The Vanist Sect in the English Revolution—Early 1659

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[…] to know
Both spirituall powre & civill, what each meanes,
What severs each, thou 'hast learnt, wch few hav don.

—JOHN MILTON, *To Sr Henry Vane the younger* (1652)

Acknowledgements

Declaration of Authorship

I, Andrew James Herpich, declare that this thesis is my own original work. Any use of others' work is appropriately referenced. This dissertation accords with the university's policies and has not been published nor submitted for any other academic award.

Signed:

Date:

Contents

Conventions

I have relied on Early English Books Online, Eighteenth-century Collections Online, Google Books, and the Internet Archive for access to primary texts not published in modern editions. I have not indicated which of the extant copies I have used. In most cases, for seventeenth-century English books and pamphlets, it is the Thomason copy available through EEBO. In instances of illegibility, I have cross-checked with other available copies.

All quotations are represented as in the cited source, with the exception of the substitution of the archaic ſ and vv with the now-standard s and w. Wiggly brackets { } indicate my amendment of an easily recognisable typographical error, e.g. n for u. I have not utilised this practice to amend spelling. I do not use italics to indicate emphasis. All quoted italics appear as in the cited text.

My own use of italics indicates either words transliterated from a non-English language, or an English word being referred to as a word. I have occasionally used untransliterated Greek and Hebrew. I do not use diacritics, and the sense is always provided in English.

Quotations from the Bible appear as in the so-called 'King James Version' (1611) and are cited in text according to standard abbreviations (e.g. Gen. for Genesis). I have tried to identify when scripture underlies a statement even if not explicitly cited. I hope this gives a sense of how the Bible permeates seventeenth-century discourse. Hebrew and Greek have been taken from the resources provided at Blue Letter Bible: https://www.blueletterbible.org/ It is merely a convenient and easy-to-use platform: I reject their statement of faith and missionising agenda.

Square brackets [ ] indicate my deletions and insertions. Where these contain English text, this has been taken from the most recent referent in the original source with any changes being merely for grammatical purposes. Where the text is introduced with an "i.e." (*id est* = that is), what follows is my own clarification. Where these brackets contain an ellipsis, this indicates I have either removed a portion of text (where there are spaces on either side) and/or a portion of a word (where there is a space only on one side). I hope there is no instance where this transgresses the author's sense.

All dates are Old Style except with the year commencing on 1 January. I have modified dates in European sources to make them consistent with the English way of dating.

A superscript S or T preceding the publication date of a book in text indicates whether I have taken the date from the Stationers' Register or from the hand-dating of George Thomason:

> G. E. Briscoe Eyre (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: From 1640–1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London: Privately Printed, 1913).

> G. K. Fortescue (ed.), *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum et al, 1908).

Where possible, I have double-checked Fortescue's reading against the original source. In cases where a date is present in both the Stationers' Register and Thomason's collection, I have gone with the earlier. Where neither source provides a date, I have given my best estimate. I do not always provide my reasoning.

For sources published prior to the nineteenth century, the place of publication is London unless otherwise indicated. Capitalisation in titles has been normalised.

An asterisk next to the first occurrence of someone's name means they have a biographical sketch and/or portrait included in the appendix.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary | ODNB = Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Chapter 1. Defining Terms: Revolution, Radicalism, and the Role of Religion.

It's a wild time
I'm doing things that haven't got a name yet

<div align="right">

—JEFFERSON AIRPLANE, 'Wild Tyme (H)' (1967)

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I tell people who ask about my research that I am looking at a group of religious and political radicals in the English Revolution. Most of these terms are problematic enough among specialists to require clarification. Before launching into outlines of this dissertation's topic and scope and methodology and structure, it is worth considering the debates around the applicability of these terms in the context of seventeenth-century England.[1] Rather than a digression, I intend this preliminary perambulation of the boundary between academic rigour and public accessibility to outline some of the reasons for my interest in these long-dead people and their writings. It will become apparent as I tackle the argumentative thickets that the problematic terms—*revolution*, *radical*, *religious-and-political*—are the interlocking hinges upon which turn most scholarly and popular interpretations of what happened in England between 1637 and 1661.[2] For those of us who belong to the English diaspora, how we understand the mid-century military conflicts, political vacillations, social upheavals, cultural transformations, and spiritual exaltations and disappointments inevitably invokes issues about our own identities. Ronan Bennett commends the

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[1] Everything discussed in this dissertation happened in England per se—indeed, mostly in London. But it should be acknowledged that for much of this period, England also exercised rule in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and the colonies in New England, Bermuda, Barbados, The Bahamas, and Jamaica. These 'conquests' and colonisations are not neutral facts of history. They remain contested and a source of trauma and continued dispossession for first nations peoples as well as those upon whose forced labour British colonisers built their empire. Some about whom I am writing were not innocent bystanders. Sir Henry Vane approved a massacre of the Pequot people of the territory now called Connecticut. John Milton celebrated the brutal invasion of Ireland in language that is downright disturbing. Robert Rich was involved in the transportation to the colonies of Scottish and Irish prisoners of war and in the trade of kidnapped African people. It is not sufficient to say that such attitudes just reflect the prejudices of the time, as in each of these instances, oppositional voices can easily be found.

[2] The dates define the period between, on the one hand, the rebellion in Scotland over the imposition of *The Book of Common Prayer*, which led to the first war between England and Scotland, and on the other hand, the defeat of the last-ditch insurrection by the Fifth Monarchists before the official coronation of Charles II. Of course, demarcating such terminal boundaries is artificial. Causes of the English Revolution can be traced back to Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church in the 1530s, and the ensuing religious, political, and social upheavals did not settle until around 1830.

director of the period drama, *The Devil's Whore* (2008), for "reminding us of a revolutionary past of which the English often seem embarrassed, ignorant or in denial."[3] Yet the nature and significance of this national experience was contentious even before the collapse of England's last republican government in early 1660. The polarised reactions of those who lived through and remembered the events constitute the fissiparous foundation upon which modern interpretations are constructed.[4] As T. S. Eliot declared in the wake of the second world war: "The Civil War is not ended: […] the passions are unquenched".[5] With another Charles ascending the throne amid satanic conspiracy theories, widespread cynicism about government, and conflict over religious and civil liberties, they seem more inflamed than ever.[6]

It was a nineteenth-century French politician and historian who first "repackaged" what happened in seventeenth-century England as a revolution like other modern revolutions.[7] For François Guizot, only in "the bright lights [*vives lumières*]" of the French Revolution (1789–1799) could the English Revolution be "well understood". Introjecting the ideals of later revolutionaries into mid-seventeenth-century England—*Liberté! Egalité! Fraternité!*—bequeathed an obfuscating teleological presentism to at least a century of subsequent historiography.[8] Whether a 'Puritan' or 'Bourgeois Revolution', or something in between, the assumption persisted that the modern

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[3] Ronan Bennett, 'Remember the revolution?', *The Guardian* (14 Nov. 2008) <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2008/nov/14/monarchy-television> accessed 20 Jan. 2023.

[4] See e.g. Alastair MacLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England: An Essay on the Fabrication of Seventeenth-century History* (Basingstokes & London: MacMillan, 1996); R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, 3rd ed., Issues in Historiography, gen. ed. R. C. Richardson (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 1998); Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations: The English Civil Wars and the Passions of Posterity* (London et al: Penguin Books, 2001).

[5] T. S. Eliot, *Milton: Two Studies* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), 26-27. This essay was originally given as the Henrietta Herz Lecture at the British Academy in 1947.

[6] Cf. the blurb for Jonathon Healey's forthcoming *The Blazing World: A New History of Revolutionary England* (Bloomsbury, 2023) <https://www.bloomsbury.com/au/blazing-world-9781526621658/> accessed 20 Jan. 2023: "Yet the seventeenth century has never been more relevant. The British constitution is once again being contested, and we face a culture war reminiscent of when the Roundheads fought the Cavaliers.".

[7] Edward Vallance, 'Introduction: Revolution, Time and Memory', *Remembering Early Modern Revolutions: England, North America, France, and Haiti*, ed. Edward Vallace, Remembering the Medieval and Early Modern Worlds (London & New York: Routledge, 2019), 1-10 (at 1).

[8] François Guizot, *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre, depuis l'Avènement de Charles Ier jusqu'a Restauration de Charles II*, vol. 1 (Paris: A. Leruox & C. Chantpie, 1826), xix, xvii, and xv-xvi (my emphases): "[les deux révolutions] ont lutté pour *la liberté* contre le pouvoir absolu, pour *l'égalité* contre le privilége, pour *les intérêts* progressifs et *généraux* contre les intérêts stationnaires et individuels." Geoffrey Cubitt, 'The Political Uses of Seventeenth-century English History in Bourbon Restoration France', *The Historical Journal* 50.1 (Mar. 2007), 73-95 (at 89-91), puts a more positive spin on this phenomenon: "Guizot's argument stressed the importance of the French Revolution in triggering a certain kind of empathetic imagination".

(liberal-democratic-capitalist) world was proleptically revealed in seventeenth-century England.[9]

This extends backwards in time a prevailing national myth, which inscribes belief in British exceptionalism by drawing a providential line from the so-called 'Glorious Revolution' (1688–1689) to the industrial innovations and political reforms of the early nineteenth century.[10] The former—comprising legal limitations on royal prerogative and occupation by a large Dutch army—was generally acknowledged at the time to be a 'revolution'.[11] The term's primary astrological sense (a 360° rotation) had mutated into the sociopolitical sense around 1650, in part, through association with the scriptural notion of a world turned upside down by God's power (e.g. Isa. 24:1, Eze. 21:27, 2 Kin. 21:13, Act. 17:6).[12] Sermonisers exploited the neologism's connotations of divine providence to distinguish the forced abdication of James II in 1688 from the parliamentary execution of his father, Charles I, in 1649. Such laudations of the post-1688 constitutional settlement, especially after the defeat of the Jacobite uprisings in 1715 and 1719, evolved into a cornerstone of the imperialist myth of Britain's unique political stability, social superiority, and divine favour. Yet Jacobite rebels continued to contend that the regicide and the Revolution were both impious crimes against the divine right of kings, and recalcitrant republicans drew parallels between the accession of William III and the martial elevation of Oliver Cromwell to Lord Protector in 1653.[13] Guizot presents Britain's constitutional monarchy and America's

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[9] See Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, 63-146, for a convenient summary. The assumption predominates among British historians from S. R. Gardiner (1880s), through R. H. Tawney and Christopher Hill, to Laurence Stone (1970s) and is still prevalent in popular discourse. J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1986), and MacLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England*, tear the paradigm to pieces.

[10] The locus classicus for this version of British history is Thomas Babington Macaulay's *The History of England from the Accession of James II* (5 vols., 1848–1859). Its presumptions are central to the popular documentary series *Monarchy*, created by David Starkey (Granada, 2004–2007).

[11] James R. Hertzler, 'Who Dubbed It "The Glorious Revolution?"', *Albion* 19.4 (Winter 1987), 579-585. See also e.g. Jonathan I. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and Its World Impact* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1991); Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2009).

[12] Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-century England* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), 82-101; Ilan Rachum, 'The Meaning of "Revolution" in the English Revolution (1648–1660)', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56.2 (Apr. 1995), 195-215; Tim Harris, 'Did the English Have a Script for Revolution in the Seventeenth Century?', and David R. Como, 'God's Revolutions: England, Europe, and the Concept of Revolution in the Mid-seventeenth Century', in *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*, ed. Keith Michael Baker & Dan Edelstein (Stanford UP, 2015), 25-40, 41-56.

[13] H. T. Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth-century Debate on the "Glorious Revolution"', *History* 61.201 (1976), 28-45. See also e.g. Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*.

republican government as delayed "success[es]" of "the great revolutionary crisis of 1640–1660".[14] The attempts of his British successors to further amalgamate the cataclysmic events of that unstable period to the mainstream story of national success only domesticates their wildness.[15]

In the second half of the twentieth century, so-called 'revisionist' scholars highlighted the longevity of the monarchy and the fact that most people experienced the interregnum as a disturbing interruption of normal life. Nobody in "unrevolutionary England" wanted civil war, regicide, or the bewildering alterations of church and state. The so-called 'English Revolution'—actually a cluster of random misfortunes and misgovernance—had been counterfeited by modern-day Radicals and Marxists. There was no congruence between their paradigmatic modern revolutions and what happened in seventeenth-century England.[16] More recent scholars, however, have attended to the ways in which revolutionary self-consciousness is informed through historical comparison and forged revolutionary genealogies.[17] For instance, the republication in the 1690s of mid-century republican writings provided those who mistrusted the Williamite settlement with a powerful vocabulary and pantheon of heroes to emulate. Reprinted in the second half of the eighteenth century, these volumes likewise stimulated American and French revolutionaries.[18] Concentration on the transmission and transformation of revolutionary inheritances—typically

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[14] François Guizot, *Pourquoi la Révolution d'Angleterre a-t-elle Réussi?* (Paris: Victor Masson, 1850), 1, 49.

[15] Cf. Jonathon Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-century English Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), 23-24: "We have made that revolution comfortable by making it familiar, by making it an anticipation of ourselves. But it was not like that at all. It was pre-modern, frightening and strange. […] If we stopped trying to appropriate it, and allowed it to be what it was again, what was terrifying for contemporaries might recover the power to unsettle us too."

[16] See e.g. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion*; Glenn Burgess, 'On Revisionism: An Analysis of Early Stuart Historiography in the 1970s and 1980s', *The Historical Journal* 33.3 (1990), 609-627; McLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England*; Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, 147-251. The phrase 'unrevolutionary England' comes from Conrad Russell, *Unrevolutionary England, 1603–1642* (London & Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1990). See also John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993).

[17] See e.g. Vallance (ed.), *Remembering Early Modern Revolutions*; Baker & Edelstein (eds.), *Scripting Revolution*; Hessayon, 'Fabricating Radical Traditions', *Cromohs Virtual Seminars. Recent Historiographical Trends of the British Studies (17th – 18th Centuries)* (2006–2007) <http://www.fupress.net/public/journals/49/Seminar/hessayon2_radical.html> accessed 15 Jun. 2023.

[18] Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*; Joseph Hone, 'John Darby and the Whig Canon', *The Historical Journal* 64.5 (2021), 1257-1280; Rachel Hammersley, *The English Republican Tradition and Eighteenth-century France: Between the Ancients and the Moderns*, Studies in Early Modern European History (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 2010); Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-century Commonwealthsman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstances of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies*, [rev. ed.] (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

but not exclusively textually mediated—avoids reinscribing the older scholarship's teleological simplifications. Emphasising the self-fashioning and agency of those involved in insurgent actions, the focus shifts from the abstract progress of ideas to people's attitudes and activities. This methodological refinement has been used to establish the possibility (contrary to the revisionist perspective) that those who engaged in the mid-century conflicts developed out of foreign news, classical literature, and scripture, not only the concept of revolution, but also the awareness that they might be participating in one.[19] So state breakdown was temporary, and any long-lasting constitutional amendments were relatively minor. What happened in seventeenth-century England is better understood as a failed institutional revolution precipitating a sustained cultural transformation. The trauma of civil war, the ambiguities of unstable government, and the polyphony of religious and political opinions created the conditions for people "to think hitherto unthinkable thoughts."[20] An "intellectual" or "imaginative process" was activated, which unfolded into perhaps the second decade of the eighteenth century. There is broad consensus that (as Jonathan Scott puts it) "English radicalism, the profoundest consequence of seventeenth-century instability, *was* the English revolution".[21]

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[19] Harris, 'Did the English Have a Script for Revolution in the Seventeenth Century?'; Como, 'God's Revolutions'; Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-century Revolution* (London et al: Penguin Books, 1994), chap. 2. Cf. Manfred Brod, 'The Seeker Culture of the Thames Valley', *Cromohs Virtual Seminars. Recent Historiographical Trends of the British Studies (17th-18th Centuries)*, ed. Mario Caricchio & Giovanni Tarantino (2006–2007) <http://www.fupress.net/public/journals/49/Seminar/brod.html> accessed 7 Jun. 2023. Brod argues that for the "Seeker" group around Dr. John Pordage (see below), "[the] paradigm for revolution was the alchemical transmutation." Unlike the others' examples, Brod does not demonstrate that these people conceived of what was occuring as a revolution.

[20] Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution*, 19.

[21] Scott, *England's Troubles*, 33-37 (his emphasis); cf. e.g. *Radical Voices, Radical Ways: Articulating and Disseminating Radicalism in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Laurent Curelly & Nigel Smith, Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies, gen. ed. Anne Dunan-Page (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 2016), 1-37; *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century English Radicalism in Context*, ed. Ariel Hessayon & David Finnegan (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Nicholas McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination: Culture, Religion, and Revolution 1630–1660*, Oxford English Monographs, gen. eds. Christopher Butler et al (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Glenn Burgess, 'A Matter of Context: "Radicalism" and the English Revolution', *Cromohs Virtual Seminars. Recent Historiographical Trends of the British Studies (17th – 18th Centuries)*, ed. Mario Carrichio & Giovanni Tarantino (2006–2007) <https://oajournals.fupress.net/public/journals/9/Seminar/burgess_radicalism.html> accessed 15 Jun. 2023. Cf. *English Radicalism, 1550–1850*, ed. Glenn Burgess & Matthew Festenstein (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2007), in which only some contributors accept this paradigm. For the longue durée, see the essays gathered in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The English Revolution c. 1590–1720: Politics, Religion and Communities* (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 2007). Tyacke's justifications (pp.14, 20) hinge on the complex unfolding over time of core intertwined religious and political problems. Although the connection is not made by these scholars—chiefly focused on politics and religion—the phenomena collectively known as 'the scientific revolution' are also relevant.

This terminological preference reflects the impact of Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972), which updates his basic Marxist interpretation under the influence of the counterculture of the late 1960s.[22] While this book remains many people's entrée to study of the English Revolution, revisionist scholars scorn the premise that a seventeenth-century avant-garde made some "undefined—often unexamined—contribution to a radical, liberal, socialist, (if you're lucky) feminist tradition."[23] I sympathise with recent contrary attempts to establish a transhistorical taxonomy of radicalism presumably capable of assimilating a Quaker prophet at Whitehall with a Queer protester at Stonewall.[24] But only around the time of the French Revolution did the adjective *radical* morph into the sociopolitical sense from which Jeremy Bentham coined the *-ism* (1817) that generated the noun (c.1820). In the seventeenth century, the adjective chiefly referred to a medical or spiritual cure that worked on the *radix* or root of an affliction (*OED*). As J. C. D. Clark demonstrates, the classificatory framework in which it is embedded, radical/left-wing, conservative/right-wing, moderate/centre, is encrusted with connotations specific to nineteenth-century British politics.[25] Tim Cooper pithily articulates the paradox involved in applying these terms to people in the seventeenth century: "To be 'conservative' was to protect what was precious; to be 'radical' […] was simply to cut back all unwelcome innovation in an effort, again, to conserve what was precious."[26] However, these terms are not simply anachronistic. As Conal Condren stresses, they also constitute "a mutually defining

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[22] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London et al: Penguin Books, 1985); James G. Crossley, *Harnessing Chaos: The Bible in English Political Discourse since 1968* (London: T & T Clark, 2014), chap. 2; John Morrill, 'Which World Turned Upside Down', *Prose Studies* 36.3 (2014), 231-242.

[23] J. C. Davis, *Alternative Worlds Imagined, 1500-1700: Essays on Radicalism, Utopianism and Reality*, Palgrave Studies in Utopianism, ser. ed. Gregory Claeys (Gewerbestrasse: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 16; cf. e.g. Conal Condren, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-century England*, Studies in Modern History, gen. ed. J. C. D. Clark (Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), e.g. 149, 165-166; J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion*, 97-103. For recent evaluations of Hill's book, see Michael J. Braddick (ed.), 'Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down*, Revisited', special issue, *Prose Studies* 36.3 (2014); Harman Bhogal with Liam Haydon, *An Analysis of Christopher Hill's The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*, Macat Library (London: Macat International Ltd, 2017).

[24] E.g. Currelly & Smith, *Radical Voices, Radical Ways*.

[25] J. C. D. Clark, 'Religion and the Origins of Radicalism in Nineteenth-century Britain', in *English Radicalism 1550–1850*, 241-284; Condren, *The Language of Politics*, 144-155. Condren restates the same arguments in the 2007 essay cited below (n.30).

[26] Tim Cooper, *Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-century England: Richard Baxter and Antinomianism* (Aldershot et al: Ashgate, 2001), 5, summarising Condren, *The Language of Politics*.

set of dispositional labels", which therefore, implicitly impute intentionality to their subjects. Employing them in inapposite contexts runs the unacceptable risk of misrepresenting the very attitudes, opinions, and behaviours they are meant to elucidate.[27]

The dismissal of the revisionist case as nominalist nit-picking causes a critical blindspot about the main issue it was intended to address. Laurent Currelly and Nigel Smith's introduction to *Radical Voices, Radical Ways* (2016), for example, parades as a response to "the over-restrictive 'nominalist' approach" but merely transposes all the problems with the older scholarship into a hyper-sophisticated mode.[28] Yet Condren's point is clear:

> [T]he noun radical and the covering term radicalism remain Trojan horses taking with
> them a whole delineating subset of the vocabulary, a descriptive perspective and its
> multiple associations into an alien past [...] If the world is not naturally divided into
> radicals and non-radicals such as conservatives, reactionaries or moderates we are in a
> better position to distinguish strategic uses of shared language from what we might simply
> assume to be familiar doctrinal fissures beneath it.[29]

One of the few recent commentators to take the revisionist critique seriously, Glenn Burgess, notes that "[r]adicalism, if that is the right word, [...] was forged, and forged repeatedly, from the discursive and cultural materials [...] that lay to hand."[30] As is obvious to anyone who engages with seventeenth-century literature, the primary resource from and through which people articulated their thinking (innovative or otherwise) was the Bible in English. [31] The older

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[27] Condren, *The Language of Politics*, 155; Glenn Burgess, 'Radicalism and the English Revolution', in *English Radicalism, 1550–1850*, 62-86 (at 63). Cf. Ariel Hessayon and David Finnegan, 'Introduction: Reappraising Early Modern Radicals and Radicalisms', in *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century Radicalism in Context*, 1-30 (at 13): "we may not be able to define early modern radicalism, but we know it when we see it." This cavalier attitude shows they have not understood Condren's point.

