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The End of the World Changes? The Fifth Monarchy Men's Millenarian Vision

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The End of the World Changes?
The Fifth Monarchy Men's Millenarian Vision

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Abstract

This project looks at the Fifth Monarchy Men, a radical religious and political group in early modern England. Two quotes from the historian Bernard Capp formed the foundation for this project. The quotes both stated that the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology changed based on the hopes and fears of the common people. Two components made up my analysis of the topic. The first was to find out what were the hopes and fears of the common people. The case studies used for this piece involved Nehemiah Wallington and the townspeople of Dorchester. Even though they were the hotter sort of Protestant, there are limited records of common people from this time. From this, it was found that the common people had an interconnected mixture of spiritual and practical concerns. The cases came from the most religiously minded, yet even they were concerned with the spiritual when it was connected to practical or personal concerns.

The second component of the analysis was to examine the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology. This was done by using a combination of primary sources and text written by historians. For the primary sources, there were a number of tracts used. There was a more detailed discussion of tracts written by four leading members: Anna Trapnel, Mary Cary, Vavasor Powell, and Christopher Feake. There were a variety of topics discussed in these sources, with a few common themes. One can see that the Fifth Monarchists were most concerned with religious issues, not the practical or personal issues of most concern to common people. The secondary sources show that the group lacked centralized leadership and cohesion. Thus, changes that did occur happened to individual preachers, not to the movement as a whole. This showed that for the Fifth Monarchy Men, the changes that did occur to their ideology were due to political pressures and individual preacher's preferences, not the hopes and fears of the common people.

Table of Contents

Introduction

"In the excitable mood of the time the apocalyptic dream made a greater impact on the lower classes than ever before and, more important, *began to take new forms which used the language of the common people and reflected their particular hopes and fears.*"[1] This line was the starting point for this project. Reading through the secondary sources, it seemed that this statement was meant to describe the Quakers, until I read Bernard Capp's book on the Fifth Monarchy Men and came across this line, "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.*"[2] It became apparent that this line was about the Fifth Monarchy Men. This project looks at the connection between the hopes and fears of the common people and the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology.

In England during the Interregnum, it was said that "the world turned upside down."[3] To many people, it appeared that they were living at the end of the world. George Fox wrote that every time there was a thunderstorm, people

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[1] Bernard Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism" in ed. J.F. McGregor, B. Reay, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution,* (Oxford, 1984) p. 167. My emphasis.
[2] Ibid, p. 42. My emphasis.
[3] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution,* (London, 1972) pp. 13-18.

thought that the world was ending.[4] There is no doubt that this was an exaggerated or an extreme example; however, it does set the mood of the period. During the British Civil Wars, the Parliamentarians and Royalists both envisioned their fight as the battle of the saints versus the Anti-Christ, at the end of the world.[5] More than just a system of government was at stake. If the opposing side won, that would mean evil had triumphed.[6] When the Civil Wars ended, the King was executed; thus, the system of government that had been in place for hundreds of years, was brought to a halt. With the old order seemingly dead, anything could be "turned upside down"; however, the world never quite got there, it merely tilted.[7]

During the Interregnum, the Church of England's structure broke down. This opened the door to a multitude of radical groups, each of which challenged the traditions and norms of society. Some of these groups, such as the Ranters and Seekers, may not have existed. Such groups may have been made up by the press as a propaganda tool to scare people.[8] However, real or not, these groups provide extreme examples of the problems and pressures faced by people within the society and the radical paths they were willing to take to gain a solution. As Norman Cohn explains in *The Pursuit of the Millennium,* these groups drew most of their support from the weakest and most powerless members of society, usually

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[4] Richard Kyle, *The Last Days are Here Again: A History of the End Times*, (Grand Rapids, 1998) p. 68
[5] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 225-266.
[6] Ibid, pp 225-266.
[7] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 19-38.
[8] Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 106-120.

the extremely poor and women.[9] During this radical phase, many groups were able to transcend the usual membership base and attract diverse groups. For example, upper-class males, who were usually not associated with these sorts of sects, became members of sects during this radical phase.[10] The Quakers and Fifth Monarchy Men were among the transcendent sects.[11]

The Fifth Monarchy Men was a radical sect that was both religious and deeply involved in politics.[12] The group was deceptively named because there were prominent female prophets and female members within the movement. Their name comes from their belief in the literal interpretation of Daniel Chapter 7, known as Daniel's dream. Daniel says that the Fourth Beast (the Fourth Kingdom) had to swallow up the world and make the saints' lives miserable until the Lord comes down to reclaim the earth in order to found the fifth monarchy.[13] King Jesus would then reign over the world, creating an earthly paradise. In this utopia, people would die only of old age, and not of disease or accidents. There would be peace throughout the earth, and everyone one would have enough to eat and all the necessities of life.[14] The saints, who had been oppressed and tortured in the Fourth Monarchy, would be the only ones in this utopia.[15] After the thousand years of bliss, the final battle between King Jesus and Satin would occur. Christ would be victorious and take the Saints up with him to heaven.

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[9] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1970) pp. 156-160.
[10] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-105.
[11] B. Reay, "Quakerism and Society," in ed. McGregor, J.F. and B. Reay. *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, (Oxford, 1984) pp. 141-180.
[12] Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men:A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism,* (London, 1972), pp. 13-22.
[13] Daniel Chapter 7. For this project the King James version of *The Bible* was used.
[14] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* pp. 13-22.
[15] Daniel Chapter 7.

This utopia was right around the corner, so their actions to bring about the millennium were of the utmost importance. During the Civil Wars, both sides talked about the wars as wars between the Saints and the Anti-Christ.[16] Afterwards, groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men continued this line of thinking.[17] This was not a massive organized group; these were independent congregations that shared common ideologies. Congregations were in contact with each other and could work together at times, but could also differ in their views on certain subjects.[18] A notable example was the fierce debate between John Spittlehouse[19] and John Simpson,[20] who were divided on whether there should be a Sabbath set aside for no work (Simpson was the sabbatarian).[21] There was a large network of communication among the Fifth Monarchy Men, which was aided by the fact that censorship of the press had long since collapsed. Therefore, their pamphlets could be published and widely distributed.[22] When the British Civil Wars broke out, each side latched onto religious reasons as a justification, especially the millenarian fervor sweeping the land. The use of

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[16] Hill. *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 57- 72.

[17] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* pp. 24-30.

[18] Ibid, pp. 76-98.

[19] John Spittlehouse was a Fifth Monarchist preacher. Spittlehouse was also, the assistant to the Marshall-General responsible for military security in the 1650s. He published a number of pamphlets, and was known for his many attacks on other Fifth Monarchist preachers.
Bernard Capp, 'Spittlehouse, John (*bap.* 1612, *d.* in or after 1657)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 online http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26157 accessed 6 April 2013.

[20] John Simpson received a master's degree from Oxford, then moved to London. There he worked with Christopher Feake to lay the foundation for the Fifth Monarchist Movement. Simpson was part of the faction that favored the violent overthrow of the government. Frequently this put him at odds with the law, and led to multiple arrests.
Bernard Capp, 'Simpson, John (1614/15–1662)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37963, accessed 6 April 2013.

[21] John Spittlehouse, *A Manifestation of Sundry Gross Absurdities...* (1656). John Simpson, *Sermon at Alhallows,* (London, 1656)

[22] Walsham. *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 32-64.

religious propaganda by both sides increased the national feeling of crisis and the

feeling that the outcome of this war would "turn the world upside down."[23]

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[23] Lacey Baldwin Smith, *This Realm of England 1399-1688*. (Boston, 2001) p. 219.

1. Millenarianism and Christianity

I.   Introduction to Millenarianism

Millenarianism is a cross-cultural conception. Many religions besides Christianity had millenarian beliefs throughout history.[24] Here, the discussion will focus exclusively on Christian millenarian beliefs. Christianity, since its very beginning, has had a strong millenarian element. In Christianity's holy text, *The Bible*, there are two main areas that millenarian ideologies can be drawn from, the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation in the New Testament.[25] Within the Book of Daniel, the main focus of millenarians is Daniel's dream, which occurs in Chapter VII.[26] Depending on the exact interpretation, any chapter in the Book of Revelation can be interpreted in a millenarian fashion. This is because the entire book is John's vision about the final days and the end of the world. [27] This section will focus on the definition of millenarianism and the beginning of these beliefs within the Christian tradition.

There are certain concepts that can be defined in a basic manner, but lose much of their true complexity and meaning when simplified. Millenarianism is one such concept. Depending on the source one reads, one will walk away with a

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[24] Kyle, pp. 15-26.
[25] Cohn, pp. 19-36.
[26] Ibid, p. 20.
[27] Ibid, pp. 15-18.

slightly different idea of the concept. *Millenarianism* comes from the Latin word for "a thousand."[28] "The word has in fact become simply a convenient label for a particular type of salvationism."[29] This theology believes that there will be a thousand-year period of blessed times. Groups usually have a motivating factor that leads them to this belief, such as persecution, unrest, war, or natural disasters, to name a few.[30] For Christians, the idea of a thousand years of bliss came from a literal interpretation of Revelation Chapter 20, as can be seen in verses 2 to 8:

> And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a *thousand years*, And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, *till the thousand years should be fulfilled*: and after that he must be loosed a little season ... judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and *which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years*. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the *thousand years* were finished. This is the first resurrection ... they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and *shall reign with him a thousand years*. And when the *thousand years* are expired, Satan shall be loosed

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[28] Kyle, p. 20.
[29] Cohn, p. 15.
[30] Kyle, p. 20-21.

out of his prison, and shall go out to deceive the nations ... to gather them

together to battle ....[31]

Here we see the importance of the thousand years. This was the period, before the

ultimate battle between God and the Devil, when the Devil would be defeated.

Here, only those that had stood for God against the anti-Christ would live in the

peaceful paradise. It is a utopian place, from which the Devil is gone, so people

can live in peace and harmony.[32] This text is rather cryptic and mysterious in the

way it describes many things, such as Gog and Magog and who they were, which

is left completely unanswered. The passage leaves room for many different

interpretations of how the world is going to end. It offers many possibilities for

matching interpretations to current events.[33]

However, to truly understand millenarian concepts, we must look briefly

at the ideas of the preceding religion, Judaism, who ideas were modified and

incorporated into Christian millenarian traditions.[34] One of the focuses of

Judaism's millenarianism is on Daniel's dream, which is another cryptic and

mysterious text. Here is a portion of the dream.

These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out

of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and

possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. Then I would

know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others,

exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass;

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[31] Revelation Ch 20 verses 2-8. (my emphasis).
[32] Ibid, Ch 20 verses 1-10.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Cohn, pp. 19-28.

which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet;

And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came

up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a

mouth that spake very great things ... I beheld, and the same horn made

war with the saints .... Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was

given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints

possessed the kingdom.[35]

There is more to the dream than this sample. Before this section, there is an

explanation of the beasts in more detail. The omitted portion describes the four

Kings. What is important is how this passage is just vague enough to spawn a

myriad of interpretations tied to the political reality of that time.[36] Here, the beasts

represent the kings who will tyrannically misrule at the end of the world. The last

will be the worst, right before the Lord comes to give the world to the saints.[37]

This text opens up the idea of the four kings before Christ comes to become King,

creating the Fifth Monarchy. Also, it led people to try to identify who was the

insanely corrupt fourth ruler, who would trigger the end of the world.[38] Daniel's

dream and Revelation combined to form the basis for Christian millenarian

ideology. As one can see, Daniel had an enigmatic, mysteriously dark apocalypse,

which was combined with the detailed numbers and timeline found in

Revelation.[39]

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[35] Daniel Chapter 7 verse 16-22.
[36] Ibid, Chapter 7 verse 16-27.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Revelation Ch 20 verses 1-10. Daniel Chapter 7 verse 16-27.

