] Some of the saints were themselves alarmed at the threat to property. At the Putney debates in 1647, Col. Rich pointed out that 'You have five to one in this Kingdom that have no permanent interest' who would 'make it their interest to chuse those that have no interest. It may happen, that the majority may by law...destroy propertie.'[3] Despite the saints' preoccupation with sexual offences, Frederick Woodall declared that he 'that affirms a community of persons and things, is more abominably wicked then he that commits the act of Adultery.'[4]

The different attitudes of the saints was shown clearly in the contrasting views they held concerning the Münster Anabaptists. Throughout the 1640s and '50s, critics asserted that all sectarians, especially the Fifth Monarchists, wished to repeat the atrocities which had occurred at Münster.[5] Aspinwall and Canne condemned the

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1. Spittlehouse, The Army Vindicated (1653), p.11; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, p.171.

2. P.Chamberlen, The Poore Mans Advocate (1649), p.9; Bodl. MS. Tanner 160,f.71: Chamberlen to Sheldon, 21 July 1680.

3. Clarke Papers,i.315.

4. F. Woodall, Natural and Spiritual Light (1655), p.5.

5. For example, anon., A Short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany (1642); W. Hughes, Munster and Abingdon (Oxford, 1657).

Münster Anabaptists, and denied there was any similarity between the movements. Danvers took a middle course, condemning the atrocities, but arguing that the only histories were written by the Anabaptists' enemies, and were probably false.[1] John More and Spittlehouse, however, accepted the Münster Anabaptists as their greatest inspiration. They spoke of Lutherans as 'no other then Romish Sectaries,' referred to Catholic, Episcopal and Presbyterian churches as the 'old Strumpet and her...daughters', and described Münzer, Storch and Becold as 'Champions of the Truth.'[2] Militant saint meeting in 1656 declared boldly that their duty was 'the same with the work...which...is reputed a monster and called Munster' by the unenlightened.[3]

To make permanent their social revolution, the saints needed to alter the economic structure of society, especially land ownership. As early as 1645 the millenarians were said to preach that 'the wicked have no property in their estates. That the promise might be fulfilled, that the meek must inherit the earth.'[4] The Fifth Monarchists were often accused of advocating common ownership, and of planning to confiscate the lands of the gentry and 'ungodly'. Cromwell claimed that 'if one man had twelve cows,

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1. Aspinwall, Legislative Power, p.37; Canne, A Voice From the Temple (1653), p.6; H. Danvers, A Treatise of Baptism (1675), p.326.

2. J. Spittlehouse and J. More, A Vindication of the Continued Succession (1652), pp.14-15.

3. Anon., Banner of Truth, pp.48-9.

4. E. Pagitt, Heresiography (2nd edn., 1645), p.126.

they held another that wanted cows ought to take a share with his neighbour.'[1] Because of such rumours, many saw the attack on tithes in the Barebones assembly as the beginning of a total attack on property.[2]

In fact, none of the Fifth Monarchists preached common ownership, and many declared their support for private property.[3] Nevertheless, many of the saints did have radical plans. Morgan Llwyd visualized a great redistribution of land so that 'no poor men shall have too little, nor the rich too much.'[4] Venner's rebels promised to respect private property, but made no promise concerning the property of those who opposed them. They visualized seizing great spoils in battle, and massive forfeitures afterwards through treason and rebellions. In 1657 they proposed to put part of it in a common treasury for the 'work of the Lord', with the rest shared out equally between the saints. In 1661 they again planned a treasury to pay for a permanent crusading army.[5]

Although the Fifth Monarchists were a largely urban group, they made a number of proposals concerning agrarian conditions.

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1. Anon., An Alarum to Corporations (1659), p.8; anon., The Londoners Last Warning (1659), p.5; MS. Rawl. A 61,f.29: information, ? March 1658; Abbott, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, iv.417.

2. J. Hall, Confusion Confounded (1654), pp.4-5; anon., An Answer to a Paper (1653), p.2.

3. For example, anon., Certain Quaeres, p.4; The Speeches and Prayers..of the late King's Judges (1660), p.19; Thurloe,iii.110-1.

4. Llwyd, Gweithiau,ii.237.

5. Burrage, 'Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', p.731; Medley, Standard Set Up, p.19; anon, A Door of Hope (1661), p.10; Thurloe,vi.163.

Like the Quakers and the Levellers, they proposed the abolition of all copyhold and customary tenures, and such feudal relics as heriots, fines and amercements. They attacked also the system of primogeniture, which served to perpetuate the inequalities of the social structure.[1] John Rogers condemned fines and homage to lords, and Stoneham's congregation called for the abolition of all 'enslaving' tenures. A petition from Norfolk in 1649 attacked arbitrary fines and 'that unparallel'd Oath of Fealty and Homage,' advocating a maximum entry fine of one year's rent, and a maximum rent of 4d-6d *per* acre *per annum.*[2]

To the Fifth Monarchists, the whole social structure was unjust, and they therefore approached the problem of the poor without the common assumption that the poor were '(for the most part) a cursed generation', and without the indifference commonly accompanying it.[3] They did not see the problem as a moral one, nor its solution as punishment or indiscriminate alms-giving. In 1654 Chamberlen's church urged Cromwell to tackle the problem, and Chamberlen himself described the poor as worthy men, adding 'Who art thou, that despisest the poore? saith the Lord.'[4] Mary Cary was an exception, arguing that able-bodied beggars were idle and

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1. Medley, *Standard Set Up*, p.20; anon., *Door of Hope*, p.10; Barbour, *Quakers*, pp.170-1; Brailsford, *Levellers*, pp.191, 437-43.

2. Rogers, *Sagrir*, pp.57-8; Stoneham, *Serious Proposal*, p.4; *A Perfect Diurnall*, 294 (12-19 March 1649), pp.2326,1349 (pagination hopelessly erratic).

3. C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (1966), p. 283;cf. *ibid.*, pp.259-97.

4. MS. Rawl. D 828,f.33a-v; Chamberlen, *Poore Mans Advocate*, p.11.

should be made to work in the work-house to encourage them to seek better jobs outside. Vavasor Powell, too, thought it shameful that there should be so many beggars who 'may be counterfeits'. But even Cary was concerned about the sick or helpless poor, urging a rate of 3d on all letters to raise funds for them, and Powell helped the local poor with clothing and hospitality, and was said to spend one-fifth of his income on charity.[1]

The saints emphasized the duty of the magistrate to provide work for the poor, a neglected aspect of the Elizabethan legislation, and argued that 'there should be no beggar in Israel, and in wel-govern'd Common-wealths' there were none. Venner's rebels urged that the poor be set to work, that 'we might have no beggars.'[2] The saints' writings often reflected the interests of a nascent capitalist society, for which the poor formed a huge pool of cheap captive labour, of immense potential value. The Fifth Monarchists were far from being capitalists, yet even Venner's followers, the 'very scum' of society, grasped clearly the importance of production and trade, and advocated mercantilist policies.[3] The most elaborate scheme for the poor came from Chamberlen. He sought to build up a public stock from the lands and goods of the king, bishops and deans and chapters, using also tithes, commons and disused mines. This

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1. Cary, Twelve New Proposals, p.9; V. Powell, God the Father Glorified (1649), p.60; (E. Bagshaw), The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell (1671), pp.111,117.

2. Chamberlen, Legislative Power (1659), p.5 (misprint for 4); Powell, God the Father, p.60; anon., Door of Hope, p.5; cf. H. Peter, Good Work for a Good Magistrate (1651), pp.20ff; R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (1938), pp.251-70.

3. See below, pp.193-4.

would provide sufficient agricultural and industrial work to employ the poor, and the profits would enable taxation to be abolished within a year. Ten years later, in 1659, he was still enthusiastic about the scheme. It would need £500,000 to float, and he was confident he could raise this sum from five hundred 'noble, well-intentioned, godly' men. His plan was borrowed and advocated by Lilburne.[1] The idea of using confiscated lands to set up stocks for the poor was also put forward by some Quakers, by Hugh Peter and by William Erbery.[2]

Many of the economic ideas and predictions of the saints reflected the interests and prejudices of the artisan and small trader. The Fifth Monarchists attacked monopolies and the great merchants, predicting 'doleful howling, and mourning among the Merchants of Babilon.' Rogers prophesied the downfall of merchants in Christ's kingdom, and Aspinwall predicted that the 'despicable ones' would lose their 'forreign Trade and Shipping.'[3] Sometimes the viewpoint of the wage-earner found expression, as when Mary Cary looked forward to a time when men would not 'labour and toyl day and night...to maintain others that live...in idleness.' In the

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1. Chamberlen, Poore Mans Advocate, esp. sig. A4, pp.3,17,24,43; Chamberlen, A Scourge for a Denn of Thieves (1659), pp.5,8; idem., Plus Ultra (1651), brs; idem., Declaration and Proclamation, pp.4-5; Brailsford, Levellers, pp.613-4.

2. Barbour, Quakers, p.171; Peter, Good Work, pp.17-18; Nickolls, Original Letters, pp.88-9.

3. Anon., Banner of Truth, p.71; Canne, Time of the End, epistle by Rogers, sig. a8; Aspinwall, A Premonition of Sundry Sad Calamities (1655), p.15; anon., Some Considerations, p.2; Thurloe, iv.381; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. a1v.

millennium men would 'comfortably enjoy the work of their hands.' This viewpoint was expressed more forcibly in 1675 when a Fifth Monarchist named John Mason took a prominent part in riots by the London weavers.[1]

But many of the saints were engaged in the cloth industry, and they realized that foreign trade was of great importance, and was indeed an essential part of the millennium itself. After the Restoration the saints bewailed 'the lamentable crye of the poore of the lande for wante, through the decay of tradeing.'[2] Chamberlen suggested a national bank to finance the increase of trade, and a fleet permanently at sea to protect merchantmen, and he was echoed by Rogers.[3] The saints often condemned customs duties, but they sought strict protection, not free trade. One pamphleteer condemned Cromwell for 'letting the French upon our Merchants and Manufactors, that the French by having a free-trade may reduce the English to like poverty; and...vassellage.'[4] Chamberlen demanded high tolls on all imports of finished goods and exports of raw materials, and complete freedom for the import of raw materials and the export of finished goods.[5] Venner's manifesto in 1661 explained that in the

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1. M. Cary, Little Horns Doom, pp.307-8,310; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1675-6, pp.258-9.

2. Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.6 (misprint for 7); Add. MS. 38856,f.79: 'Doore of hope opened'.

3. Chamberlen, Poore Mans Advocate, p.24; Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.7 (misprint for 6); Rogers, Plain Case, pp.20-1

4. J.S. (?J. Spittlehouse), The Picture of a New Courtier (1656), p.12.

5. Chamberlen, Poore Mans Advocate, p.24; Chamberlen, Declaration and Proclamation, p.4.

millennium there would be a complete ban on the export of unwrought leather, of fuller's earth, used in the cleansing of cloth, and of other raw materials. Another saint wished to ban the export of fuller's earth to Holland, since it was strengthening England's competitor.[1]

Despite the Fifth Monarchists' concern for production, they had little to say on the important question of usury. They attacked covetousness and 'covetous oppression', and Rogers once widened this to a general attack on trade and production, on '<u>the Cities and Corporations...where every man is...seeking himself,..buying, selling, building, planting, &c. as in the days of Noah, but doth not regard the Day of the Lord! O London!...Seat of the second Beast! next to Rome mayst thou look for the Wrath upon thee!</u>'[2] Rogers attacked userers, the 'Mony-Merchants', and Chamberlen referred to them disparagingly, but no saint condemned the practice of usury itself.[3] John Brayne, a millenarian minister admired by the Fifth Monarchists, asserted that 'God...is exprestly against usury', but the saints ignored this passage, perhaps seeing the system as an indispensable evil.[4]

The saints were promised that by the increase of trade and production a golden age of wealth would dawn. Chamberlen was sure

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1. Anon., <u>Door of Hope</u>, p.5; D.T., <u>Certain Queries</u> (1651), p.16.

2. Above, p.175; Llwyd, <u>Gweithiau</u>,ii.237; Feake, <u>The New Non-conformist</u> (1654), p.10; Canne, <u>Time of the End</u>, epistle by Rogers, <u>sig</u>. a6v.

3. Rogers, <u>Mene,Tekel</u> (1654), p.10; Chamberlen, <u>Scourge for a Denn</u>, p.7.

4. J. Brayne, <u>The New Earth</u> (1653), p.70. For Brayne see Biog. App.

that the state would be able to end taxation and pay off the army's arrears, and 'Peace and safety, plenty and prosperity should overflow the Land'.[1] There would be no taxes in the millennium. Venner promised to remove customs, excise and, indeed, all taxes, and Aspinwall promised 'No Custom or Excize in the days of the Messiah.' Spittlehouse, Stoneham and Powell did the same, and John Williams preached inflammatory sermons against taxes.[2] The saints attacked the heavy rate of taxation under both the Protectorate and the restored Stuarts. Feake claimed, rather disingenuously, that a godly magistrate 'never layd tax upon ye people, but they unasked for gave him what they thought he had need of.' Cromwell and his officials were accused of appropriating state revenues, till they were 'choked with lands, parks, and manors.'[3]

The mercantilist approach of the Fifth Monarchists makes it necessary to examine their position on foreign policy. The application of the prophetic texts of the Bible to the contemporary European situation made the saints inevitably outward-looking. Such an interpretation was not restricted to the Fifth Monarchists. The Scottish general, Leslie, had urged a crusade to throw down Rome and the Catholic monarchies. In 1644 this plan was said to be popular amongst the leading politicians and officers in London,

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1. Chamberlen, Scourge for a Denn, p.4; Poore Mans Advocate, pp.23-4; Plus Ultra, brs; Legislative Power, p.6 (misprint for 7).

2. Anon., Door of Hope, p.10; Aspinwall, Legislative Power, p.12; Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate, sig. A3v; Stoneham, Serious Proposal, p.4; Thurloe,ii.46,iv.382.

3. Thurloe,v.60,vii.58; Add. MS. 38856,f.79: 'Doore of hope opened'; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1653-4, p.306; anon., The Prophets Malachy and Isaiah (1656), epistle by Feake, p.14.

and Cromwell appears to have been sympathetic. The Quakers called for an attack on Rome. In addition to the religious crusade, John Goodwin, Hugh Peter and the Levellers urged a political crusade against monarchs.[1]

England, according to the Fifth Monarchists, represented a precedent of what God intended to do elsewhere.[2] They showed a strong interest in the cause abroad at all times, and even at his execution Carew could hope that his death would help the cause overseas.[3] The saints wanted a military crusade, firstly on behalf of oppressed Protestants, and secondly to overthrow the popish powers of Antichrist. Venner's group proposed to send help to the Waldensians. Morgan Llwyd advocated a league of Protestant crusaders, and thought 'there were many of them in Holland, some in France, and a few in Spain.'[4] John Rogers demanded 'how durst our Army to be still, now the work is to do abroad? Are there no Protestants in France and Germany (even) now under persecution?'[5] Venner's men called for an invasion of France, Spain, Germany and Rome. Llwyd, Feake, Rogers, Tillinghast and Trapnel all promised that the saints' army would overthrow the Turks and the Pope and

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1. C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution, pp.130ff; R. Baillie, Letters and Journals (Edinburgh, 1775),ii.24; E. Burrough, Good Counsel, p.26.

2. Spittlehouse, The first Addresses (1653), p.5.

3. Anon., Speeches and Prayers, p.14.

4. Anon., Door of Hope, p.3; M. Llwyd, 'The Book of the Three Birds', trans. L. J. Parry, Trans. Nat. Eisteddfod of Wales, 1896 (Liverpool, 1898), p.207.

5. Rogers, Sagrir, p.14.

his helpers, especially the Habsburgs and the French.[1] On occasion the Fifth Monarchists showed traces of therepublican ideology of world revolution. Feake in 1646 thought 'there was in Monarchie ...an enmity against Christ,' and that by 'raising combustions in the bowells' of France, Spain and Holland, Christ would destroy them. John Rogers wanted an alliance with Venice and thought the army should be sent to Bordeaux in 1653 not only because the rebels were Protestants but because they were 'Subjects...that lie under the Iron yoke of Tyranny.'[2]

The wish to crusade against Catholics and tyrants should have led logically to a policy of allying with the Protestant, republican Dutch against Spain, widely regarded as the chief prop of the Papacy. Robert Parker, an earlier apocalyptic writer, had urged an alliance with the Dutch and German Protestant princes against the Habsburgs and the Pope.[3] Chamberlen advised Cromwell to make peace with the Dutch and go to war against France and Spain. But apart from Chamberlen, who admired his 'Neighbours blessed Bee-hive', all the Fifth Monarchist commentators were vociferous advocates of the Dutch war.[4] Even more surprisingly, they opposed the later war with Spain.

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1. Anon., Door of Hope, p.3; Llwyd, 'Book of the Three Birds', p.207; J.N., Proh Tempora!, p.7; Rogers, Sagrir, p.134; Tillinghast, Generation-Work, 2nd part (1654), pp.38-41,57, 69-70,81-2; Trapnel, untitled book of verse, p.153.

2. Edwards, Gangraena,iii.147-8; Rogers, Sagrir, pp.14,134.

3. R. Parker, The Mystery of the Vialls Opened (1651), pp.13-14.

4. Chamberlen, Legislative Power, pp.7,6 (misprints for 6,7).

Religious, political and economic considerations all led the saints to this unexpected policy. Feake in 1646 had justified his prediction of divine wrath against the Dutch by referring to their sin of 'Tolerating Arminianisme'. Another author condemned them for giving help to the king of Scots.[1] More common was a feeling of anger that instead of joining in a religious alliance, the Dutch had been motivated by 'Covetousness and Greediness, Ingratitude and Unthankfulness' for English help in the previous century.[2] Rogers pressed for war against the Dutch as a 'treacherous! self-seeking! and ungrateful people!' In similar vein, Powell denounced the Dutch ambassadors as drunkards.[3] The saints, however, made it clear that they did not seek revenge against the Dutch as an end in itself. Feake explained that he would 'never believe that this Navy was made on purpose for the breaking of our Neighbours in pieces; and there an end. We shall at last joyn together, and do such work for God as was never done in the world.' The purpose was to secure an offensive alliance by force. Rogers urged war, but only that a peace might be made 'upon the account of Christ, to engage together against Antichrist, Rome, Prelates.' Morgan Llwyd expressed the same idea in his doggerel verse:

> 'Fight not the Dutch but on Christs score..
> Holland by sea shall be pulld downe...
> and with us give to Christ their crowne,

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1. Edwards, Gangraena, iii.147; anon., Year of Wonders, p.12.
2. Anon., The Examiner defended (1652), p.18.
3. Rogers, Ohel, introduction, p.12; A. Griffith, Mercurius Cambro-Britannicus (1652), p.13.

> and joyne us hand in hand...
> With them wee quarter but one night,
> and so to Ffrance and Spaine.'[1]

The Dutch alliance was thought to be essential, not only because of their naval resources, but because the Netherlands were thought to be the best landing place for an English invasion of the continent. At Blackfriars in 1653 a 'great rabble of the rout' was asked where, if peace were made, 'should they have a landing-place, when they went to do the great work of the Lord?' A remonstrance was presented to Barebones, urging the same strategy. The 'most facile' way to conquer Rome, it was claimed, was 'by invading France and Holland![2]

These considerations alone could explain why the Fifth Monarchists supported the Dutch war of 1652-4. But the saints' attitude was not one of regret at having to fight 'erring co-religionists', but a fierce hatred expressed in terms of 'fire, murther and flame!'[3] It appears that the London saints, at least, recognized the clash between the commercial interests of the English and the Dutch, and hoped by the war to crush their rivals. Venner's rebels feared the competition of the Dutch cloth industry, and the war had brought great benefits to the weavers. The Dutch were cut off from their Spanish source of raw wool, and the English gained

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1. R. L'Estrange, The Dissenter's Sayings, The Second Part (1681), p.61; Rogers, Ohel, introd., p.13; Llwyd, Gweithiau,i.77.

2. Thurloe,i.534; cf. ibid., pp.442,574,612; Moderate Intelligencer, 10 (4-11 July 1653), p.110.

3. Thurloe,i.442.

a monopoly of the sale of finished cloth to Spain. Moreover the English could hope to end and even usurp the virtual monopoly of trade in the Baltic (a major vent for cloth), which the Dutch had acquired since 1650 by an agreement with Denmark. The war was accordingly popular with the clothworkers, and with the sects in which they were well-represented.[1] Harrison 'choaked the poore Cittizens' with propaganda, preaching that 'when we have beaten the Dutch,...the whole world should saile into this Commonwealth;... the Dutch must be destroyed; and we shall have an heaven upon earth.'[2] Mary Cary urged the vigorous prosecution of the war, claiming that God would destroy the Dutch and Danes if they opposed England's interests.[3] Cromwell's peace with the Dutch in 1654, which failed to secure an English monopoly in the Baltic and ended the monopoly in Spain, was received with dismay by the Fifth Monarchists. Chillenden accused him of selling English trade to the Dutch, and Venner's congregation thought the terms not only dishonourable but 'Unsafe'.[4]

Spain was regarded as the main support of the papacy, yet the saints condemned Cromwell's war against Spain, and rejoiced in the

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1. R. W. K. Hinton, The Eastland Trade and the Common Weal (1959), esp. pp.84ff.; J. E. Farnell, 'The Navigation Act of 1651, the First Dutch War, and the London Community', Econ.Hist.Rev.,xvi (1963-4), pp.450-2; idem., 'The Usurpation of Honest London Householders: Barebone's Parliament', Eng.Hist.Rev.,lxxxii (1967), p.44; idem., 'The Politics of the City of London (1649-1657)' (Chicago Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1963; microfilm in Bodleian), pp.270-307.

2. MS. Clar. 45,f.380v.: newsletter, 13 May 1653.

3. M. Cary, The Resurrection of the Witnesses (1653), p.133.

4. Thurloe,v.286; Medley, Standard Set Up, p.7.

failure of the Hispaniola expedition. The reasons they gave were that Cromwell was motivated by greed and ambition, not godliness, and that his failure showed that God's providence was against him.[1] But on other occasions they recognized that God could use ungodly men to accomplish the divine purpose. Since the war involved abandoning to the Dutch the Spanish sources of raw wool, and the market for finished cloth, it seems likely that the real or potential economic effects of the war on the cloth-workers were the decisive consideration.

The Restoration produced a rapid change in the Fifth Monarchists' outlook on foreign affairs. They viewed with alarm the king's Catholic marriage, and feared the return of popery to England.[2] The Dutch government, despite its failings, was more genuinely Protestant than the Stuart regime. Henceforth the Fifth Monarchists hoped for Dutch support in their intrigues. In 1665 they refused to rise until they saw whether the Dutch would win the naval war and send them help, and Vavasor Powell anticipated a Dutch victory.[3] The economic considerations of the saints had not changed, but they were submerged now that the most immediate problem was that of survival.

The policy of protection had an obvious economic appeal to some of the saints. But many of them can have found little cause

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1. Anon., Some Considerations, p.2; Canne, Time of the End, p.88; Thurloe, iv.650.

2. Add. MS. 38856, f.79v: 'Doore of hope opened'.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom., 1663-4, p.405; ibid., '64-5, p.514; ibid., '65-6, p.270; ibid., '66-7, p.427; SP.29/114, fos.19-20v.: information, ? March 1665; SP.29/129, f.187: A. Newport to Williamson, 22 Aug. 1665. See also below, p.287.

for enthusiasm in the detailed social and economic proposals of the preachers and pamphleteers. The strength of millenarianism, however, was the flexibility of the idea. Whatever an individual disliked, he was free to believe would be removed in the kingdom of heaven. Venner's manifesto did particularize, but the saints left their plans open-ended, noting that 'whatsoever can be named of a common or publick good, we meane by the Kingdome of Christ'.[1]

It is likely that many saints derived their enthusiasm more from generalized biblical promises than from detailed programmes, and the most common descriptions of the millennium were in simple and timeless terms. The saints were promised long life and immunity from sickness. The Banner of Truth guaranteed them immortality, and Aspinwall and Danvers predicted perfect health. Mary Cary thought the saints 'shall live till they come to a good old age'. In addition, there would be peace and plenty, and prosperity without hard work.[2] Taxation would cease.[3] To achieve such a glorious condition, human nature, and indeed all nature, would be transformed miraculously at the beginning of the millennium. As for the wolf and the leopard, Christ would 'chaine up their devouring nature'.[4] Henceforth the saints would enjoy a 'store of provisions,...and treasure.'[5]

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1. Anon., Door of Hope, p.5.
2. Anon., Banner of Truth, p.20; Aspinwall, Brief Description, p.13; Aspinwall, Legislative Power, p.35; Danvers, Theopolis, pp.39,77; Cary, Little Horns Doom, p.71.
3. See above, pp.194-5.
4. N. Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1654), p.507; anon., Banner of Truth, p.20; R. Tichborne, The Rest of Faith (1649), p.46.
5. Aspinwall, Brief Description, p.13.

As a result of these changes, the Fifth Monarchists guaranteed everlasting happiness. God would fill the saints 'with joy and rejoycing and turn their mourning into joy, so that they shall not sorrow any more at all.' Aspinwall promised 'glory and happines', and Danvers spoke of 'when Jerusalem shall be a rejoycing and her people a joy'.[1] John Bunyan, a millenarian though not a Fifth Monarchist, looked forward to when it would be 'always summer, always sunshine, always pleasant, green, fruitful, and beautiful'. 'All the spiders, and dragons, and owls and foul spirits of Antichrist' would be destroyed, whilst the 'pretty robins' would 'most sweetly send forth their pleasant notes.'[2]

Several contemporaries realized that it was these general and sweeping promises that attracted mass support. Thurloe reflected cynically that though the Fifth Monarchists 'speake great words of ...the beautifull kingdom of holies, which they would erect...yet the baits they lay to catch men with are taking away of taxes, excise, customs, and tithes'. Another critic observed that to stir up men to sedition they made 'large promises...of Health, Wealth, Peace, Protection.'[3] A more sympathetic commentator appreciated that 'Men variously impoverished by the long troubles, full of discontents, and tired by long expectation of amendment must needs have great propensions to hearken to those that proclaim times of

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1. Cary, Little Horns Doom, p.74; Aspinwall, Brief Description, p.13; Danvers, Theopolis, p.39.

2. J. Bunyan, The Holy City, in Works, ed. G. Offor (1862),iii. 409,459.

3. Thurloe,vi.185; T. Hall, Chiliasto-mastix redivivus (1657), p.53.

refreshing - a golden age - at hand.'[1] It seems probable that the appeal of Fifth Monarchism to the rank and file was based on the three considerations of vengeance on their social superiors, the end of all taxation, and a generalized vision of future bliss.

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1. R. Vaughan, The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1839),i.156.

CHAPTER 7

FIFTH MONARCHISTS AND THE REFORM OF THE LAW

A demand for drastic reforms in the law was one of the most frequent items in Fifth Monarchist programmes. The saints' concern was shared not merely by the radical movements of the interregnum but since the early sixteenth century and throughout society. This preoccupation represented the convergence of several sources of discontent. There was firstly a long tradition of resentment at the corruption of the lawyers. Secondly there was a belief among lower social classes that the organization and content of the law made it an instrument of social oppression. More recently, the rapid movement of parts of society towards commerce and industry convinced more influential groups that traditional law was unsatisfactory.[1]

The Fifth Monarchists were concerned with the administration, organization and content of the law. Complaints at the lawyers' greed and corruption were traditional. There were often long delays in deciding suits, which were seen as a device to increase fees. The court of Chancery was said to have a back-log of 23,000 cases.[2] Fees and 'gifts' were payable to the lawyer, the judge, the prison-officer and, as a Fifth Monarchist condemned to death discovered, even to the hangman to secure a speedy departure from

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1. For a summary see E. W. Ives, ed., The English Revolution, 1600-1660 (1968), pp.115-30.

2. L.D., 'An exact relation' (1654) in Somers Tracts,vi.275.

the world.[1] Another major grievance was the centralization of justice, which produced further delays and compelled the poor to travel to London on trivial matters. John Jones of Neath, Glamorgan, complained that poor men were brought from Yorkshire and Cornwall to appear in cases involving no more than five shillings, on pain of outlawry.[2] These abuses made it difficult for anyone to obtain justice, and put the law entirely out of the reach of the poor. The popular legends of Gamelyn and Robin Hood, dating from the fourteenth century, embodied the belief that justice could only be found outside the law: the climax of Gamelyn's tale shows the hero executing corrupt justices, sheriff and jury.[3] There could be little hope of justice against the gentleman who was also the local Justice of the Peace. There was equally little justice in the system whereby punishment was made to fit the status of the criminal rather than the crime. Whipping and mutilation were confined to the lower classes, and the outcry when Prynne lost his ears sprang from the fact that he was a gentleman, not from the brutality of the sentence in itself.[4] The poor would probably have agreed with the assertion of the German Anabaptist Thomas Müntzer that the nobility were guilty of colossal robbery in sharing out the land between themselves, and yet dared to hang the poor for

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1. Anon., A Narrative of the Apprehending...of John James (1662), p.26.

2. J. Jones, Works (1650), pp.104-5. (Not to be confused with the Fifth Monarchist John Jones.)

3. M. Keen, The Outlaws of Medieval Legend (1961), pp.78-173.

4. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (1966 edn.), pp.385-7.

petty theft.[1] Oliver Cromwell conceded that the law, 'as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor.'[2]

In this sphere, the complaints of the Fifth Monarchists were very similar to those of other groups. John Rogers, for example, condemned the 'Norman' language of the laws, and complained of the centralization which made suitors come to London, 'to wait there for justice four, five, six, eight, or ten years in Law, till the Norman Lawyers have made themselves rich by removing suits out of one Court into another, any by retarding of justice, to the ruine of the Client.'[3]

Something was done during the interregnum to meet these complaints. The Rump ordered that all legal proceedings and records should be in English, and established a committee which considered more far-reaching plans. The Barebones assembly produced more radical, though abortive, proposals, and the first Protectorate Parliament made some short-lived modifications to Chancery. But most plans were obstructed by the unwavering opposition of almost all lawyers. 'We cannot mention the reformation of the law,' Cromwell complained, 'but they presently cry out, we design to destroy propriety'.[4]

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1. N. Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium (1962 edn.), pp.262-3.

2. E. Ludlow, Memoirs, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894),i.246.

3. J. Rogers, Sagrir (1653), pp.49-51. On the 'Norman Yoke' see below, p.224

4. G. B. Nourse, 'Law Reforms under the Commonwealth and Protectorate', Law Quart. Rev.,lxxv (1959), pp.512-29; M. Cotterell, 'Interregnum law reform: the Hale Commission of 1652', Eng.Hist. Rev.,lxxxiii (1968), pp.689-704; Ludlow, Memoirs,i.246.

These minor changes did not appease the radicals. The Fifth Monarchists sought the total abolition of the legal profession and of all existing law courts. They called for the total abolition of fees, and for the layman's right to plead his own cause.[1] It was claimed that the Barebones Parliament, in which they had an active group, had defeated by only one vote a motion to banish all lawyers from London, as no longer necessary.[2] Merely to adopt the English language in law was not a sufficient defence against the lawyers. '_Are not the_ Lawyers _as compleat_ Knaves _in plaine_ English _as they are in their_ other language?' asked John Rogers. The whole legal profession must be abolished and not replaced.[3] Rogers also suggested a land register in each county to record mortgages and land transactions, which would reduce litigation.[4]

Other radical groups, including the Levellers and Quakers, produced similar proposals, calling for the reduction of fees, the simplification of procedure, the right of laymen to plead their own causes and the codification of the law.[5]

Nothing was done to alter the organization of the courts, though this was one of the radicals' chief concerns. The Levellers

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1. Rogers, _Sagrir_, p.139; J. Spittlehouse, _The Royall Advocate_ (1655), _sig._ A4.

2. Bodl. MS Clar. 47,f.43: newsletter, 4 Nov. 1653.

3. Rogers, _Ohel_ (1653), pp.222-3; Rogers, _Sagrir_, p.62.

4. Bodl. MS. Rawl. A 47,f.34: Rogers to Cromwell, ?Dec. 1653/Jan. 1654.

5. S. Prall, _The Agitation for Law Reform_ (The Hague, 1966), _passim_; H.N. Brailsford, _The Levellers and the English Revolution_ (1961), pp.531,535; W. Schenk, _The Concern for Social Justice_ (1948), p.124.

called for the abolition of all central courts, including Chancery, and of central judges on circuit. They argued that all cases should be tried locally before elected judges and juries.[1] The Independent minister Hugh Peter suggested that each hundred should choose three peace-makers each year to settle small disputes. Legal offices should be elective, and there should be no appeal outside the county where the case originated.[2] John Brayne, minister of the Soke, Winchester, derived from the Bible a plan for permanent judges in each city, with a supreme sanhedrin of 72 judges as the highest appeal.[3] The Fifth Monarchists Rogers, Spittlehouse and Chamberlen called for judges to be elected in each city. Rogers also urged that each shire should choose six men to settle causes over land, trespass, or assault and battery, before a jury.[4] The manifesto of Venner's rising in 1657 elaborated a scheme by which a court was to meet each month in every market town for minor cases, and in each county town every three months for major cases, with a supreme council for appeals. The judges and officials were not to be chosen by all the free men, as the Levellers proposed, but by the 'Lord's Freemen', the members of the gathered churches.[5]

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1. Brailsford, Levellers, pp.531-2.

2. H. Peter, Good Work for a Good Magistrate (1651), pp.29,38-42.

3. J. Brayne, The New Earth (1653), p.5, citing 2 Chron. xix.5 and Deut. xvi.18. For Brayne see Biog. App.

4. Rogers, Sagrir, p.139; Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate, sig. A3v.; Chamberlen, The Declaration and Proclamation of the Army of God (1659), p.4; MS. Rawl. A 47,f.34: Rogers to Cromwell.

5. W. Medley, A Standard Set Up (1657), pp.17-18.

The Fifth Monarchists were unanimous in seeking not to reform but to abolish Chancery, and they found widespread support when they attempted in the Barebones Parliament to abolish it.[1] They intended to abolish all existing courts, and attacked Chancery first probably because it was so widely unpopular. But it was felt too that the distinction of a court of equity and an ordinary court proved that there was no equity in common law.[2] In the millennium, Chancery would be unnecessary. 'Was there ever sutes for Title of Land heard of in all the worst of Kings of Israel?' asked Peter Chamberlen. The adoption of God's laws would 'end all sutes in a day, and payes all Debts without Arrests or Imprisonments.'[3]

Decentralization and the abolition of the lawyers' privileges would go far towards ending the rôle of the law as an instrument of social oppression. This objective was stressed repeatedly. Venner's manifesto emphasized that justice must be 'without respect of Persons, or taking of gifts and bribes' and demanded that 'no person of what Ranck, Degree, or Qualitie soever be priviledged from law.' 'What do Priviledges signifie', Chamberlen asked, 'saving thou shalt not Steal, but I may.'[4] John More took offence at the Protector's right to pardon offences other than murder and treason, for it '<u>made void</u>' God's law, which 'appointeth death in other cases.'[5]

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1. See above, pp.79,83.
2. A. Boon, <u>Examen Legum Angliae</u> (1656), p.45.
3. P. Chamberlen, <u>Legislative Power in Problemes</u> (1659), p.5 (misprint for 4).
4. Medley, <u>Standard Set Up</u>, pp.16,17,19; Chamberlen, <u>Legislative Power</u>, p.5; T. Higgenson, <u>Sighs for Righteousness</u> (1654), p.10.
5. J. More, <u>A Trumpet sounded</u> (1654), p.17.

The Fifth Monarchists, like many others, wanted to change the content as well as the administration of the law. The growth of commerce and industry rendered old laws inadequate and obstructive. It has been argued that L. C. J. Coke tried to by-pass the problem by giving judgements favourable to the business community on the basis of a single precedent, even against the whole stream of tradition, although recently this has been disputed.[1] Others thought that the laws would have to be altered by Parliament. James I in 1607 spoke of 'the obscuritie...want of fulnesse and variation' of the laws, and called for the 'clearing and the sweeping off' of most of them. Francis Bacon urged the codification of the law, with the repeal of obsolete laws and the enactment of new statutes where necessary.[2]

Further pressure for reforms derived from the humanists' realization that crime was produced by the failings of society as well as those of the criminal. Sir Thomas More pointed out that society first created thieves and then hanged them. Thomas Starkey ascribed to Cardinal Pole the view that the laws were unjustifiably barbarous as well as ineffective.[3] Oliver Cromwell accepted this

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1. Hill, Society and Puritanism, pp.153-9; R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (1938 edn.), pp.165-8, 236; D. O. Wagner, 'Coke and the Rise of Economic Liberalism', Econ. Hist.Rev.,vi (1935-6), pp.30-44; B. Malament, 'The "Economic Liberalism" of Sir Edward Coke', Yale Law Journal,lxxvi (1966-7), pp.1321-58.

2. James I, The Political Works, ed. C. H. McIlwain (New York, 1965), pp.292-3; F. Bacon, Works, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, D. D. Heath (1857-74),v.98-100,xii.41,84-6,xiii.57-71,xiv.181, 358-64.

3. A. B. Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham, N. Carolina, 1965), esp. chap. 7; T. More, The Complete Works, ed. E. Surtz and J. H. Hexter (New Haven and London, 1965), iv.71; T. Starkey, A Dialogue between...Pole...and Lupset, ed. K. M. Burton (1948), pp.114-5,174.

reasoning, and declared that 'to hang a man for sixpence, three-pence, I know not what;...This is a thing God will reckon for.'[1]

Material interests were involved as well as humanitarian ones. In early capitalist society criminals were seen as potential cheap labourers. Existing practices seemed irrational, for executing a thief did not restore stolen goods, and gaoling a debtor did not help the creditor. Both More and Starkey urged that the thief should be spared, but should be put to work by the state, and made to repay the goods stolen.[2] Most of the radical reformers of the interregnum wanted to abolish the death penalty for theft and the imprisonment of debtors, ten thousand of whom were said to be languishing in prison.[3]

There seems to be little connection between these rational and humanitarian proposals, and the Fifth Monarchists' demand for the restoration of the Mosaic Code, which brought them abuse and ridicule. Marchamont Needham, journalist and government propagandist, mocked the saints for wishing to bring in the 'whole Catalogue of old dreaming Rabbies, to justle out Coke and Littleton.' The saints were stung by the allegations of 'that blasphemous Rabshakeh, Needham' that everyone would have to be 'seven years apprentice to Moses'.[4] Cromwell feared the effect of the Mosaic laws, open to the

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1. W. C. Abbott, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, iv.274.

2. More, Works, iv.77; Starkey, Dialogue, p.177; G. Rusche and O. Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structure (New York, 1939), esp. pp.24-52.