[28] Laurent Currelly & Nigel Smith, 'Introduction', *Radical Voices, Radical Ways*, 1-37 (at 5). One really must read at least the first half of the essay to grasp my point. But e.g.: "Radicalism in an evasive concept that does not lend itself to easy categorisation. [...] This volume makes a case for adopting a 'functional' approach [...] We suggest four distinguishing features. First, radicalism is of an oppositional quality [...] radicalism is temporary in essence [...] radicalism [is] a polymorphous category [...] [radicalism] allows idiosyncratic voices to express themselves." It should be noticed that, by the last point, their 'polymorphous functional category' is somehow acting on real people.

[29] Conal Condren, 'Afterword: Radicalism Revisited', *English Radicalism, 1550–1850*, 311- 337 (at 324, 327).

[30] Burgess, 'Radicalism and the English Revolution', 68. Note Burgess, 'Matter of Context': "I suspect the sceptics are right, and that we would be better to find words and categories that cut less across the grain of the seventeenth-century past; but I suspect just as strongly that any hope of doing without the category of radicalism is a forlorn one."

[31] Cf. Hill, *The English Bible*, 7-8 & passim.

designation 'Puritan Revolution'—despite that descriptor's ambiguity after the Church of England's disintegration in the 1640s—retains some value insomuch as it highlights the centrality of theology (broadly conceived) to the military and socio-political conflicts. The modern distinction between 'politics' and 'religion' has little meaning in the context of seventeenth-century England. Clergymen produced political theory, politicians could be apocalyptic mystics, soldiers were servants of God, and fanatical sectaries constituted an influential 'base' to be swayed or repressed. Burgess argues that "what we take to be radicalism was most often the dramatic political impact of extreme religious beliefs". He stresses that the tendency to assert divine providence, especially within the sectarian milieu, however, "made it next to impossible […] to generate an account of human agency of the sort we find in modern radical political theories." The only possible radical revolutionary in their "anti-politics" is "the Lord GOD" who proclaims, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn, it" (Eze. 21:27).[32] Contrary to older scholarly and persistent popular interpretations, this awful notion should not be translated into a commitment to the anthropocentric values of freedom, equality, and tolerance.[33] The people in seventeenth-century England who seem to anticipate modern 'progressive' ideals often came to them through overwhelming experiences of an indwelling Christ, by working out their salvation with fear and trembling (cf. Phl. 2:12). Moreover, it is inane to maintain that *conservative*, *radical*, and *moderate* are "fluid, situational categories that contravene conventional boundaries in complex ways".[34] Their polemical corruption—especially in contemporary American political discourse—has rendered them oxymoronic and redundant. I want to allow the literary voices of my protagonists to ring true without first being processed through a misleading categorical vocabulary.

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[32] Burgess, 'A Matter of Context'.

[33] Cf. Condren, *The Language of Politics*, 166: "It is in this context that one should see Hill's understanding of Gerrard Winstanley. He urges us to penetrate the mystical politico-religious rhetoric and get 'through to the thought beneath'. It is quaint way of urging us to ignore pretty well all that is left of Winstanley. The result is predictable. Winstanley turns out to have been thinking neo-Ricardian thoughts on the economy." Cf. MacLachlan, *The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary England*, 296 (also writing about Hill): "The biblical idiom […] was a hegemonic 'false consciousness' […] which needed to be exposed and demystified."

[34] Hessayon & Finnegan, 'Introduction', 13.

Chapter 2. Introducing the Topic: Rationale, Scope, and Historiography.

A few years ago I came up with a new word. I was fed up with the old art-history idea of genius – the notion that gifted individuals turn up out of nowhere and light the way for all the rest of us dummies to follow. I became (and still am) more and more convinced that the important changes in cultural history were actually the product of very large numbers of people and circumstances conspiring to make something new. I call this 'scenius' – it means 'the intelligence and intuition of a whole cultural scene'. It is the communal form of the concept of genius.

—BRIAN ENO, 'Letter to Dave Stewart' (1996)

This dissertation is a chronological set of tightly contextualised close readings of writings a group of people with close ties to government produced in the first six months of 1659. The focal period comprises the first parliament under the hereditary Lord Protector, Richard Cromwell, the nonviolent overthrow of the Protectorate by a confederate of republican politicians and military leaders, and the revival of the audacious parliament that had tried and executed Charles I. This parliament had been dissolved by military coup d'état in April 1653 and would be again in October 1659. The arbitrating New Model Army was riven by faction—supporters of the Protectorate, closet royalists, devotees of the political theories of *James Harrington, enthusiastic believers in an imminent apocalypse—and even individual officers' loyalties were conflicted. The coalition of Commonwealthsmen, which had been meeting at *Sir Henry Vane's residence in Hampstead since late 1658, was likewise split between adherents of the rationalist Harrington and the spiritualist Vane (see **Chapters 4–5**).[35] Yet, as Ruth Mayers observes, the tendency to construe the chaotic events of this year as revealing an "inevitable" drift towards the coronation of Charles II "reflects not only lingering partisan prejudice, but a real historiographic problem." It is a cliché that history

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[35] I have leaned on Godfrey Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II: 1658–1660* (London et al: Oxford UP, 1969); Earl Malcolm Hause, *Tumble-down Dick: The Fall of the House of Cromwell* (New York: Exposition Press, Inc., 1972); Austin Woolrych, 'Historical Introduction', *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. VII, rev. ed., gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1980), 1-228; Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658–1667* (Oxford et al: Clarendon Press, 1985); Ruth E. Mayers, *1659: The Crisis of the Commonwealth*, Royal Historical Society Studies in History: New Studies, con. ed. David Eastwood (Suffolk/Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2004).

is told by the winners. But in this instance, Mayers argues, scholars have unwittingly accepted the exaggerations of royalist propaganda both during and after the events. The inherent instability and complexity of this pivotal year—along with the dramatic increase in publishing due to diffident government oversight of the press—impels scholars to "pass [it] over" as merely transitional.[36] The advantage of my approach is twofold. First, concentrating on a defined group of people provides a consistent focal point amid the rapidly changing circumstances. Second, proceeding chronologically rather than thematically avoids either prematurely reaching for significance (typically located in the restoration of the monarchy) or becoming lost in the dynamic exchange between events and the writings which both comment upon and provoke them.[37]

The group at the centre of this study was first publicly identified in February 1659. As will be seen, their contemporaries interchangeably designate them a 'sect' and a 'party'. Whereas the primarily religious associations of the first term are consistent from late antiquity, the specifically political associations of the second only appear around 1680 with the division of English parliament into Whigs and Tories. Prior to this time, *party* (from *partīrī* = to apportion, divide) meant something like "[a] group of people […] united in maintaining a cause, policy, or opinion in opposition to others; a faction." (*OED*) The apparent synonymity of these terms—as if *sect* derived from *secāre* (to cut, divide) rather than *sequī* (to follow)—clarifies the sense in which seventeenth-century commentators use the former (see **Chapter 3**). I am especially interested in the vernacular mystical or 'experimental' theology that flourished in seventeenth-century

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[36] Mayers, *1659*, 4-5.
[37] As Mayers observes, the former is the problem with Davies', Woolrych's, and Hutton's accounts. The latter is the problem with her own.

England.[38] I have no special religious commitments.[39] The path that led to this dissertation began with a love of poetry, and in particular, an Honours thesis on John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667/1674). Like true poetry, mystical theology tends to be sensitive to paradoxes of language. Moreover, poets and mystics indebted to religions of the book draw on rich storehouses of astonishing, enigmatic, and scandalous verbal imagery with extensive multifaceted reception histories—decontextualising, juxtaposing, and rhapsodising fragments in intertextual tapestries to provoke further revelation.[40] And there was a kind of literary or imaginative revolution in seventeenth-century England.[41] Even political tractates feature bracingly bizarre statements like "the foundations of Government shall be laid [...] upon that Corner-stone [...] upon [which] there are seven eyes".[42] Increased literacy, innovations in print technology and the cultures of publishing and reading, inconsistent regulation of the press, widespread spiritual enthusiasm and apocalyptic expectations, and a willingness of those with education and resources to listen to and promote more marginal voices—such circumstances brought about a situation Alec Ryrie describes (without hyperbole) as "one of the great explosive moments of religious and sectarian creativity in world history".[43]

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[38] See e.g. T. A. Birrell, *Aspects of Recusant History*, ed. Jos Blom, Frans Korsten, & Frans Blom, Variorum Collected Studies (London & New York: Routledge, 2021), chap. 8; Liam Peter Temple, *Mysticism in Early Modern England* (Suffolk/Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2019); Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Thomas Wilson Hayes, 'Nicholas of Cusa and Popular Literacy in Seventeenth-century England', *Studies in Philology* 84.1 (Winter 1987), 80-94; Jerald C. Brauer, 'Types of Puritan Piety', *Church History* 56.1 (Mar. 1987), 39-58; Jerald C. Brauer, 'Puritan Mysticism and the Development of Liberalism', *Church History* 19.3 (Sep. 1950), 151-170; Rufus M. Jones, *Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth: Being the William Belden Noble Lectures Delivered in Harvard University, 1930–1931* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965); Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1919), chaps. 17-20; Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1914), chaps. 12–17.
[39] I should extend this self-exegesis by acknowledging my position as a middle-aged, cisgendered, bisexual, lower-middle-class, relatively highly educated, white Australian man of English, Scottish, Irish, German, and Polish heritage. My parents had rejected their Catholic and Anglican/Uniting upbringings before I was born. Despite formally studying Christian theology for seven years, I have only twice attended a church service. I revere the Bible as profound literature of immense cultural significance—passages of which may well be divinely inspired—but no more or less than any other holy book.
[40] Cf. e.g. Edward Howells & Mark A. McIntosh (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2020); Steven T. Katz (ed.) *Mysticism and Language* (New York/Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992).
[41] See e.g. McDowell, *English Radical Imagination*; Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*; Scott, *England's Troubles*, pt. 2.
[42] Henry Vane, *A Needful Corrective* (n.p. 1659), 9.
[43] Alec Ryrie, 'The Republic of King Jesus', Gresham College Lecture (Dec. 2016) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mK5-UaRSSSs&t=323s> at 5:17-5:32. See eg. Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2003); McDowell, *English Radical Imagination*; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading*

My work aims to show theologising as contingent, occasional, embodied, and collaborative. Although seventeenth-century England carries more than its fair share of 'great men of history'—a product of the myth of British cultural dominance—it was (as Ryrie implies) from within the sectarian milieu that creativity really exploded. Emphasis on shared salvific experiences, communal worship, and collaborative endeavour makes this scene an excellent locus for illustrating tightly contextualised collective theologising. *Richard Baxter is the main witness to the existence of my focal group. He first mentions them in his private correspondence in April 1658 and last in an addendum to his voluminous *Catholick Theologie* in 1675.[44] He named them *Vanists* or *Vani* after their figurehead, Sir Henry Vane (cf. *OED*), though he also relishes connotations from the Latin adjective *vānus* (empty, vain) and the biblical "[v]anity of vanities" (Ecc. 1:2, 12:8).[45] His retrospective analysis of the mid-century sectarian scene (written c.1665–1675) lists them first and foremost: "In these times […] sprang up five Sects at least, whose Doctrines were almost the same, but they fell into several Shapes and Names: I. The *Vanists:* 2. The *Seekers:* 3. The *Ranters:* 4. The *Quakers:* 5. The Behmenists."[46] Posthumously published in the widely read *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* (ˢ23 Jun. 1696), this account underwrites every discussion of mid-seventeenth-century religious diversity for almost the next three hundred years. It remains at least a tacit substratum in more

Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England (New Haven & London: Yale UP, 2000); Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, Literature in History, ser. ed. David Bromwich, James Chandler, & Lionel Gossman (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994); Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*; Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London/Boston: Faber and Faber, 1977); Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*; Fred S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1965).

[44] Richard Baxter, 'To John Howe' (3 Apr. 1658), #443, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, ed. N. H. Keeble & Geoffrey Nuttall, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 299-301 (at 300); Richard Baxter, *Catholick Theologie* (Neville Simmons, 1675), 107-118. The latter is "*Notes on some passages of Mr.* Peter Sterries *Book of Free-will*", and while it does not explicitly mention the Vanists, Baxter had already identified Sterry as a key Vanist (see below), and he introduces this section, "I find in [Sterry] the same notions […] as in Sr *H. Vane*".

[45] Cf. N. H. Keeble, 'Words and Richard Baxter', *The Seventeenth Century* (2021), 1-23 (at 8-9, 15); William M. Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millenium: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution*, Croom Helm Social History Series, gen. eds. J. F. C. Harrison & Stephen Yeo (London: Croon Helm, 1979), 196.

[46] Richard Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, ed. Matthew Sylvester (T. Parkhurst, J. Robinson, J. Lawrence, & J. Dunton, 1696), 74-78 (at 74). On the composition and editing of Baxter's memoirs, see e.g. N. H. Keeble, 'The Autobiographer as Apologist: *Reliquae Baxterianae* (1696)', *The Literature of Controversy: Polemical Strategy from Milton to Junius*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (London/Totowa: F. Cass, 1987), 107-119; William Lamont, 'False Witnesses? The English Civil War and English Ecumenism', *The Development of Pluralism in Modern Britain and France*, ed. Richard Bonney & D. J. B. Trim (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 89-107; Tim Cooper, 'Conversion, Autobiography and Richard Baxter's *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696)', *The Seventeenth Century* 29:2 (2014), 113-129.

recent research.[47] Yet the many who have cited it overlook Baxter's repurposing of material from *A Key for Catholicks* (ˢ10 Feb. 1659), which he "confess[es]", was intended "to lessen [Vane's] Reputation, and make men take him for what *Cromwell* (that better knew him) called him a *Jugler*".[48] Baxter's polemical construction of the Vanists, therefore, is central to what is probably the single most influential account of the mid-century sectarian scene. Although as many pages of *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* are devoted to them as to the other four "Sects" combined, the Vanists are the only one to have thus far eluded dedicated study.[49]

It is not difficult to discern the reason for this neglect. David Masson's scepticism in the trailblazing *Life of John Milton* (1858–1880) may be taken as representative: "Is it in a spirit of

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[47] Cf. e.g. Lamont, 'False Witnesses?', 90: "Of [Baxter's] memoirs, one historian has said that they command 'an almost religious reliance' from fellow historians." Lamont's essay is a demonstration of the problems with this widespread uncritical reliance.

[48] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76.

[49] For studies focused on Vane, however, see e.g. Margaret A. Judson, *The Political Thought of Sir Henry Vane the Younger*, Hanley Foundation Series (Philadelphia: U of Philadelphia P, 1969); Violet A. Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger: A Study in Political and Administrative History*, University of London Historical Studies (London: The Athlone Press, 1970); J. H. Adamson & H. F. Folland, *Sir Harry Vane: His Life and Times (1613–1662)* (Boston: Gambit, 1973); J. Max Patrick, 'The Idea of Liberty in the Theological Writings of Sir Henry Vane', *The Dissenting Tradition: Essays for Leland H. Carlson*, ed. C. Robert Cole & Michael E. Moody (Athens: Ohio UP, 1975), 100-107; Timothy Eustace, 'Sir Henry Vane the Younger', *Statesmen and Politicians of the Stuart Age*, ed. Timothy Eustace (n.p.: MacMillan Education, 1985), 141-156; Paul Harris, 'Young Sir Henry Vane's Arguments for Freedom of Conscience', *Political Science* 40.1 (Jul. 1988), 34-48; John H. F. Hughes, 'The Commonwealthmen Divided: Edmund Ludlow, Sir Henry Vane and the Good Old Cause 1653–1659', *The Seventeenth Century* 5.1 (1990), 55-70; W. Clark Gilpin, 'Sir Henry Vane: Mystical Piety in the Puritan Revolution', *Death, Ecstasy, and Other Worldly Journeys*, ed. John J. Collins & Michael Fishbane (Albany: State U of New York P, 1995), 361- 380; Ruth E. Mayers, 'Real and Practicable, Not Imaginary and Notional: Sir Henry Vane, "A Healing Question", and the Problems of the Protectorate', *Albion* 28.1 (Spring 1996), 37-72; Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636–1641* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton UP, 2002); David Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane, Theologian: A Study in Seventeenth-century Religious and Political Discourse* (Madison/Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson UP / London: Associated UP, 1997); David Parnham, 'Reconfiguring Mercy and Justice: Sir Henry Vane on Adam, the "Natural Man", and the Politics of the Conscience', *The Journal of Religion* 79.1 (Jan. 1999), 54-85; David Parnham, 'Politics Spun out of Theology and Prophecy: Sir Henry Vane on the Spiritual Environment of Public Power', *History of Political Thought* 22.1 (Spring 2001), 53-83; David Parnham, 'The Nurturing of Righteousness: Sir Henry Vane on Freedom and Discipline', *Journal of British Studies* 42.1 (Jan. 2003), 1-34; David Parnham, 'Soul's Trial and Spirit's Voice: Sir Henry Vane against the "Orthodox"', *The Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 70.3 (Sep. 2007), 365-400; David Parnham, 'John Cotton's Bequest to Sir Henry Vane the Younger', *Westminster Theological Journal* 72 (2010), 71-101; John Coffey, 'The Martyrdom of Sir Henry Vane the Younger: From Apocalyptic Witness to Heroic Whig', *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England c.1400–1700*, ed. Thomas S. Freeman & Thomas F. Mayer, Studies in Modern British Religious History, gen. ed. Stephen Taylor, Arthur Burns, & Kenneth Fincham (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 221-239; Feisal G. Mohamed, *In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of the Angels from Colet to Milton* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: U of Toronto P, 2008), chap. 4; Feisal G. Mohamed, 'Milton, Sir Henry Vane, and the Brief but Significant Life of Godly Republicanism', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 76.1 (2013), 83-104; Martin Dzelzainis, 'Harrington and the Oligarchs: Milton, Vane, and Stubbe', *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism*, ed. Dirk Wiemann & Gaby Mahlberg (London & New York: Routledge, 2016), 15-34; Martin Dzelzainis, 'Milton, Sir Henry Vane the Younger, and the Toleration of Catholics', *Milton and Catholicism*, ed. Ronald Corthell & Thomas N. Corns (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P, 2017), 65-82; Padraig Lawlor, '"Oliver Was So Drunk with the Philtre of His Power; He Had Grown Corrupt": Sir Henry Vane's Political Theology', *Political Theology* 20.7 (2019), 556-573.

mischief that Baxter names THE VANISTS, or disciples of Sir Henry Vane the younger, as one of the recognised sects of this time? […] [T]he sect of the VANISTS existed perhaps mainly in Baxter's fancy."[50] The same incredulous attitude echoes in the work of more recent scholars careful to attribute the label to Baxter and couch it in scare-quotes: e.g. "Baxter invoked the specter of the sect of 'Vanists'".[51] And it is true that there is no unambiguously independent evidence that a sect known as the Vanists existed. In controversial pamphlets of the mid-1670s, Henry Danvers and Thomas Delaune insistently remind Baxter about "[his] slanderous Reviling of the Vanists and Anabaptists".[52] Danvers was close to Vane, so could have exposed any fabrication, yet he reifies the Vanists the same as the established sect for which he is a spokesperson.[53] However, these Baptist controversialists are simply responding to Baxter's total excision of the Vanists from the second edition of *A Key for Catholicks* (1674).[54] On the other hand, all Baxter's sect-names entered public discourse as derisive exonyms between 1640 and 1660 (*OED*). Indeed, Baxter himself seems to have coined (or introduced into English) the now-standard label for those who follow the teachings of Bohemian mystic, Jakob Böhme (1575–1624). The polemical contexts in which he did so are virtually identical to those into which he later foisted *Vanist*.[55] Around the time *Reliquiæ*

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[50] David Masson, *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time*, vol. 5 (London: MacMillan and Co., 1877), 22. See also John Hunt, *Religious Thought in England: From the Reformation to the End of the Last Century*, vol. 1 (London: Strahan & Co., 1870), 234, 240; Henry C. Sheldon, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. 3 (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1894), 526-527.

[51] Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, 28; cf. 58. See also e.g. Adamson & Folland, *Sir Harry Vane*, 320; Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution*, 226; Mario Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem: Giles Calvert and the Radical Experience', in *Varieties of Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-century Radicalism*, 69-86 (at 79). Others just keep the scare-quotes: e.g. Winship, *Making Heretics*, 245. The few exceptions will be highlighted below.

[52] Thomas Delaune, *Truth Defended* (Francis Smith, 1677), 28. See also Henry Danvers, *A Second Reply in Defence of the Treatise of Baptism* (Francis Smith, 1675), 170-174, 258; Henry Danvers, *A Third Reply* (n.p. 1676), 9-10.

[53] See Carolyn Polizzotto, 'The Campaign against *The Humble Proposals* of 1652', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38.4 (Oct. 1987), 569-581 (570-571). For more on Danvers (c.1619–1688), see *ODNB* and also Richard L. Greaves, 'The Tangled Careers of Two Stuart Radicals: Henry and Robert Danvers', *Baptist Quarterly* 29:1 (1981), 32-43.

[54] Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks* […] *The Second Edition Much Corrected and Augmented* (Neville Simmons, 1674). Cf. Josiah Allport, 'Editor's Preface', in Richard Baxter, *A Key for Catholics* […] *A New Edition, Revised and Corrected*, ed. Josiah Allport (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. / Nottingham: W. Dearden, 1839), xix-xxxiii (at xxxi): "the *omissions* are more remarkable than either the alterations or the additions."

[55] E.g. Richard Baxter, *The Safe Religion* (1657), sig.b2ʳ: "Do you think I see not the game that you are now playing in the darke in *England*, in the persons of Seekers, Behmenists, Paracelsians, Origenists, Quakers, and Anabaptists?" See also Richard Baxter, *The Quakers Cat{e}chism* (Thomas Underhill & Francis Tyton, 1655), sig.C3ᵛ; Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus* (Neville Simmons, 1656), 124-125, 271; Richard Baxter, *One Sheet against the Quakers* (Neville Simmons, 1657), 1, 12-13. Only from the end of 1657 did others start using the term. I have not yet found prior usage in German or Latin but suspect the German *Böhmisten* underlies the English term.. Cf. Ariel Hessayon, 'Jacob Boehme and the Early Quakers', *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 60.3 (2005), 191-223 (esp. 196-199). See below for the Vanists.

Baxterianæ was published, the people Baxter designates as "the chiefest [*Behmenists*] in *England*"—Dr. John Pordage and his "Family-Communion"—announced themselves as The Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Piety and Divine Philosophy (cf. Rev. 3:7-13). A remnant of this group subsisted into the second half of the eighteenth century.[56] That Baxter's label seems never to have been used as a self-designation has not discouraged scholars from generally adopting it.