The earliest Christian groups' interpretation of Daniel and Revelation started the long history of Christian millenarian and apocalyptic movements.[40] Most Christians in the first century felt certain that they would see the end of the world within their lifetimes.[41] This view of the world was fueled by the fact that early Christians were oppressed by the Roman Empire.[42] (In the same manner that Jewish and other religious millenarian movements were fueled by subjugation.)[43] In the epistles (letters the apostles wrote to various churches), there are many references to the end of the world, including the only explicit references to the Antichrist, in 1 John and 2 John.[44] These epistles capture the mindset and thoughts of the disciples who first spread the word about Christianity. Their persistent focus on the nearing millennium shaped the backbone of the movement. This view about the quickly coming end was not always in vogue, but when it was, their interpretations formed the basis for the movement's ideologies.[45]

This section shows the basis upon which Christian millenarian groups were founded. All these groups made use of these key passages in *The Bible*. Revelation is usually the most talked about source, because it is one of the most cited sources for millenarian inspiration.[46] However, overlooking Daniel's dream, the original millenarian passage, or the epistles of the apostles would be a mistake, since radicals used all of these passages in order to build their ideology,

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[40]Kyle, pp. 15-26.
[41] Ibid, p. 35.
[42] Cohn, p. 24.
[43] Cohn, pp.13-28. Kyle, pp. 25-36.
[44] Kyle, p. 32.
[45] Ibid, p. 32.
[46] Ibid, pp. 30-35.

even if they did not fully credit all of their sources.[47] Passages that were not

explicitly millenarian in nature could also be utilized, such as passages from

Isaiah, which were used as justification by many messianic leaders who claimed

to be Jesus' second coming.[48] Initially, they would use the same passages to

explain Jesus' divinity, and later, to explain their own divinity.[49]

II. The End of the World is Not Static

The problem with fervor about an imminent millennium is that it cannot

continue indefinitely. After a while, more and more people will begin to doubt

that the end of the world is near and will leave the movement. At the very core,

millenarian or apocalyptic groups that fail to fulfill their purpose, to bring about

the end of the world, are always on the edge of dying out.[50] Yet, no matter how

many times these groups die out without being able to fulfill their purpose, there

always seems to be another group or messianic leader who is still able to recruit a

strong following.[51] This section will provide a very brief and limited look into the

millenarian groups that came before the Fifth Monarchy Men. The purpose of this

is to show that the history of millenarianism has an essence of continuity, since

these groups have common roots, but there are also many differences. These

differences derived from a variety of factors such as geography, time, and culture,

which created circumstances to which millenarianism had to be molded to fit

reality. To understand the place of the Fifth Monarchy Men, one must realize that

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[47] Cohn, pp. 13-28.
[48] Ibid, pp. 41-52.
[49] Ibid, pp. 41-52.
[50] Kyle, pp. 185-202.
[51] Cohn.

the groups before it influenced it, even though this group was so unique that there was no exact predecessor.

As Constantine led the way to Christianity's becoming a major religion, intricately tied to the state, the millenarian fervor calmed down. The foundation of the papacy and other Christian institutions contributed to this shift.[52] From then on, the groups that did preach millenarian ideas would not usually be accepted by the Christian institution and were labeled as heretics. Christian institutions would not recognize millenarianism as part of their official doctrine until the Reformation.[53]

During the Middle Ages, a number of heretical millenarian groups emerged; some of the more widely influential groups were the Crusades' spawn.[54] These usually had a similar form: a messianic leader claiming to be Jesus, with a divine letter confirming this; a woman saying she was Mary; a band of disciples; and enough weapons to either defend the group or commit genocide against the Jews in town. (There were variations; this is not to say all groups had these elements, but most groups did).[55] These movements usually only lasted as long as the messianic leader was able to maintain the faith of his followers; the length of time varied, but was usually not long.[56] Other movements were much longer-lasting, like the heresy of the Free Spirit, also known as the heresy of Spiritual

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[52] Kyle, pp. 41-54.
[53] Ibid, pp. 45-60.
[54] Cohn, pp. 89-97.
[55] Ibid, pp. 89-97.
[56] Ibid, pp. 89-97.

Liberty, which survived in various incarnations for five centuries. However, this group was gnostic and broke away from Christianity completely.[57]

The ideologies from this period that had the greatest connection to the Fifth Monarchy Men held that the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II would return from the dead to usher in a millenarian utopia. Fredrick II's legacy became attached to the Joachite prophecy,[58] building this conception about his return.[59] Upon his second coming, Frederick would strip the Church of Rome of all its corruptions (in life he had clashed with the church) and would lift the poor out of poverty.[60] There is then a divergence in the story; some groups said Frederick II's reincarnation was a second version of Jesus'; thus, Frederick would rule the millenarian paradise. Other groups saw Frederick as the one who would prepare the way for Jesus to come. Frederick would not rule, Jesus would. (There were a number of different versions, which fall into these two basic categories).[61] This ideology brought together the idea that there are certain ages/kingdoms in history and the idea that humans would have to prepare the world in order for there to be an earthly paradise, ideas which would be used (in different forms) by the Fifth Monarchy Men.

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[57] Ibid, p. 148.

[58] Joachim of Fiore delivered this prophecy; he believed that within *The Bible* there was a hidden meaning. He was the first person to say the meaning explained the course of history and foretold the future. The meaning derived from Revelation was that the course of human history could be neatly divided into three ages. The first was the Age of the Father or Law, one where the people were fearful and in servitude. The second was the Age of the Son or Gospel, one where the people had faith and filial piety. The third and last to come was the Age of the Spirit; this would be a time of love, joy, and freedom in a millenarian utopia. Before Jesus descends to rule the utopia, there will be an earthly king who corrects the people in their wickedness and who prepares the way for Jesus, much the way John the Baptist prepared for Jesus' first coming. Ibid, pp. 108-109.

[59] Ibid, pp. 111-120.

[60] Ibid, pp. 111-120.

[61] Ibid, pp. 111-120.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation led the papacy to have a relationship with millenarianism once again. However, the status of this bond fluctuated continually in an unpredictable manner.[62] This acceptance of some millenarian ideas was seen in certain monastic orders founded during this period. This limited acceptance helped these views to become more popular during and after the British Civil Wars.[63]

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[62] Kyle, pp. 55-76.
[63] Ibid, pp. 55-76.

2. England's Connection with the Millennium

I. Religion and Power

After looking at the origins of millenarianism, it makes sense to turn to look at England's relationship with religion and the background from which radical sects emerged. This is not meant as a comprehensive review, but simply as a recap of the religious history. This is done to show how, historically, questions floated around the upper portion of society about the church and who controlled the church. This history affected how people responded to radical groups in the seventeenth century and how radical these groups became. When the Romans came to Britain, they did not conquer all the native people, the Celts, and convert them to their ways, so two religious systems existed at once.[64] Even with the official acceptance of Christianity by the state, religion was not static. There was a continual power struggle between the King of England and the Pope, which dynamically changed each time a new man was placed in either position. These fights were over who could appoint bishops and who ultimately had control of the clergy.[65] This jockeying back and forth for control made the question of who was in charge of the church continually pertinent and uncertain. This question got an

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[64] C. Warren Hollister, Robert C. Stacey, Robin Chapman Stacey, *The Making of England to 1399*, (Boston, 2001) pp. 6-10.
[65] Ibid, pp. 188-193.

answer (briefly) from King Henry VIII's break from the Church of Rome, and the
creation of the Church of England, a church controlled by the monarch, who was
also its head.[66] However, this break was only with Rome, not Catholicism. His
heir, King Edward VI, made England a Protestant nation, but his successor,
Queen Mary, brought England back to Catholicism. When Queen Elizabeth I took
the throne, she struck an agreement that gave enough latitude for these two
versions of Christianity to coexist. Yet most at that time considered this a
temporary measure; each side wanted a hard line agreement in their side's favor.[67]
King James I left this settlement mostly the way it was; however, his heir did not
follow this pattern. Instead, King Charles I favored Arminianism, a version of
Protestantism that appeared very similar to Catholicism. This created enormous
objections from the godlier Protestants, who wanted the opposite set of reforms.[68]
This led to a period where tensions between King and Parliament escalated
quickly, out of which radical groups, such as the Fifth Monarchy Men arose.[69]

II. Charles I and the Emergence of Radical Sects

Emergence of the radical sects came not out of thin air, but out of political
and religious turmoil.[70] This event is an anomaly in English history. Neither the
nobles nor invaders led the violent revolt against the monarch; it was led by the

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[66] Smith, pp. 122-128.
[67] Robert Bucholz, and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History,* (Oxford, 2009) pp. 65-158.
[68] Ibid, pp. 230-252.
[69] Ibid, pp. 230-252.
[70] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 19-38.

Parliament.[71] It was a time when most people believed the world would end soon; many people felt that "the world turned upside down."[72] With the government and church hierarchy in disorder, any semblance of religious uniformity dissipated. This led to the rise of a variety of small, but extremely vocal radical religious sects. At the end of the Interregnum, the monarchy was restored, and with it, most radical groups not already dead became terminal.[73]

King Charles I challenged the religious structure when it was already a house of cards. It was just enough of a challenge to the delicate balance that it created major problems.[74] This set off a series of events, which led to radicalization. It began with the widespread debate over Arminianism, which triggered all the other religious debates that had already been going on to flourish and multiply.[75] As the Civil Wars began, censorship of the press dissipated, which caused the religious debates to be publicized. Once censorship fell, there were no longer limits as to what printers could do for sales.[76] In catering to the public, more extreme accounts and viewpoints, held by only a minority of people, gained public attention. These views would shock, amuse, or teach a lesson to the people buying the tracts.[77] The volume of these publications led to these views gaining national attention, even though many people did not believe in them.[78]

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[71] Bucholz, pp. 250-276.
[72] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 19-38.
[73] Ibid, pp. 19-38, 344-360.
[74] Bucholz, pp. 230-252
[75] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700.* (Manchester, 2006) pp. 49-65.
[76] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 8-32
[77] Ibid, pp. 167-217.
[78] Ibid, pp. 167-217.

During the Interregnum, the persecuted switched places with the persecutors. This created new sets of ideas within each group. Those that had been persecuted gave up their ideas about tolerance, whereas the former persecutors, who had been against tolerance, now embraced the idea.[79] This, combined with the collapse of national religious uniformity, allowed congregations to gain a measure of self-determination.[80] This could allow parishes to diminish the conflicts that had occurred between pastor and parish. Lay preaching, especially, helped to give the people's religious views a voice.[81] Itinerant preachers also gave the people's views a voice. But the preacher's force of personality could also convert a parish to the preacher's beliefs.[82] Wealthy members who paid for a preacher were still able to influence decisions about the religious ideas preached in the town. There might be objections from a congregation that now saw there were other options, due to the dissemination of religious debates and ideas.[83]

The changes in government throughout the Interregnum made the country unstable, which opened the doors for radical groups to emerge. For the first part of the period, an English Commonwealth was declared, run by the Rump Parliament.[84] After this, came the Barebones Parliament, which was an assembly nominated by Oliver Cromwell and the army. These men were singled out for their religious persuasions; many were the hotter sort of Protestants, though some

[79] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 188-227.
[80] Ibid, pp. 188-227.
[81] David Cressy, *Agnes Bowker's Cat: Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England,*(Oxford, 2001) pp. 138-162.
[82] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, pp. 87-106.
[83] Cressy, pp. 138-162.
[84] Bucholz, pp. 262-274.

were radicals.[85] The concept behind this Parliament was to have people who were

saints lead the country, based on their interpretation of God's will and

providence.[86] Radicals such as the Fifth Monarchists found it frustrating that they

were outnumbered and unable to accomplish their goals. This Parliament realized

how inefficient it was and voted to dissolve itself.[87] Under Cromwell, the

Protectorate was formed, which lasted till his death. His son tried to take over, but

that did not last long. Under pressure from the military, the restored Rump called

back the entire Long Parliament. This Parliament negotiated the Restoration.[88]

Though after the Restoration many radical beliefs died out, millenarianism would

have a major resurgence before and during the year 1666.[89]

III. The Fifth Monarchy Men

One of the groups which garnered the most fear and distrust throughout

the period was the Fifth Monarchy Men. Their ideology was a combination of

politics and religion with a millenarian basis, which attracted a membership that

was a crosscut of society.[90] Unlike many other radical groups throughout history,

this was one of the rare groups which had a following made up of more than the

most vulnerable and helpless sections of the population, the perpetually

impoverished and women.[91] As a crosscut of society, they were able to mobilize a

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[85] Ibid, pp. 262-274.
[86] Ibid, pp. 250-276.
[87] Ibid, pp. 262-274.
[88] Ibid, pp. 262-274.
[89] Adrian Tinniswood, *By Permission of Heaven: The True Story of the Great Fire of London*, (New York, 2004) pp. 19-40.
[90] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 137-138.
[91] Cohn, pp. 99-100, Kyle, p. 67.

very vocal and literate group, who published many tracts. The amount of tracts made the group seem quite large.[92] The Fifth Monarchists were never a large movement; however, their members were spread out across England and Wales.