3. Brailsford, Levellers, pp.127-8,531,649; Schenk, Concern for Social Justice, p.124.

4. The Observator, 1 (24-31 Oct. 1654), p.8; Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate, sig. A4.

subjective interpretation of anyone, however ignorant, would be 'the confusion of all things.' A member of Barebones feared it would 'shortly have introduced the bitterest and sorest persecution.' A number of Presbyterian ministers expressed the fear in 1654 that the Mosaic laws would lead not to the kingdom of Christ but a new Egyptian bondage.[1]

The Fifth Monarchists were not prepared to accept partial alterations within the existing laws. 'It is not enough to change some of these Lawes, and so to reforme them (as is intended by most of you),' John Rogers told the members of Barebones. 'O no: that wil be to poor purpose, and it is not your worke now, which is to provide for the Fifth [Monarchy]...by bringing in the Lawes of God given by Moses.'[2] Almost every Fifth Monarchist pamphlet demanded the establishment of the Law of God, though many did not particularize beyond that. When on trial for treason, Harrison and several of Venner's followers demanded to be tried by the Law of God, and so did John James, 'at which the lawyers gave a great hiss.'[3] Though Rogers asserted that law should be based on reason and the will of the people, he argued that God's law represented pure reason and the real popular will.[4]

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1. Abbott, Writings and Speeches,iv.489; anon., An Answer to a Paper (1653), p.3; H. Chambers et al., An Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wilts. (1654), p.16.

2. Rogers, Sagrir, sig. A4-v.

3. H. Finch, earl of Nottingham, An Exact and most Impartial Accompt of the..Trial..of Twenty nine Regicides (1660), pp.21,30; Somers Tracts,vii.470; T. B. Howell, A Complete Collection of State Trials,vi (1816), p.75.

4. Rogers, Sagrir, pp.32ff,45,137,139.

It is necessary to examine what the saints meant by 'God's law'. It was generally agreed that the term covered three separate branches. First there was the moral law, that is, the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.[1] Secondly there was the judicial law, the various judgements for infringing these rules, contained mostly in the five Books of Moses. Lastly there was the ceremonial law, the rules and statutes of Aaron governing the Jewish church, its feasts, rituals and sacrifices. Christian churches had preserved a large degree of unity concerning these laws. In seventeenth-century England all (except the Ranters and other antinomian and perfectionist sects) agreed that the moral laws were still in force, as a moral guide. All agreed that with the coming of Christ's church the ceremonial law was 'utterly abolished.'[2] Until the rise of the Fifth Monarchists it was also generally agreed that the judicial laws had applied only to the ancient state of Israel, and were now irrelevant. As long as a nation's laws were generally in accord with the moral law, theologians were willing to accept the right of the magistrate to alter details as times and circumstances demanded. Calvin taught that laws might vary from place to place as long as they did not infringe equity, which was the basis of the moral law. Bishop Hooper thought it sufficient that laws did not actually contradict God's law.[3] The Puritan Richard Sibbes

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1. Exod. xx; Deut. v; Matt. v-vii.

2. Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate, p.6; though see below, pp.270-1.

3. C. D. Cremeans, The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England (Urbana, 1949), pp.12,13,106; The Later Writings of Bishop Hooper, ed. C. Nevinson, Parker Society, xlvi (1852), p.77.

thought the Old Testament laws were full of 'difficulty and obscurity', and when William Gouge noted the difference between Jewish and current penalties for breaching the Sabbath, he seemed to feel that it was the Old Testament penalty for which excuses needed to be found.[1] The fact that thieves were now executed instead of making multiple restitution, as in Israel, was justified because 'the necessitie is greater amongst us', and, by William Perkins, because the Jews were richer than the English so that property had been of relatively less importance.[2]

The Fifth Monarchists were prepared to accept that the ceremonial laws were defunct. But they demanded the full implementation of the judicial laws. The fact that these would be wholly inadequate for regulating disputes over property or commercial matters was hardly noticed. Chamberlen said simply that such disputes would not exist in the millennium. Rogers, who alone faced the problem, was compelled to abandon the Bible and suggest a land register.[3]

None of the Fifth Monarchist pamphleteers gave a full account of the projected code, and there is no sign that any made a systematic study of the Old Testament references. Aspinwall observed merely that they 'lye scattered up and down in the holy Scriptures'. Though he published a list of crimes and their biblical penalties,

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1. R. Sibbes, Complete Works, ed. A. B. Grosart (edinburgh, 1862-4), iv.204; W. Gouge, Annotations Upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament (2nd edn., 1651), note on Numb. xv.35 (unpaginated).

2. J. Weemse, An Explication of the Iudiciall Lawes of Moses (1632), p.148; W. Perkins, Works (1612-3),i.64;cf. C.H. and K. George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation (Princeton, New Jersey, 1961), pp.225ff.

3. Above, pp.208,210.

this was taken from the projected Mosaic law-code for Massachusetts, drawn up by the New England minister, John Cotton.[1] Otherwise the saints were content to refer to the works of John Brayne and of A. Boon, otherwise unknown, which set out the commandments, statutes and judgements. Neither Brayne nor Boon was a Fifth Monarchist.[2]

The saints' pamphlets suggest that they were interested in two specific areas of the law rather than with the problem as a whole. They were preoccupied firstly with the laws relating to theft and debt, and secondly with those regulating personal morality, mainly sexual but also covering observance of the Sabbath and obedience to parents. Many writers stressed the judicial laws concerning theft and debt, by which the restitution of stolen goods and the repayment of the debt would replace the existing penalties of death and imprisonment respectively. Most urged severer penalties for sexual offences, though often in vague terms. Rogers claimed it was '<u>manslaughter</u> to put any to death for <u>mere theft</u>', and wicked and cruel to gaol debtors. He suggested that thieves should be sold into hard labour, or otherwise put to work to pay back what they had stolen.[3] The manifestoes of Venner's risings called for God's law in its entirety, but ignoring moral offences

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1. W. Aspinwall, <u>A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy</u> (1653), p.9; Aspinwall, <u>The Legislative Power</u> (1656), pp.30-2; J. Cotton, <u>An Abstract of Laws</u> (1655), <u>passim</u>.

2. Brayne, <u>New Earth</u>, pp.12-78: cited by Rogers, <u>Sagrir</u>, p.114; Spittlehouse, <u>Royall Advocate</u>, p.29. A. Boon, <u>Examen Legum</u>, <u>passim</u>: cited by anon. <u>The Fifth Monarchy..Asserted</u> (1659), p.51; anon., <u>The Old Leaven Purged</u> (1658), p.11

3. Rogers, <u>Sagrir</u>, pp.81,109.

specified only that thieves should be set to work to restore the value of what they had taken, and that there should be relief for the 'abuses and oppressions' afflicting both creditors and debtors. Chamberlen called for debtors to be freed and set to work to pay back what they owed. He urged also strict penalties against sexual offenders, though without giving details.[1] Spittlehouse considered that in condemning thieves, judges were condemning themselves to eternal damnation.[2] Of all the Fifth Monarchist writers, only Aspinwall and Spittlehouse said specifically that all moral offences should be punished by death if they had been in Israel, though More also implied this.[3] When the saints' general demands are broken down into detailed proposals, they seem for the most part quite closely in line with other contemporary suggestions. It was the justification they gave for their legal proposals which was most exceptional.

Two problems surround the Fifth Monarchist attitude to law: why the pamphleteers believed that the judicial laws of Moses were still valid, and why the Mosaic laws proved a popular part of the saints' programme. The idea was certainly contrary to the whole tradition of Christian thought, but it was not in fact unique, and to some extent the Fifth Monarchists may have been influenced by earlier advocates. The saints were fond of citing the tradition

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1. Medley, Standard Set Up, p.15; anon., A Door of Hope (1661), p.5; Chamberlen, Declaration and Proclamation, p.5; Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.3.

2. J. Spittlehouse, The first Addresses to..the Lord General (1653), p.17.

3. Aspinwall, Legislative Power, pp.30-1; Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p.21; J. More, Trumpet Sounded, p.17.

that the mythical British king, Lucius, as well as Alfred the Great, had modelled their laws on the Ten Commandments.[1] The Lollards had held a number of views similar to the Fifth Monarchists'. Wyclif attacked the profiteering lawyers and argued that men were not bound to obey laws not based on scripture. He condemned the view that 'sinful men's laws, full of error, be more needful than the gospel.' William Swynderby condemned the imprisonment of debtors.[2] Walter Brute, preaching in 1392, declared it was 'to be wondered at, why thieves are, among Christians, for theft put to death, when after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to live, Sodomites, and they who curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners; ...So we neither keep the law of righteousness given by God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.' This sermon was printed by Foxe, and was thus readily available in the seventeenth century.[3] The chronicler, Henry of Knighton, claimed that the cry 'Legem dei, Goddis lawe', was the watchword of the Lollard movement.[4]

The orthodox position did not change after the Reformation, but there was a revived interest in the judicial law. When attacking sexual immorality, Bishop Latimer declared 'I would wish that

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1. For example, Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.5 (misprint for 4).
2. The English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unpublished, ed. F. D. Matthew, E.E.T.S.,lxxiv (1880) pp.184-5; Chronicon Angliae, ed. E. M. Thompson, Rolls Series, lxiv (1874), pp.321,340; Wyclif, Select English Works, ed. T. Arnold (Oxford, 1869-71),i.96,ii. 230-1,iii.153. (Spelling modernized.)
3. J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J. Pratt (1877),iii.160.
4. Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed. J. R. Lumby, Rolls Series, xcii-b (1895), p.186.

Moses's law were restored for punishment of lechery'.[1] Thomas Cartwright denied that 'any magistrate can save the life of blasphemers, contemptuous and stubborn idolaters, murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and such like.' Archbishop Whitgift complained in 1574 that 'it is now disputed at every table, whether the magistrate be of necessity bound to the judicials of Moses, so that he may not punish otherwise than is there prescribed...; which is most absurd,...and...seditious.'[2] Philip Stubbes demanded death for blasphemy following the Mosaic code, 'which law judicial standeth in force to the world's end.' The Brownists were convinced that the judicial laws were 'not made for the Jewes' state only (as Mr. Calvine hath taught) but for all mankind.'[3] Amongst some Puritans there was a feeling of uncertainty. William Perkins stated that some judicial laws applied only to Israel and were defunct, but that others dealing with such matters as murder and adultery were of universal application. Archbishop Ussher held a similar view.[4]

There was also interest in the judicial laws on the continent. In 1534 the Anabaptists of Münster drew up a legal code which restored the capital offences of the Bible, such as blasphemy,

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1. J. W. Blench, Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Oxford, 1964), p.274.

2. J. Whitgift, Works, ed. J. Ayre, Parker Soc.,xliv,xlviii,1 (1851-3),i.270,272,iii.576.

3. T. Rogers, The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England, ed. J. J. S. Perowne, Parker Soc.,lii (1854), pp.90-1; The Writings of Henry Barrow, 1587-90, ed. L. H. Carlson (1962), p.414.

4. Perkins, Works,i.520-1; J. Ussher, A Body of Divinitie (1645),

adultery and disobedience to parents, as well as imposing death for theft, begging and even greed.[1] The radical German reformers Müntzer and Carlstadt were in favour of restoring the judicial laws. Martin Bucer, a more moderate reformer, envisaged a religious utopia in England in which no law would be valid unless derived immediately from Christ's laws and the Ten Commandments.[2]

It is difficult to assess how far the Fifth Monarchists were influenced by, or even aware of these precedents. They certainly knew Foxe's works, which incorporated Lollard beliefs, they knew something about Münster, and John Rogers referred to Carlstadt's statement that 'he would have all Magistrates to rule by the Judicials of Moses.'[3] They were definitely influenced by more recent precedents, especially in America. In 1636 John Cotton had drawn up a body of laws for Massachusetts, based almost wholly on the Mosaic code, and demanding death for blasphemy and adultery, and restitution for theft. This proposal was not accepted, but the code adopted in 1648 adopted these features. It also served as a model for the laws of New Haven, where in 1644 the General Court declared that the judicial laws of Moses should be the colony's code.[4] Disappointed with New England, Cotton's followers

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1. H. von Kerssenbroch, Anabaptistici Furoris...Narratio, ed. D. H. Detmer (Münster, 1899-1900), pp.579-81.
2. G. H. Williams, ed., Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers (1957), pp.47-8; C. Hopf, Martin Bucer and the English Reformation (Oxford, 1946), pp.101-6; W. Pauck, Das Reich Gottes auf Erden (Berlin, 1928), pp.23,45-6; Pauck, 'Martin Bucer's Conception of a Christian State', Princeton Theolog. Rev.,xxvi (1928), pp.80-8.
3. J. Rogers, Jegar-Sahadutha (1657), epistle to the Reader.
4. G. L. Haskins, Law and Authority in Early Massachusetts (New York, 1960), pp.125ff.; I. M. Calder, 'John Cotton and the New Haven Colony', New England Quart.,iii (1930), pp.82-4.

looked towards the mother country at the approach of the civil war. His code was published in London in 1641 with the inaccurate but hopefully persuasive title An Abstract of the Lawes of New England, As they are now established. The following year Cotton urged all states to reintroduce the Mosaic laws and penalties.[1] Aspinwall returned from New England, republished Cotton's code, and, as mentioned above, based his own skeletal law system upon it.[2] John Eliot, the New England 'apostle to the Indians', also demanded the restoration of the judicial laws. So did Hugh Peter, another returning colonist, who claimed that 'the Moral Law is doubtless best; to which Moses's judicials added, with Solomon's Rules and experiments, will bee compleat.' Existing legal records, including those in the Tower, should then be burnt.[3] Thus there was a considerable tradition of advocacy for the Mosaic Laws, and the Fifth Monarchists were certainly aware of at least part of it.

The saints' legal ideas were no doubt also influenced by their general attraction to all things Jewish. The institutions and laws of the first chosen people were naturally attractive to the second, consciously seeking to build a New Jerusalem.[4]

The Fifth Monarchists themselves explained their support for the judicial laws by arguing that God had commanded them and had never revoked this command. They cited Christ's words, 'Think not

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1. J. Cotton, The Powring out of the Seven Vials (1642), 3rd vial, p.21.

2. Above, pp.215-16.

3. J. Eliot, The Christian Commonwealth (1659), sig. B3, p.35; Peter, Good Work, pp.32-3.

4. See below, pp.254-6.

that I am come to destroy the Law', and those of the Apostles: 'Do we then make void the law..?God forbid:...we establish the law.'[1] Though Christ had rejected death for adultery, Spittlehouse explained that this was only because the true law could not be enforced, owing to the Roman occupation of Israel.[2] The Norfolk petitioners of 1649 argued that since God had supplied the law, it would be a 'sin,..to set up the dim light of nature for our law.' The law was already complete and 'practicable within one Moneth', and Thomas Higgenson argued that 'nothing might be diminished, because it was one, nor anything added thereto, because it was perfect.' 'Can men make Lawes better than God?' Rogers asked the Barebones Parliament. 'Then if Moses dare not set up any other Lawes,...how dare you?'[3] Chamberlen insisted that law came only from God, and not 'from Kings (as some would have it) or (as others say) from the People, who themselves never had it.' He argued that the judicial laws were eternal, asking 'Whether Time or Place, Nation or Sex alter that Law? or whether God be altered that made it? so that, what was Idolatry, Blasphemy, Murther, Adultery, Theft, or Fals Witness so long agoe in Palestine among the Jewes; is it not so now in England among the Gentiles?' To those who said that law should be based on reason and precedent,

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1. Matt. v.17; Romans iii.31, both quoted by Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate, p.5.

2. Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p.23.

3. Anon., Certain Quaeres (1649), p.8; Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.2; T. Higgenson, Sighs for Righteousness (1654), p.19; Rogers, Sagrir, sig. A4v.

he replied that there could be no one more rational than God, and no precedent older than the Books of Moses.[1]

The saints thus rested their position on an objective interpretation of the biblical texts, and it would be impossible to deny their great reliance on the letter of Scripture. Nevertheless, the disproportionate importance they gave to the problems of theft and debt suggests that they were attracted to specific doctrines which earlier teachers, equally bibliocentric, had found less appealing or unacceptable. Moreover, their omission of the judicial law's condemnation of usury, which Brayne did include, suggests they were not wholly dispassionate.[2] Their programme seems to have been one attractive to the small producers, sharing the aspirations of mercantilist society. Usury was accepted tacitly. The relief of debtors meant also the security of the creditors, and the reprieve of the thief meant the return of the value of the goods stolen. Humanitarianism coincided with the better protection of property. Only one of the Fifth Monarchist writers was sufficiently impartial to include a Biblical teaching which protected debtors at the expense of creditors, namely, the Old Testament law that debts were quashed after seven years.[3] The other pamphleteers failed to notice the point.

Many of the saints were not independent producers but journeymen, labourers and apprentices, who would not have been influenced by these same considerations. But they would equally have no

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1. Chamberlen, Legislative Power, pp.2,3,5 (misprint for 4).
2. Brayne, New Earth, p.70; see above, p.194.
3. Aspinwall, Legislative Power, pp.30-2.

reason to support the ferocious and repressive laws which defended the privileges of the property-owning classes. More important, the Fifth Monarchist preachers were able to stir up popular hatred against the lawyers by portraying them as an integral part of the Antichristian Fourth Monarchy and of an alien tyranny. The saints fitted the lawyers into the popular myth of the 'Norman Yoke'. Chamberlen claimed that the lawyer 'enslaves us to the Norman Tyranny', and Spittlehouse alleged that existing laws were derived from the 'corrupt reason of William the Conqueror.'[1] Rogers's work Sagrir suggested there was a vast conspiracy of lawyers and landowners to oppress the nation, and he called for the 'Peoples Liberties from the Norman and Babylonian Yokes'. He ascribed all the abuses in the content and administration of the law to the Norman Conquest, and also cited Domesday Book to prove that heavy taxation was a Norman innovation. By denouncing King William and all his successors as the little horn of Daniel vii.8, Rogers contrived to blend Norman and Biblical propaganda. He placed the whole civil war in the Norman context, arguing that 'Oliver the Conquerer went out to War, and ingaged against the Normans,...for the people, to free them from tyranny.[2] So the lawyer ceased to be a remote, irrelevant figure, and became a natural target for popular hatred.

The Fifth Monarchists' extreme penalties for immoral behaviour, especially sexual offences, were largely in line with general

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1. Chamberlen, Legislative Power, p.6 (misprint for 5); Spittlehouse, First Addresses, p.17; see on the Norman Yoke C. Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1962 edn.), pp.50-122.

2. Rogers, Sagrir, title page, pp.39,47,49,51,56-8,81,89,110,125.

Puritan thinking. The Rump actually passed measures establishing the death penalty for adultery, incest and blasphemy, and severe penalties for swearing and for profanation of the Sabbath.[1] The literal implications of the saints' programme were, of course, even more bloodthirsty, though few writers actually specified the extensive use of the death penalty.[2] Edward Stennet, on the fringe of the movement, called for the judicial laws, but added that many of the Old Testament magistrates had used leniency.[3] It is possible that many saints knew only the outlines, not the details of the Mosaic code. John Cowell declared that he left Stennet's church in horror when he discovered, after at least thirteen years' membership, that the judicial law laid down the death penalty for profanation of the Sabbath.[4]

The exact beliefs of most members are unobtainable, though it is clear that they supported rigorous discipline. Perhaps in part this can be traced back to the taste of urban craftsmen for the productive virtues of sobriety and discipline. Perhaps too it represents the common sectarian rejection of conventional moral behaviour.[5] Their emphasis on the godly life, like their belief in themselves as the elect, served to justify to themselves their

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1. Nourse, 'Law Reform', p.517.
2. See above, p.217.
3. E. Stennet, The Royall Law Contended for (2nd edn., 1667), pp.26-7. For Stennet see Biog. App.
4. J. Cowell, The Snare Broken (1677), pp.46-51.
5. W. Stark, The Sociology of Religion (1966-7),ii.184-97.

self-appointed rôle as God's true magistracy commissioned to wreak divine vengeance on the 'swaggering gentry' and 'naughty Nobles'.[1]

The demand for the Mosaic Laws appeared to contemporaries to be unique and bizarre. Yet there was a considerable tradition in England of advocating the judicial laws of Moses. Moreover, reduced to specific proposals, the Fifth Monarchists' programme fitted into the context of the general demand for law reforms to correspond to the changing shape of society. Their demands were closely related to those of other radical movements, and to the social and political aspirations of the saints themselves.

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1. Anon., The Failing and Perishing of Good Men (1663), p.13; Rogers, Ohel, introd., p.11.

CHAPTER 8

THE RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL ATTITUDES OF THE FIFTH MONARCHISTS

The Fifth Monarchists were hated and feared by their contemporaries as a social and political threat, and their religious beliefs were often dismissed as hypocrisy. But the religious convictions of the saints were an integral part of their outlook. The manifesto of Venner's rising in 1657 proclaimed the saints' trust in the love of God, so that 'to us to die is gain, and to live is gain; so that tribulation, nor distresse, or persecution, or Famine, or nakednesse, or peril, or sword; neither Death nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities,...shall be able to separate us, from the love of God.'[1]

The Fifth Monarchists, however, are not easy to classify in religious terms. They never matched the common declarations of faith and practice which contemporary sects, such as the General and Particular Baptists and the Congregationalists achieved quite quickly, nor their degree of organization.[2] There was nothing unique in their faith or worship. They differed from the Baptists and Congregationalists only in certain details of eschatology and

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1. W. Medley, A Standard Set Up (1657), p.24.

2. Anon., The Confession of Faith, of those Churches..called Anabaptists (1644); Declaration of the Faith and Order..in the Congregational Churches (1658); W. T. Whitley, ed., Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches,i (1909); B. R. White, 'The Organization of the Particular Baptists, 1644-1660', Journ. Eccles. Hist.,xvii (1966), pp.209-26.

in their political attitude. But they saw themselves as a distinct group, and possessed some rudimentary form of organization, and their meetings had a religious as well as political function. The Fifth Monarchists were a sect, though an amorphous one, but their genesis was political rather than religious.

The Fifth Monarchists were drawn largely from the ranks of existing Baptists and Congregationalists, from whom they derived their concept of the Church and worship. The true church was a 'gathered congregation', a voluntary body of those who were convinced they had been saved by God's grace, and were thus the 'elect', and who separated themselves from society. The elect were an unspecified but small proportion of the population, Spittlehouse apparently thinking in terms of one-quarter.[1] The unregenerate were excluded from the gathered church, though where a minister of these ideas held a parochial living during the interregnum, a compromise was sometimes reached by which most services were public, but only the elect were allowed communion. Thomas Palmer was prosecuted in 1658 for refusing communion to his parishioners.[2] Each gathered church was a sovereign body, and every member had the right to speak and to choose officers.[3] Spittlehouse argued that it was not

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1. C. Feake, The Oppressed Close Prisoner (1655), p.96; J. Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd (1650), p.250. On the gathered churches, see G. F. Nuttall, Visible Saints (Oxford, 1957) and The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (2nd edn. Oxford, 1947); J. Browne, History of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk (1877); R. Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Societies (1876).

2. A. Palmer, A Scripture-Rale (1654), passim; A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), p.380.

3. Anon., Some Considerations (1658), p.17.

essential to have officers at all, and congregations sometimes went for several years without a pastor.[1] The Fifth Monarchists retained the traditional three regular officers, the pastor, elders and deacons. In some congregations, such as that of Pendarves, some of the pastor's functions were given to a separate officer, the 'teacher'. Woodall, however, called this unscriptural, and Chamberlen held both offices at once, though this caused some resentment.[2] Many writers insisted that preaching should be restricted to ordained ministers, but it was conceded generally that anyone with an 'immediate infallible revelation' from God could preach. Claims to such revelation were not always scrutinized closely, and the church at Abingdon had at least four regular preachers besides its pastor.[3] More radical saints argued that true ordination came only from God, and not from men at all.[4]

The rights of the inspired raised the problem of the rôle of women in the sects, for women too claimed inspiration. Enormous respect was paid to women who appeared to be endowed with divine grace, such as Sarah Wight and the Fifth Monarchist prophetess Anna Trapnel. Mary Cary styled herself a 'Minister', though there

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1. Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, pp.291-2; Browne, Congregationalism, pp.398,461.

2. J. Atherton, The Pastor Turn'd Pope (1654), sig. A4; T. Harmer, Miscellaneous Works (1823),pp.194,197; Bodl. MS.Rawlinson D 828, f.75: Church Book of Lothbury Square.

3. Anon., The Disputes between Mr. Cranford and Dr. Chamberlen (1652), p.5; M. Cary, A Word in Season (1647), p.4; C. Helme, Life in Death (1660), sig. A2v.; E. Chillenden, Preaching without Ordination (1647), passim; Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope, pp.3-5.

4. W. A. (?i.e. Aspinwall), Certaine Queries touching the Ordination of Ministers (1647), passim; T. Weld, Mr. Tillam's Account Examined (1657), appendix; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.85.

is no evidence that she had a congregation. John Rogers's church in Dublin barred women from teaching or being elders, but allowed them to vote and speak on church matters, and to hold the office of deacon. Sister Harrison brought up the issue in Chamberlen's church by claiming equal rights of speech. After a fierce dispute, ordinary women were given no rights at all, but it was agreed that a prophetess might speak, prophesy and pray. Spittlehouse, a member, had argued in favour of women speaking on ordinary church matters.[1] Women also played a part in matters other than spiritual. A list captured by Thurloe in 1657 showed the Fifth Monarchist agent at Lincoln was a woman, Abigail Marshall. There seems to have been a distinct group of 'sisters that meet togeather' in Venner's congregation, and in 1657 they were entrusted with the task of spreading the rebels' manifesto. In the 1661 rising, a woman rebel was alleged to have been 'taken all in Armour.'[2] The Fifth Monarchists did not try to raise the status of women inside the family, except to place obedience to the church above that to the husband, despite accusations that they wished to emancipate wives from their husbands. Nevertheless, the weakening of masculine supremacy in the sect must have had some impact on the family.[3]

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1. See K. V. Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', in T. Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe,1560-1660 (1965, pp.317-40; G. F. Nuttall, James Nayler: A Fresh Approach (1954), passim; M. Cary, The Resurrection of the Witnesses (1648), title page; J. Rogers, Ohel (1653), pp.463 (misprinted as 563)-75; MS. Rawl. D 828, fos.30-2; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, p.314. Fox, however, met a 'sort of people' who believed that women had no souls G. Fox, Journal, ed. J. L. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), pp.8-9.

2. Thurloe,vi.187; C. Burrage, 'The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', Eng. Hist. Rev.,xxv (1910), p.735; anon., Londons Glory (1661), p.14.

3. Anon., The Holy Sisters Conspiracy against their Husbands (1661), passim; Thomas, 'Women and the..Sects', p.340.

Membership of the gathered churches was confined to people who had given testimonies to prove their state of grace, and no further test seems to have been imposed when one of these 'visible saints' became a Fifth Monarchist. But some sort of rough orthodoxy was envisaged. Feake declared his wish to purge the movement; Simpson was said to be 'not fully enlightened', and in 1653 Rogers was excluded from the Fifth Monarchists' meetings.[1]

The saints were preoccupied with the imminent world revolution, and probably for this reason failed to create any lasting national organization. They came closest to a regional organization in London, where in 1652 six congregations held regular meetings, and two years later groups from ten churches inaugurated weekly meetings. In 1657 Rogers organized a series of weekly gatherings of saints from at least five churches.[2] In East Anglia there were close links between the Congregationalist churches, in which the Fifth Monarchists shared, but occasionally the Fifth Monarchists held their own assemblies.[3] The supremacy of Vavasor Powell gave some unity to the movement in Wales. Llwyd moved towards quietism, and the next leaders, John Williams and Richard Price, were both disciples of Powell.[4]

There was also a shadowy organization on a national scale. The Fifth Monarchist group in Barebones sent letters to sympathetic

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1. Thurloe, v.759; Clarke Papers, ii. p.xxxv; Rogers, Ohel, introduction, p.69.

2. See above, pp.62, 127-8, 151.

3. Browne, Congregationalism, passim; above, pp.137-8.

4. T. Richards, Religious Developments in Wales, 1654-62 (1923), p.228.

churches throughout the country. At the funeral of Pendarves in 1656 representatives came from many parts of the country, and the list of Fifth Monarchist contacts which was seized in 1657 showed agents in places as distant as Cornwall and Hull. In 1661 there was a report that Medley was acting as a secretary in charge of the national correspondence of the movement.[1] Nevertheless, there were internal divisions among the saints on such matters as infant baptism, the true Sabbath and predestination, and Rogers was probably right when he told Cromwell in 1655 that the Fifth Monarchists were only 'driven by your Sword to love one another.'[2]

The saints naturally regarded national, hierarchical churches, such as the Anglican and attempted Presbyterian systems, as antichristian.[3] Rogers argued that any national church was insufferable, because unbiblical, even if it offered toleration. Feake denied that the clergy of a national church, 'from the highest Archbishop...to the meanest Curate', were true ministers at all.[4] Accordingly, the saints looked with great suspicion upon the Triers, established by Cromwell in 1654 to examine and approve ministers. They saw them as the first step towards a new national church, and compared 'Lord Triers' to 'Lord Bishops'. Only Simpson, currying

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1. See above, pp. 82, 88, 144; SP 29/44, f 267.

2. Anon., The Faithfull Narrative (1655), p.37.

3. Spittlehouse, An Explanation of the Commission (1653), p.6 (misprint for 12); V. Powell, God the Father (1649), pp.57-8; anon., A Door of Hope (1661), p.4.

4. Rogers, Christian Concertation (1659), p.79; Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.93.

favour, defended the Triers, and it was partly on this account that many of his followers seceded.[1]

Several relics of the national church survived in the Protectorate period, notably parochial livings, lay patronage, and tithes. The saints were consistent in condemning lay patrons.[2] Parochial livings were also contrary to the voluntary principle, as the basic unit of the national church, and they were attacked by Feake and Powell. They were said to derive 'their Rise and Authority from Antichrist, supported by the Beast, and for which there is not the least footing in the Word of God.'[3]

But a number of Fifth Monarchists, like some Congregationalists and a few Baptists, did not act in accordance with this principle. Habergham, Stoneham, Postlethwaite, Thomas Palmer and Marsden all held parochial livings until ejected at the Restoration. If less well-known saints are included, and men whose Fifth Monarchy activity was mainly after 1660, the names must be added of Richard Astley, Thomas Baylie, Robert Brown, Camshaw Helme, Anthony Palmer, Timothy Roberts, John Skinner, Richard Swift and Richard Whitehurst. Moreover, John Simpson was rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate (1652-5, '59-62), and several other saints held lectureships.[4]

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1. Anon., The Prophets Malachy and Isaiah Prophesying (1656), epistle by Feake, p.7; anon., Some Considerations, p.1; W. Postlethwaite, A Voice from Heaven (1655), p.85; Thurloe, iv. 382; anon., The Old Leaven Purged (1658), 2nd pagination, p.2.

2. Rogers, Ohel, introd., p.29; Medley, Standard Set Up, p.5; anon., Old Leaven Purged, 1st pagin., p.11; Thurloe, ii.196.

3. Thurloe, iv.381, v.756; anon., The Fifth Monarchy...Asserted (1659), p.52.

4. For all these, see Biographical Appendix, and Matthews, Cal. Rev., passim.

As the interregnum advanced, however, many Fifth Monarchists did reconcile their actions with their principles by resigning their livings. Feake held no living after he was removed from Christ Church, Newgate, in 1655, and he attacked parochial clergy. Rogers held nothing more than a lectureship after he lost the living at Purleigh, Essex, in 1653. Breviter, vicar of North Walsham, resigned his living in 1656, and John Wigan held no further position after resigning as curate of Birch Chapel, Manchester. Powell was probably minister of Dartford, Kent, in 1644, but held no later livings.[1] The 'mechanic' preachers, like Venner, never held livings.

During the interregnum there was strong pressure, especially from the sectarians, for the abolition of the system of tithes, hated because they were oppressive and because they maintained the antichristian church. Such criticisms were not novel, and had been made earlier by the Lollards and the German Anabaptists, amongst others.[2] Most Fifth Monarchists lived in urban areas where tithes had been commuted to a fixed cash payment which had, through inflation, become quite small. But they shared the hatred of tithes. Mary Cary complained that they burdened the consciences and estates of the saints. Others condemned them as belonging to the Levitical,

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1. Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.71,529; Journ. Friends' Hist. Soc.,xiv (1917), pp.171-2; Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.96; E. Rogers, The Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man (1867), pp.33-4; A. G. Matthews, Walker Revised (Oxford, 1948), p.215.

2. M. James, 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution, 1640-60', History, n.s.,xxvi (1941-2), pp.1-18; Chronicon Angliae, ed. E. M. Thompson (Rolls Series, lxiv, 1874), p.340; J. Wyclif, Select English Works, ed. T. Arnold (Oxford, 1869-71),iii.176,312; G. H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (1962), pp.30,68,80,98,184.

not Christian priesthood. Canne declared that Christ would not descend until tithes were removed.[1] Several saints emphasized the connection between tithes and the loss of independence. Canne said he opposed them not because they were a burden but because they were the basis of a national church. Feake argued that any true minister must abandon his living, tithes, glebe and any other state maintenance to preserve his independence.[2] The Fifth Monarchists in Barebones joined in the effort to destroy tithes, and Rogers attended the Parliamentary committee to press the case.[3]

One Fifth Monarchist proposal was that ministers should maintain themselves; Chamberlen, a physician, James, a weaver, and Venner, a cooper, all did so.[4] Others held that a congregation should support its pastor with voluntary gifts.[5] Realists recognized that many of the elect were poor or parsimonious, and would provide for the maintenance of a relatively small number of ministers. But Spittlehouse reflected that as three-quarters of the people were not '_fit materials_ for the building of the new _Jerusalem_...so they will stand in need of the fewer Shepheards'.[6]

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1. M. Cary, _Twelve New Proposals_ (1653), p.5; anon., _Old Leaven Purged_, p.30; _Door of Hope_, p.10; _Thurloe_, iv.382; Canne, _The Time of Finding_ (1658), p.5.

2. Canne, _A Second Voyce from the Temple_ (1653), p.11; Feake, _Oppressed Close Prisoner_, p.112.

3. See above, pp.78,83-4.

4. Anon., _Fifth Monarchy..Asserted_, p.52.

5. Spittlehouse, _Certaine Queries_ (1654), p.10; anon., _Some Considerations_, p.18.

6. Spittlehouse, _Rome Ruin'd_, p.250.

The problem was most serious for those Fifth Monarchists who had trained at the universities for the ministry, and had no other profession. They responded to it in a variety of ways. Woodall actually defended tithes, whilst Rogers accepted a post in Ireland partly because it freed him from the dilemma. Simpson simultaneously condemned tithes and accepted them.[1] Powell's views changed constantly over several years, before ending in total condemnation.[2] Quite often a minister rejected tithes but accepted augmentations, state grants which were derived from the tithes of sequestered clergy and similar sources, and were equally incompatible with the principle of independence. Thus Powell, Wigan, Helme, Woodall, Stoneham, Swift and Taylor received tithes indirectly, whilst Pendarves and Postlethwaite received state money from the sale of confiscated church lands. Courtney, Powell and Llwyd were connected under Harrison's leadership with the Propagation scheme in Wales, the finances of which were based on tithes. Danvers was a Trustee for the use of sequeatered tithes during the Commonwealth. John Canne accepted a state salary as chaplain of the garrison at Hull.[3] Mary Cary, Chamberlen and Llwyd were among several who condemned tithes but hoped the state would provide some alternative

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1. F. Woodall, Natural and Spiritual Light (1655), p.6; Rogers, Ohel, introd., p.28; anon., Old Leaven Purged, p.30; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1655, p.226; Clarke Papers, ii.pp.xxxv-vi.

2. R. T. Jones, 'The Life, Work, and Thought of Vavasor Powell, 1617-1670' (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1947), pp.295-6.

3. W. A. Shaw, A History of the English Church During the Civil Wars and Under the Commonwealth (1900), ii.536,561,544,589,595, 508,512; C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660 (1911), ii.144,209,343,345; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1651-2, p.211.

maintenance for the clergy.[1] This would have freed them from the onus of collecting a levy which they thought unjustified, but would not have provided total independence.

In the sphere of worship, the Fifth Monarchists envisaged revolutionary changes when the millennium arrived. The ministry and the church would be swept away, for Christ would be present in person. All ordinances would be abolished. John Archer had even thought that faith would be unnecessary, since the truth would be manifest. The saints would serve Christ with praise and prayer alone.[2]

Until the millennium arrived, however, the faith and practice of the saints differed little from that of the other gathered churches. Although there were some General Baptists among them, most Fifth Monarchists believed that the elect were a predestined group saved by grace alone.[3] They accepted a Sabbath, though there were fierce disputes as to whether it was on the first or seventh day.[4] They accepted the ordinances of baptism and communion,

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1. M. Cary, Twelve New Proposals, pp.7-8; Chamberlen, The Declaration and Proclamation of the Army of God (1659), p.6; T. Richards, Wales under the Indulgence (1672-1675), p.7.

2. M. Cary, The Little Horns Doom (1651), pp.255-60; H. Danvers, Theopolis (1672), pp.172-5; T. Edwards, Gangraena (1646),i.23; J. Archer, The Personall Reigne of Christ (1642), pp.17,27.

3. E.g., V. Powell, God the Father, p.29; J. Simpson, The Great Joy of Saints (1654), 2nd pagin., pp.54-227.

4. W. Aspinwall, The Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath (1657); Spittlehouse, A Return to some Expressions (1656); T. Tillam, The Seventh-day Sabbath Sought out (1657), all passim. Simpson apparently held a mystical view of Christ as an eternal Sabbath: Spittlehouse, A Manifestation of sundry gross absurdities (1656), p.2.

though there was further dispute as to whether the laying on of hands (after ordination, baptism, communion) was a lost ordinance which should be revived. The latter was urged most strongly by those saints who had adopted the Jewish sabbath.[1]

Fifth Monarchist services were held variously in parish churches, houses, taverns, cellars, warehouses and in the open.[2] Only one instance is known of them actually building a meeting-house.[3] Like other sectarians they avoided the pagan names of days and months, referring to the 'first day' and 'second month'.[4] They condemned all liturgies and set prayers, and regarded the Lord's Prayer only as a model for their own prayers.[5] Choirs and organs were condemned because they appealed to the 'carnal senses', but hymns and psalms were accepted as scriptural, and the saints composed their own hymns. The services, which were often highly emotional, consisted mainly of extempore prayer and preaching, though not rhetorical preaching aimed at the senses. The sermons, which could last up to six or seven hours and were often semi-

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1. Anon., A Discourse Between Cap. Kiffin, and Dr. Chamberlen (1654), passim; J. More, A Lost Ordinance Restored (1654), passim; (E. Bagshaw), The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell (1671), p.41.

2. For an example of each: W. J. Harte, 'Ecclesiastical and Religious Affairs in Exeter, 1640-62', Reports and Trans. Devon. Assoc.,lxix (1937), p.55; G. Lyon Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity (1911-14),i.155; SP.29/71,f.147: information, 9 April 1663; SP.29/421,f.324: J. Harris to Jenkins, 13 Nov. 1682; Turner, op.cit.,i.144; T. Crosby, The History of the English Baptists (1738-40),i.377.

3. Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope, sig. A4.

4. For example, Feake, The New Non-conformist (1654), passim.

5. Powell, Common-Prayer-Book no Divine Service (1660); passim; anon., Door of Hope, p.4; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, pp.186-7.

political, were liable to frequent interruptions by the congregation, and the whole service sometimes ended in chaos. When there was no pulpit, the preacher might stand on a bench or table to address the saints.[1]

Fifth Monarchists were generally opposed to taking oaths, as a misuse of God's name. But Fox alleged that they gave way under pressure and told a magistrate after the Restoration that this was one method of distinguishing a Fifth Monarchist from a Quaker. Spittlehouse thought that oaths were '<u>to God's glory</u>' in ending strife, but Stuart magistrates would not have found Fox's advice of much help, for most Fifth Monarchists refused to take the oaths required after 1660. Indeed, Sir William Armorer wrote to Clarendon in 1664 that the difference between Fifth Monarchists and Baptists was that only the former refused to take the oaths.[2]

The greatest dispute dividing the early sects was whether baptism should be administered to infants or to believers alone. The Fifth Monarchists contained saints of both persuasions, but there was probably a majority in favour of infant baptism.[3] The

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1. Spittlehouse, <u>Rome Ruin'd</u>, p.204; J.N., <u>Proh Tempora</u>! (1654), p.6; T. Tillam, <u>The Temple of Lively Stones</u> (1660), p.273; (Bagshaw), <u>Life..of..Vavasor Powell</u>, p.108; anon., <u>Three Hymnes</u> (1650), pp.6-8; Simpson, <u>Great Joy</u>, p.94; Nuttall, <u>Holy Spirit</u>, p.68; <u>Thurloe</u>,iv.650,v.60-1,759.

2. <u>Thurloe</u>,iv.151; Fox, <u>Journal</u>, p.531; Spittlehouse, <u>Rome Ruin'd</u>, p.171; Bodl. MS. Clar. 81,f.199: Sir W. Armorer to (Clarendon), 12 April 1664.

3. L. F. Brown, <u>The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men</u> (1911), pp.203-4, was mistaken in thinking that Baptists predominated.

affiliations of the movement in East Anglia and Wales were almost wholly with the Congregationalists. Vavasor Powell seems to have been re-baptized in 1655, but there is no evidence that his disciples followed his example.[1] Feake and John Canne are often described as Baptists, but were not so.[2] More importantly, though several leading saints were rebaptized in the later 1650s, namely Harrison, Carew, Courtney and probably Powell, none of the saints thought the matter of sufficient importance to exclude members of different judgements. They condemned as 'abominable Popery' disputes over such 'controversial' matters. If a man was one of the elect, it did not matter what ordinances he observed, or whether, indeed, he belonged to a church at all.[3] There was even some latitude in theology, with General Baptists, who accepted some degree of free will, joining in assemblies of strict predestinarians.[4] Simpson was exceptional in consigning to hell all who held free will.[5]

The sense of the imminence of the millennium gave the Fifth Monarchists an ecumenical aspect. Pendarves criticized saints for

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1. Thurloe,v.220; Nuttall, Visible Saints, pp.119-20; Richards, Religious Developments, pp.214-7.

2. Certain Passages, 28 (21-28 July 1654), p.220; C. Burrage, 'Was John Canne a Baptist?', Trans.Bapt.Hist.Soc.,iii (1912-3), pp.212-46; J. F. Wilson, 'Another Look at John Canne', Church Hist.,xxxiii (1964), pp.34-48.

3. Publick Intelligencer,120 (1-8 Feb. 1658), p.286; Thurloe,iv. 373; Simpson, Great Joy, 2nd pagin., pp.36,47; Rogers, A Reviving Word (1657), p.40; V. Powell,עדך נפח Or the Bird in the Cage (1661), p.22; Nuttall, Holy Spirit, p.96.

4. As in the Declaration of..the Churches of Christ (1654): above, p.127.

5. Anon., Truths Conflict with Error (1650), p.70.

arguing over ordinances when they should have been studying the prophecies. Rogers denied that the Fifth Monarchists were a sect at all, saying they were 'of such a latitude as takes in all Saints, all such as are sanctified in Christ Jesus, without respect of what Form or Judgement he is.'[1] The saints accepted that godly persons were to be found among several denominations, even among Presbyterians and occasionally Quakers. Morgan Llwyd explained that

> 'Out of all these will Christ compound
> An army for himselfe;
> so satan getts of all these sects
> the parings and the pelfe.'[2]

Accordingly Mary Cary and Rogers declared that meeting houses should be open to all. Chamberlen even placed a notice in a newspaper announcing that 'All Christians may meet at Dr. Chamberlains in White Friers every third day called Tuesday'. In later years he made attempts to unite all the churches in Christendom.[3]

In practice the only sects with whom the Fifth Monarchists had close contacts were the Baptists and Congregationalists. In East Anglia, for example, several Congregationalists were prepared to publish posthumously some of Tillinghast's sermons, and others

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1. J. Pendarves, The Fear of God (1657), pp.2,4; anon., Faithfull Narrative, p.37.

2. Anon., A Declaration of Divers Elders (1651), p.5; Cary, Little Horns Doom, p.22; M. Llwyd, Gweithiau, ed. T. E. Ellis and J. H. Davies (Bangor and London, 1899, 1908),i.25,ii.270-1.

3. M. Cary, Twelve New Proposals, p.5; Rogers, Ohel, p.311; Perfect Diurnall, 217 (13-19 Feb. 1654), p.3116 (misprint for 3344); Bodl. MS. Tanner 35,fos.2,95,104,133: Chamberlen to Archbishop Sheldon, 1682.

published a work jointly with Woodall.[1] The mass services at Allhallows the Great, in London, were attended by Baptists such as Kiffin, Jessey and Highland as well as the Fifth Monarchists. After the Restoration, Simpson and Anthony Palmer preached at services together with Kiffin, Knollys, Jessey and Wise.[2] Frequently in London Fifth Monarchist groups existed within Baptist or Congregationalist churches, apparently amicably. At Allhallows, however, the arrangement ended in disaster, and the church broke up.[3] At St. Botolph's, Aldgate, the saints met together with the Presbyterians, but almost came to blows with them. Even Feake's group was prepared to worship with the main congregation at Christ Church, though the saints disrupted 'popish' parts of the services.[4] Fifth Monarchists were admitted to the Baptist assembly at Dorchester in 1658, and after the Restoration there are several instances of Fifth Monarchists and other sects meeting together regularly.[5]

With other religious groups, however, the Fifth Monarchists' connections were very weak. Finding common cause against the Anglican enemy, they occasionally joined with Presbyterians after 1660.[6] But the usual attitude towards Presbyterians was one of

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1. Tillinghast, Elijah's Mantle (1658), sig. A5,A7; J. Martin, S. Petto and F. Woodall, The Preacher Sent (1658); see above,p.231.

2. Thurloe,v.755; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1653-4, p.393; SP.29/41,f.106: information, 11 Sept. 1661; SP.29/43,fos.105-7: E. Potter to Nicholas, 13 Oct. 1661.

3. E.g., anon., A Declaration of the Churches of Christ (1654); anon., Old Leaven Purged, passim.

4. J. A. Dodd, 'Troubles in a City Parish Under the Protectorate', Eng.Hist.Rev.,x(1895), pp.41-54; J.N., Proh Tempora!, p.6.

5. Thurloe,vii.140; Turner, Original Records,i.144,155,169.

6. For example, SP.29/42,f.69: W. Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661.

fierce hostility. Chamberlen described them as ministers of Antichrist, because their ordination was derived from bishops and so ultimately from Rome, and Spittlehouse also denounced them as 'Daughters of that grand Harlot'.[1] For other saints, the Presbyterians' 'pure' theology was outweighed by their wish to form a national church.[2]

Towards Antinomianism the saints were equally hostile, although several had held Antinomian principles in earlier years, especially Simpson. Both were product of an extreme concept of the elect. But the Fifth Monarchists' devotion to the Mosaic code led them to condemn Antinomians and even more the Ranters, and Simpson was as hostile as any.[3] They condemned also the Familists, and the Socinian doctrines of John Biddle, although Chillenden showed a rare ecumenical spirit in allowing Biddle to preach in his chapel.[4]

Relations were more complex with the Quakers, who used very similar millenarian language, and were often confused with the Fifth Monarchists by contemporaries. Moreover, some Fifth

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1. Anon., Disputes between Cranford and Chamberlen, pp.8-9; Spittlehouse, A Vindication of the Continued Succession (1652), p.15.

2. Postlethwaite, Voice from Heaven, pp.33,47; Powell, God the Father, p.57; Feake, A Beam of Light (1659), sig. A3-v.

3. T. Gataker, Gods Eye on his Israel (1645), sig. A3v.,C2v; G. Huehns, Antinomianism in English History (1951), esp. p.130; Simpson, Great Joy, 2nd pagin., pp.248,273; Spittlehouse, The Royall Advocate (1655), p.7; Aspinwall, Abrogation, p.14; Trapnel, The Cry of a Stone (1654), p.57.

4. Anon., Some Considerations, p.3; Simpson, Great Joy, pp.55ff; C. H. Firth and G. Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army (Oxford, 1940), p.214.

Monarchists did become Quakers.[1] Several showed sympathy or interest, especially Morgan Llwyd, Col. Overton and, on occasion, Powell. Anna Trapnel was said to have addressed joint meetings of Fifth Monarchists and Quakers.[2] But again the usual attitude was one of hostility, because of the Quakers' allegorizing of fundamentals, especially the millennium. Spittlehouse declared that the '<u>Quakers Tenent is the Devils last game he hath to play</u>.' Canne, John James, Trapnel, Wigan and Woodall, representing all strands of Fifth Monarchist thought, were among many more who rejected the Quakers because of this 'spiritualization'.[3] Fox, in return, thought the Fifth Monarchists 'none of Christ's servants, but the beast's and whore's.'[4]

Despite an ecumenical approach, the Fifth Monarchists thus found little of which to approve in other religious groups, and this raises the problem of how far they believed in toleration. Their pamphleteers called for a complete end of control and interference by the magistrate, who had no special knowledge of divine

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1. H. Barbour, <u>The Quakers in Puritan England</u> (New Haven and London, 1964), pp.182-8; anon., <u>Observations Upon the Last Actions..of..Harrison</u> (1661), p.17; see below, pp 303-5.

2. Fox, <u>Journal</u>, pp.93,172; <u>Mercurius Politicus</u>, 312 (29 May - 5 June 1656), p.6998; R. Davies, <u>An Account of the Convincement.. of..Richard Davies</u> (3rd edn., 1771), p.69.

3. Spittlehouse, <u>Royall Advocate</u>, p.34; Canne, <u>Truth with Time</u> (1656), <u>sig.</u> B3; G. Fox, <u>John James, I hearing</u> (1658), <u>passim</u>; Trapnel, Untitled book of verse (1658; Bodl. shelfmark S.1.42 Th.), esp. pp.48-9; J. Wigan, <u>Antichrist's strongest Hold overturned</u> (1665), <u>passim</u>; Woodall, <u>Natural..Light</u>, <u>passim</u>.

4. Fox, <u>Journal</u>, p.420.

truth.[1] Some even urged that non-Christians and blasphemers should be tolerated, and Simpson urged toleration for the Familists, to follow Christ's example and because force could produce at the most only outward conformity.[2] Chamberlen later hoped that Charles II could be king 'of Papists and Protestants,...Anabaptists and Quakers,...Jews and Gentiles, Turks and Infidels.'[3]

It is not possible to know how far the saints would have put this enlightened programme into action. Cromwell was certainly not convinced of their tolerance.[4] During the Protectorate the Fifth Monarchists criticized the persecution of 'erring' sectaries such as Biddle and Naylor.[5] But after the fall of Richard Cromwell, Col. Rich demanded that a soldier should be bared from the post of quarter-master because he was a Quaker, which suggests that toleration was envisaged but not equality in civil rights.[6] Mary Cary wished to tolerate papists and atheists, but this was condemned by Rogers, and by Canne, who also excluded 'Hereticks' from toleration, a very ambiguous loophole.[7] The saints showed little

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1. Anon., Fifth Monarchy..Asserted, p.53; Medley, Standard Set Up, p.16; Rogers, Ohel, pp.172,177.

2. J. Vernon, The Swords Abuse Asserted (1648), p.4; H. Danvers, Certain Quaeries (1649), p.4; Simpson, Great Joy, pp.25-7.

3. P. Chamberlen, A Speech Visibly Spoken (1662), p.15.

4. Anon., Faithfull Narrative, p.37.

5. Anon., The Protector (So called,) In Part Unvailed (1655), p.23; Some Considerations, p.3; To the Officers and Souldiers of the Army,..a sober admonition (1657), pp.1-3.

6. Richards, Religious Developments, p.238.

7. Cary, Word in Season, p.10; Rogers, Christian Concertation (1659), p.79; Canne, The Discoverer (1649), p.11.

sympathy for supporters of the Anglican or Presbyterian state system. Canne urged the Barebones assembly to annul the old episcopal ministry to prevent services being held with the old prayer-book.[1] Feake hoped that the saints would establish a 'Glorious, Evangelical inquisition', and, like Spittlehouse, called for a purge not only of corrupt clergy but of all who favoured episcopal or Presbyterian church government.[2] A considerable number of Fifth Monarchist ministers were prepared in 1654 to act on local committees for ejecting 'scandalous' ministers.[3] Despite their ecumenical pretensions, it seems doubtful whether Fifth Monarchist toleration would have extended further than to the sects, and they would probably have allowed Presbyterianism only in the form of gathered churches of voluntary members.

One of the reasons for the saints' rejection of a national church was that it implied the validity of human authority in religious matters. The saints accepted only the authority of scripture, regarded reason as ungodly, and saw all precedents as popish.[4] But there was also a pronounced mystical element in Fifth Monarchist thought, shown by the saints' emphasis on inward illumination, usually through dreams and visions. The works of Paracelsus, the sixteenth-century scientist and mystic, and of

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1. Canne, Second Voyce, p.10.

2. Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.105; Feake, Beam of Light, p.41; Spittlehouse, The first Addresses (1653), pp.6-7.

3. Firth and Rait, Acts. and Ords.,ii.971-2,975-7,980,984.

4. Anon., A Model of A new Representative (1651), p.5; Spittlehouse, Return, p.10; C. Barksdale, The Disputation at Winchcombe (Oxford, 1653), pp.10-11; Anon., Certain Quaeres (1649), p.8.

Jacob Boehme, the German mystic and millenarian, found many admirers in England, especially after they were translated into English during the 1640s and 1650s.[1] Morgan Llwyd has been called a 'disciple of Jacob Boehme'. He translated some of Boehme's work into Welsh, and his Book of the Three Birds owed much to Boehme's Mysterium Magnum.[2] Great importance was placed on visions and dreams, sent by God or the Devil, in the process of conversion. In fifteen of the testimonies discussed earlier a vision or dream was the most important event in the conversion process.[3] Thomas Tillam believed that the only true ministers were those who had been called by God in 'Visions, Dreams, Revelations, or immediately from Heaven.' John Rogers said he had been called to the ministry by a dream. Vavasor Powell was a 'great observer of Dreams, and what God might speak to himself or others by them.'[4] When God did speak, it was often to pass judgement on contemporary political issues. The doggerel verse uttered by Anna Trapnel with divine inspiration included attacks on the Protectorate regime, on the

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1. S. Hutin, Les disciples anglais de Jacob Boehme (Paris, 1960), pp.38-9,48-53; M. L. Bailey, Milton and Jakob Boehme (New York, 1914), pp.57-114; D. Hirst, Hidden Riches (1964), pp.76-109; A. G. Debus, The English Paracelsians (1965), passim; P. M. Rattansi, 'Paracelsus and the Puritan Revolution', Ambix,xi (1963), pp.24-31.

2. Richards, Religious Developments, p.211; E. Lewis Evans, 'Morgan Llwyd and Jacob Boehme', Jacob Boehme Soc.Quart.,Iiv (1953), pp.11-16; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, s.n. Llwyd.

3. Above, pp.110-16, esp.112. Rogers, Ohel, pp.397-401,404-6, 408-9,1(sic.),413,415,430-1,436; H. Walker, Spiritual Experiences (2nd edn., 1653), pp.46, 82-4,236-7,364,370-2.

4. Weld, Mr. Tillam's Account, suffix; Rogers, Ohel, p.436; (Bagshaw), Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell, p.114.

proposal to make Cromwell king, and comments on foreign policy, education, and the Quaker movement.[1] Some of the visions were similar in character to those in Daniel, and much more transparent. John Simpson's vision was an undisguised prophecy of the downfall of Cromwell. He described four visions of a 'great O', who was seen running towards a crown, occupying the chair of state, sprouting horns and finally being cast down and destroyed.[2] Owen Lloyd, a follower of Morgan Llwyd, described a vision of a black panther, which by stealth was able to overcome the whole world until destroyed by God. Lloyd sent this vision to Rogers shortly after the fall of Barebones, and the panther was doubtless Cromwell. It was published in 1662, when the panther had probably come to represent Charles II, and republished in Dutch in 1688, when it was presumably aimed at James II.[3] In 1665 Helme and his congregation in London were interested in 'visions in the air at Honiton', which they saw as a sign that divine intervention was imminent.[4]

These visions had only a slight resemblance to biblical ones, and the Fifth Monarchists also accepted other irrational and totally non-biblical sources of knowledge. The congregation at Brickendenbury, near Hertford, where Skinner sometimes preached to a congregation of up to five hundred, had a prophecy in 1664 of a king sent by God for three years to perform certain tasks, after which he

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1. Trapnel, Untitled book of verse, pp.47-9,153,159,266,273.
2. Anon., Old Leaven Purged, 2nd pagin., pp.19-20.
3. O. Lloyd, The Panther Prophecy (1662); Het Gezigt van den Panther (no place, 1688).
4. SP.29/120,f.57: P. (?Pestell) to Arlington, 3 May 1665.

would be destroyed. This they applied to Charles II, although the allotted time was already past.[1] Perhaps following John Foxe, John Rogers cited the Sibylline prophecies, and those of Nostradamus and Paracelsus, and other saints cited the prophecies of Merlin and Mother Shipton.[2] Rogers mentioned that he had been tempted to take up magic, and in later years appeared to believe that it was a genuine, if diabolical art.[3] Simpson shared the common belief in alchemy, and the saints also seem to have believed in witchcraft, which both Aspinwall and Higgenson included among the crimes to be punished only by death.[4]

Another means of ascertaining the divine will, accepted by most sectarians and many more, was by observing the workings of providence. Many believed that the great series of victories in the 1640s proved that God favoured the Parliamentary cause. Cromwell believed firmly in providence as an indication of God's will. The Fifth Monarchists shared this outlook. Spittlehouse believed that the smaller numbers dying of the plague after the establishment of the republic in 1649 proved that God favoured the new regime.[5] The defeat of the government's forces at Hispaniola in 1656 was proof that God was opposed to the Protectorate.[6] Many

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1. SP.29/99,f.16v.: information, 2 June 1664; SP.29/88,f.128: information, ?1663.
2. Rogers, Sagrir (1653), pp.131-2; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. A3; anon., The Year of Wonders (1652), p.13. For Foxe, see above, p.12.
3. Rogers, Ohel, p.433.
4. Simpson, Great Joy, p.31; Aspinwall, The Legislative Power (1656), p.30; T. Higgenson, Sighs for Righteousness (1654), p.10.
5. Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. b1.
6. Anon., Some Considerations, p.7.

of the saints accepted that the Restoration could only have happened because God willed it, but they noted the deaths and misfortunes of individual persecutors as proof that ultimately God favoured their cause, and they saw the Great Plague as divine vengeance on their enemies.[1]

The saints were less certain about the value of astrology. All seem to have accepted that the stars under which a person was born influenced his life and fortunes. Morgan Llwyd thought that the planets ruled the outward man, but had no influence over his spiritual condition. Spittlehouse, who described astrology 'as the Princes to the rest of the Sciences', thought it was 'the same to the outward...man, as Divinity to the inward'.[2] William Allen and Owen Cox both had their horoscopes calculated, and Cox visited the astrologer John Gadbury, who called Cox his 'very good friend', to obtain an astrological prediction of the fortunes of a projected voyage, which was done by studying the state of the stars at the launching of the ship.[3]

The saints were less certain of the validity of astrological claims to predict future events. Mary Cary criticized 'Prophane men' who 'are apt to admire Booker and Lilly', and John Jones, a preacher at Swan Alley, Coleman Street, repudiated astrological

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1. See below, pp.277, 289

2. A. N. Palmer, A History of the Older Nonconformity of Wrexham (Wrexham, 1889), p.16 and note; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. b3-v.

3. Bodl. MS. Ashmole 210,f.134v.,427,f.59v.: horoscopes of Allen and Cox; J. Gadbury, Nauticum Astrologicum: or, the Astrologicall Seaman (1691), pp.79-80,118-9.

predictions of the imminent downfall of Cromwell's government.[1] But the Year of Wonders used astrological predictions. Spittlehouse accepted Lilly's prophecies, and Allen even defended them in conversation with Charles I, arguing that Lilly was 'an honest man, and writes but what his art informs him'. Charles, surprisingly, was said to have concurred with this.[2] Cox was prepared to bring a gold chain to Lilly from the King of Sweden, about whom Lilly had published favourable predictions.[3] Chamberlen in 1662 accepted the forecast of astrologers that a plague was imminent, though a generation later the church to which he had belonged rebuked a member for the 'unbecomingness' of his belief in 'vulgar astrology'.[4] Spittlehouse, incidentally, defended the Seventh Day Sabbath partly on the ground 'that the seven Stars did preach the seventh day sabbath, and therefore the Heathen kept the Saturday, which is so called of Saturn the seventh Planet.' Jeremiah Ives, with whom he was disputing the subject, thought this 'vain Philosophy indeed.'[5]

Like other sects emphasizing both biblical literalism and inward inspiration, the Fifth Monarchists found little place for learning

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1. M. Cary, The Resurrection of the Witnesses (1653 edn.), sig. B2; Thurloe, iv.650.

2. Anon., Year of Wonders, esp. pp.9,15; Spittlehouse, Rome Ruin'd, sig. b2v.; W. Lilly: History of his Life and Times (1826), p.63.

3. Lilly, History, p.74.

4. Chamberlen, The Sober Man's Vindication (1662), brs.; Dr. Williams's Library, London, MS. 533 B.1.: 'Mill Yard Minutes, being the Church Book of the Seventh Day General Baptist Congregation, 1673-1840', (Xerox copy, 1951), f.56.

5. J. Ives, Saturday no Sabbath (1659), p.226.

and the universities. They stressed that ministers were made by God, not by education, and denied that university-trained men were true ministers unless also called by a congregation.[1] Spittlehouse denounced the universities as 'very fountains of Atheism, and Antichristianism', breeding 'ravenous Rooks' to devour tithes. 'What are the Authors', he demanded, 'which their Libraries are stuffed withal, other than Heathenish and Antichristian?' He attacked all 'vain Philosophy', and thought classical languages and all learning not to be found in the Bible as worthless.[2] One saint asserted that the universities were founded by the pope.[3] Anna Trapnel considered human learning unnecessary since

> 'Christs Scholars...are perfected
> with learning from above.'[4]

Chamberlen, Powell, Simpson and Rogers were among others who condemned 'heathen' learning, by which 'men learn to sing the whores songs, but not the songs of Zyon.'[5]

Only two writers elaborated schemes for university reform, using the colleges as a basis for world evangelization. Mary Cary wanted to use university revenues to train poor but godly youths for

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1. Feake, Oppressed Close Prisoner, p.105; Feake, Beam of Light, p.41; Spittlehouse, First Addresses, pp.6-7.
2. Spittlehouse, First Addresses, pp.4,10 (misprints for 10,12),13.
3. Thurloe,iv.625.
4. Trapnel, Cry of a Stone, p.42.
5. Anon., An Alarum to Corporations (1659), p.7; anon., Old Leaven Purged, 2nd pagin., p.4; J. Canne, The Time of the End (1657), epistle by Rogers, sig. a4v.

the propagation of the gospel and the service of the state. Spittlehouse suggested that each college should teach one language to poor and godly youths who would then be sent as missionaries to the appropriate country. Greek would be taught only to missionaries destined for Greece. Ministers to work in England would need no such training. Hugh Peter devised a similar scheme.[1]

In practice, Fifth Monarchist behaviour did not wholly correspond to these principles. Harrison and Courtney accepted honorary degrees from Oxford in 1649, Rogers took a degree in 1664, and Feake sent his son to university in 1660.[2] Instead of ignoring 'heathen' languages, some Fifth Monarchists cited classical and mediaeval Greek and Latin authors, as well as Hebrew works, although opponents often derided the standards of their scholarship.[3]

As the schemes for university reform showed, the Fifth Monarchists were very concerned with evangelism. There was a deep desire to spread the Gospel to the dark corners of England and overseas, to call all the saints to make ready the path of Christ. Anna Trapnel urged that preachers be sent to India and Africa, and Tillinghast wanted to send them to Turkey, India and Ireland, as

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1. Cary, Twelve New Proposals, p.7; Spittlehouse, First Addresses, pp.14-5; H. Peter, Good Work for a Good Magistrate (1651), pp.6-11.

2. J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714 (Oxford, 1891-2), i.336, ii.488,662, iii.1274.

3. E.g., Danvers, A Treatise of Baptism (1675, 1st edn. 1673), passim; Rogers, Christian Concertation, p.16 and passim; Simpson, Great Joy, p.4; T. Curwen, This is An Answer to John Wiggan's Book (1665), MS postscript in Brit. Mus. copy; J. Harrington, A Parallel of the Spirit of the People (1659), pp.2-3.

well as Northumberland and Cumberland.[1] Unlike the Quakers, the Fifth Monarchists did not send any missionaries abroad, but they were interested and active in the Propagation Commission in Wales, Tillam undertook a mission in the north, and Rogers undertook two ministries in Ireland.[2]

The impetus for evangelism derived partly from the saints' emphasis on preaching, and their conviction that God's elect were scattered around the world waiting for the call. But it sprang also from the belief that the Biblical prophecies speaking of the conversion of the Jews and Gentiles were about to be fulfilled.[3] The saints looked for the conversion and restoration of the Jews as a sign that the millennium was near, and though several dates were mentioned, 1655/6 was the most popular.[4] Mary Cary expected the Jews' conversion as soon as Christianity was cleansed from popery and prelatism. Aspinwall thought the Jews would have the chief part in setting up New Jerusalem, and John Archer expected them to have the highest place in it, as God's first chosen people.[5]

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1. Trapnel, Untitled book of verse, pp.13-4; Trapnel, Voice for the King of Saints (1658), p.19; Tillinghast, Six Several Treatises (1663), p.80; J. Canne, The Improvement of Mercy (1649), p.4.

2. Firth and Rait, Acts and Ords.,ii.343,345; Powell, Bird in the Cage, sig. A8-B3; Z. Grey, An Impartial Examination of.. Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans (1736-9),iii.appendix, pp.149-50; R. Howell, Newcastle Upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1967), pp.249-53; for Rogers, see Biog. App.

3. Anon., Door of Hope, p.11 (citing Isaiah lx.5).

4. Tillinghast, Generation-Work, 2nd part (1654), pp.62-3; anon., The Banner of Truth (1656), p.47; Canne, A Voice From the Temple (1653), pp.27-31.

5. Cary, Little Horns Doom, pp.140-4; Aspinwall, Legislative Power, sig. A2v.; Archer, Personall Reigne, p.26.

Rogers, Llwyd, Danvers, Spittlehouse and Carew all expected their conversion and return.[1] The belief in a chosen people, the increased interest in the Old Testament and Biblical literalism, and the general apocalyptic mood all produced widespread interest in the Jews both in England and the continent. There were a number of instances in England in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of people adopting Jewish customs and rites, including Richard Bruern, a theologian who became a Canon of Windsor, and Provost of Eton under Elizabeth, John Traske, a minister, in James's reign, and Thomas Tany, the London goldsmith who during the interregnum claimed to be the High Priest of the Jews. Cromwell as Protector set up a committee to discuss the proposal that the Jews be re-admitted to England, but the interest in the Jews was shared by at least one royalist pamphleteer.[2] The Jews themselves were expecting a second coming, and in 1666 flocked after a self-proclaimed Messiah.[3]

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1. Rogers, Reviving Word, pp.17-8; Llwyd, 'The Book of the Three Birds', trans. L. J. Parry, Trans. Nat. Eisteddfod of Wales,1896 (Liverpool, 1898), p.208; Danvers, Theopolis, p.72; Spittlehouse, Certaine Queries, p.11; anon., The Speeches and Prayers of Some of the late King's Judges (1660), p.21.

2. C. Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Oxford, 1949), pp.149-72; Roth, 'The Return of the Jews to England', The Listener,lvi (1956), pp.20-1; Sir H. Finch, The Worlds Great Restauration (1621), passim; J. Alsted, The Beloved City, trans. W. Burton (1643), pp.8-10; D.R. (a Frenchman), The Morning Alarum, trans. N. Johnson (1651), pp.18-9; H. J. Schoeps, Philosemitismus im Barock (Tübingen, 1952), passim; J. Fines, '"Judaising" in the Period of the English Reformation - the Case of Richard Bruern', Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc. of England,xxi (1962-7), pp.323-6; J. Traske, A Treatise of Libertie from Iudaisme (1620), passim; T. Tany, Hear, O Earth (1653), brs.; anon., Κλεὶς Προφητείας, Or, The Key of Prophecie (1660), p.24.

3. Below, pp.288-9.

Cromwell and many on his committee may have been interested in the Jews mainly for the benefits which their financial expertise would bring if they returned to England. The Fifth Monarchists were more concerned with the Jews' conversion and return to Israel, and none of the pamphlets advocated their readmission to England. But there was an alleged proposal in Barebones, possibly by a Fifth Monarchist, to allow the Jews to return and trade, which suggests that even the saints' interest may have been shaped to some small degree by economic considerations.[1]

The Jews played a considerable part in the general Fifth Monarchist scheme of eschatology. The saints' interpretation of the biblical prophecies deviated relatively little from what was accepted generally. The 'synchronisms' of Joseph Mede, 'famously known to most that read books', were accepted not only by Fifth Monarchists but by such diverse men as James Durham, the Presbyterian, Thomas Goodwin, the Independent, and Edward Waple, an Anglican who in 1693 called Mede 'the Ornament of our Church.'[2] In the 1690s Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph were praising Mede's system and calculating modifications about the date of the burning of Rome and the coming of the millennium.[3] The only confusion in the seventeenth century was over chronology, since

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1. Thurloe,i.387; MS. Clar. 46,f.109: newsletter, 15 July 1653.

2. J. Mede, The Key of the Revelation, trans. R. More (1643), passim; N. Homes, The Revelation Revealed (1654), p.46; J. Durham, A Commentarie Upon..Revelation (3rd edn., Amsterdam, 1660), pp.333ff; T. Goodwin, The World to Come (1655), p.13; E. Waple, The Book of the Revelation (1693), sig. A2v.; see above, p.43.

3. J. Evelyn, Diary, ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955),iv.636,v.26, 322.

there was, as Canne complained, no obvious starting-point from which to count the prophetic numbers.[1] Tillinghast was the only Fifth Monarchist to attempt to systematize the prophecies. He claimed that the Jews were to be called and the Fourth Monarchy overthrown in 1656, although Christ would not appear until 1701.[2] He was held in great esteem by other saints who for some years argued that events of apocalyptic importance had taken place in 1656/7, though not noticed by the ungodly.[3] Nevertheless, many other dates were mentioned, among them 1641, '45, '48, '49, 1650, '55-7, and 1660, '65.[4] Many of the Fifth Monarchists stressed that their dates were approximate, and prudently gave alternatives.[5] The date on which there was the greatest agreement was 1666, calculated from the Number of the Beast which was 666 (Rev. xiii.18). Men had been looking forward to this year since the previous century, and its near approach brought intense and widespread excitement.[6] The failure of any great event to materialize in that year was a severe blow. Perhaps it was reflected in Henry Danvers's analysis

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1. Canne, Truth with Time, p.6.

2. Tillinghast, Knowledge of the Times (1654), esp. p.309.

3. Canne, The Time of Finding, pp.273-9; anon., Door of Hope, pp.12-3; anon., The Protector (So called,), p.94.

4. M. Cary, Resurrection (1653), sig. D1v., p.125; Llwyd, Gweithiau, i.22; Canne, Time of Finding, p.273; Canne, Voice from the Temple, pp.13,29-30; N. Homes, A Sermon, Preached Before.. Thomas Foote (1650), p.17; anon., Door of Hope, p.16.

5. Llwyd, Gweithiau, loc.cit.; Homes, op. and loc.cit.; T. Parker, The Visions and Prophecies of Daniel Expounded (1646), pp.138,141, prudently gave 1649 and 1859 as alternatives.

6. See below, pp.287-90.

of the prophecies in 1672 in which he declared it was impossible to specify exact years.[1] But the Glorious Revolution, replacing the papist James II with the Protestant William of Orange, sent the millenarians back to the sacred texts, and they quickly proved that all the prophecies referred to 1688-9.[2]

The most important innovation of the Fifth Monarchists was to relate the monsters and beasts of the prophecies to living figures in the English political scene. After stating that the Little Horn of Dan. vii.8 was Charles I, or the whole series of English kings, they came to identify it with Cromwell during the Protectorate, and proved that the number of the Beast, 666, referred to him.[3]

Though these suggestions appeared bizarre even to contemporaries, they were no more implausible than some royalist suggestions. About 1646 an Anglican minister identified Cromwell, Essex, Fairfax and Waller as the four horns of the beast in Dan. viii.8. Griffith Williams, bishop of Ossory, argued that the number 666 referred to Cromwell, or to the Long Parliament, which another writer 'proved' by claiming there had been in all 666 members of the Long Parliament. Another identified the Beast as the Solemn League and Covenant, which had 666 words. The future Charles II was even hailed as the

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1. Danvers, Theopolis, p.46.

2. For example, B. Keach, Antichrist Stormed (1689), pp.145,188; H. Knollys, An Exposition of the whole Book of the Revelation (1689), pp.130-1.

3. Aspinwall, A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy (1653), p.1; Rogers, Sagrir, p.125; Cary, Little Horns Doom, p.6; anon., A Ground Voice (1655), p.3; J. More, A Trumpet Sounded (1654), pp.1,7-8; anon., Faithfull Narrative, p.35.

Fifth Monarch.[1] The eschatological eccentricities of the period were by no means confined to the Fifth Monarchy Men.

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1. Matthews, Walker Revised, p.253; G. Williams, The Great Anti-christ Revealed (1660), pp.49,52-3; anon., Key of Prophecie, p.15; Diary of Henry Townshend, ed. J. W. Willis Bund,i (1920), p.74; A. Evans, Mr. Evans and Mr. Peningtons Prophesie (1655), passim.

CHAPTER 9

THE LATER YEARS OF THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN

Charles II entered London in May 1660, amidst general rejoicing. But for the Fifth Monarchists, the Restoration was an unparallelled blow. The non-fulfilment of their prophecies in the 1650s had been a disappointment, but the central pillars of their faith, the providential triumphs of the civil war, the fall of the bishops, and the execution of the king, had remained intact. The Restoration shattered them all.

Strict censorship and a ban on religious meetings outside the Established Church returned not far behind the king. The Fifth Monarchists were driven underground, and the stream of their pamphlets dried up. The only subsequent information about them is provided by hostile sources, which are far from satisfactory. The government was interested only in details of plots and conventicles. Local justices branded all dissenters as 'fanatics' or 'conventiclers', making identification impossible. Church-wardens found it impossible in towns and large or scattered villages to 'bee so well acquainted one with another,...as to present dissenters by name'. Not all were zealous in enforcing ecclesiastical uniformity. The church-wardens of Amwell Magna, Herts., thought it worthy of note that 'severall of the Inhabitants come constantly to Church.' Those of Kensington presented no dissenters in 1669 because, they said, 'we have no more Schismaticks...than have been formerly presented, who (we doubt) are no changelings.'[1]

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1. Guildhall Library, MS. 9583, London and Middx. church-wardens' presentments: box 2 (1677/8,168/5), Amwell Magna; box 1a (1669-75), Kensington.

There was severe persecution under Charles II and James II, but it varied from time to time according to the fluctuations of royal policy, and from place to place according to the attitudes of local officials. The parish constables of Suffolk did not prosecute nonconformists, and suppressed information against them. When John Williams and other followers of Vavasor Powell were arrested in Wales in 1664, they were released promptly by two friendly Deputy-Lieutenants, despite not having taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.[1]

The new government had none of Cromwell's scruples in dealing with the Fifth Monarchists. Harrison and Carew were tried and executed as regicides in October 1660. They presented themselves as martyrs for the Fifth Monarchist cause, and even royalists admitted that the effect of the executions was to strengthen the determination of the saints, who 'mean all to die Martyrs.' A forged pamphlet asserting that many Fifth Monarchists were becoming ardent royalists, and Harrison's alleged belief that he would rise from the dead after his execution, were probably both attempts to weaken the saints' morale.[2]

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1. G. R. Cragg, Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution (Cambridge, 1957), passim; Ipswich Rec. Office, Quarter-Sessions Order Book, 1665-76: 16 July 1669; P.R.O., State Papers, Charles II, SP.29/97,f.153: G. Gwynne to E. of Carbery, 30 April 1664.

2. H. Finch, earl of Nottingham, An Exact and most Impartial Accompt Of the..Trial..of..Twenty nine Regicides (1660), pp.26,33-4,76, 282; anon., The Speeches and Prayers of Some of the late King's Judges (1660), pp.1-23; S. Pepys, Diary, ed. H. B. Wheatley (1893),i.260; anon., A Declaration of Maj. Gen. Harrison (1660), p.7; anon., Observations Upon the Last Actions..of..Harrison (1660), pp.9,17-8.

Several other leading saints were removed by imprisonment. Overton, Courtney and William Allen were arrested in December 1660 on vague charges of plotting, and Rich and Vernon had followed by February.[1] Cornet Day, seized in September 1660 for abusing the king, was re-arrested in January.[2] Allen and Vernon were freed in June 1661 on the condition of permanent exile, which they ignored. Courtney was still in prison in 1663.[3] Three other leaders, Portman, Rye and Goodgroom, were all gaoled in 1661-2, and were still in prison in 1667.[4] Overton was still a prisoner in 1671, and probably died soon afterwards.[5] Col. Rich was more fortunate. He was detained, on very mild terms, in London and then at Southsea. He married the daughter of the earl of Ancrum and through these court connections he secured his release in 1665. Rich refused to take the oaths, but promised that 'he did freelie submitt to the providence of God, and...that he could & did pray heartilie' for the king.[6]

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1660-1, pp.424,520; ibid., '61-2, p.12; Mercurius Publicus, 51 (13-20 Dec. 1660), p.821; ibid., 54 (27 Dec. '60 - 3 Jan. '61), p.846.