Despite rejecting the Vanists' existence, specialists have continued to use Baxter's neologism as an adjective or attributive noun. Sometimes this slips into subliminally reviving the notion of a sect: e.g. "the Vanist School", "Vanist saints", "Vanist soteriology", "Vanist spirituality", "Vanist theology", "Vanist religion".[57] One peculiar feint has Vane's protégé "wr[iting] in the cause, if not the pay, of the Vanians."[58] Another recent instance transforms the names of seventeenth-century parties into analytical categories with unclear relation to historical circumstances: "the 'religious' Vanists […] and the 'secular' Harringtonians".[59] Scholars find Baxter's coinage convenient—even if only to designate a vague quiddam perhaps tangentially related to the phantom "Sect" upon which he bestowed the name. And yet most also accept that

[56] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 77-78. On the Philadelphian Society, see e.g. B. J. Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought: Behmenism and Its Development in England*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2002); Arthur Versluis, *Wisdom's Children: A Christian Esoteric Tradition*, SUNY Series in Western Esoteric Traditions, ed. David Appelbaum (Albany: State U of New York P, 1999); Paula McDowell, 'Enlightenment Enthusiasms and the Spectacular Failure of the Philadelphian Society', *Eighteenth-century Studies* 35:4 (2002), 515-533; Sarah Apetrei, *Women, Feminism and Religion in Early Enlightenment England*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. John Morrill, Ethan Shagan, Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2010), esp. pt. 2; Ariel Hessayon (ed.), *Jane Lead and Her Transnational Legacy*, Christianities in the Trans-Atlantic World, 1500–1800, ser. ed. Crawford Gribben & R. Scott Spurlock (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016). For their long continuation, see Donovan Dawe, *Skilbecks: Drysalters* 1650–1950 (London: Skilbeck Brothers, 1950), chap. 5 (at 45-46): "One of the earliest Behmenist offspring of the Philadelphian Society was the church or meeting house in Bow Lane, formed about 1706. Here it was that Allen Leppington [d.1769] […] became a leading figure in a group which adopted first [Dionysius Andreas] Freher [d.1728] and later William Law [d.1761] as the spiritual successors to the master, Behmen." See also John Madziarczyk (ed.) *Hermetic Behmenists: Writings from Dionysius Andreas Freher, Francis Lee, Richard Roach, and Christopher Walton* (Seattle: Topaz House Publications, 2017). Further references to the Pordage group (prior to the 1690s) are provided below.

[57] David Masson, *The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time*, vol. 6 (London: MacMillan and Co. 1880), 318; Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, 121, 175; Parnham, 'Reconfiguring Mercy and Justice', 77; Parnham, 'Soul's Trial and Spirit's Voice', 365; Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623–1677*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1988), 109, 117.

[58] James R. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe, Radical Protestantism and the Early Enlightenment* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1983), 25

[59] Dirk Wiemann & Gaby Mahlberg, 'Introduction: Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism', *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism*, 1-12 (at 5). This usage appears to be borrowed from Jonathan Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2004), e.g. 140, 145.

Vane and his wife Frances (née Wray) attracted communities that recognised them as spiritual authorities. It is an historiographical quirk that commentators have attended more to the "Shapes and Names" into which Baxter divides the "Sects" than to his observation that "[their] Doctrines were almost the same". What distinguishes his five sects are idiosyncrasies such as the Behmenists' "sensible Communion with Angels" or the Ranters' "Words of Blasphemy". What they have in common is their "call[ing] men to hearken to the Christ within them" instead of "the Church, the Scripture, the present Ministry, and our Worship and Ordinances".[60] So, while no independent evidence corroborates the existence of a sect known as Vanists, there is plenty of evidence of a sect that followed Vane.

The information in Gilbert Burnet's popular *History of His Own Time* (1724, 1734), was "told to" the former Bishop of Salisbury (d.1715) by "one who knew [Vane] well":

> [Sir Henry Vane] was naturally a very fearful man […] He had a head as darkened in his notions of religion, as his mind was clouded with fear: for though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called *seekers*, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself[.][61]

Although using a more generic sect-name, Burnet's account (written c.1683–1705) observes that Vane's party met for communal religious practice, including 'waiting', 'preaching', and 'praying'. It is curious that Baxter writes so little in *Reliquiæ Baxterinæ* about "that [Sect] called

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[60] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76. This is said under the head of the Ranters but "as the former [i.e. the Seekers]". Cf. also "[the Quakers] were but the Ranters turned from horrid Prophaneness and Blasphemy […] Their Doctrines were mostly the same with the Ranters". "[The Behmenists'] Opinions go much toward the way of the former [i.e. the Quakers]". To sum: the Ranters are like the Seekers, the Quakers are like the Ranters, and the Behmenists are like the Quakers.

[61] Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time: A New Edition Based on that of M. J. Routh*, ed. Osmond Airy, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), 284-285. On this perennially popular history, see e.g. Martin Greig, 'A Peculiar Talent in Writing History: Gilbert Burnet and His *History of My Own Time*', *The Journal of the British Records Association* 32.116 (Apr. 2007), 19-27. Burnet's uncle, Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston (d.1663), who worked closely with Vane in the 1640s and 1650s may have been his informant. However, whereas Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, vol. 1, ed. Gilbert Burnet Jr. (Thomas Ward, 1724), 164, also mentions "[Vane's] friends", Airy's more reliable version (from the manuscript) has "[Vane's] friend", which appears to refer to the "one who knew him well". The evidence of Vane and Wariston's interactions (Wariston's diary is cited below) suggests mutual respect and collaboration but not friendship.

Seekers".[62] A decade earlier, he had echoed the Presbyterian heresiographers of the 1640s by

suggesting they were the most numerous and threatening.[63] Yet he does report that "[the *Seekers*]

closed with the *Vanists*, and sheltered themselves under them, as if they had been the very same."[64]

In an historical sense, that is, those who were Seekers more or less became Vanists (perhaps in the

later 1650s). In a categorical sense—more relevant here—*Seeker* and *Vanist* are virtually

interchangeable terms. One of Vane's apologists noticed this in 1659: "those that he calls

SEEKERS, and in a *Satyrical* Vane, VANISTS".[65] In *A Key for Catholicks*, contrary to his later

reticence, Baxter elaborates "those called *Seekers*" into six "Sub-divisions, or Sects":

> [1] *Seekers* for the *true Church* and *Ministry*.
>
> [2] *Seekers* whether there be any Organized Political Church, or any Ministry, or any Ordinances proper to a Church at all, or not. And withall they yield that private men may Declare the Word, and pray together, and read the Scripture.
>
> [3] *Seekers* that *flatly deny any Ministry*, and Political Churches, and Church-ordinances on Earth, as things that are lost in an *Universal Apostacy*.
>
> [4] *Seekers* who maintain that we have no certainty that the Scripture is true, or that we have the same that was written by the Apostles, or that there is such a thing as a true Ministry, or State of Christianity in the World. At the second coming of Christ, when again he shall be witnessed by Miracles, it will again become a duty to be Christians.
>
> [5] *Seekers* that own the Church and Ministry, and Ordinances; but yet suppose themselves above them in a *higher state*, having received the *Spirit*, and having the Law once written in their hearts.

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[62] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76. While Baxter and Burnet definitely knew each other, it is unlikely that Burnet read Baxter's memoirs in manuscript. His comments of Vane, however, do indicate familiarity with *A Key for Catholicks*.

[63] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 331: "among whom I have reason to believe the Papists have not the least of their strength in England at this day." Cf. e.g. Thomas Edwards, *The Second Part of Gangræna* (Ralph Smith, 1646), 13-14: "The sect of the Seekers growes very much, and all sorts of Sectaries turn Seekers […] [W]hosoever lives but a few yeers (if the Sects be suffered to go on) will see that all the other Sects of Independents, Brownists, Antinomians; Anabaptists will be swallowed up in the Seekers, *alias* Libertines, many are gone already, and multitudes are going that way".

[64] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76.

[65] John Rogers, Διαπολιτεία. *A Christian Concertation with Mr. Prin, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Harrington, for the True Cause of the Commonwealth* (Livewell Chapman, 1659), 20. Thomason's date (20 Sep. 1659) is obviously too late for this book. James Harrington's rejoinder, *A Parallel of the Spirit of the People, with the Spirit of Mr. Rogers* (Henry Fletcher, 1659), is internally dated "Septem. 2. 1659." and declared (p.6) to "ha[ve] been the Employment of two or three hours in a rainy day." In a letter to Baxter on 6 Sep., #601, in *Calendar of Correspondence*, vol. 1, 408-409, William Allen writes: "Two bookes this week out against you, one by Mr. Stubbs; another by Mr. Rogers." This makes it almost certain that Διαπολιτεία was published on 1 Sep. 1659.

[6] *Seekers* that think that the Law was the Fathers Administration, and the Gospel Ministry and Sacraments are the Sons Administration, and that both these are now past, and the season of the Spirits Administration is come, which all must attend, and quit the lower forms.[66]

This apparent diversity and the shared withdrawal from all institutional and formal worship prompts most modern commentators to conclude that Seekers constitute "a more or less contagious *movement or tendency of thought*, which affected groups of people […] without producing any unifying, cementing organization." They were not—could not by definition—be a sect.[67] As will be discussed in the next chapter (**Chapter 3**), something similar has been argued concerning the Ranters, which creates a bizarre scenario in which three-fifths of Baxter's "Sects" have been redefined as not sects or just out of existence.[68] Given this conceptualisation, it is understandable that scholars chary about a 'sect of Vanists' are comfortable referring to "Vane's little band of Seekers" or "the circle of friends sharing Henry Vane's 'obscure' theological opinions."[69] But the prevailing paradigm of an amorphous 'Seeker milieu' does not seem appropriate for those who turned to Vane as a religious authority and organiser of collective action.

It is patronising to assume that everyone in the seventeenth century misunderstood and mislabelled everything they experienced or observed. It seems more likely that there is a problem applying contemporary understandings of *sect* to seventeenth-century circumstances (see **Chapter 3**). Recent scholarship suggests the dominant critical paradigm is being re-evaluated. Alec Ryrie observes that all available evidence indicates Seekers were not "alienated individuals" but "gathered

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[66] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 332-334. These descriptions have been condensed for the sake of clarity, but I have been careful not to transgress Baxter's sense.

[67] Rufus Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, 452. Jones was also including this Ranters in this description. I have silently amended his plurals to singulars. Cf. Alec Ryrie, 'Seeking the Seekers', *Studies in Church History* 57 (2021), 185-209 (at 193-194, 206); J. F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, ed. J. F. McGregor & B. Reay (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 1984), 121-140.

[68] Cf. Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655–1755* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1969), esp. 199: "I have used the word 'movement' to describes the first few years of Quakerism because it, rather than either "church" or "sect", seems to catch the essentials of the situation: fluidity and mobility. […] [T]here was virtually no local organization during the first ten or fifteen years". That would make four-fifths. Only the Behmenists—ironically, the most localised—survive the scholarly cutting!

[69] Adamson & Folland, *Sir Harry Vane*, 244, 309, 320; Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem', 79.

regularly to [discuss their devastating insights]".[70] Philip Smith's recent doctoral dissertation points

to "social networks within the seeker milieu" as worthy of further investigation.[71] Both highlight

the "distorting" influence of Quaker retrospective on modern interpretations of the sectarian

scene.[72] The success and longevity of The Religious Society of Friends—the only revolution-era

sect to survive to the present—renders them substantial in a way those that vanished cannot be.

Beginning with the first collection of early Quaker writings in 1662, Friends' interest in their origins

stimulated much of the research into the sectarian scene from which they emerged.[73] It is clear

from the earliest sources that Quaker prophets preached to already established assemblies: "a

company of shattered Baptists", "a people who had been called Lockers [i.e. Lookers]", "a people

called Waiters", "the Bible people", "the high notionists".[74] Yet the specificity of these groups

tends to dissolve as their function in Quaker narrative moulds them into an indistinct mass of

potential Quakers punctuated by a few hostile Ranters. When academic historians and theologians

redefine sects as 'movements', 'milieux', 'moods'—or simply as non-existent—they tacitly

perpetuate a religious tradition that makes Quaker convincement the telos of a period of

unsatisfied spiritual searching.[75] Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* (1732–1738) furnishes an early

example of a mainstream history employing this bifurcation into Quaker or ephemeral: "*Seekers,*

Ranters, Behmenists, Vanists, all which died in their Infancy, or cemented in the People afterwards

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[70] McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', 129; Ryrie, 'Seeking the Seekers', 205-207 (at 206).

[71] Philip Michael Smith, *The Seekers Found: Radical Religion during the English Revolution: A Study in Their Construction by Themselves, Their Opponents, and Their Historians*, PhD thesis, Goldsmiths College, University of London (2020), 65.

[72] Ryrie, 'Seeking the Seekers', 188-192 (at 191); Smith, *The Seekers Found*, 39-40 (at 39).

[73] Cf. Ryrie, 'Seeking the Seekers', 207-209. There is a tradition (in need of further study) linking John Perrot, 'The Epistle to All True Friendly Readers', in *A Collection of the Several Books and Writings of that Faithful Servant of God and His People, George Fox, the Younger* (Robert Wilson, 1662) to Robert Barclay's groundbreaking *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876) and Rufus Jones' early-twentieth-century studies (see above).

[74] George Fox, *The Journal*, ed. Nigel Smith (London et al: Penguin Books, 1998), 26; James Backhouse, *Memoirs of Francis Howgill with Extracts from His Writings* (York: W. Alexander / London: Harvey & Darton et al / Birmingham: R. Peart / Dublin: D. F. Gardiner, 1828), 34-36. See also Rosemary Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646–1666* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State UP, 2000), esp. 26-27, 250.

[75] Ryrie, 'Seeking the Seekers', 188-192; Smith *The Seekers Found*, esp. 36-41. Cf. Christopher Hill, *The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Contemporaries* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton Books / Viking, 1984), 130: "It is perhaps […] misleading to speak of 'the Quakers' before 1661 […] [T]hese congregations had their own traditions—Familist, Grindletonian, Seeker. There must have been many early 'Quakerisms'." See also George Arthur Johnson, 'From Seeker to Finder: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Spiritualism before the Quakers', *Church History* 17.4 (Dec. 1948), 299-315.

known by the Name of QUAKERS".[76] Although an historiographical truism, this is not strictly speaking true. A small group directly descended from the original Behmenists subsisted well into the eighteenth century. There may be some relationship between Seekers and the "Sect call'd FREE-THINKERS" that emerged around 1700. Interchange between these groups and Quakers persisted.[77]

Burnet's sketchy second-hand information is not the only evidence that Vane's sect assembled for worship. In *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane* (1662), former Vane family chaplain, George Sikes, recalls that "[t]he usual practise of this Sufferer was to spend an hour or two every evening with his Family, or any other that were Providentially there, and as much both morning and evening on the first day [i.e. Sunday]". This "Family-worship"—which would have incorporated extended family, friends, and servants—included "ma[king] manifest the savour of the knowledge of Christ" in one's own "experience" (cf. 2 Cor. 2:14), "continual searching of the Scriptures", and "waiting upon the Lord in Faith and Prayer" (cf. e.g. Psa. 130, Act. 1:4). Vane also occasionally "spen[t] […] time in exercise and prayer in […] other Christian Meetings".[78] James Nayler, a provincial Quaker leader, encountered Vane with "[t]wo or three of [his brethren]" at a meeting in London in late 1655: "[Vane] is very loving to Friends, but drunk with imaginations:

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[76] Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans*, vol. 3 (Richard Hett, 1736), 370-371. This is explicitly a continuation of "*Mr. Baxter's Account of* [the Separatists]." For the longevity and influence of Neal's history, see e.g. Laird Okie, 'Daniel Neal and the "Puritan Revolution"', *Church History* 55.4 (Dec. 1986), 456-467.

[77] [Anthony Collins], *A Discourse of Free-thinking* (n.p. 1713), t.p. This claim needs more nuanced discussion than can be accomplished here. However, see e.g *OED*, 'free-thinker, *n.*', which links the label (c.1700) to Narcissus Luttrell's mention of "[a] new sect […] called the Freeseekers" in 1693. The *OED*, 'free-thinking, *n.*', does not notice e.g. John Toland, 'The Life of John Milton', *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam [= London], 1698), 5-47 (at 40). For general background, see e.g. Christopher Hill, 'Irreligion in the "Puritan" Revolution', *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, 191-211; G. E. Aylmer, 'Unbelief in Seventeenth-century England', *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-century History Presented to Christopher Hill*, ed. Donald Pennington & Keith Thomas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 1-46; Michael Hunter & David Wootton (eds.), *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), esp. chap. 5; J. A. I. Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and Its Enemies 1660–1730*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1992); Ariel Hessayon & Nicholas Keene (eds.), *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England* (Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate, 2006). Key figures upon which to focus would include John Wildman, Henry Stubbe, Samuel Fisher, Benjamin Furley, William Penn, Charles Blount, Baruch Spinoza, Francis Mercury van Helmont, John Toland. I have two essays in process that address such connections: '*The Three Impostors* and John Milton' and 'From the Family of Love to John Toland: The Church of the First-born in the Long Seventeenth Century'.

[78] George Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, K^t* (n.p. 1662), 49-51, 156-157. The term "Family-Worship" appears in "Some Notes of Sir *Henry Vane*'s Exhortation to his Children and Family, (brokenly and imperfectly taken) *Iune* 13. 1662. being the day before his Execution." (p.145). Cf. Adamson & Folland, *Sir Harry Vane*, 207.

there is a band of them sunk therein".[79] Nayler's terse syntax and peculiar terminology suggest he

met a "band" of Vane's "brethren" whom he deemed Ranter-types influenced by Böhme's

writings.[80] One of Baxter's most persistent complaints about Vanists is that they employ the same

"self-devised, uncouth, [and] cloudy terms" as the Behmenists.[81] Vane certainly had relationships

with those who translated, published, and promoted "the Teutonick philosopher" in England

during this period.[82] Geoffrey Nuttall and Carole Spencer speculate that Nayler's notorious

triumphal entry into Bristol in October 1656—for which parliament literally branded him a

blasphemer—may reflect the Christological impact of sustained exposure to this urban sectarian

scene.[83] In the aggrieved reminiscence of *George Fox, "James ran out into imaginations, and a

company with him; and they raised up a great darkness in the nation." Fox likewise told Vane in

1658: "there is a mountain of earth and imaginations up in thee and from that rises a smoke which

has darkened thy brain" (see **Chapter 5**).[84]

Vane also seems implicated in the meetings described by a royalist informant in June 1659:

"Lord Pembroke, the Chief Justice St. John's wife, and many others assemble three times in each

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[79] James Nayler, 'To Margaret Fell' (3 Nov. 1655), #XV, in *Letters, &c., of Early Friends*, ed. A. R. Barclay (London: Harvey & Darton, 1841), 38-40 (at 39). This meeting was at the house of Lady Abigail Darcy (d.1671), who was or later became a Quaker. She was probably Vane's cousin: cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *James Nayler: A Fresh Approach* (London: Friends' Historical Society, 1954), 11-12. Moreover, she appears to have been involved with the Church of the First-born (see below): cf. Robert Rich, *Love without Dissimulation* (n.p. n.d. [1668]), 3, 5; Irene L. Edwards, 'The Women Friends of London: The Two-Weeks and Box Meetings', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 47.1 (Spring 1955), 3-21 (at 7).
[80] Cf. Nuttall, *James Nayler*, 11.
[81] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. (a3)ᵛ, cf. 342; also *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75, 77; *Catholick Theologie*, 107-108.
[82] See e.g. Nabil I. Matar, 'Peter Sterry and Morgan Llwyd', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 2.8 (Oct. 1981), 275-278; N. I. Matar, 'Peter Sterry and Jacob Boehme', *Notes and Queries* 33.1 (Mar. 1986), 33-36; Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought*; Versluis, *Wisdom's Children*; Hessayon, 'Jacob Boehme and the Early Quakers'; Ariel Hessayon, '"The Teutonicks Writings": Translating Jacob Boehme into English and Welsh', *Esoterica* 9 (2007), 129-165; Ariel Hessayon, 'The Ranters and Their Sources: The Question of Jacob Boehme's Supposed Influence', *Science et Techniques en Perspective* 16.2 (2014), 77-102; Ariel Hessayon (with Sarah Apetrei), 'Jacob Boehme's Writings During the English Revolution and Afterwards: Their Publication, Dissemination, and Influence', and Nigel Smith, 'Did Anyone Understand Boehme?', in *An Introduction to Jacob Boehme: Four Centuries of Thought and Reception*, ed. Ariel Hessayon and Sarah Apetrei, Routledge Studies in Religion (New York/Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 77-97, 98-119; Ariel Hessayon, 'Jacob Böhme's Foremost Seventeenth-century English Translator: John Sparrow (1615–1670) of Essex', *Jacob Böhme and His World*, ed. Bo Andersson, Lucinda Martin, Leigh T. I. Penman, & Andrew Weeks, Aries Book Series: Texts and Studies in Western Esotericism, ed. chf. Marco Pasi (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), 329-357. At a bare minimum, Vane was related to Charles and Durand Hotham, was associated with Giles Calvert, Peter Sterry, the Earl of Pembroke, and various Quakers.
[83] Nuttall, *James Nayler*; Carole Dale Spencer, 'James Nayler and Jacob Boehme's *The Way to Christ*', *Quakers and Mysticism: Comparative and Syncretic Approaches to Spirituality*, ed. Jon R. Kershner, Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Study of Mysticism, ser. ed. Thomas Cattoi & Bin You (Gewerbestrasse: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019), 43-61.
[84] Fox, *The Journal*, 201, 257.

week, and sing to God and each other extempore in rhyme six hours together."[85] Vane certainly

knew Philip Herbert, the Fifth Earl of Pembroke, and Elizabeth St. John (née Oxenbridge)

through parliamentary collaborations. St. John's brothers were part of Milton's network of friends,

and her niece was the poet Katherine Philips (née Fowler).[86] Pembroke had joined the "Little

Society" of John and Mary Pordage (née Lane) sometime in the early 1650s.[87] He would later

employ Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, former amanuensis to Pordage's erstwhile patron, Elias

Ashmole, "to interpret some of the Teutonic philosophy".[88] A later leader of The Philadelphian

Society recalls the practice of these 'Behmenists' in the mid-1650s: "wait[ing] together &

Exercis[ing] yᵉ Gifts of Prayer Exhortation Singing & under a Living Power & operation of yᵉ

[85] H[ancock, i.e. Broderick] to Edward Hyde (24 Jun. 1659), *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, ed. F. J. Routledge with Charles Firth, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 261: "Sir H. V's opinions: Government supported by the two props of Religion and Liberty. The Fifth Monarchy men are like women, their tongues being their best weapon; there may be a Syndercombe, but the majority are negligible. Their extravagant beliefs. Lord Pembroke, the Chief Justice St. John's wife, and many others assemble three times in each week, and sing to God and each other extempore in rhyme six hours together. The militia will be speedily settled: knows some of the principal persons in several places and will discuss matters with Andrew and R." Pace Adamson & Folland, *Sir Harry Vane*, 207-208: "In the House of Commons Vane sat near Henry Marten and Oliver St. John. If either of them ever joined his little circle to feel the force of his enthusiasm, to sense the vagueness of his theological formulations and the exclusiveness of his dogmatics, Marten would have jeered and St. John would have been appalled. Vane's noetic assurances could scarcely have survived the assault of such sceptical minds." This evidences how insensitivity to the nuances of the historical situation brings scholars to incoherency.