"The areas of Fifth Monarchist strength show few common characteristics."[93] The first time I read Capp's chapter on the distribution of the Fifth Monarchy Men, I overlooked this line, so by the end of reading the chapter I was confused. In the Appendix of Capp's book, he lists all the areas where there were known and documented Fifth Monarchist congregations.[94] To remedy the confusion, I decided to create a series of three maps, based on Capp's data, in order to visualize the Fifth Monarchy Men's geographic layout. At first glance, Capp's line seems correct, but with further analysis, some trends were found. Fifth Monarchist congregations were predominant in coastal counties. There were also many concentrations in urban areas. These urban areas usually had a prosperous trading, and cloth industry. The following maps should show where the Fifth Monarchists were and what that demonstrates about the movement.

The first map shows that the largest numbers of Fifth Monarchist congregations were along the coast, yet there were still rural inland congregations. The largest number of Fifth Monarchy Men resided in London. Port cities like London were centers of trading, especially of printed works.[95] Availability of printed tracts by Fifth Monarchists expanded people's knowledge and awareness

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[92] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 76-99.
[93] Ibid, p. 77.
[94] Ibid, 271-275
[95] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 8-32.

of the movement.[96] However, there was a complementary element needed, a

preacher in the area. Some counties clearly did not contain ports but had Fifth

Monarchist gatherings. This was due to the strength of the preachers. For

example, there were Fifth Monarchists in Wales (more than Capp's data shows)

who did not reside in either coastal or urban areas. In Wales, all the churches

came about due to the extremely influential preachers Vavasor Powell and

Morgan Llwyd. (These two preachers' brands of Fifth Monarchism were quite

different. Powell is closer to Feake in ideology, whereas Llwyd was a renegade,

usually at odds with the rest of the movement, so there was no specific Welsh

Fifth Monarchism.)[97] There was also the influence of itinerant preachers who

wandered through the country. If a preacher found a receptive congregation, she

might choose to stay there, which is another reason for not all counties to be on

the coast.[98] Urban areas were the ideal location, because there were many people

who had access to the ideas of the Fifth Monarchists and could be inspired by a

preacher to join the movement. The power of an individual preacher to gather a

flock was a critical factor necessary to the movement's expansion and

continuance.

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[96] Ibid.

[97] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 78-79.

[98] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.

Distribution of the Congregations of the Fifth Monarchy Men By County
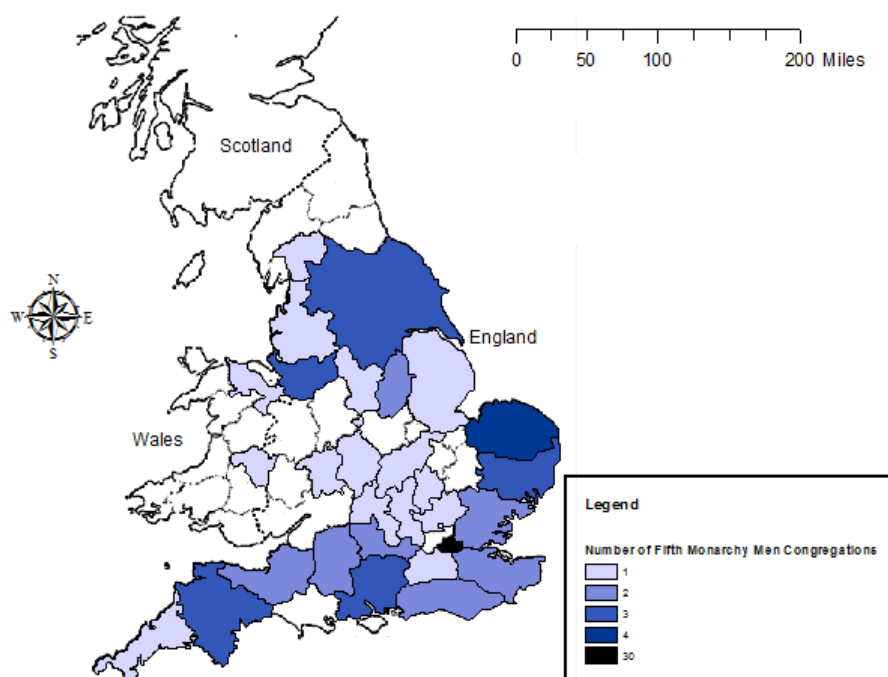
The Base Map is from Robert Bucholz, and Newton Key, Early
Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History, (Oxford, 2009) p.8

The Data on Congregations is from Bernard Capp, The Fifth
Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English
Millenarianism, (London, 1972) pp. 271-275.

In London, the number of congregations by parish show trends relating to the trading and the cloth industry. This perfect combination of factors was found in the City of London (the walled medieval area originally, the city limits— people had overflowed into the surrounding areas, which became the other parishes within the greater London area).[99] As the second map shows, all other parishes had a maximum of three congregations, whereas the City of London had eleven; trading was an important factor contributing to the large number of congregations. There was a large print trade, and most Fifth Monarchist tracts were printed in this area. So it would make it easiest to find out about their

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[99] Tinniswood, pp. 1-19.

movement here. Most of the leading Fifth Monarchists either resided in the city of London, or came there for a time.[100] Another key aspect was the presence of the cloth industry. There are many links between the Fifth Monarchist Movement and this particular industry. The outer parishes in which Fifth Monarchist congregations were found had a cloth industry (or at least connections to the industry), especially that of silk.[101] The cloth industry was going through many changes, and jobs became less permanent, which created high levels of social and economic insecurity. Many in this precarious situation turned to the Fifth Monarchy Men for comfort in the idea of a thousand years of paradise.[102] The large population in the City of London also contributed to the fact that there were a number of these congregations, specifically almost all of the militant Fifth Monarchist groups. With so many people, it was harder to disguise a radical movement, unlike in a rural, more sparsely populated area.[103]
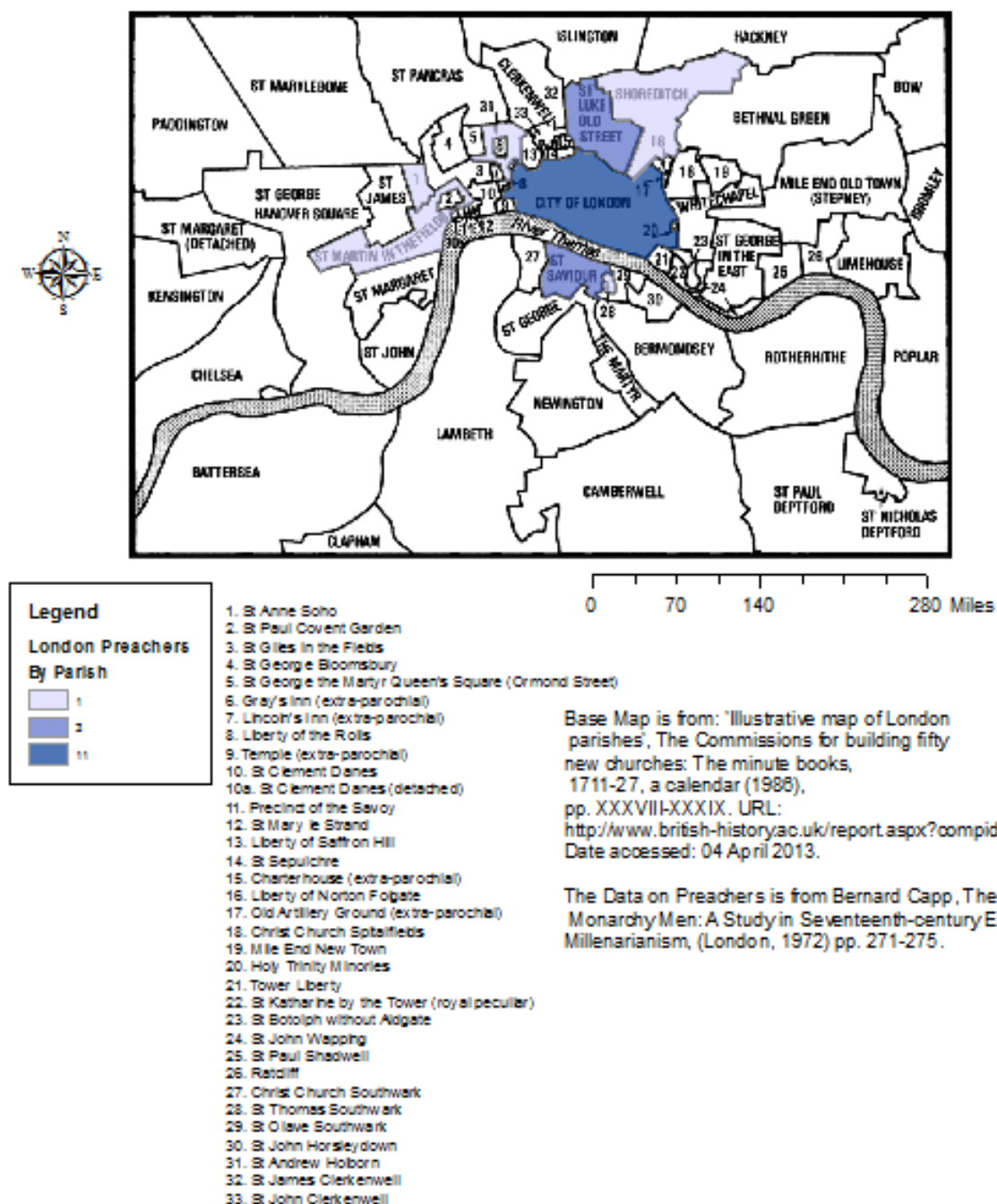
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[100] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 8-32.
[101] Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, pp. 87-106.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid, pp. 39-56.

Fifth Monarchist Preachers by Parish

Legend

London Preachers
By Parish

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2
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1. St Anne Soho
2. St Paul Covent Garden
3. St Giles in the Fields
4. St George Bloomsbury
5. St George the Martyr Queen's Square (Ormond Street)
6. Gray's Inn (extra-parochial)
7. Lincoln's Inn (extra-parochial)
8. Liberty of the Rolls
9. Temple (extra-parochial)
10. St Clement Danes
10a. St Clement Danes (detached)
11. Precinct of the Savoy
12. St Mary le Strand
13. Liberty of Saffron Hill
14. St Sepulchre
15. Charterhouse (extra-parochial)
16. Liberty of Norton Folgate
17. Old Artillery Ground (extra-parochial)
18. Christ Church Spitalfields
19. Mile End New Town
20. Holy Trinity Minories
21. Tower Liberty
22. St Katharine by the Tower (royal peculiar)
23. St Botolph without Aldgate
24. St John Wapping
25. St Paul Shadwell
26. Ratcliff
27. Christ Church Southwark
28. St Thomas Southwark
29. St Olave Southwark
30. St John Horsleydown
31. St Andrew Holborn
32. St James Clerkenwell
33. St John Clerkenwell

Base Map is from: 'Illustrative map of London parishes', The Commissions for building fifty new churches: The minute books, 1711-27, a calendar (1986), pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38869 Date accessed: 04 April 2013.

The Data on Preachers is from Bernard Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism, (London, 1972) pp. 271-275.

Even though the Fifth Monarchy Men were widely distributed, this did not mean that they were large in number, or even dominant, within the major cities. The map below compares the number of major cities with Fifth Monarchists to

those without. There are a few areas that do not have any Fifth Monarchists in the major cities, and a few that do. Overall, in most counties, the Fifth Monarchists may have had a base in one or two (in only one instance, three) of the major cities; however, on average, a county had five major cities. The Fifth Monarchists were a minority movement, albeit they were spread throughout England and were very vocal.

