FIFTH MONARCHIST CONSTRUCTIONS AND PRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN PRINT

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FIFTH MONARCHIST CONSTRUCTIONS AND PRESENTATIONS OF GENDER IN PRINT

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Thesis

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Indeed, many wise men after the flesh have been (and now are) much offended, that a company of illiterate men, and silly women, should pretend to any skill in dark prophecies, and to a foresight of future events, which the most learned Rabbies, and the most knowing Politicians have not presumed to hope for...
But... they shall do well to observe the fruits of that Faith and fore-sight... For, are not those things come to pass, which they foresaw and foretold...¹

This thesis argues that Fifth Monarchist ideas on gender were not easily categorized because of the active construction and negotiation of gender within their religious/political ideological framework and within Interregnum England.² Also, this thesis argues that Mary Cary (born 1620/1621) and Anna Trapnel (fl. 1642-1660), were not proto-feminists as historian Phyllis Mack and literary scholar Hillary Hinds portray them. Cary and Trapnel’s constructions of gender need to be understood within the Fifth Monarchist movement. Thus, through comparing these two women with two male Fifth

¹ Mary Cary, 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 Jerusalem’s Glory when Jesus Christ and his Saints with him shall reign on earth a Thousand years, and possess all Kingdoms (London: 1651) 14.

² The works of Phyllis Mack, Hillary Hinds, and others try to categorize the gender of different radical groups during this period as proto-feminism. Beyond just the problem of back extrapolating history, this impacts the scholarship on gender categories for Fifth Monarchists. This thesis attempts to move away from this problematic legacy by closely studying four Fifth Monarchists active construction of gender. The Fifth Monarchists were not proto-feminists, the active construction and representations of gender prove this point.
Monarchists one can see the mutual construction of gender identity that were radical for both sexes. Christopher Feake (1611/1612-1682/1683) wrote the words quoted above in an introduction to Mary Cary's work *The Little Horns Doom and Downfal*. Feake viewed earlier radical religious groups' prophecies as fulfilled, thus, radical religious groups such as the Fifth Monarchists did not deserve scorn.³ The populace threw a number of insults at the Fifth Monarchists, and Feake chose to highlight the way the men were called "illiterate" and the women "silly." The insults selected for the quote at once highlights what those outside the group perceived, and what Feake thought were significant abuses.⁴

The Fifth Monarchists were a radical religious and political group founded during the Interregnum (1642-1660).⁵ During this period, many believed that the world was about to end. The Fifth Monarchists had a specific vision of this end in the form of millenarianism. Millenarianism was a concept with multiple definitions. The Fifth Monarchists believed in a particular version of it, which posited a thousand-year period of time during which there would be an earthly paradise.⁶ The idea of a thousand years of bliss came from a literal interpretation of the Book of Revelation.⁷ 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. The key to bringing about the reign of King Jesus was the conversion of the government to Fifth Monarchist ideas, thus, forcing the common people to change their sinful ways.⁸

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⁴ Ibid.
⁷ Rev. 20:1-10 (AV)
The name Fifth Monarchists came from the belief in the literal interpretation of Daniel Chapter 7, known as Daniel's dream. Daniel wrote 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.⁹ 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 would have enough to eat and all the necessities of life.¹⁰ The only people in this utopia would be those saints that the Antichrist oppressed and tortured.¹¹ After the thousand years of bliss, the final battle between King Jesus and Satan would occur. Christ would be victorious and take the Saints up with him to heaven.

This utopia was thought to be right around the corner, so their actions to bring about the millennium were of the utmost importance. During the Civil Wars, the Parliamentarians and New Model Army characterized the wars as fights between the Saints and the Anti-Christ.¹² Afterwards, groups such as the Fifth Monarchy Men continued this discourse.¹³ This was not a massive organized group; these were independent congregations with a common set of beliefs. Fifth Monarchist congregations were in contact with each other and might have worked together, but could also differ in views on certain subjects.¹⁴ A notable example was the fierce debate between John

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⁹ Dan. 7 (AV)
¹¹ Dan. 7 (AV)
¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 76-98.
Spittlehouse\textsuperscript{15} and John Simpson,\textsuperscript{16} who were divided on whether there should be a Sabbath set aside to not work (Simpson was the sabbatarian).\textsuperscript{17} There was a large network of communication between the Fifth Monarchists, and access to printing due to the collapse of press censorship. As the monarchy lost power the strict censorship of the press became harder to enforce. Parliament was not able to wield the same power of censorship so radical pamphlets could be published and widely distributed.\textsuperscript{18}

"The areas of Fifth Monarchist strength show few common characteristics."\textsuperscript{19}

Historian Bernard Capp lists where all the known congregations were in The Fifth Monarchy Men’s appendix, but without mapping out the distribution Capp misses the correlation between congregations.\textsuperscript{20} Fifth Monarchist congregations were predominantly in coastal counties. Within these coastal counties the largest number of Fifth Monarchs were in urban areas. These urban areas usually had prosperous trading and cloth industry. The following maps show where the Fifth Monarchs were in England and Wales. There was a congregation in Dublin, Ireland run by different people including John Rogers, however, this was discovered in other documents after the maps were created.\textsuperscript{21}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item 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 attacked 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.
\item John Simpson received a master’s degree from Oxford, and 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.
\item John Spittlehouse, A Manifestation of Sundry Gross Absurdities, (London: 1656).
\item Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism, 88-90.
\item Ibid, 100-120.
\item Ibid.
\item Rogers, John. Ohel or Beth-shemeh, A Tabernacle for the Sun: or Irenicum Evangelicum. An Idea of Church-Discipline, In the Theorick and Practick Parts; Which come forth first into the World as Bridegroom and Bride, hand in hand; by whom you will have the totems essentiale of a true Gospel-Church
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
The first map shows that the largest numbers of Fifth Monarchist congregations were along the coast, yet there were a few rural inland congregations. The largest number of Fifth Monarchists resided in London. Port cities like London were centers of trading, especially of printed works. Availability of printed works by Fifth Monarchists expanded people’s knowledge and awareness of the movement. However, there was a complementary element needed, an influential 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. 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 existed because of two extremely influential preachers Vavasor Powell and Morgan Llwyd. These two preachers’ brands of Fifth Monarchism were quite different. Powell was ideologically close to Feake, whereas Llwyd was a renegade usually at odds with the rest of the movement, thus there was no specific brand of Welsh Fifth Monarchism. There was also the influence of itinerant preachers who wandered through the country. If a preacher found a receptive congregation, the preacher decided to stay there, which is another reason for not all counties to be on the coast. 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.

*State, according to Christ's Rules and Order, left use when he Ascended. In which you may finde the Hidden Mystery of whole Christ, in Head, Neck, and Body. Hidden in former Ages from the Sons of Men. Eth.3.4.5. Published for the benefit of all Gathered Churches, more especially in England, Ireland, and Scotland. (London: 1653).*


23 Ibid.


In London, the number and location of congregations demonstrated the Fifth Monarchists’ connection to the cloth industry. The largest number of Fifth Monarchists lived in the City of London, the old walled part of London. As the second map shows, all other parishes had a maximum of three congregations, whereas the City of London had eleven. There was a large print trade, and most of the Fifth Monarchist documents

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were printed in this area. Most of the leading Fifth Monarchists either resided in the city of London, or moved there.\textsuperscript{27} The outer parishes in which Fifth Monarchist congregations were found had a cloth industry or connections to the industry, especially that of silk.\textsuperscript{28} 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 Monarchists for comfort in the idea of a thousand years of paradise, which was the reason the Fifth Monarchists believed that during the millennium England would not trade with the Dutch Republic, a competitor in the cloth industry.\textsuperscript{29}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{28} Hill, \textit{The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution}, 87-106.
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
Figure 1.2

Even though the Fifth Monarchists were widely distributed, this did not mean that they were large in number or dominant in the major towns. Overall, in most counties, the
Fifth Monarchists may have had a base in one or two of the major towns; however, on average, a county had five major cities. The Fifth Monarchists were a minority movement, albeit spread throughout England.

Modern scholars have obscured the Fifth Monarchists, by focusing on two female prophets, Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel. These scholars analyze the way these women constructed gender and the reactions of contemporaries.\(^\text{30}\) However, this is problematic because these scholars miss the larger picture of the Fifth Monarchists, in many ways overcompensating for Bernard Capp's decision to marginalize these women in his grand narrative of the Fifth Monarchists.\(^\text{31}\) Both Capp and modern scholars miss the full potential that Fifth Monarchists documents possess.\(^\text{32}\) Within these documents, one can clearly see both men and women within the Fifth Monarchists actively constructing ideas about gender within their religious/political ideology. To understand Anna Trapnel and Mary Cary, one also needs to understand the men within the movement. These men were not just acting in a static socially conditioned way, these men were actively negotiating personal gendered identities.

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\(^{31}\) Bernard Capp is the only scholar to have written a monograph length history of the Fifth Monarchists. His work fits into the Christopher Hill method of analyzing religious groups through a Marxist lens. However, the many problems with this narrative are not challenged, instead current scholarship has focused on deeper analysis of certain Fifth Monarchists.

The Fifth Monarchists were a group that was composed of women and men. Understanding gender construction is important to understand how Fifth Monarchists portrayed themselves in print. Marcus Nevitt argues that women had already possessed agency, and the print medium did not give them more control. Since men were controlling print, women negotiated for space. Nevitt sets out to understand non-aristocratic women, accusing other scholars of looking at a narrow range of documents by women and then deciding to use those same documents. This exemplifies the problem with this field that the Fifth Monarchists have become the focus of intense gender evaluation of women without a consideration for the men. This falls into the trap that many gender analysts fall into by deconstructing the many facets of women and leaving men as an oppressing chauvinist force. Men's ideas about gender were as varied and complex as women's gender. Fifth Monarchist women and men were actively constructing their gender identities within their religious context, and this thesis will demonstrate that the Fifth Monarchist ideas about gender roles and identity were not uniform because this was an active process for both men and women.

The study will look at two female and two male leading members of the Fifth Monarchists. Each of these people published a number of documents that had a significant impact upon Fifth Monarchist ideology including ideas about gender. The gender construction of men shows that each were willing to use women as role models,

34 Ibid.
35 Though this thesis hopes to deconstruct many ideas about gender, and show its fluidity there are limitations. The major one is that the Fifth Monarchists viewed the world through a heteronormative perspective. Therefore, though the gender of men and women can be deconstructed, the fact that the group operated within a heteronormative paradigm means that there cannot be a deconstruction further then the categories of male and female. This is found throughout the primary documents in many different ways, yet there is no forward and formal way that the group declares it is working within this paradigm.
this showed that men were experimenting with utilizing ideas connected to women. John Rogers was inspired by the strength of a poor woman who confronts an emperor, and Christopher Feake was inspired by Deborah. A man taking inspiration from a woman flies in the face of historians who just thought the women were the only ones taking on radial gender roles. Of the two women Mary Cary’s works show her experimenting with using a male, Isiah as a role model, in the same way the men used women as role models. This shows the way both men and women were able to experiment with using the opposite sex as a role model, however, not in a proto-feminist way which would have led to equality. Anna Trapnel shows this since she used a woman as her role model, and talked only of herself within the confines of a female gender role. By including men in the discussion of gender it shows how similar the ways in which both men and women were constructing ideas about gender. The men make the women appear to be less of force of radicalism, and more just a part of a larger movement.

Chapter One, will discuss the relevant historiography and gender theory, setting the stage for the analysis and showing why including men and women in the same study gives a clearer picture of the past. Chapter Two will start the gender analysis, specifically that of Christopher Feake and John Rogers. This section will show that the men were also experimenting with different ideas of gender, but that it was not consistent each man changed how he presented his identity over time. In Chapter Three the analysis will turn towards the women Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel. The chapter will show the way neither really fit into the proto-feminist idea of scholars. Though in one work Cary took on a very strong masculine inspired role, she steps back into a more feminine role after her marriage. Trapnel’s focus on female role models and lack of discussion of her gender in
detail show she was not pushing outside the bounds of her gender. It also shows a similar reserve about discussing gender as Rogers. All these chapters show the way that Fifth Monarchist ideas of gender were much more complicated than the label of proto-feminist.
CHAPTER II
HISTOROGRAPHY AND GENDER THEORY

This project fits in the intersection between the historiographies of early modern European gender studies, radical religion, and the Fifth Monarchists. These three historiographies provide the foundational theories and basis upon which this study draws. Only the women of the Fifth Monarchists drew the attention of historians and literary scholars for gendered analyses. By looking at men and women, this adds to the study of the Fifth Monarchists. The project is arranged as a series of four case studies: two male and two female Fifth Monarchists. The men come before the women, because the women have routinely been pulled out of context, obscuring their connection to the Fifth Monarchists.

Gender in Early Modern Britain

This section focuses on the ways in which historians analyze gender in early modern Britain. Considering that gender is a relatively recent analytical framework these works tend to be newer and use other postmodern theories. The goal of this sub-section is to look at the study of how men and women conceptualized their roles. Some studies examine either men or women or concepts like honor gendered as a masculine trait. The most recent works deconstruct gender further to look at transgressive acts and homosexuality.
The problem with looking at gender in Britain starts with the way most scholarship focuses on England. Due to a lack of books on gender in Ireland, in this study there will be no discussion of Irish gender ideas. Many Irish do not regard themselves as “British” anyway, so this omission is perhaps justifiable. Though, given the fact that John Rogers lived in Ireland for a few different periods, this lack does leave the influence of Ireland on Rogers outside of this analysis.

In this study examination of Scotland is through a few key works. In the book *Women in Scotland c. 1100- c.1750*, the editors Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen M. Meikle bring together a collection of essays which explore the lives of women.\(^{36}\) This work gives the reader many different views into the lives of women. Michael F. Graham’s chapter “Women and the Church Courts in Reformation Era Scotland” looks at the records about women in the consistory courts. Women who sought support and protection took their cases to the consistory courts. Looking at these records Graham explores how these courts impacted woman in a distinct way.\(^{37}\) This is more women’s history than gender history, however, it does give some insight into the lives of people in Scotland. The article “Reading, Writing and Gender in Early Modern Scotland” examines why there were such a smaller number of documents by women in Scotland then in England.\(^{38}\) Jane Stevenson argues that women in England had more resources for learning to read and a larger variety of reading materials compared to Scottish women. Stevenson means women, although invoking gender, thus this article just looks at why fewer women in


\(^{37}\) Ibid. 187-198.

Scotland were literate.\textsuperscript{39} Though these studies give a glimpse into the lives of women, the gender analysis is missing, which limits the usability in this context.

For Wales, there is one book \textit{Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales}, on gender during this period.\textsuperscript{40} This book is a collection of different articles about different aspects of gender ideas for both men and women in Wales.\textsuperscript{41} One chapter, “‘Taking up Her Daily Cross’: Women and the Early Quaker Movement in Wales, 1653-1689” examines the role of Welsh Quaker women from the beginning of the movement to the Acts of Toleration.\textsuperscript{42} Richard Allen writes that in Wales often the Quaker preachers were husband and wife who traveled together as missionaries. The way in which gender ideas were constructed in Wales led to this difference in the way Quakers did missionary work.\textsuperscript{43} Michael Roberts’ chapter “‘More Prone to be Idle and Riotous than the English’? Attitudes to Male Behavior in Early Modern Wales” examines the English conception of Welsh men as hot tempered.\textsuperscript{44} For Roberts much of this stereotype came out of the bitterness developed during the Civil Wars, because the Welsh forces fought for the King against Parliament’s English forces.\textsuperscript{45} The chapters in the book was usually done by comparing the Welsh to the English. This is a similar approach to Stevenson’s approach to Scottish history. Even though this trend may be tempting since there is a much larger history of English gender, it makes the discourse of other countries in Britain

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Michael Roberts and Simone Clarke. \textit{Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales}. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000) 105-110.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 104-128.
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Ibid., 259-290.
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
still revolve around England. To really understand Wales and Scotland there will need to be gender studies just about these particular countries.

The oldest works on England examined in this section were written by Mervyn James in the 1970s. James looks to examine society and family in *Family, Lineage, and Civil Society* and honor in the *Past & Present* supplement. James’ analysis of honor looks at how this concept of self-assertiveness and confidence related to the ways men acted in the political sphere. Through doing so, he ends up discussing the way that the men constructed ideas about gender. In the 1980s, Dianne Dugaw examines popular ballads about women who dressed as men to accomplish heroic tasks in England and America. The idea of a woman who dressed as a man transgressed ideas of gender, however, only at the beginning and end of these ballads. Thus, it allowed for the idea of the unmarried woman to transgress gender norms, as long as she ended up back in a female gender role as a wife and mother. In both of these works the authors examine ideas of gender, James’ analysis as the earliest has a lot of problems with making assumptions about sex as a static concept. James’ work on honor is highly problematic due to its time of creation, however, the useful bit of this is the way he looks at constructions of male gender as within a series of different roles dependent on class and familial status. Dugaw’s more recent work focused on a detailed analysis of these ballads, but could do more to distinguish between English and American societies. James’ analysis shows the

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47 Ibid.


49 Ibid., 20-60.
problem with making assumptions about men and women in a gender study. Dugaw has some minor issues but is a model of a deep textual analysis.

To start looking at gender it was important to look at its predecessor studies on the roles of women in England. This study hopes to expand from these edited collections about women’s history into gender study, yet these do have works that border on gender studies where there are methods of analysis that are useful in this study. Especially helpful for this study are *Women and Religion in England*; *Women, Texts and Histories 1575-1760*; and *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity*.50 These authors walk the line right between women’s history and gender history. The women’s history provides background information to this study. The problem with these studies was that the focus on women left men in the picture as static forces. These study juxtapose the roles of women to patriarchal oppression without deconstructing these idea. This study looks at both men and women to try to correctly show that male gender roles were constructed and not static oppressors.

One highly influential essay was Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass’ chapter on hermaphrodites in Renaissance England.51 In this article, the authors look to show the many varied definitions of gender. One of the highlights was the examination of the rhetoric surrounding gender transformation. It was believed to be likely for a woman

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to become a man. Men were less likely to become women, however, there were so many
stories of this happening that there was a general anxiety about the possibility becoming
reality.\textsuperscript{52} This work in particular is influential to this work because it important to
understand how the larger discourses dealt with transformation into a different gender.
This study took inspiration from this work’s ability to look at the nuances of gender
ideas, and strives to do the same detailed analysis with the Fifth Monarchists.