[86] See e.g. Andrew Marvell, 'For my most honoured Freind John Milton Esquire, Secretarye for the forraine affairs. at his house in Petty France Westminster' (2 Jun. 1654), *The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 3rd ed., rev. Pierre Legouis with E. E. Duncan-Jones, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 305-306; Leo Miller, 'Milton's "Oxenbridge" *Boiardo* Validated', *Milton Quarterly* 23.1 (Mar. 1989), 26-28; Elizabeth Hageman, 'Treacherous Accidents and the Abominable Printing of Katherine Philips's *1664 Poems*', *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts, III: Papers of the Renaissance English Text Society, 1997–2001*, ed. W. Speed Hill, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Tempe: Renaissance English Text Society, 2004), 85-96.

[87] Richard Roach, *An Acc. of yᵉ Rise & Progress of the Philadelphian Society* (18th cent.), ed. Ariel Hessayon, in *Early Modern Prophecies in Transnational, National and Region Contexts*, ed. Lionel Laborie & Ariel Hessayon, vol. 3, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, gen. ed. Han van Ruler / Brill's Texts and Sources in Intellectual History, gen. ed. Leen Spruit (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021), 142-145 (at 143). On Pordage's group before it became The Philadelphian Society, see e.g. Gibbons, *Gender in Mystical and Occult Thought*, chaps. 5-6; Versluis, *Wisdom's Children*, 39-56; Manfred Brod, 'A Radical Network in the English Revolution: John Pordage and His Circle, 1646-54', *The English Historical Review* 119.484 (Nov. 2004), 1230-1253; Brod, 'The Seeker Culture of the Thames Valley'; Joad Raymond, *Milton's Angels: The Early Modern Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), chap. 5; Joad Raymond, 'Radicalism and Mysticism in the Later Seventeenth Century: John Pordage's Angels', *Conversations with Angels: Essays towards a History of Spiritual Communication, 1100–1700*, ed. Joad Raymond (Houndmills/New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 317-339; Sarah Lynn Green, *"Satan at Noon": John Pordage and the Politics of Heresy*, PhD thesis, School of Historical Studies, University of Bristol (2021).

[88] John Evelyn, to Sir John Langham [c. late Jul. or early Aug. 1667], *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S. […] A New Edition, in Four Volumes*, ed. William Bray, vol. 3 (London: Henry Colburn & Co., 1857), 197-198; Ralph E. Hone, 'The Period of Edward Phillips's Work for Elias Ashmole', *Notes and Queries* 3.4 (Apr. 1656), 163. Samuel Pordage had also been Pembroke's steward.

Holy Spirit."[89] (cf. 1 Cor. 12, Act. 2) With the exception of singing in the spirit, this matches Sikes'

and Burnet's descriptions. Sikes emphasises that "[Vane] lived, walked, worshipped, prayed, spake

in the spirit […] as the oracles of God" (cf. Joh. 4:24, Gal. 5:25, 1 Pet. 4:11).[90] There is not the

scope in this dissertation to provide details, but as Nuttall remarks, "we are moving within a single

society."[91] The first Quaker pamphlet in London was financed by Pembroke and distributed by

close friends of Pordage's brother-in-law.[92] One of their friends, Robert Rich, comforted Nayler

and sang to him as he was tortured. Rich collaborated with Vane's "chief […] Disciple", Joshua

Sprigge, on a petition for clemency.[93] Years later, he entrusted the manuscript of his *Epistles to the*

Seven Churches (1680) to Frances Vane. The published version features a long quotation from her

late husband's *Two Treatises* (1662) and prefatory material contributed by several leading members

of the nascent Philadelphian Society.[94] Heresiographers and those keen to enforce sectarian

identity impose names and identities that both reveal and obscure an effervescent community of

intermingling smallish groups. One of these took Sir Henry and Lady Frances Vane for religious

leaders.

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[89] Roach, *An Acc. of yͤ Rise & Progress of the Philadelphian Society*, 143. To avoid confusion, I have removed the square brackets expanding "P[ower]".
[90] Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, 43.
[91] Nuttall, *James Nayler*, 12.
[92] Francis Howgill and Anthony Pearson to Margaret Fell (10 Jul. 1654), cited in Thomas P. O'Malley, 'The Press and Quakerism 1653–1659', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 54.4 (1979), 169-184 (at 172); William Crouch, *Posthuma Christiana*, ed. Richard Claridge (T. Sowle, 1712), 12-15; David R. Como, 'The Family of Love and the Making of English Revolutionary Religion: The Confession and "Conversions" of Giles Creech', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 48.3 (Sep. 2018), 553-598 (esp.562-565, 577-580. The pamphlet is presumably George Fox, *To All that Would Know the Way to the Kingdome* (n.p. n.d. [1654]). Cf. the typography of Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, *Of the Internal and Eternal Nature of Man in Christ* (John Macock, 1654).
[93] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75; Robert Rich and William Tomlinson, *A True Narrative of the Examination, Tryall, and Sufferings of James Nayler in the Cities of London and Westminster* (n.p. 1657), esp. 40-42, 49-57 (note pag. errors); John Towill Rutt (ed.), *Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq. Member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1659*, vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), 209, 216-217, 255-256; *Journals of the House of Commons: From August the 15th 1651, to March the 16th 1659* (Reprinted by Order of The House of Commons, 1813), 473-474.
[94] Robert Rich, *Abstracts of Some Letters written by Mr. Robert Rich*, ed. John Penneyman (Benjamin Billingsley, 1680), 23-25; Robert Rich, *The Epistles of Mr. Robert Rich to the Seven Churches*, ed. John Webster & Robert Bacon (Francis Smith, 1680), sig. [(a3)]ʳ-[(b2)]ᵛ, 108-111. Cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Last of James Nayler: Robert Rich and the Church of the First-Born', *The Friends Quarterly* 60 (1985), 527-535. The Philadelphian contributors are Thomas Bromley, Joseph Sabberton (former steward to the Earl of Pembroke), and Jane Lead. See my 'From the Family of Love to John Toland: The Church of the First-born in the Long Seventeenth Century' for corrections to Nuttall.

Chapter 3. Outlining the Approach: Methodology, Precedents, and Structure.

THE Caterpillar and Alice looked at each other for some time in silence: at last the Caterpillar took the hookah out of its mouth, and addressed her in a languid, sleepy voice.

"Who are *you*?" said the Caterpillar.

This was not an encouraging opening for a conversation. Alice replied, rather shyly, "I—I hardly know, sir, just at present—at least I know who I *was* when I got up this morning, but I think I must have been changed several times since then."

"What do you mean by that?" said the Caterpillar sternly. "Explain yourself!"

"I can't explain *myself*, I'm afraid, sir," said Alice, "because I'm not myself, you see."

—LEWIS CARROLL, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865)

Drawing on fresh approaches to reading antique Christian heresiologies as well as recent investigations of social networks within the seventeenth-century sectarian milieu, my methodology encourages a dual perspective that allows a sect to be both real and chimeric. The first step is to abandon modern notions of what constitutes a sect. Studies of the religious diversity of the 1640s and 1650s rarely acknowledge their debt to the 'church-sect-cult' typology promulgated by twentieth-century sociologists of religion.[95] But they assume at least some aspects of its heuristic modelling. The two definitional qualities that predominate in accounts of the seventeenth-century sectarian milieu are size and organisation or coherency. In simplified terms, the sociological model distinguishes between very large groups with established institutional structures (churches), smaller groups with some degree of organisation (sects), and small groups usually under charismatic leaders (cults). Unsurprisingly, of Baxter's five groups, only Quakers fit the definition of a sect. Around the time Baxter was writing his memoir, there were maybe 50,000 Quakers and a fledgling international administrative system.[96] I have not found an estimate for the minimum number at

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[95] Cf. e.g. Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, 'Of Churches, Sects, and Cults: Preliminary Concepts for a Theory of Religious Movements', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 18.2 (Jun. 1979), 117-131; Lorne L. Dawson, 'Church-Sect-Cult: Constructing Typologies of Religious Groups', *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Peter B. Clarke (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 2009), 525-544; David G. Bromley, 'Categorizing Religious Organizations: In Search of a Theoretically Meaningful Strategy', *The Oxford Handbook of New Religious Movements*, vol. 2, ed. James R. Lewis & Inga B. Tøllefsen, 2nd ed. (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 2016), 17-24. The categorisation goes back to Max Weber and Ernst Troelstch in the early twentieth century.

[96] See the estimates in Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1985), 11-12, 26-27, 113-122. For more on the institution of 'Gospel Order' among the Quakers after 1656, cf. e.g. Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences*, 129-154, 180-203, 214-228; Richard Bailey, *New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism: The Making*

which a cult becomes a sect. But Baxter explicitly notes that the Behmenists were "fewer in Number [than the Quakers]", "[Vane] had but few true Disciples", and the Ranters were "*so very few* […] [*he*] *never saw one of them*".[97] Obviously, he does not distinguish between *sect* and *cult* (or the polemical projections of one). Scholars tend to circle around identifiable leadership, doctrinal coherence, and communal practices as the determining factors in regard to organisational level. Despite their apparently large numbers at least in the 1640s, Seekers have typically failed to meet the definition of *sect* on these fronts. Yet these specialists manifest an inappropriate critical superciliousness when they dismiss seventeenth-century observers as "deceived […] as to form" and "possibl[y] […] as to content" or "prone to assume that a doctrine required a sect to propagate it".[98] In *A Key for Catholicks*, Baxter establishes his own understanding of *sect* in relation to his equally clear definition of *church* (**Chapter 4**). This constitutes a better starting point than any artificial definition.

Baxter's influential breakdown of the sectarian milieu in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* is drawn from what appears to be a distinct compositional unit interpolated in Chapter XLV of *A Key for Catholicks* (**Chapter 4**). As such, it presents some of the generic conventions of heresiography, which had been introduced into English literature by the Presbyterian minister, Ephraim Pagitt, in 1645.[99] Originating in the second century with blacklists of the "false teachers" warned about in the latest strata of the New Testament (e.g 2 Pet. 2:1), the genre achieved its classic form with Epiphanius of Salamis' *Panarion* (c.378), running over a thousand folio pages in the standard

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and Unmaking of a God (San Francisco: Mellen Research UP, 1992), 177-271; Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot: Eary Quaker Schismatic* (London: Friends' Historical Society, 1971), esp. 46-112; Lesley H. Higgins, 'The Apostatized Apostle, John Penneyman: Heresy and Community in Seventeenth Century Quakerism', *Quaker History* 69.2 (Autumn 1980), 102-118; Clare J. L. Martin, 'Tradition versus Innovation: the Hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies', *Quaker Studies* 8.1 (2003), 5-22; Krista J. Kesselring, 'Gender, the Hat, and Quaker Universalism in the Wake of the English Revolution', *The Seventeenth Century* 26.2 (2011), 299-322.

[97] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75-78.

[98] J. C. Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the Ranters', *Past & Present* 129 (Nov. 1990), 79-103 (at 89); McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', 121.

[99] Kei Nasu, *Heresiography and the Idea of 'Heresy' in Mid-seventeenth-century English Religious Culture*, PhD thesis, Department of History, University of York (2000), 130 & passim. In English, the terms are interchangeable (see *OED*) though *heresiography* is the earlier by some 60-odd years. Cf. Hessayon, 'Jacob Boehme and the Early Quakers', 198: "In the tradition of anti-heretical writing going back to Epiphanius of Salamis […] Baxter set about identifying and categorizing perceived errors, lumping together adherents of various individuals' teachings into distinct sects."

seventeenth-century edition.[100] The genre's derivative conventionality prompted initial researchers to treat heresiologies as mere repositories of information about marginalised Christian groups otherwise erased from history. However, since Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im Ältesten Christentum* (1934) shattered the received understanding of heresy as deviation from prior orthodoxy, focus has shifted to the ways in which these categories are constructed and fortified.[101] Scholars now consider heresiologies "as performative or functional texts" with "a poetics of their own".[102] There are already several excellent studies applying this insight to the writings of Presbyterian heresiographers in the late 1640s.[103] Formal and rhetorical strategies relevant to Baxter's attack on the Vanists are considered in the next chapter. It suffices to note here that the dialectical nature of orthodoxy and heresy means utterances of so-called 'heretics' alone are insufficient to reconstruct the dynamic complex of which 'orthodox' heresiologists supply the complementary aspect. Furthermore, this duality underwrites (in the words of Michel Desjardins) a "chicken and egg" methodological problem.[104] Heretics rarely announce themselves as such or

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[100] See esp. Todd S. Berzon, *Classifying Christians: Ethnography, Heresiology, and the Limits of Knowledge in Late Antiquity* (Oakland: U of California P, 2016); Geoffrey S. Smith, *Guilt by Association: Heresy Catalogues in Early Christianity* (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 2015); Averil Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.3 (Fall 2003), 472-492; Young Richard Kim, 'The Transformation of Heresiology in the Panarion of Epiphanius of Cyrus', *Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity*, ed. Geoffrey Greatrex & Hugh Elton with Luca McMahon (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 53-67. The standard seventeenth-century edition of Epiphanius is Denis Petau (ed. & tr.), *Του εν Αγιος Πατρος ημων Επιφανιοι Επισκοποι Κοναντειας της Κυπροι Απαντα τα Σοσομενα*, 2 vols. (Paris, Michaelis Sonnii, Claudius Morelli, & Sebastiani Cramoisy, 1622). Other scriptural refs. to false teachers or doctrines: Rom. 16:17, Eph. 4:14, 1 Tim. 1:3-11, 6:1-21, 2 Tim. 4:1-5, Tit. 1:5-16, Rev. 2:14.

[101] Cf. e.g. Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* […] *with Added Appendices by Georg Strecker*, tr. Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, ed. Robert A. Kraft & Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971); Daniel J. Harrington, 'The Reception of Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* during the Last Decade', *Harvard Theological Review* 73.1-2 (Apr. 1980), 289-298; Andreas J. Kostenberger & Michael J. Kruger (eds.), *The Heresy of Orthodoxy: How Contemporary Culture's Fascination with Diversity has Reshaped Our Understanding of Early Christianity* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2010); Paul A. Hartog (ed.), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christian Contexts: Reconsidering the Bauer Thesis* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2015).

[102] Cameron, 'How to Read Heresiology', 474, 472.

[103] Nasu, *Heresiography and the Idea of 'Heresy'*; Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004); David Loewenstein, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013).

[104] Michel Desjardins, 'The Sources for Valentinian Gnosticism: A Question of Methodology', *Vigilae Christianae* 40 (1986), 342-347 (at 343). For a sense of how this conversation has evolved, cf. e.g. Gérard Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism, gen. ed. J. Oullette (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1981), esp. 1-8, 92-104; Frederik Wisse, 'Stalking Those Elusive Sethians', *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, ed. Bentley Layton, vol. 2, Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to *Numen*), ed. M. Heerma van Hoss, E. J. Sharpe, & R. J. Z. Werblowsky (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1981), 563-576; Michael Allen Williams, *Rethinking 'Gnosticism': An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1996); Bentley Layton, 'Prolegomena to the Study of Ancient Gnosticism', *Doctrinal Diversity: Varieties of Early Christianity*, Recent Studies in Early Christianity: A Collection of Scholarly Essays, ser. ed. Everett Ferguson (New York & London: Garland

detail their sect's history or social makeup. Scholars depend on the polemically tainted conceptualisations of heresiologists to develop criteria by which to recognise, group, and analyse heterodox writings. Given this quandary, it is unsurprising that many early Christian groups— Gnostics, Valentinians, Carpocratians—currently exist in the same ontic twilight-zone as Seekers, Ranters, and Vanists. The dual perspective cultivated by my methodology may point a way to reconcile those who discern real groups behind the antique heresiological constructs with those who see only polemical fabrication.

The taxonomic form of heresiology—lists of names, genealogies, typological comparisons, and so on—represents an attempt to bring order to the perceived chaos of swarming sects.[105] The reality before and behind such a classificatory framework is the incomprehensibly complex flux of the social world composed of people acting and interacting. Kate Peters notes that early Quakers were unique in the way they navigated the imposition of their derisive "nickname". In regard to its first appearance in print, "[t]he initiative was taken by the Quaker authors themselves", who "develop[ed] a lengthy explanation of the […] significance [of 'quaking' or 'trembling'], and appl[ied] it to themselves." The ignorant imposition of an irreverent sect-name was taken as a sign of their identity as a divinely chosen "peculiar people" (Deu. 14:2 & 26:18, Tit. 2:14, 1 Pet. 2:9). This reappropriation "established that oppression and taunts from outsiders were as important in confirming a distinctive 'Quaker' identity as were their own claims to be of the only true religion". In contradistinction to the Seekers, Ranters, Behmenists, and Vanists, this allowed "the rapid perception of a 'Quaker' movement" and "an immediately recognisable body of tracts through which their beliefs were easily identified."[106] By contrast, the sole instance of Ranter self-identification occurs in a spiritual autobiography published almost a decade after "the

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Publishing, 1999), 106-122; Karen L. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge Mass./London: The Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 2003); David Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard UP, 2012); Smith, *Guilt by Association*, chap. 4; Einar Thomassen, *The Coherence of 'Gnosticism'*, Hans-Leitzman-Vorlesungen, ed. Katharina Bracht & Christoph Markschies (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020).

[105] See esp. Berzon, *Classifying Christians*. Cf. J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and Historian: The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2002), 104; McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', 120-121.

[106] Kate Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2004), chap. 4 (at 96, 105-106, 102).

height of […] ranting" in order to reject that identity. [107] There is no such evidence for the Behmenists or Vanists. How can the tainted accounts of hostile outsiders be brought together with the self-expressions of purported Vanists to form a coherent picture?

J. C. Davis, with scrupulous attention to the historical development of "the category of 'Ranter'", argues that "[that] label […] [i]s virtually entirely divorced from reality, free-floating."[108] While his conclusion is self-evidently too extreme—notwithstanding Davis' mockery of "no-smoke-without-fire argument[s]"—his laser-beam deconstruction of the processes by which a person or text comes to be labelled 'Ranter' is particularly useful. Davis observes that John Holland, in the heresiological *Smoke of the Bottomlesse Pit* ([T]22 Jan. 1651), "virtually invented the Ranter movement as it has come down to us in recent historiography."[109] Indeed, "much of the contemporary commentary on the Ranters […] was all too reminiscent of distorted commentaries on religious heresy and deviance through the ages."[110] Davis thoroughly interrogates the social and theological categories by which the Ranters have been comprehended—sect, movement, milieu, antinomian, pantheist, libertine—and dissolves them into "[a] few relatively isolated individuals of heterogenous persuasions […] swept up in the projection of a movement". Unpacking this projection, he highlights the precarious sociopolitical situation in the wake of the regicide; the need to direct accusations about the collapse of moral and religious order away from the Commonwealth; heavy-handed official responses to a couple of scandalous theological pamphlets and their rabble-rousing authors in 1650; public interest in salacious tales of outlandish beliefs, rebellious behaviour, carnivalesque inversions of class and gender, sexual deviancy, and monstrous births; and the rhetorical structures through which more established sects demarcated and policed the boundaries of acceptable doctrine and practice.[111] The most prominent criticism levelled at his

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[107] Laurence Clarkson, *The Lost Sheep Found* (Printed for the Author, 1660), in *The Muggletonian Works of Laurence Clarkson: The Onely True Bishop*, ed. Mike Petit (London: Muggletonian Press, 2009), 203-246 (at 220). Cf. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, 64-75.

[108] J. C. Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the "Ranters": Reply', *Past & Present* 140 (Aug. 1993), 194-210 (at 205). See also Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore' (1990).

[109] Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, 95, 87; cf. Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore' (1990), 83, 85, 87-88.

[110] Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore' (1990), 81.

[111] Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, 124, 96-113.

work is that he employs an artificial typology and leverages it to highlight the lack of doctrinal coherence among the notoriously eccentric writings of supposed Ranters.[112] Furthermore, his "conceptual framework […] allows only for the polarized categories of flux and the fully developed sect" and thereby overlooks the nuances of "sects in the process of formation."[113] He neglects the orality of seventeenth-century English culture and the possibility that heresiographical reports might furnish (yes, tainted) glimpses into the environment from which and into which those called Ranters launched their pamphlets.[114]

Recent studies by Manfred Brod and Ariel Hessayon suggest a way beyond this "impasse" via "[a]rchival-based biographical studies […] with an emphasis on mapping social networks". Hessayon proposes that "[t]he term Ranter should […] be used cautiously to indicate hostile yet shifting contemporary attitudes towards individuals who normally knew each other".[115] Brod's study—focused on the intersecting networks around John Pordage—likewise emphasises as "[a] point of interest that much of what is known about [this] circle derives from the opposition it aroused".[116] Davis was right to criticise the concept of 'milieu' as "practically and evidentially […] an admission of defeat."[117] Although neither puts it this way, Brod and Hessayon functionally redefine *sect* as "a nodal point on a widespread network […] link[ing] to similar groups".[118] Their methodology inculcates the balanced perspective developed in recent approaches to reading early

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[112] Christopher Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty: Radical Politics, Religion and Literature in Seventeenth-century England* (London & New York: Routledge, 1990), 153-154; Iain Hampsher-Monk, review Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, for *History of Political Thought* 8.3 (Winter 1987), 573-577 (at 575).

[113] Bernard Capp, in 'Debate: Fear, Myth and Furore: Reappraising the "Ranters"', *Past & Present* 140 (Aug. 1993), 155-194 (at 165); Christopher Hill, 'The Lost Ranters? A Critique of J. C. Davis', *History Workshop* 24 (Autum 1987), 134-140 (at 135); cf. Hill, *A Nation of Change and Novelty*, chap. 9.

[114] Barry Reay, in 'Debate: Fear, Myth and Furore', 99; cf. Davis 'Fear, Myth and Furore' (1990), 87-88.