2. J. C. Jeaffreson, Middlesex County Records, iii.(1888), pp.306-7; Merc. Publicus, 2 (10-17 Jan. '61), p.22.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, p.12; SP.29/67,f.103: list of prisoners, 14 Jan. 1663.

4. Worcester Coll., Oxford, MS. 33,f.111v.: list of prisoners, Aug. 1662; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, pp.253,552; SP.29/34,f.120: information, 18 April 1661; SP. 29/218,f.142: list of prisoners, 1667. For Rye and Goodgroom see Biog. App.

5. D.N.B., Overton; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1671-2, p.13.

6. D.N.B., Rich; SP. 29/31,f.78: petition of J. Holbrooke, Feb. 1661; SP. 29/84,f.1: J. Tippett to Sir J. Lawson, 17 Nov. 1663; SP. 29/109,f.115v.: information, ? 1664; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, pp.112,463; ibid.,'64-5, p.483.

Much of the lay leadership of the movement was thus removed permanently in 1660-1, and much of the ministerial leadership also disappeared. Woodall, Taylor, Stoneham and Postlethwaite do not seem to have engaged in any Fifth Monarchist activities after the Restoration. John Rogers fled to the Netherlands, and though he later returned and resumed his activities, he avoided publicity and even dedicated a medical treatise in very hypocritical terms to the 'Praecellentissimo, Prudentissimo Amplissimoque' earl of Clarendon.[1] Christopher Feake abandoned his London congregation and went into hiding at Dorking, where he was discovered in 1663. He showed very little fighting spirit. On being told he must go to London, he declared in alarm, 'I feare I may be knocked on ye head in London, for I know I have many enemyes.' In July 1664 he was released, having given a bond to be of good behaviour.[2] John Canne retired to the Netherlands, and remained there until his death.[3] Vavasor Powell was arrested in July 1660, and sent to Southsea Castle in 1662. Apart from a few months' freedom in 1667-8 he remained a prisoner until his death in 1670. A dream, shortly before his death, in which he imagined himself 'with Paul, Harrison,...and others of the saints' showed that his beliefs were basically unchanged.[4]

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1. D.N.B., Rogers; Rogers, Analecta Inauguralia (1664), sig. A3.

2. SP. 29/90,fos.24-8,55,57; SP. 29/100,f.208: letters to and about Feake; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1663-4, pp.394,430-3.

3. D.N.B., Canne.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1660-1, pp.123,130,135-6,176,484; ibid.,'61-2, p.463; SP. 29/237,f.222: H.H. to (Sir R. Carew), March 1668; (E. Bagshaw), The Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell (1671), pp.134,189,195.

Much of the Fifth Monarchists' position rested upon a belief in God's providences, and many of them reacted to the Restoration by seeing it as a divine punishment:

> '..we have sin'd; and therefore for our sin
> Frustrate was made that Glorious Design;
> And we are brought where first we did begin.'[1]

God had thrown down king and bishops but allowed their return 'for the sinnes of those yt carried on their private ends.'[2] 'Backsliding England' could expect great calamities, for her

> '..Oaths, base-crouchings, deep Apostacie,
> To sins and vengeance flood-gates opened hath',

and the death of godly men signified God removing His saints from the imminent vengeance.[3] The great plague of 1665 was seen as part of this divine retribution.[4]

Most saints advised submission to God's providence, and a sanctification of life to restore His favour. They accepted the regime as imposed by God, but rejected the episcopal church as contrary to scripture. They should, wrote Henry Danvers, be 'humbled under God's mighty hand', and they should pray for the government, but only 'as enemies', owning 'subjection to them, only as a plague, judgment and curse.'[5]

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1. Anon., A Memorial on the Death of..Nathaniel Strange (1666), brs.
2. SP. 29/43,f.85v.: information of J. Crabb, 11 Oct. 1661.
3. Anon., Bochim. Sighs poured out..[for] John Vernon (1667), brs.
4. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15226,fos.80-3v.: E.N., 'London's Plague-Sore Discovered'; anon., A Mite from Three Mourners (1666), brs.
5. Danvers, The Mystery of Magistracy (1663), pp.21-3.

The Restoration was a blow to millenarian hopes, but it did not destroy them. John Talbot still had the confidence in 1664 to keep a diary of acts of oppression against the saints, to be revenged when times changed.[1] Fifth Monarchists who did publish tracts after the Restoration revealed a millenarian faith, shaken but intact. Danvers in 1672 described New Jerusalem in detail, but gave no dates for its establishment. Stoneham proclaimed the millennium, but was not sure whether it was imminent or still far off. Thomas Taylor and Richard Breviter continued to speak of it, but in the most general terms. Vavasor Powell thought the Fifth Monarchy had been 'unanswerably proved', but stressed that the government must be obeyed and that 'It is a great piece of prudence in an evil time to be silent.'[2]

Not all the saints were prepared to be so submissive. Some saw the restored monarchy as even more antichristian than the Protectorate, and found grim comfort in the belief that 'a Beast never bites more ferociously, and deadly, then when dying'.[3] Several were eager to make it a quick death.

As early as 19 May 1660 a preacher in Coleman Street, perhaps of Venner's church, was 'vilifying' Charles II.[4] It was reported

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1. SP. 29/99,f.17: information, 2 June 1664. For Talbot, see Biog. App.

2. Danvers, Theopolis (1672), passim; B. Stoneham, The Voice of a Cry at Midnight (1664), p.27; T. Taylor, Jacob Wrestling with God (1692, 1st publ. 1663), sig. A6-7; R. Breviter, The Mighty Christ the Saints Help (1662), pp.8-9,28,90-3; V. Powell, The Bird in the Cage (1661), pp.5-6,8,35,38.

3. Anon., Antipharmacum Saluberrime (1664), sig. A2.

4. Bodl. MS. Clar. 72,f.419: information, 19 May 1660.

in November that 'a horrid intention of murdering the King and divers of the nobility by 5 Monarchy men' had been discovered.[1] In December, Overton and some other officers were arrested on a vague charge of plotting. This has sometimes been connected with Venner's rising, but it seems unlikely. In 1657 most of the Fifth Monarchists had refused to join Venner, and it is most improbable that republican Grandees would have done so. The assertion was probably an attempt to blacken the officers, who were never brought to trial, and to magnify the importance of Venner's band.[2]

On the evening of Sunday 6 January 1661 about fifty of Venner's followers left their meeting house and marched to St. Paul's. They had printed a manifesto, 'A Door of Hope', and had as their rallying-cry 'King Jesus, and the heads upon the gate.' Apart from this objective, their plans seem to have been vague. They defeated an armed party sent against them and then retired to the woods near Highgate. Early on 9 January they reappeared in the city and fought with great ferocity against the Life Guards and a whole regiment. London was plunged into confusion. The rebels killed about twenty soldiers, and lost twenty-six of their own men. About twenty were captured, and others escaped. Contemporaries put their numbers at 300-400, but admitted that less than fifty were ever seen together. A woman was said to have been taken 'all in

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1. Hist. MSS. Comm.,xlv, Buccleuch MSS.,i, p.312.

2. E. Pagitt, Heresiography (6th edn., 1662), pp.525 (misprint for 285)-288; R. Baillie, Letters and Journals (Edinburgh, 1775),ii. 444; see above, pp.146-7.

Armour'.[1] A wave of arrests followed, and many Quakers, Baptists and Congregationalists were seized. Though all three hastened to dissociate themselves from the rising, a royal ban on conventicles came a few days later.[2] Venner had destroyed any chance of toleration.

Twenty rebels, including Venner, were put on trial. Sixteen were found guilty, and four acquitted; only two expressed regrets. Venner asserted that not he but Christ was their leader, but the popular belief that the rebels expected Christ to appear in person to lead them was ridiculed in their own manifesto. Venner and twelve others were executed, their heads being placed on London Bridge, and their meeting house was destroyed.[3]

Efforts were made to show that Venner had been the leader of a nation-wide plot. There were reports of a stir in Leicestershire on 6 January, and of 'declarations found for King Jesus' in Oxfordshire and Cheshire.[4] Better documented was a report from Exeter on 23 January that Venner had been there within the last five weeks,

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1. C. Burrage, 'The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections', Eng.Hist.Rev., xxv (1910), pp.739-45; Sir W. Foster, 'Venner's Rebellion', London Topog. Record,xviii (1942), pp.30-3; anon., The Last farewel to the..Fifth Monarchy Men (1661), passim; anon., Londons Glory (1661), passim.

2. A Renunciation and Declaration of the..Congregational Churches (1661); The Humble Apology of some..Anabaptists (1661); A Declaration From the..Quakers (1661).

3. Somers Tracts,vii.469-72; T. B. Howell, A Complete Collection of State Trials,vi (1816), pp.67-8,106-17; Pepys, Diary,i.323; SP. 29/28,fos.130-2: list of prisoners; Merc. Publicus,3 (17-24 Jan. 1661), pp.38-9,48; anon., A Door of Hope (1661), p.4.

4. Merc. Publicus,2 (10-17 Jan.), pp.17-8; Diary of Henry Townshend, ed. J. W. Willis Bund, vol.i (1920), p.66.

that large quantities of arms had been seized, and that a man had been arrested carrying two hundred Fifth Monarchist letters. A hundred suspects were under arrest, including Byfield, already known as a Fifth Monarchist, Thomas Mall and John Searl, two local ejected Congregationalist ministers, and Capt. Henry Hatsell, the naval commissioner in the west. Another probably implicated was Col. Francis Buffet, a prominent plotter for the next twenty years. Hatsell was soon released, and there seem to have been no further proceedings.[1]

Some violence continued in London after Venner's death. A plot due to take place on 15 April 1661 was discovered the previous day, and a search made in Newgate for seditious papers connected with it produced a riot among the prisoners. John Portman and one John Smith, condemned but reprieved for rebelling with Venner, were named as leaders, along with (implausibly) Hanserd Knollys. The same night a party of Fifth Monarchists was discovered in Fleet Street pulling down and burning the decorations erected for the coronation. Several were arrested, and the trained bands were ordered to keep guard every night.[2] A few days later, Portman was preaching in Newgate, demanding that the 'righteous blood' of Harrison be avenged.[3]

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1. Merc. Publicus,4 (24-31 Jan. 1661), p.62; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1660-1, p.516; ibid.,'61-2, p.537. For Byfield and Hatsell see Biog. App.; for Mall and Searl see A. G. Matthews, Calamy Revised (Oxford, 1934), pp.335,430-1.

2. Anon., A true Discovery of a Bloody Plot (1661), pp.1-2; anon., The Traytors Unvailed (1661), passim.

3. SP. 29/34,f.120: information, 18 April 1661.

On 19 October 1661 a preacher named John James was arrested at his conventicle in Bullstake Alley, and charged with speaking and plotting treason. James denied these accusations, but the mere admission that he was a Fifth Monarchist was enough to secure his conviction, and he was executed at Tyburn on 26 November.[1]

A few saints reacted to the Restoration in totally different ways. Two actually welcomed the king. One of them, John Sturgeon, was made a Messenger of the Exchequer, resigning the post in 1662 through ill health. The other was Peter Chamberlen, who regained the post of royal physician which he had held under Charles I. At first he refused the oaths, and attacked the whole idea of oath-taking, but in 1661 he took a modified form, accepting Charles as head of the church 'under the Lord Jesus Christ'. He even ventured to claim £50,000 which he pretended to have lost in the royalist cause. Sturgeon and Chamberlen seem to have welcomed the king because he offered religious toleration with stable government, but neither returned to opposition when this was seen to be an empty promise.[2]

Certain other saints rejected the new regime altogether, Thomas Tillam, brooding in his prison cell in 1660, soon decided that the saints must emigrate 'because ye sins of this kingdome

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1. Anon., A Narrative of the Apprehending..of John James (1661), passim; Howell, State Trials, vi.67-104. For James, see Biog. App.

2. Sturgeon, A Plea for Tolleration (1661), passim; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1660-1, p.144; ibid., '61-2, p.513; Chamberlen, A Speech Visibly Spoken (1662), passim; idem., 'A Case of Conscience', MS. Clar. 74, fos.418-9; idem., Non Inventus (?1665), in SP.29/142, fos.41-3; SP. 29/31, fos.141-2: petition of Chamberlen, ?Feb. 1661; SP. 29/237, f.117: petition of Chamberlen, ?1667.

are so great, yt ye Lord will destroy itt'. Christopher Pooley, one of the most militant of the East Anglian Fifth Monarchists, became his disciple.[1] By 1661 they already had a scheme for two hundred families to settle in the Palatinate, and though they were both arrested that year, the plan went ahead.[2] Pooley returned to England in 1664 to recruit new settlers, and spread reports of comfort and plenty. He was back in 1666 with one John Foxey, asserting that the Palgrave was not merely sympathetic but was a likely convert. They were reported in Northumberland, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, and Pooley was finally captured in Ipswich in 1667 and sent before Secretary Arlington.[3] By January 1668 Pooley and Foxey were active again, apparently in Durham, and in March a ship full of new emigrants sailed from Harwich.[4]

The beliefs and practices of this group differed considerably from the Fifth Monarchist norm. Tillam was accused of preaching Judaism in 1661, and the German settlement adopted all Jewish rites, including circumcision, the sacrifices and the ceremonial laws.

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1. Tillam, The Temple of Lively Stones (1660), epistle by Pooley, and p.19; SP. 29/181,f.193: C. Sanderson to Williamson, 14 Dec. 1666.

2. SP. 29/40,f.157: information of J. Thedam, 27 Aug. 1661; SP. 29/41,f.1-v.: information of Sir Wm. Killigrew, 1 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/446,f.139: information, ?29 June 1661.

3. SP. 29/106,fos.17-8: W.N. to H. Muddiman, 5 Dec. 1664; SP. 29/181, f.193: C. Sanderson to Williamson, 14 Dec. 1666; SP. 29/190,f.189: same to same, 5 Feb. 1667; SP. 29/207,f.1: L. Jones and others to Albemarle, 25 June 1667; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1667, p.235.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1667-8, p.154; SP. 29/236,f.28: S. Taylor to Williamson, 5 March 1668.

They even wished to rebuild the Temple. They were also accused of practising communism, and of allowing polygamy and concubinage.[1]

In 1666 the government obtained a copy of the settlers' 'Solemn Covenant'. It rejected all antichristian rulers, and forbade saints to bear arms for them or take oaths. The saints recognized Christ as their only king, and vowed to 'advance his holy throne'. Coins bearing the image of antichristian kings were not legal tender. On property it was stated ambiguously that goods would be 'either in Communitty or propriety as providence shall order itt according to a persons freenes.'[2]

What became of the settlement is unknown. Tillam is thought to have died about 1676, and Pooley and some others were apparently restored to the orthodox Seventh Day Baptist fold by 1677, probably back in England.[3]

With so much of the leadership destroyed or scattered, the Fifth Monarchist cause was kept alive only by an influx of new leaders from outside London. Ejected ministers were prominent. Thomas Palmer from Aston, Derbyshire, was henceforth often in London, and Camshaw Helme and Anthony Palmer, ejected from Gloucestershire ~~respectively~~, also moved to the city. These latter were not previously known as Fifth Monarchists, and in January 1661 Helme declared he was a Congregationalist, not a 'rebellious

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1. SP. 29/41,f.1; SP. 29/236,f.28; J. Cowell, Divine Oracles (1664), pp.30-3, chaps.7-9; Cowell, The Snare Broken (1673), pp.2-6.

2. SP. 29/181,f.195-v.: 'The Solemn Covenant'.

3. E. A. Payne, 'Thomas Tillam', Bapt. Quart.,xvii (1957-8), p.66; E. Stennet, The Insnared Taken in the Work of his Hands (1677/9), p.7.

Fifth-Monarchy-Man'. But he took over Feake's congregation, and he and Palmer were soon known as among the leading Fifth Monarchists. Nathaniel Strange and Thomas Glasse from Devon and John Skinner from Gloucestershire were all Baptist ministers who moved to London after 1660 and became Fifth Monarchists. It seems surprising that these men should be attracted to a movement which God appeared to have abandoned. Probably they were already enthusiastic millenarians who hitherto had simply not come into contact with the Fifth Monarchists. Palmer and Helme were also committed against monarchy, and the Restoration may have increased their radicalism.[1] Moreover the changing moral climate of the nation, especially of the court, aroused the fierce resentment of the sects. 'Severall thousands' of Fifth Monarchists condemned the blasphemy and wickedness of the times which the court encouraged. One Samuel Gardner joined Tong's plot in 1662 in disgust that 'any King should reigne haveing 2 bastards before he was marryed'. Christopher Crayle, a Vennerite, was 'very Cheerfull' because such wickedness meant that 'the King and his bishops were Riding post haste to their owne destruction.'[2]

In the face of persecution, the sects drew together to some degree. Secretary Nicholas noted Presbyterians, Baptists and Fifth Monarchists all meeting together, preaching that deliverance was near. Many Presbyterians probably disapproved of this, but in 1664 a group of Presbyterian ministers was lamenting that some of 'their

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1. See Biog. App. for all these; Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.256,380,444, 478; C. Helme, Life in Death (1661), sig. A2v.; SP. 29/42,f.69: W. Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/99,f.16-17: information, 2 June 1664; SP. 29/120,f.57: P. to Arlington, 3 May 1665.
2. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38856,f.79: 'A doore of hope opened', ?1663; SP. 29/66,f.73v.: list of prisoners, 1662; SP. 29/42,f.69v: Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661.

leadeing men' had actually joined the Fifth Monarchists.[1] There were many meetings with Baptists and Congregationalists, and Simpson preached every week at Allhallows with Knollys and Jessey.[2] In October 1660 Simpson boldly defended the regicides, who he said were justified before God; he called on the saints to be 'ready and willing' to 'fight it out to the Last Breth against the Enemys of the truth', knowing they 'must overcome, they shall overcome and they will overcome', and reign as judges with Christ.[3] Predictably the government arrested him, in November 1661, and though he was released later on taking the oaths, he remained quiet until his death in June 1662. His supporters were disappointed at this submission, and the sermon preached at his funeral was an attempt to defend him against this last charge of betrayal.[4]

Anthony Palmer, who sometimes preached with Simpson, thought the wickedness of the times proved that 'the beast was upon his last worke'. He and Helme, 'violent Proiecting men', acquired great influence over the gathered churches in London and elsewhere. A list of preachers, drawn up probably in the autumn of 1661, showed that Rogers and Feake were still sometimes active in London.

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1. MS. Clar. 75,f.191: Nicholas to Clarendon, 13 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/42,f.69; SP. 29/103,f.262: information, 27 Oct. 1664.

2. SP. 29/41,f.106: information, 11 Sept. 1661.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1660-1, p.320; SP. 29/34,f.2: W. Williamson to Sir John Meanes, 1 April 1661; SP. 29/42,f.66: information, 26 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/43,f.106v-7: E. Potter to Sir E. Broughton, 13 Oct. 1661; SP. 29/44,f.270: same to same,n.d.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, p.162; anon., The Failing & Perishing of Good Men (1663), pp.18-20.

Rogers, Helme and Palmer preached against the Court, and predicted that God would 'blast them'.[1] In 1662 the Fifth Monarchists held a day of fasting with other nonconformists to mark the trial of Vane and Lambert. Vane repaid them at his execution with a fervent millenarian prayer, anticipating the reign of the saints on earth with Christ.[2]

From 1663 the government began to receive reports of conventicles held by Glasse, Strange, Skinner, Danvers and Vernon, who, ignoring his sentence of exile, was practising medicine in Epsom, Ewell and then Newington. The group had some important contacts. In 1664 Sir John Vaughan and another Member of Parliament were attending it, and a clerk of the Commons was said to be passing on information to the fanatics. The group also met at the house of Alderman Pennoyer, and that of George Cockayne, an early saint who had apostasized but was in 1664 'now a 5t Monarchist' again. Cockayne's meetings attracted four or five knights and the countesses of Peterborough and Anglesey.[3]

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1. SP. 29/34,f.2: Williamson to Meanes; SP. 29/65,f.17: R. Johnston to Sec. Bennet, ?17 Dec. 1662; SP. 29/47,f.107: information, no date; SP. 29/42,f.69: Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661.

2. SP. 29/56,f.15: O. Peck to Garrett, 2 June 1662; anon., The Tryal of Sir Henry Vane, Kt. (1662), pp.90,93,121.

3. SP. 29/71,f.147: information, ?9 April 1663; SP. 29/99,f.16: information, 2 June 1664; SP. 29/100,f.17: information, ?1 July 1664; SP. 29/101,f.201: information, 7 Aug. '64; SP. 29/103,f.262: information, 27 Oct. '64; SP. 29/105,f.75: information, 20 November '64; SP. 29/110,f.216: information, Jan.'65; SP. 29/111,f.140: information, Jan.'65; SP. 29/121,f.64: information, May '65; J. Vernon, The Compleat Scholler (1666), pp.6-8; on Vaughan see D.T. Witcombe, Charles II and the Cavalier House of Commons (Manchester, 1966), p.209.

Despite the fact that the group met in at least twenty different places in the course of two years, the government was kept informed of their activities. The Fifth Monarchist groups were riddled with saints who, through bribes or threats, had become government agents. William Pestell, who had given information against Venner, told how an unsuspecting saint came to his home and brought his wife the latest news. One agent, probably Pestell, was entrusted by Helme and his congregation to report on their behalf on rumoured apparitions in the west. Peter Crabb, another agent, was supplied with information by John Belcher, one of the foremost saints. At a meeting in 1665 one saint confessed he was an informer, and accused three others present of being the same. The congregation debated whether to murder them all, but decided against it. The incident was reported to the authorities by yet another agent, so that at least one-sixth of those present were informers.[1]

Many of the agents were acting under threats, not from choice, and the government could not be sure of their loyalty. William Ecring supplied information, but seems to have been still a genuine Fifth Monarchist.[2] Even the trained bands were not wholly reliable. In 1664 they surprised Vernon and Glasse at a conventicle in Cannon Street, but one of their officers, named Cox, contrived to create such confusion that all but one of the congregation escaped.

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1. SP. 29/42,f.69v.: Pestell to Nicholas; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, p.188; SP. 29/120,f.57: P. to Arlington, 3 May 1665; SP. 29/80,f.192: Crabb to Bennet, 22 Sept. 1663; SP. 29/116,f.235: information, ? March '65.

2. SP. 29/449,f.61v.: information, 28 July 1664; SP. 29/99,f.17: information, 2 June '64.

Cox took the captive to a tavern and warned him about trepanners. Finally, on payment of a small bribe, the prisoner was allowed to leave 'to doe ye needes of nature', and naturally was seen no more.[1]

With the return of censorship it was difficult for the saints to print pamphlets to spread their cause. No clearly Fifth Monarchist work survives which was printed after 1661. The pamphlets that the Fifth Monarchists did produce were millenarian in tone but aimed at the support of the whole nonconformist body. Powell attacked the new Book of Common Prayer. Tillam urged the saints not to attend Anglican services and Helme exhorted them to remain loyal to their gathered congregation.[2] The Fifth Monarchists also spread pamphlets in support of the 'Good Old Cause', such as Mene Tekel (most often ascribed to Roger Jones), the Phoenix and Antipharmacum Saluberrime. An apparently Fifth Monarchist tract, The Judgement with those called 5t. Monarchy men, was reported in 1669, but there is no known copy of it.[3]

The saints soon devised new interpretations of the prophecies to reconcile them with the unexpected course of events. In April 1661 they were spreading an account of the calamities to precede the Day of Judgement in 1670. Pepys reported a popular nonconformist belief that the world would end in 1662. Owen Lloyd's Panther-

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1. SP. 29/449,f.61.

2. Powell, Common-Prayer-Book no Divine Service (1660), passim; Tillam, The Temple, pp.187-92 and passim; C. Helme, Life in Death, pp.5,8.

3. SP. 29/99,f.17: information, 2 June 1664; SP. 29/449,f.61: information, 28 July '64; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, p.23; ibid.,'68-9, p.342.

Prophecy was published in 1662, suggesting the approaching downfall of Charles II.[1]

Although providence seemed to have abandoned the saints, they sought desperately to prove that the ways of God, though obscure, were just. They argued that whilst God was using wicked men to punish them for their sins, He also destroyed their persecutors to reassure the saints that they were still the chosen people. A man who went to jeer at Harrison being taken to the gallows was said to have had a fit and fallen dead. Another who helped to drive Anthony Palmer from his parish was also struck dead. Collections of such episodes were published, and though the majority seem to have concerned Baptists and Congregationalists, many Fifth Monarchist centres were the scenes of the events. Danvers, Cockayne and Jessey were suspected to be responsible for these tracts, and Livewell Chapman helped in their publication.[2] Many involved in the trial of John James were also said to have met sudden and mysterious deaths.[3]

London seems to have played an even more dominant role after 1660 than before. No Fifth Monarchy activities were reported in Wales after that year, though Powell's followers continued to hold

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1. Anon., A true Discovery of a Bloody Plot, p.3; Pepys, Diary, ii. 401; see above, p.248.

2. Anon., ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΕΡΠΕΤΙΟΣ Mirabilis Annus, or The Year of Prodigies and Wonders (1661), pp.76 (misprint for 78), 79-80 and passim; Mirabilis Annus Secundus (1662); Mirabilis Annus Secundus: or, the Second Part of the Second Years Prodigies (1662); Cal.S.P.Dom., 1661-2, pp.23, 87, 128, 173; ibid., '63-4, p.180.

3. Anon., A Narrative..of John James, p.47.

meetings.[1] East Anglia also became quiet. Many of the leaders had moderated their views, some including Buttevant had moved to London, and Pooley had emigrated.[2]

Nevertheless the Fifth Monarchists did attempt to carry their cause outside the capital. In 1661 Pestell reported that they had sent agents to Yorkshire, Durham, Devon and Great Yarmouth. The leading missionaries were (Anthony) Palmer, Helme, Belcher, Feake, Canne and Rogers who 'travell from County to County and are hardly a month in a place'. Venner's son-in-law, Medley, kept the papers of the national correspondence and acted as accountant.[3] Thomas Palmer was another itinerant. He was arrested at Egerton, Kent, in 1662 by a Col. Colepeper, who threatened to hang him at once. But finding the colonel to suffer from disturbing visions, Palmer persuaded him that these were the results of his sins, and in this way secured his release.[4]

The London meetings and sermons naturally irritated the authorities. As mentioned before, they arrested Simpson and nearly caught Glasse and Vernon. They also seized Chapman, Thimbleton and Cockayne, and searched for Strange, Danvers, Skinner and Anthony Palmer.[5] But when the preachers urged only passive defiance

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1. SP. 29/97,f.153: G. Gwynne to e. of Carbery, 30 April 1664.
2. SP. 29/44,f.265: information, 1661; see above, pp.263,265,269-71.
3. SP. 29/44,f.267: Pestell to Nicholas, 28 Nov. 1661; SP. 29/42,f. 69v.: same to same, 26 Sept. 1661.
4. A. G. Matthews, 'A Censored Letter', Trans. Congregationalist Hist. Soc.,ix (1924-6), pp.267-8; D.N.B., T. Palmer.
5. Above, pp.273,275-6. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, pp.124,397-8,434,552; ibid.,'63-4, pp.349,393,494,502,581-2.

and patience, there seemed little real cause for alarm. The duke of Albemarle thought in 1663 that the Fifth Monarchists were 'so weake and inconsiderable that I am confident they will nott be dangerous'.[1] Samuel Butler thought they might be licensed at £5 a year, paying extra for liberty to expound on Revelation, and Abraham Cowley also treated them as comical rather than dangerous.[2] There was also a proposal that they should be arrested, disarmed and shipped off to Venice as mercenaries.[3] The saints were far too weak to overthrow the government, but they were potentially dangerous in three ways. They might organize an assassination plot, they might join any other plotters to further their cause, or they might give assistance to a Dutch invasion.

Despite the common acceptance of God's providence, two saints did publish theories of resistance. Danvers accepted that God's will must be obeyed if He had restored the king, but he claimed that providence was 'indistinct...as Eccles. 8.14. It happeneth to the just according to the work of the wicked; and to the wicked, according to the work of the just. So that no Argument can be made from it.' He claimed the saints had a duty to resist antichristian rulers 'by open or secret resistance, when the providence of God makes way for the same.' The mere fact of not being caught proved

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1. Hist. MSS. Comm.,lxxi, Finch MSS,i, p.299:d. of Albemarle to e. of Winchilsea, 28 Dec. 1663.

2. S. Butler, A Proposal Humbly Offered For the Farming of Liberty of Conscience (1663), pp.8,10: A. Cowley, Cutter of Coleman-Street (1663), passim.

3. SP. 29/143,f.128: memorandum, ?1665.

God's support for the plotter.[1] Thomas Palmer, a less subtle casuist, rejected the Biblical claim that all powers are of God, and asserted that no 'Antichristian Kings were called by God' and that it was a great sin to accept the monarchy which God had destroyed.[2]

There was from the time of Venner onwards an undercurrent of violence among the saints, though most of it was empty talk. The government was informed in 1661 of a house-to-house collection, possibly to raise money for rebellion. Capt. Owen Cox caused alarm by mooring his ship, laden with powder and ammunition, at Sandwich, and was eventually seized on a charge of seditious language.[3] In September 1661 John Belcher, described as a dangerous man who had only held back from Venner's rising through a quarrel over tactics, reappeared in London, and was reported later to be holding a meeting to arrange a time 'to finish the Lords worke, as they call it'.[4] William James prayed at a meeting in Duke's Place, Westminster, that 'God would putt an Axe into ye hand of some of his servants, to hewe down Roote and branch of King and Bishopps.'[5] In 1665 Helme and his group were thought to be in the mood for a rising at any moment, and the following January one Capt. Harris

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1. H. Danvers, Mysterie of Magistracy, pp.20-5,37.
2. Palmer, The Saints Freedom from Tyranny Vindicated (1667), pp.9, 11,30.
3. SP. 29/34,f.2v.: W. Williamson to Meanes, 1 April 1661; SP. 29/44, f.267v.: Pestell to Nicholas, 28 Nov. 1661.
4. SP. 29/42,f.69v.: Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/80, f.192: P. Crabb to Bennet, 22 Sept. 1663.
5. SP. 29/43,f.85-v.: information of J. Crabb, 11 Oct. 1661.

was reported to have been trying for two years to enlist the saints for a rising.[1] Nathaniel Strange had denounced the king as the Beast in 1662, and the government made repeated efforts to capture him. In 1665 Strange, a 'rash heady person', was trying to persuade the saints to attack Whitehall, and Timothy Roberts, ejected from Barton in Westmorland, assured them that the saints in the north were ready to rise at the first opportunity.[2]

None of these threats materialized, but the Fifth Monarchists were, as was feared, 'fitt to strike in with any that shall appeare in Rebellion.'[3] They were alleged to be in a plot in 1661 in which Portman was named and Harrington and Wildman were said to be prominent. The affair was highly nebulous, and probably largely fictitious, serving mainly as an excuse to gaol Harrington and prosecute Vane and Lambert.[4] In the autumn of 1662 the 'Tong Plot' was discovered. Ensign Tong and his associates had planned to surprise the king and Albemarle, and then bring over republican exiles from Holland. Though all the sects and republican interests were alleged to be involved, the Fifth Monarchists were 'to lead the van'. Two government agents, Hill and Riggs, fanned the plot and then betrayed it, trying to incriminate as many as possible.

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1. SP. 29/120,f.57: P. to Arlington, 3 May 1665; SP. 29/144,f.49: G. Phillipps to Arlington, 3 Jan. 1666.

2. SP. 29/56,f.12: information, 2 June 1662; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, pp.124,397,434; ibid., '63-4, p.2; SP. 29/114,fos.19-20v.: information of A.W., March 1665. For Roberts see Biog. App.

3. SP. 29/56,f.195: W. Williamson to Sir W. Compton, 25 June 1662.

4. W. C. Abbott, 'English Conspiracy and Dissent, 1660-1674', American Hist. Rev.,xiv (1908-9), pp.508-10; Howell, State Trials, vi.114-7.

They named, among others, Strange, Danvers, Anthony Palmer, Helme and John Rogers, but these allegations were probably fictitious and the government took proceedings only against Tong and five others, who were executed. Among the prisoners were John Venner, an ivory-turner and apparently a Fifth Monarchist, James Webb, described as an Ababaptist or Fifth Monarchist, and one Goodwin of the Mill Yard Seventh Day church led by William Sellers, to which Chamberlen belonged. Sellers had earlier published a Seventh Day pamphlet with Spittlehouse.[1]

The most important plot of the post-Restoration period was the Yorkshire rising of 1663, led by a number of former republican officers, with most backing in Yorkshire, Durham and Westmorland. Preparations were under way in the winter of 1662-3, with an attack on York planned for August. But like other plots, it was riddled with agents, and a hundred leading members were seized the day before the planned attack. The remaining plotters devised new plans, but most were captured on 10 October. The few who escaped attempted a rising on 12 October, but dispersed when they saw how small their numbers were. About twenty were executed in 1664.[2]

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1. W. Hill, A Brief Narrative of that Stupendious Tragedie (1662), passim; Abbott, 'English Conspiracy', pp.514-5; Merc. Publicus, 50 (11-18 Dec. '62), pp.808-10; ibid.,51, p.838; ibid.,3 (15-22 Jan.'63), pp.33-4,48; ibid.,8 (19-26 Feb.), p.124; ibid., 9, p.140; SP. 29/66,fos.72-3v.: list of prisoners; on Sellers see J. W. Thirtle, 'Dr. Peter Chamberlen..', Trans. Baptist Hist. Soc.,iii (1912-3), pp.186-7; cf. W. Saller and J. Spittlehouse, An Appeal to the Consciences of the chief Magistrates (1657).

2. J. Walker, 'The Yorkshire Plot, 1663', Yorks. Arch. Journ.,xxxi (1932-4), pp.348-59.

The north had not been a Fifth Monarchist stronghold, but the itinerants had apparently had some success, for the saints were certainly involved in the plot.[1] John Joplin, Gaoler of Durham under the Protectorate and a leading plotter, had become 'a furious Fifth-Monarchy fanatic', and wrote slogans in support of King Jesus on the prison walls.[2] There was a dispute between the Fifth Monarchists and the other rebels over the contents of their manifesto, which seems to have been 'A doore of hope opened into the valley of Achan'. It was wholly Fifth Monarchist in tone, attacking the swarming of the papists, the idolatry of the Church and the sad plight of the poor. It declared that the 'use of temporall weapons of warr is a lawfull meanes of Gods owne institucione' and promised that when the saints had set up Christ's kingdom in England, they would go on to destroy 'Gog and Magog, Pope and turks.'[3] The two agents sent to negotiate with dissident groups in London were both prominent Fifth Monarchists, Jeremiah Marsden and Thomas Palmer. Marsden also had contacts in Ireland and visited malcontents in the west. Palmer was the heart of the plot in Nottinghamshire, with Capt. Lockyer of Skegby, Notts. (where there was a Fifth Monarchist group in 1669). John Wigan and Nathaniel Strange were also involved, and one Hatfield was named as a plotter, former officer and Fifth

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1. SP. 29/78,f.12: Sir T. Gower to Bennet, 1 Aug. 1663; Hist. MSS. Comm.,xxxiii, Lonsdale MSS, p.93.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1666-7, p.318.

3. SP. 29/80,f.272: information, ?Sept. 1663; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38856,fos.79-80: 'A doore of hope opened into the valley of Achan..out of the North'; E. Price, Eye-Salve for England (1667), pp.4-6 and passim.

Monarchist - probably Capt. Anthony Hatfield, a squire of Hatfield near Doncaster. Two other saints in the plot were Capt. Edward Cary, who was seized but escaped from prison in 1664 and became a notorious plotter, and John Patshall, a Vennerite acquitted in 1661, who was eventually captured in 1666 but promptly escaped.[1]

The name of Col. Danvers was mentioned frequently in connection with plots, but there were two dissidents of that name, often confused.[2] Robert Danvers, grandson of Coke, claimed a seat in the Lords in 1660, but was expelled. It was probably Robert who was connected with Tong. He was arrested by the end of 1663, and whilst in the Tower gave information about the Yorkshire Plot. In July 1664 he escaped, but was in prison in the Isle of Wight in 1667. He later went abroad, and died at Calais in 1674.[3]

Henry Danvers was alleged to be planning a rising, with Clement Ireton, as early as June 1661.[4] A government correspondent who kept watch on him reported that the Fifth Monarchists were plotting to rise in December 1663. Attempts were made to seize Danvers, Strange and Skinner, but Danvers had already gone into hiding. He appeared briefly in 1664, touring Staffordshire, and was meeting plotters and preaching in London in June. In April

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1. SP. 29/80,f.272v.; SP. 29/85,f.103: information, ?16 Dec. 1663; SP. 29/92,f.112: information, 9 Feb. 1664; SP. 29/100,f.89: ...to Bennet, 11 July 1664; SP. 29/78,f.12: Sir T. Gower to Bennet, 1 Aug. 1663; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1663-4, pp.652-3; ibid.,'64-5, p.293; ibid.,'65-6, pp.400,404,416. For Hatfield, Cary and Patshall see Biog. App.

2. Including by D.N.B. The attempt here to distinguish them is by no means definitive.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1663-4, pp.51,328,461,463,608,652-3; D.N.B., R. Danvers.

4. SP. 29/446,f.139: information, ?29 June 1661.

1665 he was captured in London, but rescued by the mob on his way to the Tower. Only one rescuer was caught, possibly Clement Ireton who was in the Tower in 1667 as an accomplice of Danvers.[1]

The 'Danvers Plot' of 1665 was an alleged attempt to seize the Tower, kill the king, fire the city, establish a republic and carry out a redistribution of property. It was planned for 3 September 1665, but several of the leaders were arrested, including Col. Rathbone. Eight were found guilty and executed. They were not described as Fifth Monarchists at the time, and the plot may have been more broadly based. L'Estrange, writing later, called them Fifth Monarchists, though he claimed they were tools of the Jesuits, and his account is generally unreliable. But the beliefs of Danvers and Ireton are not open to doubt, and Rathbone had formerly associated with John Rogers.[2]

London was full of likely rebels at the time of the plot, among them Col. Thomas Blood, the most notorious adventurer of the period. Originally a royalist, Blood felt slighted after 1660. In 1663 he had attempted to seize Dublin Castle, and he was involved in the Yorkshire plot. In 1667, in the company of Capt. Lockyer, he freed Capt. John Mason from an armed escort taking him to York to be tried for treason. Blood was not a Fifth Monarchist, but found the more

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1663-4, pp.346,393,367,565,606; ibid.,'64-5, pp.506, 508,542,555; Pepys, Diary,v.40; SP. 29/287,f.48v.: list of prisoners.