Understanding the historiography of masculinity is important for as background
for this analysis. Each of these different interpretations of masculinity hold useful
information. Mark Breitenberg portrays masculinity as meaning anxiety in the early
modern context. Since no man could ever live up to all the different and conflicting
standards of masculinity there was always an anxiety about fulfilling that gender role.\textsuperscript{53}
Elizabeth Foyster uses an analysis of both masculine and feminine gendered discourse to
deconstruct the many ideas of masculinity supporting this patriarchal society. In this
Foyster criticized Susan Dwyer Amussen’s uncritical analysis of rape which led to the
inaccurate conclusion that early modern masculinity was not based on sex.\textsuperscript{54} The
discourse condemned homosexuality, however, the lives of people did not just follow the
rhetoric. Conflicting definitions of masculinity allowed for men to live as homosexuals
and fulfill male gender roles.\textsuperscript{55} Foyster is the most successful at a gender analysis because
she looks at the way masculinity and femininity interact. Alexandra Shepard looks at

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{53} Mark Breitenberg, \textit{Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England} (Cambridge: Cambridge University
\textsuperscript{54} Susan Dwyer Amussen, \textit{An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England} (New York:
\textsuperscript{55} Alan Bray, \textit{Homosexuality in Renaissance England}. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 10-
90.
manhood in England from 1560-1640. Shep
Shepard argues against Breitenberg’s idea of anxious masculinity. Manhood and patriarchy were not equated in early modern England, and should not be conflated by gender historians. This leads Shepard to view masculinity within a larger context in which ideas about social status and identity could trump gender. Shepard’s argument takes into more aspects of society, however Breitenberg’s analysis does have a basis of fact. This study combines these theories to view masculinity as something that could cause anxiety, however, for more established and upper class men there was less anxiety. This idea will become useful in understanding the ideas of gender surrounding Feake and Rogers. Diane Purkiss looks at masculinity specifically during the English Civil War. The book argues that during these wars there was the idea of broken men, who shattered under the extreme pressure. Purkiss analysis masculinity as both a component of psychology and social necessity. This conception plays an important role in understanding why these Fifth Monarchist men would look to adopt other ideas, when their previous conceptions of masculinity were not able to handle the strain of the war. This is a concept that underlies how it is important to highlight how men could conceptualize women as a role model, since women’s ideas of gender where not challenged throughout the wars.

Women’s literary production is at the center of many books on femininity, the two described here are the most relevant for this project. Jamie Goodrich’s, Faithful Translators focuses on women who published translations of religious texts.

57 Ibid.
58 Diane Purkiss, Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 1-25.
attempts to reorient discussion of early modern translation by considering women deemed faithful translators because these women translated religious texts requiring conservative translation strategies. Arguing against the role of women as not interacting with the text Goodrich shows how women did add their interpretations and voices into the translations.\(^{60}\) This book is important to this study for looking at the subtle ways these women inject themselves. Neither women were translators, but the idea of looking for the subtle nuances of language is important to this analysis. Understanding women who wrote will help with understanding the published documents by Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel. In the same vein understanding authorship is important for this entire analysis since all of these were published works.

A recent theme for gender historians is to analyze the connections between people of the same sex as friends. This is important for this study since understanding these same sex friends to understand relationships that were important to society, but most other studies ignore this. These relationships do not play a large part in this study’s documents, but it is important to be aware the fields heteronormative perspective to be aware that things do not always fit that paradigm. Alan Bray’s work *The Friend*, sets the stage for these other works by examining male friendship from 1000 c.e. to the 19\(^{th}\) century.\(^{61}\) This large tome argues that the ethics of friendship operated pervasively only in a larger frame of reference that lay outside the individual friends. Bray argues friendship was transformed during the 19\(^{th}\) century due to culture and economics.\(^{62}\) John S. Garrison in *Friendship and Queer Theory in the Renaissance* uses the basic argument Bray made just

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\(^{60}\) Ibid.
\(^{62}\) Ibid. 1-40.
focused on England. Garrison merges queer theory and economic history, thus portraying the change in friendship as coming purely out of the economic changes during the Industrial Revolution. Amanda Herbert uses Bray’s framework to look at *Female Alliances*, to understand the connections women made with one another. Herbert also places economics at the center of why these friendships developed and existed. This study is the only one discussed here that claimed to be on Britain and considers England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, the American colonies, and the West Indies. Laura Gowing, Michael Hunter, and Miri Rubin edited a collection of essays which all take influence from Bray’s work, examining different components of gender, love, friendship, and homosexuality from 1300-1800. Here most of the articles focus on the cultural aspects of why a change in friendship occurred. There is not enough research to fully understand the complexity of the friendships, however it would appear it is a combination of economics and emotions. Friendship discussions were important to look at because ideas about gender were shaped in these kinds of relationships. In this analysis Trapnel wrote about her friends as sisters and brothers, so this background information was important for that analysis.

Three different approaches to gender, focus more on the construction of specific ideas to gain access to people’s personal ideas about gender. This is important for this study, since the method of document analysis is to pull apart specific passages and words.

Christina Luckyj takes a very different approach to examining gender through the lens of

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64 Ibid.
silence. Luckyj argues that silence was important because it formed a rival, less regulated space for women.\textsuperscript{67} Silence was the alternative discourse that both men and women used to fight larger social constructions of gender. Resistance forms a key component of how Luckyj portrays silence.\textsuperscript{68} Luckyj’s analysis while different and a masterful use of theory, always brings up questions of how she found that in the sources. Here is an example of when gendered analysis gets pushed too far, which is why this study focuses on the details of the text. This study serves as a warning for reading too much into the texts.

Amanda Flather looks at the way spaces were gendered. Though less groundbreaking than the other two since this type of analysis has already been done in other fields, still differs from the other gendered books in this study.\textsuperscript{69} Flather argues that by focusing on space it is possible to bring to light the parts of the often opaque constructions and working of gender in England. The space was used by distinct individuals or groups, these peculiarities could come from gender, age, social status, or any combination of these. By looking at who used what space Flather gives a glimpse into the experiences of men and women.\textsuperscript{70} This study did not use a geographic analysis, except for the introductory discussion of maps. However, looking at how different physical elements were gendered does play a role in studying way the Fifth Monarchists’ use of language.

Finally, Mark Albert Johnston has studied beard fetish in early modern England. For Johnston beards have a distinct role in articulating and promoting the dominant

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
culture’s ideological interests and strategies, at the same time validating its oppressive social system. Johnston looks at four different groups, bearded men, beardless boys, beaded women, and half beards and hermaphrodites. Through looking at this Johnston, shows how the beard was a phallic supplement that asserted masculinity. Not having a beard was a sign of castration, subordination, and inferior lack. This analysis takes an ordinary object and shows importance of it. This study looks to analyze the way ordinary language carries distinct gendered meaning. These three uses of gender analysis through different means probably show where the field of gender analysis in England is heading; for the rest of Britain most of its gender history still needs to be written. This section on gender is important to this study to understand how historians have analyzed gender, and provide models for this study. The sections on women’s history shows what this study tries to avoid, going further into analyzing the way in which ideas about gender and identity were constructed.

Radical Religious Groups

The studies of radical religious groups in England during this period encompass a large number of works, only a few are listed here. Keith Thomas’s article from 1958 on "Women and the Civil War Sects" is the first to examine the role women played. Thomas highlights the ways that women leaped outside traditional female roles. There were a number of different radical religious groups in Interregnum England including Quakers,

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72 Ibid.
Ranters, Seekers, Adamists, Muggeltonians, Diggers, and Levelers. (Fifth Monarchists will be discussed in the next section). The discussion of radical groups is significant to understand where my study fits within the larger historiography. Also, it gives a context of the other groups contemporary to the Fifth Monarchists.

Christopher Hill’s work brings attention to the study of radical religious groups in England. Hill’s works look at religion and ideas surrounding the Interregnum. In *Milton and the English Revolution* Hill argues that the ideas of radical religious groups, such as the groups explored in *The World Turned Upside Down*, directly affected the way Milton viewed the world. Hill argues that the ideas of radical groups were well known in society and impacted ideas, after most radicals disbanded, as *The Experience of Defeat* discusses. Hill’s work looks at these groups through the lens of Marxism and laid the foundation for other works on radical religious groups. *The World Turned Upside Down* is still the most-cited work examining many of these groups. Though the Marxist approach makes everything about class, it does explore these groups in detail. Geoff Eley and William Hunt edited a collection which looks at Christopher Hill’s legacy in the field. In this the scholars expand on Hill’s ideas about the connection between Marxism


and radicals. J. C. Davis has criticized studies by Hill though the recent book by David Como tempers this criticism. Highlighting Christopher Hill’s legacy is important for this study since his work impacts everyone who examines a radical group. Hill wrote very important works, but his use of a Marxist analytical framework left these work open to critique by other historians. However, his base narrative still provides the best and most complex look at the many radical groups during the Interregnum. This study looks to expand on the gendered understandings of these groups which only were a small part of Hills’ works.

Fifth Monarchists

The Fifth Monarchist historiography consists mostly of articles and chapters of books, most historians see this movement as a side issue. For example, in 1964, Alfred Cohen in the article “The Fifth Monarchy Mind: Mary Cary and the Origins of Totalitarianism” looks for the roots of totalitarianism within revolutionary chiliasm movements of the past. He argues the roots of totalitarianism were in the writings of Fifth Monarchist Mary Cary. Cohen selects examples to prove that totalitarianism had roots in England. Current scholarship disproves Cohen’s argument, however, this outdated scholarship is still cited by major scholars as a significant work in the historiography. This is an example of the problem of looking to the documents to prove

an argument. It is important to look at what the documents actually say. Yet, it is widely
looked at because of the deep textual analysis which is a technique this study uses.

One foundational monograph length narrative history still forms the basis for
current historians. This is Bernard Capp's *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in
Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* a history of the movement from its
conception by Christopher Feake to its decline due to the radical wing under Thomas
Venner.81 Capp uses a Marxist analytical framework, which fit in with the school of
religious groups’ studies by Christopher Hill, J.F. McGregor, and Barry Reay.82 These
studies take Capp’s work as the narrative for the Fifth Monarchists upon which to build
further analysis. It is important to understand this works’ Marxist analysis which led
Capp to claim this group was bring the millennium to the common people, yet there are
few records this was the case. However, the narrative does provide a solid chronological
foundation upon which to do a gender analysis. This study adds by looking at the
influence of class when appropriate with Rogers, however, does not have this analytical
tool dominate the study.

The work that best exemplifies the move toward the analysis of specific female
Fifth Monarchist prophets is Phyllis Mack's *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in
Seventeenth-Century England*.83 In this book, Mack examines the construction of gender
in the Quakers, yet mixes in Anna Trapnel and Mary Cary with radical Quakers as
examples of women who defied gender norms. While she has a footnote noting Trapnel

Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution*. Christopher Hill, *The Experience of
(Southampton: Camelot Press, 1985) 1-30.
83 Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Berkeley:
and Cary were not Quakers, within the text they are treated as Quakers. The problematic argument within this book is that Quaker women were proto-feminists, before the creation of the Women's Meeting.\(^84\) This book is important for this study because it was the inspiration to examine these women in this format, as well as the reason to include men. Mack’s focus on men made it appear that all the women were radical proto-feminists. This study is specifically challenging this analysis, and showing that the Fifth Monarchist women fit into the larger movement. When men and women are studied together it shows both sexes were experimenting with different gender ideas, over time there were shifts in these concepts. The notable part of this work is the study of details in a text’s language, which is emulated in this study. However, Mack runs into problems with her use of use of Freudian psychological analysis, which is not emulated here.

In “Blazing Worlds: Seventeenth-Century Women’s Utopian Writing” one of the four women examined by Kate Lilley is Mary Cary.\(^85\) In this analysis, Lilley puts Cary in as the outlier who does not follow the pattern of other female utopian writers who practiced political conservatism to mask transgression in sexual politics. Instead, Lilley views Cary as positively demonstrating feminine agency with radical consequences that were both real and imagined. This analysis is problematic due to the fact that it makes this generalization that there were only consequences for women who were directly expressing their political views.\(^86\) The work examines Cary out of the context of the movement. Without context Cary is just a lone radical, which is a misconception this

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\(^84\) Ibid.
\(^86\) Ibid.
study correction. This study tries to look at the women within the movement to avoid the trap of the exception proto-feminist woman.

Hillary Hinds’ 1996 work led to a flurry of interest in Fifth Monarchist and other radical women as part of the new historicism in literary studies. Hind's challenges Mack's ideas about Quaker proto-feminists, yet directly compares modern feminist writings with the writings of seventeenth-century radical women. Marcus Nevitt's 1999 article examines the portrayal of Anna Trapnel and Mary Cary. In this he argues that they were not "self-denying, lamb like" women. Following Hinds’ lead in 2006, David Loewenstein published an article that analyses the work of Mary Cary. In this article, he used English analytical techniques to explore the way that Cary communicated her prophecies. In these works the estrangement from the rest of the movement makes these women appear more exceptional, this is why incorporating the context of the movement changes the analysis of these women. These are outstanding as standalone gender analysis, but problematic when understood within the Fifth Monarchist context.

Marcus Nevitt's book poses a challenge to previous analyses of Anna Trapnel and women's agency during the Interregnum. He argues that non-aristocratic women have always had agency, print was just another mechanism for agency, but print forced women to work within a masculine realm to publish. Nevitt argues Trapnel was in control of her image, she deliberately acted to attract attention in order promote her Fifth Monarchist ideas and support Vavassor Powell. This work puts Trapnel into the larger context of

89 David Loewenstein, "Scriptural Exegesis, Female Prophecy, and Radical Politics in Mary Cary." 133-153.
90 Marcus Nevitt, Women and the Pamphlet Culture of Revolutionary England, 1640-1660 11-30.
women during the period, which led Nevitt to emphasize female agency. Yet, this is not enough because Nevitt spends little time examining the Fifth Monarchist context. This study looks to focus the Fifth Monarchist context, because this was the foundation of Trapnel’s religious beliefs, the reason that Trapnel went into trances and published works.

The 2008 article by Rebecca Bullard, examines the strange pagination within Anna Trapnel's *Report and Plea*. She argues that the strange pagination shows Trapnel added content to the document right around the time of publication.91 Here Bullard’s article shows Trapnel as being an active part of the publication process. Bullard argues that Trapnel had agency without any larger implications. There is more to learn about these women then to prove whether or not the women had agency in the printing process.

A book chapter by Diane Purkiss, from 2011, traces Trapnel's journeys, arguing the major places and people around Trapnel influence her writing.92 Purkiss studies Trapnel again in *The English Civil War*, however, here Trapnel was just used as an example of the life of a “nobody in particular…one of many nobodies given a voice by the war.”93 This was before the other work, which shows a different way to use Trapnel’s writings as sources. The different ways Purkiss uses Trapnel show that her work could be taken out of context as a common person. This was not the full picture of Trapnel, she was well educated and connected enough to become a leading voice of the Fifth Monarchists. Another example of the problem plaguing gender analyses in of the Fifth

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Monarchists is that the rest of the movement and sometimes the rest of the period is ignored.

Timothy G Shilston's article about Thomas Venner looks critically at Capp's narrative, in which Venner is the reason for the collapse of the Fifth Monarchists. Shilston’s work also problematizes Capp's version of the Fifth Monarchists foundation centered on Christopher Feake. Even more significantly Shilston argues that Venner was not a part of the Fifth Monarchists even if people at the time thought Venner was, which problematizes Capp’s narrative about the fall of the Fifth Monarchists. This is important for understanding the collapse of the movement, and how this effected later works specifically Feake’s last work, the final major work for the Fifth Monarchists. It also points out the fact that Capp’s narrative could use further review and analysis. This shows the way that popular conceptions of the Fifth Monarchists, which cannot be proven through the documentation, became a part of Capp’s narrative.

In 2007, Sylvia Brown edited a collection about Women, Gender and Radical Religion in Early Modern Europe that look at a variety of groups during this time. Naomi Baker's article makes an insightful comparison between Anna Trapnel and John James. Her analysis shows how both constructed their ideas of self in similar manners. This chapter influences the setup of comparing male and female ideas of gender and

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96 John James (d 1661) was a self-proclaimed Fifth Monarchist and Baptist. Although James was not directly connected to Thomas Venner’s uprising, James was implicated in the scandal. In 1661 the Crown arrested and executed James and his Baptist congregation for treason. James’ published works portrayal James in a very similar manner to how Trapnel portrays herself. James, John. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. accessed March 24, 2014. http://www.oxforddnb.com
identity. It also influences how the study feels that both sexes can be compared within a single gender analysis. The difference is John James was not a Fifth Monarchist, he just also had visions. This project adds to this discourse by comparing male and female Fifth Monarchists. This is a chapter that had the largest influence on the idea behind the concept of the project, and how this could lead to a greater understanding of gender and identity constructions. This project argues that men and women need to be looked at together in a single gender analysis, since there were constant interactions between these two groups.

\[97\] Ibid.
Constructing Gender

This thesis aims to begin unpacking how individual Fifth Monarchists constructed gender. 98 A number of theories exist about gender. The gender theorists that shape this analysis are Denise Riley, Joan Scott, Judith Butler, and Mary Poovey. 99 In this project, gender is defined as a constructed ideology attached to physical characteristics that are given a particular meaning, but have no inherent meaning or specific sex identity in and of themselves. Ideas about gender are socially constructed to fit within the ideas of that society. Both the ideas about gender and biological sex are social constructs which have no predetermined meaning or relation to terms such as man and woman. As Riley argues the only way to avoid using modern ideas about gender when doing a historical analysis is to, “stand back and announce that there aren’t any women.” 100

This study starts with the fact that these are human beings. The collective, in this case the Fifth Monarchists, actively created systems of meaning surrounding the body, and bodily differences between two types of genitals. These systems of meaning code certain humans as male and female. That is where gender construction comes into play, the Fifth Monarchists actively built and negotiated ideas about men and women. The Fifth Monarchists formed conceptualizations about men and women’s ways of acting,

98 Though this thesis hopes to deconstruct many ideas about gender, and show its fluidity there are limitations. The major one is that the Fifth Monarchists viewed the world through a heteronormative perspective. Therefore, though the gender of men and women can be deconstructed, the fact that the group operated within a heteronormative paradigm means that there cannot be a deconstruction further then the categories of male and female. This is found throughout the primary documents in many different ways, yet there is no forward and formal way that the group declares it is working within this paradigm. Mostly due to the fact that, Interregnum England worked within a heteronormative paradigm, even if people were aware of this or not.


100 Riley, 43.
propriety, identity, and a multiplicity of other coded action. Specifically this project looks at how within printed works Fifth Monarchists constructed personal gendered identities. These constructed identities differ from how a Fifth Monarchist may have acted in different social settings, however, it does compose one facet of how that person perceived their identity. Many other theorists studying this period, and this group, use categories to classify gender constructs as though there was a static set ideology about gender. This project hopes to show that gender is a process through which humans actively engage.

There are a number of different terms about gender used within this study. Constructing gender is the process through which people constantly preform an identity which is constantly in the process of refinement and redefinition. Different from that is questioning gender roles where people actively question what these roles mean, possibly leading to experimentation with changes to gender roles. The question raised by Riley about what is man and women is about how we socially define these differences, which is different from questions about what men and women should do. This analysis looks at all of these concepts, because the Fifth Monarchists were constructing ideas and questioning ideas of gender.