[115] Ariel Hessayon, 'Abiezer Coppe and the Ranters', *The Oxford Handbook of Literature & the English Revolution* (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 2012), 346-374 (at 351). See also Hessayon, 'The Ranters and their Sources'; Manfred Brod, 'Politics and Prophecy in Seventeenth-century England: The Case of Elizabeth Poole', *Albion* 31.3 (Autumn 1999), 395-412; Brod, 'A Radical Network in the English Revolution'; Manfred Brod, 'Doctrinal Deviance in Abingdon: Thomasine Pendarves and Her Circle', *Baptist Quarterly* 41:2 (2005), 92-102; Brod, 'The Seeker Culture of the Thames Valley'. Hessayon's work on TheaurauJohn Tany furnishes a good example: *"Gold Tried in the Fire". The Prophet TheaurauJohn Tany and the English Revolution* (London & New York: Routledge, 2016); *The Refiner's Fire: The Collected Works of TheaurauJohn Tany* (London: Breviary Stuff Publications, 2018). Recent dissertations by Philip Michael Smith and Sarah Green (both cited above) as well as the Cambridge Platonist Sourcebook (https://www.cambridge-platonism.divinity.cam.ac.uk/about-us/about-us) demonstrate its currency.

[116] Brod, 'A Radical Network in the English Revolution', 1231.

[117] Davis, 'Fear, Myth and Furore' (1990), 91-92.

[118] Brod, 'A Radical Network in the English Revolution', 1231.

heresiologies: e.g. "identifying the Ranters, exploring their origins, examining how they were seen by contemporaries, accounting for their activities, discussing their beliefs, assessing their possible sources, and reviewing the ways in which their texts were expressed and suppressed."[119] A Ranter (or Vanist or Behmenist) can only be 'identified' by the etic imposition of the label. Their activities can only be 'accounted for' by incorporating with their own explanations the ways in which they have been understood by commentators (hostile or sympathetic). As early Quakers realised, how someone who challenges social norms is denounced, slandered, parodied, or oppressed by defenders of the status quo shapes their counter-cultural identity. These groups of people may collectively refer to themselves by biblical phrases like "children of light" (Eph. 5:8, Joh. 12:36, 1 The. 5:5), "people of God" (e.g. Exo. 5:1, Deu. 7:6, Jud. 20:2, Heb. 4:9 & 11:25, 1 Pet. 2:10), or "the church of the firstborn" (Heb. 12:23, cf. Col. 1:18).[120] But such self-designations reflect mutual awareness of a common salvific experience of an indwelling Christ-Light rather than the embrace of an externally imposed sectarian identity.

In order to comprehend the phenomenon or category of 'Vanist' it is necessary to interrogate both the invention of the category and its embodiment in the activities (in this dissertation chiefly the writings) of the people to whom it has been applied. Brod and Hessayon's approach allows for the discovery of common doctrine and worship practices, but their mode of investigation prioritises what is in fact prior: the interpersonal relationships that comprise a group. Because these fluctuate over time, it is necessary to limit research to a tightly circumscribed temporal period or periods. The leading exponent of *Konstellationsforschung*, Martin Mulsow, recommends "proceed[ing] on a small scale" by concentrating on specific individuals and distinctions of place, social environment, documentary source, and discursive mode.[121] In *Reliquiae*

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[119] Hessayon, 'Abiezer Coppe and the Ranters', 351.
[120] Cf. e.g. Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences*, 29, 132, 251, 289-290.
[121] Martin Mulsow, *Enlightenment Underground: Radical Germany, 1680–1720*, tr. H. C. Erik Midelfort, Studies in Early Modern German History, ed. H. C. Erik Midelfort (Charlottesville & London: U of Virginia P, 2015), 13-15. See also Martin Mulsow, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une Constellation Philosophique? Propositions pour une Analyse des Réseux Intellectuels', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 64.1 (Jan.–Feb. 2009), 81-109. Here (pp.81-82), Mulsow explains 'constellation research' as "a method […] which aims to analyse how the interaction of several thinkers in a shared [*commun*] 'thought space' [*espace de pensée = Denkraum*] contributes to the genesis of theories and creative impulses. […]

Baxterianae, Baxter names eight would-be Vanists and recognisably alludes to one other. Three of these are also mentioned or alluded to in *A Key for Catholicks* (**Chapter 4**).[122] However, three died before 1653 (John Cotton, Anne Hutchinson, Robert Greville), one was back in New England from early 1657 (Mary Dyer), and another appears to have gone quiescent between 1657 and 1673 (Joshua Sprigge). Another, Sir Arthur Haselrig, especially in in 1659, often shows vexed opposition to his old school-friend and colleague. Indeed, Barry Denton concludes that after the republican coalition achieved its aim of restoring the regicidal parliament, "Hesilrige and Vane were not close and did not trust each other."[123] One notable divergence concerned religion. Haselrig declared in favour of "[a] moderate Presbytery" in parliament in April 1659, and in June, a royalist characterised him as "more Presbyterian than anything".[124] While this does not preclude him also being a Vanist—Davis' notion that a Baptist cannot also be a Ranter is too simplistic—it does compel attentive reading of Baxter's words:

> When *Cromwell* was dead, [Vane] got Sir *Arthur Haselrigge* to be his close Adherent on Civil Accounts […] When [Vane] was at the height of his Power he set upon the forming of a new Commonwealth, and with some of his Adherents drew up the Model, which was for popular Government[.][125]

Baxter's overarching use of "Adherents" as synonymous with "Friends" and "Disciples" exacerbates the difficulties with this passage. However, the implications of the verb ("got") and the qualifier ("on Civil Accounts") imply a fractious alliance rather than allegiance. The introductory connection with Cromwell strengthens this reading. Baxter has just mentioned how "[*Cromwell* had] gone as far with [*Vane*] as their way lay together, (*Vane* being for a Fanatick

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[C]onstellations should be regarded […] as complex objects which include both people and their motivations as well as the ideas, issues [*problématiques*] and theories and the documents in which they are expressed."

[122] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330 (Mary Dyer, Anne Hutchinson), 342 (Peter Sterry), cf. *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75.

[123] Barry Denton, *Only in Heaven: The Life and Campaigns of Sir Arthur Hesilrige, 1601–1661* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 214. Their tendency to conflict is commonplace of accounts of 1658–1660 from the time until today. On Haselrig, see also *ODNB*.

[124] Rutt (ed.), *Diary of Thomas Burton* (5 Apr. 1659), vol. 4, 336; Viscount John Mordaunt to Edward Hyde, the Earl of Clarendon (6 Jun. 1659), *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 4, 222. Mordaunt characterises Vane as an "Anabaptist".

[125] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75-76.

Democracie, and *Cromwell* for Monarchy) at last there was no Remedy but they must part".[126] Moreover, Haselrig was not among the "Adherents" who assisted Vane with "the Model [of a new Commonwealth]" (see **Chapter 5**).

Out of Baxter's list, then, this leaves just *Peter Sterry, "thought to be of [Vane's] Mind, as he was his Intimate"; *Henry Stubbe, "who wrote for [Vane] a bitter Book against [Baxter]" and is the only person explicitly labelled "a *Vanist*"; and the "Friend" who "more plainly expressed [Vane's] Opinions" in a book "printed […] after [Vane was dead]".[127] The last undoubtedly refers to George Sikes and *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, which (as its author declares) is really about Vane's "[spiritual] Life, *hid with Christ in God*" (Col. 3:3).[128] Anthony Wood attributes the book to Sikes in *Athenæ Oxonienses* (1692), adding: "[*Sikes*] became a great admirer and follower of Sir *Hen. Vane* junior, and therefore esteemed by the generality an Anabaptist, Fifth-monarchy man, and a Hodg-podge of religions. […] [H]e was a great encourager of *Henry Stubbe* in his proceedings."[129] Wood and Stubbe were friends at Oxford in the late 1650s, and because Wood elsewhere admits to "omitt[ing]" Sikes from the first volume "because [he] did not know that he was a Writer", it would seem the attribution came via Stubbe (who therefore must have been connected to Sikes).[130] Because no known writings by Sikes date before 1662, he appears in this dissertation only as a probable witness to Vane's encounter with George Fox (**Chapter 5**). Vane had sponsored Stubbe's education, and by early 1659, was employing him as a public apologist.[131] Stubbe describes his patron as a teacher with the spiritual authority of the apostle Paul and Jesus: "he hath discovered the most glorious Truths that have been *witnessed* unto these 1500 yeares and

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[126] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75-76; cf. 48-49, 59, concerning the 1640s: "the Policy of *Vane* and *Cromwell*", "[t]he Design of *Vane* and *Cromwell*", "[the *Scots*'] Adversaries (the *Vanists* and the *Cromwellians*)".

[127] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 75-76.

[128] Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, 39-40 & passim.

[129] Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 2 (Thomas Bennett, 1692), col. 687, 765-766.

[130] Wood's first mention of Stubbe is in Mar. 1658, when he lends him six shillings (about AU\$60), and last, in Oct. 1662, when he hears (incorrectly) that Stubbe has been drowned en route to Jamaica. But he at least follows Stubbe's fortunes until the latter's death in 1676: Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, Described by Himself*, vol. 1 (Oxford: The Oxford Historical Society, 1891), 238, 460. See also 287, 288, 303, 313, 354, 461-462, and vol. 2 (1892), 212; *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 2, cols. 412-420.

[131] Mordecai Feingold, *ODNB*. Vane and Stubbe's connection has been studied by Jacob, *Henry Stubbe,* chap. 2.

more, in a manner as extraordinary […] *as one having Authority*, and in the *evidence* and *demonstration of the Spirit*" (Mar. 1:22, Matt. 7:29, 1 Cor. 2:4).[132] Stubbe's collaboration with Vane in June 1659 is discussed in **Chapter 6**. Vane and Sterry knew each other well enough by January 1644 to be involved in a clandestine attempt to get Charles I to come to terms for peace.[133] I tentatively propose redating a letter Sterry wrote his daughter, Frances Webb, on the basis of its coherence with Vane's vision for the revived parliament (**Chapter 5**).

Baxter recalls also that "[Vane's] Friends" approached him during Vane's long imprisonment prior to execution in June 1662.[134] "The Friends of Sʳ Harry Vane" feature in curious fashion in the account of Vane's trial and execution in *The Character of Sir Henry Vane by Algernon Sidney* found among the papers of Sir William and Lady Sarah Cowper.[135] Sidney was in Europe from mid-1659 until 1677 but had long-standing family connections with Vane and was a

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[132] Henry Stubbe, *Malice Rebuked* (n.p. 1659), 7-8.

[133] 'Calendar of House of Lords Manuscripts' (24 Jan. 1644), *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, pt. 1 (London: George Edward Eyre & William Spottiswoode, 1871), 3. E.g. Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers*, 280, notes that "there are signs of mutual influence in [Vane's and Sterry's] writings". It is unfortunate that Sterry did not publish or preach in 1659 and therefore is mostly absent from this dissertation. The intertextual readings offered in Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, esp. chap 3, are woolly. Cf. John Morrill's review of Parnham's monograph for *Journal of Religious History* 23.1 (1999), 133-135: "Unfortunately [this book] is so poorly structured and opaquely written that few will persevere with it. […] The great snag is that having decoded what he terms 'Vane's concocted unintelligibility,' Parnham proceeds to re-encode it into a concocted unintelligibility of his own." On Sterry, see e.g. Vivian de Sola Pinto, *Peter Sterry: Platonist and Puritan 1613–1672* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968); Nabil Matar, 'Peter Sterry and the "Lovely Society" of West Sheen', *Notes and Queries* 29.1 (Feb. 1982), 45-46; Nabil I. Matar, 'Peter Sterry, the Millenium and Oliver Cromwell', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 2.10 (Oct. 1982), 334-342; N. I. Matar, 'Peter Sterry and First English Poem on the Druids', *The National Library of Wales Journal* 24.2 (Winter 1985), 222-243; N. I. Matar, '"Alone in Our Eden": A Puritan Utopia in Restoration England', *The Seventeenth Century* 2.2 (Jul. 1987), 189-198; N. I. Matar, Peter Sterry and the "Paradise Within": A Study of the Emmanuel College Letters', *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1600–1700* 13.2 (Fall 1989), 76-85; Nabil I. Matar, 'Peter Sterry and the Comenian Circle: Education and Eschatology in Restoration Nonconformity', *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society* 5.4 (May 1994), 183-191; Alison J. Teply, *The Mystical Theology of Peter Sterry: A Study in Neoplatonist Puritanism*, PhD thesis, Faculty of Divinity, Cambridge University (2004); Louise Hickman, 'Love is All and God is Love: Universalism in Peter Sterry (1613–1672) and Jeremiah White (1630–1707)', *'All Shall be Well': Explorations in Universalism and Christian Theology from Origen to Moltman*, ed. Gregory Macdonald (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. 2011), 95-115; Dewey D. Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660–1714: Variety, Persistence, and Transformation*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology, ser. ed. David C. Steinmertz (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), chap. 2; Eric M. Parker, '"The Sacred Circle of All-Being": Cusanus, Lord Brooke, and Peter Sterry', *Nicholas of Cusa and the Making of the Early Modern World*, ed. Simon J. G. Burton, Joshua Hollmann, and Eric M. Parker, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, chf. ed. Robert J. Bast (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), 257-284; Eric Parker, 'Cambridge Platonism(s): John Sherman and Peter Sterry', *Revisioning Cambridge Platonism: Sources and Legacy*, ed. Douglas Hedley & David Leech, International Archives of the History of Ideas, dir. Sarah Hutton (Gewerbestrasse: Springer, 2019), 31-46; as well as the essays cited elsewhere in this dissertation.

[134] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76.

[135] *The Character of Sir Henry Vane by Algernon Sidney* (Hertfordshire Record Office D/EP 45), in Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger*, 277-283.

close parliamentary ally.[136] The extant manuscript is a copy (c.1680–1720), and while it is entirely possible that it did originate with Sidney, Blair Worden cautions that it may well be "a product of the Whig history factory" like Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government* (1698).[137] Nonetheless, some of the "Friends" who approached Baxter must have been the same who transmitted their recollections to the author (Sidney or no).[138] It is significant, then, that *The Character* portrays "[Vane's] Friends" like the disciples of a Stoic philosopher, whose martyrdom "tryumph[s] over […] the Enimies of his Country by his invincible Spirit and magnanimity".[139] Jonathon Scott characterises Sidney's unpublished *Court Maxims* (c.1664–1665) as "replete with Vanist spiritual politics" and Sidney himself as "a fervent Vanist".[140] Unfortunately, both this manuscript treatise and the posthumously edited *Discourses* fall outside the scope of this dissertation.

R. E. Thompson's 'English Mystics of the Puritan Period' (1877) functionally centres on "the group which takes the name of Vanists from the younger Sir Henry Vane." It furnishes a model for identifying Vanists unrecognised by Baxter. After summarising core Vanist "doctrines"—"love of religious liberty", "mystical union, spiritual communion and illumination, inward sanctification by the mortification of the old man and renewal in Christ"—Thompson

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[136] On Sidney, see e.g. Jonathon Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623–1677*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. Anthony Fletcher, John Guy, & John Morrill (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1988).
[137] Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 200-201. Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane*, 275-276, is inclined to accept it as "a work by Sidney". Worden (pp. 132, 144) declares: "We probably have, in the *Discourses*, more or less the text that Sidney wrote. […] If there is a major theme of the *Discourses* where [editor John Toland's] interference can be suspected it is [in the removal of the millenarian streak and biblical colouring]. […] In any case Toland's hand, though it can be guessed at, cannot be proved." Worden's comparison here is with the *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow Esq*, 3 vols. (Switzerland [= London], 1698–1699), for which the existence of a partial manuscript version allows detection of Toland's editorial alterations. See Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 21-121; A. B. Worden, 'Introduction', in Edmund Ludlow, *A Voyce from the Watch Tower: Part Five: 1660–1662*, ed. A. B. Worden, Camden Fourth Series (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1978), 1-84. Although there is not the scope to do so here, I suspect Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow, sometime MP for Wiltshire and Commander-in-Chief of Ireland, is another possible Vanist. Cf. John H. F. Hughes, 'The Commonwealthmen Divided', who misreads their interactions.
[138] As Worden has shown Slingsby Bethel was involved with Ludlow's *Memoirs* and Milton's nephews, Edward and John Phillips, were involved with the Milton volume.
[139] ?Sidney, *The Character of Sir Henry Vane*, in Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger*, 282. Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 200, is not quite accurate in declaring that *The Character* does "not so much as hint at that apocalyptic theology to which [Vane] subscribed and to which Sidney's own *Court Maxims* give voice".
[140] Jonathon Scott, *Commonwealth Principles: Republican Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2004), 161; Jonathon Scott, 'Algernon Sidney's Life and Works (1623–1683)', *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Sidneys, 1500–1700*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay, Michael G. Brennan, & Mary Ellen Lamb (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 151-168 (at 159); cf. Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic*. See also Parnham, 'Soul's Trial and Spirit's Voice', 365.

proceeds through sketches of some of those named in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. Tracing interpersonal connections and theological similarities/differences, he locates the Vanists in relation to the other "Mystics"—Cambridge Platonists, Seekers, Familists, Behmenists, Quakers, Ranters, Muggletonians—and is thereby able to posit a dozen other possible Vanists.[141] I am not interested in reducing textual complexities to doctrinal summaries and remain sceptical about a few of Thompson's inclusions. Yet most of those he names are excluded here simply by their decease or apparent lack of public activity in 1659. A longer version of this dissertation would certainly have considered John Webster, Robert Bacon, John Cardell, William Erbury, Jeremiah White, and Nathaniel Holmes. Excepting perhaps the last two (Sterry's colleagues), all were connected with Giles Calvert's bookshop at the Black-Spread-Eagle, which was "a virtual and real meeting centre" at the heart of the sectarian scene in the 1650s.[142] Calvert published Vane's first pamphlet, *Zeal Examined* ([T]15 Jun. 1652), and his former apprentice, Thomas Brewster, became Vane's regular publisher in 1655. Brewster's religious "brother", Livewell Chapman, was working for Vane's party by early 1658. These three "Confederate Stationers", employing a common pool of printers and binders, published almost everything out of Vane's circle until at least 1660. All were active participants in the sectarian scene and spent time in prison for their commitments.[143]   It was

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[141] R. E. Thompson, 'English Mystics of the Puritan Period', *The New Englander* 36.141 (Oct. 1877), 613-646.

[142] Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem', 70.

[143] It is surprising there is still no dedicated monograph concerning this network of book-industry operatives. In the meantime, cf. e.g. Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem'; *ODNB* (Calvert, Giles & Elizabeth; Chapman, Livewell; Allen, Hannah); Peters, *Print Culture and the Early Quakers*, esp. chap. 2; Maureen Bell, 'Seditious Sisterhood: Women Publishers of Opposition Literature at the Restoration', *Voicing Women: Gender and Sexuality in Early Modern Writing*, ed. Kate Chedgzoy, Melanie Hasen & Suzanne Trill, Renaissance Texts and Studies, ser. ed. Richard Dutton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1998), 185-194; Maureen Bell, '"Her Usual Practices": The Later Career of Elizabeth Calvert, 1664-75', *Publishing History* 35 (1994), 5-64; Maureen Bell, 'Elizabeth Calvert and the "Confederates"', *Publishing History* 32 (1992), 5-49; Maureen Bell, 'Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51', *Publishing History* 26 (1989), 5-66; Leona Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551–1700: Twelve Studies* vol. 1 (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), 203-236; A. E. Terry, 'Giles Calvert's Publishing Career', *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 35 (1938), 45-49; Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1907), 32, 42-43, 44-45. On the attribution of *Zeal Examined* to Vane, see e.g. Polizzotto, 'The Campaign against *The Humble Proposals*', 578-580; Parnham, 'Reconfiguring Mercy and Justice', 57. For the Fifth Monarchist reference to Brewster as "brother", see Major John Desborough and R. Hughes to Livewell Chapman (8 Apr. 1660), CCXX.70, in Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1659–1660* (London: Longmans & Co., Trübner & Co. / Oxford: Parker & Co. / Cambridge: MacMillan & Co. / Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, Douglas & Foulis / Dublin: A. Thom & Co., 1886), 409. For Calvert, Chapman, and Brewster as "confederate stationers", see Roger L'Estrange, *A Modest Plea Both for the Caveat, and the Author of It* (Henry Brome, 1661), 10; Roger L'Estrange, *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press* (A. C., 1663), 6.

Brewster who decided to reprint Vane's *A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved* (c. early 1660), in part, because he believed "*the main Substance of it, may be found very seasonable, and of much use at this day*".[144] While this dissertation does not determine whether these publishers could be considered Vanists, it at least attempts to bring their involvement into the conversation.

Carolyn Polizzotto's seminal 'The Campaign against *The Humble Proposals* of 1652' (1987) reveals how a coalition comprising the Baptist congregations of London and the intersecting circles around John Milton, Henry Vane, and the Black-Spread-Eagle coalesced to campaign against the proposals of powerful Independent ministers to enforce Calvinist doctrine and discipline. This "well-organised campaign" was spearheaded by Vane's old friend, Roger Williams, who had arrived in London from Rhode Island in November 1651.[145] Baxter recalls, in the fourth edition of *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and Baptism* ([T]11 May 1656), that it was during this sojourn that "[Mr. *Williams*] became the Father of the *Seekers* in *London*".[146] Philip Smith recently earmarked for future study "[the] active London cell, within the Seeker milieu, in 1652, with Roger Williams at its nexus."[147] According to Mario Carrichio, "[a]n original and constant core of the spiritual community centred on the 'Black-Spread-Eagle' […] [was] in the net of relationships which clustered around the extended family of [William Fiennes, the Viscount] Saye and Sele, Henry Vane, and the new colonial companies." Carrichio identifies this community as the locus for the emergence of the "'Ranter' moment" in 1650, the scene surrounding James Nayler in the lead-up to the spectacle in late 1656, and the spiritualist coterie referred to by its members as "the Church of the First-Born" (Heb. 12:23).[148] Robert Rich, the main source of information about the latter mysterious group, names seven (probable) Vanists in relation: Henry and Frances Vane, Joshua Sprigge, Robert Bacon, John Webster, John Cardell, and the Viscountess

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[144] Thomas Brewster, 'The Stationers Advertisement to the Reader', in Henry Vane, *A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved* (Thomas Brewster, 1660), sig. [D2]ᵛ.

[145] Polizzotto, 'The Campaign against *The Humble Proposals*'. *Independent* refers to a gathered church of believers that chooses its own minister(s)—a congregationalist model of church government—which may voluntarily associate with other churches but is not subject to an overarching hierarchy (as with e.g. Presbyterians).

[146] Richard Baxter, *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-membership and Baptism*, 4th ed. (John Wright, 1656), 147.

[147] Smith, *The Seekers Found*, 65, 220.