2. London Gazette,48 (26-30 April 1666); Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs., iii.376,iv.269-70; E. Hyde, earl of Clarendon, The life of Edward, earl of Clarendon (Dublin, 1759 edn.),iii.550-1; J. Lingard, A History of England (1849 edn.),xi.290-1; R. L'Estrange, A Compendious History of the Most Remarkable Passages (1680), pp.4-6. For Rathbone see Biog. App.

militant saints congenial companions.[1] Thomas Palmer and Strange were in London, where the latter succumbed to the plague. Marsden was playing a double role, negotiating with plotters abroad but appearing at court as a favourite. John Wigan, released on bail from Lancaster prison, also went to London, but died there of plague in 1665.[2] In August 1666 Blood and Palmer went to Ireland, and there were soon reports of a plot concerning them. Danvers, Marsden, Edward Cary, Lockyer and Robert Perrott (formerly a lieutenant in Harrison's regiment and a preacher in Danvers's congregation) were also involved.[3]

In the west Col. Buffet was still active. He was arrested in 1662 for planning disturbances in conjunction with London plotters, but escaped in 1664 by breaking parole. The following year he was alleged to have ten thousand supporters, and to be involved in a plan to seize the Tower, which suggests he was in contact with Danvers. He avoided arrest, and in 1666 his brother was proclaiming the victory of the 'Good Old Cause' within a year.[4]

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1. W. C. Abbott, Colonel Thomas Blood, Crownstealer (Oxford, 1911), passim; W. T. Whitley, 'Colonel Thomas Blood', Bapt. Quart.,iv (1928-9), pp.27-30; R.H., 'Remarks on the Life and Death of the famed Mr. Blood', Somers Tracts,viii.438-54.

2. SP. 29/121,f.247: information, 22 May 1665; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1664-5, pp.246,261; ibid.,'65-6, p.24; T. Curwen, This is An Answer to John Wiggan's Book (1665), p.152; Matthews, Cal.Rev., p.529.

3. SP. 29/168,f.211: Capt. Grice to Williamson, 24 Aug. 1666; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1666-7, pp.537,545; ibid.,'71-2, p.65; R.H., 'Remarks on..Blood', p.448; SP. 29/437,f.84: ...to Jenkins, 22 March 1684. For Perrott see Biog. App.

4. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, pp.443-4,537; ibid.,'64-5, pp.19,544; ibid.,'65-6, pp.25,340; ibid.,'66-7, p.31.

Plots and rumours were all the more alarming to the government because of its fear that the saints would assist a possible Dutch invasion. The Fifth Monarchists' earlier scorn for the Dutch as apostates to Mammon gave way in the 1660s to a feeling of Protestant and republican solidarity.[1] Some of them found refuge in the Netherlands, and there was a considerable traffic in goods and propaganda. It was alleged that Hanserd Knollys would help the Dutch in any crisis. In 1665 the Fifth Monarchists were reported to be waiting to see how the Anglo-Dutch war would develop, and were hoping that the Dutch would supply enough aid to enable a rising to be attempted. Capt. Owen Cox was urged to take command of a frigate and use it to bring over exiles.[2] With two major Anglo-Dutch wars in the 1660s and '70s, there was a real source of danger.

The Fifth Monarchists' greatest hopes lay not in Dutch help but in divine intervention, and they continued to scrutinize the prophetic texts. Attention was focussed on 1666 as the year of apocalyptic wonders, proved by the fact that the Number of the Beast was 666. The year had been seen in this light since the previous century, and John Archer, John Rogers and John Canne all expected cataclysmic events to occur. George Fox ridiculed the Fifth Monarchists 'who looked for Christ's personal coming...in 1666', noting that 'some of them did prepare themselves when it

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1. See above, pp.197-201.

2. SP. 29/42,f.69: Pestell to Nicholas, 26 Sept. 1661; SP. 29/44, f.267-v.: same to same, 28 Nov. 1661; SP. 29/80,f.192: P. Crabb to Bennet, 22 Sept.'63; SP. 29/93,f.167v.: information, Feb.'64; SP. 29/99,f.17: information, 2 June 1664; SP. 29/114,fos.19-20v.: information, of A.W., March 1665; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1664-5, pp.6, 297,514.

thundered and rained and thought Christ was coming to set up his kingdom.'[1] This excitement was not confined to the saints, or even to England. Hopes were shared, apparently arising independently, by the Russian dissenters (Raskolniki), by the German prophet Kotter, and by Placentinus, a professor at Brandenburg who expected a local millennium in which the elector would win the crown of Bohemia.[2] John Evelyn said the excitement spread to all Protestant nations, and that it affected the Jews, always looking for the Messiah, more than any. In 1647 there had been a report of the Jews gathering under one 'Josias Catzias (in Illyria, Bithinia and Cappadocia) for the conquering of the Holy Land.' The approach of 1666 brought still greater excitement. Rumours of the discovery of the lost tribes of Israel aroused hopes which naturally produced a self-appointed Messiah, one Sabbatai Sevi, son of a broker of Smyrna. Jews throughout the Ottoman Empire abandoned their work and indulged in extremes of mortification to prepare themselves for the return to Jerusalem. They congregated at Constantinople from as far away as Poland, Germany and the Netherlands. The movement collapsed only when Sabbatai admitted the fraud, on being

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1. See above, pp.13-14; J. Archer, The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth (1642), pp.50-1; J. Rogers, Ohel (1653), introd., p.24; J. Canne, Truth with Time (1656), p.25; G. Fox, Journal, ed. J. L. Nickalls (Cambridge, 1952), p.419.

2. F. C. Conybeare, Russian Dissenters (New York, 1962), p.64; anon., Prophecies of Christopher Kotter (2nd edn., 1664), p.12; Matthews, 'Censored Letter', p.278. For Kotter, see below, p.313.

arrested and told that arrows would be shot at him to test his immortality.[1]

The activities of Sevi were followed with interest in Europe. Nathaniel Homes was kept informed by the Flemish millenarian Serarius, who was secretary to Spinoza, and who accepted Sevi's claims. The literary circle of Oldenburg, Robert Boyle, Serarius and Spinoza exchanged information and discussed developments at length.[2] The Fifth Monarchists ascribed a large rôle to the Jews in the approach of the millennium. In 1661 they had circulated a letter purporting to be by the Vice-Consul of Aleppo to the Jews at Jerusalem, which claimed that two hundred old men, aged a thousand years, had been preaching repentence and predicting the Day of Judgement in 1670. The Fifth Monarchist Thomas Chappell seems to have accepted Sevi's divinity, and the stories of pillars of fire above his head.[3] The Fifth Monarchists saw the Great Plague and Great Fire as proof that God was beginning the destruction of Antichrist, though the plague inadvertently killed many saints too. Dryden felt it necessary to write his Annus Mirabilis (1667)

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1. J. Evelyn, The History of the Three late famous Impostors (1669), pp.41-126; R. Knolles and Sir P. Rycaut, The Turkish History,.. with the Continuation to..MDCLXXXVIII (1687), pp.174-84; anon., Doomes-day:..with the gathering together of the Jews (1647), title page, p.2.

2. P. Serarius, The Last Letters To the London Merchants (1665), passim; The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie B. Hall (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1965-6),iii. 23,49-51,59,447,637.

3. Anon., A true Discovery of a Bloody Plot, p.3; SP. 29/162,f.157: T. Chappell to J. Fitten, 12 July 1666. For Chappell see Biog. App. For Fifth Monarchists and the Jews, see above, pp.254-6.

to dispute the belief that God was taking vengeance on the English regime. Vavasor Powell was preaching on the imminent fall of the ungodly.[1]

But no attempt to establish the millennium took place in 1666. It was feared that the plague and Monk's absence at sea would encourage a rising in London, and Courtney and Thimbleton were reported to be active among the fanatics on the Essex-Herts. border in January.[2] But doubts about God's will were 'the great obstruction'; the saints were resolved to wait patiently 'till there bee such a way opened th t all yt feare God shall bee satisfied wth there call to ye worke'.[3] The Fire was apparently not enough. In March 1668 a Fifth Monarchist preacher from Herefordshire told the saints in London that their work was to listen to God, to be 'in a readiness to goe when he Calles and not before he Calles; and when he Calles, then to seek by prudentiall pollicy to avoyd danger is the only way to be involved in danger'. It was hardly a call to arms.[4]

In 1669 a report was compiled of nonconformist numbers, and in 1672 the king issued the Declaration of Indulgence, under which many nonconformists took out licences to hold religious meetings.

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1. SP. 29/162,f.157; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1664-5, p.484; ibid.,'65-6, p.24; Ibid.,'66-7, p.149; E. N. Hooker, 'The Purpose of Dryden's Annus Mirabilis', Huntington Lib. Quart.,x (1946-7), pp.49-67; SP. 29/144,f.81: Sir G. Southwell to Arlington, 5 Jan. 1666.

2. SP. 29/144,f.138: Eyton to ?F. Manley, 8 Jan.1666; for Thimbleton see Biog. App.

3. SP. 29/144,f.49: G. Phillipps to Arlington, 3 Jan. 1666.

4. SP. 29/237,f.222: H.H. to ?Sir R. Carew, March 1668.

Documents from these two episodes throw some light on the extent of the Fifth Monarchy movement after ten years of restored Stuart rule, and on how many were abandoning their militant views and accepting the regime. The 1669 records are far from comprehensive, and mention only seven Fifth Monarchist congregations. Groups were listed in a warehouse at Southwark and in a tailor's at St. Mary Overy's Dock. Thomas Okey held meetings at Devizes, James Wise taught at Southampton, Henry Cock was prominent in a meeting at Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks., followers of Palmer met at Skegby, Notts., and those of Wigan at Great Budworth, Cheshire.[1] Other Fifth Monarchist groups, not mentioned in the list, existed during the 1660s at Canterbury, Edgware, Reading, Chester and Sheffield.[2] Thirty-nine Fifth Monarchists were in prison in Surrey in 1661.[3] A millenarian minister preached to two thousand hearers at Oldbury, Worcs., in 1667, though there is no evidence to prove the assertion that he was a Fifth Monarchist.[4] One Nicholas Cox of Northamptonshire went to London in 1670 to declare his determination to 'be true to King Jesus'.[5]

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1. G. L. Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity (1911-14), i.78,118,143,144,155,169.

2. SP. 29/136,f.65: A. Corley to Williamson, 4 Nov. 1665; Gter. London Rec. Office, Middx. Branch, convictions of conventiclers, MR/RC-1, no.46; MS. Clar. 81,f.199: Sir W. Armorer to (Clarendon), 12 April 1664; SP. 29/264,f.206: M. Anderton to Williamson, 28 Aug. 1669; Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.198-9.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1661-2, p.415.

4. Worcs. Rec. Office, Quarter-Sessions records, Sept. 1667: depositions of J. Jimcot, W. Perrott, W. Carsdale; Victoria County Hist., Worcestershire, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund and W. Page,ii.75.

5. SP. 29/275,fos.214,216: information of J. Poulter, May 1670.

The 1672 records show that many of the Fifth Monarchist teachers had become ordinary Congregationalists or Baptists, though probably still millenarians. Anthony Palmer, Cockayn, Taylor, Woodall, Wise, Okey, Squibb, Price, Tunman, Steed, Skinner and Adams were all licensed. Helme was dead, but his widow took out a licence, as did the survivors of Pendarves's congregation at Abingdon. Feake, Rich and Spencer were all mentioned as teachers in 1669, but did not apply for a licence. Danvers and Thomas Palmer were conspicuously absent.[1] Since the 'wild principles' of the Fifth Monarchists did not permit them to accept the king's 'act of soe great grace', it must be assumed that all who took advantage of the Indulgence had adopted a quietist millenarianism compatible with membership of the other sects.[2]

The history of the Fifth Monarchists in the 1670s shows a continuing polarization of the movement, with the majority moving towards quietism and being accepted by other contemporary sectarians, whilst the minority became more deeply involved in violence and plots. Reports of conventicles still reached the government, though less frequently now that persecution was less severe. A meeting of Fifth Monarchists/Seventh Day Baptists was discovered near the Tower, and in 1671 thirty-five members were arrested, including Belcher, Goodgroom, Squibb and John Jones. All refused the oaths. Thirty-one were brought to trial, and twenty-seven of them were sentenced to imprisonment at the king's pleasure. The

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1. Turner, Orig. Recs.,i.33,84,87,105,112,566,575,576;ii.951,980, 984,1017,1051,1075,1204.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1671-2, p.217.

fate of the four leaders is not recorded, but Secretary Williamson thought Goodgroom was 'mad, no fighter', and with the king planning his Indulgence, they were probably released quite soon. One Squibb, probably the same, was licensed in 1672.[1]

In 1675 a Fifth Monarchist weaver named John Mason, one of the group arrested in 1671, achieved some notoriety by playing a leading part in the machine-breaking riots of the London silk-weavers.[2] But the following year a list of 47 London conventicles included only two described as Fifth Monarchist. Widow Brome held a meeting in Tuttle Street, and the church of Glasse and Vernon, now dead, held meetings in Glovers' Hall, Beech Lane, Cripplegate.[3]

The last sign of Fifth Monarchist activity in the north was an episode involving Richard Whitehurst, an ejected minister licensed as a Congregationalist in 1672. A fierce quarrel developed in 1679 between him and his congregation at Lydgate, Yorks., over his millenarian ideas. Part of the congregation was hostile to millenarianism altogether, wishing to study 'more profitable subjects', so that Whitehurst may have been only a passive millenarian. But since Marsden and Astley were called in to mediate in the dispute, and Anthony Hatfield was Whitehurst's protector, he may well have acquired Fifth Monarchist ideas from them. He was forced to leave

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1. SP. 29/277,f.4: information, 1 July 1670; SP. 29/291,fos.176,179: Sir J. Robinson, to Williamson, 2 July 1671; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1671, pp.386,496; Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iv.29-31.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1675-6, pp.258-9.

3. Hist. MSS. Comm.,xxii, Leeds MSS, pp.15-6; W. T. Whitley, The Baptists of London (1928), pp.106-7.

the district as a result of the dispute, and died at Darlington in 1697.[1]

In 1676 one Studesbury of Broadley, Worcs., was tried at Worcester and ventured to justify Venner and boast of his own participation in the execution of Charles I. Greatly to the annoyance of the judge, the jury twice chose to irritate the government by finding the accused insane, and he thus escaped sentence.[2]

Fifth Monarchist conventicles survived into the 1680s. Christopher Feake appeared for the last time in 1682 preaching in a cellar on London Bridge. Henry Danvers and Richard Adams led two conventicles in the same year with a total attendance of one thousand.[3]

Not all the saints were prepared to follow the path to quietism. In 1674 William Medley, Venner's son-in-law, emerged after thirteen years' obscurity. He went to London as a Dutch agent, spreading propaganda pamphlets and meeting leaders of the Country Party, trying to influence Parliament to end the Dutch war and break the Anglo-French alliance. The efforts of Medley and other agents did apparently contribute to the Anglo-Dutch treaty of that year, but it is clear that Medley's group saw these activities only

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1. J. Hunter, The Rise of the Old Dissent (1842), pp.295-6; O.Heywood, Autobiography, Diaries, Anecdote and Event Books, ed. J. Horsfall Turner (Brighouse and Bingley, 1881-5),ii.99,101,112,240-3; J. Lister, Autobiography (1842), pp.50-1; Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.17,526. For Astley and Whitehurst see Biog. App.

2. J. Pollock, The Popish Plot (1913), p.390.

3. SP. 29/421,f.324: information, 1682; SP. 29/419,f.102: information, (11) June 1682.

as a first small step towards the re-establishment of a republic in England.[1]

Another line of action was that adopted by Richard Halliwell, a former soldier, who in 1670 or '71 broke with his Fifth Monarchist group 'on account of their apostacy and subservience to the Monarchy', and called for a return to the spirit of the Musselburgh Declaration of 1650. Halliwell's response was to join Blood. In 1670 they kidnapped the duke of Ormonde in the centre of London, intending to hang him at Tyburn. The following year, with the Fifth Monarchist Robert Perrott, they stole the crown and sceptre from the Tower, and nearly escaped. Yet Blood was able to win the king's favour, secured the release and pardon of himself and his friends, and in return for supplying some information became a court favourite.[2]

Several other Fifth Monarchists refused to moderate their principles. In 1669 Jeremiah Marsden was offending more cautious sectarians by 'preaching up the 5th Anarchy'. 'As for our rulers', he prayed, 'what shall wee say unto thee O Lord, Our rulers are rulers of Sodome and of Gomorrah'.[3] Danvers too was irreconcileable. In 1670 the government ordered the arrest of Danvers and Blood, so he may have been involved in the attempt on Ormonde, but as usual he proved elusive. In 1675 he was reported to be preaching in

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1. K. H. D. Haley, William of Orange and the English Opposition (Oxford, 1953), pp.55-6,164,172-4,179,185,188,193-5,200-1.

2. Hist. MSS. Comm.,vii, Appendix to the 8th Report, pp.154-8; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1671, pp.237,247,385,409; ibid.,1671-2, pp.45,65; SP. 29/437,f.84: ...to Jenkins, 22 March 1684. Cf. Abbott, Blood, passim.

3. Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 1347,fos.25-30: S. Mather to Marsden, 12 Nov. 1669.

Staffordshire, but not until 1676 was he captured and put in the Tower for treasonable practices. He was freed in April '76 after giving £1,000 security.[1] In 1677 Edmund Chillenden, now a coffee-housekeeper, was in trouble for publishing and spreading seditious pamphlets.[2]

The later 1670s were a period of increasing turbulence and tension produced by the facts that the heir-apparent, the duke of York, was a Catholic, that the king wanted toleration for the Catholics, and that the court favoured a French alliance and admired the absolutist regime of Louis XIV. To meet the threat of James eventually using French aid to subvert Protestantism and the constitution, opposition leaders moved towards the idea of excluding him from the succession.[3] Naturally the remaining Fifth Monarchists took a militant position. In 1678 Marsden was comparing the times to the reign of Bloody Mary, and condemning a 'great duke' who was the enemy of God's people.[4] The previous autumn Blood had reported the Fifth Monarchists and 'Atheists' (Sir Robert Peyton and republican groups) meeting to condemn Popery and France. They had been stirring up their friends in Bucks., Berks., and Bedfordshire, and were planning an attack on the Tower, perhaps setting up Richard Cromwell as nominal ruler. William Smith, a Fifth Monarchist

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1670, p.239; ibid.,'75-6, pp.419,516; ibid.,'76-7, p.90; Hist. MSS. Comm.,xxv, Le Fleming MSS, p.124.

2. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1677-8, pp.338,643; see also Biog. App.

3. See generally D. Ogg, England in the Reign of Charles II (Oxford, 1955), and J. R. Jones, The First Whigs (1961).

4. SP. 29/404,f.18: memorandum, about 26 May 1678.

veteran of Blood's exploits against Ormonde and the crown jewels, was sent to London to reconnoitre for an assassination bid. The plan, which in fact fell through, was to kill Charles and James at Newmarket or in London, and murder William of Orange on his way from Harwich. Danvers and Axtel (son of the regicide) were implicated in the plot.[1]

In 1678 Oates revealed the great Popish Plot, a fantasy of lies with a modicum of truth, according to which the papists were plotting to murder Charles and declare James as king. The exclusionist leaders naturally made great capital out of the ensuing panic, pressing still harder for exclusion and a purge of the Catholics.[2] The king was forced to feign belief in the plot, but declared that the Fifth Monarchists were a greater danger, and that the campaign against popery was the first stage of an attempt to restore the republic.[3] Bedloe, one of the leading informers, attempted to please all parties by describing the plot as a conspiracy between the Jesuits and the Fifth Monarchists.[4]

The king's intention was to launch a counter-attack on the Whig exclusionists as soon as his position was strong enough. Although some of the Whig leaders, such as Essex, Russell and Sidney, were

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1. SP. 29/397,f.9: notes by Williamson, Sept. 1677; SP. 29/396,f. 294: T. Barnes to ..., 30 Sept. 1677; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1678, pp.290, 291,299,300; J. Macpherson, Original Papers; containing the Secret History of Great Britain (Dublin, 1775),i.86.

2. Ogg, op.cit.; Jones, op.cit.; J. Pollock, The Popish Plot, passim; K. H. D. Haley, The first earl of Shaftesbury (Oxford, 1968), passim.

3. Hist. MSS. Comm.,xxxvi, Ormonde N.S.,iv.486,496.

4. W. Bedloe, A Narrative and Impartial Discovery of the Horrid Popish Plot (1679), sig. A1v., p.14.

respectable figures, the earl of Shaftesbury's following included many extremists, and here the Whigs were vulnerable. Richard Mayhew, a Fifth Monarchist preacher, dedicated his books to Shaftesbury, who was presumably his patron.[1] L'Estrange claimed that the whole exclusionist cause was dominated by Fifth Monarchists and sectarians, and he published extracts from their sermons and writings of the 1640s and '50s as a reminder that they were republicans and social revolutionaries.[2]

In the spring of 1681 Charles felt sufficiently independent financially to be able to dispense with Parliament and go on to the offensive. In July Shaftesbury was charged with treason and put in the Tower. A jury - nearly all Fifth Monarchy Men, according to Secretary Jenkins, - rejected the charge against him, and he was freed in 1682 and wnt into exile in the Netherlands, where he was welcomed by, among others, Medley and a 'Mr. Venner'. Despite Shaftesbury's release, the Whig cause was collapsing, and it was discredited completely by the alleged Rye House Plot of 1683 to assassinate the king and/or to stir up a general rising to put Princess Anne on the throne. Most of the details of the plot were, as usual, fictitious, but they provided an excuse for renewed persecution of the dissenters and for the execution of the Whig leaders Russell and Sidney. Essex committed suicide.[3]

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1. R. Mayhew, Sichah: Or A Tract of Meditation (1678), sig. A1; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1678, p.246.
2. R. L'Estrange, Citt and Bumpkin, in a Dialogue over a Pot of Ale (4th edn., 1680), pp.3,12; The Dissenter's Sayings (1681), passim.
3. Ogg, op.cit., pp.614-5,628-30,647-50,653; D. J. Milne, 'The Results of the Rye House Plot...', Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.,V.i (1951), pp.91-108. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1680-1, p.500; anon., Memoires of the Life of Anthony late Earl of Shaftesbury (1683), p.7.

There was no real evidence to connect the Whig leaders with the extremists, except that Danvers was an associate of Sidney and acted as his election agent in 1679.[1] But there is little doubt that the extremist groups were plotting violence. In 1682 meetings were reported between Danvers, Thimbleton and Fifth Monarchist followers of Blood, Halliwell, Perrott and Cary, and members of Shaftesbury's organization, the Green Ribbon Club. They intended to seize and probably kill Charles, James and as many as possible of the Privy Council, and hoped that Monmouth and Shaftesbury would then take up arms against the regime. Danvers was said to be looking forward to regaining the lands he had lost in 1660. Their plans however were betrayed to the government, and the scheme was dropped.[2]

In February 1683 several long-standing plotters were named in a new design, including Buffet, Cary, 'a Fifth Mon. man & brisk', and John Patshall who was 'as vile as ever' and expressed his readiness to join in killing the king and all the royal family. All these, as well as Danvers, were thought to be involved in the Rye House Plot 'exposed' on 12 June.[3]

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1. M. D. George, 'Elections and Electioneering, 1679-81', Eng. Hist. Rev.,xlv (1930), p.565; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1684-5, p.148.

2. SP. 29/420,fos.166-8: J. Harris to Jenkins, 18 Sept. 1682; SP. 29/421,fos.54-9: information of Harris, 24 Oct.; SP. 29/419, fos.162-3: information of S. Oates, 8 June 1682; SP. 29/420,fos. 73-4: information of Harris, ?Aug. 1682; SP. 29/421,f.156: Harris to Jenkins, 13 Nov. 1682; SP. 29/422,fos.148-9: information of J. Harrison, 12 March 1683.

3. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1683,i,p.66;ii.pp.4,15,53,77,216-7; ibid.,'84-5, pp.145,148,268,292.296; SP. 29/423,f.221: ...to Jenkins, 18 April 1683.

The group of militant Fifth Monarchists survived into the reign of James, except for Marsden who died in prison in March 1684 and whose funeral was attended by five thousand mourners.[1] The last bid for the Fifth Monarchy, as for the 'Good Old Cause' in general, was in the rebellion headed by the duke of Monmouth in June 1685. Danvers had planned a rising at the time of James's coronation, and had assembled in London five hundred men from Essex and Hertfordshire, but had postponed action on hearing of Monmouth's forthcoming attempt. He was made head of the group which was to raise London for the duke, and Thimbleton was also involved. Monmouth approved of Danvers's position, though Perrott warned of his former 'Cowardice and Deceit' and general unreliability. Danvers failed to act at the appointed time, ostensibly because of Monmouth's assuming the title of king, though he himself had apparently urged this earlier. He fled abroad to avoid arrest, and died at Utrecht. Perrott sailed with Monmouth and fought at Sedgemoor, where he was wounded and captured, and he was later executed at Taunton. The government sought the arrest of one Ireton, perhaps Clement Ireton, and captured Col. Buffett and Thimbleton, who was pilloried in 1686 for spreading libels that the earl of Essex had been murdered by the authorities (as Danvers had also done). One Thomas Venner was among the rebels who were transported, and was possibly the 'Mr. Venner' who was a friend of Medley.[2]

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1. Cal.S.P.Dom.,1683,ii,pp.374-5,380; ibid.,'83-4, pp.332,335.

2. Ford, lord Grey, The Secret History of the Rye-House-Plot; and of Monmouth's Rebellion (1754), pp.105,113,102 (misprint for 122), 107 (misprint for 123); L. Echard, The History of England. From the Restoration of King Charles the Second (1707-18),iii.757,764-5, 770; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1685, pp.5,157,233,246,276,429; ibid.,'86-7, pp.174,183,191; D.N.B., H. Danvers.

Monmouth's ill-fated rebellion marked the end of Fifth Monarchist hopes and, indeed, all the radical hopes aroused in the 1640s and '50s. The Whigs were free to make terms with William of Orange, unembarrassed by their extremist fellow-travellers.

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The nature of the sources after the Restoration, little more than details of plots and conventicles, makes it difficult to solve the problems surrounding the later years of the Fifth Monarchist movement. These sources throw little light on its character, why it faded away, and what became of its members. The only accounts of the saints' beliefs are by outsiders. The most detailed was by Cosmo III, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who visited England in 1669. He seems to have informed that the Fifth Monarchists wished to destroy

> 'the ministry of priests, as being Catholic; the payment of tithes, as belonging to Judaism; the Norman laws of England; the universities and schools, as seminaries of idle curiosity; the nobility and distinctions of birth, as repugnant to natural reason and to Christianity; and they are madly desirous tc overthrow...all earthly principalities and to prepare the way for the coming of Christ.'[1]

Another account in 1669 said the saints expected the return of Christ, the resurrection of saints and martyrs, the end of all afflictions, government by the saints and the replacement of gospel ordinances by Jewish rites.[2] Of the two accounts, only this last

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1. Travels of Cosmo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, ed. L. Magalotti (1821), p.451.

2. Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 1347,fos.4-14: 'A Friendly Consideration of some mistakes about the Fifth monarchy'.

detail shows any difference from Fifth Monarchist beliefs in the 1650s, and it may reflect only the deviations of the Tillam-Pooley group. The lawyers certainly believed that they were still the chief objects of the saints' hatred. In July 1671 a cow broke into the Palace Yard at Westminster and, through a misunderstanding of the ensuing commotion, the cry went up in the law courts that 'ye fifth-monarchy men were up and come to cut ye throats of ye lawyers who were ye great plague of ye land.' Flinging away their swords, wigs and gowns, the lawyers fled. Scroggs, later Lord Chief Justice, was supposed to be suffering from gout, but 'wase perfectly cured, stript himself of his gowne and coife, and with great activity vaulted over ye bar.'[1]

The problem of what became of the saints is obscured by the fact that most were humble people who simply disappeared. Few if any seem to have conformed altogether. Squibb remained a Fifth Monarchist, despite pressing his claim to a reversion to a tellership at the Exchequer, and Chamberlen continued to proclaim his apocalyptic beliefs when he was a royal physician.[2] The careers of many of the leading saints have already been described in this chapter, but only rarely can the fortunes of lesser members be traced. William Righton returned to Bermuda, where he continued as a Fifth Monarchist. Robert Hayward escaped during Venner's

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1. Correspondence of the Family of Hatton (1661-1704), vol.i, ed. E.M. Thompson (Camden Soc., N.S.,xxii,1878), pp.60-1.

2. Hist. MSS. Comm.,viii, Appendix to 9th Rep.,part ii, p.44; Cal.S.P.Dom.,1663-4, pp.121,582; ibid.,'66-7, pp.182-3,535; MS. Clar. 72,f.355-v.: G. Downing to Clarendon, 30 May/9 June 1662; Bodl. MS. Tanner 35,fos.2,95,104,133; MS. Tanner 36,fos. 130,155.

rising, and later grew rich as a tradesman near Shrewsbury, where he died in 1705 without abandoning his beliefs. William Parsons also escaped into the crowd, and emigrated to New England, where he died in 1702.[1]

G. P. Gooch suggested that many Fifth Monarchists, disillusioned because the millennium had not appeared, joined the Quakers who preached an inward kingdom.[2] But none of the leading Fifth Monarchists became a Quaker, and, except for Morgan Llwyd, all the leading writers attacked the Quakers.[3] The rank and file, of course, may not have heeded the denunciations of their leaders. Frederick Woodall admitted that two of his congregation had joined the Quakers. So did John Pennyman, who formerly attended Feake's services, though there is no evidence that he was a committed Fifth Monarchist, and he proved to be far from orthodox as a Quaker. John ap John, a disciple of Llwyd, and Richard Davies and Thomas Ellis, a deacon, both of Powell's church, all became Quakers.[4] An analysis of 141 signatories of the Word for God showed that 36 of them later had some Quaker connections, but many of the signa-

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1. J. H. Lefroy, Memorials of the Discovery..of the Bermudas (1877/79),ii. passim; R. Gough, Antiquities..of Myddle (Shrewsbury and London, 1875), pp.124-5,185; C. E. Banks, 'Thomas Venner', New England Hist. & Gen. Register,xlvii (1893), p.444.

2. G. P. Gooch and H. J. Laski, English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century (New York, Evanston and London, 1959), p.233; cf. G. F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit (1947), pp.111-12.

3. See above, pp.243-4.

4. F. Woodall, Natural and Spiritual Light (1655), p.1; D.N.B., J. Pennyman; W. G. Norris, John ap John (1907), passim; R. Davies, An Account of the Convincement..of..Richard Davies (3rd edn., 1771), pp.38,81 and passim.

tories had not been Fifth Monarchists, and the identifications are often uncertain.[1]

Attempts to measure the movement to the Quakers are not very successful. The lists of Quakers who suffered under the Stuarts' persecution, collected by Joseph Besse, reveal only a handful of Fifth Monarchist names: Humphrey Bache, Anne Curtis, Thomas Lacy. Several more are doubtful: John Light (1673), John Marlow (1686), and Clement Plumstead (1686), but the time lapse here makes identification very uncertain.[2]

The 1669 census returns are of some help in showing how many former Fifth Monarchist locations had acquired Quaker groups, though the returns were far from complete, and since the Fifth Monarchists were strongest in large towns, the Quaker groups in 1669 may well have been alongside, not instead of them. In East Anglia Quakers were reported at North Walsham, Bury and Wymondham, with none at Norwich, Ipswich, Syleham or Woodbridge. They had groups at Skegby, Notts., Southampton and Manchester, but none at Reading, Abingdon, Hull, Lewes or Exeter. In Wales, they were reported only in Glamorgan and Montgomery.[3] These returns, though incomplete, and the fact that the Quaker strongholds (outside London) were in the north and around the Bristol Channel, neither of which were Fifth

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1. A. H. Dodd, 'A Remonstrance from Wales, 1655', Bull.Celt.Stud., xvii (1956-8), pp.286-91.

2. J. Besse, A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers (1753),i.366,392,437,480,481.

3. Turner, Original Records, passim.

Monarchist centres, seem to rule out any massive or general swing to the Quakers.[1]

It has also been suggested, by Whitley and Dr. Payne, that many Fifth Monarchists became Seventh Day Baptists. The churches of Chamberlen and Belcher were Seventh Day, and there was a Seventh Day group at North Walsham in 1669. But only a small proportion of the saints were affected, and Belcher, Chamberlen and Pooley seem to have adopted the Seventh Day Sabbath as an addition to their Fifth Monarchist beliefs, not as a replacement.[2]

The outer layers of Fifth Monarchist supporters, those who had been attracted to the movement only at its climax around 1653, may well have drifted on into the next religious novelty, of which the Quakers were the most obvious. For the more deeply committed, a move to the Quakers meant accepting their 'spiritualizing' notions and also reversing in most cases their own predestinarian beliefs. The evidence of 1669 and '72 suggests that most of the saints followed their leaders into the fold of conventional nonconformity, retaining their millenarian faith but in passive form.

The decline and disappearance of the Fifth Monarchists is partly to be attributed, of course, to persecution. Many leaders were arrested, and strict censorship made propaganda difficult. At the same time, critics were free to attack the saints in print.

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1. W. A. Cole, 'The Social Origins of the Early Friends', Journ. Friends' Hist. Soc.,xlviii (1957), p.101; H. Barbour, The Quakers in Puritan England (New Haven and London, 1964), 1964), p.257.

2. W. T. Whitley, 'Seventh Day Baptists in England', Bapt.Quart.,xii (1946-8), p.253; E. A. Payne, 'More about the Sabbatarian Baptists', ibid.,xiv (1951-2), pp.161-6; Turner, Orig. Recs.,ii.900.

There was a steady stream of dissuasives, from the erudite arguments of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More to jibes that the Lord Omnipotent would never be reduced to using such instruments as the Fifth Monarchists. Others simply poured scorn on the 'dark and dubious prophecies' revered by the saints.[1]

More important, probably, was the saints' belief in providence, for it was the amazing series of providences from 1640-53 that had built up the great wave of millenarian excitement. After 1660 providence was consistently hostile, and though preachers might explain the failure of their prophecies, they were unable to generate new excitement. Tillinghast and Rogers had remarked in the 1650s how unfavourable political developments reduced the numbers and zeal of the faithful.[2] After 1660 the movement was always on the defensive.

Assimilation into the Baptist and Congregationalist movements was all the easier because of the long tradition of joint meetings, and because these sects still retained a large amount of their former millenarianism. The Baptists, Knollys and Praise-God Barbone, published several millenarian works in the 1670s and '80s.[3] The most effective propaganda against the Fifth Monarchists was probably the writings of sectarians such as Tombes, Bagshaw and

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1. H. More, Apocalypsis Apocalypseos; or the Revelation (1680), p.xxxv; anon., Mene Tekel to the Fifth Monarchy (1665), brs.; E. Lane, Look unto Jesus (1663), p.70.

2. J. Tillinghast, Knowledge of the Times (1654), sig. a5-v.; J. Rogers, Jegar-Sahadutha (1657), introd., p.3.

3. For example, H. Knollys, An Exposition of the whole..of.. Revelation (1689); P. Barbone, Good Things to Come (1675).

Grantham, who accepted the millennium and only criticized violence.[1]

The spirit of the Restoration may have been hostile to religious 'enthusiasm', but millenarian beliefs remained widespread. William Sherwin, an ejected Presbyterian minister, published numerous millenarian tracts until his death in 1690, and Thomas Beverley, rector of Lilley, Herts., kept up the stream until the end of the century. The Baptist minister Benjamin Keach hailed William of Orange as a messianic king. Lodowick Muggleton, who claimed to be one of the last witnesses of Rev. xi.3, found a following from the interregnum till his death in 1698, and the sect lasted into the twentieth century.[2] Even the Anglican church was affected, and in 1691 Richard Baxter alleged of millenarianism that it was not dissenters but 'Conformists that are its strongest Pillars'. The most distinguished Anglican millenarians were William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, and William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury.[3] But the most notorious was John Mason, vicar of Water Stratford, Bucks. Mason, who had been subject to depression and pains in the head for many years, declared in 1691 that the Second Coming was at hand, and that Charles II and James II had given the kingdom to the Beast. In 1694 he had a vision in

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1. J. Tombes, Saints no Smiters (1664), p.26 and passim; E. Bagshaw, Saintship No ground of Soveraignty (Oxford, 1660), p.13; Bagshaw, The Doctrine of the Kingdom..of Christ Asserted (1669), sig. A2; T. Grantham, Christianismus Primitivus (1675), p.5.

2. Matthews, Cal.Rev., p.439; B. Keach, Antichrist Stormed (1689), p.188; D.N.B., W. Sherwin and Muggleton.

3. R. Baxter, A Reply to Mr. Tho. Beverley's Answer (1691), p.1; J. Evelyn, Diary, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1955),iv.636,v.26, 322.

which Christ appeared and revealed that New Jerusalem was to be at Water Stratford, whilst the rest of the world was to be destroyed. Mason was seriously ill, and died in May 1694, but by then a body of four hundred wildly enthusiastic disciples had gathered in the village. They practised common ownership, and spent their time in frenzied singing and dancing. Mason scorned the rich and the educated, and his followers were all from the lower classes.

Dr. Hill rightly contrasts the different reaction of the government to Venner and to Mason, who was allowed to die in his bed, which he ascribes to the fact that 'the age of reason had arrived'. But Mason was also an Anglican minister, not a 'fanatic', which made it embarrassing to magnify the case. Moreover, he had in 1691 condemned the Fifth Monarchists (though not by name) for discrediting millenarianism by drawing '<u>strange Consequences from this Doctrine to establish seditious Principles and Practices against the</u> Powers that be'. As a quietist he was hardly dangerous.[1] Even so, there was some alarm. The archbishop of York asked a local minister, Henry Maurice, for an account of the matter, and Maurice compared Mason to John of Leyden, Hacket and Venner. Sir Charles Wyndham, a local landowner, thought the saints 'ought to be whipped and dispersed', and the duke of Bolton called for sterner measures, for 'my opinion is, they are fifth monarchy men'.[2]

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1. C. Hill, <u>Puritanism and Revolution</u> (1962), pp.328-36; J. Mason, <u>The Midnight Cry</u> (2nd edn., 1691), p.4; anon., <u>A Letter from a Gentleman in Buckinghamshire</u> (1694), p.6; H. Maurice, <u>An Impartial Account of...Mason</u> (1695), p.30; F. Hutchinson, <u>A Short View of the Pretended Spirit of Prophecy</u> (1708), pp.44-6; Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34272,fos.142-8v.: letters concerning Mason and hymns, 1694.
2. Maurice, <u>Impartial Account</u>, pp.55-6; Hist. MSS. Comm.,xxii, <u>Bridgewater MSS</u>, p.151.

Village messiahs and popular prophets continued to appear after the seventeenth century, and usually won a following. The line began with the French prophets and John Lacy around 1708, and continued through Richard Brothers, Joanna Southcott and John Nichols Tom, alias Sir William Courtenay, to James White, who was able to win a following in Chatham and Gillingham in the 1870s and '8os.[1] The failure of a resurrected Fifth Monarchy movement to appear in the century or so after 1685 probably owed more to the preservation of political and social stability than it did to the age of reason.