An issue that comes up when analyzing gender in texts is the differences between gender construction and gendered references. This is just a problem of gender study, it is fine line between a quick reference that the author thought little about and a direct, specific mention of gendered language that deliberately sends a specific message about gender. The Fifth Monarchist works in this study do not focus on gender as the main subject. Instead, the works are about other topics, which makes the inclusion of gendered language more important, and seemingly deliberate. This study examines the specific
gendered language within these documents as a part of a construction of gendered ideas. There could be a very valid argument made that the gendered language form references and are not a part of how the Fifth Monarchists construct a gendered identity in print. To counter that point, whether a reference or not, the words in a work are there for a very specific purpose. Writing and publishing a document means that those specific words captured the author’s ideas within gendered language. Even if the word choice was an unconscious decision, it was still the way in which the author felt the ideas would be best communicated. Thus, the gendered ideology behind the gendered language seeps into the meanings and ideas within the document, which makes references to gendered language a part of how the author constructs gender.

The terms of gender construction used today are not the same as in the early modern period. However, that does not mean scholars should not try to understand gender, even if the people of the past would not call ideas within their world view gender. All the facets of this term are there, and through understanding gender can one understand how people constructed their ideas of identity. Identity plays an important role in how people act and view their world. Whether or not anyone specifically thought through and acted in a distinctly gendered manner is up for debate. The gendered actions of a person were examined to understand why a person acted in that way and what that stimulated. It is hard to know if a person thought about the way their gender ideas would portray them. This actually gave a lens into ideas swirling around in the Fifth Monarchist movement and that person’s head which lead to putting these representations

101 None of the works used in this historiography argue against the idea of people acting or thinking in a gendered. Dr. Michael Levin challenges this idea, and has stated that other scholars follow suit, however, there was not enough time to read these scholars for this project.
in print. Readers still unconvinced by this basic explanation of gender theory should refer to Joan Scott’s essays on this topic, which give the best explanation for the importance of gender studies.\textsuperscript{102}

Examining gender within printed works does pose some unique opportunities as well as limitations. The Fifth Monarchist authors of these works conveyed some form of their religious and political agenda in that written work. This means these documents were deliberately representing ideas of gender within the "confines" of Fifth Monarchist ideology.\textsuperscript{103} The problem is the deliberate representation may or may not reflect the everyday reality of the Fifth Monarchists gender construction.\textsuperscript{104} This thesis does not claim to be examining any more than the representation, construction, and negotiation of gender within these documents. If this representation of gender was not the way the author lived, this was how the author envisioned living.\textsuperscript{105} Given the specificity of the example, it would be problematic to draw larger conclusions about the movement.

Overall, these sources, like any sources a historian uses, have their own set of problems

\textsuperscript{103} "Confines" needs to be in quotation marks because there was not a set uniform ideology across the Fifth Monarchists. The cohesion of the movement and the agency of the pastor were fundamental components in interpretation of doctrine. The Fifth Monarchists 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. Reay, pp. 141-151. When reading about many other movements during this time, one usually ends up learning a vast amount about the leader or leaders whereas, with the Fifth Monarchy Men, one does not see this. Hill, \textit{The World Turned Upside Down}. To study the movement as a whole, one either needs to make many generalizations or examine lots of different individual preachers. Capp, \textit{The Fifth Monarchy Men}. 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 Naylor, John Perrot, and John Pennyman caused other leaders to step up a centralized leadership. This centralized leadership carried the Quakers through the times with the most persecution. Mack, pp. 273-275. In contrast, the Fifth Monarchy Men's crisis sparked by association with Venner, started the decline and slow death of the movement. Capp, \textit{The Fifth Monarchy Men}, pp. 200-227.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
but still provide information for examining how the Fifth Monarchists actively created gender constructions.
CHAPTER III
CHRISTOPHER FEAKE AND JOHN ROGERS

This chapter examines two men’s portrayal of gender within the documents each man wrote. The works at the center of the analysis come from two leading male Fifth Monarchists Christopher Feake and John Rogers. First are short biographical sketches, followed by a section focused on each man which examines the documents chronologically. Feake’s section highlights the changes in depiction Feake undergoes. This section on Feake examines how concepts of humility, prison, martyrdom, and inspiration from Deborah effect constructions of gender and identity. Rogers’ section has more subtle changes over time, highlighting the importance of concepts of hot, humility, soldier, and his inspiration from a poor woman. This chapter argues these two men changed ideas about gender, which included inspiration from the opposite sex. It was not just the women who were experimenting with taking on different gender roles. This fit into the argument that these women were part of the larger Fifth Monarchist movement, not proto-feminists.

Historian Bernard Capp labels Christopher Feake (1611/1612-1682/1683) as the founder of the Fifth Monarchists. Recent historians challenge this while not diminishing Feake's significant role in the creation of the movement.\(^\text{106}\) Feake originally supported

Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell, however, that ended quickly with Feake becoming a very vocal opponent of the Lord Protector. This opposition to Cromwell led to Feake’s imprisonment from 1654-1656, but Feake continued to lead the movement through his publications. Feake promoted the work of other Fifth Monarchist writers through publishing introductions to works by Mary Cary, John Tillinghast, and John Canne. Christopher Feake captures the attention of Capp and other historians because Feake was a historian. His first work was a history of Christianity and the last a history of the Fifth Monarchist movement.

John Rogers (b. 1627) has not been the focus of major debates about the Fifth Monarchists, yet was a leading member of the movement. At a young age, Rogers was drawn to religious radicals, which led his father to expel him from the family home in 1642, the year he graduated from King’s College, Cambridge. Some psychologically minded historians view this as the moment when Rogers started on his Fifth Monarchist path. He became an important member of the Fifth Monarchists. His radical publications led to his arrest and incarceration from 1654 to 1656. During his imprisonment Rogers received, “a letter of encouragement from Anna Trapnel, he dreamed he drank juice crushed from mulberries by Christ.” Rogers continued to be a Fifth Monarchist; preaching in Dublin, Ireland, Rogers found himself at odds with the law, being imprisoned for less than a month. In 1661, Rogers got permission to return to

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107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
110 Ibid.
England because he studied medicine at Oxford. His final published work was a medical work in Latin.\textsuperscript{111}

Below is a picture of Rogers, which illustrated the academic demeanor he brought to his religious writings. This picture was done in 1653, by Wencelaus Hollar after D. Savill. There are two copies of this picture in the National Portrait Gallery in England.\textsuperscript{112}

The inscription on the bottom reads,

\begin{quote}
Man eyes don’t meane to gaze, All’s but a Shade Of the Substance within the Shining Sunn hath made The Misteries within the Veile of Clay Whose Hearts ascendant in the milkie Way, The Shadow’s Lease the Substance life Both Show Christ’s motion’s Swift Hast Hast run like y’ Ro, Vera effigies Io:Rogers.\textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

The verse was important to the picture since it bring up ideas surrounding Rogers’ beliefs. It compared Christ’s motion to the running of Rogers to carry out God’s word. It also talks about the fact that curious men like Rogers look into the mysteries of men whose hearts will ascend with God. This image shows a burst from heaven representing the hearts ascending to heaven at the end of the world. This represented Rogers’ theological message leading people to ascension at the end. Rogers was also shown with a piece of writing and an inkwell, to show his learning and writings. The coat of arms on the pillar depicts the Rogers family crest. John Rogers saw himself as following in the footsteps of his martyred ancestor.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid (for picture and text)
\textsuperscript{113} Wenceslaus Hollar, \textit{John Rogers} (London, 1653).
Figure 1.3
Christopher Feake was a Fifth Monarchist whose ideas about the construction of his own gender changed over time. These constructions changed with his stance on humility. At first he was very humble in presenting his works. During his years in prison he talked less of his own humility than that of his congregation. Once he left prison he mixed humility and his confidence from prison into his construction of identity. Another important point in this section is Feake’s inspiration from Deborah. This fits into the main argument of the thesis that it was not just the women exploring different ideas about gender. This chapter also shows that Feake’s ideas about gender changed, which is one of many examples of how as a new movement the Fifth Monarchists were still in the process of creating ideas about gender. As a minister and leading Fifth Monarchist, he published a number of sermons. In these documents he barely focused on women, thus a discussion of his construction of female gender was not included in this thesis. This analysis studied Feake’s representation of himself across these documents, the different ways he constructed and performed his gender. Since the Fifth Monarchists were a new radical religious group ideas about gender were still in the process of formation. The life Feake led definitely impacted this representation of gender, during the writing of some of these works Feake was in prison. There was no doubt that this environment played an important role in Feake’s gender construction. From then on Feake was never as humble in his documents, and took a stronger stance on his issues. Feake became empowered by the time in prison and the idea that he could become a martyr.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{114} The works in this study are the published works by Feake available on EEBO.
In 1650, Feake published *The Genealogie of Christianity and of Christians*, in which he wrote about the power Antichrist and Satan exert over the Christian church. In order to rebuild the true church of God in Fifth Monarchist fashion, Feake explained the founding of the early Christian church. Feake delivered and addressed this sermon to the Lord Mayor of London, Thomas Foot. In the introduction, Feake described himself as "... the Author of so imperfect and unpollished a Discourse upon such a weighty Theme." This mirrors the way in which Cary represented herself as a weak vessel, which brings up the ideas about humility that was important to Feake and the Fifth Monarchists.

I humbly present it before your Honour, this second time...God, (who hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty,) to command a Blessing upon these weak endeavours...

In this history of the Christian church, Feake focused on only the main players referring to the audience as Christians or “you.” The main figures that Feake mentioned in his history were men. Yet, the men mentioned were only the biggest figures in Christian history, so this may be less of a gender issue than trying to boil the Bible down to twenty-one pages.

This brings up a few points about gender construction worth analyzing. First, Feake was again fitting into the Christian and Fifth Monarchist paradigm of humility. For Christians humility was an important way to follow Jesus’ example of how to treat

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115 Christopher Feake, *The Genealogie of Christianity and of Christians. Declared In a Sermon at Mecers Chappel before the Right Honourable the Lord Major of the City of LONDON, April 28 1650 And now thus published For the undeceiving of those, who say they are Christians, and are not, but do lie; and for the Establishment and Encouragement of those, who having used the Name of Christ, do indeed depart (even in this hour of Apostacy) from all Iniquity.* (London: Printing-Pressin Cornhill, 1650) 1-10.

116 Ibid., 3.

117 Ibid., 3.

118 Ibid., 4-21.
people. In Christian theology humility was where Jesus got his power to lead. The Fifth Monarchists took this a step further that humility was the way to gain power during the earthly rule of King Jesus. The humble would literally gain political power and prestige during the millennium.

However, this could merely be deference towards the Lord Mayor, who was apparently the catalyst for getting this sermon published. Either way, Feake, though labeling his work humble and imperfect, did not write that he was unqualified to write this. His fitness to write this came from the fact that he was in a position of weakness. In this way, he was constructing himself as a servant of God and of the Lord Mayor, one inspiring the content of the work and the other inspiring the publication of the work. The position of weakness that Feake placed himself into, fits common Fifth Monarchist and Christian themes about being the vessel of God. This could be contrasted with the stronger approach that Cary took in presenting herself in the style of the Old Testament male prophet (Cary will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter). The Genealogie of Christianity and of Christians, spends only a little bit of time on this introduction, however throughout the text as a whole Feake positioned himself in the role of the preacher gently guiding his flock towards understanding how the church needed to be in order to bring about the coming of King Jesus. This gentler approach of showing what has gone before and thus what should come in the future. His later works would change to a stronger more forceful approach to making arguments. Feake’s changes in

119 Ibid., 2-3.
120 Ibid, 3.
121 Ibid.
ideas about gender identity over time, show larger Fifth Monarchist ideas were changing.  

In 1654, Feake published two documents both written during his imprisonment. These were *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle* and *The New Non-Conformist*. The *Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle*, focused on "that Old Serpent, the Devil and Satan...It is no marvel that he is so much enraged at the Woman, and that he continues to go forth to make war with the remnant of her seed." Feake deals with the fact that some of his information may not fit with the most recent news. "But if in any circumstance, I should miss the white at which I aim; it must be imputed to my present incapacity of obtaining a full Relation, partly because I am still a close Prisoner." When Feake wrote the “white” at which he aims he could be alluding to the fact that he is away from his fellow Fifth Monarchists and his religious ideas may be outside of the movement’s accepted concepts.

Christopher Feake had a much stronger edge in this work than in the work before. Specifically, at the end of the introduction Feake wrote about the power of the lord, and thus the power of Feake’s preaching.

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122 Ibid.
123 Christopher Feake, *The New Non-conformist; Who having Obtained Help of God, Doth Persist unto this day; Witnessing, Both to Small and Great Some of those Glorious Things which The Apostles, the Prophets, & Moses did say should come to Pass. Or The Voice of a Careful Shepherd, Crying, from his Watch-tower at W.C. Unto his Little Flock at W.L. With a Loud Voice* (London: Livewel Chapmen, 1654) 1-10.
Christopher Feake, *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle, His DEFINANCE to The Father of Lyes, in the Strength of The God of Truth. Occasioned by some late, Scandalous and Slanderous Reports, Raised and Dispersed to the Dishonour of that Noble Cause, wherein He (with others of the Lords Servants) is so Deeply Engaged. As Also, A Seasonable Word, Concerning the High Power: Concerning the Payment of Taxes and Tribute-money by the Saints to those Powers: And how Far a Minister of the Gospel may intermeddle in State-Affairs without Sin* (London: L. Chapman, 1654) 1-12.
124 The Devil who is enraged at women because women are able to continue the human race who are religious and keep to laws of God. The fact that there are Godly people, the product of women makes the devil mad at women. Feake, *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle*, 2.
125 Ibid., 4.
126 Feake, Christopher. *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle*, 5-64.
No, blessed be the Lord, I shall not so far be forsaken by him, or left to my self as to gratifie the foes, and grieve the friends of my dear Redeemer, by turning Apostate after all my suffereings in so good a Cause; HIS GRACE IS SUFFICIENT FOR HIS SERVANT: yea let all my Friends and Enemies also, know assuredly, that I stand my ground by divine assistance; yea, I get ground and am abundantly confirmed, that I am out of the reach of the earthly powers, insomuch, that they should slay, they could not hurt me.\textsuperscript{127}

Here Feake made a stronger portrayal of his gender; there was no mention of being a weak vessel, instead Feake seems empowered by God. Through this situation of being imprisoned Feake gained the strength to directly write that he would confront any adversaries of the word of God. The experience in prison caused Feake to change the language he used to describe his identity. This shows the way in which changes not just for Feake, but the larger movement could change ideas about gender.\textsuperscript{128} Some would think a man in prison would calm down his beliefs to survive. For Feake the experience brought a heightened passion to his beliefs, which led to a different construction of gender. Feake no longer seemed the weak vessel: here he took on a much more aggressive role as a preacher commanding the movement.\textsuperscript{129}

In Capp’s history of the movement, Feake’s imprisonment is a time of increased power, through his status as a potential martyr for the Fifth Monarchist cause. Yet this was still a disjointed movement that did not have any central leadership.\textsuperscript{130} Though Capp treats Feake as a leader Timothy G. Shilston convincingly argues that his role was just as one of many who acquired significant power during his time in prison.\textsuperscript{131} So the way in which Feake’s portrayal of gender may be less about larger Fifth Monarchist

\textsuperscript{127} Feake, \textit{The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid. As mentioned in the section on gender theory, this analysis just discusses the way that Feake portrayed himself in print. There was no way to know if Feake deliberately thought about this gendered portrayal of himself. However, it does seem clear that this was a element in Feakes move to gain leadership power during this time.
\textsuperscript{130} Capp, \textit{The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism} 40-60.
\textsuperscript{131} Shilston, "Thomas Venner: Fifth Monarchist or maverick?" 55-64.
constructions of gender, and more an expression of gender ideas in society to position himself for a larger leadership role within the movement. Feake depicted himself differently than before; in this work, there was only a brief section about humility. The brief section on humility may derive from the fact that this document was not dedicated to a particular individual, but instead to "That Congregation which I am over in the Lord." Through his imprisonment, the Fifth Monarchist movement was growing rapidly, so now Feake had a greater influence than ever before and seemed aware of his rise in power. Feake use of a change in gendered language as a way to get power, shows that ideas within the movement were still constructing what ideas about gender were the most powerful.

In *The New Non-Conformist*, Feake offered a series of sermons that addressed major theological questions that the Fifth Monarchists faced. In the introduction, he wrote about the way the Fifth Monarchist should worship God.