Comparison of the Number of Major Cities with Fifth Monarchists and those without
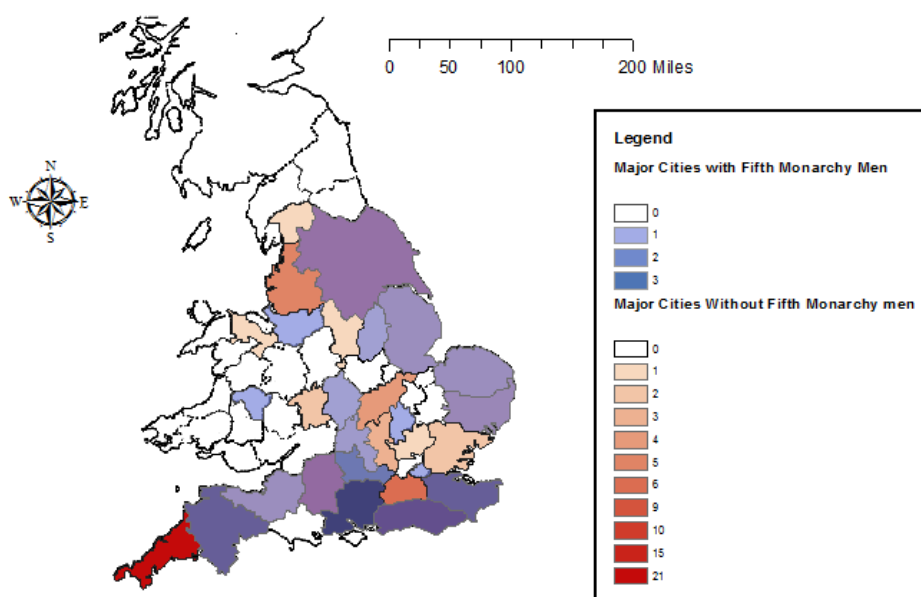
The Base Map is from Robert Bucholz, and Newton Key, Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History, (Oxford, 2009) p.8

The Data on the Fifth Monarchy Men is from Bernard Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism, (London, 1972) pp. 271-275.

The Data on major cities is from P.W. Hasler, The House of Commons 1558-1603, (London, 1981) map insert The 243 Elizabethan Parliamentary Constituencies.

Fifth Monarchy Men were able to use their appeal to a cross-section of society to rise to prominence; however, they were not able to achieve their aims, finally ending in disgrace through Venner's actions.[104] The Fifth Monarchists rose

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[104] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 56-80.

out of the British Civil Wars. This time of turmoil opened up the door for new ways of thought. The movement was at its height during the Interregnum, specifically during the Barebones Parliament.[105] A significant amount of Fifth Monarchists joined the Barebones Parliament, yet they were far from the majority, so they were not able to create the change they wanted to see.[106] As this situation of continual frustration persisted, many became disillusioned with the idea that the Fifth Monarchy could be brought about by using Parliament or any other governmental process. Here, the movement became more radical in its focus on getting a new government that would be able to bring about the Fifth Monarchy.[107] After the disbanding of the Barebones Parliament, the Fifth Monarchy Men never again gained a similar position of power, but this was not their demise.[108]

The Fifth Monarchy Men refocused their movement to work outside the government. This new goal made the common people more nervous about the group's actions, mainly because the Fifth Monarchist's new goal was to bring about the Fifth Monarchy through either a violent or nonviolent overthrow of the government.[109] Many of the tracts and publications that are still in existence are based on this school of thought (with a number of notable exceptions, like Mary Cary's *A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England...*). Tracts from this school of thought were meant to inspire and drive the most powerful in society to bring

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[105] Bulchoz, pp. 250-276.
[106] Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 50-75.
[107] Ibid, pp.50-75.
[108] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 56-80.
[109] Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism" pp. 165-171.

about the Fifth Monarchy through a radical change in the government.[110] This led

many members to write and speak to Oliver Cromwell about their views and

opinions on how the government should be run. As a very vocal group, they kept

up a strong attack against successor governments. However, these governments

did not feel the full force of the movement's opposition, as the Restoration

government did.[111]

      The Restoration was a major problem for the Fifth Monarchists, who saw

the reinstatement of the King as the antithesis of bringing about the reign of King

Jesus.[112] In 1661, Thomas Venner, a Fifth Monarchist preacher who believed in

the violent overthrow of the government, along with a group of followers, was

arrested and charged with treason. The group was accused of plotting a revolt

against the King to violently remove the government that stood in the way of

King Jesus.[113] In his scaffold speech, Venner did not admit to the crime and

repent, as was the custom; instead, he said he was innocent and had followed the

will of God.[114] This was the beginning of the end for the Fifth Monarchy Men. No

matter how much most Fifth Monarchists declared that they did not support

Venner, the damage was done. The public saw the group as treacherous

troublemakers. The movement dwindled from there, with many radicals defecting

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[110] Combination of all primary sources.
[111] Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England,* (Berkeley, 1992).
pp. 87-126.
[112] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 195-227.
[113] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, pp.
[114] Thomans Venner, *The Last Speech and Prayer with other Passages of Thomas Venner,* (London, 1660).

to other groups or being quashed by the Crown. After the 1680s, no more was heard from the Fifth Monarchy Men.[115]

There were many leading members of this movement. One list counts 245 leaders. However, for this project, just four members were closely examined. These four were published widely and were well known preachers.[116] These are Anna Trapnel, Mary Cary, Vavasor Powell, and Christopher Feake. Most of these leading members crossed each other's paths from time to time. For example, Christopher Feake wrote an introduction and recommendation for Mary Cary's work *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall*.[117] Even though the name Fifth Monarchy Men may make the movement seem male only, women made up a large percentage of the membership, though only a few became leaders.[118] Cary is one such woman; she rose to prominence within the movement before her marriage. She wrote prophetic tracts that spoke about the millennium, as well as some with recommendations for how the government should act. She was unique among the other Fifth Monarchy Men in that she was very concerned about the plight of the poor.[119]

Anna Trapnel was another woman who rose to prominence, though she was very different from Cary. She was less direct; her prophecies were told when she went into trances. Her prophecies were mysterious, in many ways mimicking

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[115] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 200-227.
[116] Ibid, pp. 239-269
[117] Cary, Mary *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal...* (London, 1651).
[118] Mack, pp. 87-126.
[119] Bernard Capp, "Cary, Mary (b 1620/21)" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 http://www.oxforddnb.com accessed 1 Nov 2012.

Daniel's Dream and Revelations.[120] There were many more men who published

tracts then women.[121] Feake was one of the most noted leaders; he synthesized

and publicized much of the movement's theological basis. A large number of his

tracts formed the backbone of the movement's ideology. Feake was a hostile

opponent of Cromwell and his government.[122] Powell was a Welsh minister, who

wrote a number of tracts and books. He preached to a number of very important

people. He was a very radical member of the movement, who ended up leaving

the Fifth Monarchists to become a Baptist. Powell was arrested a number of times

because he was extremely opposed to the Restoration government.[123]

     Millenarianism was at the core of the movement's beliefs; to understand

the movement, one must know their ideas about the eminent Fifth Monarchy.

Their conception of millenarianism was based on Daniel's dream, in which there

are four monarchies, which come before Christ would descend from heaven to

start his own Fifth Monarchy.[124] In Revelation, it spoke about the thousand years,

which they interpreted as the time that had already passed from the prophecy to

the present, when King Jesus would come to reign for another thousand years.[125]

There were only a few predictions of an exact year the world would end. On the

whole, they were not very certain about the exact date, yet very confident that it

would be very soon. For them, the millennium was not a spontaneous event. It

[120] Bryan W. Ball, "Feake, Christopher (1611/12–1682/3)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 http://www.oxforddnb.com accessed 1 Nov 2012.
[121] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* pp. 239-269
[122] Ball.
[123] Stephen K. Roberts, 'Powell, Vavasor (1617–1670)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online ed, Jan 2008 http://www.oxforddnb.com accessed 1 Nov 2012.
[124] Cohn, 29-36. Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," pp.165-171.
[125] Cohn, 29-36. Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," pp.165-171.

was not an event that would happen just because the time was near; people had to act in order to bring about the millennium.[126] Some, like Venner, felt that violence was acceptable in order to bring the Fifth Monarchy; however, many more people in the movement disagreed with this idea. Those that supported violence had become frustrated with the fact that the nonviolent approach seemed, with the Restoration, to have completely failed.[127]

To begin to understand if the Fifth Monarchy Men were changing their millenarian ideas in accordance with the hopes and fears of the people, it is important to find out what those hopes and fears were. Understanding the common people, who were mostly illiterate and left very few records, is difficult. However, there are a few good examples that will be explored in the next section.

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[126] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 172-194.
[127] Ibid, pp. 172-194.

3. Life at the End of the World

I. An Artisan in London

Nehemiah Wallington, a godly artisan in London, and the town of Dorchester, a town that became dominated by a godly preacher, may be examples that are the exception, yet they are deeply revealing about the hopes and fears of the common people.[128] Wallington was the hotter sort of Protestant, and kept many detailed journals and notes to make sure that he was living a godly life.[129] His life, though documented for religious purposes, gives a snapshot of the life of an ordinary man. In the text, many of his hopes and fears, as well as those of his family and friends, are found.[130] The records that Wallington left give us a window into the life of an individual commoner; since there are so few records about commoners, these types of perspectives are hard to get.[131]

For Wallington, life was an intense struggle between the failings of man and the providence of God. He was suicidal for years, thinking that he was going against the will of God. As he got older, these tendencies went away, but not his fixation on trying to figure how to lead a godly life.[132] Wallington desired to

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[128] Paul S Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*, (Stanford, 1985) pp. 1-13.
[129] Ibid, pp. 1-13.
[130] Ibid, pp. 67-80.
[131] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 32-64.
[132] Seaver, pp. 14-44.

begin life again, to make up for the previous errors in his ways, by taking note of them so he could learn from them, and live as one of God's elect. He worked as a turner, a person who created wooden objects on a lathe.[133] This was also the trade of his father and brothers. At a very young age, with only two years experience, and never having worked as a journeyman, which was very unusual, he became a master, able to have his own shop and hire others to work under him. This was because of his father's connections within the turner's guild.[134] Thus, he was able to set up a household and get married much earlier than his peers; this was done to help Wallington with his suicidal tendencies. It gave him the stability to be able to examine his life without being suicidal.[135]

Wallington's writings include a variety of different kinds of items, which all served the basic function to help him live a more godly life. He would include pieces written by others that spoke about how to be a more upright person or, for example, a good husband.[136] There were also sections that spoke about his trade. Other bits gave a record of what he considered to be God's swift punishment of people. Here the untimely deaths of different people were explained through their moral failure to follow a particularly important one of God's rules, such as not working on a Sunday.[137] Other sections would give accounts of what was going on with him and in his household. This was a way for Wallington to see why he

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[133] Ibid, p. 113.
[134] Ibid, pp. 113-119.
[135] Ibid, pp. 14-44.
[136] Ibid, pp. 1-13.
[137] Ibid.

was failing in the eyes of the Lord. The different kinds of writing demonstrate the different ideas behind what he examined.[138]

Wallington portrays himself in a very distinct light throughout his writings, though many things in his life changed. He portrays himself as a weak sinner who was constantly begging for God's forgiveness. Wallington constantly tried to figure out what the will of God wanted him to do.[139] From this point of view, the things that he talks about are related in some way to his struggle. This was an internal conflict that may have been faced by some of his contemporaries, but he took this a bit too far where it became an obsession that led to his suicidal thoughts.[140] The importance of how he portrayed himself is that it shows how much can be learned about his hopes and fears, to the degree that these are representative of others at this time. It would seem his hopes and fears would be an exaggerated version, compared to others at that time.[141] Even with his religious focus, many very practical and worldly considerations end up being discussed. Wallington, though in many ways an exception, is still able to be a representative case of a commoner in London.[142] This compares and contrasts with the second example: the common people found in the account of the town of Dorchester.