[148] Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem', 80-81.

Saye and Sele, Frances Fiennes (née Cecil).[149] Regrettably, Carrichio refrains from drawing any more direct link between this group and "the 'Vanists' – as Richard Baxter styled [Vane's] circle of friends".[150] Martin Mulsow explains that the entry of a new person into an existing community can provide "a 'push' [*poussée*]" that stimulates the "creative evolution […] in a limited time" which generates the "essential […] 'density' of the constellation."[151] A longer version of this dissertation would have concluded that Williams' "political mobilisation" of this "spiritual fellowship" catalysed the formation of the sect Baxter later designated Vanists.[152]

Vane continued to build relationships among the sects during his enforced retirement after April 1653. Writing to Major-General Henry Cromwell in February 1656, Secretary of State, John Thurloe, confirms rumours that "sir H. V. goes up and downe amongst [the quakers, 5th monarchy men, and the like], endeavouringe to withdrawe them from their submission to the present government". "[B]ut whether he were taken with their principles, or they with his, I knowe not."[155] Vane's magnum opus, *The Retired Mans Meditations* ([T]2 Jul. 1655), may well be an attempt to validate his spiritual authority among this audience.[156] Its sequel, *A Healing Question Propounded and Resolved* ([T]12 May 1656), was expressly designed to unite "the Honest party"—sectaries, soldiers, republican politicians—behind the rallying-cry of *"the good Old Cause"*.[157] Cromwell had Vane charged with sedition and imprisoned at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight in September 1656. Joining him for the last stretch of his three-month sentence were two leading preachers of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, *John Rogers and *Christopher Feake. Repeated transfers from prison to prison over the previous twenty-nine months had probably contributed to the death of one of Rogers'

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[149] Rich, *Love without Dissimulation*, 6; Rich, *Abstracts of Some Letters*, 23-25. Joshua Sprigge and Frances Fiennes married in 1675.
[150] Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem', 79.
[151] Mulsow, 'Qu'est-ce qu'une Constellation Philosophique?', 85-86.
[152] Carrichio, 'News from the New Jerusalem', 85.
[155] Henry Cromwell to John Thurloe (6 Feb. 1656) & John Thurloe to Henry Cromwell (12 Feb. 1656), in Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq*, vol. 4 (Fletcher Giles, Thomas Woodward, & Charles Davis, 1742), 508-509, 531.
[156] It is the first publication to bear Vane's name. George Thomason appends the descriptor "a saint" to the byline on his copy.
[157] Thomason obtained his copy a full sixteen days before Brewster registered the pamphlet with the Stationer's Company. On *A Healing Question*, see esp. Ruth E. Mayers, 'Real and Practicable, Not Imaginary and Notional'.

children.[158] Rogers later recalled: "I heard [Sir *H. Vane*] often open & apply the precious Scriptures, to my great Comfort".[159] Like Fifth Monarchists, Vane believed the purpose of earthly government was to realise the kingdom of God (**Chapter 5**). After their encounter, Rogers appears to embrace a spiritualised parliament rather than violent insurrection as the sanctioned way to bring on the eschaton. According to David Parnham, Rogers experienced "a conversion" during his weeks with Vane. He exclusively published in service of Vane's agenda from around mid-1657 through to September 1659.[161] Baxter locates him with "[t]he Fifth Monarchy Men follow[ing] Sir *Henry Vane*" in early 1659.[162] Parnham includes him with Sprigge, Sidney, Sikes, and Stubbe in a list of Vane's "dedicated disciples".[163] Rogers—for whom, like Sikes, there is evidence that he worshipped with Vane—may in fact be the first and only person in history to identify as a Vanist (see **Chapter 6**).

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[158] *ODNB* (Rogers, Feake).

[159] John Rogers, Διαπολιτεία (Livewell Chapman, 1659), 21, 22.

[161] Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, 28, 17, 275. Parnham's quotation from *A Vindication* to support this reading is problematic evidence (see below). Cf. Edward Rogers, *Some Account of the Life and Opinions of a Fifth-Monarchy-Man* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), 310: "an intimacy appears to have sprung up between them […] and *Rogers* became the staunch and zealous supporter of *Vane*." This is followed by Louise Fargo Brown, *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*, Burt Franklin Research & Source Works Series (New York: Burt Franklin, 1911), 88-89; P. G. Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London/New York/Toronto: Oxford UP, 1966), 67, 70, 74; B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972), 109, 121.

[162] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 101

[163] Parnham, 'Soul's Trial and Spirit's Voice', 365.

Chapter 4. February 1659.

And to make them odious, [ungodly men] have for [persons that herein differ from them] some contemptuous, scornful Nickname; which, though it be of no signification, is as effectual as the truest charge.

—RICHARD BAXTER, *Cain and Abel Malignity* (1689)

Sir Henry Vane returned to parliament for the first time in almost six years on 8 February 1659. He avoided taking his seat for Whitchurch for almost a fortnight while his parliamentary comrades implemented a series of often amusing disruptions to delay the official recognition of Richard Cromwell as Lord Protector.[164] On 10 February, the day after Vane's first major speech, Yorkshire publisher, Neville Simmons, registered Richard Baxter's *A Key for Catholicks* and its "accompanying" *Five Disputations of Church-Government and Worship* with the Stationers' Company in London.[165] *A Key for Catholicks* is presented as a compendium of arguments to assist "the younger sort of Ministers", "weak unexperienced [Divines]", and "ignorant unlearned people" to debate with "Papists".[166] But this is merely the prolix cover for a diffused yet incisive attack on Vane. In responses belatedly published in September 1659, Henry Stubbe and John Rogers characterise it as "a book pretendedly against the Papists, but indeed the bitterest *Satyre*", and "besprinkl[ed] […] with such flaming *fire-balls* of *defamations*, abusive passages, and (through God's goodness abortive) *instigations* to a *Pers{e}cution*".[167] Baxter mentions it by name as "finished, and going to the Press" in July 1658.[168] However, "[t]he Second Part" and the important dedication "[t]o his Highness

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[164] Cf. Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane the Younger*, 208. These interruptions (which I do not have space here to prove came from the republican coalition) include the Quaker disrupting the Lord Protector's opening speech (27 Jan.), the distribution of the 'treasonous' *XXV Queries* in the House by a "madman" (3–5 Feb.), and Haslerig's hilarious filibustering speech (7 Feb.): see e.g. Rutt (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. 3 (1828), 2, 76-82, 87-105; *Journals of the House of Commons*, 600; C. H. Firth (ed.), *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), 50-56. Cf. Slingsby Bethel, *A True and Impartial Narrative of the Most Material Debates and Passages in the Late Parliament* (Thomas Brewster, 1659), 14: "all that the Commonwealths-men were able to do was to defer and keep off Slavery for a small time (in hope that God would send deliverance)". A. H. Woolrych, 'III. The Good Old Cause and the Fall of the Protectorate', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 13.2 (Jan. 1957), 133-161 (at 137-138): "[*XXV Queries*] anticipated the Republicans' tactics in the Commons so closely as to suggest that it may have emanated from those meetings at Sir Henry Vane's house which had been planning the campaign since November [1658]."
[165] Baxter, *Five Disputations of Church-Government and Worship* (Neville Simmons, 1659), sig. A^r.
[166] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 4-5, 183.
[167] Henry Stubbe, *An Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause* (n.p. 1659), sig.$^*_*$*2^v, Rogers, Διαπολιτεία, 13-14.
[168] Richard Baxter, *The Grotian Religion Discovered* (Nevill Simmons, 1658), 29.

RICHARD Lord Protector" appear to have been printed sometime after the third week of October.[169] As Rogers speculates, *A Key for Catholicks* seems "designed and TIMED on purpose to perplex this *person of honour* [i.e. Vane]", who was at this time campaigning ahead of the elections in December.[170] This chapter outlines how Baxter cleverly creates the category of Vanist as a means of 'perplexing' Vane's aspirations.

Baxter's extensive correspondence reveals that the composition of these massive twin tomes—about a thousand quarto pages combined—was a collaborative process. The first recorded mention of the Vanists appears in a letter to John Howe dated 3 April 1658. Probably prompted by the republication of *The Proceeds of the Protector (So Called) and His Council against Sir Henry Vane* ([T]1 Apr. 1658), Baxter urges Oliver Cromwell's new chaplain to "awaken [his] jealousye to a carefull (but very secret and silent) observance of the Infidells & Papists, who are very high & busye under severall garbes, especially of Seekers, Vanists & Behmenists. Should they infect our vitalls, or gett into the saddle, where are we then—?" Their correspondence had been instigated by Ambrose Upton, then Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, Howe's uncle and brother-in-law of Baxter's acolyte, Margaret Charlton. Initiating it in March, Howe had asked "what [Baxter] apprehend[ed] to bee the main evills of the nation" and what "one in [his] station" might "urge upon [the present governours] as a matter of duty" either through "private endeavours" or "in preaching".[171] Upton and other correspondents took a keen interest in the reception of *A Key for Catholicks*. In an undated letter, Baxter informs Upton that esteemed Independent minister, Philip Nye, was the source of a key piece of gossip.[172] Baxter's correspondence provides a glimpse into an extensive

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[169] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. A2[r], pp.[378], 459-460.

[170] Rogers, *Διαπολιτεία*, 18-19; Rowe, *Sir Henry Vane*, 207-211.

[171] Baxter, 'To John Howe' (3 Apr. 1658), 300-301; John Howe, ['To Richard Baxter'] (12 Mar. 1658), #436, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, 294-295; n.a. ("a reall Well-wisher to *SION*S Prosperity and *ENGLAND*S Liberty"), *The Proceeds of the Protector (So Called) and His Councill against Sir Henry Vane, Knight* (n.p. 1658). Baxter was close to Margaret Charlton at this time, though they did not marry until 1662. For both Margaret Baxter and John Howe, see *ODNB*.

[172] Richard Baxter, 'To Ambrose Upton', #700, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, ed. N. H. Keeble & Geoffrey F. Nuttall, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 30-31. Keeble & Nuttall date this letter "*c.* May 1662?" but aver it could be anytime between then and c. Sep. 1659. I think it is likely to be at the earlier end of this range. There is no entry for Upton in *ODNB* but see *The Peerage of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. 3 (W. Owen, L. Davis, & J. Debrett, 1790), 375-376; Richard Baxter, *Memoirs of Mrs. Margaret Baxter, Daughter of Francis Charlton, Esq.* (Richard

network of ministers (and others) collaborating on various projects, one of which was a multipronged, private and public, attack on Sir Henry Vane.

Baxter introduces himself to Cromwell as a spokesperson for "the cause and people of the Lord" (cf. e.g. Deu. 27:9, 2 Kin. 9:6, Zep. 2:10). As he proceeds through his six "*Requests*" of the new Lord Protector, however, the referent of his first-person plural coalesces upon this association of 'godly' ministers.[173] *Five Disputations*—also dedicated to Cromwell—more obviously reveals their goal of establishing a national church comprehending Presbyterians, Independents, some Baptists, and some adherents of the old episcopacy too. But contemporaneous responses to *A Key for Catholicks* recognise it as also contributing to this seemingly ecumenical plan (see **Chapter 6**). Paul Chang-Ha Lim stresses that "Baxter was committed to pursuing peace and concord— though not in the terms dictated by modern ecumenical temperaments." Lim notes that, for Baxter's ministerial association, the pursuit of ecclesiastical unity was inseparable from a concern with ecclesiological purity, and "the separatist and anticlerical threat were major impetuses".[174] Persuading the Lord Protector to endorse their scheme was the surest means of maintaining a strong Protestant ministry to prevent the perceived dégringolade into irreligion and 'popery'. On behalf of his colleagues, Baxter entreats Cromwell to foster "Union and Concord" among the established English churches and congregations and with Protestant churches overseas; to enforce the established system for managing the ministry and securing tithes; to adapt this system into "an *Instrument* for […] *Toleration*" whereby "the several sects" "may be *tryed* […] before they have

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Edwards, 1826), 3. He was the brother-in-law of MP Francis Rous. For Philip Nye, see *ODNB*. See also e.g. the letter from William Allen (cited above and below) and the correspondence between John Eliot of Massachusetts and Thomas Brookes of London (cited below).

[173] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig.(a3)ʳ-(b2)ᵛ. Note esp. the shift of the referent of the first-person plural in request #4 (sig.(b)ʳ⁻ᵛ).

[174] Paul Chang-Ha Lim, *In Pursuit of Purity, Unity, and Liberty: Richard Baxter's Puritan Ecclesiology in Its Seventeenth-century Context*, Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, ed. Robert J. Bast (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 119-120, & chap. 5 passim. For more on the Worcestershire Association, see John T. Wilkinson, 'Introductory Essay', in Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus: The Reformed Pastor*, ed. John T. Wilkinson (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2018), 15-50; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'The Worcestershire Association: Its Membership', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 1.2 (1950), 197-206; George R. Abernathy, Jr. 'The English Presbyterians and the Stuart Restoration, 1648–1660', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 55.2 (1965), 1-101. I regret not noticing until it was too late: J. William Black, *Reformation Pastors: Richard Baxter and the Ideal of the Reformed Pastor*, Studies in Evangelical History and Thought (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2007).

Liberty publikely to propagate their Opinions"; and to elevate "Godly, Faithfull Magistrates" to "[p]unish the uncurable" and "restrain the froward". The last two points lead into a calculated digression concerning "Masked Papists or Infidels […] creep[ing] into places of Council, Command, or Justice, or any publick office".[175] This is the polemical framework within which Baxter creates the Vanists.

Baxter's titular "Catholicks" are "the whole number of true Christians upon earth". This 'general' or 'universal' (= καθολικος) church "comprehendeth all the members of Christ […] united to Christ the Head" (cf. e.g. 1 Cor. 12:14-27) and is more or less continuous with "the most Ancient Church in the Apostles dayes".[176] Throughout *A Key for Catholicks*, he reverses the "Roman Catholick" characterisation of Protestants as "Schismaticks". It was "*Rome*", around the fourth century, that sundered the pristine ecclesiastical unity "by superadding a New Head and form" and "making *both the Heads Essential*". "[The] Pope as Christ-representative is now an Essential part of [the Church], and no man is a member of it, that is not a member of the Popes body, and subject to him." "*The Papall Church, as such, is a false Antichristian Church*", "*the separating sect*".[177] Baxter's conceptual universal church, on the other hand, incorporates the various Orthodox churches—though some "disclaim Communion with us [i.e. Protestants]"—and even embraces the Church of the East ("Nestorians" / "Chaldæans" / "Persians"), whose Christology was condemned as heresy by the Council of Ephesus in the fifth century. Of course, this hypothetical ecumenical communion remains highly chauvinistic: "all the *Greeks* and *other Eastern* and *Southern Churches*" are "below the Protestants". The universal church also encompasses "many particular lesser sects, that subvert not the foundation, as some Anabaptists, and divers others".[178] Given Baxter's tolerance

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[175] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. (a3)ʳ-(b)ᵛ.
[176] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 7-8, 71. To avoid confusion, I use Catholic in reference to the Catholic Church and universal or general to refer to Baxter's imagined church. Baxter contends that Protestant doctrine is the same as the early church's though practice has changed. See e.g. 113: "In the primitive Church, and in *Tertullians* dayes, a Common Feast of the Church was used with the Lords Supper, and the Sacrament taken then. [&c.] […] Abundance such changes might be mentioned, greater then ours, in which we are justified".
[177] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 205-206, 121, 252-253, 106.
[178] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 133, 8, 15-16, 101, 403, 292-293. On the Church of the East, see e.g. Wilhelm Baum & Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (London/New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

of diverse Christologies—he tends to view such metaphysical controversies as "but a verbal difference"—his core doctrines are rather minimal.[179] Yet it is not really doctrinal deviance but insistence on personal holiness and the concomitant anticlerical attitude that sunders primal unity. For instance, the exclusion of "half of [the Anabaptists]" is because they "unchurch all the rest of the world, and count themselves the whole Church of Christ", and thereby, "make themselves a sect". Baxter "abhor[s]" "a sect divided from the body" and cannot conceive of "a Protestant" ever behaving in such a fashion. He likens "Quakers, and Anabaptists, and Familists" to 'Papists' because they "extend [love and charity] to none but those of [their] own sect[s]".[180] For Baxter, these sects must be "Masked Papists".

Echoing the letter to Howe in which he first mentions the Vanists, Baxter informs the Lord Protector: "The men that we are *jealous* of, and over whom we desire you to be *Vigilant*, are these *Hiders* that purposely obscure and cover their Religion […] and if ever you advance them into places of Command or Power, it will increase our jealousies." Baxter warns that if Cromwell does not heed their advice, he and his fellow ministers will take it as a sign that they need to be just as suspicious about him. Baxter's ministerial association clearly viewed itself as having considerable power or authority. Baxter provides a convenient catalogue of the "ten sorts" about which Cromwell should be most concerned: "*Seekers*"; "Paracelsians, Behmenists, and other Enthusiasts"; "[t]he secret guides of the Quakers"; "*Libertines*, that would have liberty for all that they can call Religion"; "Democratical Polititians, that […] would bring all into confusion under pretence of the Peoples Liberty or Power'"; "[t]hose that under the pretence of defending Prelacy, and of uniting us with *Rome*, […] degrade all the Ministers that are not of their way"; and a cavalcade of other skeptics, scoffers, and "Infidels". Third on the list, between the Behmenists

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[179] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 89, 134, 309, 382. Cf. pp.20, 267-268: "It is an Article of faith, that God is to be loved and obeyed, and our Superiors to be honoured, and our Neighbour to be loved, and Charity to be exercised, *&c.* The Creation, the Incarnation of Christ, his death, resurrection, ascension, glorification, intercession, his future Judgement, the Resurrection of the body, &c. are all matters of fact, and yet matters of faith too." "[*Franciscus à Santa Clara*] saith that *this is the way to the end debates of them that think the Article of the Trinity, of Christ, of the incarnation, &c. are necessary to salvation, though not to Justification*: and answering them, he saith that *such are not formally without the Church*. You see then *formally Infidels are in their Church* [i.e. the Catholic Church] *and may be saved*, in his opinion."
[180] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 293, 17, 329.

and the Quakers, are "[t]he *Vani,* whom God by wonders confounded in *New England,* but have here prevailed far in the dark." Unlike the later list in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, this functions more as a guide to the attitudes and behaviours that the ministers deem most frustrating to their ecclesiastical settlement: withdrawal from formal and institutional worship, anticlericalism, comprehensive toleration, use of "self-devised, uncouth, [and] cloudy" theological language, interest in "chang[ing]" the government.[181] Over the next three-hundred or so pages, Baxter cunningly ensures that most of these positions are linked to Henry Vane. But nowhere (until *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*) does he explicitly connect the "*Vani*" to Vane. Instead, he engages diligent readers in a process of consolidating his scattered hints and insinuations, implicating them in the formation of his case.

About two-thirds of the way into *A Key for Catholicks*, in Chapter XLV, Baxter contends that "it was utterly against the mind and thoughts of Protestants, and those that they called *Puritans*, to put the King to death". He asserts that "it was the work of *Papists*, *Libertines*, *Vanists*, and *Anabaptists*". Or as he has it elsewhere, "Vanists [and] Levellers […] were the chief agents".[182] It may be assumed that readers are supposed to connect these "Vanists" to the "*Vani*" mentioned in the dedication, though Baxter assiduously keeps them separate from each other as well as from Vane.[183] As William Lamont notes, "[Baxter] deplored [the regicide] as the logical end of the populist theories and justification of resistance which had come to disfigure the Parliamentary cause [i.e. in the civil wars]." Moreover, he "elevates this political quarrel to a theological level" through his polemics against the antinomian assurance of an indwelling Christ, a belief which he saw pervading the army by the late 1640s (see **Chapter 6**).[184] For him, both are the result of Catholic infiltration. Throughout *A Key for Catholicks*, he reiterates that "[the Jesuites] are for

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[181] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. [(a4)]ʳ⁻ᵛ.
[182] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 323, 355-356.
[183] He does, however, connect passages referring to "Vanists" back the account of the Vani: see e.g. pp.337, 341.
[184] William M. Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millenium: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 295-296.

deposing Heretical Kings, and murthering and stabbing them".[185] His address to the Lord Protector immediately "beseech[es]": "receive not this as you would do a Scholastick or Philosophical Disputation about things as seem not to concern you; but as you would intress your self in a Disputation upon the Question, Whether you should be deposed or murdered as an Heretick?" He reminds Cromwell that Catholics were behind the attempted assassination of Elizabeth I (1586), the invasion by the Spanish Armada (1588), the plan to blow up parliament (1605), the massacre of Protestant settlers in Ireland (1641), and "the streams of blood of Saints that have been shed […] in many other Lands!"[186] Later, he alludes to the plot that former Levellers "confederated with Spain" (c.1655–1657) to assassinate Cromwell's father, justified in "their Jesuitical Treasonable Pamphlet", *Killing No Murder* ([1]Jun. 1657).[187] Baxter tells Cromwell: "We fear the *Masked Papists and Infidels*, more then the *bare-faced*, or then any enemy."[188] This strategy—associating the Vanists with the regicide—constructs them as also the Lord Protector's biggest threat.