For, that most excellent old Doctrine, which our Lord taught his Disciples…I mean the Doctrine of Self-denial, and of forsaking all (Relations, Liberty, Goods, good Name, yea, life itself,) for his sake and the Gospels; How little is it preached now? How much less is it practiced? But the reason is read, and upon record: These are the last days; and the Spirit speaketh plainly and without a Parable… In this quote, Feake brought up self-denial as a form of humility before the Lord, (an idea that played a large role in his gender construction in *The Genealogie of Christianity and of Christians.*) Feake was not placing himself in a humble position. Instead, he took on the active role of a preacher reprimanding his congregation. Feake believed his

132 Ibid.
133 Feake, *The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle* 4
136 Ibid.
congregation and his fellow preachers forgot how important it was to be humble and self-denying before God. Since Feake believed that the world would soon end this was more important now than before.\textsuperscript{138} Thus, he came out with this message about the importance of being humble and self-denying immediately. By promoting this message of selflessness before the Lord, Feake glorified his position as a prisoner in a very humble state.\textsuperscript{139} That was not to discredit the genuine quality of this appeal, for it could be that Feake found this humble state to be one to which Christians should aspire too, or that passages in the Bible about humility were particularly speaking to Feake at that time.\textsuperscript{140} This also reflected the way he addressed all people, not just one sex, in particular, it was an overall message about the power, and prestige of God over all humanity. Feake presented himself in a strong manner, as a messenger of God sent to correct the ills and vices of humanity.\textsuperscript{141} At the same time, the way in which most of this was posed as questions shows a less fearsome preaching approach and instead an attempt to gently lead his parishioners down the correct path.\textsuperscript{142}

Later in the introduction Feake wrote about his Biblical role models. Feake wrote that "Mine heart, (as Deborah's was) is towards the Governours of Israel that offer themselves willingly among the people: bless ye the Lord."\textsuperscript{143} In the next paragraph Feake continued, “Methinks I hear, with Daniel, one Saint speaking…”\textsuperscript{144} Feake, unlike Cary, was not just drawing inspiration from one Biblical figure. Feake saw himself with the heart of Deborah and the ability to interpret dreams like Daniel. These will be

\textsuperscript{138} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 3.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{143} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 4.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
examined in the order they appear in the text. Feake compared his heart to Deborah, thus relating a female in the Bible to an organ associated with emotions.\textsuperscript{145} Deborah was the only female Judge mentioned in the Bible. Her story was in the \textit{Book of Judges}, where Deborah led the successful attack against the forces of King Jaabin of Canaan.\textsuperscript{146} This was not a weak and emotional woman, she showed herself to be strong willed, able to successfully lead an army into battle. She originally did not want to lead the troops into battle, however, when she was convinced to lead she stated that because of this she will always be remembered as the victor of the battle.\textsuperscript{147} Feake modeled himself on a woman, which one might think this means emotions and weakness, but Feake channeled the war leader part of Deborah.\textsuperscript{148} Instead, Feake emphasized the strength of Deborah’s heart to lead an army. This was reiterated later in that section when Feake wrote if God will it Feake, “go thorow the grates of my Prison, and pass thorow all the guards…”\textsuperscript{149} Here Feake channeled Deborah the war leader, thus even though Feake wrote that he had Deborah’s heart, he was not meaning this in a feminine emotional way, but as the strength of a commanding officer.\textsuperscript{150}

Deborah was a model used by both supporters and opponents of female leadership. Queen Elizabeth I used this metaphor to support her claim to leadership.\textsuperscript{151} She was not the only one. Women across Europe, both Protestants and Catholics used Deborah as a way to justify their claim to prophetic authority. Thus, Feake would be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{145} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{146} Jgs. 4-5 (AV)
\item \textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{148} Hinds, \textit{God’s Englishwoman}. 18-50.
\item \textsuperscript{149} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist}, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{150} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Joy A. Schroeder, \textit{Deborah’s Daughters: Gender Politics and Biblical Interpretation}. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) 70-105.
\end{itemize}
aware of this discourse of Deborah as a strong female leader from either the religious or political discourses of the time.\textsuperscript{152} This combination of religious and political discourses about Deborah as a justification for female leadership comes up in John Calvin’s toleration of Queen Mary Tudor of England’s reign because Deborah was a symbol that God could endow a woman with the power to rule.\textsuperscript{153} Feake’s use of Deborah shows his and the Fifth Monarchists’ openness to use the opposite sex as a role model.

Feake also saw himself following in Daniel’s model of being allowed through the power of God to interpret dreams. However, the dream that Feake interpreted was not his own, Feake referred to the portion of the Bible known as Daniel’s Dream. Feake saw himself as able to find the deeper meaning within Daniel’s interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream.\textsuperscript{154} This meant that Feake was in direct connection to God. These were new revelations from God shown directly to Feake, this meant that the Biblical time of direct messages from God was not over.\textsuperscript{155} In gendered terms, it means that his mind was a receptacle\textsuperscript{156} of God’s knowledge while filling Daniel’s masculine role of advising the King about what to do with these revelations.\textsuperscript{157} This was not a contradiction to having the heart of Deborah. Not only were these two different aspects of the body, it also worked together to have a strong female heart and an intelligent

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{152} Ibid.
\bibitem{153} Ibid. 86-89.
\bibitem{154} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 4 and (AV)
\bibitem{155} Ibid.
\bibitem{156} As a receptacle this could be taken as a feminine role, however in both Christian and Fifth Monarchist ideology this is an ambivalent position. It could be feminine, however the frequency that God did this to men made it more as a part of God’s relationship towards people. Though, the gendered aspect of this overall masculine position is important.
\bibitem{157} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
receptacle of God’s wisdom. This has a distinctly gendered significance, that Feake felt fine to compare himself to both a man and a woman.\textsuperscript{158}

Feake wrote more about his experience in prison, "I am perswaded, (for I will not dissemble,) that this shutting and tying me up, will render me, by the power of God with me, more fierce, more fell and furious against the Kingdom of the Beast, then I was before."\textsuperscript{159} Here there was a change from how Feake portrayed himself in the earlier work as weak and humble. Instead, Feake felt filled with power from God to break out of the prison if that was God’s plan.\textsuperscript{160}

There were strong connections between \textit{The New Non-conformist} and \textit{The Oppressed Close Prisoner in Windsor-Castle}, the publication of both in the same year led to this consistency. Both have the perspective that God empowered Feake, although \textit{The New Non-conformist} did not have a section in which Feake humbled himself.\textsuperscript{161} Instead, Feake clearly saw himself as a minister empowered by God to preach the message of the end of the world in less than fifty years.\textsuperscript{162} In this document Feake again mentioned one woman, the quote about the "Whorish Woman" was that instance. This fits into his idea of connecting women to Eve, the original sinner, and then to the prophecies in Revelation, which focus on the role the whore will have in bringing about the end of the world.\textsuperscript{163} This makes Feake’s words about Deborah in \textit{The New Non-conformist}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{159} Ibid., 7. Some might wonder if the change in representation came from a change in maturity. Feake wrote the first document in this study at thirty nine years old and these two from prison at forty three. At that age it would be surprising, but not unimaginable for the time in prison to affect Feake’s maturity. Prison could have been such a moving experience that he did mature during his stay there as he contemplated death.
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 1-9.
\textsuperscript{162} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 1-7.
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
surprising, and worth examining. Given that all other mentions of women in Feake’s writing were negative, it is difficult to explain what made Deborah someone Feake related to his heart. Especially since there was just the one reference to Deborah in Feake’s works.

This section showed the changes that Feake’s representation of himself in print underwent. The change in Feake’s writing due to his time in prison stands out as an important point of evidence of the way that ideas about gender and identity change. These changes come about due to Feake’s experience in prison and the potential for martyrdom. A notable part is where Feake compares his heart to Deborah, here he used a female role model in constructing a portion of his gendered identity. Which proves that women were not the only ones experimenting with the opposite sex’s gendered ideas. It showed the women were acting in a similar way to male Fifth Monarchists, and were not radical proto-feminists.

John Rogers

John Rogers wrote the most complicated works used in this analysis. As the only Fifth Monarchist in this study with a formal education, Rogers wrote in a style displaying this educated background with his frequent use of Latin and Hebrew. This added education led to a difference in tone; throughout these works Rogers did not write as much about himself as the author, as compared to Feake who wrote about himself often. A silence like this makes a gender analysis harder, however, there was enough in these works to find some evidence of how John Rogers constructed his gendered identity. This section argues that Rogers’ ideas of gender were over all consistent throughout his works,
with only minor changes. One noticeable change was the inspiration he took from the poor woman who confronted a heathen emperor. This section continues to argue that men as well as the women in the movement were experimenting with different ideas of gender, this was a component of the Fifth Monarchist movement. The fact that Rogers shows little changes, but still took inspiration from a woman further demonstrates the way in which this movement was helping a man who was very sure of his construction of gender to incorporate other ideas.

_Challah The Heavenly Nymph: OR THE BRIDE_, was published in 1653.\(^{164}\) The work was addressed “To THE Right Honourable his Excellencie THE Lord Generall Cromwel. With a humble Request of John Rogers, Preacher of the GOSPEL.” \(^{165}\) Here Rogers used the idea of humility within the Fifth Monarchist and Christian paradigm. Besides the theological reason, this also happened because Rogers was addressing Cromwell.\(^{166}\) This was similar to when Feake humbled himself when addressing the Lord Mayor.\(^{167}\) Rogers showed some deference to Cromwell to avoid jail or confrontation with the law.\(^{168}\) “Your Excellencies (unfainedly) humble Servent,” this was how Rogers concluded the introductory address to Cromwell, which was fitting considering that the

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\(^{164}\) John Rogers, _Challah. The Heavenly Nymph: OR THE BRIDE. Rising up to Perfection, and preparing for the coming of her Bridegroom: Being the Second Book of Church-Discipline. Wherein appears the BRIDES beauty in her Members and Complexions, her submission and obedience to Christ, her Modesty and her Charity, her Humility and her Loves, with other Graces and Ornaments that appertain in her. AS ALSO The BRIDEGROOMS great love her (move then to all other the dwellings of Jacob, Psal. 87.2.) his care of her, and provisions for her according to his owne fulnesse, and the riches of his Grace that filleth all in all Eph. 1.23. Or you have (in this Book) a fight of the Moon shining (though under Clouds and thick darknesse) as she receives her light and life from the Sun (in the former Book.) Or Christ (her Head) coming in glory, a being big-bellied with the precious Promises and Prophecies, and Types, never befor so opened, and which are travelling to be delivered in these latter dayes, wherein the light of the Moon shall be as the light of the Sun, and the light of the Sun as of seven dayes, Isa.30.26. (London, 1653) 3.

\(^{165}\) Ibid.

\(^{166}\) Ibid. 3-7.

\(^{167}\) Feake, _The Genealogie of Christianity and of Christians_ 3.

\(^{168}\) Rogers, _Challah. The Heavenly Nymph: OR THE BRIDE_, 3-7.
entire document was meant to inform Cromwell. This also showed this deference probably impacted Rogers’ decision to portray himself in a humble position.169

“Wherefore my humble Suit to your Excellency is, but, the benefit of your ear for one quarter of an hour; for mine heart is hot, and whiles I was musing, Psal.39.3. the fire burned, and I spake.”170 The deference within the humility becomes even more apparent in this quote. Here Rogers made clear that though he was “hot” for the Lord, he still showed respect for Cromwell.171

One reference that appeared many times in Rogers’ writings was the idea of being “hot.” Later in life Rogers would become a doctor, thus this reference seemed to shows his knowledge of contemporary medical theories.172 The humors were thought to be four distinct components making up people which correlated to elements, temperatures, and fluids. Thus to yellow bile was fire, warm, and dry; blood was air, warm, and wet; black bile was earth, cold, and dry; and phlegm was water, cold, and wet.173 There were specifically gendered components men were believed to be hot and dry, whereas women were wet and cold.174 Rogers’ interest in medicine shows up in the use of hot as his way of describing how he felt God affected his spirit. Even though an increase in one humor disrupts the balance, as a metaphor for an increase in masculinity this worked to make Rogers’ point.175 Another way to interpret hot was an expression used by early modern people as “hot for the gospel.” This usage also led to an interpretation as an increase in

169 Ibid. 11.
170 Ibid. 4.
171 Ibid. 4. Hot is explained further in the next paragraph.
173 Flather, Gender and Space in Early Modern England 19.
174 Ibid.
passion for God. Between the medical connotation and the phrase, there was a masculine and sexual connotation to the word. This gendered language had a masculine connotation as many of Rogers’ writings do, which makes his reference to the poor woman all the more exceptional and worth noting. Rogers’ highly masculine of construction of identity showed even with a man so confident in his gender identity did minor experiments with gender ideas. The Fifth Monarchist ideas about needing humility to gain power influenced Rogers used a female role model to show his desire to find power through humility. This search for this identity allowed the use of role models of the opposite sex for the more important task of humbly gaining power within the movement.

This deference towards Cromwell does not mean that Rogers was unwilling to defend his faith from those who challenged it. “Now, My Lord, I am engaged as hot as ever he was, and upon as publicke an account, and against more enemies, for they compasse me about like Bees, but in the name of the Lord I shall destroy them…” 176 Here was another depiction by Rogers of himself as hot for the Lord. This had a distinctly masculine connotation, which meant that the Lord was making him more masculine than he was naturally. 177 The masculine connotation became clearer in this quote about his issues with spreading the word as a preacher. “Thus far (My Lord) I am entered the lists, and though in the midst of these hot ingagements (and without a Partner, too…” 178 The quote showed the masculine nature of hot. This was also the second quote where Rogers shows how much God empowers him to spread the word. It’s worth nothing that Rogers mentions being alone while spreading the word. 179 Another aspect of this quote was how

176 Ibid. 4.
177 Ibid. 3-11.
178 Ibid. 5.
179 Ibid. 4-5.
Rogers called it “hot ingagements” this within the larger metaphors of this section refers to military action. However, there was a gendered meaning, which could be applied to this being a sexualized military encounter.\textsuperscript{180} This has a similar strength to the words used when Trapnel or Feake were in prison, however, Rogers was different in that he did not need to be imprisoned to gain this powerful a stance. Rogers was more comparable to Cary who took a strong stance while not imprisoned. This shows how both men and women took on powerful roles within the Fifth Monarchists. Power may come from different language, but could be taken regardless of sex. Showing the Fifth Monarchists openness to the strength of both gender identities.

Later in the document was a section which has many uses of gendered language. One of the many important parts of this is the way Rogers constructed ideas of masculinity.\textsuperscript{181}

I am (now, entred into the Lifts, and that (my) naked two edged sword (i.e. of the Spirit of Truth) into the thickest of them, for I fear them not; but I hope (with Gods dexterous hand) to bring off some heads, and out some hearts (I meane by convincing or converting of them) before I turne home to my Quarters. In the meane time, I must speake, and though I am (already) ingaged (for the Book (with the Epistles folloing) is already in the Presse, and past recalling) yet I am in as much haste as the honest Souldier was to run to runne after them, and to overtake them) with these words (that follow) for you Honours Ears… either heare me, or lay downe your Dignity, said the poor woman to the Emperour, and I hope I may be as bold with a Christian as shee was with a Heathen.\textsuperscript{182} In this quote, Rogers started off with the power that God gave him to wield in order to gain more converts. The language that Rogers used to communicate had gendered connotations.\textsuperscript{183} For example, Rogers wrote he had a sword that with the hand of God behind it put Rogers in the role as a soldier. As the passage continued Rogers used the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{180} Ibid. 5.
\item \textsuperscript{181} Ibid. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{182} Ibid. Rogers’ emphasis
\item \textsuperscript{183} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
metaphor of a soldier directly.\textsuperscript{184} However, there was more to this than a simple male soldier. For then Rogers wrote that he hoped he would be able to do as well as the poor woman did when she spoke to a heathen emperor. There was no reference to where in the Bible, classical or contemporary texts this reference comes from. Rogers drew from all sources for his examples so the identity of the woman is unknown. This comparison to both the soldier and the lowly woman was an identity that combined masculinity and femininity.\textsuperscript{185} Considering Rogers’ educational background, he came from a family that was not low class, his father was a preacher, an upper middling man, who put Rogers through Cambridge.\textsuperscript{186} Yet, from this Rogers wanted to be as strong and successful as this poor woman. This plays into Fifth Monarchist and Christian ideas of humility, or views discussed in Christopher Hill’s \textit{The World Turned Upside Down}.\textsuperscript{187} Hill noted that there were other radical groups at the time that had distinct ideas about humility; given the sheer number and complexity of these groups all the complexity will not be discussed here. However, most of these radical groups did base their understanding of humility from Christian ideas.

This resembled the way Feake compared himself to Deborah.\textsuperscript{188} Feake specifically felt that he had the heart of Deborah. Rogers used a metaphor to write about how he admired the actions of this poor woman and was not sure he could be as bold.\textsuperscript{189} Unlike what many historians have written about the women of the Fifth Monarchists being proto-feminists for experimenting with male gender ideas, the women were not

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{185} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Rogers, Challah. \textit{The Heavenly Nymph: OR THE BRIDE} 3-11.
\textsuperscript{188} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist}. 4.
alone in experimenting with other gender roles. Both men and women were experimenting with other gender roles because the Fifth Monarchists were a new radical group still forming its ideas about gender. The only way to understand these women is to put them back into context with these men who are also experimenting with different gender ideas. As a group the Fifth Monarchists were experimenting with ideas about gender. This is something many historians do not discuss only the women are portrayed as experimenting. However, given the fact that many other radical groups, such as the Quakers were also experimenting with ideas about gender. The Fifth Monarchists were a group following the radical zeitgeist of the period, if anything in a less radical way than many other groups such as the Quakers. Since, the Fifth Monarchists were not the most experimental many historians do not notice the small gender experiments the groups as a whole made.

In the long quote one part of it described the sword. The idea of the sword at once fit the soldier model and has a phallic connotation. This phallic connotation becomes more pronounced when Rogers mentioned the assistance that he will receive from “Gods dexterous hand.” Here one could interpret that Rogers was getting help with his preaching through his male member, which he will use to “convincing or converting” people. This metaphor worked with Rogers’ idea of being “hot” for God. So Rogers felt his masculinity increased by God, which enabled him to go out and convert people.

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191 Ibid.
192 Ibid.
193 Ibid. 5.
This increased masculinity fits with the metaphor about the sword and the soldier of God.\textsuperscript{194}

The idea of the soldier occurred again in this document.

(to shew you some of my Wounds, as the Souldier did to Cesar) it is well knowne to God and men, what uncharitable censures, rigid reprehensions, scurrilous keen-toungued, and cutting calumnies? ...Both from seeming friends, and serious foes.\textsuperscript{195}

The soldier came to Caesar, this shifted from the idea that Rogers was inspired by a woman.\textsuperscript{196} Feake also compared himself to a man, so this seemed like the idea that a man could draw inspiration for his gender identity from both men and women.\textsuperscript{197} The idea of a Christian soldier was not something new, this had a long history going back to early Christians. Rogers drew on these traditions in crafting his identity as a militant male preacher.

Rogers also wrote about a contemporary role model. “Luther was wont to write the honest Epistles to the Duks of Saxony upon the highest Emergencies, and shall not I with a Luthers Resolution…present my Epistle to your Excellency?”\textsuperscript{198} This explained the reason that Rogers addressed this work to Cromwell, Rogers viewed himself as the English Luther trying to lead the ruler towards the truth from God.\textsuperscript{199} Rogers’ emulation of Luther also made a lot of sense considering each man had some formal education and decided to follow a religious calling. Referring to Luther also sent the message that this was legitimate, serious, and groundbreaking religious news that Cromwell must read.\textsuperscript{200}

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid. 4-5
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid. 5.
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{197} Feake, The New Non-conformist 4.
\textsuperscript{198} Rogers, Challah. The Heavenly Nymph: OR THE BRIDE 4.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
“Wherefore that my WORDS and your WORKS may bee steeped all over…”

Rogers wrote about the need for Cromwell’s actions based on Rogers’ words to carry out God’s will. “For this End I was bold (being up on by a better name, and a higher Principle then my owne)…” God clearly gave Rogers the power to spread his message. Use of God’s will to validate a message was something mostly associated with female radicals needing validation. Rogers shows that men also used this rhetoric to defend the validity of their messages. This rhetoric was also associated with male preachers, in common discourses about the profession. Though this document featured different male role models the inclusion of a woman showed that for Rogers’ her strength was admirable and a worthy inspiration for a male preacher. Demonstrating that there men not just women were experimenting with ideas about gender.