II. Fire and God: The Case of Dorchester

The town of Dorchester interpreted a series of destructive fires as a sign from God that they must change their ways. This led to the rise of the influential

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[138] Ibid, pp. 143-181.
[139] Ibid, pp. 14-44.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid, pp. 143-181.
[142] Ibid. Pp. 44-60.

godly preacher John White, who was heavily involved in the lives of the people and laws of the town.[143] This account is not specific about any one person. However, this provides a counterpoint to Wallington, from which it is easier to see larger societal hopes and fears.[144] Unlike Wallington's story, which was based on just his own writings, the account of Dorchester is a compilation of different records, with various authors. Most prominently used as a source are court proceedings both secular and ecclesiastic. The way the town of Dorchester became dominated by the hotter sort of Protestants makes this a city a fascinating example.[145]

Fires were a very common event, since at this time many houses were made of wood, and fires were kept inside the home. However, the reaction the Dorchester had to the fires was very different from most places. [146] Cities were always facing the fear of fires. From the history of philanthropy in Dorchester, it is striking how often there was a collection for a different city which had had a fire.[147] For Dorchester, the fire was so bad that it was seen as not just another fire; this was a sign of God's displeasure with the town. It was a sign that Dorchester needed to become godlier. At the same time, the fiery minister White came to the area.[148] He led the reformers on a path to transform the people of Dorchester. One of the main concerns was the care for the souls of the townspeople. This was done through new rules, including mandating church attendance, and this was largely

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[143] David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century*, (New Haven, 1992) pp. 1-6.
[144] Ibid, pp. 130-166.
[145] Ibid, pp. 1-6.
[146] Ibid, pp. 1-6.
[147] Ibid, pp. 125-129.
[148] Ibid, pp. 14-30.

successful.[149] Souls were also cared for through the implementation of an

enforced moral code. This code was against many "sinful" traditions, such as

bonfires and drinking.[150] These traditions were to be replaced with more church

services and reading from *The Bible*.[151] Another concern was to provide care for

the poor; this was done through the use of the Brewhouse, which created a

consistent source of revenue that was used to fund different projects which would

help orphans and the poor. The idea was the people could not just be lazy, they

had to work to get support. These were progressive reforms, which made

Dorchester very different from its contemporaries.[152]

The way that Dorchester was represented is not as revealing of how the

townsfolk thought about themselves as was Wallington's representation. Whereas

Wallington's was a personal account, a historian put Dorchester's account

together.[153] Thus, it is harder to find out how the people of Dorchester would

represent themselves. Some ideas come from the way that Dorchester was seen as

an anomaly, as can be seen in the many different statistics, which are far different

from those of other areas. However, the people's perception of this comes through

only a little bit in Underdown's work.[154]

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[149] Ibid, pp. 115-125.
[150] Ibid.
[151] The traditions were still able to survive even with legal punishment looming. Ibid, pp. 100-115.
[152] Ibid, pp. 115-125.
[153] Underdown, pp. 1-7. Seaver, pp. 1-13
[154] Underdown, pp. 167-196.

III. Wallington and Dorchester: the Exceptions

There are many things which one can learn from the examples of Wallington and Dorchester, yet these examples are really the exceptions, not the average circumstances. There are not many records of what happened with the common people in England during the seventeenth century.[155] It is rare to get a glimpse of what life was like for the average person. Most people were not able to write, even though the printing industry exploded with the fall of press censorship. [156] There were a number of people in the middle class who were literate, however the idea of what writing should be used for did not lead these people to write accounts of their lives.[157] The idea of keeping a personal narrative of one's life was just coming into being; instead, the diary was thought of the same way that Wallington had thought of his notes. These were accounts of one's spiritual journey and the struggle one went through.[158] Wallington was unusual, since there were many parts of his spiritual journal that he used to record what he did, things about his family and about his trade.[159] Most of these journals were following the same ideas behind John Bunyan's, in which he discussed his spiritual transformation, where he found the light of God, and struggled to maintain a godly lifestyle. However, there are very few details about his life outside of the spiritual aspects.[160]

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[155] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 32-64.

[156] Christopher Hill, *Society & Puritanism: in Pre-Revolutionary England,* (New York, 1964) pp. 124-144, 259-297. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 32-64

[157] W.R Owens, 'John Bunyan and English Millenarianism' in ed. David Gay, James G. Randall, and Arlette Zinck, *Awakening Words: John Bunyan and the Language of Community, (*Newark, 2000) pp. 81-96.

[158] Owens, pp. Seaver, pp. 1-13.

[159] Seaver, pp. 1-13.

[160] Owens, pp. 81-96.

Writing held a specific purpose for the Goodlier Protestants. The hotter sort of Protestants (specifically the sabbatarians) felt that the proper activities for a godly person on a Sunday was to attend a church service, take notes on the sermon, and later discuss the sermon with one's household.[161] One should also read passages cited in the sermon, or just read and discuss other passages in *The Bible* with one's household.[162] Throughout the week, it was thought that the godly should look back on those notes, discuss passages of *The Bible*, and reflect on the signs of God's providence everywhere, specifically, signs to show if a person was one of the godly elect, predestined to be a saint.[163] Keeping written records had a spiritual function. Notes were to be used in the study of the Word of God.[164]

The ideology surrounding the purpose of writing did not lead common people to desire leaving detailed records of their day-to-day lives. Wallington was an exception to this; his records allow a glance into the world of the common person.[165] The account of Dorchester was constructed from court records, letters, and business documents; thus, it focused on the larger processes of the town without getting into many specifics about common individuals.[166] Together, this gives a picture of individual and the community. From this, the hopes and fears of the common people become more apparent.

Hopes and fears are something so personal, and at this time rarely recorded among commoners, that it is very hard to reconstruct these ideas. The

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[161] Seaver, pp. 112-142.
[162] Seaver, pp. 112-142. Hill, *Society and Puritanism*, pp. 443-481.
[163] Hill, *Society and Puritanism,* pp. 443-481.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Seaver, pp. 1-10.
[166] Underdown, pp. 1-6.

examples of Wallington and Dorchester offer a glimpse into this world.[167]

However, since these examples come from those of a certain religious disposition

that was not held by all, or even most of the people, it is not a comprehensive

example.[168] Yet, when one really looks at the hopes and fears, it becomes obvious

that many had to do with more common problems which religion may have

affected, in terms of how a topic was perceived, but not the topic itself. Even then,

there is much continuity among the people, since most were Christians with many

similarities in beliefs and doctrines.[169]

      These two sources do not tell a cohesive story; differences between the

records reveal many things. The main difference is the idea of cohesion and

punishment. If one were to only study Wallington, it would seem that the majority

of people were the more godly sort of Protestant. Those who were not, or who

stepped outside of providence, swiftly met their punishment.[170] There was a

definite lack of cohesion and retribution from God in Dorchester. "But the

obstinate frivolity of many townspeople throughout the years of the puritan

reform shows how deeply rooted these traditions were."[171] Many other examples

from this text show how much the people resisted the ideas of the hotter sort, or

subtly subverted their rules.[172] Swift punishment is also not shown; many of the

people who broke rules—for example, the drunks—did not all just meet quick

untimely ends due to their transgressions. Instead, it would appear, these people

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[167] Seaver, pp.112-120. Underdown, pp. 167-196.
[168] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 32-64.
[169] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred,* pp. 26-38.
[170] Seaver, pp. 14-44.
[171] Underdown, p.63.
[172] Ibid, pp. 60-70.

were the thorn in the side of the town officials, who could not seem to make these "sinners" change their ways.[173] Here, these differences really show the true make-up of society, how the godly sort were constantly struggling against the rest, who had different, more traditional ideas about life and religion.[174] Wallington was basing his view on not just his own life, but on the publications of the time, which were filled with accounts of god's swift justice.[175] To understand truly the hopes and dreams of the common people, one must realize that though religious matters occupied politics and the godly people's minds, religious matters did not consume many people; they lived very much in the world. These people would get involved in local parish politics since the church was at once a religious and secular space; however, this was not always an issue.[176]

IV. Hopes and Fears

For the purpose of understanding if there was a change in Fifth Monarchist millenarian doctrine that reflected the hopes and fears of the common people, the examples of Dorchester and Wallington will be used to discuss what these hopes and fears were. Many times, hopes are the opposite of one's fears, so it makes sense to discuss these as issues where people would hope for the best, not the worst.[177] From these examples, a few different types of hope and fears can be distinguished. These are personal, practical, political, and supernatural. These

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[173] Ibid, pp 130-166.
[174] Hill, pp. 298-343.
[175] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 150-155. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, pp. 106-159.
[176] Hill, pp. 420-442.
[177] Seaver and Underdown.

different types each led to distinct concerns, which composed the hopes and fears of the common people.[178] In many ways, all these categories are superimposed upon these concerns. There are almost no examples that focus purely on one topic, yet these categories do demonstrate the range of concerns. So the categories will be discussed first to show fully the complexity of the issues being raised; afterwards, a few choice examples will be used to illustrate these concerns.

For most people, the most pressing hopes and fears were of a personal nature; these were problems involving other people. [179] They can be broken into three basic groups, (with only some overlap). These groups of problems are kinship, intrapersonal, and interpersonal problems. Kinship is concerned with the blood relatives or closest people to a person, who function like a family. For example, Wallington's kinship hopes and fears would be focused on his family and household.[180] Intrapersonal concerns were issues for which a person had concerns within herself (though not of a spiritual nature—those will be addressed later). For example, Wallington was concerned with living up to his social roles, like those of husband and householder. Interpersonal concerns involve the relations a person has with those who are not kin.[181]

Closely related to personal hopes and fears are practical concerns, which focus on the continuation of life at a certain standard of living.[182] These revolved around the constant struggle with economics, disease, misfortune, and safety. Household economics are a large component here; in this period, there was much

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[178] Seaver and Underdown.
[179] Seaver, pp. 67-111. Underdown, pp. 130-166.
[180] Seaver, pp. 67-111
[181] Ibid, pp. 1-13.
[182] Seaver, pp. 112-142. Underdown, pp. 61-89.

uncertainty. For example Wallington had fluctuations in his business based on the realities of the period, such as competing with imported items, which cost less, but not being allowed to sell imported items.[183]

In a period filled with this much turmoil, there were some political concerns. These were usually centered on local concerns, though many national concerns could become local issues.[184] For example, in Dorchester there was the controversy about reading the *Book of Sports*,[185] which was a national political concern made local by White's resistance to reading it. The national government was a concern; its changing forms and ineptitudes were very disconcerting.[186] Most people would start to be concerned with national issues when a problem started to directly affect them.

The concerns that would be most important to a millenarian group would be those of a supernatural nature.[187] This was highly dependent upon the persuasion of the particular person; these examples are of the more godly type, who were very concerned about one's soul.[188] Providence of God was seen as the force behind the workings of the world, understanding this was needed to gain favor in the eyes of the Lord.[189] It was of concern to understand what God wanted people to do. Another spiritual concern was over the spread of false doctrines and

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[183] Seaver, pp. 112-142. Underdown, pp. 61-89.
[184] Seaver, pp. 143-181. Underdown, pp.
[185] The *Book of Sports* was a book approved by the Church of England, which listed all the permissible activities one could engage in on Sunday. This book angered many of the hotter sort of Protestants, specifically the sabbatarians, who felt the only activity God approved of on a Sunday was attending church and studying *The Bible*.
[186] Underdown, pp. 172-177.
[187] Seaver, pp. 1-44. Underdown, pp. 90-129.
[188] Seaver, pp. 1-44. Underdown, pp. 90-129.
[189] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp 1-31.

practices, which threatened England's status as the elect nation, as the world stood on the brink of the end of time.[190]

In Dorchester, concern can be seen about the actions the town took in persecuting moral deviants, who at once threatened the godly reforms, and through their transformation in behavior, which could lead the town to its goal to be a city on a hill.[191] The leadership of the town felt, "If sin and poverty were to be overcome, the first requirement was to impose discipline on the unprincipled, to force the sinful to live orderly, virtuous lives."[192] This was a mission to root out things like drunkenness, which kept people from leading productive, godly lives. There were many different projects founded to help alleviate poverty. It was understood that those with little means succumbed to the devil much quicker.[193] "Nowhere, however, was vice pursued as obsessively as in Dorchester."[194]

Wallington was always concerned about the status of his soul, not knowing if he was one of God's elect. He hoped he was, but feared he was far too fallible for that.[195] He was most worried about this when he was younger, especially in his concern about his lustful thoughts. This reason left when he got married; however, he still felt that he was a sinner who must carefully monitor his actions in order to live his life in accordance with the will of God.[196] The complexities of his life were all documented for this purpose.[197]

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[190] Seaver, pp. 1-44. Underdown, pp. 90-129.
[191] Underdown, pp. 90-130.
[192] Ibid, pp. 94-95.
[193] Ibid, pp. 92-100.
[194] Ibid, p. 95.
[195] Seaver, pp. 1-13.
[196] Ibid, pp. 14-30
[197] Ibid, pp. 14-30

Thus, one can see the hopes and fears of the people followed certain patterns, which could be looked for in the tracts of the Fifth Monarchy Men. The hopes and fears of the people covered a large range of interconnected concerns.[198] These were not all religious in nature—a large amount were not, even among these examples from the hotter type of Protestants. The hopes and fears of the common people were intrinsically linked to the realities of their lives. [199]

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[198] Seaver and Underdown.
[199] Seaver and Underdown.