In his account of Catholic influence on the outbreak of the civil war in 1640, Baxter relies on extensive citations from *William Prynne's corpus of paranoid 'Papist plot' literature from the mid-1640s.[189] When it comes to conspiracies, "[Baxter] rather[s] you would read in Mr. *Prins Works of Darkness brought to Light*, and *Canterburies Tryall, and his* Romes *Master piece*, and his *Royall Favorite*, then hear it from [him]".[190] Prynne would soon reciprocate by being the first to employ Baxter's polemical creation of the Vanists (see **Chapter 6**). Baxter is unperturbed when following Prynne's claims about the "power and interest [Papists] had in the *Kings* Armies and Counsels", but he

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[185] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 128.
[186] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. A2ᵛ-(a)ʳ
[187] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 321. On the so-called 'Sindercombe Plot' and *Killing Noe Murder*, see e.g. Patrick Little, 'John Thurloe and the Offer of the Crown to Oliver Cromwell', *Oliver Cromwell: New Perspectives*, ed. Patrick Little (Houndsmills/New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 216-240; Chad Schrock, 'Plain Styles: Disillusioned Rhetoric in Edward Sexby's *Killing Noe Murder*', *The Modern Language Review* 105.2 (Apr. 2010), 329-344.
[188] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, sig. [(a4)]ʳ.
[189] Cf. William M. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne 1600–1669*, Studies in Political History, ed. Michael Hurst (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul / Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1963), esp. chap. 6; Ethyn Williams Kirby, *William Prynne: A Study in Puritanism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1931).
[190] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 316. "And if any reader be disaffected to the *reciter* of it, let them at least peruse impartially the *Evidences* produced by him." Prynne is cited some seventeen times.

becomes evasive when addressing "[Papists'] Interest in the Councils and Forces of the *Parliament*". He shifts into a series of rhetorical questions—"without any positive Assertions"—goading readers who "can see a cause in its effects […] to follow these streams till they find the Fountain". Among these questions are "Whence came the doctrine contended for by Sir *H. V.* and others, against the Power of the Magistrate in matters of Religion, and for Universal Liberty in Religion?" "And whence came the *Hiders* Body of Divinity, that hath infected so many high and low?"[191] Through this indirect method, he insinuates a connection between promotion of civil war and advocacy of liberty of conscience, between regicide and mystical theology. Yet he is careful never to explicitly entwine his assertions about the Vanists' involvement with one with Vane's advocacy of the other. Such feints allow Baxter to plead plausible deniability—which he in fact did when Vane challenged him (allegedly) in parliament and via harassing emissaries.[192]

About twenty pages after the above passage, Baxter again creatively engages his readers by asking them to "[c]ompare Sir *H. Vane's* doctrine of Liberty" with Thomas á Jesu's position that "*Pagans may not be punished for despising the honour and worship of God, though they may for not giving every man his own, and for theft, murder, false witness, and other sins that are against mens right*". The implication is that Vane "favour[s] […] Heathens and Infidels" like a Jesuit.[193] Between these two passages about Vane's "doctrine of Liberty", Baxter considers how "[Papists] multiply sects among us […] so that there is scarce a sect but is a spawn of the Jesuites and Fryers". After dismissing Catholic influence on "the old English Bishops and conformable Ministers" and "the *Presbyterians*"—those with whom his ministerial association sought union—he closely attends to "the interest that the Papists had among [the new Episcopal party]" and "the King himself that was their Head". He similarly refrains for writing much in this regard about the "Societies under the name of

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[191] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 319-320.
[192] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76: "Sir *Henry Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatned me to many, and spake against me in the House […] [T]he whole Land rang of his Anger and my Danger; and all expected my present Ruine by him." Cf. Richard Baxter, 'To William Mewe' (6 Aug. 1659), #600, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, 407-408; 'To Ambrose Upton' (see above). See also the letters from William Allen (cited below).
[193] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 338.

Independants"—also courted by his association—but proclaims "it is a thing notorious, that [Papists] have crept in among the Anabaptists, and fomented that Sect." In this middle of this numbered catalogue—conspicuously located between the Catholicising high-church party and the Independents—he inserts a highly allusive story about the dissenters who fled England in the 1620s and 1630s due to persecution under the policies of Charles I and the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> The persecuted Nonconformists of the Protestant party, though they were most adverse to the Papists, yet had some of the Popish brood at last crept in among them, not only to spie out their minds and wayes, but to head the party, and sow among them the seeds of further discontent and error, and to make them a Nursery for various sects. […] Yet cannot I hear of any considerable infection among this party that way before Sir *Henry Vane's* dayes.

It as an aside that Baxter implicates Vane in "the Popish brood" that "infect[ed]" the colony of Massachusetts during his governorship (1636–1637). As will be seen (**Chapters 5–6**), the insinuation that Vane's goal was "to head the party" and "make [the Nonconformists] a Nursery for various sects" became a powerful piece of propaganda as the year went on. Baxter declares he will "give […] more [proof] anon". From Prynne's *Hidden Workes of Darkenes Brought to Publike Light* (1645), he quotes "[a] *Jesuits Letter sent to the Rector at Bruxels*" in a way that obliquely applies it to Vane: "*I cannot choose but laugh to see how some of our own coat have re-inconntred themselves:* […] *it is admirable how in speech and gesture they act the Puritans*".[194] Baxter highlights "the Anabaptists" as exemplary "products" to illustrate what 'Papists' achieve by this strategy: "our Councils, Armies, Churches have been divided"; "they have cast a reproach on [the Protestant] Profession, as if we had no unity or consistence"; "they have loosned [*sic*] and disaffected the common people, to see so many minds and waies, and hear so much contending"; "they have engaged the minds and

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[194] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 328-329; cf William Prynne, *Hidden Workes of Darkness Brought to Publike Light* (Michael Sparke, 1645), 90. I cannot find this word, *re-inconntred*, (or equivalent) in the *OED*. Perhaps related to the Italian, *incontràre*, to meet, encounter, play, with the sense being to have disguised oneself as an other (cf. *contrario*).

tongues of many (and their hands if they had power) against the Ministry"; and "[t]hey have found a Nursery or Seminary for their own Opinions". The last echoes the preceding description of Vane in Massachusetts. Baxter characterises this Jesuit ploy of covert infiltration as a "game".[195] This is how he describes the "Design" or plot of the unnamed "Master" of "[t]he *Vani*".

The list of "*Hiders*" in the dedication to Cromwell condenses the comprehensive catalogue that features just after the above passages. These should be seen as preparatory to its reception. It appears to be a discrete compositional unit inserted at this juncture as apposite to the claim that "[*Papists*] *seek*[…] *to Divide the Protestants among themselves, or to break them into Sects, or poyson the ductile sort with Heresies, and then to draw them to some odious practices, to cast a disgrace on the Protestant Cause.*" It is the only place (other than the dedicatory address) that uses the form "*Vani*" rather than 'Vanist'. The level of rococo detail does not add much to Baxter's argument but tends to distract from it. His introduction is nonsequitous and oddly prim: "I shall tell you of some of those Heresies or parties among us, that are the Papists own Spawn or progeny; Either they laid the Egg, or hatched it, or both."[196] This also identifies it as a kind of heresiographical catalogue. The hatching metaphor is an heresiological commonplace, for instance, in Epiphanius' *Panarion*: "[These Gnostics] have been hatched by [this Nicolaus] in their turn like scorpions from an infertile snake's egg".[197] Baxter knew and actually contributed to Thomas Edwards' *Gangræna* (1646)—the most popular heresiography in seventeenth-century England—and also owned editions of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Jerome, and Theodoret.[198] He was familiar with the genre and employs its taxonomic form.[199] He classifies the so-called 'heresies' under four overarching heads: "*Libertinism* or *Freedom for all*

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[195] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 329-330.

[196] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 313, 330

[197] Epiphanius of Salamis, *The Panarion*, tr. Frank Williams, 2nd ed., Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies, ed. Einar Thomassen & Johannes van Oort (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2009), 90.

[198] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 56; Richard Baxter, 'To William Strong' (27 Oct. 1645), #6, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, 41-42; Edwards, *Gangraena*; Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'A Transcript of Richard Baxter's Library Catalogue: A Bibliographical Note', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2.2 (1951), 207-221 (#316, #69, #51, #113-116,); cf. Geoffrey F. Nuttall, 'A Transcript of Richard Baxter's Library Catalogue (Concluded)', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 3.1 (1952), 74-100.

[199] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 247: "I pray you tell us what General Councils did ever condemn one half of the Heresies mentioned by *Epiphanius*, *Augustine* or *Philastrius*?"

Religions"; "*Hiders* […] [who] with wonderfull secrecy do conceal the principal part of their opinions"; "stark Heathens, Atheists, or Infidels […] meer Deism"; and "Socinians". He concludes with a paralipse: "I shall say nothing of the Millenaries, the Levellers, and many such like." And soon collapses the first and second classes into one another: "So much of the Libertines and the Hiders of their Religion, (of several sorts)."[200] Like other heresiographers, he gestures to the outrageous sectarian plurality that makes thorough taxonomic capture impossible (see **Chapter 3**).

As in his dedicatory address to Cromwell, Baxter emphasises that "the principal design that the Papists have upon our Religion […] is managed under a sort of *Juglers*" or "*Hiders*". He arranges "the principal of these" into five subcategories, one of which is broken down into a further six subdivisions (see **Chapter 2**). This meticulous dissection generates the illusion of precision while evoking the rampant multiplicity that arises with departure from the sole stable orthodoxy. However, in another heresiographical commonplace, this surface diversity belies heretical unity: "all are confederate in the same grand principles, […] but take on them several shapes and names, and some of them industriously avoid all names". The almost identical phraseology indicates this section underlies the account in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*. With one substitution, its list of sects is also the same: "I. The *Vani*", "[2.] the *Parace{l}sians*, *Weigelians*, and *Behmenists*", "[3.] those called *Seekers*", "[4.] the *Quakers*", "[5.] those Enthusiasts, that shun the affected bombasted language of *Behmen*, and such like, but […] [are] Headed by an infallible Prophetick Spirit". There is some incoherence characteristic of the heresiological genre. For instance, Baxter remarks that "[t]he Doctrine of [the *Quakers*] is the same, or scarse discernable from the rest." This is especially significant because he glosses over the "doctrine" of "[t]he *Vani*" without giving details. Yet all he reports is that Quakers are "an impudent Generation [...] open enough in pulling down; but as secret and reserved as the rest in asserting and building up".[201] Moreover, this claim of widespread secrecy—similar accusations can be found regarding the

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[200] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330-336.
[201] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330, 334.

ancient Gnostics as well as Familists and Socinians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—is contradicted by the detailed information he provides about doctrines and practices of the Seekers and Behmenists.

The information about the latter is especially significant because "the *Paracelsians*, *Weigelians*, and *Behmenists*" are said to "go the same way in the main with [the *Vani*], and are indeed the same party".[202] In the following chapter, Baxter strengthens the connection: "And there the *Vane* and *Steril* language of Paracelsian Behmenists, and Popish Juglers, doth serve with me for no other use but to raise me into suspicion of their Designs and Doctrines". The pun avoids directly naming Vane and Sterry but still obliquely designates them "Paracelsian Behmenists". Baxter obviously understands that their employment of metaphorical and allegorical language follows the precedent set by the biblical prophets and revelators: "I know that Scripture hath its difficultites […] [b]ut that is from our incapacity of understanding higher points, till we are prepared by the lower".[203] But he does not accept that Vane's writings could also be "constructed […] on the basis of this kind of progessivist hermeneutic", as Parnham explains, similarly requiring the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to be properly interpretable.[204] In contradiction to the notion that these sectaries are secretive about their doctrines, he points interested readers to John Pordage's *Innocencie Appearing, through the Dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* ([T]5 Mar. 1654), Christopher Fowler's *Dæmonium Meridianum* ([T]23 May 1655), and Thomas Bromley's *The Way to the Sabbath of Rest* ([T]6 Nov. 1655) for further information concerning "[the Behmenists'] life of Community, and Chastity, and Visible converse […] with Angels".[205]

The publications by Pordage and Fowler present each side of Pordage's trial by the Committee for Plundered Ministers in late 1654. Pordage was ejected from the well-endowed Rectorate of Bradfield, Berkshire, for "*Blasphemy, pretended visions, uncleannesse &c.*"[206] There were

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[202] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 331.
[203] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 342.
[204] Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, 118ff.
[205] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 331.
[206] E.g. Christopher Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum* (Francis Eglesfield, 1655), 1.

close links between Pordage's and Vane's circles (see **Chapter 2**). Baxter's highlighting of those connections here incites readers to project into the lacuna concerning the "doctrine" of "[t]he *Vani*". Pordage and his (mostly female) associates had been accused of adultery and other improper attitudes toward sexuality as well as consorting with various Ranter-types.[207] Among the problematic doctrines they allegedly espoused were "[t]hat the fiery deity of Christ mingleth, and mixeth it self with out flesh"; "[*t*]*hat by male, and female* […] *we are to understand by male, the Deity, and by female, the humanity, and that these two become one flesh*"; and "[t]hat it was a weaknesse to be troubled for sin". However, it was their lurid visionary experiences that made them especially notorious:

> [*A*] *great Dragon came into* [Pordage's] *chamber, with a tail of eight yards long, four great teeth, and did spit fire at him, and* […] *his own Angel came and stood by him while he was expostulating with the Dragon, and* […] *Mrs* Pordage *and Mrs* Flavell *had their Angels standing by them also, Mrs* Pordage *singing sweetly, and keeping time upon her breast, and* […] *her children saw the spirits coming into the house, and said,* Look there Father, *and that the spirits did often come into the chamber, and drew the curtains when they were in bed.* […] [I]n Dr *Pordages* house in *Bradfield,* the new *Jerusalem* hath been seen, to come down from heaven, all of precious stones, *and in the new* Jerusalem *there was a globe, which globe was eternity, and in the eternity were all the Saints.* […] [*T*]*he face of God* hath been seen, not as *Moses* saw him, but *the very face, as one man may see anothers.*[208]

In their animadversions, Pordage and the others do not so much deny the accusations as clarify the events and their significances.[209] Though it cannot be investigated here, Feisal G. Mohamed highlights the importance of Vane's "eccentric celestial hierarchy"—with the saints above the angels with Christ—"in buttressing his political arguments regarding liberty of conscience."[210] Baxter's claim that "the *Paracelsians*, *Weigelians*, and *Behmenists*" are "the same party" as "[t]he *Vani*" performs the classic heresiological move of guilt by association. Just as Pordage's

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[207] For Pordage's trials, see esp. Green, *'Satan at Noon'*, 146-178. Cf. John Maitland, the Earl of Lauderdale, '[To Richard Baxter]' (14 Dec. 1658), #530, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, 355-356, referring to Meric Casaubon (ed.), *A True & Faithful Relation of What Passed for Many Yeers between Dr. John Dee* […] *and Some Spirits* (T. Garthwait, 1659 [§3 Mar. 1658]): "Some things they say are not inconsiderable, but for the most part their divinity is perfectly like the Behmenists or *Sir* Henry Vane, sometimes they are like worshipfull quakers, in 3 or 4 Passages most zealous papists. And at the last they devill shews his cloven foot, And teaches the Doctrine of Devills indeed, Teaching Dr. Dee and Edward Kellie (ane avowed Necromancer) to lie promiscuously with one anothers wife."
[208] Fowler, *Dæmonium Meridianum*, 4, 33, 63, 80, 83. Each of these is the original statement of the article against Pordage and each is followed by extensive testimonies and animadversions.
[209] See also John Pordage, *Innocencie Appearing, through the Dark Mists of Pretended Guilt* (Giles Calvert, 1655).
[210] Mohamed, *In the Anteroom of Divinity*, 91, 103.

eccentric beliefs and bizarre behaviour made him unfit for the ministry, so Vane's make him unfit for public service.

Baxter's account of "[t]he *Vane*" is hooked around "Mr. *Welds* Narrative" from *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, that Infected the Churches of New England* (T19 Feb. 1644). This book is a compilation of already circulating documents written by Vane's successor as governor of Massachusetts and several New England ministers.[211] One of these ministers, Thomas Weld, encountering the first edition (T16 Jan. 1644) on his arrival in London, capitulated to those who "earnestly pressed [him] to perfect it, by laying downe the order and sense of the story […] [in a] Preface".[212] Weld was in England pursuing Massachusetts' claim to Rhode Island against its founder, Vane's friend, Roger Williams. Because most of the banished "*Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*" had relocated to Rhode Island, the publication seems intended to discredit Williams' policy of total toleration. Appearing while the Westminster Assembly of Divines agonised over church government, however, *A Short Story* was also leveraged by Presbyterians as a cautionary tale about the problems with the congregational or 'New England Way' preferred by Independents (supported by Vane). It was a popular book—three editions in 1644 and another in 1692—and one need only know the title to glean something about "[t]he *Vane*". Its titular sect-names had a polemical pedigree stretching back into the early sixteenth century, and by the mid-seventeenth, were thoroughly entangled around the polemical construct of a too-inward, anti-scriptural and anticlerical, and possibly licentious religion.[213] Weld enumerates twenty-nine "*unsound and loose opinions*" that Baxter's readers might be expected to attribute to "[t]he

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[211] See esp. David D. Hall, 'Author, Author: *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruine of the Late Antinomians, Familists and Libertines* (1644) Reappraised', *New England Quarterly* 94.3 (Sep. 2021), 431-458.

[212] Thomas Weld, 'The Preface', *A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*, in *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636–1638: A Documentary History*, ed. David D. Hall, 2nd ed. (Durham & London: Duke UP, 1990), 199-310 (at 201).

[213] Cf. e.g. Raymond Phineas Stearns, 'The Weld-Peter Mission to England', *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vol. 32 (1937), 188-246; James G. Moseley, *John Winthrop's World: History as a Story; the Story as History*, History of American Thought and Culture, gen. ed. Paul S. Boyer (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1992), esp. 123-126; Jonathan Beecher Field, 'The Antinomian Controversy Did Not Take Place', *Early American Studies* 6.2 (Fall 2008), 448-463; Hall, 'Author, Author'. On the polemical blurring of Antinomians and Libertines, see e.g. Cooper, *Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-century England*, chap. 1. For the blurring of these with Familists, see e.g. Winship, *Making Heretics*, 25-26.

Vani": "*a man is united to Christ, and justified without faith: yea from eternity*" (cf. e.g. Eph. 1:4); "[*a*]*ll graces are in Christ as in the Subject, and none in us, so that Christ beleeves, Christ loves, &c.*" (cf. e.g. Gal. 2:20); "*Christ is the new Creature*" (e.g. 2 Cor. 5:17); "[*a*] *Christian is not bound to pray except the Spirit move him*" (cf. 2 Pet. 1:21); "[*a*] *Minister that hath not this (new) light is not able to edifie others that have it*"; "[*t*]*he whole letter of the Scripture is a covenant of works*" (cf. e.g. 2 Cor. 3:6, Rom. 7:6); and "[*s*]*inne in a childe of God must never trouble him*" (cf. 1 Joh. 5:19).[214]

However, the bulk of Baxter's account exploits the most sensationalistic aspect of *A Short Story*, which, as Weld remarks, was "*knowne and famous over* […] *a great part of the world.*"[215]

> The *Vani*, whose game was first plaid openly in *America* in *New England,* where God gave in his Testimony against them from Heaven upon their two Prophetesses, Mrs. *Hutchinson,* and Mrs. *Dyer.* The later brought forth a Monster with the parts of Bird, Beast, Fish and Man […] The former brought forth many (neer 30.) monstrous births at once, and was after slain by the Indians.[216]

The nasty providential reading of Anne Hutchison's and Mary Dyer's traumatic parturitions—one a hydatidiform mole and the other stillbirth of a premature child with severe congenital abnormalities—is borrowed straight from the New England ministers and magistrates. The inversion of traditional gender roles ("Prophetesses") is a standard heresiological device for signalling deviance. Imagery of monstrosity, bestiality, and miscreation also abounds in heresiological literature—signifying the error, transgression, and hybridity associated with heresy—as well as being a source of prurient horror in popular prodigy stories.[217] But representing

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[214] Weld, 'The Preface', 202-203.

[215] Weld, 'The Preface', 214-215. On the dissemination of this story, before and after its publication in *A Short Story*, see Valerie Pearl & Morris Pearl, 'Governor John Winthrop on the Birth of the Antinomians' "Monster": The Earliest Reports to Reach England and the Making of a Myth', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 102 (1990), 21-37; Johan Winsser, 'Mary Dyer and the "Monster" Story', *Quaker History* 79.1 (Spring 1990), 20-34.

[216] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330.

[217] Lyle Koehler, 'The Case of the American Jezebels: Anne Hutchinson and Female Agitation during the Years of Antinomian Turmoil, 1636–1640', *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31.1 (Jan. 1974), 55-78; Anne Jacobson Schutte, '"Such Monstrous Births": A Neglected Aspect of the Antinomian Controversy', *Renaissance Quarterly* 38.1 (Spring 1985), 85-106; Karyn Valerius, '"So Manifest a Signe from Heaven": Monstrosity and Heresy in the Antinomian Controversy', *The New England Quarterly* 83.2 (Jun. 2010), 179-199; Ingvild Sælid Gilhus, 'The Construction of Heresy and the Creation of Identity: Epiphanius of Salamis and His Medicine-Chest against Heretics', *Numen* 62.2/3 (2015), 152-168; Young Richard Kim, 'Sound Belief, Sound Body: Heresy and Health according to Epiphanius of Cyprus',

Hutchinson and Dyer specifically as "[the *Vani's*] two Prophetesses" allows Baxter to construe their notorious misfortunes specifically as "[God's] Testimony against [the *Vani*]". Moreover, Baxter can construct himself and his fellow ministers as the successors to "those wise and godly men" in New England "that saw [the *Vani*], or were near them, and knew the waye of them that God thus testified against."[218] Although Winthrop briefly mentions that "the former Governour" was one the "friends of Christ and Free-grace", it leaves Vane anonymous and deferentially overlooks his involvement in the discord.[219] Baxter's insinuations, on the other hand, more closely resemble, for example, an unpublished sermon by one of the ministers (1637): "Abimelech [i.e. Vane] makes his factiō […] by rending: so tis the fundamentall principle that all brambles hold, make a breach & then enter, diuide & rule […] & the end of the brambles was to let in the Spanyard" (cf. Jdg. 9:14-15).[220] This is perhaps the earliest instance of what would become a very common polemical charge against Vane (see **Chapters 5–6**). Baxter almost certainly did not know this sermon, but he was undoubtedly familiar with the New England ministers' attitudes toward Vane through personal communications.[221]

The closest Baxter gets in *A Key for Catholicks* to explicitly linking Vane and the Vanists is a loaded reference to "the Counsels and designs of him that was in *New England*, the Master of the game". He had used this word exactly one page before about the Jesuits, just after the veiled story

Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association 14 (2018), 1-20; Ulla Tervahauta, Ivan Miroshnikov, Outi Lehtipuu, & Ismo Dunderberg (eds.), *Women and Knowledge in Early Christianity*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae: Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language, chf. ed. D. T. Runia & G. Rouwhorst (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), esp. chaps. 2, 4, 5, 9, 14.

[218] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 331.

[219] Winthrop et al, *A Short Story*, in *The Antinomian Controversy*, 254, cf. 252. Cf. Winship, *Making Heretics*, 51-52, cf. 139: "[Vane's] continuing importance as an English political figure meant that it was always far more worthwhile to cultivate him than alienate him. Therefore, contemporary official or quasi-official accounts intended for English audiences deliberately diverted attention from him."

[220] 'Thomas Shepard's Election Sermon', *The New-England Historical & Genealogical Register and Antiquarian Journal* 24.4 (Oct. 1870), 361-366 (at 364).