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1. J. Sutherland, Background for Queen Anne (1939), pp.36-74; R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford, 1950), pp.356-71; W. H. G. Armytage, Heavens Below: Utopian Experiments in England, 1560-1960 (1961), pp.39ff; R. Matthews, English Messiahs (1936); E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1968 edn.), pp.52-5,127-30,199, 420-8,429-31,865,877-83; P. G. Rogers, Battle in Bossenden Wood: the Strange Story of Sir William Courtenay (1961); Rogers, The Sixth Trumpeter (1963).

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The Fifth Monarchist phenomenon is to be explained in terms of both the European situation following the Reformation and the more immediate circumstances of the English civil war. The unparallelled religious and political division of Western Europe, which the Reformation produced, unleashed a period of prolonged tension and warfare. The early Protestants formed a small and precarious minority. They naturally responded favourably to the idea that the Biblical prophecies, speaking of the profanation of the true church, of great calamities and of the vindication of the saints by the Second Coming and Last Judgement, referred to the contemporary situation. Most early Protestants, regarding themselves as the saints and the Papacy as Antichrist, awaited the imminent end of the world. By the 1530s the doctrine of the triumph of the saints on earth before the Last Judgement was already widespread in Germany. Subsequent political events such as the Armada and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew were fitted into the eschatological scheme laid down in Daniel and Revelation. In England, Elizabeth was seen as God's champion, and the concept of England as a chosen nation enabled the fusion of nationalist and apocalyptic enthusiasm. Though dormant under the early Stuarts, the theory of the elite nation emerged even stronger in the 1640s. Though there was no popular millenarian movement in England until the civil war, this was largely because the government was able to maintain political order and a large measure of religious uniformity. The career of

Hacket, and the increasing number of millenarian lower clergy, from Durden to Archer and Goodwin, suggests that such a movement could have flourished in more favourable circumstances.

If the Fifth Monarchists are to be seen in a European context, the problem arises as to why there were no comparable movements produced by, for example, the wars of religion in France and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century. Something similar in many ways had emerged in Germany in the 1530s when the Anabaptists seized control of Münster and tried to erect the New Jerusalem. The Münster episode served to discredit millenarianism completely, branding it as bloodthirsty and socially subversive. The story still provided potent propaganda in the 1640s against religious radicalism, and it must have been overwhelming in the 1560s. Millenarianism flourished in Münster because of the almost total breakdown of political order. Without such freedom, it could spread only with the connivance of some sections of the landed or official classes. The regiments of men like Cromwell provided an ideal milieu for millenarianism in the 1640s. In France and the Netherlands political authority remained mostly, though with some notable exceptions, in the hands of the nobility and local Estates whose objectives were primarily secular. Compared to Cromwell, William of Orange and Henry of Navarre were <u>politiques</u>, suspicious of their own more zealous Calvinist supporters. Millenarianism, still associated with Münster, could hope for no official favour. But by 1640 the story of Münster had to be extracted from the history-books and it could be argued (as by the Fifth Monarchists) that the accounts were prejudiced and inaccurate. Moreover millenarianism had been re-discovered at a

higher intellectual level by the academics Mede and Alsted. Made thus respectable, it was able to win some support among the gentry and ministry. Cromwell could see no incompatibility between his millenarian sympathies and his defence of existing social distinctions.

Millenarianism did survive on the continent after Münster, but it was not until the 1620s, when Protestantism was in danger of extinction, that its great expansion came. Shortly before, in 1612, the Lutheran minister, Johannes Gerhardt, wrote that all the biblical prophecies referred to the next fifty years, and that Christ would soon reappear. In 1618, Daniel Cramer, a Lutheran pastor and professor at Stettin, claimed that the thousand years' reign of the saints had begun with Luther and would gradually increase in glory. Johannes Piscator, a Calvinist professor at Herborn, had in 1613 published his belief in a future millennium, in which the church would enjoy unprecedented glory.[1] Alsted, also of Herborn, published his pioneering work in 1627, and he was followed in the middle of the century by Petrus Serarius and Paul Felgenhauer, both living in the Netherlands. Felgenhauer (1593-1677) was a Bohemian exile whose works were immensely popular throughout North Germany. He parallelled the Fifth Monarchists in attacking the rich and covetous, and the universities and scholars who 'filled the World full of Bookes, which are endlesse and numberlesse' but served only to make men 'more and more scattered, confused, and

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1. J. B. Neveux, Vie Spirituelle et Vie Sociale (Paris, 1967), p.487; L.E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers (Washington, 1946-54),ii.601, 608-10.

intricated.'[1] One of Spittlehouse's tracts and Owen Lloyd's Panther-Prophecy were translated into Dutch.[2]

Bohemia, a Protestant state attacked and conquered by the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years' War, was a stronghold of millenarianism. Comenius was its most celebrated exponent. Another was Nicholas Drabik, born in 1588, who also fled the country and for many years prophesied the imminent downfall of the Pope and the Habsburgs, and the arrival of the millennium. Eventually he fell into the hands of the imperialists, and was beheaded in 1671.[3] Comenius was an admirer of Drabik, and of Abraham von Frankenburg, whose Clavis Apocalyptica was translated into Dutch and English. Frankenburg was a disciple of Jacob Boehme.[4] Another prominent millenarian was Christopher Kotter (d.1647), who prophesied that the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate and his successors would overthrow the Habsburgs and Rome by 1666, and that New Jerusalem would appear in 1680. Frederick apparently welcomed these predictions, and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden also encouraged the idea of

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1. P. Serarius, An awakening warning to the Wofull World (Amsterdam, 1662); The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg, ed. A.R. and M.B. Hall (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1965-6), esp.iii.447; P. Felgenhauer, Postilion, or a new Almanack (1655), pp.13,28,38, 44; Neue Deutsche Biographie,v. (Berlin, 1960), p.69.

2. Spittlehouse, Het legher gewroocken (1653), i.e. The Army Vindicated; O. Lloyd, Het Gezigt van den Panther (1688).

3. On Comenius see, for example, M. Spinka, Comenius, that incomparable Moravian (Chicago, 1943); H. R. Trevor-Roper, Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (1967), pp.237-293. For Drabik, The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington, ed. J. Crossley and R. C. Christie (Chetham Soc.,xiii,xxxvi,cxiv, 1847-86),i.357n.-360n.

4. Clavis Apocalyptica (1651), preface, p.3; D. Hirst, Hidden Riches (1964), p.88.

himself as a messianic king.[1] In France, Georges Pacard, the Huguenot pastor of La Rochefoucauld, who died in 1610, published a treatise on Antichrist, identified as Rome, the fall of which he anticipated with pleasure. There was a controversy in the 1650s between the Protestant theologians Pierre de Launay, the most prominent millenarian, and Moïse Amyraut, who conceded that millenarian ideas had revived fifty or sixty years before and were held by many of his friends.[2] Another Protestant, one D.R., had in 1645 sent his millenarian work to a German princess to be circulated and forwarded to the Queen-Mother of Sweden.[3]

Millenarians who attempted to create a popular movement were quickly suppressed by the authorities. Pell wrote from Cologne in 1655 discussing the Fifth Monarchists, and noted that the people there were 'now and then troubled with men of the like principles, but they soon shut them up, that they may not seduce others.' In 1663 one Morin was burnt at Paris 'for professing himself to be Jesus Christ: he had got many disciples, and among the rest two Priests.' His followers were gaoled or banished. In 1674 it was

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1. Anon., Prophecies of Christopher Kotterus,..Nicholas Drabicius (2nd edn. 1664); M. Roberts, Gustavus Adolphus (1953,1958),i. 522-6,ii.406.

2. E. G. Leonard, A History of Protestantism, trans. J. M. H. Reid and R. M. Bethell (1967),ii.389n.; Froom, Prophetic Faith,ii. 627-9,632-4; M. Amyraut, Du Regne de Mille Ans (Saumur, 1654), pp.3,5,37-44; P. de Launay, Paraphrase at Exposition sur l'Apocalypse (Geneva, 1651), p.517 (misprint for 617).

3. D.R., The Morning Alarum, trans. N. Johnson (1651), passim.

reported that an apparently native Fifth Monarchy movement was spreading rapidly at The Hague, but that the magistrates were about to crush it.[1]

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The English civil war broke out over largely secular issues, but the Catholic character of the Court and the nature of the Laudian church made it easy to identify the royalist cause with the papal Antichrist. Parliamentary preachers found a ready response when they preached that Parliament and the army had been chosen by God to throw down Babylon and prepare the way for the Kingdom of Christ. Millenarian ideas were widespread among Parliamentary supporters, though it was in the sects and the army that they found their most intense expression. These circumstances meant that millenarianism was given an activist direction: God's wish was for the saints to throw down Babylon and establish the New Jerusalem, not merely to await some divine intervention.

Millenarian beliefs were most widespread in the 1640s, yet it was only after 1649, when the wave was already receding, that the Fifth Monarchist movement emerged. Partly it was a response to the hopes aroused by the execution of King Charles, making way for King Jesus - a development which itself repelled millenarians who were socially conservative. But most important, it was a response to the fact that both the Rump and the Grandees were apostasizing from

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1. R. Vaughan, The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1839),i.154; Mercurius Publicus,12 (19-26 March 1663), p.196; Hist. MSS.Comm., xxv, Le Fleming MSS., p.109: Newsletter, 14 April 1674.

God's work. The millenarians who became Fifth Monarchists would have been content to watch the Rump or the army set up Christ's kingdom. They formed a separate movement only when it became apparent that God's cause would go by default unless it was upheld by saints who were private citizens.[1]

The emergence of Fifth Monarchism was not the result of a massive switch to millenarianism by Levellers, disappointed at 'the failure of the left-democratic revolution to consummate itself.'[2] The Fifth Monarchists' wish for the tyrannical rule of the elect over the ungodly was diametrically opposite to the Levellers' egalitarian tendencies. Nevertheless, some of the rank and file of the Leveller supporters may have drifted into Fifth Monarchism because the saints shared many of the objectives of the other contemporary radical movements. They called for legal reforms, lower rents and the abolition of feudal relics. They attacked monopolies, condemned tithes, and sought to relieve the plight of the poor. There is no evidence that they derived these ideas from the Levellers, but the existence of a body of shared objectives may have facilitated movement between the fringe members of the radical groups.

The Fifth Monarchists were an elitist movement, seeing the saints as God's aristocracy and therefore justified in ruling over the reprobate. Divine grace ignored existing social distinctions,

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1. This was recognized by J. F. Wilson, in 'Comment on "Two Roads to the Puritan Millennium"', Church History, xxxii (1963), p.341.

2. P. Zagorin, A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution (1954), p.105.

and the saints believed that it necessitated a social revolution. But within the ranks of the saints, it made them egalitarian. A journeyman, apprentice or labourer might possess the grace of God, and persons of these social degrees were accepted as equal saints, able to hold office in the congregation.

Fifth Monarchism, and the great millenarian wave of the seventeenth century, was the result of the political and religious crisis, not of economic circumstances. But the Fifth Monarchist form of millenarianism, calling for a social revolution and the confiscation of the lands of the ungodly, appealed particularly to certain social and economic groups. It drew its support largely from the towns and the army, where traditional social patterns had broken down. The saints were mostly artisans, journeymen and apprentices. The cloth and leather industries provided over 30% of the membership. Even though these were not the most capitalized industries, many of the saints were probably wage-earners with no prospect of becoming economically independent. Pamphleteers and preachers attacked the rich, the covetous, great merchants and monopolists. Yet the specific economic proposals of the Fifth Monarchists were not anti-capitalist. There were demands for protection against foreign competition, for a trade-war against the Dutch rivals, and for the reform of the law relating to debt, to protect the creditor as much as to relieve the debtor. Though there were attacks on covetousness, there was no condemnation of usury. There were schemes to use beggars and criminals as a pool of cheap labour. Such proposals looked towards the future.

This is partly to be explained by the dichotomy between the authors of the pamphlets, largely the better-educated and socially superior members of the movement, and the mass of the saints, which was revealed also in the conflicting attitudes towards Münster and the use of violence. Yet even Venner's group called for a programme similar to the one above, and it would appear that even small masters could see the advantages of these schemes. When it was argued that these proposals would bring universal wealth, they could be made generally acceptable. Such generalized promises, and the prospect of a social revolution and retribution falling on the privileged orders, the rich, the lawyers and the clergy, were probably what was most attractive to the majority of the saints. Even the Fifth Monarchist form of millenarianism was sufficiently flexible to embrace visions of varying kinds.

The panic produced in 1653 by the Fifth Monarchists' attempt to throw down tithes and the existing laws was in part responsible for the tide of reaction which flowed through the Protectorate to the Restoration. Millenarianism was once more identified with social and political subversion. The only successful challenge to the restored Stuart regime was the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the leaders of which avoided all contact with the survivors of the radicalism of the 1640s and '50s. Henceforth the landed classes moderated their quarrels sufficiently to prevent any dangerous revival of the millenarian ideas which continued to circulate at those levels of society untouched by the 'age of reason'.

APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHICAL APPENDIX

The appendix gives a brief summary of the careers of the leading Fifth Monarchists, and mentions all whose occupations are known. Where possible, a person's occupation, earlier and later religious/political affiliations, and dates of adherence to Fifth Monarchism have been noted. Individuals whose careers have been described at length elsewhere, such as Harrison, Overton, Rogers and Powell, have been dealt with cursorily here. The underlining of a name signifies that the person is the subject of a separate entry. Certain Fifth Monarchist declarations have been abbreviated as follows:

Comp. Test.	The Complaining Testimony of some..of Sions Children (1656), after the rally at Abingdon for the funeral of Pendarves.
Declaration	A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ (1654), London Fifth Mon. declaration.
Essay	An Essay towards Settlement upon a sure foundation (1659), London Fifth Mon./Baptist tract.
Word for God	A Word for God (1655), printed in Thurloe, iv.380-4 (Welsh Fifth Mon. manifesto inspired by Powell).

The abbreviations 'Cong.', 'Ind.' and 'Bapt.' denote respectively Congregationalist, Independent and Baptist; 'lic.' denotes licensed.

ADAMS, Ambrose

Millwright, Abingdon church, fined for conventicling, 1664. (Preston, Church..of St. Nicholas, Abingdon (1935), p.121n.)

ADAMS, Richard, d.1716

Ejected from Humberstone, Leics.; schoolteacher. Licensed (Cong.) 1672. Head of 5th Mon. church in London, 300 strong, 1682. Elder of Gen. Bapt. church in Bermondsey 1689, and pastor of Particular Baptist church at Devonshire Square 1701-12. No other 5th Mon. connections known.

Matthews, Calamy Revised (1934), pp.1-2; Bapt. Quart., i.84-5; SP. 29/419, f.102; Whitley, Baptists of London (1928), p.103.

ADMAN, Ursula

Sister of Anna Trapnel (Trapnel, Report and Plea (1654), p.42). Arrested for holding (5th Mon.) meeting at her house in Middlesex, 1669 (Jeaffreson, Middlesex County Records,iv (1892), pp.14-5.

ALLEN, William, 1616-fl.1667

On fringe of 5th Mon. movement. Originally feltmaker. In Parlt. army from 1642. Agitator, 1647. Adjutant-General by 1651. Broghill in Ireland said he would only obey Ireton and Allen. Millenarian by '49. Opposed fall of Barebones and very critical of Protectorate, but remained in army, in Ireland, till 1656. At Bapt./5th Mon. meeting at Dorchester, 1658, signed Essay '59. Arrested 1660 and '61, released and banished. Published verses on death of Wigan, Glasse and Vernon, '66-7. A Baptist. Dead by 1679.

Thurloe and Clarke, passim; biogs. by Wheeler Robinson and Hardacre, Bapt.Q.,iii.237-40;xix.292-308;T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.254-5;iv. 130-1;Bodl. MS. Rawl. A 13,fos.24,26;Worcester Coll.,Oxford,MS 18, f.8;Bodl.MS.Ashmole 210,f.134 gives date of birth;Firth and Davies, Regimental History (1940), pp.613-4;R. Bagwell, Ireland under the Stuarts (1909),ii.267,349;anon.,Bochim (1667), Mite from Three Mourners (1666).

Not to be confused with General Baptist minister of same name.

ANDREWES,——

Rich brewer, Limehouse, London, 1661 (SP. 29/44,f.267).

ARCHER, John, fl.1629-d. about 1642

Not a Fifth Monarchist. Perhaps educ. Cambridge. London lecturer, 1629; suspended by Laud. Presented to All Saints', Hertford, by Feoffees for Impropriations, 1631. Perhaps left '32, was suspended for long absence by '38 (I.M.Calder, 'A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', American Hist. Rev.,liii (1947-8), p.769;W.Urwick, Nonconformity in Herts. (1884), p.526.). Went into exile, pastor of English church at Arnhem, died about 1642 (G.Hornius,Historia Ecclesiastica (1665), p.331;Alsted, Beloved City (1643), suffix, p.xxi;Tillinghast, Generation Worke, 3rd part (1654), p.47). His Personall Reigne of Christ (1641 and many later edns.) made him posthumously famous. His first name appeared as Henry on one edn. Confused with Anglican Aucher in D.N.B.

ARMIGER, John, fl.1653-d.1683

Shoemaker. Of Knollys's cong.,Coleman St.,1653 (ed.Underhill, Records of..Hexham (1854), p.340). At Abingdon rally 1656 (Comp. Test.,sig.A2). Signed Baptist invitation to Charles II, 1656 (Crosby, Hist. of the Baptists (1738-40),i.appendix, p.84). Presented for absence from church, 1664 (Guildhall MS 9583, box 1, St. Anne and St. Agnes). In Rye House Plot, '83 (C.S.P.Dom.,1683,ii. p.448 and passim; A List of all the Conspirators (?1683), brs.

ASHTON, William

Silk-weaver. Took part in Venner's plots, 1657 and '61; executed '61. (Thurloe,vi.194;Burrage, 'Fifth Mon. Insurrections', Eng.Hist. Rev.,xxv (1910), pp.737-8/44).

ASPINWALL, William, fl.1630-62

Settled in Massachusetts, 1630; freeman, deacon, trader and recorder of Boston. Expelled as antinomian, 1637-42. Returned to England 1652. Publ. 5th Mon. and anti-7th Day Sabbath tracts 1653-7. Opposed plots, favoured participation in existing government. Whitley calls him a Baptist and infantry captain, but there is no evidence for either. One W.A., mercer of Halifax, died 1660; but a W.A. of Chester, '62.

D.N.B. (confuses him with Presbyt. namesake);T.Bapt.H.S.,vii. 185; New Engl.Hist.and Gen.Reg.,ii.76;iii.90;v.301,448;vii.232; xxviii.47-50;lix.103;F.C.Gray,Mass.Hist.Soc.Coll.,3rd ser.,viii. 193-4;Canterbury Wills,1657-60,ed.T.M.Blagg (1936), p.24; Aspinwall, Legislative Power (1656), pp.36-7.

ASTLEY, John

Yeoman of Middx. Arrested '69 at Adman's house (Jeaffreson,Middx. Recs.,iv.14).

ASTLEY, Richard, fl.1659-d.1696

Minister, perhaps educ. Cambridge, ejected from Blackwood, Bolton, '62. Succeeded Canne as head of Hull 5th Mon./Cong. church, 1669. Lic. Ind., '72. Mediated between Whitehurst and his cong., 1679.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.17;J.Hunter, Rise of the Old Dissent (1842), pp.295-6;~~Venn and Venn,Alumni Cantab.(1922-7),i.~~

ATWOOD, Thomas

Silverspinner. Defected from Venner over 1657 plot (Burrage, 'Insurrections', p.734). Fined 1663 for conventicling at Spittle-fields (Jeaffreson,Middx.Recs.,iii(1888), p.330).

BACHE, Humphrey, d.1662.

Goldsmith, formerly excise-collector. Signed Declaration, 1654 as of Fenton's church. Became Quaker, imprisoned after Restoration, died shortly after release.

His own Few Words in True Love (1659);H.Barbour, Quakers (1964), pp.160-1,168n.,201; Canterbury Wills,1661-70,ed.J.H.Morrison (1935), p.11;W.C.Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (1955), pp.517-9.

BANFEATHER, Joseph

Silk-stocking-maker of Nottingham. Associated with Pooley, 1667 (SP. 29/190,f.189).

BARRETT, George, fl.1653-d.1700.

Mealman. Assistant to Jessey, 1653; signed Declaration, '54. Asked to be called as defence witness at Canne's trial, 1658. Arbitrator in breach in Simpson's church. Head of cong. of 100 5th Mon. men at Horsleydown, '69. Thereafter head of London Particular Bapt. churches, and not known as 5th Mon. man.

T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.125;vii.186;Whitley, Bapt.London, pp.108,115/8; Narrative..of Canne (1658), p.11;Old Leaven Purged (1658), p.28; Turner, Original Records (1911-14),i.69,144;ii.990.

BASSE, Jonathan, fl.1651-d.1681

Esq.; of Woodall's cong., Woodbridge. He and Woodall 'Commonly termed a Jonthan and David' (Dr. Williams's Lib., Harmer MS. 76.5: Woodbridge Churchbook,fos.2,4). On county committee, Suffolk, 1657 (Firth and Rait, Acts and Ordinances (1911),ii.1081). Cong. met at his house after Restoration (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.105; Norwich Rec. Office,VIS/7,box.411, 31 May 1678).

BAWDEN, Major John, fl.1650-d.1685

Gent.;M.P.,Cornwall, 1653. Supporter of Trapnel during her western tour, 1654. On Cornwall county committees, 1650/2,1659-60. No other 5th Mon. connections. His will describes him as of Truro.

Glass, Barbone Parliament (1899), p.71;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,ii.463,659,1322/66;Trapnel, Legacy of Saints (1654), p.50 and her Report and Plea, pp.13,25; Merc.Politicus,201 (13-20 March 1654), pp.3429-30;Cornwall and Devon Wills,ed.R.M.Glen-gross (1929), p.17.

BAYLIE, Thomas, c.1582-1663.

Minister, ejected from Mildenhall, Wilts. M.A. and B.D., Oxon. Presbyt., member of Westminster Assembly. Became Congregationalist; kept conventicle after ejection. Married daughter of Robert Parker, millenarian author. Called 5th Mon. by Calamy and Wood, but not otherwise known as such.

D.N.B.; Matthews,Cal.Rev., p.40;A.Wood,Athenae Oxonienses (1691-2),i.217.

BEECH, John

Tailor. In Rathbone plot, but acquitted, 1666 (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iii.376,iv.269-70).

BELCHER, John, fl.1658-d.1695.

Bricklayer and pastor. Arrested with Canne, 1658. Itinerant 5th Mon. preacher in early '60s, thought likely to rebel. Adopted 7th Day Sabbath by 1664. Led the Bell Lane 7th Day church till death. Arrested with the cong. in 1671 as 5th Monarchists, but not known as 5th Mon. thereafter.

T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.127-8;vii.187;Bapt.Q.,xiv.161-6;A.Wood,Life and Times (1891),i.302;Narrative..of Canne,p.6;Jeaffreson,Middx. Recs.,iv.31;SP. 29/42,f.69v.;/44,f.267;/80,f.192;/291,f.176.

BLOXSOM, Barnabas

Tailor. His house in Southwark a 5th Mon./Ind. meeting place 1669. Lic. Cong., 1672 (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.144;ii.983).

BRAYNE, John, fl.1642-d.1654

Not 5th Mon. Millenarian V. of the Soke, Winchester by 1647 and till death. Earlier min. in Essex and Norfolk. Claimed to have had vision in '47 of fall of all kings. His work on Mosaic law admired by 5th Mon. men. Apparently adopted Seeker ideas by '52.

Matthews, Walker Revised (1948), pp.166,186,204,264;A Vision, which..Brayne..had in..1647 (1649);his own New Earth (1653); Spittlehouse and More, Vindication..In Answer to..Brain (1652); SP. 18/74,f.22;Canterbury Wills,1653-6,ed.T.M.Blagg and J.S.Moir (1925), p.67.

BRIERLY, (alias Bradley), Robert

?Tallow-chandler. In Venner's rising 1661; death sentence, but suspended (Burrage, 'Insurrections', pp.744-5). Perhaps the R.B., tallow-chandler mentioned in Interregnum assessment of London (SP. 19/A46)

BREVITER, Richard, fl.1640-d.1664

V. of N. Walsham, Norfolk. Educ. Cambridge (M.A.,'47). Presbyt. min., '47, joined Norwich Ind. church 1650, at N. Walsham by '51. Nominated members for Barebones '53. Wrote in support of 5th Mon., 1654. Re-baptized and resigned living '56. Lived in Norwich after 1660; millenarian, but no later 5th Mon. activities known.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.71;Bapt.Q.,xviii.311;Tillinghast,Generation Worke,3rd part (1654), prefatory letter from B.;J.Browne, Congregationalism (1877),pp.297-8;his own Mighty Christ (1662), sig.A7v.and passim.

BROWNE, Capt. John, d.1654

Gent., of Little Ness, Salop. Of Llwyd's cong. 5th Mon. M.P., Barebones. Officer since 1647. Sequestrator. Died 1654.

W.R.Williams,Parlt.Hist.of Wales (1895),p.4;Glass,Barbone,p.72; T.Richards Relig. Developments (1923), p.228.

BROWNE, Robert, 1633/4-1688

Ejected as Min. of White Lady Aston, Worcs. Educ. Oxford. Described as 'fervent..Fifth-Monarchy-man' by Calamy, but no other evidence. Not a Baptist, but later headed Baptist churches in London, Worcester and Plymouth.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.81;E.Calamy,Continuation (1727),pp.894-5.

BRUNT, Simon, fl.1671-1711

Tailor. Arrested 1671 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iv.30). Gaoled 1685 as supporter of Monmouth (ibid.,p.293). Member and deacon of Bell Lane church till 1711 (T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.128; Dr. Williams's Lib., 'Mill Yard Minutes', p.193).

BUNCH, Nathaniel

Cobbler's apprentice, examined 1656 (Thurloe,iv.621). Signed Rogers's Reviving Word, 1657.

BUTTEVANT, Capt. Thomas, fl.1646-61

Of Norwich. In Lifeguards, purged 1656. In Knollys's cong., 1646 and still '53. At Abingdon rally '56. Militant leader in E. Anglia and London 1656. Hiding in London 1661.

T.Edwards,Gangraena,(1646)iii.49;ed.Underhill,Hexham,pp.311,340; Comp.Test.,sig.A2;Thurloe,iv.629;v.220,296-7;SP. 29/44,f.265.

BYFIELD, Nathaniel, 1602-fl.1672

Educ. Oxford, R. of Silverton, Devon, 1647-54. Led 5th Mon. cong. in Exeter in 1650s. Arrested 1661 for complicity with Venner and preparing a rising. Of Ilfracombe 1665; lic. (Bapt.), Bridgewater, 1672.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,pp.96,560;W.J.Harte,'Exeter 1640-62', Rep. and Trans.Devon.Assoc.(1937),p.55;Merc.Publicus,4 (24-31 Jan.'61), p.62;C.S.P.Dom.,1672,p.378.

CALEY, Jacob, fl.1643-d.1680

Gent.; M.P. for Ipswich, 1653. Portman of Ipswich. On Suffolk county committees 1643, '47-52,'57, and on Eastern High Court of Justice. Of Stoneham's cong.; joint author with him of 5th Mon. tract A Serious Proposal (1659).

Glass, Barbone,p.72;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,i.168,111-2; ii.passim;A.Everitt,Suffolk and the Great Rebellion (1961),p.117; Canterbury Wills,1676-85,ed.C.H.Ridge (1948),p.61.

CANNE, John, c.1590-c.1667

Pastor of English separatist cong. at Amsterdam, 1630-47. Held mill. ideas by 1640. Chaplain to Col. Robert Lilburne 1647, and Robert Overton, 1650. Wrote for the Army and Rump and against the Levellers, 1647-50. Wrote 5th Mon. tracts 1653-9. At Abingdon rally '56. Expelled from Hull '56, went to London. Not involved with Venner but suspected of plotting '57. Arrested '58 for seditious words. Editor of Publick Intelligencer May-Aug.'59. Still active Nov.'61, but back in Amsterdam by '64 and died there. Not a Baptist.

D.N.B.;Clarke,i.lvii;iv.43,146;Thurloe,vi.349;T.Bapt.H.S.,iii. 212-46;Church Hist.,xxxiii.34-49;C.S.P.Dom.,'56-7,p.41;Comp. Test.,sig.A2;Narrative..of Canne,passim;SP. 29/44,f.267;Burrage, Early English Dissenters (1912),ii.305.

CARDELL, John, 1609/10-fl.1655

Min. of All Hallows, Lombard St., 1643-55. Educ. Oxford. Lost living 1655 for attacking national ministry. Spittlehouse in 1655 called him 'one of the late Fifth Monarchists'.

Matthews,Walker Rev.,p.62;Foster,Alumni Oxon. (1891-2),i.236; Clarke,iii.50,53;anon.,Cause of God (1659),p.7;Spittlehouse, Royall Advocate,p.44.

CAREW, John, 1622/3-1660

Gent., son of Sir Richard C. of Antony, Cornwall. Educ. Oxford and Inns of Court. M.P. 1647-53 and Barebones. On county committees '47-53,'59-60. Gaoled by Cromwell 1655-6. Re-baptized '58. At Dorchester meeting '58. Executed as regicide 1660. Never implicated in plots.

D.N.B.;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,passim;Foster,Al.Oxon.,i. p.237;F.E.Halliday, Cornish Chronicle (1963),pp.153,157-60,165; Clarke,ii.242-6;iii.23-4;Thurloe,vi.164,790;vii.140;G.Bate,Lives, Actions..(1661); Merc.Politicus,402 (4-11 Feb. 1658),p.294; C.S.P.Dom.,'56-7,p.130.

CARY, Capt. Edward, fl.1663-83

Brewer of Southwark. In Parlt. army. Involved in 1663 plot, captured but escaped. Follower of Blood. Warrant for arrest, '67. Involved in crown-stealing. Described as 5th Mon. man, 1683, when was implicated in Rye-House Plot.

C.S.P.Dom.,1663-4,pp.259,375,652-3;ibid.,'64-5,p.159;ibid.,'66-7, pp.537,546;ibid.,1683,i,pp.105,185.

CARY, Mary, c.1621-fl.1653

Became a millenarian 1636, age 15 (Cary, Resurrection of the Witnesses (1653), sig.C4v.). Published tracts 1647-53 in praise of Army and Barebones. Praised 5th Mon. congs. at Christ Church and Blackfriars. Known as Mary Rande after '51, perhaps related to Daniel and Walter Rand, who signed Rogers's Reviving Word, 1657.

Own writings, passim.

CASTLE, William

Linen-draper of Abingdon, 1664 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n.).

CHAMBERLEN, Dr. Peter, 1601-83

Royal physician. Educ. Cambridge and Padua. Published millenarian and 5th Mon. tracts, '49-59, mostly on the law, trade, and the poor. Baptist by 1650, head of Lothbury Sq. church 1652-4. Adopted 7th Day Sabbath by '57. Signed Declaration. Not involved in plots. Welcomed Charles II; re-appointed royal physician. Not afterwards known as 5th Mon., but remained in Mill Yard and Bell Lane 7th Day churches, and still preached the apocalypse. Engaged in schemes for union of all Christian churches, and in mechanical projects.

D.N.B.;J.H.Aveling, The Chamberlens (1882),pp.30-122;J.Thirtle, 'Chamberlen',T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.176-89;F.A.Micklewright,Notes and Q., (1946),pp.95-9,137-40,161-3,185-9;Bodl. MS.Rawl.D 828,passim; J.Ives, Saturday No Sabbath (1659);SP. 29/31,fos.141-2;/237,f.117; Bodl.MS.Tanner 35,fos.2,5,104,133,135,155.

CHANDLER, Samuel

Bricklayer; arrested 1669 at meeting at Adman's house (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14).

CHAPMAN, Livewell, fl.1650-d.1664/5

Leading publisher of 5th Mon. tracts. Gaoled '54 and '56. Associated with Venner, but broke over '57 plot. Fled abroad, 1660, but returned. Continued to publish anti-govt. tracts, gaoled '61-2,'63-4, and died in prison.

C.S.P.Dom.,'54,pp.378,389;ibid.,'59-60,pp.572/5;ibid.,'63-4, pp.71,180,349,581-2;Thurloe,iv.379;G.Kitchin, Sir Roger L'Estrange (1913),pp.60-1,115-7;B.M.,Add.MS. 4459,fos.111-2v.

CHAPPELL, Thomas, fl.1648-86

Silk-throwster of Stepney. One T.C. in army '48 (SP. 28/124,f.206v). Of Simpson's cong., 1657 (SP. 18/106,f.109;/156,f.29). Silk-throwster, gaoled with Courtney, '61 (SP. 29/47,f.104). Received letters indirectly from Serarius 1666, and accepted claims of Sabbatai Sevi (SP. 29/162,fos.157-8; C.S.P.Dom.,'65-6, p.568). Gaoled for conventicling '85/6 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.302).

CHILD, John

Silk-weaver of Bedford; 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

CHILLENDEN, Capt. Edmund, fl.1637-78

Originally button-seller; friend of John Lilburne, but testified against him in Star Chamber 1637. Arrested for conventicling 1641. Served in army, captured by royalists, 1643. Agitator '47, captain by '50/1. Head of Gen. Bapt. church at Aldgate and then St. Paul's, 1653. Expelled from army and church '53 for immorality, but back in church by '55. Active 5th Mon. '53-9, though claimed to oppose violence. Said during '56 election 'Pish, let religion alone'. Held post connected with admiralty 1670-1, but excluded by D. of York. Coffee-house-keeper 1661 and 1677-8, when arrested for publishing illegal newspapers.

D.N.B.; C.S.P.Dom.,1640-1,p.418;ibid.,'52-3,p.423;ibid.,'55,p.224; ibid.,'70,pp.47,328,376;ibid.,'71,pp.15,220,529;ibid.,'77-8, pp.338,643;Clarke,i.passim;iii.162;Thurloe,iv.365;v.287; J.Lilburne, Legall Fundamentall Liberties (1649),p.21;Fifth Monarchy..Asserted (1659),p.24;MS.Rawl.A 8,f.127;Phanatique Intelligencer (1660),p.8;SP.29/44,f.265;Firth and Davies, Reg. Hist.,pp.214-5;J.Nickolls, Orig. Letters (1743),p.122; B.Lillywhite,London Coffee Houses (1963),pp.323-4;his own Nathans Parable (1653).

CLARKE, John, 1609-76

Emigrated to Boston 1637, settled Newport, R.I. Physician and Baptist pastor, and antinomian. In London 1651 on colony's business, but stayed. In '52 called Rump 'Sword-bearers' to the 'King of Kings'. Became minister of Baptist cong. at Worcester House. Signed Declaration, '54; at Abingdon rally, '56; arbitrator in feud in Simpson's church. Arrested with Canne '58. Arrested '61, but prob. not in plot. Back to Newport '61, no further 5th Mon. activities.

Dict.Amer.Biog.,ii.154-6;Bapt.Q.,i.368-72;Comp.Test.,sig.A2; Tillam,Lasher proved Lyer (1657),p.2;Old Leaven,p.28;Narrative.. of Canne,passim;London's Glory (1661),p.16;own Ill Newes from New England (1652),sig.A2v.

CLARKE, Samuel

Labourer, arrested 1671 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iv.29). Became asst. minister at Mill Yard (T.Bapt.H.S.,iv. 128).

CLEMENTS, John

Of London. Perhaps the J.C., girdler, d.1667 (Canterbury Wills '61-70, ed. Morrison,p.54) and/or the J.C., former servant, mentioned 1666 (P.E.Jones, The Fire Court (1966),p.278). At Abingdon '56 (Comp.Test.,sig.A2), signed Rogers's Reviving Word, '57. One of leaders in radicals' breach with Simpson (Old Leaven, passim). A J.C. in the army '49 (SP.28/142 ii,f.31).

COATES, Thomas

Scrivener of Limehouse, 1661 (SP.29/44,f.267v.). Signed Rogers's Reviving Word, 1657.

COCK, Henry

'Of quality'; member of Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks., 5th Mon. church, 1669 (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.78). Head of 7th Day cong., Bucks.,1690 (Bapt.Q.,xiv.165).

COCKAYNE, George, 1619/20-91

Son of Esq.; educ. Cambridge (B.A.); army chaplain. In London 5th Mon. movement '52-3, but not during Protectorate. Condemned Venner '61, but associated with Danvers, Glasse, Vernon, and was described as 5th Mon. again in '64. Lic. (Cong.) in '72, and not known as 5th Mon. thereafter.

D.N.B.;Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.124;J.B.Marsh,Story of Harecourt (1871),passim;W.Erbery,Bishop of London (1653),p.3;C.S.P.Dom., '53-4,p.307;SP.29/71,f.147;/101,f.201;/103,f.262;/105,f.75.

COLE, John

Tailor; executed 1666 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii. 376;iv.269-70).

COMBES, John, fl.1648-c.1675

Cordwainer and miller of Abingdon. Perhaps in army '48. In Abingdon church from '52, at rally '56. Probably pastor after Pendarves. Gaoled at Reading 1660. Fined '64 for conventicling. Lic. (Bapt.), 1672.

Preston, Abingdon,pp.121n,130;J.Stanley,Church in the Hop Garden (1935)pp.103-4;E.A.Payne,Baptists of Berkshire (1951),pp.31/3/9, 53; Comp.Test.,sig.A2;J.Atherton,Pastor Turn'd Pope (1654),p.1; SP.28/124,f.316v.

COOKE, Elizabeth

Wife of mealman; arrested as of Swift's cong., Hendon, 1669 (Gter. London Rec. Office, MR/RC-1,no.46).

COURTNEY, Quarter-Master-General Hugh, fl.1649-66

Gent. of Cornwall. Made M.A., Oxford, '49, for help in suppressing Levellers. On N. Wales and Cornwall committees '49-52, '59-60. M.P., Wales, 1653. Prominent 5th Mon. leader in Protectorate, gaoled for urging armed resistance '55, and '57/'58-9. Re-baptized '58; signed Essay '59; supporter of Vane in '59. Gaoled 1660-3. Reported to be stirring up trouble in Essex/Herts., '66. Possibly same as one Coutnay, arrested 1671.

Williams, Parlt.Hist.Wales,p.3;Firth and Rait,Acts and Ord.,ii. passim;Clarke,ii.242-6;iii.105-6;Thurloe,ii.214;iii.140/3; M. Harrison, Narrative of the Proceedings (1659),p.3;E.Pagitt, Heresiography (1662),p.525 (misprint for 285);SP.29/47,f.104;/ 67,f.103;/144,f.138;Pub. Intelligencer,120 (1-8 Feb.1658),p.286; C.S.P.Dom.,'56-7,p.130;ibid.,'70-1,p.52.

COX, Nicholas

Bag-mender, of Northants.; Swore loyalty to King Jesus, in London, 1670 (SP.29/275,fos.214-6).

COX, Capt. Owen, fl.1646-d.1665

Naval captain from '46, served in Mediterranean, won engagement in Swedish service against Danes/Dutch, 1659, was made Vice-Admiral of Sweden. Arrested '61 for seditious words, defending Venner. Had ship full of arms at Sandwich '61. Bought own ship. Relative of Wm. Lilly. Died in shipwreck.