4. Do Radical Visions Change?

I. Writing about the End

For a movement consisting of so small a percentage of the population, it was a well-documented sect. Many tracts were written that contained Fifth Monarchist ideas about millenarianism.[200] The tracts discussed here are only a small sample of the tracts used in this project. All the tracts were different in their exact topic, but, when looked at broadly, all discuss different facets of millenarian ideology.[201]

Mary Cary, though noted for her concern about the plight of the poor, still undermined the value of the common people to the movement. In her work *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England...* she starts the tract by identifying her audience.[202] Is it the common person? No, she directed her tract to the men at the "sterne" of society.[203] Cary said that even though the topic of her tract concerns all, she intended to address the heads of society, who act for and direct the kingdom. If she truly heard and saw change coming from the people, it would make sense that this is to whom she would address the tract.[204] However, this could have been chosen for reasons of patronage. The text of the tract itself lists

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[200] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* pp. 172-194.
[201] Ibid, pp. 239-270
[202] Cary, Mary. *A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England.* (London, 1647).
[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.

ways to gain or diminish happiness.[205] The five ways for both increasing

happiness and not were the converse of each other. Four of these were policies

which only those in a position of power could influence.[206] In a later work, *The*

Little Horns Doom and Downfall... Cary focused less on fixing the existing

society, and more on creating the society for the coming millennium. Her work

details her vision of the millenarian utopia. The shift in focus shows a weakening

in her faith of the government to adopt Fifth Monarchist ideals.[207]

Trapnel's tract *Strange and Wonderful Newes...* was dictated when she was

in a trance for eleven days and twelve nights.[208] During this time, she talked,

prayed, and sang for about three to four hours a day. Some of this was recorded in

the tract. Most of her prophecies are told in the form of a metaphor, with only a

bit of explanation as to the meaning.[209] These explanations are limited, which

leaves much to the reader to figure out. To illustrate, one of her visions was about

what happens two days before Cromwell was to be named Lord Protector. She

saw a group of angels flying before the throne saying, "Holy, holy, holy unto the

Lord; the great one is coming down with terror to the enemies, and glory and

deliverance to the sincere, and them that are upright in the earth."[210] Trapnel's

work made predictions which were right on some things, wrong on others, but

were indirect enough that her credibility stayed intact.[211]

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[205] Ibid.
[206] Cary, *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall*.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Anna Trapnel. *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White-hall...* (London, 1654).
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.
[211] Ibid.

Feake's tract *The New Non-conformist...* was a collection of different sermons which he gave.[212] These sermons taken together outline many different beliefs that make up the basis of the Fifth Monarchist movement. All of the sermons speak to different topics, and were originally addressed to different congregations. His long preface talks about his devotion and desire to guide his people at the end of the world.[213] The sermons cover topics such as Communion, correcting preachers who go against the ways of God and commit blasphemy, the New Model Army, the eminent millennium, and rules for living a godly life. There are many other topics, because each sermon is only a page or two on a single topic.[214]

Powel's tract *Common-Prayer-Book No Divine Service...*, as the title makes clear, was written against the reimplementation of a common book of prayer.[215] With the Restoration, the idea of bringing back Queen Elizabeth's and King James I's religious policy was back on the table. Powel saw this as a horrid idea, which would just increase the power of the bishops.[216] He spent time questioning the role and use of the bishops, who he felt were corrupters of the faith. He finds reintroducing the prayer book would just take England farther away from the Fifth Monarchy beginning.[217]

There were a number of other works looked at for the analysis, though only works by these four leading members are discussed at length here. This starts

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[212] Christopher Feake, *The New Non-conformist...* (London, 1654).
[213] Ibid.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Vavasor Powell, *Common-Prayer-Book No Divine Service...* (London, 1660).
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid.

to show the lack of the group-wide cohesion and unity that would be necessary movement-wide.

II. Radical Doctrine, Subject to Change with the Times

To understand if the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology was changing, it is necessary to also look at what historians have written. Of the sources used here, Capp is a main figure who looked into the millenarianism of the Fifth Monarchy Men.[218] The limited number of other authors who analyze millenarian ideology lend some bias to Capp's opinions. Yet, all analyses are partial in some way; at least this is more recognizable than some predispositions. The Fifth Monarchy Men had a millenarian ideology that allowed for change, yet not many changes actually occurred.[219]

There are certain areas within this millenarian view that were open to interpretation and change, such as the time, manner, cause, and destination of the millenium, but all were still part of the base ideology.[220] At the bottom level, Fifth Monarchist agreed that the time was looming. They were living on the very edge of time; at any moment, everything would end. The exact day and time this would happen was not defined, so there was room for interpretation by different members.[221] Some focused on dates between 1655 and 1657. The date that caused the most anticipation far before its time was 1666.[222] Many of the Fifth Monarchists saw 1666 as composed of two profound numbers: 1,000, for the

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[218] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 172-194.
[219] Ibid, pp. 172-194.
[220] Ibid, pp. 172-194.
[221] Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," pp. 141-151.
[222] Kyle, p. 67.

years from Christ's ascension to his return, and 666, the number marked on the

Beast. Combining these two numbers in a year left many people at that time, even

those of other religious persuasions, fearful that the end was upon them.[223] There

were still many other Fifth Monarchists who did not buy into this at all, quoting

passages of the Bible that said man would not know the time or the hour God

chose for the end of the world.[224]

Other conceptions, in which there was room for interpretation of basic

ideas, were the cause and manner in which the millennium would be brought

about. In a simplified form, this involved a debate about human agency versus

divine omnipotence.[225] This included debate over the use of violence to cause the

world to end, specifically if God approved of people breaking the sixth

commandment in order to bring about the millennium. To be a Fifth Monarchist,

one believed that the end was near and Jesus would return to earth and reign as an

earthly king.[226] The exact cause and manner of this coming was merely defined as

people walking in the way of the Lord; England would set the example for the rest

of the world, due to England's being the location of the lost tribes.[227] Here, there

were lots of questions that were left unanswered, ones that many Fifth

Monarchists thought they could answer.[228] Debates arose out of this gap. There

was a split between the small, very radical portion of the group, who wanted to

violently overthrow the government and rid England of those that held it back

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[223] Ibid, p. 67.
[224] Ibid, p. 67.
[225] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 169-176.
[226] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[227] Cohn, pp. 198-204.
[228] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.

from the millennium.[229] The majority were against this group, and based their stance on opposing passages, which spoke of how only the Lord could bring about the millenium.[230]

Probably the most complicated of these debates was over the destination; on one level, it was accepted that there would be a utopia for a thousand years. Many other aspects of the destination were debated. It came down to the question of what paradise would be like?[231] Fifth Monarchists agreed that there would only be death from old age, and plenty of the necessities for human life. Peace and harmony would spread throughout the land.[232] From there, Capp especially, generalizes the descriptions of exactly what was to come. The individual preachers had a wide variety of ideas.[233]

The cohesion of the movement and the agency of the pastor were fundamental components in how things were interpreted and changed. The Fifth Monarchy Men may have had a solid basis upon which the movement was founded, but unlike groups like the Quakers, Fifth Monarchists never developed cohesion and centralized leadership.[234] When reading about many other movements during this time, one usually ends up learning a vast amount about the leader or leaders,[235] whereas, with the Fifth Monarchy Men, one does not see this. To talk about the movement as a whole, one either needs to make many

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[229] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[230] Ibid, pp. 200-227.
[231] Ibid, pp. 172-194.
[232] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 169-176.
[233] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[234] Reay, pp. 141-151.
[235] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down.*

generalizations or talk about lots of different individual preachers.[236] In a multitude of ways, the early Quakers were much more radical than the Fifth Monarchy Men, yet the Quakers survived. The difference was that the Quaker's massive crisis brought about by James Nayler, John Perrot, and John Pennyman caused other leaders to step up in order to regroup, and the Quakers were able to bounce back stronger from the crisis.[237] In contrast, the Fifth Monarchy Men's crisis, due to Venner, was the poison that caused the death of the movement.[238] Margaret Fell and George Fox were the Quakers' secrets to success; they had been prominent Quaker leaders before the crisis. After the crisis, they redoubled their efforts to distance themselves from people like Naylor and to tone down the most radical positions of the Quakers through the power of the centralized leadership. The marriage of Fell and Fox cemented this.[239] Through this centralization, Fell and Fox were able to help the Quakers weather the storms of persecution that erupted after the Restoration. This built the strength of the religion, so that it could continue to the present day.[240] The ideas upon which Quakerism was based seemed to hinder this kind of organization. From the Quaker's views, the light of God was inside all people, and the people should follow their own ideas because this was the word of God using them as instruments.[241] These ideas could come in the form of signs, such as prophesying, singing, removing clothing, and speaking in tongues. There was a radical wing

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[236] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men.*
[237] Mack, pp. 273-275.
[238] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[239] Mack, pp. 265-287.
[240] Reay, pp. 141-160. Mack, pp. 403-412.
[241] Reay, pp. 152-164.

which even called for the negation of gender.[242] Yet the leadership arose for many

reasons, the major one coming out of the needs of the many missionary women

who went around England and throughout the world.[243]

The Fifth Monarchy Men were at once a religious and political group, and

because of that, missionary work was not a major component.[244] All people

should convert, but their energies would be better spent trying to convert those at

the top of society who had political power. (This was based on two parts of their

ideology, the manner and the cause of the millennium). Due to this outlook and

subsequent focus, there was no unifying reason to create a centralized

leadership.[245] If one were to ask who was the leader of the Fifth Monarchy Men,

one would have to list a series of people; Capp has 245 listed out. This could be

shorted to about a group of 20, but that would have to be based on publications

which would leave out people who had just been influential preachers.[246] Twelve

prominent Fifth Monarchists became members of the Barebones Parliament.

These members voted as a bloc; however, their numbers were too small, and the

entire Parliament too fragmented, for them to achieve any of their goals.[247]

Continual frustration with the inability to implement their plans led to discontent

and tension among the twelve and the movement itself.[248] There were a number of

prominent preachers who were not among the twelve in Parliament (in fact, the

most powerful preachers had nominated many of the twelve). The preachers who

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[242] Mack, pp. 127-164.
[243] Ibid, pp. 165-190.
[244] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[245] Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," pp. 141-151.
[246] Ibid, pp. 141-151.
[247] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n pp. 64-75
[248] Ibid.

were not part of the twelve were extremely aggravated with the twelve. This created a power struggle within the movement between these two groups, which kept the Fifth Monarchy Men from forming a unified leadership base, and subsequently, a cohesive group. [249]

Without these two factors, the Fifth Monarchy Men was really more a loose association of like-minded individuals than a composed movement. Each pastor had full autonomy to preach things in the way she or he saw fit.[250] Many members subscribed to the same basic principles, but had difference views on controversial topics.[251] As previously mentioned, an example of this was the fight over sabbatarianism between Spittlehouse and Simpson. Both belonged to the same group, yet they were at were in a print war with each other.[252] This was unlike the situation of multiple leaders within the Quaker movement, which was cohesive and survived. For the Fifth Monarchists, the different leaders created tensions among different preachers.[253] For the Fifth Monarchists, this fight was not movement-wide; instead, it was mainly a fight between these two men. Since preachers were left to make their own interpretations, it is hard to say there was even a group, let alone movement-wide ideological changes.[254]

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[249] Ibid, pp. 200-227.
[250] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.
[251] Mack, pp. 127-164.
[252] Spittlehouse.
[253] Reay, pp. 152-164.
[254] Spittlehouse.