_Sagrir. OR Doomes-day drawing nigh_, written in 1653, it foretold the end of the world. In the frontispiece, John Rogers was portrayed in a fashion similar to the two prior publications. “Humbly present to them by JOHN ROGERS, an unfained Servant of Christ, and the Common-wealth in their best Rights, Laws and Liberties, lost many years.” The book positions Rogers as a servant faithful to Christ and to the liberties of the commonwealth. From this humble position, Rogers had the strength to

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201 Ibid. 5.
202 Ibid. 5
203 Ibid.
204 Rogers, John. _Sagrir. OR Doomes-day drawing nigh_, With Thunder and Lighening to LAWYERS. In an Alarum For New Laws, and the Peoples Liberties from the Norman and Babylonian Yoke. Making Discoverie Of the present ungodly Laws and Lawyers of the Fouth Monarchy, and of the approach of the FIFTH; with those godly Laws, Officers and Ordinances that belong to the Legislative Power of the Lord Jesus. SHEWING The Glorious Work Incumbent to Civil-Discipline, (once more) set before the Parliament, Lord Generall, Army and People of England, in their distinct capacities, upon the Account of Christ and his Monarchy. (London: 1653) 1.
205 Ibid. 1.
fight for God. “Yet your (heartily) humble Servant in the sevice of our Lord Jesus…”

This line reiterated the humble role to claim power. By placing himself as a servant, Rogers showed his ability to lead the way as someone the Lord raised up. Another part of the servant metaphor was the repetition of Cromwell’s ability to wield a “sword” which could clear the way for God’s will. Rogers returns to the idea of a soldier, only this time it was Cromwell who must act as the soldier of Christ, instead of Rogers. However, as the servant Rogers still had the power to influence and assist Cromwell in carrying out the will of God. “I must make such a Character of them as I doe; it may be I speak spiritfully (yet not spightfully) though oppression makes a wise man mad…” Here it more clearly showed Rogers’ role as the preacher trying to guide Cromwell along the right path. Rogers drew out the opposition that he faced when trying to spread this message.

Rogers promoted the way even a weak servant could serve the Lord. “I say tell him, that Antichrist shall finde stronger, and abler, and faithfuller, and more undaunted resolute enemies then I am… and relick of Antichrist, and it is my joy to be one (though a weake one) that ingages for Christ herein…” Here Rogers continued to write about the humble position he held before God. Yet, Rogers brought up his engagement in the fight against the Antichrist even from a humble place. This sense of weakness made Rogers happy that he was chosen to follow God. “I should offer my judgement, being brought hereto in a good conscience, as perswaded that I appeared for

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206 Ibid. 4.
207 Ibid. 2-4.
208 Ibid.
209 Ibid. 3.
210 Ibid. 2-4.
211 Ibid. 10.
Christ, against Antichrist, so that I would not be daunted at the threats of any given out against me.”

Here Rogers wrote about the threats waged against him for his actions for the Fifth Monarchists and used the rhetoric of being a messenger for Christ. The messenger fits into his role as the soldier who brings a message to Caesar. Though Rogers was not in prison for his beliefs at this time, the idea of martyrdom factored into his identity. “And my most honoured Predecessor Mr. Jacob Rogers Proto-Martyr, in cursed Queen Maries dayes, testified to this with his blood, (who hath led me the way)…” Instead of having to face the idea that he would become a martyr like Trapnel or Feake, Rogers felt that he followed in the footsteps of great-great-grandfather who was martyred during Queen Mary’s reign. Rogers referred to him as Jacob Rogers, however, he was also named John Rogers in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, and The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church. To avoid confusion in this study Jacob or John Rogers will be called J. Rogers. According to The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church, better known as Foxes’ Book of Martyrs, J. Rogers was friends with William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale. J. Rogers had been educated at Cambridge and helped them in their project to translate the Bible. He worked as a minister under King Edward VI, J. Rogers got himself into trouble by

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212 Ibid. 7.
213 Ibid. 2-6
214 Ibid. 6.
216 Ibid. It could be argued that these are two different people. However, it is clear that Rogers was a decedent of the martyr John Rogers. Why Rogers would get the name of his ancestor wrong? There is no satisfactory answer to this question. It could be that Rogers was writing about someone else. However, this appears to be the interpretation that connected to an real person, whose life appeared to be an inspiration.
resisting and criticizing Queen Mary’s changes to the Church of England. This led to J. Rogers being burned at the stake at Smithfield. Rogers took inspiration from J. Rogers’ commitment to the faith, even claiming that he could be viewed as a martyr for the cause of the Fifth Monarchists before the movement existed.219

In Sagrir. OR Doomes-day drawing nigh John Rogers wrote more about the inspiration he draws from the martyr J. Rogers. “This I witness too with the holy Martyr, were my life on it as his was; and though many of the Parliament are offended with me, yet I must not budge or shrinke back to bear my testimony to them.”220 Here Rogers showed how committed he was to this cause to even be willing to become a martyr. He was aware that his radical actions could lead him into trouble with the law.221 “Let him and all my enemies know, that I trust I shall be a very weake enemy to Truth as long as I live, I desire to be so, and rather to dye then be any enemy at all to Truth; but yet tell him.”222 Rogers felt that he was prepared to become a martyr himself, if people tried to keep him from spreading God’s word. The idea of a martyr, like his great-great-grandfather portrayed Rogers following another mans’ footsteps. Yet, a martyr could be either sex so he could be taking inspiration from either sex. This ambiguity in important to note, that Rogers did not clearly define this as a male martyr but viewed either worthy role models. It shows that both men and women were experimenting with gender roles.223 In this document, Rogers definitely focused on male role models and masculinity, in a similar way to how Trapnel compared herself to other women. This showed that Fifth Monarchists were not proto-

218 Ibid.
219 Rogers, Sagrir. OR Doomes-day drawing nigh 2-6.
220 Ibid. 6.
221 Ibid.
222 Ibid. 10.
223 Ibid. 6-10.
feminists, the groups was open to different ideas about gender, but members did draw from contemporary ideas about gender.

In 1654, Rogers wrote *Mene, Tekel, Perez, OR A little Appearance of the HAND-WRITING (In a Glance of Light) Against the Powers and Apostates of the Times By a Letter written to, and lamenting over Oliver Lord Cromwel* which criticized Cromwell for not supporting the Fifth Monarchist cause. Considering Cromwell had only recently become Lord Protector, this was the document that threatened Cromwell enough to arrest and imprison Rogers.\(^{224}\) One of the few references that Rogers made to himself was his writing about bowels. “O our bowels! our bowels! our hearts ake, and are pained within us, to hear the dolefull groans and cryes! tears! Prayers!”\(^{225}\) Here Rogers expressed how the saints were crying out to Cromwell to change the oppressive policies. Bowels were called the “seat of the tender and sympathetic emotions” much as how the heart might be portrayed.\(^{226}\) This way of writing about one’s center of feelings fits within the ideas Rogers already expressed about connecting his masculinity and manhood to his work for God. He could just as easily wrote his heart only, and gotten the same effect instead Rogers mixed heart and bowels, which was a common way of writing during this period.\(^{227}\) “I should fine (if some way or other) I gave you not notice thereof, for that your own person is (yet so dear in our verey soules, that Bowels of Affection…”\(^{228}\) Here Rogers has used a phrase from that time to illustrate that the bowels were the center of

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\(^{225}\) Ibid. 3


\(^{228}\) Rogers, *Mene, Tekel, Perez*, 3.
affection. This meant that his masculinity was a deep part of his emotions about worshiping God.\textsuperscript{229}

	extit{Jegar-Sahadytha: An Oiled Pillar. Set up for Posterity, Against the present Wickednesses, Hypocrisies, Blasphemies, Persecutions and Cruelties of this Serpent power (now up) in England} was written while Rogers was in prison, 1657.\textsuperscript{230} There was another work written by Rogers when he was in prison, however, this work is only in an archive, and not on Early English Books Online. In \textit{Jegar-Sahadytha}, Rogers wrote about his suffering in prison and a message about how God will end the world.\textsuperscript{231} “The poore Prisoner, Pilgrime, and Exile in Caines-br-Castle...To all his fellow-Citizens in Sion, and fellow-separates out of Babylon...”\textsuperscript{232} Rogers portrayed his position as the poor prisoner and made reference to the Babylonian captivity. This weak position put Rogers in the position he desired to be in which would allow him to gain power and honor.\textsuperscript{233}

I do professe it from my heart the greatest temptations I fear are falling into honour, place, preferment, esteem or estate too much for me, being best when poorest, highest when lowest... when I have nothing as possessing all things...\textsuperscript{234}

In this passage Rogers wrote about the Fifth Monarchist and Christian idea that being raised high made it harder to remain humble before the power of God. This referred to the biblical passage about the fact that a rich man will have as easy a time getting into

\textsuperscript{229} Ibid. 3-5.
\textsuperscript{230} John Rogers, \textit{Jegar-Sahadytha: An Oiled Pillar. Set up for Posterity, Against the present Wickednesses, Hypocrisies, Blasphemies, Persecutions and Cruelties of this Serpent power (now up) in England (the Out-Street of the Beast) Or, a HEART APPEALE to HEAVEN and EARTH, broken out of Bonds and Banishment at last, in a Relation of some part of the past and present Sufferings of JOHN ROGERS in close Prison and continued Banishment, for the most blessed Cause and Testimony of JESUS; the found of the Seventh Trumpet and the Gospel of the Seven Thunders, or holy Oracles (called rayling by them in Power) sealed up to the time of the End (1657).}
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid. 1.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid. 2.
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid. 4.
heaven, as a camel going through the eye of a needle. Rogers clearly understood this, thus he found it better to remain in a humble position so that he did not have to face the temptations of honor.

Yet, Rogers also found that in this humble position he was honored. Rogers saw the trials in prison as an honor, as did both Feake and Trapnel. A difference in this was that Rogers made clear that this was still a burdensome chain that gave to him this honor. Rogers felt that being locked up for the Fifth Monarchist cause was in part his own decision. Because Rogers would not renounce the cause, the imprisonment meant he had to continually reinforce his stance, even after a personal meeting with Cromwell. Whereas, there were not continual questions and ways to falter in a martyr’s beliefs once he was dead. This was very different from how Feake and Trapnel wrote about becoming a martyr as the highest honor a person could obtain. Trapnel and Feake felt the legacy that would be left by becoming a martyr was the goal to take on the role of

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235 Ibid. 2-4.
236 Ibid. 4.
237 Ibid. 2-4.
238 Ibid. 3.
239 Ibid. 2-4.
240 Ibid.
a martyr for the cause. Rogers was focused less on the legacy and more on the lived reality of knowing renouncing his faith would gain release from prison.

In a similar fashion to Trapnel’s letters Rogers ends the introduction with, “your Brother John Rogers” Here Rogers placed himself into a specific male gender role of the brother. There was a connotation of equality among brothers and sisters, especially within the religious context. The line brings out the idea of Rogers’ maintaining a humble position as one of many siblings.

A Christian Concertation was written in response to the works of “Mr. Prin, Mr. Baxter, Mr Harrington” in 1659. This was both an attack and a correction to works Rogers wrote that these did not go far enough in their efforts for God’s cause. These critics did take on a personal nature when Rogers compared himself to these other authors. “In every corner of which Quadrangular, is somewhat observable, either from Mr. P’s opening of his stomach; Mr. B’s opening of his spleen; Mr. H. his brain; or my plain denudation of heart…” Rogers placed himself as the one bringing the heart, a central organ of emotions surrounding the cause. The inspiration from God gave Rogers

Cary, Rogers, Feake, and Trapnel were all Fifth Monarchists in that these people shared a basic framework of beliefs, centered on the idea of King Jesus’ earthly rule. The Fifth Monarchists were a disparate group that was loosely connected, but with enough shared ideas to be linked together as a group. For more information on this issue see the work cited below.


Ibid.

John Rogers, A Christian Concertation with Mr. Pin, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, For the True Cause of the COMMONWEALTH Or, An Answer to Mr. PRIN’S (Perditory) ANATOMY of Republick, and his True and Perfect Narratives, &c. To Mr. Baxter’s (Purgatory) PILLS for the ARMY: and his Wounding Answer to the Healing Question. With Some soft Reflections upon his Catholick (or rather Cathulactick) KEY; and an EXAMEN of the late Petition of the sixth of July to this Parliament. In all which we have A most necessary VINDICATION of the Cause; of the Honourable Persons now in Parliament and Council, from Venome and Vilification of their Pens. (London: 1659). 1.

Ibid. 3

Ibid.
the confidence to correct these missteps of his contemporaries.\textsuperscript{247} The body parts he used to describe these men were less flattering than Rogers’ metaphor for himself. Comparing Harrington to the brain fit with Rogers’ critique, about Harrington being so intellectual about God’s messages, that Rogers believed Harrington missed the spirit of the word.\textsuperscript{248}

Rogers framed this entire document with language about humility. “A Poor DUST (as I am) needs no great attendance; and a servant of Jesus Christ needs not other CREDENTIALS to demand an Audience then his Message…”\textsuperscript{249} The fact that Rogers saw himself as dust was the credentials that Rogers needed to work for the Lord. Humility in this manner mirrors many of the other constructions Rogers used to describe himself, as well as the way the other Fifth Monarchists in this study described themselves.\textsuperscript{250} “My poor Prayers and Tears to my God for you have been, are, and will be, That with wisdom an Grace (like a Burning Glass, which gathers All Beams into ONE) you may be both HEAT and LIGHT to your selves and us.”\textsuperscript{251} Rogers went back to his idea that God gave people heat, (masculinity) that empowered the person to spread the word of God. Rogers wrote about the light of God that he hoped God will give these men to clear up their thinking. “Your Servant (to my utmost Power) whether in this Nation or any other….”\textsuperscript{252}

This section showed the importance of humility to John Rogers’ construction of identity. Rogers also took inspiration from many places including a poor woman, which shows an openness to using a woman as a role model. In Rogers’ discussion of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[247] Ibid.
\item[248] Ibid. 3.
\item[249] Ibid. 2.
\item[250] Ibid. 2-7.
\item[251] Ibid. 6.
\item[252] Ibid. 7.
\end{footnotes}
martyrdom it is not completely clear which sex martyr he emulates, which leaves open the idea that a martyr regardless of sex was an inspiration to him. Though only slight changes occurred to Rogers’ ideas of gender, which were mostly focused on male role models there was a small space open for inspiration from females.

The entire chapter studied the way that these two men constructed ideas of gender and were open to using women as role models. Examining male gender identity allows for a reinterpretation of gender constructions of female Fifth Monarchists. These men show that the Fifth Monarchists as a group were open to and actively experimenting with gender ideas. Cary and Trapnel were not proto-feminists. Men were actively engaging in trying out different gender role models.
CHAPTER IV
MARY CARY AND ANNA TRAPNEL

The chapter builds upon the previous analysis of male Fifth Monarchists to reexamine gender ideas of two female Fifth Monarchists Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel. This section argues that Cary and Trapnel were not proto-feminists, but fit within the larger Fifth Monarchist movement. It starts off with brief biographies of Cary and Trapnel. Then, the chapter examines the works of Cary and Trapnel in chronological order. Through this examination of printed documents this chapter showed the way each woman constructed gender. Cary’s ideas shift over time as her marital status changed. At first Cary took a more humble yet forceful approach. However, on her longer work she had introductions written by men, and dwelt more the possibility that she made mistakes. This was also the first work where she mentions her recent marriage. In the next section is Anna Trapnel, these were written around the same time so there was less of a major chronological difference. Trapnel’s section shows that she was not experimenting with the gender as much as the other Fifth Monarchists in this study. Trapnel just takes inspiration from other women and showed little interest in being like a man, which contradicts the idea of her being a proto-feminist. This chapter should show that with a close examination of these women’s writing that neither were proto-feminist, instead they fit within the context of the Fifth Monarchists.
Mary Cary Rand (born 1620/1621) was a Fifth Monarchist; the only biographical knowledge of her comes from her printed works. The main description of her comes from the introduction to *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal* in which Christopher Feake wrote in an aside, "(being a Gentlewomans thoughts put into form and order by her self)." \(^{253}\) Cary wrote she studied scripture from childhood, no other details about exactly where and when are known. Around the age of fifteen she became fascinated by the Book of Daniel and Revelation. Most of what historians know about Cary comes from her writings, which end in 1653, when she disappears from the records. \(^{254}\)

Anna Trapnel (fl. 1642-1660) was the daughter of a shipwright, raised to be a literate and educated woman from the lower middle part of society. In 1642 Trapnel had her first vision during a sermon by John Simpson. The death of Trapnel’s mother around 1645 led Trapnel to a depressed and suicidal phase that led to more visions. \(^{255}\) These visions happened when she went into trances, fasting for days while prophesying. As a member of Simpson’s congregation Trapnel came to know other Fifth Monarchist preachers, such as Henry Jessey and Christopher Feake. Trapnel accompanied Vavasor Powell to Whitehall during his examination on charges of treason. During this time Trapnel fell into a trance in a side room where she laid for eleven days and twelve nights praying, singing, and prophesying. \(^{256}\) This incident led Trapnel to gain much attention around England, with her even publishing a spiritual autobiography. Later Trapnel traveled to Cornwall, while she was there she was arrested, and sent first to Portsmouth.

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\(^{253}\) Mary Cary. *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal* 3-10.


\(^{256}\) Ibid.
then Bridewell prison. The authorities realized that Trapnel was beginning to depict herself as a Fifth Monarchist martyr, they decided to release her in 1654. Her final known work are lines of verse in which she wrote about the end of the world, and argued against Quaker doctrine.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Ibid.
Mary Cary

The works of Mary Cary were powerful examples of the active negotiation of gender within the Fifth Monarchist ideological framework and the larger Interregnum framework. This section will show the changes that Cary’s ideas about gender underwent as she changed her relationship status. Cary started with a stronger approach and this increased until she took inspiration directly from Isiah. However, with her marriage, and longest work Cary tones down the force of her language and does not mention influence from a man. This transition shows the way in which Cary changed her ideas about gender over time, which shows that she was not a proto-feminist. Cary was experimenting with gender within the Fifth Monarchist movement.

In 1647, Cary published *A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England*. Within this work, Cary modeled herself as prophet preaching the way to create happiness in England. She specifically addressed the document to those at the top of society.

But though this discourse concernne all, and therefore in generall I call upon all to atend unto it; yet in a more peculiar manner I shall direct it to you Chaire-men (that is to say) you that sit at the Sterne, you that are the heads and rulers of the people, and are in places of authoritie. Even though on the front page Cary wrote that she was "the meanest of the Servants of Jesus Christ," this did not stop her from confronting those at the top of society. Cary announced this message for herself, without male introductions or men involved in other aspects of the writing process. Instead, Cary independently brought forth this

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258 The book *The Resurrection* by Mary Cary was cited within the footnotes of Marcus Nevitt's book. However, there is no digitized version, so the work was not included in the study.
259 Mary Cary, *A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England. Or, A precious Cordiall for a distempered Kingdom. Wherin are laid down things profitable, and usefull for all, and offensive to none that love the Truth and Peace.* (London, 1647) 3.
260 Ibid, 1.
knowledge that God gave her. The importance of publishing this information was that, as a Fifth Monarchist, Cary believed that the end of the world was near and to trigger this occurrence England had to set the example for the world by making its people happy.