Letters and Papers relating to First Dutch War,ed.S.R.Gardiner,i (1899),pp.18-20;J.R.Powell,Navy in the..Civil War (1962),pp.209, 215/7-8;Loyall Scout,18 (26 Aug.-2 Sept.'59),p.152;C.S.P.Dom., '61-2,pp.127,188;SP.29/44,f.267v.;J.Gadbury,Nauticum Astrologicum (1691),pp.79-80,118-9.

CROSSBY, Richard

Cutler; arrested 1671 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iv.29-30).

CROWCH, John

Tailor; 5th Mon. agent at Lewes, 1656/7 (Thurloe,vi.187). Perhaps same or father of J.C. of Lewes, at Oxford Univ. '57-60, writing-master '63, lic.(Cong.), 1672, d.1691 (Matthews, Cal.Rev., pp.150-1).

DAFFERNE, Thomas

Leveller, friend of Lilburne, '48. Of Chillenden's cong., 1653-4. His house a meeting place for Harrison, Feake, Rogers, '57. Prob. same as T. Dafford, arrested for conventicling in London '63. A Mr. Dafferne of London, 1638.

Thurloe,vi.349;Nickolls,Orig.Letters,p.122;J.Lilburne,Legall Fund.Liberties,p.36;J.More,Lost Ordinance (1654),p.1;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.322;T.C.Dale,Inhabitants of London in 1638 (1931), p.131.

DANE, (alias Dild), George

Tailor of London; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

DANVERS, Charles

Merchant of London, fl.'64. Brother of Henry D. (SP.29/105,f.75; C.S.P.Dom.,'64-5,p.555).

DANVERS, Col. Henry, c.1622-87

Gent., had Staffs. estate of £300 p.a. Educ. Oxford. On Staffs. county committees '47-52, '59-60; Gov. of Stafford, '50; M.P. for Leicester '53, and prominent as 5th Mon. thereafter. Negotiated with Commonwealthsmen '56, arrested '57; signed Essay, '59. Elder of Chillenden's cong. Prob. leader of Rathbone plot, '65; captured '65, but freed by the mob. Arrested '76. Head of 5th Mon. cong., '82. Involved in Rye House Plot and Monmouth's Rebellion; fled abroad to Holland, and died there.

D.N.B.;(but confuses him with Robert D.:see pp.284-5,above); R.Kidson,'Gentry of Staffs',Staffs.Rec.Soc.,iv.13;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,passim;C.S.P.Dom.,'50,pp.211,595;ibid.,'82, pp.237,358,405,495;SP.29/419,f.102;/437,f.84;Clarke,iii.105-6; Thurloe,iv.365,629;D.Neal,Hist.of Puritans (1837),iii.415; Crosby,Hist.Bapt.,iii.90/7;J.Lingard,Hist.of England (1849),xi. 290-1;S.Pepys,Diary,ed.Wheatley (1893),v.40;Hist.MSS.Comm.,xix Townshend MSS,pp.43-4;ibid.,xxv,Le Fleming MSS,p.124;Clarendon, Continuation (1759),iii.550-1;L.Eachard,Hist.of England (1707-18), iii.757,764-5,770;Ford,lord Grey,Secret History (1757),pp.105, 113,122-3 (misprinted as 102,107).

DAY, Cornet Wentworth, fl.1647-61

Cornet in Harrison's regt.,'47; left army '49/50. Arrested '55 for reading Word for God in public and attacking govt. In Venner's plot '57; arrested '58 with Canne, till '59. Signed Essay. Gaoled '60-1 for treasonable words.

Clarke,iii.62,146;Thurloe,iv.321/9,343/8,359;vii.5-6,18;Narrative ..of Canne,passim;Jeaffreson,Middx.Recs.,iii.306-7/9;Burrage, 'Insurrections'p.738;C.S.P.Dom.,'59-60,p.47;SP.29/47,f.104;Firth and Davies,Reg.Hist.,pp.179,184-5.

DYER, William

Yeoman of Abingdon; fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n).

ECRING, Thomas

Tailor of Blackfriars, '64; became govt. informer (SP.29/99,f.17; /103,f.262v;/449,f.61v).

EVANS, Thomas

London milliner; executed '66 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.376,iv.269-70).

FEAKE, Christopher, c.1612-fl.1682

Of Surrey. Educ. Cambridge (M.A.,'35). Prob. V. of Elsham, Lincs, '38; Min. at Hertford, '46 (John Archer's former parish). Called 'tailor's man' by L'Estrange, but owned considerable property. Publ. millenarian views from '49. Min. of Christ Church, Newgate and lecturer at St. Anne's, Blackfriars from '49, and head of gathered church in Swan Alley and Warwick Lane. Most important 5th Mon. leader in London '51-60. Gaoled '54-5 and lost livings. Thought to be plotting '57; at Canne's trial, '58; arrested '58. Left London '60, became itinerant 5th Mon. preacher. Settled in Dorking, arrested '64. Promised not to act against govt. Head of 5th Mon. church on London Bridge '82. Dead before '93. Not a Baptist (Cert.Passages,28 (21-8 July '54), p.220).

D.N.B.;'Vis. of Surrey',ed.Bannerman (Harleian Soc., 1899),p.107; Venn and Venn,Al.Cantab.,ii.128;Urwick,Noncon.in Herts.,pp.526-9; Kitchin,L'Estrange,p.125;Thurloe,i.641;v.755-9;vi.349;Clarke,iii. 53,61,146,163;C.S.P.Dom.,'53-4,pp.304-6,449;ibid.,'56-7,p.194; SP.29/44,f.265v.,267;/90,fos.24-8,55,57;/421,f.324;Narrative..of Canne,p.14;BM.Add.MS.37808,fos.2-3;his own New Non-Conformist (1654),passim.

FENTON, Richard

London labourer; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29).

FINCH, James

Husbandman of Hendon; fined '65 as of Swift's cong. (MR/RC-1,no.46).

FISHER, James, fl.1622-d.1667

V. of Sheffield by '46, ejected '60. Involved in 1663 plot. Reported that he 'preaches up the Fifth Monarchy'. Died at Hatfield's house.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,pp.198-9.

FITTEN, James

Of Chester. Named in '63 plot (E. Price, Eye-Salve (1667),p.2). Arrested as fanatic, '66; received letters from Chappell on Sevi (C.S.P.Dom.,'65-6, pp.526,568).

FLYNT, Thomas

Gent. of London; executed '66 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson,iii. 376,iv.269-70).

FLY, Timothy

London draper; at conventicle at Adman's house and fined, '69 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14).

FOX, Capt. Consolation

Maltster and Yeoman of Abingdon; fined '64/'69 (Preston, Abingdon, pp.121n,123n). In the cong. by 1654 (Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope, p.3).

FOX, Edmond

London hat-maker; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

FOXWELL, John

London weaver; arrested over Venner plot, '61 (London's Glory, p.16), and for conventicling '62 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.313). Presented at visitation '66 as scandalous person (Guildhall MS.9583, box 1, St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate). Possibly the J.F. who signed Gen. Bapt. declaration of '54 opposing 5th Mon. men (Whitley, Minutes (1909-10),i.5). Possibly the Foxell who signed 5th Mon. letter 1670 (SP.29/275,f.216).

FRITTON, ——

Miller of Canterbury; head of 5th Mon. church '65 (SP.29/136,f.65).

GADBERRY, William

London bookbinder; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

GARRETT, William

Yeoman of Middx.; arrested at cong. at Adman's house, '69 (ibid., iv.14).

GEDDING, Zacharias

Smith of Middx.; arrested at cong. at Adman's house, '69 (ibid.)

GIBBS, Thomas

London joiner; in Venner's risings '57 and '61 (Burrage, 'Insurrections', p.738; Last Farewell (1661), pp.6-7).

GIBSON, William

London joiner; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29).

GLASSE, Thomas, d.1666

Baptist pastor of Bovey Tracey in '56; at Dorchester meeting '58. In London after 1660 with Vernon, Strange and described at this time as a leading 5th Mon. Perhaps the T.G. of Cambridge (M.A.,'31).

T.Bapt.H.S.,vii.203;Whitley,Bapt.Lond.,p.113;Thurloe,vii.138-40; SP.29/71,f.147;/99,f.16;Mite from Three Mourners;Venn and Venn, Al.Cantab.,ii.222.

GOFF, James

Portsmouth baker; agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

GOODGROOM, Richard

In army in Ireland from 1649, removed for opposing Protectorate (own Copy of a Letter (1656), passim). At Canne's trial, '58. Recommissioned as Capt., '59, then chaplain to Overton. Signed Essay. In gaol '61-7. Arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man; described as yeoman, preacher but 'no fighter'. Not the same as R.G., schoolmaster at Usk, 1650.

Bapt.Q.,i.232-3,xiv.162;Narrative..of Canne,p.14;Worcs.Coll.MS. 33,f.111v;C.S.P.Dom.,'59-60,pp.45,240;ibid.,'67,p.498;ibid.,'71, p.496;SP.29/43,f.120;/291,f.179;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.31.

GREEN, ——

Gunsmith of Middx., '61 (SP.29/40,f.157).

GREGORY, Lidia

Shoemaker's wife, of Hendon; fined as Swift's cong., '65 (MR/RC-1, no.46).

HABERGHAM, Samuel, 1626-65

Son of Min.; educ. Cambridge (M.A.,'48). Follower of Bridge. V. of Syleham, Suffolk by '52, ejected '62. At E. Anglian 5th Mon. rally '56. Pastor of Cong. church at Syleham till death.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.240;Thurloe,iv.687;Browne,Congregationalism, pp.220-2.

HAGAR, George

Yeoman of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

HALL, John

Grocer of Abingdon, fined '64 (ibid.).

HALLIWELL (alias Holloway), Cornet Richard, fl.1664-82

London tobacco-cutter. In Parlt. army, then in Flanders and Viginia. Presented for nonconformity '64. Follower of Blood in attack on Ormonde, '70. Broke with 5th Mon. men over their 'subservience'. In Rye House Plot, '82.

Hist.MSS.Comm.,vii.App.to 8th Rep.,pp.155-9;SP.29/421,f.156; Guildhall MS.9583,box 1,Trinity Minories.

HARRISON, Major-Gen. Thomas, 1606-60.

Most prominent 5th Mon. man, but not the leader; was swayed by the preachers. Son of grazier of Newcastle, Staffs. Educ. at Inns of Court. M.P. in '46. Had millenarian views by '49. Head of Propagation scheme in Wales '49-53. Sponsored Powell, Simpson and Feake as preachers to the Commons, '50-2. Prominent in fall of Rump; sat in Barebones. Dismissed from army Dec. '53 for opposing Protectorate.

Gaoled '55-6, '57/8, but made no attempts to organize resistance. Executed 1660 as regicide.

D.N.B.;C.H.Firth, Life of Thomas Harrison (Worcester, Mass.,1893); C.H.Simpkinson, Thomas Harrison (1905);Trevor-Roper,Religion, Reformation, Social Change,p.343.

HASSELLOPP, Hugh, fl.1652-74

Apothecary; baptized by Tillam into Hexham church '52. In Cheshire '64 (T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.128). Arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.30).

HATFIELD, Capt. Anthony, fl.1649-72

Esq., of Hatfield, Doncaster. On county committees, Yorks, '49/50. Said to be 5th Mon. and in 1663 plot. Patron of Whitehurst and Fisher.

SP.29/78,f.12;Matthews,Cal.Rev.,pp.526,199;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,ii.297,1067.

HATSELL, Capt. Henry, fl.1652-d.1667

??if 5th Mon. Admiralty commissioner at Plymouth by '52 (First Dutch War, ed. Gardiner and Atkinson (1899-1930), passim). On Devon/ Somerset committees, '52-9 (Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord., passim). Arrested at Exeter over Byfield's plot, '61 (Merc.Publicus,4 (24-31 Jan. '61), p.62). Soon released; lost Admiralty post '62 (C.S.P.Dom.,'60-1, p.516; ibid.,'61-2, p.483). Died '67 (Canterbury Wills '61-70, ed. Morrison, p.117).

HAYLE, Richard

Collar-maker of Middx.; arrested at cong. at Adman's house, '69 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14-5).

HEATH, Robert

Labourer of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

HELME, Camshaw, c.1622-69

Son of poor gent.; educ. Oxford. Served in army (perhaps as chaplain). Min. from '47/8, V. of Winchcombe (Gloucs.) by '50, ejected '60. Attacked scheme to make Cromwell king, '56. Condemned Venner '61, but took over Feake's cong., and described as 5th Mon. and likely to rebel '61-5. Head of meeting in London '69.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.256 and Walker Rev.,pp.174,192;Calamy, Continuation,p.501;Nickolls,Orig.Letters,p.141;SP.29/42,f.69;/44, f.267;/65,f.16;/93,f.167v;/120,f.57;Helme,Life in Death (1660), sig.A2v.

HEYWARD, Robert, fl.1657-d.1705

Apprentice to silver-refiner. In Venner's risings '57 and '61. Became rich tradesman and landowner near Shrewsbury, but never abandoned beliefs.

Burrage,'Insurrections',p.738;R.Gough,Antiquities of Myddle (1875),pp.124-5,182-5.

HICKS, Richard

London hat-maker; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

HIGGENSON, Thomas, fl.1653-d.1659

5th Mon. writer on law and against Quakers; probably a minister. Feake supplied an epistle to his Some Legible Characteristics (1659).

Own writings.

HODGKIN, Roger

London button-seller; executed after '61 rising (Pagitt, Heresiog., p.289).

HONYBURNE, William

London smith; arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

HOPKINS, Robert

London shoemaker; in '57 and '61 plots (Burrage, 'Insurrections', p.738; Pagitt, Heresiog.,p.289). Arrested as 5th Mon./7th Day man '71 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30). Still 7th Day man in '85 (T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.127-8).

HUTT, Robert

Basketmaker of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

IRETON, Clement, c.1612/6-fl.1667

Gent.; brother of John and Henry. On London and Middx. committees '49-54, '59-60. Associated with 5th Mon. leaders '55. Signed Essay '59. Described as friend of Danvers '61, and gaoled '66-7 for part in Danvers's plot. One Ireton sought by govt. over Monmouth's rising '85.

R.W.Ramsey,Henry Ireton (1949),pp.1,207;Thurloe,v.397;Firth and Rait,Acts and Ord.,ii.passim;Faithfull Narrative (1655),p.41; SP.29/192,f.133;/217,f.48v;/446,f.139;C.S.P.Dom.,'85,p.157.

JAMES, Col. John, c.1610-81

Gent. of Worcs. and Hereford. On committees for both '47-52, '54, '57-60. M.P. for Worcester '53; on Council of State '53. Follower of Llwyd, signed Word for God, but was prepared to serve on committees under Protectorate. In London 1670.

W.R.Williams,Parlt.Hist.of Worcester (1897),pp.44-6;T.Richards, Puritan Movement (1920),pp.82,93,266;Nickolls,Orig.Letters, pp.120-1;Firth and Rait,Acts and Ord.,passim.

JAMES, John, d.1661

Head of 5th Mon./7th Day church in London. Ribbon-weaver, barely literate. Attacked by G. Fox, '58, as critic of Quakers. Executed

for treason 1661, though not involved in plots. Elizabeth, prob. widow, in Mill Yard cong. '73

D.N.B.;T.B.Howell,State Trials,vi (1816),pp.67-104;Narrative of the Apprehending of.. (1662);True and perfect Speech of.. (1662); Pagitt, Heresiog.,pp.295-7;Fox,John James, I hearing (1658), passim;'Mill Yard Minutes',list of members.

JONES, James

Abingdon tailor, at rally '56 (Comp.Test.,p.3). Fined 1664 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n).

JONES, John, fl.1654-d.1666

Bookseller of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate. Prob. one of 2 J.J.s who signed Declaration '54. Released from prison with Spittlehouse '55. At Abingdon rally '56, and preacher in Swan Alley that year. Broke with Venner over '57 plot.

Thurloe,iii.149;iv.650;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;C.S.P.Dom.,'55-6,p.155; True Catalogue (1659),p.13;Burrage,'Insurrections',pp.732-4; Canterbury Wills'61-70,ed.Morrison,p.139.

JONES, John,fl.1668-87

Yeoman, of the Bell Lane 5th Mon./7th Day church '68-87; arrested '71. Perhaps one of the 2 J.J.s who signed Declaration '54.

T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.127-8;Bapt.Q.,xiv.161-6

JONES, Rice

Schoolteacher of Llanfair Careinion, N. Wales, 1653. Signed Word for God. Named in fake 5th Mon. plot 1660 (Richards, Relig.Develop., p.237; C.S.P.Dom.,'59-60, p.407).

JOPLIN, John, fl.1653-68

Gaoler of Durham under Protectorate. Formerly cornet in army under Hobson. Signed declaration with Hobson welcoming fall of Rump, 1653. Involved in 1663 plot, and though acquitted '64 was kept in prison. Noted as 'furious' 5th Monarchist '66.

C.S.P.Dom.,1663-4,pp.352,550;ibid.,'64-5,p.40;ibid.,'66-7,p.318; ibid.,'67,p.463;ibid.,'67-8,p.273;Sev.Proceedings,188 (28 April -5 May '53)p.2960.

KIRTON, Daniel, d.1674

London liquor-shop-keeper and distiller. Spread pamphlets at 5th Mon. meetings 1656 (Thurloe,v.272-3;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii. 253). Died '74 (Canterbury Wills '71-5, ed. J. Ainsworth (1942), p.123).

KNIGHT, ——

One of earliest 5th Mon. leaders at Allhallows, '52 (Erbery, Bishop of London,p.3). Probably Isaac Knight, R. of Fulham from 1652 till Restoration, formerly chaplain to Fairfax (Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.311).

Possibly the Mr. Knight, preacher and former porter, arrested Dec.'60/Jan. '61 with Courtney and Allen (Merc.Publicus,54 (27 Dec.'60-3 Jan.'61),p.846).

LABORY, John

London yeoman, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30). Still 7th Day '85 (T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.127-8).

LAMAS, Susanna

Wife of Hendon labourer. Of Swift's cong., fined '65 (MR/RC-1, no.46).

LANGDEN, Capt. Francis, d.1658

Gent., of old Cornish family. On county committees '49-52. J.P. M.P. for Cornwall '53. Re-baptized '51. Chief supporter of Trapnel on her tour in 1654. At Abingdon rally '56. 5th Mon. agent, Cornwall, '56/7.

Glass, Barbone,p.79;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,ii.31,294, 463,659;C.S.P.Dom.,'49-50,p.229;Trapnel, Report and Plea; Comp.Test.,sig.A2;Thurloe,vi.187;T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.135;Canterbury Wills '57-60,ed.Blagg,p.366.

LAUGHTON, John

Smith of Middx. Arrested '69 at cong. at Adman's house (Jeaffreson, Middx.Rec.,iv.14).

LLOYD, Owen

Follower of Llwyd. Had vision of black panther in Dec. '53 which he sent to Rogers. Published as Panther-Prophecy (1662) and used against Charles II (Het Gezigt van den Panther (1688), passim).

LLWYD, Morgan, 1619-59

Minister of Wrexham from 1646. Of yeoman family, Merioneth. In army, partly as chaplain. Worked with Propagation, and close follower of Harrison. Mill. writings from 1647/8. Fierce attack on Protectorate '54. His name on Word for God, but soon criticized it, and became quietist. Remained millenarian, but broke with Powell. Some disillusionment in later writings. Can be called 5th Mon. in '53-5.

D.N.B.;Richards,Puritan Movement and Relig.Develop.,passim; A.N.Palmer,Older Nonconformity in Wrexham (1889),passim; Nuttall, Welsh Saints (1957),esp. chap.3;Thurloe,ii.129; A.H.Dodd,Bull.Board Celt.Stud.,xvii.281-2;Llwyd,Gweithiau (1899/1908),i.7,9,89;ii.222-3.

LOCKTON, Philip, fl.1656-86

Abingdon grocer. 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187). Fined '62/4/9, 1686 (Preston, Abingdon, pp.119n,121n,123n,124n,138n).

LOVEGROVE, Richard

Abingdon labourer, fined '64 (ibid.,p.121n).

LOVEGROVE, Robert

Abingdon yeoman, fined '64 (ibid.).

MACEY, Francis

London scrivener, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

MALBAN, Robert, d.1673

Silk-throwster of Shoreditch. Arrested '61 over Venner plot (London's Glory,p.16), and again for conventicling (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iii.311). Involved with Marsden, Blood and other plotters '65 (SP.29/114,f.210;/121,f.245). In army 1650 (SP.28/142 iii,f.52). R.M., gent. of Covent Garden, d.1673 (Canterbury Wills '71-5, ed. Ainsworth, p.136).

MARSDEN, Jeremiah, 1626-84

Of Lancs. Educ. Cambridge, minister from 1650 (Baptist). Chaplain to Overton '59-60. Ejected E. Ardsley, Yorks., '62. In 1663 plot, but in favour at court '64-5. Head of London church in '70s. Active plotter: sought in '67, gaoled '75 and '83-4. 5,000 at funeral. Prob. 5th Mon. by '59, still in '69 and probably till death.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,pp.339-40;Calamy,Cont.,pp.942-5;Crosby,Hist. Bapt.,ii.374-5;J.Walker,Yorks.Arch.Journ.,xxi.348-59;MS.Rawl. D 1347,fos.3-31;Worcs.Coll.MS.52,f.52;C.S.P.Dom.,'66-7,pp.533/7; ibid.,'78,p.189;ibid.,'83 ii,pp.374-5;ibid.,'83-4,pp.332/5.

MARSHALL, Abigail

Presented silver bowl to Chamberlen's cong. (MS.Rawl. D 828,f.11). 5th Mon. agent at Lincoln, '56/7 (Thurloe,vi,187).

MARSHALL, Edward

London labourer, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

MARTEN, Edward

London tailor, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (ibid.).

MASON, John

London weaver, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (ibid.). Arrested '75 as prominent in the silk-weavers' riots (C.S.P.Dom., '75-6,pp.258-9).

MASON, William

London upholsterer, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30). Prob. the W.M. of Bell Lane church 1711 ('Mill Yard Minutes', p.193).

MAYHEW, Richard, fl.1653-83

Minister, ejected from Iken, Suffolk. Nominated M.P.s for Barebones. Prob. 5th Mon. in '50s, though not known as such. Pastor of 5th Mon. church in London 1678/80. His Sichah (1682) was dedicated to Shaftesbury.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.346;SP.29/404,f.303;C.S.P.Dom.,'80-1,p.613.

MEDLEY, William, fl.1654-83

Signed Declaration '54 as of Rogers's cong. In Venner's plot '57, signed its manifesto as scribe. Gaoled '57-9. Married Venner's daughter. Described in Nov. '61 as scribe and accountant of whole 5th Mon. movement. Acted as Dutch agent in London '72-4. In Amsterdam 1682, welcomed Shaftesbury.

Burrage, 'Insurrections',pp.738,746;Thurloe,vii.598-9; SP.29/44,f.267;Medley,Standard Set Up (1657);K.H.D.Haley, William of Orange and the English Opposition (1953),passim; Memoires of Shaftesbury (1683),p.7.

MILLES, John

London carpenter, executed '66 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.376;iv.269-70).

MORE, John, fl.1652-d.1702

Apprentice/journeyman of Wm. Webb (?the Surveyor-General) in 1652 when joined Chamberlen's church. Promptly became prominent member. Broke away '54, signed Declaration as of Raworth's cong. Published fierce tracts '52-4, A Vindication (1652, with Spittlehouse) defending Münster, and A Trumpet Sounded (1654) attacking Protectorate. In Mill Yard church till death. Only known as 5th Mon. up to 1654.

Anon.,Disputes between Cranford and Chamberlen (1652),sig.A2-v.; MS.Rawl. D 828,passim;T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.180-2;vii.221.

NASH, James

Labourer of Whitechapel, of Malban's cong. Fined '61 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.313).

NAUDIN, Theodore

French physician of Chamberlen's church, '52-4. Involved in plot with French embassy to subvert army and kill Cromwell, '54. Gaoled, and made abject submission (MS.Rawl.D 828,passim;Gardiner, Commonwealth and Prot.,iii.125-6,136; C.S.P.Dom.,'54, pp.289,372; SP.18/74,f.21).

NEAT, Joseph

Small master, trade unknown. At Abingdon rally '56 (Comp.Test., sig.A2). Of Mill Yard 7th Day church '73 ('Mill Yard Minutes',p.3).

NEWBURY, Francis

Abingdon labourer, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

NORRIS, Henry

Schoolmaster of N. Wales, indicted with Powell '54 (Thurloe,ii.226).

OASTLER, ——

London cheesemonger; house a 5th Mon. meeting-place for Strange, Vernon, '64 (SP.29/103,f.262;/105,f.75;/110,f.216).

OKEY, Thomas

Woolbroker; head of 5th Mon. group, Devizes, '69 (Turner, Orig.Recs., i.118).

OVERTON, Maj.-Gen. Robert, c.1609-c.1668

Educ. Grey's Inn. Governor of Hull '47, with Canne later as chaplain. Dissatisfied at fall of Barebones, but retained position till arrested '54 for allowing officers to criticize govt. Gaoled till '59, when restored. Signed Essay. Tried to establish 5th Mon. stronghold at Hull '59-60. In prison '60-1, '63-8. One of most prominent 5th Monarchists, but usually far from centre of action, and political behaviour was ineffective.

D.N.B.;Thurloe,iii.46-7,75-6,110-2,185;ed.Firth,Scotland and the Protectorate(Scott.Hist.Soc.,xxxi),passim;Firth and Davies,Reg. Hist.,pp.546,559-60.

PACKER, Col. William, fl.1644-62

Major of Cromwell's regt. A Baptist; in early 5th Mon. group. '52, and supported Barebones. But loyal to his 'dear friend' the Protector; became deputy maj.-gen., and sat in Commons. Broke with Cromwell over offer of crown. Col. in '59; backed Lambert. Gaoled '60/1, transported '62.

D.N.B.;T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.58-63;vii.223;Firth and Davies,Reg.Hist., pp.8-9,35,73;Erbery, Bishop of London, p.7;Faithfull Scout,122 (22-9 July '53),pp.908-9;C.S.P.Dom.,'61-2,p.476;Eng.Hist.Rev., lxxxiii(1968),pp.692-3.

PALMER, Anthony, 1616/8-79

Minister, ed. Oxford (M.A.'41), Min. of Bourton, Gloucs., '46 till ejected '60. Petitioned against making Cromwell king, '56. Called a leading 5th Mon. man only after 1660, when he went to London. Head of mixed Bapt./Cong. church. Called 5th Mon. only up to 1663; lic. (Cong.) in '72, so views probably moderating by then.

D.N.B.;Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.380;SP.29/34,f.2;/42,f.69;/44,fos.10, 267;/65,f.16;/88,f.127-v.;/105,f.75.

PALMER, Thomas, c.1612-fl.1667

Minister, son of min. of Leicester. Educ. Oxford (B.A.,'35). Chaplain to Skippon's regt., and possibly later a major. Min. of St. Lawrence Pountney London '44-6, and of Aston, Derbys.,'46-60, when ejected. Millenarian by '44, 5th Mon. by '54. At Canne's trial '58. Pastor of Cong. church at Nottingham by '59, but also

itinerant preacher. Arrested Kent, 1662. Big part in 1663 plot. Gaoled 1663. Went to Ireland '66. Published defence of rebellion '67. (Not to be confused with Capt. Laurence Palmer, R. of Gedling, Notts., 1640-82: see R.A.Marchant, Puritans..in..York (1960), p.360;cf. Nuttall, Visible Saints (1957), p.33n).

D.N.B.;Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.380;Walker,Yorks,Arch.Journ.,xxxi. 354;A.R.Henderson, Castle Gate Church, Nottingham (1905), pp.45-56;Narrative..of Canne,p.11;Intelligencer,14 (30 Nov. 1663),p.112;C.S.P.Dom.,'63-4,pp.635,663;SP.29/85,f.103;/92,f.112; /121,f.247;Palmer, Saints Support (1644)tit.pag.,sig.A2;Palmer, Saints Freedom (1667), passim.

PARNHAM, Richard, fl.1647-81

London silversmith. Quarter-master in Ireton's regt., '47. At Abingdon rally '56. Joint head with Belcher of 5th Mon./7th Day church at Bell Lane in '68, and still in '81; arrested with cong. in '71.

Worcs.Coll.MS.67,f.17;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;Jeaffreson,Middx.Recs., iv.29-30;T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.188;iv.128.

PATSHALL, John, fl.1661-83

Brewer's clerk of Southwark (C.S.P.Dom.,'83i,p.184;ibid.,'83ii,p.4). Vennerite '61, acquitted as only one witness (Pagitt, Heresiog., p.290). In 1663 plot, gaoled '65, escaped '66 (C.S.P.Dom., '64-5, p.293;ibid.,'65-6,pp.400,404,416). In plot 1678 (ibid.,'78,p.290) and Rye House plot 1683 (ibid.'83i,pp.66,104,184;ibid.,'83ii,pp.4, 77).

PAYNE, Robert

Abingdon wool-draper; fined '62/4,'86. Excommunicated '70 (Preston, Abingdon, pp.119n,121n,124n,138n).

PECK, Simon

Abingdon maltster. At rally '56 (Comp.Test.,sig.A2). Fined '64, excomm. '69 (Preston, Abingdon, pp.121n,124n,126).

PENDARVES, John, 1622-56

Baptist minister, of Cornish gentle family. Educ. Oxford (B.A.,'42). Resigned living at Abingdon '49, and led a gathered church. 5th Mon. by '55; died London '56. Great Baptist/5th Mon. rally at his funeral.

D.N.B.;Payne,Baptists of Berkshire,pp.24-7;Preston, Abingdon, pp.116-7;Nuttall,Journ.Eccles.Hist.,xi,p.214;Wood,Ath.Oxon., pp.129-30;Foster,Al.Oxon.,iii.1140;Comp.Test.,passim;W. Hughes, Munster and Abingdon (1657),pp.87ff;J.Atherton,Pastor Turn'd Pope (1654);Clarke,ii.243.

PERROTT, Capt. Robert, d.1685

Silk-dyer of Allhallows and preacher in Danvers's cong. In prison in Surrey as 5th Mon. man '62. Arrested for conventicling '63,

presented at episcopal visitation '64. Became follower of Blood, involved in stealing crown. In plots '78 and '82. Big part in Monmouth's rising, fought at Sedgemoor, captured and executed.

Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs., iii.328-9; SP.29/56, f.165; /421, f.156; /437, f.84; C.S.P.Dom., '71, pp.225, 247, 385, 460; ibid., '71-2, p.65; ibid., '78, p.320; Surrey Q.S.Recs., '61-3, ed. Powell and Jenkinson (Surrey Rec. Soc., xxxvi), p.279; Guildhall MS.9583, box 1: Allhallows the Gt; L.Eachard, Hist.of England (1707-18), iii.757, 765, 770; I.Morley, A Thousand Lives (1954), pp.202, 226.

PLOMSTEAD, Clement

London ironmonger (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs., iii.341). Signed Rogers's Reviving Word '57. One C.P. a Quaker in '86 (J.Besse, Collection of Sufferings (1753), i.480).

POOLEY, Christopher, c.1620-fl.1679

Educ. Cambridge (M.A.'47); C. of Thwaite, Suffolk, '43. Apparently in army '47-51. Head of church at Wymondham '53. Rebaptized '56, and one of leading 5th Mon. militants in Norfolk at this time. Head of 7th Day church in Norwich '61. Involved in Tillam's millenarian settlement in Germany after Restoration. On recruiting tour in England '66, gaoled '67-8. Reverted to orthodox 7th Day views by 1677. (Not to be confused with a Norfolk Presbyterian minister of the same names.)

Venn and Venn, Al.Cantab., iii.379; Nickolls, Orig.Letters, pp.124-5; T.Bapt.H.S. vii.225; Bapt.Q., xvii.65; xviii.364; Sabbath Memorial, xlix-l, p.568; Thurloe, v.188, 219-20, 372; E.Stennet, The Insnared Taken (1677/9), p.7; SP.28/124, f.180; SP.28/125, f.369v.; SP.29/41, f.1; /106, fos.17-8; /181, fos.193-5; /190, f.189; /446, f.139; C.S.P.Dom., '67, pp.229, 335; ibid., '67-8, p.154.

PORTER, John

London labourer, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs., iv.29-30).

PORTMAN, Edmund

Clerk to Treasurer of Navy in '52 (First Dutch War, iii, ed. Gardiner (1906) p.324). One of leaders, with brother, of breakaway group from Simpson's church which negotiated with Venner 1657 (Burrage, 'Insurrections', p.731).

PORTMAN, John, fl.1652-73

Dep. Treasurer to the Fleet and 'principal secretary to the generals at sea'. Millenarian by '53. Dismissed '56 over 5th Mon./Commonwealthsmen negotiations. One of leaders of breakaway group in Simpson's church '56-8. Negotiated with Venner '57, but no part in plot. In gaol '57-8, '58-9 for spreading seditious literature. Signed Essay. Named in plot '61, gaoled '61, calling for revenge for Harrison. Still in prison '67. One Portman Cashier to victuallers of navy '73 (though could be Edmund).

C.S.P.Dom.,'52-3/53-4,passim;First Dutch War, ed. Gardiner and Atkinson,passim;ibid.,'56-7,pp.149,391;SP.29/34,f.120;/218,f. 142;Thurloe,vi.163,185,775;vii.599,619-20,623;Old Leaven,passim; Comp.Test.,sig.A2;Burrage,'Insurrections',p.731;G.Wharton, Second Narrative of Late Parliament (1658),p.36;Publick Intell., 121 (8-15 Feb. '58),p.321 (misprint for 301), and 122,pp.333-4; ibid.,157 (27 Dec.'58-3 Jan.'59),pp.134-5;Traitors Unvailed (1661),p.7;Howell, State Trials,vi.117;T.Carte, Orig.Letters (1739),ii.112;C.S.P.Dom.,'73,pp.259,271.

POSTLETHWAITE, Walter, fl.1643-d.1672

Son of minister; educ. Cambridge (B.A.,'46). Convert of H. Peter. At Lewes, Sussex, by '46; Rector till ejected '60. Called moderate 5th Mon. man '55. Took oaths '61, stayed at Lewes as head of Indep. cong. There '69. Not known as 5th Mon. after Restoration.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.396;Thurloe,iv.151;Edwards,Gangraena,iii. p.105.

POWELL, Vavasor, 1617-70

Son of ale-house-keeper; ?educ. Oxford. Chaplain in Parlt. army. Itinerant N. Welsh preacher, based on Radnor. Leading part on Propagation, and a major influence on Harrison. In London '53, supported Barebones. Fierce critic of Protectorate, drew up Word for God '55, but opposed plots. Signed Essay. Almost always in prison after 1660. Proclaimed his loyalty to 5th Mon. ideas, but his beliefs became more quietist.

D.N.B.;R.T.Jones,'Life, Work and Thought of Vavasor Powell', Oxford D.Phil.,1947;Richards, Puritan Movement, Relig.Devel., Wales under Penal Code (1925),all passim;(Bagshaw),Life and Death of..Powell (1671);Powell,Bird in the Cage (1661),passim.

PRICE, Evan

? if 5th Mon. A 'wandering person', said to spread news and propaganda in the 1663 plot: 'the secrets of the plotters are bound up in the breast of Major Wigan and Evan Price.' Gaoled at Lancaster, 1664, and was offered £1,000 to reveal details of the plot. Alleged to have rejected this offer and demanded more (C.S.P.Dom.,1663-4,pp.512,519,545). But in his Eye-Salve (1667) he denied any connection with the plot.

PRICE, Col. Richard, fl.1639-d.1674/5

Small squire of Gunley, Montgom.; in army from '45. On county committees '47-54, '57/9. High Sheriff, Montgom.,'59. Supporter of Powell. M.P. for Wales '53. Delivered Word for God to Cromwell in London. Head of N. Wales militia '59. Signed Essay. Ind. preacher after Restoration (lic.'72) until death. Not known as 5th Mon. after Restoration.

Williams, Parlt.Hist.Wales.,pp.3-4,144;Richards,Pur.Movement, pp.82,90/2/4/6 and Wales under Penal Code,p.126;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,passim;True Catalogue(1659),p.10;J.W.H.,'Pryces of Gunley', Arch.Cambrensis,4th ser.,xiii(1882),pp.129-37.

PRINCE, William

Middx. chandler, arrested '69 as of cong. at Adman's house (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14).

PRITCHARD, Giles

London cow-keeper, executed after 1661 rising (Pagitt, Heresiog., p.289). Left 15 cows (C.S.P.Dom.,'60-1,p.487).

PRYOR, William

Wrote 5th Mon. pamphlet '59. Perhaps the W.P., a 'labouring man' and Quaker who died in Newgate '61 (Besse, Sufferings,i.389).

QUELCH,Richard, fl.1652-d.1665/7

Oxford watchmaker and 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187). At Abingdon rally '56 (Comp.Test.,sig.A2). For life see C.F.C.Beeson, Clockmaking in Oxfordshire, Banbury Hist.Soc.,iv (1962),p.135.

RATHBONE, Co. John,fl.1646-d.1666

Gent.; in army by '46. Associated with Rogers in seeking end of tithes during Barebones. Involved in plot led by Danvers to seize king and fire the city '65, captured and executed.

Rogers,Sagrir,sig.C2;SP.28/123,f.612;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs., iii.376;Abbott,Am.Hist.Rev.,xiv.700;Clarendon,Continuation (1759),iii.550-1;London Gazette,48 (26-30 April 1666).

RICARD, John

Apprentice or journeyman; arrested Swan Alley '58 with Canne (Narrative..of Canne, p.6).

RICH, Col. Nathaniel, fl.1639-d.1702

Gent.; educ. Inns of Court. Col. by '45. M.P. '49-53 and in Barebones. Removed from army Dec. '54, arrested with other 5th Mon. leaders '55-6, '57. Restored to command '59, supported Rump, opposed Monk. Gaoled '60, '61-5, Married daughter of E. of Ancrum. Refused oaths but promised not to oppose govt. Kept conventicles, but not politically active after '65.

D.N.B.;Thurloe,vi.185,251;Clarke,ii.242-6;iii.69,105-6,113;iv. 19;SP.29/31,f.154;/84,f.1;/109,f.115v;Ludlow,Memoirs,ii.148-9, 163/5,183-4,238;Hist.MSS.Comm.,51,Leyborne-Popham,pp.168-9; Firth and Davies, Reg.Hist.,pp.145,151/4,162;Firth and Rait, Acts and Ord.,passim;Turner,Orig.Recs.,i.112.

RIGHTON, Capt. William, fl.1654-85

Tailor and trader of Bermuda; also public preacher till removed as subversive in '57. In England in mid-'50s; signed Declaration. Tried in Bermuda '61 for seditious words against king. Also amateur lawyer and smuggler. Associated with another 5th Mon. man in Bermuda (J.H.Lefroy, Memorials of the Bermudas (1877-9),i.741; ii.passim).