5. Thoughts and the Written Word

I. Lack of Changes

"First, if Christ hath not died for all then thus, no gospel for some men, contrary to Luke 2.10...."[255] Here, William Pryor began his list of reasons to prove predestination was a false doctrine. To Pryor, the clergy and church had this doctrine wrong; it hid from the common people the knowledge that all could be saved by Jesus.[256] Based on this work, aptly titled *The Poor Man's Progress and Rest...*, one might think that Pryor typified the relationship between the Fifth Monarchy Men and the common people.[257] Bernard Capp certainly did, as can be seen in his quotes. However, Pryor was an outlier who did not typify the movement; Capp was mistaken, as the writings by prominent Fifth Monarchy Men clearly show.

There were not many changes to the ideology of the Fifth Monarchy Men. The few changes that occurred were for political or personal reasons. These changes were subtle; one way to identify them is to look at the introductions to the tracts. Before a tract began, the author usually spent a paragraph or more

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[255]William Pryor, *The Poor Man's Progress and Rest...* (1655), p. 2.
[256]Ibid.
[257]Ibid, pp. 2-3.

addressing the audience.[258] In Christopher Feake's tract *The New Non-Conformist...* out of the thirty-one pages in the entire tract, he spends eight on *A Preface to every Honest and Intelligent Reader*. That is twenty-five percent of the tract used just to address the audience and explain the purpose of the tract.[259] Introductions like this hold the key to why the tract was written and can be used to find the reason the author would make changes to her ideology.[260]

In Mary Cary's tract *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England...* (in which she also spent twenty-five percent of her article on an introduction), her opening states that, though the topic was of significance to all people, she was focused on addressing those who wield power within society.[261] Three years later, Cary dedicated her tract *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall...* to "The Lady Elizabeth Cromwel, The Lady Bridget Irbton, and The Lady Margaret Role."[262] Here, though she is still targeting members of the upper class, her audience has shifted a little towards these powerful ladies. This minor shift reveals that Cary had a connection to, and a political reason for, dedicating that tract to these women. It could have been to show her growing radicalism, as she dedicated her work to ladies instead of men, specifically men in the government.[263] To some degree, there is only so much one can learn about their motives. It does seem

[258]Cary, *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England...* p. 1-2. William Allen, *A Faithful memorial of the Remarkable Meeting of Many Officers of the Army of England...* (London, 1659), pp. 1. John Canne, *A Seasonable Word to the Parliament-Men...* (London, 1659) pp. 1. To name just a few, all the primary sources addressed the audience at the start of the tract.

[259]Feake, " pp. 1-9. There are no page numbers for most of the tracts studied, page numbers are thus based on the pdf.

[260] Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England,* pp. 315-325.

[261] Cary, *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England...* pp. 2-3.

[262] Cary, *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall...* p. 3

[263] Ibid, pp. 3-9.

apparent that Cary aimed her tracts at the audience she felt could help bring about the change she wished to see.

Given the upheaval, the idea of "the world turned upside down," and the uncertain political climate, it makes sense that the Fifth Monarchists would find it important to slightly modify their doctrine to fit the environment.[264] Even though a distinction is being made here between political and personal reasons for change, it may prove worthwhile to remember that these are usually closely intertwined.[265] Changes for political reasons can be found in many of the tracts. Cary's first tract credits established authority with the ability to change, and to create happiness in the land.[266] However, in her later tract, a prophetic work, she questioned and challenged the contemporary political regime through her original interpretation of history.[267] Her views became more radical in 1651. This was likely due to her feeling that the government was not able to make the changes she felt it needed to instate. It would be necessary for the government to be overhauled for her vision to become reality.[268] There were some Fifth Monarchists who followed a similar trajectory and became more radical, whereas others, such as Simpson, went in the opposite direction and became more conservative after the Restoration.[269]

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[264] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 13-15.
[265] Walsham, *Charitable Hatred,* pp. 56-66.
[266] Cary, *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England...* p. 1-2.
[267] Cary, *The Little Horns Doom and Downfall...* pp. 17-27.
[268] Ibid, pp. 19-25.
[269] Ball.

John Canne's[270] tract *A Seasonable Word to the Parliament-Men...* and Humphery Bache's[271] tract *The Voice of Thunder...* both focus on political issues. It can be seen that if either man had changed his ideology, political concerns would have been the reason.[272] Canne was against the current government. He did not attempt to incriminate any one person; instead, he blamed the entire governmental system in an effort to prevent future problems by focusing on systems that would outlive people.[273] Bache's apocalyptic tract spent time on a discussion of how rulers should not act. He illustrated this with a personal example of his own persecution, where the magistrate did not help Bache.[274] In both tracts, these men are highly critical of the incompetent government, which had wronged them. However, they fought the government on issues that were more important to the Fifth Monarchists than to the common people.[275] Canne complained that the government acted only for its own good, ignored liberties, and did not listen to the Lord's people. [276] This may seem like a response by Fifth Monarchists to the political hopes and fears of the common people, but that was not the case. Many people were more concerned with having a stable government

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[270] John Canne was a printer and preacher. He left England for a period to go to Amsterdam. Canne later returned to London, where he became a vocal member of the Fifth Monarchists. In 1657, his radical views and problems with the authorities led to his expulsion from London. He returned to Amsterdam in 1664.
Roger Hayden, 'Canne, John (*d.* 1667?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 online http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4552, accessed 6 April 2013.
[271] Humphrey Bache was not formally a preacher, unlike most of the other Fifth Monarchists whose tracts were used for this project. He was a goldsmith. Bache published a few Fifth Monarchist tracts. After the Restoration, he converted to Quakerism.
Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* p. 241.
[272] Canne, pp. 1-5
[273] Canne, pp. 1-5
[274] Humphery Bache, *The Voice of Thunder...* (London, 1659) pp. 1-5
[275] Bache, pp. 1-5. Canne, pp. 1-5.
[276] Canne, pp. 1-5.

that kept law and order, than creating the ideal society ready for King Jesus that

Canne and Bache wanted.[277] Religious liberties and listening to radical religious

groups were not things that directly affected the lives of commoners; thus, most

people would not have been concerned with these issues. Although Banche's

focus on an end to persecution would be something that anyone involved in a

radical religious sect would favor, these people were a tiny minority.[278] Most

people stayed with traditional churches. They were scandalized by the reports of

these radical groups who broke with the norms of the time, and these groups

wanted to be able to continue to do so.[279]

Personal preferences were much harder to decode. Any preacher could

change her beliefs based on any number of factors, and given that the individual

was glorified as having an inner light of truth from God, change based on a

person's preferences were to be accepted and glorified.[280] Anna Trapnel had

prophetic visions that were recorded in her tracts. The visions in *Strange and

Wonderful Newes…* came to her in a trance.[281] These visions were seen as the

light overcoming her, causing her to speak the prophetic truth. It could be said

that these were her personal messages, which she communicated during a state in

which she could not be held responsible for what she said. Thus, changes that

occurred in these visions could be attributed to changes in her personal

preferences.[282] Some people at the time might interpret the changes as the will of

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[277] Seaver, pp. 143-181. Underdown, pp. 197-230
[278] Banche, pp. 1-5
[279] Underdown, pp. 160-190.
[280] Feake, pp. 15-32.
[281] Trapnel, pp. 1-5.
[282] Mack, pp. 265-280.

God. The visions were a mix of traditional imagery from Daniel's Dream and Revelations, combined with pieces from recent events. The manner in which this was combined shows a personal preference that could be changed to fit her current views.[283] Personal light was so important to the movement that it had to be listed as a reason for which people could change their views. This would be extremely difficult to prove, given the dearth of personal narratives about the changes their personal ideologies underwent. Most of the tracts focus on the issues at hand, and speak little of the authors in terms that are more personal or describe the evolution of their views.[284]

Thomas Venner was an exception; he spoke in personal terms in his scaffold speech about his innocence. [285] Within this tract, as was appropriate, he spoke in the first person. He said that he could not be condemned because the light of God within him had told him what to do this, and one could not judge the will of the Lord.[286] In this instance, it is clear that this kind of personal tract was a specific category, not the type used by radicals to convey their ideas.[287] There were personal reasons for these prophets' doctrines and changes to their doctrines. Yet they did not characterize them as personal statements because they wanted their words to be seen as spoken by God with all his authority, not by a mere mortal.[288]

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[283]Trapnel, pp. 1-5.
[284]This was derived from all the primary source texts used.
[285]Venner, pp. 1-5.
[286]Ibid.
[287]Ibid.
[288]Ibid.

Few changes occurred within the Fifth Monarchist movement, due to the length of time the movement existed, to the crisis with Venner and to the lack of an organizational structure. The height of the movement was from the 1640s to the late 1660s; it had completely collapsed by 1680.[289] There was not a lot of time to adapt or change with the times. The Fifth Monarchists were unable to adapt to changed circumstances; thus, the movement collapsed. Unlike the Quakers, who modified their doctrine in order to survive, the Fifth Monarchists did not have a central leadership that could change the movement's ideology.[290] The collapse also occurred due to the militant actions led by Venner. The movement had always been associated with trouble; the incident with Venner turned many people against the movement. Therefore, even if the movement was adaptable, there was no guarantee it would survive.[291] The fact that there was flexibility in doctrine that went unutilized contradicts the quotes about the change in millenarian ideology.

Changes that did occur were not unanimous throughout the movement. There was not a consolidated leadership, nor organization within the movement. The philosophy of the light of truth within individuals blocked collective changes to principles. The changes that did occur were small and came from a single preacher, possible two.[292] These changes usually only affected a limited number of people. If the preacher had a fixed living, he would affect only his parish. If he

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[289]Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 96-97.
[290]Mack, pp. 265-280.
[291]Capp, pp. 195-227.
[292]Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.

was an itinerant pastor, then he might end up spreading his message far and wide; however, after the preacher left, the message might fade over time.[293]

The hopes and fears of the common people were based firmly on the realities of life. The lives of Nehemiah Wallington and the people of Dorchester were touched by the political situation on occasion, yet many times their lives were quite similar to how they had been before the Civil Wars.[294] As previously discussed, the hopes and fears of the common people were divided into personal, practical, political, and supernatural concerns. These are imposed categories; most people were worried about them in an interconnected way.[295] One could include Pryor in this discussion because he felt, more than many of his Fifth Monarchists, that his concerns matched those of the common people.[296] Pryor was concerned with the doctrine stating that all men were saved, with spreading the message he received from the light of God, and with opposing clergy who corrupted religion. Pryor thought he belonged in this category, but he really belonged with his fellow Fifth Monarchists. He was like the Fifth Monarchy Men because his concerns were for religious matters, which did not have the practical implications which would have been of interest to the common people[297]

Commoners' hopes and fears do have a religious tone, as did most things from this period; thus, at first, the concerns of the Fifth Monarchists many appear similar, but there are major differences.[298] There are very few universal concerns

[293]Mack, pp. 86-100.
[294]Seaver, pp. 143-181. Underdown, pp. 197-230.
[295]Seaver and Underdown.
[296]Pryor, pp. 2-8.
[297]Ibid.
[298]Capp, Seaver, Underdown.

expressed in all the tracts. The major issues varied by author. These are overarching themes that are quite simplistic in nature. A few general trends that can be extracted are: the protection of the saints' rights, the spread of the movement, the defense of the movement, concern for the well-being of the saint's own soul and the souls of others, and the movement's burning desire to bring about the Fifth Monarchy.[299]

Authors had their own agendas and concerns, which were more prominent in their own minds then these distilled trends from the tracts. William Allen's agenda was renewal of faith within the military.[300] Allen was originally a felt-maker. Then he joined the army, and by 1651, he was Adjutant-General. He was stationed in Ireland during most of his involvement in the Fifth Monarchy Men, thus remaining on the fringe of the movement.[301] In this tract, Allen remembered when a group of soldiers came together for prayer and debate; out of this came a decision to support Parliament. Allen said these soldiers also, found good within their hearts, which made them change their ways.[302] The root of Allen's concern was for the state of these soldiers' souls. On a deeper level, what he really wanted was for these soldiers to change their ways. Allen felt prayer would be of no use until the soldiers changed their ways.[303] General themes did overlap between the common people and the Fifth Monarchy Men's hopes and fears. Nevertheless, members like Allen were more concerned with reaching the movement's goal, to

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[299]This was derived from all the primary source texts used.
[300]Allen, pp. 1-6.
[301] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men,* pp. 239-240.
[302]Ibid.
[303] Ibid.

bring about the Fifth Monarchy, than with bringing about what the commoners desired.[304]

This shows that the common people did not play a large part in the Fifth Monarchist movement, and they were not able to alter its millenarian ideology. Given the spirit of the period and the course of history, this seems to be the logical conclusion.[305] The British Civil Wars were not revolutionary. The old order only seemed to be dead, and by 1660, it was resuscitated.[306] All radical religious groups were in conflict with the Restoration government. Groups that survived compromised their doctrines and cleaned up their image in order to survive the fierce persecution.[307] The Fifth Monarchy Men did not change their doctrine to fit the hopes and dreams of the people. Their focus was on larger issues. Changes were made for personal or political reasons. These alterations were made only on an individual basis, which meant that each had a limited impact on the movement. This shows that though the Fifth Monarchists preached as if they were for the commoner, in reality the people were not the driving force behind the movement.