For Cary, the charge and importance of this message gave her this ability to portray herself as a strong, Old Testament male prophet. She took on this gender role and at the same time portrayed herself as a humble servant of the Lord, which kept within Fifth Monarchist ideology that saw people as ultimately subservient to God. (Which was not peculiar to the Fifth Monarchist version of Christianity.)

Cary’s Fifth Monarchist

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262 Cary, A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England 1.

Just to sight some important documents that express this ideology, this is a core belief of Fifth Monarchists, thus the belief is found in most of their religious works.

264 As mentioned in the historiography section a number of works have analyzed gender construction of Mary Cary. These books have delineated Cary’s influence of that of the Old Testament male prophet and not Old Testament female prophet for a variety of reasons. First off, the manner with which Cary presented her prophetic style as modeled off Isaiah. Second, the female prophets in The Old Testament presented themselves differently than male prophets. Miriam, is given the title of prophetess however active prophetic work is never discussed, and her role could be easily missed. Deborah is a judge and a prophetess she presided justly over the land and advises Barak on battle strategy. Here Deborah though taking a more powerful role then other prophetesses is still seen advising the actions of others. Huldah, gives a prophecy that Judah will fall under divine judgment, however, part of her prophecy about King Josiah did not happen. Thus there have been challenges to the validity of Huldah as a prophetess. Noadiah uses her prophetic nature the try to block Nehemiah’s path. Noadiah is portrayed as a false prophet. Isaiah’s wife is considered to be a prophetess, but little more than that fact is mentioned about her. Given the portrayal of female prophets as possibly false and dependent, it is little wonder that Cary would seek to model herself on the Old Testament male prophets. Who were not under scrutiny for falsehood and took a more active role in delivering the world of God. Only for Deborah could a logical argument be made to connect her to Cary. But, that would be justifiable based on Cary’s action, not on Cary’s own words about her role model. Cary was modeling herself directly on the prophet Isaiah, which will be subsequently analyzed. She never saw herself transcending her female body. In all her works she stays within her female form, with all its weakness, at the same time taking on the role of a male prophet, specifically Isaiah.

265 Not to be confused with Quaker ideology that viewed the individual in the light as directly connected with the divine. This difference is very important, given the tension that arose between these groups. Yet, many historians, such as Phyllis Mack, overlook this distinction, and treat these groups as though their beliefs were the same. The Quaker appears as humble, because of the weakness of the vessel that the divine put its contents in, while the Fifth Monarchist viewed humility a key to submission before God, which would help bring the Fifth Monarchy.

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doctrine had her believe that because of her humble state she would be raised to a political position of power during the reign of King Jesus.

A year later Cary published *The Resurrection of the Witnesses; and Englands Fall from (the Mystical Babylon) Rome*. This work continued a similar construction of gender with some changes. Cary presented herself again with the ability to address an audience much higher in rank. She dedicated and directed this work to Francis Rouse and Thomas Boon, members of the House of Commons. However, respectful Cary was towards the MP's she valued her words, which came straight from God, higher than the ideas of the MP's about her words.

I have presumed to present this little Treatis unto You, not doubting of Your ingenuous and favourable acceptance of it. *But though I publish it under Your name and favour, yet doe I not thereby desire You to patronize any thing in it (if there should be any thing) that is not truth, and for the truth that is in it, I need desire no Patron; For great is the truth, and it will prevail.*

As can be seen in this quote Cary held her words in high regard, she viewed herself as a prophet. Cary took a step outside of the ideas about gender in Interregnum England. The narrative about gender in this period changed from the ideas of the Great Chain of Being to a fluid interpretation of the people at the bottom of society. Cary came from the middle of society, she was educated enough to write these documents, and described by Feake as a gentlewoman. A position that gave her the ability to communicate her ideas.

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266 Cary, Mary. *The Resurrection of the Witnesses; and Englands Fall from (the Mystical Babylon) Rome*. Clearly demonstrated to be accomplished. Wherby Great Encouragement is administered to all Saints, by especially to the Saints in England. *In the Handling of a Part of the Eleventh Chapter of Revelation.* (1648).

267 Ibid, 2.

268 Ibid, 6. The italics and capitalizations are part of the original document with no adjustments.

This position also let her see that gender roles could be overshadowed by the practice concerns of daily life.\textsuperscript{270}

Here Cary followed the role of a prophet in the Old Testament by making the point that the word of God was greater than the word of rulers.\textsuperscript{271} Specifically, the Old Testament prophet Isaiah was a model for Cary, as she noted in the "Introduction to the Reader." Cary wrote about the message that Isaiah spread to his congregation and to later generations through the Bible.\textsuperscript{272} In this Cary did not directly make a comparison between her prophetic work and that of Isaiah's. However, Cary wrote about Isaiah's prophetic work as the background upon which she drew for inspiration.\textsuperscript{273} She was connecting Isaiah, the Apostles, and herself, in a historiographical sense linking the Bible to the new messages that God gave Cary.\textsuperscript{274} At the same time she mentioned that the Lord "made use of so weak an instrument..."\textsuperscript{275} Cary did not assume that she had the strength or body of a man while preaching.\textsuperscript{276} She remained in her female body the vessel

\textsuperscript{270} Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal}, 15.  
\textsuperscript{271} Is. 8 (AV)  
\textsuperscript{272} Cary, \textit{The Resurrection of the Witnesses}, 8-9  
\textsuperscript{273} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{274} Ibid., 7-16  
\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., 16.  
\textsuperscript{276} This could fit into the larger ideology surrounding female prophets, and female leaders. Mack and Hinds have connected Cary and Trapnel to the modern feminist movement arguing that these were proto-feminists. This larger idea that female prophets have a specific lineage has either marginalized them to the outskirts of radical religions or connected them to modern movements in a very teleological sense. To avoid these issues the only connections that will be drawn are to the women in the immediate period around these women. To situate these women in context. Other women leaders ruled countries in the Early Modern world when the lineage fell to women without male heirs. In England specifically Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth I ruled. Queen Elizabeth I fit herself into the paradigm, “I know I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and a King of England too…” Elizabeth Tudor, \textit{The Speech to the Troops at Tilbury} (1588). Besides the leaders there was a religious tradition of women’s involvement in the church. Before Henry VIII’s break with the Church of Rome, women were deeply involved in maintaining different saints and running the stores connected with these saints. During the many Reformations the women still played a role in helping to finance and support the latest transitions within the church. Eamon Duffy, \textit{The Voices of Morebath: Reformation & Rebellion in an English Village} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
through which the Lord sent his message. A difference from the humility of the previous work in which Cary depicted herself as a lowly servant. Here Cary viewed her body as a weak instrument to carry the message. The change went along with the more forceful approach in her dedication that clearly stated God's law was more important than that of any politician. Now, these may not be the most significant and major changes, however, these documents were written only a year apart, which was not a long time for change to occur. These small changes show the active negotiation of Cary's ideas about her gender. The inspiration from Isiah mirrors the way that both Feake and Rogers took inspiration from women in a small way. Cary was not a proto-feminist, just a part of a movement that was experimenting with ideas about gender. It also showed that Cary was not breaking new ground apart from the movement, the inspiration to experiment with gender came from the Fifth Monarchist movement.

There was a noticeable shift in her third work *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal* in which Mary Cary Rand was not the sole author. The majority of the one hundred and ninety-three pages were by Cary, but multiple authors wrote introductions to the work. Each introduction was written by a leading radical religious preacher. The authors

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277 Ibid., 7-16.
278 Ibid.
279 This is the only document where she is called Mary Rand, she actually mentions that this is a recent name change, meaning that she was recently married. Cary, *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal*, 9.
were Independent minister Hugh Peters, \(^{280}\) Fifth Monarchist Henry Jessey, \(^{281}\) and Fifth Monarchist Christopher Feake. \(^{282}\) Each of these men took this opportunity to recommend Cary's work to the reader. The authors wrote to fulfill the same purpose of bringing about the reign of King Jesus, yet each came at this from a different conception of gender.

In the first introduction by Hugh Peters, he stated that even though he was unworthy to write and judge writing he felt compelled to recommend Cary for three reasons. "First, That she hath taught her sexe that there are more ways then one to avoid idleness (the devils cushion) on which so many sit and sleep their last." \(^{283}\) Second there was "A holy, modest and painfull spirit" that runs through this book, for the work is a "dress you shall neither see naked Brests, black Patches, nor long Trains; but an heart breathing after the *coming of Christ* and the *comfort of Saints*." \(^{284}\) Third, he wrote that the "Scriptures cleerly opened and properly applied; yea, so well, that you might easily think that she plow'd with another's Heafer, were not the contrary well known." \(^{285}\) Peters went

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\(^{280}\) Hugh Peters (1598-1660) was an Independent minister, who briefly moved to the Massachusetts Bay colony. He returned during the British Civil Wars as an agent of the Massachusetts government in England. Peters was vocal supporter of Parliament and the execution of the monarch. Rumors even circulated that Peters was the masked executioner of King Charles I. During the Barebones Parliament Peters had significant political power. During this period, he authored the introduction to Cary, which says a great deal about both his political influence and Cromwell's openness to radical religious ideologies. After the Barebones Parliament dissolved, Peters remained close with Cromwell, even though Peters had misgivings about the Protectorate. Carla Gardina Pestana, *Peter [Peters] Hugh*. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. accessed March 24, 2014. http://www.oxforddnb.com

\(^{281}\) Henry Jessey, (1601-1663) was a radical minister, involved with a number of different groups during this period. Around the time that Jessey wrote the introduction to Cary's work he was affiliated with the Fifth Monarchists. His 1647 work *The Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced*, directly used Fifth Monarchist ideology to examine the millennium. Jessey was a moderate voice within this movement, because he at once held these radical ideals while still supporting Cromwell's government. A notable friend of his and fellow author of an introduction is Christopher Feake. Wright, Stephen. *Jessey [Jacie], Henry*. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. accessed March 24, 2014. http://www.oxforddnb.com


\(^{283}\) Ibid., 10.

\(^{284}\) Ibid. The italics are from the original document, with no alterations.

\(^{285}\) Ibid.
on to recommend her, leaving the reader with the words of Solomon to good housewives.\textsuperscript{286} Peters was connecting Cary’s work to the larger ideas of the Fifth Monarchist movement through this quote about how Cary could use another’s “Heafer.” One might have thought a male Fifth Monarchist had written this, id someone like Peters did not know otherwise.\textsuperscript{287} As these descriptive passages show, Peters used a variety of gendered language to describe her work, and its relationship to the Fifth Monarchist movement.

Of the three introductions, Hugh Peters’ used the most gendered language, and clearly showed the way in which Peters constructed and negotiated ideas about gender. Peters was the only preacher writing an introduction for Cary, Peters was not known as a member of the Fifth Monarchist movement. He was associated with radical groups that moved to Massachusetts, and powerful political figures in Interregnum England.\textsuperscript{288} Peters’ involvement with the government was displayed in the introduction where Peters disagreed with Cary’s critique of Cromwell’s personal reign, but wrote that Cary’s mistake was a harmless error.\textsuperscript{289} Thus, Peters' complexity of identity made him at once an outlier and a great example of active formation of gender ideas.

In the introduction, it was clear that Peters thought that women need an example of the proper way to behave, follow religious doctrine, and avoid the Devil's lure. Peters made sure to write that Cary was an example for her sex that keeping busy in the Lord's name was important.\textsuperscript{290} Many gender historians point out how Mary Cary broke out of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{286} Ibid, 10-12.
  \item \textsuperscript{287} Ibid., 10.
  \item \textsuperscript{289} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{290} Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfal, 10-12.
\end{itemize}
the boundaries of normal female activities, even in relation to people within the movement, by publishing these religious documents. It was not that these historians were wrong, but that more nuance when evaluating ideas about gender would have improved the analysis.291 It was significant that a contemporary, a radical one at that, not only supported Cary's activity but also was encouraging other women to "improve a Pen" in the name of God. This showed that even someone attached to the government who historians have portrayed as trying to silence women, was actually actively supporting of women’s writing.292

The metaphor about Cary's work being a dress brings up issues of class, body, and fashion.293 This comment by Peters referred to radical religious ideas about aristocratic fashion trends in which dresses had long trains and exposed a woman's breasts. Even the previous Queen Henrietta Maria had sported a dress that exposed her breasts, and had a portrait done which completely showed one breast.294 The Fifth Monarchist position on this issue was that the devil had corrupted the aristocratic women into following fashion trends that were immodest and indecent.295 This also related to how Hugh saw Cary as setting an example for her sex, and that knowing scriptures well enough to appear as though she got these prophecies from the Bible. This line in the work showed the utmost respect for the knowledge and skill with which Cary wrote this document.296 It also expressed ideas about the ability of women to interpret and write about the Bible during

292 Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfal 10
293 Ibid, 10.
295 Cary, A Word of Season to the Kingdom of England 1-5.
296 Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfal 1-10.
the Interregnum.\textsuperscript{297} Hugh Peters viewed Cary's work as an example to other women, which also showed that she was not an example to men. The reason for this distinction was nebulous at best.\textsuperscript{298} Yet, Peters wrote that he was unfit to judge this book, this could be falling into the different paradigms of humility that abound in Christianity, or it could be out of respect for Cary's work. Either way this showed clearly that Peters’ views on male and female genders did not fit within the categories gender historians usually confine either sex to, instead showing the complexity inherent in constructions of gender.

Henry Jessey wrote the second introduction to \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal}. He did not use gendered language to describe this text. Instead, Jessey never referred to the fact that Cary was a woman, but instead wrote "the Authors" or "their."\textsuperscript{299} To address the most obvious fact first, apostrophes were not used within the document, which could explain the plural, it could be that there was no standard grammar, or it could be that these ideas originated with both Cary and God. It was hard to tell exactly why he wrote "the Authors," but it did not seem to hint at a coauthor. Jessey cited the excellence of her previous work \textit{The Resurrection of the Witnesses}.\textsuperscript{300} It was significant that unlike Peters, Jessey never used gendered metaphors instead sticking to religious metaphors. Jessey's approach almost made one forget that the author was a woman, because this review could appear for a male authors' work just as easily.\textsuperscript{301} Henry Jessey could have been consciously trying to sell Cary as a credible female author through this writing style, or he could have not cared that she was a woman. No matter what the

\textsuperscript{298} Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal} 13.
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{300} Ibid., 12-14.
\textsuperscript{301} Ibid.
reason it was quite clear to the reader of this introduction that Jessey was minimizing the
importance of gender, both Jessey's and Cary's in order to forward the Fifth Monarchist
agenda.302 In many ways, the distinctions Peters drew between men and women, were not
as important to Jessey.303

The final introduction was by Christopher Feake, showed another interpretation of
gender for both Cary and Feake. A selection from this introduction about the perception
of past radicals as "illiterate men" and "silly women" quoted at the start of this thesis
showed the ways in which Feake first dealt with gender in his introduction.304 From there
Feake mentioned his connection to Cary. "The ensuing Discourse, treating of some of
those things (being a Gentlewomans thoughts put into form and order by her self) was
brought to me to peruse..."305 After that he gave his support to the work, explaining that
her ideas were a part of Fifth Monarchist doctrine. The exception to this is the section on
the little horn, "...they are new and singular; therefore, be thou the more careful, and, if
thou canst, serve the Saints with a more probably Explosion, and see Apology in the 45
and 46 pages."306 Here he mentioned the fact that in the document Cary explained that all
her thoughts come from God, and God's truth was above reproach as a person such as
Cary was not.307

Feake falls somewhere between Peters and Jessey, in that Feake acknowledged
contemporary gender stereotypes about radicals, and at the same time questioned Cary's
new idea about the little horn. The idea of the little horn itself was that the end of this

302 Ibid.
303 Ibid., 10-14.
304 Ibid., 14.
305 Ibid., 15.
306 Ibid, 16.
307 Ibid., 40.
would bring about the millennium, Cary’s new idea was that the little horn was the evil rules of society who needed to be replaced with saints to bring about the end of the world. Feake believed earlier radical prophecies were accurate, thus, the Fifth Monarchist prophecies should not be treated in a derogatory manner. Yet, he questioned the soundness of Cary’s idea because it was new. Now, it was not clear if this was just because it was a new idea, or if this had something to do with her being a woman with a new idea. Feake seemed able to see women as spiritually equal, even though he exercised caution with Cary’s prophecy.

The three introductions gave a glimpses into the active construction and negotiation of gender within Fifth Monarchist ideology. All the documents showed a change in the way Mary Cary and these men constructed ideas about Cary’s gender. These ideas took a different form in this final work, while still stayed within Fifth Monarchist ideology. Throughout these works, Cary had firmly taken on the role of the Old Testament male prophet leading his people from danger. In each document Cary wrote of how God empowered her beyond the limitations of her sex. In the first work she depicted herself as the lowly servant, in the next as a weak instrument, and then she used the words of the Apostles to express that she was “not sufficient to think a good thought, but my sufficiency is of God.” There was also a transition in the framing of these works, with the first two Cary did not have men write introductions while in the third she did. The first document was addressed to the male leaders of society, in the second one

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308 Ibid, 14-16.
309 Ibid.
311 Cary, The Little Horns Doom & Downfal 8.
312 This inclusion of introduction may have something to do with the price of this work, because of its length. Further research is required to make any definite statements about this matter.
Cary addressed two specific male MPs, but the *The Little Horns Doom & Downfal* was addressed very differently. In this work, Cary addressed "The Vertuous, Heroicall, and Honourable Ladies, The Lady Elizabeth Cromwel, The Lady Bridget Irbton, and The Lady Margaret Rols." These women were the wives of some of the most powerful men in the Interregnum government. So indirectly Cary addressed these powerful men, but given her previous manner of directly addressing MP’s this dedication marked a notable shift. The shift showed her deliberately appealing to fellow women, whereas other documents addressed the male leaders directly.\(^{314}\)

This was a marked shift in the way that Cary constructed her own gender. Here she was addressing fellow women, and thereby gaining the approval of male officials. It was the strategy that the wives of male officials could sway the decisions of these officials. By appealing to these women Cary fit into a paradigm that many female writers used of appealing to female patrons. Far different from when she addressed the men in charge, with no male Fifth Monarchist introductions. The document was the first written under her married name of Mary Rand.\(^{315}\)

This section argued that Cary changed her portrayal of her gendered identity as her relationship status changed. The way that Cary presented herself at first as a humble servant who could address those at the top of society. Then, Cary took inspiration from Isiah as a modern version of the prophet. Which is what historians have clung onto in labeling her as a proto-feminist. However, her final work in this study took a step back where she has three men write introductions, and address the work to wives of the top

\(^{313}\) Ibid., 3. As mentioned before spelling is not standardized in this thesis, thus the mistake with the spelling of Ireton.