ROBERTS, John

Servant to Abingdon cordwainer, fined '62 (Preston, Abingdon,p.119n).

ROBERTS, Richard

Cordwainer of Middx.; at cong. at Adman's house, arrested '69 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14).

ROBERTS, Timothy, fl.1651-d.1665

Minister, educ. Oxford (B.A.'55). V. of Barton, Westmorland, '55 till ejected '62. Described as 5th Mon. '63, discussing rising with other 5th Mon. men, in London. Gaoled at Appleby for preaching. Died of plague 1665.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.412;B.Nightingale, The Ejected of 1662 (1911), ii.1224-6;SP.29/114,f.20v.

ROGERS, John, 1627-?d.1670

Son of Essex minister. Educ. Cambridge (B.A.'46). Presbyt. then Ind. minister in Essex then London. Min. in Dublin '50-2; lecturer at St. Thomas Apostle's, London '53-Restoration. Millenarian by '53, broke with Cromwell '54 and joined with 5th Mon. men. Opposed govt., gaoled 1654-7, and '58. An admirer of Vane in late '50s, combined 5th Mon./Commonwealth principles. Supported return of Rump. Army chaplain '59, in Ireland end of '59, then fled to Netherlands. M.D., Utrecht, '62. Reported as itinerant '61. Head of cong. at Bermondsey '63; practised as physician. A J.R. of that parish died 1670, though a govt. newswriter in Nov. '71 thought he was still alive and still a 5th Mon. man.

D.N.B.;E.Rogers,Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man (1867); SP.29/42,f.69;/44,f.267;/88,f.127;C.S.P.Dom.,'71,pp.569-70; Rogers, Christian Concertation (1659),pp.59-60 and passim.

RUDDUCK, Thomas, fl.1650-7

Shopkeeper of N. Walsham, Norfolk. In army (apparently illiterate) in '50. Militant 5th Mon. there in '56, newly re-baptized. At Abingdon rally '56; arrested and gaoled at Windsor. 5th Mon. agent in Norfolk, '56/7.

SP.28/142iii,f.52;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;True Catalogue,p.13;Thurloe, v.220,vi.187.

RUSSELL, William, fl.1654-85

Tailor of Southwark. Signed Declaration '54; signed Rogers's Reviving Word '57. In prison '61 for refusing oaths and conventicling. Arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man. In Newgate 1685 over Monmouth rising. One W.R. in army 1647.

Surrey Q.S.Recs.,'59-61,ed. Powell and Jenkinson (Surrey Rec.Soc., xxxv),p.168;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30,293;SP.28/124,f.64.

RYE, John, fl.1655-67

Thought to be author of Word for God. At Abingdon rally '56, as of London. Thought to be author of Venner's second manifesto, Door of

Hope (1661). In prison, London and Hull, 1660-7. A J.R. of Friday St., London, 1638.

Thurloe,iv.379;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;pagitt,Heresiog.,p.224 (misprint for 284);SP.29/218,f.142;Worcs.Coll.MS.33,f.111v;Dale, London,1638,p.99.

SAMAND, Alexander de

Servant in London, c.1654/5 (MS. Rawl. A 47,fos.26-7v).

SAUNDERSON (alias Sanders), William

London yeoman, executed '66 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.376;iv.269-70).

SEELE, William, fl.1654-d.1667

Shipwright of Wapping (Canterbury Wills '61-70 ed. Morrison, p.216). Signed Declaration '54 as of Fenton's cong.

SELLWOOD, Richard

Abingdon baker, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

SHIMMEN, George

London waterman, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

SHIPPEY, Maria

Wife of Hendon husbandman; arrested as of Swift's cong., '65 (MR/RC-1,no.46).

SIFERWEST, Robert

London glazier. At cong. at Winch's house, fined '65 (MR/RC-1,no.35).

SIMPSON, John, fl.1642-d.1662

Baptist/5th Mon. minister. A J.S. of St. Botolph's Aldgate, 1638. Said to be frivolous in youth, but a lecturer by '42. Major in Parlt. army. Antinomian in '40s. Min. of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate '52-5 (removed by govt.), and '59-62; lecturer of St. Botolph's, Aldgate 'by election of the people' throughout '50s, and at Allhallows the Gt., '47-62. A leading 5th Mon. man from '52. Gaoled '54/6, then moderated views and attacked violence. Part of cong. at Allhallows seceded in disgust. Took oaths at Restoration, but preached against the govt. A major figure, but unstable and lost the confidence of many saints.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.443;Erbery,Bishop Of London, p.3;C.S.P.Dom., '53-4,p.449;ibid.,'54,p.256;ibid.,'55,p.226;ibid.,'55-6,p.109; ibid.,'56-7,p.272,ibid.,'57-8,pp.62,64-5;SP.29/43,f.105;/44,fos. 10-v,270;Thurloe,iv.321,545;Clarke,ii.xxiv;Old Leaven,passim; Failing and Perishing (1662);Merc.Politicus,288(13-20 Dec.'55), p.5836;Perf.Diurnall,216(23-30 Jan.'54),p.3092;J.A.Dodd,Eng.Hist. Rev.,x,41-54;Dale, London,1638,p.213;Nuttall,Visible Saints,p.36 and n.

SKINER, ——,

London coffee/strong-water-seller; house a 5th Mon. centre 1660 (SP.29/1,f.96).

SKINNER, Capt. John, fl. 1646-d.1694

Minister by '46; R. of Weston and Hope Mansell, Herefordshire, '49 till ejected '60. Then in London, with Strange, and in '63-4 described as a leading 5th Mon. man. Fined at Hereford '65 for conventicling. Lic. (Cong.) '72, though in fact a Baptist. Died at Ross.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.444;T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.117-20;SP.29/71,f.147; /88,f.128;/99,f.16;/105,f.75.

SPENCER, Capt. John, fl.1639-82

Originally groom to Lord Say and Sele. Baptist preacher from '39. Wrote millenarian defence of civil war in '42. In early 5th Mon. group '52, but loyal to Protectorate. Bought royal estate with Packer in Herts. Remained in that area; lic. (Bapt.),'72, last known '82. Not the same as J.S., author of Short Treatise (1641).

T.Bapt.H.S.,iv.58-63;vii.230; Whitley, Bapt.Lond.,p.104;Firth and Rait,Acts and Ord.,passim;Firth and Davies,Reg.Hist.,pp.75-6; Erbery, Bishop of London,p.3;W.J.Hardy,Hertford County Recs. (1905),i.223,307,325;Spencer, Spirituall Warfare (1642).

SPITTLEHOUSE, John, fl.1643-d.1659

In army 1643-51; deputy to Marshal-General (in charge of military security), but apparently dismissed. In Chamberlen's cong. Gaoled at fall of Barebones till April '54, and again '54-5. Signed Declaration. Involved in Sturgeon's Short Discovery 1655. Published 5th Mon. tracts 1650-6. His widow mentioned '59.

D.N.B.;MS. Rawl. D828,passim;C.S.P.Dom.,'54,pp.61-2,378,434; ibid.,'55-6,p.155;ibid.,'59-60,p.39;Thurloe,iii.149;Perfect Procs., 287 (22-29 March '55),p.4557;Worcs.Coll.MS.18,f.10.

SQUIBB, Arthur, fl.1640s-d.1680

Of Dorset/Wilts. family, son of Teller of Exchequer. Became a sequestrator. Had gathered church at house by '49. J.P.;M.P. for Middlesex in Barebones, prominent as 5th Mon. man. Removed from office Jan.'54. In 5th Mon./Commonwealth negotiations '56/7. In prison for some time to Dec. '59. Sold reversion to tellership to Edmund Squibb 1654; Edmund tried to claim it in vain, in '63. It was said of Squibb in '62 'surely he is Harrison alive'. Arrested as 5th Mon./7th Day man, '71. Lic. (Bapt.), Surrey, '72.

Glass,Barbone,p.84;T.Bapt.H.S.,vii.230;G.Aylmer,The King's Servants (1961),pp.90,387;Thurloe,i.289;H.Walker,Spiritual Exercises (1652),p.44;Faithfull Narrative (1655),p.41;J.Hall, Confusion Confounded (1654),p.6;Merc.Politicus,600 (22-9 Dec.'59), p.984;Weekly Intell.,149 (3-10 Jan.'54),p.117;Abbott,Writings.. of...Cromwell,iv.489;SP.29/291,f.176;C.S.P.Dom.,'61-2,p.369; Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.31;Turner,Orig.Recs.,ii.1017-8;Hist.

MSS.Comm.,viii,App.to 9th Rep.,part ii,p.44;Canterbury Wills '76-85,ed.Ridge,p.317;C.S.P.Dom.,'54,p.272;ibid.,'61-2,p.369; ibid.,'63-4,p.121;Bodl.MS.Clar.76,f.355v.

STARRE, Edward

Abingdon maltster, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n).

STENNET, Edward, fl.1694-d.1705

'Medical man'. Early of Abingdon church, later head of 7th Day cong. At Abingdon rally '56. Married Mary Quelch, perhaps rel. to Richard Quelch. 7th Day by '58. Head of 7th Day church at Wallingford (lic. '72), still there in '90. 5th Mon. only '55-8 (if at all); still millenarian in '67.

T.Bapt.H.S.,vii.231;Bapt.Q.,xiv.161/5;Whitley,Bapt.Lond.,p.119; Payne,Bapt. of Berkshire,pp.48-9;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;own Royal Law (1667),p.8.

STIBBS, John

Abingdon maltster, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n).

STIBBS, Thomas

Abingdon labourer, fined '64 (ibid.).

STOCKDALE, ——

Silkthrowster of Aldgate, '63; meeting place for Belcher's cong. (SP.29/80,f.192).

STONEHAM, Benjamin, c.1612-76

Educ. Cambridge (M.A.'46); chaplain before war. C. of St. Peter's, Ipswich, '51-Restoration. Nominated M.P.s for Barebones. Leading 5th Mon. in Suffolk '56, agent at Ipswich '56/7. Published A Serious Proposal with Feake, '59. Preacher in London after Restoration; gaoled '65. Remained a millenarian, and possibly a 5th Mon. as not licensed '72.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.465;Nickolls,Orig.Letters,p.94;Thurloe,iv. 687,727;vi.187;Browne,Congregationalism,pp.366-7;own Saul and David (1676),pp.145-8, and Voice of a Cry (1664), passim.

STRANGE, Lt. Nathaniel, fl.1648-d.1665

In army; pastor of Bapt. church at Barnstaple in later '50s; at Dorchester meeting '58. Known as 5th Mon. only after 1660, when moved to London. Often described as such '63-5; tried to stir up rising. Said to be a 'scholler and linguist'.

Nuttall,J.Eccles.Hist.,xi.213-8;Thurloe,vii.140;SP.28/124,f. 357;/125,f.262;SP.29/71,f.147;/99,fos.16-7;/114,f.19;/121,f. 247;Memorial on the Death of..Strange (1666),brs.

STRICKLAND, Thomas

London yeoman, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

STURGEON, John, fl.1653-62

Of Cromwell's Lifeguard. In Chillenden's cong., later said to be head of own Baptist cong. Arrested '55 over anti-govt. pamphlet. In Reading '56 stirring up opposition. Joined Sexby working for restoration of king on terms. Found with copies of Killing No Murder and gaoled '57-9. Made Messenger of the Exchequer at Restoration, but resigned '62. Perhaps the J.S., grocer of Westminster, arrested at conventicle '63.

D.N.B.;J.More,Lost Ordinance (1654),p.1;Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs., iv.324;Clarke,iii.51;C.S.P.Dom.,'60-1,p.144;ibid.,'61-2,p.513.

SUADON, John

London tailor, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

SWETMAN, John

Silkman of Cheapside (Thurloe,iii.160); signed Declaration '54.

SWIFT, Richard, 1616-1701

Son of Norwich attorney; perhaps in army. An R.S. of Aldgate, 1638. V. of Offley (Herts.) 1650; C. of Edgware, Middx.,'56 till ejected '60. Lived afterwards as weaver in Middx., also kept school and conventicle. Gaoled several times in Newgate. Called 5th Mon. by Calamy, but for how long is not known.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.472;SP.28/124,f.335v;Dale,London,1638,p.72; Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.343.

SWINFEN, Samuel

London tailor; in Rathbone plot '65, but acquitted (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.376;iv.269-70).

TALBOT, John

Receiver-General in Devon by '55, held similar post in '59 (C.S.P.Dom.,'55,pp.342/5;ibid.,'56-7,pp.99,106/8,155;ibid.,'59-60, pp.221-2). 5th Mon., in London, keeping diary of persecution of saints '64 (SP.29/99,f.17).

TAYLOR, John

Shipwright of Wapping, associated with Day '60 (Jeaffreson, Middx. Recs.,iii.309).

TAYLOR, Thomas, 1625-1700

Son of royalist gent. of Norfolk. Educ. Cambridge (B.A.'46). Influenced by Bridge of Yarmouth. Schoolmaster. Joined Bury Cong. church '53, pastor Jan. '56. At 5th Mon. meetings '56, agent '56/7. Tobacco-merchant and conventicler in London after Restoration. Lic. (Cong.) '72. Minister in Cambridge in '90s. Not known as 5th Mon. after Restoration, but still millenarian.

Matthews, Cal.Rev.,p.478;Thurloe,iv.687;Browne,Congregationalism, pp.396-404;'Bury Churchbook' (transcript) and J. Duncan 'Hist. of Cong. Church in Bury' (typescript), both in Bury Rec.Office; his own True Light (1693), Epis. to the Reader.

TEMPEST, Christopher

London butcher, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

TERRALL, Jonathan

Middx. labourer; arrested '69 for attending cong. at Adman's house, died in prison (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.14).

TERRALL, Joseph

Middx. labourer, arrested '69 for attending conventicle at Adman's house (ibid.).

TESDALE, Joshua

Abingdon yeoman, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

TESDALE, Richard

Woollendraper of Abingdon, fined '64, with wife Elizabeth (ibid.). Preacher in cong.'54 (Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope, p.4).

THIMBLETON, Capt. Walter, fl.1653-86

?Merchant. Of Llwyd's cong. '53. Signed Word for God. Officer under Overton '59. Plotting with Courtney round Epping '66. In Rye House Plot '82. Holding conventicles '86; pilloried '86 for libels about death of E. of Essex; said to be a poor man. A W.T., merchant of London, '77.

Dodd,'Remonstrance',p.291;Overton,Letter from Overton (1659), brs;C.S.P.Dom.,'82,p.405;ibid.,'85,p.136;ibid.,'86-7,pp.174, 183,191;Jeaffreson,Middx.Recs.,iv.302/4-6;Little London Directory of 1677 (1863),sig.H2.

THOMAS, (Philip)

One Thomas, tailor of Old Exchange, London, '65 (SP.29/121,f.64). Perhaps same as P.T., signed Declaration '54.

THORNETON, Henry

Tobacco-pipe-maker of Abingdon, fined '62/4 with wife Mary (Preston, Abingdon,pp.119n,121n).

TILLAM, Thomas, fl.1651-d.c.1676

On fringe of 5th Mon. movement. Apothecary. Probably Catholic in youth. Connected with Knollys's church. Lecturer at Hexham, founded Bapt. church there, but driven out in '55. Knew Chamberlen, Buttevant, Simpson by '53. Adopted 7th Day sabbath by '55, led 7th Day cong. at Colchester. Millenarian author by '51 (his Two

Witnesses, 1651). In gaol '60. Friend of Pooley with whom he set up millenarian settlement in Palatinate, which was still flourishing in 1668.

Payne, 'Tillam',Bapt.Q.,xvii.61-6;T.Bapt.H.S.,vii.234;R.Howell, Newcastle and the Puritan Revolution (1967),pp.249-54;T.Weld, Mr. Tillam's Account (1657);SP.29/236,f.28;Underhill, Hexham, pp.291-346;Tillam,Temple (1660),epis. to the Reader.

TILLINGHAST, John, 1604-55

Son of Sussex minister. Educ. Cambridge (B.A.'25). Minister by '36, became an Ind. by '50, assistant to Bridge at Yarmouth '51-2. R. of Trunch (Norfolk) and head of gathered church there '52-5. Published 5th Mon. tracts '53-5. Went to London '55, remonstrated with Cromwell, and died there. Other works pub. posthumously till '63; eulogised in poem, '65.

D.N.B.;Venn and Venn, Al.Cantab.,iv.242;Browne,Congregationalism, pp.222-3,295;own Eight Last Sermons (1655),sig.A3-4;B.M.Add.MS. 15226,fos.84-v.

TIRRET, John

5th Mon. preacher with Perrott '63 (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii. 328-9).

TOMKINS, Edward

Broom-man of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

TOMKINS, John, 1632-1708

Brush-maker (and bottle-maker, maltster) of Abingdon, in cong. by '54, at rally '56. Fined '62/4. Alderman under James II.

Bapt.Q.,xvi.165;Preston, Abingdon,p.121n;Comp.Test.,sig.A2; Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope, p.1.

TRAPNEL, Anna, fl.1642-60

Of Hackney, daughter of shipwright of Poplar. Converted by Simpson '42. Had millenarian visions from '47. Visited celebrated convert Sarah Wight, '47. Member of Simpson's church from '50. Published 5th Mon. visions attacking Protectorate, 1654-8. Toured west '54, till arrested, but again in '55. Attacked in print '60. Just possibly the A.T. who was married at Woodbridge, Suffolk, '61.

C.S.P.Dom.,'53-4,p.393;ibid.,'54,pp.86,134,436/8;Jessey, Exceeding Riches (1647),sig.a1;Merc.Politicus,312 (29 May-5 June '56),p.6998;Publick Intell.,13 (24-31 Dec.'55),pp.193-4; Bibliotheca Fanatica (1660),p.4;Suffolk Parish Registers, ed. W.Philimore (1912),ii.46;Burrage, Eng.Hist.Rev.,(1911),pp.526-35; own Cry of a Stone (1654),pp.3-4.

TRONKES, Thomas

Husbandman of Hendon; fined '65 with wife Anna as of Swift's cong. (MR/RC-1,no.46).

TUCKER, Henry

London tailor, executed '66 after Rathbone plot (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.376;iv.269-70).

TURROLD (alias Terrel), Jonathan

Abingdon yeoman, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

TURROLD, (alias Terrel), Richard

Abingdon linen-draper, fined '64 (ibid.). In cong. by '54, at rally '56 (Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope,sig.B1v.,Comp.Test.,sig.A2).

VENNER, John

Ivory-turner of Whitechapel, in Tong Plot '62, gaoled in Tower (SP.29/66,f.72v). Perhaps the Mr. Venner with Medley in Amsterdam in '82 (Memoires of Shaftesbury,p.7), but cf. a Thomas V. was transported after Monmouth's Rebellion (C.S.P.Dom.,'85,p.429).

VENNER, Thomas, fl.1638-d.1661

Master cooper. Emigrated to Massachusetts by '38, freeman of Salem '39. In Boston '44, back to England '51. Head of church in Swan Alley, Coleman St., by '56-61. Dismissed '55 as cooper at Tower for plot to blow it up. In 5th Mon./Commonwealth negotiations '56/7. Attempted a rising '57, gaoled '57-9. Led a rising '61, wounded 19 times, captured and executed. Meeting house demolished. His widow's house raided by govt. over Medley's activities, 1674.

D.N.B.;Burrage,'Insurrections',pp.722-47;C.Banks,'Venner', New Eng.Hist.Gen.Reg.xlvii.437-44;Thurloe,iii.520;vi.163-4, 184-6/8,194;vii.622;Howell,State Trials,vi.105-17;J.Macpherson, Orig. Papers (1775),i.16;Haley, William of Orange,p.200.

VERNON, Quarter-Master-Gen. John, fl.1647-d.1667

Baptist officer. In army by '47. Brother-in-law of Allen. Mostly in Ireland till resigned commission '56. At Dorchester meeting '58. Signed Essay '59. Gaoled '60-1, banished for life, but in fact lived near London as physician. Preacher in Glasse's cong. '63-5, and described as a leading 5th Mon.man.

T.Bapt.H.S.,iii.254-6;iv.129-36;vii.236;Worcs.Coll.MS.67,f.23; J. Rogers,Ohel,p.302;Thurloe,iv.327-8,315,433;v.122,278,670-2; vi.222;vii.139-40;C.S.P.Dom.,'61-2,p.12;SP.29/71,f.147;/99,f. 16;/100,f.19;/121,f.64;Bochim (1667);own Swords Abuse (1648) and Compleat Scholler (1666),pp.6,8.

WAINFORD, William

Norwich woolcomber. Joined Cong. church '44, at Abingdon rally '56. Became Baptist by '67.

Bapt.Q.,x.227;xviii.367;Comp.Test.,sig.A2.

WARE, Richard

London plasterer, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30).

WESTCOTT, William

London yeoman, executed after Rathbone plot '66 (ibid.,iii.376; iv.269-70).

WHITBY, Nicholas

Gent., of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon,p.121n).

WHITE, William

Cutler of Abingdon. In cong. by '54, at rally '56. Fined '64, gaoled '65.

Atherton, Pastor Turn'd Pope,p.3;Comp.Test.,sig.A2;Preston, Abingdon, p.121n;SP.29/137,f.240.

WHITEHURST, Richard, 1637-1697

Min. in Notts.,'58; at Laughton, Yorks, '59 till ejected '60. Kept conventicle, protected by Hatfield. Lic. (Cong.), '72. Feud with his cong. over his 5th Mon. ideas '78-9. At Bridlington '95 and died there.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.526;O.Heywood,Autobiography (1881-5),ii.72, 99,101,112/9,240-3;J.Lister, Autobiography (1842),pp.50-1; J.Hunter, Rise of Old Dissent (1842),pp.295-6.

WICH, Walter

Labourer of Hendon, of Swift's cong. Fined '65 with wife Hester (MR/RC-1,no.46).

WIGAN, Lt.-Col. John, fl.1642-d.1665

Curate near Manchester from '42, Presbyt. then Ind. Became major in Cromwell's regt., but resigned Jan. '54 at establishment of Protectorate. Returned to Manchester area, established 5th Mon./ Baptist churches there and Cheshire. 5th Mon. agent '56/7, signed Essay. Became Lt.-Col. under Overton '59. In 1663 plot, gaoled '63-4. Died in London of plague '65.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,p.529;Thurloe,vi.187;Firth and Davies, Reg. Hist.,pp.333,484-8;Whitley, Baptists of N.W.England (1913), chap.3;SP.29/85,f.103;C.S.P.Dom.,'63-4,p.519;T.Curwen, This is An Answer (1665),passim.

WILKES, Col. Timothy, fl.1647-61

Originally a tailor in Feake's cong; no other 5th Mon. connections known. Major by '47, supported Protectorate and Monk; gaoled '61.

Firth and Davies, Reg.Hist.,pp.171,389,392/6-7;Clarke,iv.300.

WILLIAMS, Capt. John, fl.1646-d.1681

Small squire. Fetched Powell from Dartford to Wales '46, and became elder in his church. Worked on Propagation; sequestrator, sheriff of Radnor, M.P. for Wales in Barebones, and on Council of State. Active as 5th Mon. in Protectorate. Signed Word for God.

Said to be planning rising '58. Not known as 5th Mon. after Restoration. Arrested as conventicler '64. Perhaps lic.(Cong.), '72. Congregationalist till death.

Richards,Pur.Movement,pp.82,90,145,195 and Wales under Penal Code, p.19;A.H.Dodd,Studies in Stuart Wales (1952),pp.134,155; Thurloe,ii.46,93,128-9;vi.187;Jones,'Vav.Powell',p.47;SP.29/97, f.153;Turner,Orig.Recs.ii.1201.

WILLOUGHBY, Christopher

Officer in London militia, Feb. 1660, and described as 5th Mon. man (Hist. MSS. Comm.,li Leyborne-Popham MSS,p.168).

WINCH, Mary

5th Mon. meetings at her house in London '62-5 (SP.29/67,f.7; Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.343/5).

WINTER, Thomas

Victualler of Cripplegate; 5th Mon. meetings at house '61. Formerly a trooper (B.M.Egerton MS. 2543,f.24).

WISE, James

Clothworker; gaoled Southampton for preaching '62 (Merc.Publicus, 49 (4-11 Dec.'62), p.797). Head of 5th Mon. cong. there '69; lic. (Bapt.), '72 at Cowes, I. of Wight, and Salisbury (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.143;ii.1051,1075).

WISE, John

Clockmaker of Abingdon, fined '64 (Preston, Abingdon, p.121n).

WOODALL, Frederick, 1614-81

Educ. Cambridge (M.A.,'41). Minister from '41. Close associate of Bridge. Pastor of gathered church at Woodbridge '52-81, and lecturer there till Restoration. At E. Anglian 5th Mon. rallies '56. Kept school after '60. Gaoled '66 and presented '78 for conventicling. Lic. (Cong.) '72. Not known as 5th Mon. after Restoration.

Matthews,Cal.Rev.,pp.542-3;Browne,Congregationalism,pp.231,285, 343,453,467;Thurloe,iv.687,727;Ipswich R.O.,Suffolk Q.S. Minute Book, '62-7,f.130v;Norwich R.O.,Visit. Book of Bp. Sparrow, '77/8, 31 May 1678;Dr. Williams's Lib.,Woodbridge Churchbook (transcript),fos.1-4;Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.105.

WOODWARD, Robert

London labourer, arrested '71 as 5th Mon./7th Day man (Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iv.29-30). Signed Declaration '54.

WROUGHTON, Edward

London Haberdasher, ex-soldier. Involved with Sturgeon and Kirton in spreading seditious tracts '56 (Thurloe,v.272-3;vi.315-7; Jeaffreson, Middx.Recs.,iii.253).

YEWEL, ——

Schoolmaster of Epsom, Surrey, late '70s/early '80s (E. Calamy, Account of My Own Life (1829),i.76).

Anonymous 5th Monarchists

(all of London) of known occupations:

Four apprentices, 1671 (SP.29/291,f.179).
Cap-maker, follower of Powell, preached 1653 (MS. Clar. 45,f.269).
Glazier, preached at Somerset House '53 (MS. Clar. 45,f.223).
Goldsmith, 1664 (SP.29/103,f.262).
Hotpresser, 1664 (SP.29/110,f.216).
Oilman, 1664 (SP.29/110,f.216).
Ropemaker, 1664 (SP.29/110,f.216).
Master silver-refiner, 1661 (Gough, Antiquities..of Myddle,pp.124-5).
Woollendraper, 1661 (London's Glory, p.15).

Two cases of mistaken identity

BOATMAN, James, fl.1641-d.1658

Described by Gardiner and Braithwaite as leading 5th Monarchist in E. Anglia. Educ. Cambridge, but no degree. Presbyt. minister at Hull, but removed 1650 as supporter of Charles II and for not recognizing Rump. Went to Norwich, became Min. of St. Peter Mancroft. Noted as 'a great enemy to Sectaries' and that he 'declared himselfe for Episcopacy something plainely'. Removal as malignant sought by local Maj.-General.

Gardiner, Comm. and Protect.,iv.267;W.C.Braithwaite,Beginnings of Quakerism (1955),p.164;Thurloe,iv.217,257,302;v.289,297,311/3; Venn and Venn, Al.Cantab.,i.172;C.S.P.Dom.,'50,pp.385,452;Merc. Politicus,20 (17-24 Oct.'50),pp.327,334-5;J.Collinges, Responsoria Bipartita (1654), sig.b3v-4,c1;W.Rye,'St.Peter Mancroft', Norfolk Antiq. Misc.,ii(1893),pp.335,342;Bodl.MS. Tanner 286,f.150.

SANDERS, John, fl.1643-55

Described as 5th Mon. by Hill, following Court. Ironmonger of Harborn, near Birmingham. Urged workers to strike against rich ironmongers. Looked forward to a 'Fifth Monarchy', but one involving return of king and bishops and suppression of sects. Had no connection with the 5th Mon. movement.

C.Hill, Puritanism and Revolution (1962), p.327; W.H.B.Court, The Rise of the Midland Industries (1938), pp.62-3; own Iron Rod For the Naylors (1655) and Iron Rod put into the Lord Protectors Hand (1655).

APPENDIX II

LOCATIONS OF FIFTH MONARCHIST CONGREGATIONS, MINISTERS AND AGENTS

Sources are to be found, except when given here, in the Biographical Appendix, in the section on the saint whose name is underlined here. The congregations frequently changed their meeting-places, especially in London after 1660, and the attempt to distinguish them here is only tentative. The words 'Whitley 8', etc., refer to the numeration of the London Baptist churches listed in W. T. Whitley, The Baptists of London (1928).

LONDON AREA

Allhallows the Great, Thames St., from 1652. Under Simpson, lecturer there, and flourished till his death in '62. Radical wing broke away '56-8 under the Portman brothers and established a separate church.

S. also had livings at St. Botolph's Aldgate and St. Botolph's Bishopsgate but although there were individual 5th Monarchists in these congregations, there do not seem to have been separate 5th Monarchist groups there.

Blackfriars, under Feake, from '52. Feake was lecturer at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. Church later met in Swan Alley, Coleman St., and in Warwick Lane (Feake, New Non-conformist (1654), passim). After 1660 taken over by Helme, d.1669. Helme's widow's house lic. (Cong.), 1672 (C.S.P.Dom.,'72, pp.63,197).

F. also had living at Christ Church, Newgate; not apparent whether separate 5th Mon. group.

St. Thomas Apostle's, under Rogers, there from '53-59. Headed later by one Needham, prob. Congregationalist (T.Cong.Hist.Soc.,v (1912),p.345).

Lothbury Square. Chamberlen headed church '52-4. Later at Bullstake Alley under J.James, d.1661, then at Mill Yard as 7th Day Baptist (Whitley 13).

Stone Chapel. Led by Chillenden at Aldgate in '53, and perhaps by '50 (Z.Grey, Impartial Exam. (1739),iii. appendix,pp.149-52). At Stone Chapel, St. Paul's in '53. Perhaps led by Sturgeon in mid-'50s. Largely army membership. Led by Glasse, Vernon, Strange in '60s, by Danvers and Perrott in '70s/80s (Whitley 15).

5th Mon. group in Raworth's Baptist cong., signed Declaration 1654.

5th Mon. group in Fenton's Baptist cong., signed Declaration '54.

5th Mon. group in Knollys's Baptist cong. (Whitley 8), signed Declaration '54. 5th Mon. group at Artichoke Lane 1670 probably also part of Knollys's cong. which sometimes met there.

5th Mon. group in Highland's Baptist cong., signed Declaration '54.

5th Mon. group in Barbone's Baptist cong., signed Declaration '54.

5th Mon. group in Jessey's Baptist cong. (Whitley 9a), signed Declaration '54.

All Hallows, Lombard St. Cardell Minister there until 1655.

Soper Lane. Cockayne minister of St. Pancras, '46-60, and kept conventicle later. He was 5th Mon. '52-3, and around '64.

Swan Alley, Coleman St. Venner's church there by '55, destroyed '61. Several of V.'s church earlier with Rogers.

Edgware, Middx. Swift curate of Edgware 1656-60.

Worcester House. John Clarke head of Bapt.(/5th Mon.) church by '57.

Bell Lane. Under Belcher, at Limehouse and Duke's Place, Westminster, '61. At Bell Lane from '66, gradually evolved into pure 7th Day Baptist church (Whitley 18).

New St., Cripplegate. Under Thomas Winter, 1661.

Trinity Lane, Stepney. Under Rogers, 1661 (SP.29/47,f.107).

Broken Wharf. Feake there '61 (SP.29/47,f.107). Mayhew head of 5th Mon. church there 1678 (C.S.P.Dom.,'78,p.246).

Maiden Head Tavern, Piccadilly. Anon. 5th Mon. meeting there '61 (SP.29/30,f.101).

Beech Lane, Cripplegate. 5th Mon. in 1661 (B.M., MS.Egerton 2543,f.24). Also at Elbow Lane, Cannon St. and elsewhere. Under Vernon, Glasse, Strange by '63. Still called 5th Mon. in 1676 (Hist.MSS.Comm.,xxii,Bolton MSS,p.16). (Whitley 7)

White Horse Yard, near Somerset House. Anthony Palmer there '64 (SP.29/105,f.75). No doubt part of P's church, later at Pinners' Hall (Whitley 23).

Shoreditch. Malban head of congregation, '61.

St. Giles, Cripplegate. Congregation at house of Winch '62-5

Hendon, Middx. Swift head of church '65, perhaps since Restoration.

Hillingdon, Middx. Cong. at Adman's house '69.

Horsley Down, Southwark. Church led by Barrett '69.

St. Mary Overy's Dock, Southwark. 5th Mon./Ind. church '69 at Bloxsom's house. (Stephen More's church, Whitley 4a).

Tuttle St., Westminster. Cong. at house of Widow Brome, 1676 (Hist.MSS.Comm.,xxii,Bridgewater MSS,p.15).

Richard Adams had cong. of 300 in 1682 (SP.29/419,f.102).

London Bridge. Feake at conventicle 1682. (SP.29/421,f.324).

REST OF COUNTRY

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedford. John Child agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

BERKSHIRE

Abingdon. Church led by Pendarves, d.1656. Survivors accepted Bapt. licence '72, so presumably moderated (Preston, Abingdon, p.130).

Reading. Sturgeon active '56, and Baptist church founded that year (Berkshire R.O.: Book of Records of Reading Baptist Church). 5th Mon. men reported there in 1664 (MS.Clarendon 81,f.199).

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Chalfont St. Giles. Henry Cock active in 5th Mon. group '69.

CHESHIRE

Chester. 5th Mon. men reported '69 (SP.29/264,f.206). Cf. Fitten of Chester, fl.1663-6.

Great Budworth. 5th Mon./Bapt. meeting '69 (Turner, Orig. Recs.,i.169).

Nantwich. 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe, vi.187). These three churches probably all founded by Wigan.

CORNWALL

Tregas. Langden agent there '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

DERBYSHIRE

Aston-on-Trent. T. Palmer minister '46-60. (See also Notts.)

DEVON

Dartmouth. One Slid agent, '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

Exeter. Byfield head of 5th Mon. cong. in cathedral in late '50s. Carew sponsored Bapt./5th Mon. church in '50s (Brockett, Nonconformity in Exeter (1962),p.15). One Leap 5th Mon. agent in '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

Tiverton. Rumour of impending Bapt./5th Mon. massacre there '59 (Merc.Politicus,580,(21-8 July '59),pp.617-8). A Baptist church was there, perhaps it had some 5th Mon. members (Nuttall, J.Eccles.Hist.,xi.213-8).

ESSEX

Epping. Attempted 5th Mon. rising there 1657 (Russell, Life of William Lord Russell (1819),pp.13-4).

Courtney and Thimbleton active in Essex/Herts. '66, at Ware, Enfield, Epping, Theobalds (SP.29/144,f.138). Danvers in 1685 drew 500 supporters from Essex/Herts. to London for projected rising (Grey, Secret History of Rye-House-Plot (1754),p.113.

HAMPSHIRE

Newport, Isle of Wight. Mr. Smith, 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

Portsmouth. J.Goff, 5th Mon. agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

Southampton. J. Wise head of 5th Mon. cong. '69. He was licensed in '72 at West Cowes and Salisbury (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.142,ii.1051,1075).

HERTFORDSHIRE (See under Essex)

KENT

Canterbury. Fritton head of 5th Mon. group '65.

Sandwich. Capt. Boys and Mr. Taylor agents '56/7 (Thurloe, vi.187). 'Hundreds' of 5th Monarchists in Kent were mentioned by the Declaration (1654), sig.D2v.

LANCASHIRE

Manchester. Under Wigan, d.1665.

LINCOLNSHIRE

Lincoln. Abigaill Marshall agent '56/7. Abigaill Diodaty, also formerly of Chamberlen's cong., there in 1654 (MS.Rawl. D828,f.17).

NORFOLK

North Walsham. Breviter head of cong. there 1651-64. Centre of 5th Mon. activity 1655-6 with Pooley and Rudduck. Independent, Quaker and 7th Day Baptist groups there '69 (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.100).

Norwich. Pooley head of church there in 1660. Wainford a 5th Mon. there '56.

Trunch. Tillinghast Rector 1652-5 and head of Congregationalist church.

Wymondham. Church headed by Pooley in 1653.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

One N. Cox of Northants., 5th Mon. in 1670.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

Nottingham. T. Palmer head of church by 1659, and probably since its foundation in '55 (Nuttall, Visible Saints, p.33). Banfeather of Nottingham an associate of Pooley in 1667.

Skegby. 5th Mon./Bapt. group 1669 at Mrs. Lindley's house (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.155). Probably established by T. Palmer.

OXFORDSHIRE

Oxford. Quelch agent in '56/7. A 'brother' from Oxford at Venner's church '57 (B.M.Add.MS.4459,f.111v).

SOMERSET

Bristol. George Packer agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187).

Wells A number of Fifth Monarchists said to be there, 1656 (D. Underdown, 'A Case Concerning Bishops' Lands', Eng.Hist.Rev.,lxxvii (1963), p.31).

SUFFOLK

Bury. T. Taylor head of church at Shire House 1653-Restoration.

Ipswich. Stoneham head of church 1651-Restoration; church produced 5th Mon. tract 1659.

Syleham. Habergham head of gathered church 1652-62.

Woodbridge. Woodall head of gathered church 1652-81, but only known as 5th Mon. before Restoration.

SURREY

Dorking. Feake taught there '69 at 'Independent' congregation of 100 (Turner, Orig.Recs.,i.47).

39 Surrey 5th Monarchists, including Perrott, in prison in Surrey 1662 (SP.29/91,f.165).

SUSSEX

Lewes. Postlethwaite head of church 1646-72. 5th Mon. in 1650s, Crowch agent in '56/7; but Congregationalist in '60s.

Horsham (?). Report of assembly of 5,000 5th Monarchists there, 1659 (MS.Clar. 61,f.103).

WARWICKSHIRE

Warwick. Mr. King, agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187). Perhaps Daniel King, Baptist pastor of Coventry and Warwick to '56 (T.Bapt.H.S.,vii.213, Bapt.Q.,xvi.59).

WESTMORLAND

Barton. T. Roberts minister 1655-62.

WILTSHIRE

Devizes. T. Okey head of 5th Mon. group of 40 in 1669.

Mildenhall. T. Baylie minister '47-60, and later held conventicles there.

WORCESTERSHIRE

White Lady Aston. R. Browne minister '46-60.

YORKSHIRE

Hull. Canne chaplain there from '50, and head of congregation until expelled 1656. One Lepington agent '56/7 (Thurloe,vi.187). Astley took over church in 1669.

Laughten en le Morthen/Hatfield. Whitehurst minister at Laughton '59 and remained after ejection. Licensed at Hatfield in 1672.

Sheffield. Fisher head of church by '46 till death in 1667.

WALES

The 5th Monarchist centres were Llwyd's church at Wrexham and Powell's at New Radnor. Powell gathered about twenty churches, many of which were probably imbued with 5th Monarchist ideas (Crosby, History of the English Baptists (1738-40),i.377).

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