II. What Went Wrong?

Capp's statements are not completely incorrect; he just expresses the individual processes not the movement-wide changes. As already discussed, the

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[304] Ibid.
[305]Bucholz, pp. 250-276.
[306]Smith, pp. 292-317.
[307]Mack, pp. 351-370.

Fifth Monarchist movement was not a cohesive group.[308] The language that Capp

uses is general enough that it does not identify the shift in millenarian idiology as

a movement-wide trend; however, in the contexts of the quotes, it appears to be

talking about a movement wide change. As has been proven, the movement

changed very little, and when it did change, it was on an individual basis because

of politics or personal preference, not due to the hopes and fears of the people. It

can be seen that individual preachers changed their millenarian ideas to fit the

politics, and only rarely the people.[309] It could be argued that by changing to fit

the political climate, one was really adjusting to the people's hopes and fears. In

some instances, there is evidence to prove this, like the idea that in the Fifth

Monarchy, England would not trade with Holland, one of the country's economic

rivals.[310] However, if fitting the politics of the time was really adjusting to

people's hopes and dreams, it is not evident in the tracts used here. The Fifth

Monarchists' pamphlets and the common people's records show a large

divergence.[311] Given the lack of breath and depth to the information about people

of the time, a reasonable argument could be made that one may never be able to

know how well these reflected the hopes and dreams of the common people. If

more were known of what the common people were thinking, more definite

conclusions could be drawn, but this is just not possible.[312] However, the sources

used here do show quite clearly that the common people had ideas which were

very different from those of the Fifth Monarchist preachers. In some ways, it

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[308] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 200-227.
[309] Ibid, pp. 100-155.
[310] Ibid, pp. 149-150.
[311] This was derived from all the primary source texts used.
[312] This was derived from all secondary sources.

could be seen more as the intentions of the preacher to appear that he was adapting to the people, whether or not that was actually the case.[313]

Capp's comments lead one to feel that the common people were being swept up in this movement, which is inaccurate. The Fifth Monarchy Men were always a fringe group which most peaceful, law-abiding people looked at with a mix of disgust and distrust.[314] Even though the movement was quite spread out over England, it never had large numbers of followers. Limited followers and popular resistance led to the death of the movement, not long after Venner's planned uprising.[315] Few were swept up, and those that were usually did not see a problem with switching between radical groups; even many of the preachers did this. For example, Feake, and Powell are noted as being pastors for other denominations along with their being noted Fifth Monarchists.[316] The quotes could be considered accurate in limited ways; however, when one looks at all the detail, it becomes apparent that there are too many holes for his quotes to be considered accurate.

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[313] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.
[314] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 149-150.
[315] Capp, The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," pp. 195- 227.
[316]Ball. Roberts.

Conclusion

The Fifth Monarchy Men's connection with the common people shows the larger intellectual currents within society. No matter how alluring was Capp's idea about the millenarian movement changing to reflect society, and no matter how much this can be found in many other millenarian movements throughout history, this was not happening with the Fifth Monarchy Men.[317] This was not a period that resulted in long-term revolutionary change. The Restoration showed how entrenched traditional ideas were, and how shallowly rooted revolutionary ideas were. These radical groups were not a significant part of the population; however, their ideas were easily available through the press.[318] This shows how much people may have read about these ideas but not believed them, or have found these ideas so extreme and shocking they were a more of a novelty than anything to be taken seriously. Their ideas were not moving into the mainstream and were not affecting the masses; thus, their plans would not cater to the masses.[319]

It may be easy to dismiss this group as historically insignificant, given the fact that the movement collapsed and there was not immediate a successor ideology. Yet there were a few important repercussions from this, though Hill

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[317] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 149-150.
[318] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 87-106.
[319] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 149-150.

would disagree.[320] One of the many groups that were part of the movement believed in the idea of 1666 being the end of the world. Even though the movement was significantly weaker at this point, due to Venner, it still was active during this period.[321] If anything, the fact that the movement did not die with Venner truly speaks to the fact that it had a strong core of members. Though the movement was dead by 1680, that did not mean the views of these people had changed, it just meant the publications stopped.[322] Another significant effect that the group had was the popularization of the conception of the Fifth Monarchy. This concept was something the Fifth Monarchists specifically labeled and highlighted. Though this was a concept that appeared in other millenarian groups, the Fifth Monarchy men made it a major concept. In the earlier millenarian movement, there were some notions of this concept, but it was fully defined and explored by the Fifth Monarchy Men.

There were quite a number of other things that could have been looked at, based on the ideas behind Capp's quote. A really interesting question to look into would be if the trend in his quote could be shown in another radical religious group. It would also be interesting to see if other millenarian movements in different periods changed based on the feelings of the people. In some ways, a radical religious group exaggerates certain elements of a society, so these could be an interesting jumping off point to be able to look at societies, specifically the common people, who are not usually well documented.

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[320] Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down,* pp. 344-360.
[321] Kyle, pp. 65-67
[322] Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Me*n, pp. 195-227.

The Fifth Monarchy Men did not change their millenarian ideology to fit with the hopes and fears of the common people. Wallington and Dorchester clearly show that these hopes and fears were an interconnected mix of the spiritual and the practical.[323] Trapnel's, Cary's, Feake's, and Powell's tracts show the broad range of issues the Fifth Monarchists were concerned with and the discontinuities among their ideas.[324] The authors who write about this sort of thing, who show that the groups' ideology and focus were not there to be combining with the people's hopes and fears, reinforce this. For the Fifth Monarchy Men, the changes that did occur were due to political pressure and individual preferences. All this disproves Capp's quotes.

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[323] Seaver and Underdown.
[324] Trapnel, Cary, Powell, and Feake.

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profitable, and usefull for all, and offensive to none that love the Truth and Peace. London, 1647.

Cary, Mary *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal: Or a Scripture-Prophesie of King James, King Charles, and of this present Parliament, unfolded. A New and More Exact Mappe or Description of New Jerusalems Glory when Jesus Christ and his Saints with him shall reign on earth a Thousand years, and possess all Kingdoms.* London, 1651

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Summary

The Fifth Monarchists were a radical religious and political group in early modern England. This group was founded and at its height during the Interregnum (1642-1660), the period when there was no monarchy.[325] This was a period when many believed that the world was about to end, and most of them shared a specific vision of this end in the form of millenarianism. Millenarianism is a concept with multiple definitions, and the Fifth Monarchists believed in a particular version of it, which imagined there would be a thousand-year period of time during which there would be an earthly paradise.[326] The idea of a thousand years of bliss comes from a literal interpretation of the Book of Revelation.[327] The Fifth Monarchists saw a need for humans to change their ways in order to bring about the millenarian vision. The key to this was converting the government and those in power. They saw it as necessary for the government to act according to Fifth Monarchist ideas, so the law would act to change the sinful ways of the common people.[328]

I was inspired to begin this project when I read two intriguing statements by Bernard Capp, which suggested that during the Interregnum, the Fifth Monarchy Men changed their ideology to fit with the hopes and dreams of the common people. These quotes are both not explained within their original contexts. Within the text, the quotes seem to refer to the Fifth Monarchy Men as a

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[325] Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism,* (London, 1972), pp. 76-99.

[326] Richard G Kyle, *The Last Days are here Again*: *A History of the End Times*, (Grand Rapids, 1998) pp. 20-21.

[327] Revelation Ch 20 verses 1-10. For this paper, the King James Version of *The Bible* was used.

[328] Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp.50-75.

group; however, when these quotes are isolated, they can be interpreted as referring to individual preachers. The project is based upon my interpretation of the quotes to mean the movement as a whole. This project looks at the connection between the hopes and fears of the common people and the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology.

To understand if the quotes depicted what was happening, there were two different components to my analysis. The first was to look at the hopes and fears of the common people, and the second was to map out changes to the millenarian ideas of the Fifth Monarchy Men throughout the lifespan of the movement. When these two different pieces were compared, it became apparent that there was a substantial divergence. The common people were concerned with a mixture of issues centered on practical concerns, whereas the Fifth Monarchy Men made very few changes to their ideology. When there were changes, they occurred because of politics or a preacher's individual beliefs. This shows that the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology was not changing to fit the hopes and dreams of the common people.

The first component of the analysis looks at the hopes and fears of the common people, in order to better understand its relationship to the Fifth Monarchy Men's millenarian ideology. I tried to do this by the use of two different cases: that of Nehemiah Wallington and the townspeople of Dorchester. Wallington was a turner, a person who created wooden objects on a lathe. He was one of the hotter sort of Protestant (at the time mocked as Puritans, a term that is

not used by most modern historians).[329] He kept records of his life in order to better walk in the ways of the Lord; from these, we can try to understand his personal hopes and fears.[330] David Underdown's book on Dorchester during its Puritan heyday also provides a point of analysis.[331] Dorchester converted *en masse* after the town was destroyed by fire twice, which was interpreted as a sign from God that it needed to change its ways. The town's leaders' documented the prosecution of those who were sinning within its walls, which helps us to understand the ideas of the people in the town. They provide a window into the hopes and fears of ordinary people at the time.[332]

The second component of my analysis was to look at the writings of the Fifth Monarchy Men in order to see if a movement-wide change occurred, and if so, what changed. Only a limited number of primary sources were available to me. The primary sources that were focused on the most came from four leading members of the movement: Anna Trapnel, Mary Cary, Vavasor Powell, and Christopher Feake. (Even though the name would lead one to believe this was an all-male group, that was not the case. There were a number of female Fifth Monarchists; some were leading prophets who published many tracts.[333] These main tracts were all on different topics; however, there were common themes derived from the Fifth Monarchy Men's ideology. Changes, such as the ones that occurred between the two tracts from Cary used, *A Word of Season to the*

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[329] Paul S Seaver, *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London*, (Stanford, 1985) pp. 1-13.
[330] Saever, pp. 1-20.
[331] David Underdown, *Fire from Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century*, (New Haven, 1992) pp. 1-6.
[332] Underdown, pp.
[333] [333] Robert Bucholz, and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History,* (Oxford, 2009) pp. 250-276.

Kingdom of England... and *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal...* demonstrated the transition.

I have also looked at what experts have written about the Fifth Monarchist millenarian ideology. Combining this with the primary sources gave a deeper understanding of these beliefs, which could then be compared to the common people's hopes and fears. Both sources show that there was a lack of cohesion and overall organization within the movement. There were few movement-wide changes, and those which did occur happened for either political or personal reasons. Many of the changes that took place came about because of the personal preferences of preachers. Individual preachers had their own ideas and opinions, which could change over time, or they might, on a personal basis, adapt their ideas to the people they were around.

The Fifth Monarchy Men did not change their millenarian ideology to fit with the hopes and fears of the common people. In fact, these hopes and fears were an interconnected mixture of spiritual and practical concerns.[334] The primary source documents show the broad range of issues that the Fifth Monarchists were concerned with and the discontinuities among their ideas.[335] The groups' ideology and focus were not meant to bend to the people's hopes and fears. For the Fifth Monarchy Men, the changes that occurred were due to political pressures and individual preferences, not the hopes and fears of the common people.

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[334] Seaver and Underdown.
[335] Trapnel, Cary, Powell, and Feake.