\(^{314}\) Ibid.

\(^{315}\) Ibid., 7.
officials. Cary discussed her name change and marriage to Mr. Rand for the first time in this document. Cary was not a proto-feminist, she was a member of a movement experimenting with gender in a limited fashion the same way as Rogers and Feake.
Anna Trapnel

In this section the works of Anna Trapnel show that she was not a proto-feminist. This section examines Trapnel’s works and how she and the recorder (discussed later) portray Trapnel’s ideas of gender. Trapnel is the only Fifth Monarchist in this study to not take inspiration from someone of the opposite sex. Trapnel takes inspiration from Hannah for her construction of gender. In most of these documents Trapnel used the handmaid metaphor to describe her role within gendered terms. The small changes in gender from one document to another was both a representation of the small time between each publication, and that she was not involved in the Fifth Monarchists experiments in gender. This shows the way in which the Fifth Monarchists were not proto-feminists, a woman like Trapnel had her works stay within the contemporary ideas of female gender.

Anna Trapnel’s documents are the focus of many studies, however, these are not the easiest to analyze. Most of these documents were not written by her, instead these were written by a recorder while Trapnel was in a prophetic, trance-like state. This means questions about getting at Trapnel’s voice always linger in an analysis. Instead of getting bogged down in dissecting what was Trapnel’s voice and what was the recorder in most documents, this analysis will just take each document as a voice in and of itself, examining the way each document deals with constructions and negotiations of Trapnel’s gender. The copies of Trapnel’s works accessible through Early English Books Online were published in 1654. This shows the change in gendered ideas over time during one year within each document. As each document carried a different message and was recorded through the recorder there were variations between the texts.
The Cry of a Stone was written in 1653 (reprinted in 1654) by a recorder, relating the words Anna Trapnel spoke at Whitehall. Published later was a shorter version that looked specifically at the visions in Whitehall, called Strange and Wonderful Newes, however, there were differences in these works so they will be written about separately. In The Cry of a Stone Trapnel’s revelations from God were about what will happen with the army in Scotland. Trapnel predicted Cromwell would crush the Scottish, and bring about the will of God moving one step closer to the end of the world.

The document opened with the dedication, “To all the wise Virgins in Sion, who are for the work of the day, and wait for the Bride-grooms coming.” Here the recorder pitched the work, as of importance to those who were young and did not know the world. Marketing the works as written by a woman for consumption by young women and young men. The reference to the bride was at once gendered and not, there were many references of both men and women waiting to become the brides of Christ. This was a longstanding Christian reference that Christ was the ultimate groom. Yet, there

317 Anna Trapnel. Strange and Wonderful Newes from White-hall: Or, The Mighty Visions Proceeding From Mistres Anna Trapnel, to Divers Collonels, Ladies, and Gentlewomen Concerning the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, And Her Revelations touching his Highness the Lord Protector, and the Army, With her Declaration Touching the State-Affairs of Great-Brittain; Even from the Death of the Late King Charles, to the Dissolution of the Last Parliament, And the Manner how She Lay Eleven Dayes, and Twelve Nights in a Trance, without Taking any Sustenance, Except a Cup of Small Beer Once in 24 hours: During which Time, She Uttered Many Things Herein Mentioned, Relating to the Governors, Churches, Ministry, Universities, and all the three Nations; Full of Wonder and Admiration, for all that shall read and Peruse the Same. (London: 1654) 1.
318 Trapnel. The Cry of a Stone. 1-5.
319 Ibid. 2.
320 Ibid. 1-3.
remains the connotation of dedicating this to someone who was in the position of the bride, a female role. This at once puts the readers in a feminine role, yet also the role of many male religious figures. The larger metaphor showed the power of Christ over humanity as a husband over a wife. In the context of Trapnel’s work, this started the work with a gendered idea of humanity being the brides of Christ.

Within the introduction, Trapnel was only referred to as maid, not by name. The introduction was written from the recorder’s perspective.

“…now if we see these high and precious effects beginning to put forth either in sons or daughters, in handmaids or servants, let us rejoyce and be glad, for the summer is nigh at hand: It was the desire of this Maid to present this her Testimony to you, though it is not for you only, but for all.”

This idea of the maid or handmaid reappeared in other documents by Trapnel. The use of handmaid reflects Fifth Monarchist and Christian religious ideas. A handmaid was part of a larger metaphors about being the servant to Christ, and the idea that the lowliest of servants will be raised to the highest levels of heaven. For the Fifth Monarchists, in particular, there would be raising up when King Jesus descended from heaven. At that time, the lowly, such as handmaids would be raised up to enjoy the millennium living in peace and prosperity. It was only people in some form of a humble position who would be exalted by King Jesus.

This was likely a male perspective, most historians take the recorder to be a male member of the Fifth Monarchists who wrote down Trapnel’s visions. Given the fact

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and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007) 25-60.
322 Ibid.
323 Trapnel. The Cry of a Stone 1-3.
324 Ibid. 3.
326 Ibid.
327 Trapnel. The Cry of a Stone 1-4.
that more men were literate, and having a man write the publication made the document more acceptable to be published, there was a strong case for the recorder being a man.\footnote{Ibid.} This compares to the introductions in Cary’s \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal}.\footnote{Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal}, 1-15.} In each of these Cary and Trapnel were presented through the lens of the male radicals, with the intent to support the work.\footnote{Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal} 1-15. Trapnel, \textit{The Cry of a Stone} 1-4.} This introduction was similar to Feake’s introduction for Cary, in which he made clear that as a woman she could make mistakes while still supporting the work. This also placed Cary more in a female gender role.\footnote{Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal} 1-15. Trapnel, \textit{The Cry of a Stone} 1-4.} This introduction to Trapnel was written for the same purpose to support the authority of Trapnel to deliver these messages from God, and to place Trapnel within a gendered role that would make her approachable and acceptable to the reader.\footnote{Ibid., 4-41}

The work then featured Trapnel’s account of her life and her visions, written from her perspective. In this she described her own visions, this was where it was unclear if this was the way Trapnel related this to the recorder or if Trapnel wrote this herself.\footnote{Bullard, "Textual Disruption in "Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea" (1654)." 34-53. Nevitt, "'Blessed, self-denying, lambe-like'? The Fifth Monarchist Women." 83-97.} In this study, it was less significant who wrote this document. The focus was on the gendered language within this text that was in part written by a female Fifth Monarchist.\footnote{ Ibid.}

Within this section, Trapnel continued to use metaphors about her low status before the lord. In one vision God said to Trapnel “…I will make thee an Instrument of much more; for particular souls shall not only have benefit by thee, but the universality of
Saints shall have discoveries of God through thee…” Trapnel viewed herself as the instrument through which God spoke, but she did question if this was Satan. This idea drove Trapnel into contemplating suicide taking knives to bed with her. “…With that I answered, blessed be the Lord that hath made it known to so low a servant as I…” This was not the handmaid metaphor, yet it still fit Trapnel within the servant category that she repeatedly used. This humble position was something that Trapnel and other Fifth Monarchists used to express the best position to be in to be a leader in the movement. “I asked of God what was the matter, he answered me thus; I let thee see what thou art in thy self to keep thee humble, I am about to shew thee great things and visions which thou hast been Ignorant of…” Here God needed to keep Trapnel humble, in order for her to be able to act as an instrument of the Lord’s work. Trapnel brought out the way that humility was necessary for those that the Lord will raise up. This would be a confirmation for many Fifth Monarchist beliefs about the importance of humility. The use of humility was language the other Fifth Monarchists were using to express their devotion. Fitting within Fifth Monarchist ideas showed the way that Trapnel was a member of the movement influenced by its ideas about identity.

In *Strange and Wonderful Newes* Trapnel focused on the visions she had while at Whitehall. Trapnel accompanied Vavasor Powell to Whitehall, he was called before Cromwell to answer for “some things by him delivered in his publike Exercises.” During this time Trapnel became overcome by God and had visions for eleven days and

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336 Ibid., 6-10.
337 Ibid., 5.
338 Ibid., 5.
339 Ibid., 1-10.
340 Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* 1-5.
341 Ibid., 2.
twelve nights barely eating or drinking. The text documents Trapnel’s prophecies during this period, introduced by the recorder. The recorder recounted Trapnel’s visions, unlike *The Cry of a Stone*, which was told from Trapnel’s perspective. This changed the way in which Trapnel’s identity was presented within the text, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* routinely referred to Trapnel as “she.” This made sense since Trapnel was the focus of the document, and the one having visions. At the same time the casual reference to Trapnel, diluted some of the force of the prophecies, and made it unclear that she was involved in this publication. *The Cry of a Stone* had a much more forceful and direct tone, even coming from a handmaid, because of the use of the first person throughout the document. As she wrote in *The Cry of a Stone*,

> Then another Vision followed, A great company of Children walking on the Earth, a Light shining round about them, a glorious person in the midst of them, speaking these words; these will I honour with my raigning prefence in the midst of them; others shall dye in Wilderness, which Widlerness I will shew thee by and by; So that departed.

In this passage, one got a more personal and intimate version of Trapnel’s prophecy. Here the reader was led by Trapnel into this vision. Whereas, in *Strange and Wonderful Newes* the way that Trapnel was referred to as she, changes the way that these prophesies were presented.

> Another Vision she had two nights before the Lord Protector was proclaimed; at which time she saw a glorious Throne with winged Angels flying before the throne, and crying, 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.

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342 Ibid., 1-5.
344 Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* 1-5.
345 Ibid.
347 Ibid.
348 Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* 1-5.
349 Ibid. 3.
Here Trapnel became distanced from her own prophecies through the use of “she” by the recorder. This separation makes it almost superfluous that Trapnel was identified with a gendered term of “she.”

The recorder’s role gave a distinct perspective to the construction of Trapnel’s gender. Between the length of the document, five pages, and the role of the recorder, there was just very little gendered language or notes about Trapnel. The few examples within the work follow along with the other biblical and Fifth Monarchist rhetoric found in her other works. One prime example was, “…that she should be made an instrument of much more…” The rhetoric of being an instrument fit into ideas of humility. Later on there was writing about humility and raising up the lowly, “…being conscious of her self of the deceitfulness of her own heart, looking upon her self as the worst amongst Gods flock: whereupon the Lord told her, that out of the mouthes of babes and sucklings he would perfect his praise.” Not only did this bring up the humility, it also referenced the period described in *The Cry of the Stone*, about suicidal thoughts and depression. Trapnel struggled with these until God instructed her that the cause was true and she must act as his instrument. God made Trapnel go through this period of struggles to show her God’s power, and her need for salvation. A common phenomenon within other Protestant conversion narratives, which made it all the more striking that Trapnel was the only Fifth Monarchist to write about having this type of conversion experience. This type of conversion narrative was typified by John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, which

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350 Ibid. 1-5.
351 Ibid.
352 Ibid. 3.
353 Ibid. 3.
355 Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* 1-5.
showcased the formula of the depressed suicidal thoughts that could only to be saved by the grace of God.\textsuperscript{356} Even though other Fifth Monarchists did not write conversion narratives, this showed that Trapnel was expressing herself through print in a way influenced by both popular and Fifth Monarchist ideas about gender.

\textit{Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea or, A Narrative of her Journey from London into Cornwall...} was written in 1654.\textsuperscript{357} In this Trapnel wrote about her trip through Cornwall, and the problems that occurred. Trapnel wrote this document by herself, without the help of a recorder, which gave insight into the way Trapnel pictured her own gender.

Throughout the text, Trapnel drew on the idea of her being in the same position as Hannah from the Bible. “And my desire is to imitate that approved \textit{Hannah} in 1 Sam. 1 who was in bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the Lord, and wept sore for a Samuel, wherein God might be glorified and advanced in and by that typical Prophet...”\textsuperscript{358} Trapnel modeled herself on Hannah because each played a similar role in supporting other prophets and their cause, without taking a more active preaching role. Hannah was barren until she prayed to God for a son and promised she would dedicate that son to God.\textsuperscript{359} The son was Samuel, who became an important prophet. Hannah was a woman faithful to God, who was tormented by her husband’s other wife over being barren. So

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{357} Anna Trapnel. \textit{Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea, or, A Narrative of her Journey from London into Cornwall, the Occasion of it, the Lord's Encouragements to it, and signal Preference with her it in. Proclaiming the Rage and Striving of the People Against the Comings Forth of the Lord Jesus to Reign; Manifested, in the Harsh, Rough, Boisterous, Rugged, Inhumane, and Uncivil usage of Anna Trapnel, by the Justices and the People in Cornwall, at a place called Truro. Whereto is annexed a Defiance Against all the Reproachful, Vile, Horrid, Abusive, and Scandalous Reports, Railed out of the Bottomless Pit against her, by the Prophane generation, Promoted thereunto by Professors and Clergie both in Cities and County, who have a form of Godliness, by Deny the Power.} (London: 1654) 1.
\item \textsuperscript{358} Ibid. 3.
\item \textsuperscript{359} 1 Sam. 1-2 (AV)
\end{itemize}
this was another symbol of God raising up the humble and downtrodden to do his
work. Trapnel saw her role in the Fifth Monarchists as the same thing, she was a vessel
through which God sent messages that would support the work of other preachers. There
are no records of whether or not Trapnel had children.

I am sure they have sinned far more then old Eli, who said of Hannah, She was
Drunk. This grieved her, and made her reply and say, Don’t count they hand
maid for a daughter of Belial, for out of the abundance of my complaint and
grief have I spoken hitherto. Then Eli said, go in peace, and the God of Isreal
grant a hyperion that thou hast asked of him. Here is a recantation quickly
manifested; and it’s probably, he was exceedingly troubled, for afflictimg. What
rash Judgers imitate him in this pursuit though he was the chief Priest in his
dayes, yet he though it no disparagement to talk with a poor hand maid, being a
sober holy woman. This important passage described about her relationship to and understanding of Hannah.

It also noted the metaphor of the handmaid, which appeared in the descriptions of herself
within most of these documents.

The passage reflected how Trapnel went into trances through which she conveyed
her messages, which could be interpreted as some form of drunkenness. Trapnel found
another woman in the Bible being doubted for her religious experience. Thus, Trapnel
modeled herself upon Hannah whose faith allowed her to gain the favor of God. Unlike
Cary, Rogers, or Feake who looked to people of another sex then themselves for
inspiration, Trapnel took inspiration from another woman. This actually works to show
that Mack’s lumping together of Cary and Trapnel as women portraying themselves as
male prophets is inaccurate. In this Trapnel clearly showed that she did not step out of
her own gender category and stayed as a supporting role within the movement, at least

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360 Trapnel, Anna Trapnel’s Report and Plea 3.  
361 Ibid., 3-4.  
362 Ibid.  
363 Ibid., 4.  
according to Trapnel. It is important to this study’s argument, because this showed Trapnel was not experimenting with gender in the same way as the other Fifth Monarchists. Trapnel was not a proto-feminist as other historians portrayed Trapnel. It also showed that gender constructs within the Fifth Monarchists were still constructing ideas where the openness to changing gender ideas, but it was not forced upon the members.

The handmaid metaphor was important to how Trapnel constructed her identity. “England’s Rulers and Clergie do judge the Lords hand-maid to be mad, and under the administration of evil angels, and a witch, and many other evil terms they raise up to make me odious, and abhorr’d in the hearts of good and bad, that do not know me.”\textsuperscript{365} In this quote, it was clear how Trapnel used the metaphor of Hannah in constructing Trapnel’s identity. There were more and different accusations being thrown at Trapnel.\textsuperscript{366} As a handmaid, it also puts her well within the Fifth Monarchist and Christian ideas of humility. While fitting into this paradigm of humility, Trapnel gained strength through the Lord. “The LORD is on my side, I will not fear men, what they can do; the LORD is my help and refuge. Farewell. Your servant that loves Christ in sincerity.”\textsuperscript{367} Here Trapnel took advantage of the way that the metaphor of Hannah meant that Trapnel and the Fifth Monarchists would be triumphant.

\textit{A Legacy for Saints}, published in 1654, explored Trapnel’s conversion to the Fifth Monarchist faith. At the end Trapnel included some letters she wrote to her friends.\textsuperscript{368}

\textsuperscript{365} Trapnel. \textit{Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea}. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{366} Ibid., 3.
\textsuperscript{367} Ibid., 5.
\textsuperscript{368} Trapnel, Anna. \textit{A Legacy for Saints; Being Several Experiences of the Dealings of God with Anna Trapnel, in, and after her Conversion, (Written some Years since with her own hand) and now Coming to the Fight of some Friends, they have Judged them Worthy of Publike View: Together with Some Letters of a
Published as a defense of Trapnel who was being held in Birdwell as a vagrant in Cornwall. This document was a combination of Trapnel’s prison writings and the writings of the congregation of “Mr. John Simpson.”\(^\text{369}\) The introduction was signed by Caleb Ingold Decon, who was taking the place of the missing John Proud Elder, who led the congregation through putting this document together in Trapnel’s defense.\(^\text{370}\) One question that remains unsolved with this document was which members of the congregation wrote this, all that could be confirmed was Decon signing the document.

In the Introduction, there were two major ways that the congregation referred to Trapnel, either as “sister” or “she.”\(^\text{371}\) For example, “Some Experiences of Anna Trapnell, out dear Sister, now Prisoner in Bridewel…”\(^\text{372}\) By calling Trapnel sister, this fit Trapnel into a distinct religious and social gender roles. The Fifth Monarchists and other Christian religious groups used the rhetoric of brothers and sisters in Christ.\(^\text{373}\) For the Fifth Monarchists, there was also a political aspect to sister, for the brothers and sisters in Christ were going to clear the way for King Jesus to rule the world bringing about the millennium.\(^\text{374}\) Socially, sister was a term that placed a woman into a role within the family, which was conceptualized as a hierarchical relationship by some people.\(^\text{375}\) As a female member of a household, the sister had a lower status than the male

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\(^{369}\) Ibid., 2.
\(^{370}\) Ibid., 4.
\(^{371}\) Ibid., 2-4.
\(^{372}\) Ibid., 2.
\(^{375}\) Amussen, An Ordered Society 10-40.
members of the household. Yet, sister did not imply that this was the lowest station within the family, especially since the larger metaphor was that Trapnel was a sister to the congregation of fellow sisters and brothers. In many ways, this fit Trapnel into a more equal position within the congregation. This was one significant element of the Fifth Monarchists that there was the ability for men and women to be on an equal level. Trapnel herself was usually not a person to push for this, unlike Cary. Yet the congregation made the decision to frame the Introduction in this manner.

One of the most striking aspects of this document was the lack of mention of Trapnel’s prophecies which appear in all the other works. The Introduction explains this “…And although the various and wonderful dealings of God with her soul (known to many of us) for divers years last past, are not herein mentioned, (as she intended, but was prevented by her present troubles)…” It was clear that not everyone believed that Trapnel’s visions were from God, some thought these had a demonic origin. So, this framed the way in which Trapnel presented herself in this text as less of an instrument of prophecy, and more as a religious woman unjustly oppressed by people who were not part of the saints.

The next part of the document was written by Trapnel; she wrote about herself in the first person throughout the text. Trapnel wrote this in the same style as *The Cry of a Stone* and *Anna Trapnel’s Report and Plea*. In *A Legacy for Saints*, Trapnel took a

379 Ibid. 2
380 Ibid. 2-37.
similar tone to her prophetic works, just the content was different.\textsuperscript{382} When it came to

gender and identity, in this there was no mention of the usual handmaid metaphor. The

absence in this document was noticeable since all the other documents utilize this

metaphor.\textsuperscript{383} At first this absence does not make sense because the handmaid metaphor

put Trapnel in the role of just a lowly female servant in comparison to the male prophets

and God. Yet, this metaphor placed Trapnel in a prophetic role and one of power, because

given Fifth Monarchist ideas about humility made this quality necessary to gain power

through service to God.\textsuperscript{384} Thus, this was a decision by Trapnel to take herself out of this

role, and place herself within the role of the narrator about her problems in Cornwall.\textsuperscript{385}

At the end of this document, were letters written either by or to Trapnel. These

letters each had a different tone and ideas about gender. The first letter was sent “To the

Church sometimes meeting at Al-Hallows” by Trapnel.\textsuperscript{386} In this letter, Trapnel herself

did not use the handmaid metaphor, instead focused on God’s gift of strength to help her

to endure these troubles. This showed a change in her conception, and also her influence

over the letter as a whole. The way in which she used the same metaphors as the

introduction showed that the congregation followed Trapnel’s lead on how she wanted to

be presented in the work.\textsuperscript{387}

As in the introduction the power of God even over oppressors became clear. This

also harkened to the rhetoric used by Feake while in prison.\textsuperscript{388} Trapnel asserted that

\textsuperscript{382} Trapnel, \textit{A Legacy for Saints} 5-28.
\textsuperscript{383} Trapnel, \textit{Anna Trapnel’s Report and Plea} 1-5. Trapnel, \textit{Strange and Wonderful Newes} 1-5. Trapnel, \textit{The

Cry of a Stone} 1-9.
\textsuperscript{384} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{385} Trapnel, \textit{A Legacy for Saints} 5-28.
\textsuperscript{386} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{387} Ibid., 29-31.
\textsuperscript{388} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 4-10.
“...but I am through Divine strength, not onely willing to be bound, but to dye upon so honourable an account, as I here suffer for...”\textsuperscript{389} Here Trapnel showed that she was willing to undergo these trials in order to fulfill God’s will. The idea of her martyrdom for the Fifth Monarchists cause was something both terrifying and exalting. Feake used this same position to vie for leadership of the Fifth Monarchists.\textsuperscript{390} To Trapnel, this was also a powerful position. From prison, Trapnel was able to mobilize a sizable congregation in London which came to her defense.\textsuperscript{391} Works, such as \textit{Acts and Monuments}, also known as \textit{Foxe’s Book of Martyrs}, had become such an important cultural phenomena in England that the prospect of becoming one of these famous martyrs could catapult one into postmortem prestige and fame.\textsuperscript{392} The Fifth Monarchists were new, so if Trapnel or Feake had been killed that person would become the first martyr for the cause, this prospect gave each the opportunity to grasp more power within the Fifth Monarchists.\textsuperscript{393}

Another aspect of this imprisonment was the insults thrown at the victim, as mentioned at the very beginning Feake pulled out specific insults he found the most hurtful.\textsuperscript{394} In this letter Trapnel did the same thing listing the insults thrown at her. For example, “but cryed out to the Magistrate to lay bonds upon me; saying, we must not have the people so deluded, calling me witch, deluder, imposter, and other vile terms they cast on me; and farther said I stirred and provoked the people to Rebellion against

\textsuperscript{389} Trapnel, \textit{A Legacy for Saints} 29.
\textsuperscript{390} Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 4-10.
\textsuperscript{391} Trapnel, \textit{A Legacy for Saints} 1-31.
\textsuperscript{393} Trapnel, \textit{A Legacy for Saints} 1-10, 29-31. Feake, \textit{The New Non-conformist} 4-10.
\textsuperscript{394} Cary, \textit{The Little Horns Doom & Downfal}, 14.
powers…”  These insults have connotations of power and gender. Thus, this might explain why Trapnel constructed her identity in this track as one with less power, emphasizing a socially acceptable gendered role.

Trapnel used the brother and sister metaphor within this letter. “Truly my dear brothers & sisters…” She put herself within this religious and social position that allowed her to be an equal without appearing to be taking the lead, which would help in her upcoming trial. She concluded the work writing. “Your unworthy Sister in fellowship of the Gospel, Anna Trapnel.” Here we find that this metaphor was not something just the congregation was using, instead this probably came out of the letter Trapnel sent to the congregation.

The next letter was written by Trapnel “from Capt. Langdons at Tregasow new Trurow” to a “Dear Sir” who remained unnamed. Apparently when they came to arrest Trapnel, she was staying with Captain Langdons’ wife, while he was away with the military. Thus, she wrote to him to inform him of the events that took place surrounding her arrest and her trial. Most of the letter focused on these tales, with little use of gendered language. The main references that have a gendered connotation relate to this extended metaphor of brothers and sisters. “My Salutes and dear respects to you and to my dear sister, your wife; and Salutes to my brother and sister Powel, and to Captain Harrison your brother…” Trapnel, again fit herself into the role of the sister in Christ.

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396 Ibid., 1-10, 29-31.
397 Ibid., 30-31.
398 Ibid., 31.
399 Ibid., 29-31.
400 Ibid., 33.
401 Ibid., 31-33.
402 Ibid., 33.
She referred to God, in a way done by many different Christian and Fifth Monarchists, but not by her in the other works. “the Lord hath been a very tender father…” Here Trapnel completed the metaphor of brothers and sisters and with the reference to God as the father. In the letter she referred to God this way. For example Trapnel saw her good fortune “because my father smileth…” This was not the first occurrence of similar ideas, yet it was notable that in Trapnel’s time of problems with the law she reached for this metaphor. One that was in these letters, but not in the other works.

The third letter was written “From the Prison to the Prison at Windsor Castle,” which meant from Trapnel to Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. This letter was about the way in which Trapnel would endure through this trial by the grace of God. It also condemned the priests who were more concerned with worldly items then God. Trapnel wrote to all her brothers there, which meant this was for the people under Cromwell, as well as Cromwell. As with the other letters the brothers and sisters metaphor resurfaced, but in a new form. “Dear brothers, with your wives…” this letter adds wives into the mix of brothers and sisters. “My dear Brothers and Sisters, your beloved wives…” It is hard to discern why it was not just brothers and sisters, but this may be the way that it was addressed to Cromwell. This could have been conforming to societal ideas of addressing the men in power and their wives, at the same time as she used the brothers and sisters metaphor to emphasize her equal place. The letter had one
reference, to the idea of God as the Father, “or the particular Church I walk with, will they be offended, or will you my Father be angry, or you my brother be displeased?”

Here the Father metaphor came in again, and also brothers, with the address to men in power, brothers were mentioned through the letter.

Trapnel wrote about the insults that were waged against her, and the power the Lord gave her to deal with these trials. The insults were similar to the ones within the document’s earlier text. “Though it be counted foolishness, nonsense, witchcraft, and a white Devil, as such are the terms of devout Women, Learned Clergy, Self-seeking Rulers in these parts…” Here there were once again gendered insults and the label witch. This gendered term must have been a major insult to Trapnel who worried that it was the Devil contacting her, not God. It was also something that probably became incorporated into the legal proceedings in Cornwall. Trapnel felt empowered by God to withstand these insults. In a similar way to Feake the ordeal of imprisonment, seems to strengthen her personal power. “I am sure I should: but seeing its against the Priestly office, and prophetical and Kingly cower of King Jesus, I must declare for him, and while I have tongue and breath I shall go forth for the fifth Monarchy-laws teaching and practice: Oh let not life be more valued then it!” In this Trapnel was more assertive in her role as a prophet and member of the Fifth Monarchists.

411 Ibid., 34.
412 Ibid., 33-35.
413 Ibid., 1-10, 33-35.
414 Ibid., 34.
415 Trapnel, *Strange and Wonderful Newes* 1-5.
417 Ibid.
419 Trapnel, *A Legacy for Saints* 34.
Here Trapnel once again wrote about becoming a Fifth Monarchist martyr and used this position to put herself in a greater position of power.420 “Yet through his strength I shall not love my life to the death…”421 Trapnel was very much aware of the power that she held as a prisoner, who might be executed for her faith. Since, martyrs could be either male or female there was a gender ambivalence in using this to gain power. Which shows a small amount of gender ambivalence which fits Trapnel into what the other Fifth Monarchists were doing with ideas about gender.

Yet, Trapnel did not let this strength overshadow her rhetoric of humility. As this quote clearly showed, she still felt herself to be inferior before God.

And oh that you may be strengthned thereby, hearing of a poor Shrub, on of a timorous fearful, cowardly nature: in her own concernments no whit valorous the Lord knoweth…nor hath not so much as caused the least damp to arise in me, but I praise that such a vile unworthy Creature as I, should have so much honor inferr’d upon me.422

Trapnel referred to herself as both a “Shrub” and an “unworthy Creature.”423 A “Shrub” means a “mean, inferior, insignificant person” which was why Trapnel used this in conjunction with “unworthy creature.”424 This juxtaposition of humility and power placed Trapnel in a more powerful position than her handmaid metaphor. “I never was sure so much in self-loathing and abhorring as now…”425

This self-deprecation fit Trapnel into larger concepts of humility that resounds within her works.

And Pray for me a poor silly Creature, in whom the Lord is seen: I have nothing to glory in, save in infirmites: Pray that I may not be proud of sufferings, I have

420 Ibid., 33-35.
421 Ibid., 35.
422 Ibid., 35.
423 Ibid.
425 Trapnel, A Legacy for Saints 35
a base hear; but the Lord through Grace maketh me for the present more then a
Conqueror…  
Trapnel and Feake tried to take over similar roles within the Fifth Monarchist
movement. Feake took a strong position, using his role as a preacher to justify taking
on more power within the movement. Trapnel did not have an official religious
position to use in defense of her authority within the movement. This probably explained
why Trapnel did not take away her emphasis on humility, if anything Trapnel made her
emphasis on humility overshadow the emphasis on power. Both Feake and Trapnel
used the idea of becoming a martyr to push for power within the movement. It showed
how much Trapnel was a part of the movement. Trapnel used humility and martyrdom as
ways to gain power, which fit within the Fifth Monarchist beliefs that the humble would
gain political power during the millennium. It also showed how as a new movement the
Fifth Monarchists were still forming conceptions of identity.

The last letter by Trapnel was written “To the Church sometimes meeting at All-
hallows the Great, in the Thames-Street, in London.” This letter used many of the
concepts and ideas about gender found in the other letters printed at the end of the A
Legacy for Saints. The language about siblings reappeared. “Brothers and sisters; Grace,
Mercy and Pease I am perswaded are your companions.” Trapnel used this language to
root her connection within the movement and larger community. Since these were letters
that emphasized Trapnel’s connection to the congregation she looked to for support

426 Ibid., 35.
Prisoner in Windsor-Castle 1-10.
429 Trapnel, A Legacy for Saints 35-37.
430 Ibid., 35.
431 Ibid., 35.
during her imprisonment in Cornwall.\textsuperscript{432} “Your Engaged Sister in the Spirit, and Faith, and Fellowship of the Gospel.”\textsuperscript{433} This quote concluded the letter and mirrored many of Trapnel’s other conclusions, which could have meant this was a convention within the Fifth Monarchists more than an individual decision.\textsuperscript{434}

Another part of her humility was the idea that Trapnel was at once unworthy to be addressing the congregation. Yet, the concept of humility either honoring her or leading her to honor the congregation played an important role. “I know you are not unwilling to be put in mind by you unworthy sister, whom I am sure hath a dear, honored, honouring respectful love to you in her heart…”\textsuperscript{435} Here Trapnel used the idea of her being unworthy to make a claim on her worthiness to honor her congregation. The honor she sent to the congregation communicates her affection and deference towards these people she needed to support her.\textsuperscript{436} “For the Lord thereby, he is still putting on more of that clothing of humility which my soul exceedingly desires; and pray friends do you beg this for me too, and that I may be proud of Sufferings: Methinks they are high honors.”\textsuperscript{437} This quote summed up what Trapnel communicated through this entire letter. She was humbled by the Lord, but this process gave Trapnel power. This was something Trapnel had in common with Feake. In this track, Trapnel made more accounts regarding the strength and honor God gave her while tempering this with language about humility.\textsuperscript{438}

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\textsuperscript{432} Ibid., 35-37.
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid., 37
\textsuperscript{434} Ibid., 35-37.
\textsuperscript{435} Ibid., 35
\textsuperscript{436} Ibid., 35-37.
\textsuperscript{437} Ibid., 36.
\textsuperscript{438} Ibid., 35-37.
\end{flushright}
“I sure am unworthy to be so honored: but O how beholding am I to Christ and his worthiness!” Trapnel made sure that her declarations of power were tempered by notations of her unworthiness. This would be something that some historians might have credited to her being a female Fifth Monarchist, however, as earlier examples with Feake show male Fifth Monarchists also to use the idea of humility to justify their position. “But I beseech you rejoice and be glad, that your unworthy sister hath liberty and enlargement in a Prison…” Trapnel asserted that prison was improving her connection to God, as she had to rely on his strength through this difficult time. This also showed that Trapnel had the money or access to money through friends to be able to live comfortably in prison. According to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, “Following her arrest on 23 March 1654 Anna was sent, via Plymouth, by ship to Portsmouth and then to Bridewell, where she was cared for by women members of the All Hallows congregation…” Knowing that Trapnel was in the Bridewell in London, where her congregation that sent her to Cornwall resided helped explain the way she portrayed herself as gaining power. For she knew first hand from the people coming to see her that she was gaining influence. “I through Grace now write unto you my beloved friends, that though your unworthy sister be in a Prison here at Plimouth Fort, its for the matters and concernsments of King Jesus…” This led Trapnel back to her writings about her willingness to become a martyr for the Fifth Monarchist cause. “I will not fear what men can do unto me, for I am not ready to be bound, but to dye…” Considering

439 Ibid., 36.
440 Ibid., 36.
442 Ibid.
443 Trapnel, A Legacy for Saints 35.
444 Ibid., 36

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that all these letters were written within less a year, it’s not surprising that the gendered rhetoric within these letters and the document was consistent. 445

This section examines Anna Trapnel’s printed works to show that though she was a female Fifth Monarchist, she was not a proto-feminist. Trapnel did not take inspiration from a member of the opposite sex, instead she was inspired by a woman. Rogers also took inspiration from other men, so Trapnel does fit with the other Fifth Monarchists. It showed that both women were not taking on a role that was equal to men. The use of Hannah as a role model showed that Trapnel put herself in a traditionally feminine supporting role for prophets. This showed that she was more than the proto-feminist label.

This chapter reconsidered the interpretation of two leading Fifth Monarchist women. These women were not proto-feminists. Instead these women’s constructions of gender evolved over time. Changes showed the way that the Fifth Monarchists were experimenting and forming ideas about gender. Cary changed her constructions of gender from stronger to more humble as she changed her relationship status. Trapnel had minimal changes to her construction of gender. Both are important to show the Fifth Monarchist female constructions of gender were complicated, since this was still a new movement. The experimentation did not reach everyone and there were limits to how much any one of these Fifth Monarchists experimented.

445 It should be made clear that the documents by Trapnel in this analysis are the ones available on Early English Books Online. This means her longest work, at close to 1,000 pages that is only available in an archive in Oxford is not included. A problem like this definitely leaves a gap in the analysis, but there is still much to analyze in Trapnel’s shorter works.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

This thesis argued that Fifth Monarchist ideas on gender were complex because of the active construction and negotiation of gender within their ideological framework and within the period. Chapter One, showed the way that this project adds a gendered analysis of the Fifth Monarchist men. The project adds to the historiographies of gender in Britain, radical religious groups, and the Fifth Monarchists. By using gender theory this study looks at the constructing of gender ideas and experimenting with different gender roles. Chapter Two examines the way two male Fifth Monarchists constructed ideas about gender, and used women as one of their role models. The use of female role models showed the way in which these men were experimenting with gender roles just like the women. In Chapter Three the examination of gender in the works of Cary and Trapnel show that there were similarities. Cary used Isaiah as a role model once like Rogers and Feake. Trapnel used a female role model to show her gender which showed the way that she did not experiment with gender, which showed that these women were not proto-feminists. The Fifth Monarchists were a new group that was experimenting with gender.

The Fifth Monarchist belief in humility as a source of political power led them to experiment with different ideas of gender and role models. This experimentation came from the desire for role models that showed humility and power to gain leadership of the movement before and during the millennium. Cary as a woman, was viewed as weaker, but modeled herself on a strong male prophet. Rogers looked to a weak woman as
inspiration since his leading upper class role in society needed more humility. Feake used Deborah as a woman who showed someone in a strong position humbly accepting power, which mirrored the position Feake was in politically. These experimentations were expressed Fifth Monarchist ideology. Even Trapnel’s inspiration from Hannah showed the balance of humility and power of being the mother of a prophet. Fifth Monarchist ideology was an important reason the movement was experimenting with ideas about gender identity.

Mary Cary, Christopher Feake, Anna Trapnel, and John Rogers were just four of the Fifth Monarchists and did not represent the full complexities of gender ideas within the movement. These people serve as the start to a deeper analysis into how both men and women were constructing gender and how these ideas about gender informed their construction of identity.

This shows how individual these definitions of gender were, that historians who overstate static gender roles miss the complexity and fluidity with which people lived. Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel were not proto-feminists, instead their ideas about gender construction fit within ideas floating around the Fifth Monarchists. By putting these women back in context, it shows the way in which they were a part of a radical movement, not radical women seeking equal rights to men. Nowhere in the accessible documents did either woman write about equality of the sexes, a foundational conception in feminism. The men of the Fifth Monarchists were also experimenting with different constructions of gender identity, Rogers and Feake used ideas of being like women. This was not a push for equality but a phase where notions about gender in the movement were not cemented, so there was room for experimentation. Hopefully, more research
will reveal more about the ways that Fifth Monarchist men constructed gender; though they left more sources behind, this is the first time a historian has studied their construction of gender. Gender studies need to try to incorporate men and women into the same study in order to get a better picture of what gender relations looked like, and to avoid gender being a synonym for “women.”
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