[221] There is extant correspondence between Baxter and many New-England clergymen, including those involved in the original controversy: see the summary of these contacts in N. H. Keeble, 'Introduction', *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, xxv-xl (at xxvi). A letter from John Eliot of Roxbury, Massachussetts, to Thomas Brooks, Rector of St. Mary Magdalen's, Oxford (19 May 1660), cited in Winsser, 'Mary Dyer and the "Monster" Story', 30-31, indicates that "Mr. Baxter" was keen to discover more information "about the monster". This may have been to answer John Clarke's dispassionate account, inserted in Henry Stubbe, *Malice Rebuked* (n.p. 1659), 48-49. Roger Williams' colleague, Clarke, had attended Hutchinson's delivery in New England ("of what he had *long foretold* would be a *Mola*") and was sojourning at with the Vanes at Raby at least in 1658 (see below).

about Vane's time in New England. Now he ponders—again indirect assertions—"how much of [the Master's] doctrine and design were from heaven, and how much of them he brought with him from *Italy*".[222] Vane's defenders and even Baxter's friends made much of the falsehood that Vane had been in Italy, but Baxter pointed out he had never actually stated that—which is indeed true.[223] Nevertheless, his aside about "[the Master's] doctrine […] [being] begotten by the Progenitor of Monsters" (i.e. the Catholic Church) was misread as implying that "[Sir Hen. Vane] desbauched [Mrs. Dier & Mrs. Hutchinson], & both were delivered of monsters."[224] If Baxter intended this implication—which the ambiguous syntax suggests he did—it evokes yet another standard heresiological trope associating heresy with sexual deviance.

Having slyly disseminated the case against Vane across the chapter, Baxter turns to the crux:

> This providence should at least have awakened *England* to such a Godly Jealousie, as to have better tryed the doctrines which God thus seemed to cast out […] before they had so greedily entertained them, as in part of *Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire,* and many other parts they have done. […] At least it should have wakened the Parliament to a wise and Godly Jealousie […] But God had a judgement for us, and therefore we were left in blindness, to overlook that Judgement that should have warned us. They are now dispersed in Court, City, and Country, and what God will suffer them, and the Papists by them further to do, time will discover.[225]

This echoes the warnings in his letter to Howe and is presumably the precursor to the more allusive dedication to Cromwell. Baxter leverages the providential reading of events in New England in the 1630s, developed by the ministers and magistrates opposed to Hutchinson and Vane, to cast aspersions on Vane's current political aspirations in England. He even names specific electorates in which Vane and his allies had strong support. Baxter's polemical construction gained traction

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[222] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330-331.

[223] William Allen, [To Richard Baxter] (30 May 1659), #576, & Richard Baxter, 'To William Allen' (18 Jul. 1659), #585, *Calendar of the Correspondence of Richard Baxter*, vol. 1, 393-395, 400; John Rogers, *A Vindication of that Prudent and Honourable Knight, Sir Henry Vane, from the Lyes and Calumnies of Mr. Richard Baxter* (Livewell Chapman, 1659), 7; Rogers, Διαπολιτεία, 24; Henry Stubbe, *Malice Rebuked* (n.p. 1659), 48-51; Baxter to Upton (cited above); Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 76, 91-92.

[224] 'Memoranda of Sir Joseph Williamson', *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser. 13 (1873), 132.

[225] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 330-331.

as events unfolded over the course of the year. It reached a zenith in the corpus of satirical literature published in early 1660 as the fractures among the republican factions became irremediable.[226] But it is also evident in earlier reports from royalist informants, and notably, in the campaign that James Harrington and his parliamentary associates launched in May against Vane's proposals for settlement of the government.

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[226] E.g. *A Letter from Sir Henry Vane to Sir Arthur Hasilrig* (John Frost, 1659 [T27 Feb. 1660]), *A Phanatique Prayer, by Sir H. V. Divinity-Professor of Raby Castle* (n.p. n.d. [T2 Mar. 1660]), *Sir Harry Vane's Last Sigh for the Committee of Safety* (n.p. 1659 [prob. 1660]), *A Phanatique Play* (n.p. 1660).

Chapter 5. May 1659.

The People cannot see, but they can feel.

—JAMES HARRINGTON, *Aphorisms Political* (1659)

On 22 April 1659, under pressure from military leadership, Richard Cromwell dissolved his first and only parliament. Although the senior officers would have preferred to maintain the Protectorate government—one was Cromwell's brother-in-law and another his uncle—the rank-and-file soldiery largely supported the revival of the parliament that had governed between December 1648 and April 1653. Unable to manage the discontent, on 6 May 1659, the grandees formally "invite[d]" those "eminent Assertors of [the Good old] Cause, [who] had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work […] to return to the exercise and discharge of their trust".[227] Austin Woolrych observes that "Sir Henry Vane assembled the whole catena of ideas upon which the army acted […] in his famous pamphlet *A Healing Question*". These ideas united republican politicians, sectaries, and soldiers under the slogan of 'the Good Old Cause', that is, the civil and religious liberties for which the parliamentary army fought against the king in the war. For some, like Vane and the Fifth Monarchists, this was coloured with apocalyptic expectations of the kingdom of God.[228] On 7 May 1659, a group of about thirty former MPs, excluded as royalist sympathisers in 1648, also attempted to take their seats. This escalated two days later to a showdown on the House floor between Vane and Haselrig and the leader of this "Juncto", William Prynne.[229] Prynne's contemporaneous *The Re-Publicans and Others Spurious Good Old Cause, Briefly and Truly Anatomized* ([T]13 May 1659) draws on Baxter's portrayal of

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[227] *A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, Inviting Members of the Long Parliament, who Continued Sitting till the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of Their Trust* (Henry Hills, 1659), t.p.

[228] A. H. Woolrych, 'III. The Good Old Cause and the Fall of the Protectorate', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 13.2 (Jan. 1957), 133-161 (at 134).

[229] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 644-647; William Prynne, *A True and Perfect Narrative of What was Done, Spoken by and between Mr. Prynne, the Old and Newly Forcibly Late Secluded Members, the Army Officers, and Those Now Sitting, both in the Commons Lobby, House and Elsewhere* (Edward Thomas, 1659), 1-16; William Prynne, *Loyalty Banished* (n.p. 1659), 7-8; Henry Stubbe, *The Common-wealth of Israel* (Thomas Brewster, 1659), 1, 3.

Vane's coalition just as Baxter had drawn on his writings. The title's marked hyphen—the word is not hyphenated in the pamphlet itself—implies the new government is acting over the part of the biblical τελῶναι ('publicans' or 'tax-collectors'). Prynne insistently reminds readers of how this parliament had imposed heavy new taxes when last in power. A single excerpt suffices to give a sense of the manic paranoid style in which he couches his main argument:

> When I had not only superficially viewed the *outside*, but considerately penetrated into the true *original, seminal sourse,* and *intrals of* [the *Good Old Cause*]*,* I discovered it to be in truth the *Jesuits* & *old Gunpowder-Traytors* most execrable *Plot and Cause*, principally projected and secretly promoted by Popish Cardinals, Jesuites, Priests, Agents of all sorts, but visibly carried on and effected, by Apostate Republican, and Sectarian Members of the late long Parliament, Army, and their confederates, to *blow up, subvert, destroy the King, Queen, Prince, Royal posterity, Lords, commons, Kingdom, Government, Laws, Liberty, and Property of the People of England,* yea the verie *constitution, freedom, power, privileges of all true* English-Parliaments, *the church and ministry of England,* and *true Protestant Religion* it self, formerly established, to set up *Oligarchy, Anarchy, Tyranny, Oppression, Libertinisme, Marshal-Government, and all kind of Heresies, Blasphemies, Religions, Sects,* yea *Atheisme, Popery* it self at last in their steads, to bring our *Kingdoms, Churches, Nations, Religion* to inevitable desolation, and subject them to the Iron yokes of *Rome, France,* and *Spain,* for the future, The blackest, horridst infernall cause ever yet owned by any Christians, or treacherous perfidious Sons of *Adam* since the Creation.[230]

Prynne's polemic is oblivious to the fact that the republican coalition that had exploited dissensions in the army to bring about the change of government was not so unified. The Commonwealthsmen comprised two main factions. On the one hand were Vane and his associates, and on the other, advocates of the theories of James Harrington, foremost of which was *Henry Neville. Stalwart politicians like Sir Arthur Haselrig were of neither party but at this time inclined much more to the latter. It is significant that Harrington publicly dissociated himself from the Commonwealthsmen just as negotiations with the army commenced. He signalled this by publishing *The Art of Law-giving* (c. early Mar. 1659) with Henry Fletcher rather than Thomas Brewster and Livewell Chapman, with whom he had previously published, but who were associated

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[230] William Prynne, *The Re-Publicans and Others Spurious Gold Old Cause, Briefly and Truly Anatomized* (n.p. 1659), 3-4, 1.

with Vane.[231] Fletcher had a somewhat diverse catalogue prior to his collaboration with Harrington—e.g. various instructional or reference works, biblical exegesis by Baxter's acquaintance, Anthony Burgess, anti-Quaker and pro-Protectorate writings—but in mid-1660 quickly turned to publishing sermons celebrating "England's Complacencie in Her Royal Sovereign".[232] In *The Art of Law-giving*, Harrington takes issue with a recent pair of anonymous pamphlets—*XXV Queries* and *The Leveller* (both [T]16 Feb. 1659)—that very likely emerged from the coalition of Commonwealthsmen that had been meeting at Vane's house since late 1658.[233] Rachel Hammersley notes that Harrington's last rejoinder to a royalist opponent—the comical fragment *Politicaster* ([T]Aug. 1659)—is dated "20 March, 1659". The majority of the ten pamphlets he produced over the next twelve months were instead directed against Vane and his spokespeople.[234] Harrington's parliamentary associates continued working with Vane and his associates when it was expedient, but from this pivotal moment, these factions were opponents (see **Chapter 6**).

This chapter concerns the attempt by Harrington and his allies, chiefly the MP for Reading, Berkshire, Henry Neville, to tarnish Vane's biblical vision for the new government before he had the chance to propose it in parliament. Whereas Harrington and Neville have established places in the history of Anglo-American political thought—evidenced by modern comprehensive

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[231] Brewster had recently published Harrington's *Essay upon Two of Virgil's Eclogues, and Two Books of His Æneis* (1658), and Chapman, *The Common-wealth of Oceana* ([S]19 Sep. 1656).

[232] Richard Eedes, *Great Britains Resurrection* (Henry Fletcher, 1660), t.p. See Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers*, 75; also John Sadler, *Enchiridion Medicum* (Henry Fletcher, 1657); William Percy, *The Compleat Swimmer* (Henry Fletcher, 1658); Anthony Burgess, *The Scripture Directory, for Church-officeres and People* (Henry Fletcher, 1659); John Moore, *Protection Proclaimed* (Henry Fletcher, 1655); Francis Harris, *Some Queries Proposed to the Consideration of the Grand Proposers of Queries, the Quakers* (Henry Fletcher, 1655). For Burgess and Baxter, see Boersman, *A Hot Pepper Corn*, 33-35.

[233] James Harrington, *The Art of Lawgiving in Three Books* (Henry Fletcher, 1659), in *The Political Works of James Harrington*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock, Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics, ed. Maurice Cowling et al (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1977), 658. I wrote short essays on both *XXV Queries* (Livewell Chapman, 1659) and *The Leveller* (Thomas Brewster, 1659) but had to exclude them due to word-limit restrictions. On *XXV Queries*, see above. *The Leveller*—possibly authored by John Wildman, original Leveller, royalist double-agent, and associate of Harrington and Neville—may be the first response to *A Key for Catholicks*. Even if it is not, the publication by Brewster on the same day as *XXV Queries* suggests coordination.

[234] James Harrington, *Politicaster* (Henry Fletcher, 1659), 706; Rachel Hammersley, 'Rethinking the Political Thought of James Harrington: Royalism, Republicanism and Democracy', *History of European Ideas* 39.3 (2013), 354-370 (at 357, 359); cf. Rachel Hammersley, *James Harrington: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2019), 157-158.

collections of their writings—Vane has been comparatively marginalised.[235] This follows a precedent established by the so-called 'Whig canon' fashioned at the end of the seventeenth century, republished throughout the eighteenth, and venerated by American and French revolutionaries. There is strong evidence that the editor(s) of these attractive multi-volume collected editions—of Milton, Sidney, Ludlow, Neville, Harrington—sought to render the texts more "palatable" for their contemporaries by 'secularising' where necessary and possible. Despite Vane's heroic status, as Blair Worden remarks, "they were unable to make use of [his] own words" because "[n]o non-religious substance could have been extracted from them."[236] It was not until after Walter Scott included *A Healing Question* in his augmented edition of *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts* (1811) that American commentators picked up on Vane as "[a] Founding Father *avant la lettre*".[237] I am not especially concerned with Vane's contribution to political thought. Rather, my focus in this chapter on the "obscure short pamphlet" that is a kind of sequel or supplement to *A Healing Question* is to elucidate the biblical and spiritual resonances of Vane's political vision.[238] In order to better do so—to side-step Harrington's avoidance or polemical misrepresentation of these very aspects—this chapter enlists George Fox's contemporaneous *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane* (c.1657–1658) and the later recollection of his frustrating encounter with Vane that introduces them in the extant manuscript (written c.1670).[239] This tripartite intertextual

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[235] On Neville, see esp. Gaby Mahlberg, *Henry Neville and English Republican Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Dreaming of Another Game*, Politics, Culture and Society in Early Modern England, gen. ed. Ann Hughes, Anthony Milton, and Peter Lake (Manchester & New York: Manchester UP, 2009); Gaby Mahlberg, 'Henry Neville and the Toleration of Catholics during the Exclusion Crisis', *Historical Research* 82.222 (Nov. 2010), 617-634; Gaby Mahlberg, 'Machiavelli, Neville and the Seventeenth-century English Republican Attack on Priestcraft', *Intellectual History Review* 28.1 (2018), 79-99. For Harrington—there's a lot—but cf. esp. Pocock, 'Editorial Introduction', *The Political Works of James Harrington*, 1-154; J. G. A. Pocock, 'James Harrington and the Good Old Cause: A Study in the Ideological Context of His Writings', *Journal of British Studies* 10.1 (Nov. 1970), 30-48; J. C. Davis, 'Pocock's Harrington: Grace, Nature and Art in the Classical Republicanism of James Harrington', *The Historical Journal* 24.3 (Sep. 1981), 683-697. And note the articles cited elsewhere in this dissertation.
[236] Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, 198.
[237] Mohamed, *In the Anteroom of Divinity*, 99. See esp. *Old South Leaflets*, vol. 1 (Boston: Directors of the Old South Work, n.d. [c.1900]), #6, 1-19 (pg. not cont.), in which *A Healing Question* shares the prestige of Magna Charta in being the only English document included with the Constitution of the United States, the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, etc.
[238] Judson, *The Political Thought of Sir Henry Vane*, 5.
[239] George Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane. 1657*, in *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. Norman Penney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1911), 314-316 & 312-314.

reading, although focused on Vane's writing, also sheds light on some under-appreciated aspects of Harrington's proposals—chiefly the degree to which his embrace of democracy is shaped by his polemical response to Vane.

A Needful Corrective or Ballance in Popular Government, Expressed in a Letter to James Harrington, Esquire, appeared without title-page or any publication details "about" the first week of May, by Woolrych's estimation. An annotation on one copy states: "This was writt by Sr. Hen. Vane or (at least) by his advise, and approbation."[240] Richard Baxter observes that it is "of the same style" as Vane's acknowledged *A Healing Question* (see **Chapter 6**).[241] Martin Dzelzainis speculates that Vane's 'letter' to Harrington influenced negotiations with the army leaders through April.[242] Harrington counters the main position of Vane's treatise in *Pour Encloeur le Canon* ([T]2 May 1659) and *A Discourse upon this Saying: The Spirit of the Nation is not yet to be trusted with Liberty* ([T]17 May 1659). The title of the former is glossed by Harrington's seventeenth-century editor (John Toland) as "*the nailing of the Enemys Artillery*", that is, 'to spike the guns', figuratively, to frustrate an opponent's plans (*OED*, spike, *v*.1.2).[243] A group of Harringtonians, including Neville, at this time, published letters they had ostensibly written to the army's commander-in-chief at the end of 1658. *The Armies Dutie* ([T]2 May 1659) also reflects concerns about the influence of Vane's proposals.[244] Woolrych assumes that Vane wrote to Harrington "probably a considerable time after" the book

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[240] Woolrych, 'III. The Good Old Cause', 154. The ESTC makes the date 1660. Cf. Dzelzainis, 'Harrington and the Oligarchs', 21-22, who strengthens Woolrych's weak conjecture based on this contemporaneous witness that Stubbe may have been involved to "possibly [Vane's] protégé, Henry Stubbe [...] composed and published *A needful corrective*".

[241] Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth, or, Political Aphorisms, opening the True Principles of Government* (Thomas Underhill & Francis Tyton 1659), ed. William Lamont, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, ser. ed. Richard Guess (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 1994), 30-40.

[242] Dzelzainis, 'Harrington and the Oligarchs', 21, 22.

[243] John Toland, *The Life of James Harrington, The Oceana of James Harrington, and His Other Works* (n.p. 1700), xiii-xliv (at xxvii). Thomason purchased *Pour le Enclouer* on the same day as Harrington's internal dating and *A Discourse* the day after its internal dating.

[244] The authors are only identified by initials: "H. M.   H. N.   I. L. | I. W.   I. I.   S.M." H. F. Russell Smith, *Harrington and His Oceana: A Study of a 17th Century Utopia and Its Influence in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1914), 87, identifies "without a doubt" Henry Marten, Henry Neville, and John Wildman and "probably" John Jones. Maurice Ashley, *John Wildman: Plotter and Postmaster: A Study of the English Republican Movement in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1947), 138, adds John Lawson and Samuel Moyer. This also supports my early dating of Vane's letter to Harrington, as (while the letters were apparently revised before publication) they engage with Vane's arguments and were ostensibly composed in the second half of 1658. See also James Cotton, 'The Harringtonian "Party" (1659–1660) and Harrington's Political Thought, *History of Political Thought* 1.1 (Spring 1980), 51-67.

to which it responds, *The Prerogative of Popular Government* (^{S}20 Oct. 1657), and Dzelzainis implies

that this time was around April 1659.[245] Margaret Judson, on the other hand, asserts that "[w]hen

Vane wrote […] *A Needful Corrective* he was not a member of the government", which dates it prior

to January 1659.[246] Most follow Woolrych and therefore read *A Needful Corrective* as a decision by

Vane to promote his proposed political settlement just as he achieved his goal of returning the

former parliament to power.[247] But why would Vane decide after eighteenth months, in the middle

of a political crisis, to respond to the facetious guide to interpreting *The Common-wealth of Oceana*

interpolated between the two books of *The Prerogative of Popular Government*?

John Rogers observes that in the first half of 1659, Vane had more pressing "business"

than refuting "[the] *Scriblings* of every byassed and engaged person".[248] Leaving aside for the

moment its eschatological projections, *A Needful Corrective*—like Harrington's writings under the

Protectorate (but not in 1659)—is plainly theoretical or speculative: "some little discanting upon

the nature of Government, in the general, and […] those principles of common right and

freedome, that must be provided for, in whatsoever frame of Government be". There is no sense

that Vane writes on the precipice of major political change. Furthermore, he uses the present

perfect tense when discussing *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, which implies contemporaneity

(i.e. late 1657 or early 1658).[249] Moreover, if Vane did think Harrington required public response

at this moment, why not *The Art of Law-giving*, which was recently published and expressed hostility

to publications probably associated with him? I suspect he sent the letter to Harrington when he

resumed political activity in early 1658—about the time Baxter wrote to Howe.[250] The title

distinguishes between the "occasion" of the letter and decision to publish it "as seasonable in the

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[245] Woolrych, 'III. The Good Old Cause', 154.
[246] Judson, *The Political Thought of Sir Henry Vane*, 49. Her endnote (p.84) cites James Hosmer's suggestion of 1657.
[247] E.g. Dzelzainis, Mayer, et al.
[248] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 2-3.
[249] Henry Vane, *A Needful Corrective or Ballance in Popular Government, Expressed in a Letter to James Harrington, Esquire* (n.p. n.d.), 2-3.
[250] A solid marker for this resumption might be Edward Harrison, *A True Copy of a Petition Signed by Very Many Peaceable and Well-affected People, Inhabiting In and About the City of London, and Intended to have been Delivered to the Late Parliament* (Livewell Chapman, [^{T}11 Mar.] 1658). This same petition, which caused Oliver Cromwell to dissolve parliament rather than receive it, was submitted with much fanfare on Vane's first day in parliament one year later.

present Juncture of Affaires".[251] Harrington was well-known for having transgressed gentlemanly conduct by publishing his private correspondence with Dr. Henry Ferne in *Pian Piano* (c. early 1657), and he would do something similar to John Rogers with *A Parallel of the Spirit of the People, with the Spirit of Mr. Rogers* (early Sep. 1659).[252] *A Needful Corrective*, therefore, may have been published to expose Vane's arguments rather than to promote them.[253] None of Vane's supporters so much as mention its existence, even when endorsing its main points, whereas it is the springboard for Harrington's pre-emptive critique.[254]

In *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, Harrington sardonically provides "Quæries" to assist "divers sorts of men" to interpret his previous book: "the Scholar who hath passed his *Novitiate in Story*" (a reference to Rabelais); "the Godly man"; "the Grandee, or Learned Common-wealths-man"; and "the Rationall Man" (apparently like Harrington himself).[255] Blithely ignoring Harrington's mocking tone, Vane presents himself as "the *Advocate for the godly Man*". He claims he writes "not with any intent to oppose, but rather co{u}ntenance the essentials of that Government [Harrington] plead[s] for". Yet he ends up expressing "some dissatisfaction" with "the way [Harrington] find[s] requisite to place the Ballance in [an equal Common-wealth], by an Agrarian and Law for equal interesting the People in the Soyl".[256] Vane's use of "Soyl" rather than the more abstract 'land' or 'property' is a rejoinder to one of Harrington's more derisive questions to "the Godly Man": "[W]hether it be any more possible for the political body of a people to [support and nourish itself in the air, or between heaven and earth], than for the natural body of a godly

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[251] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 1.

[252] See e.g Wren, *Considerations on Mr. Harrington's Common-wealth of Oceana* (t14 Aug. 1657), sig.[A5]ʳ⁻ᵛ, 35-36; cf. J. G. A. Pocock, 'Editorial Introduction', *The Political Works of James Harrington*, 1-154 (at 97): "a somewhat suspicious act of courtesy in the controversial methods of the day, which Harrington was later to practise on John Rogers with the contemptuous implication that his adversary was damned out of his own mouth."

[253] Someone with more time could work out the publisher by tracing the use of the ornamental border in other publications.

[254] Sikes does not mention *A Needful Corrective*, though he does *The Retired Mans Meditations* and *A Healing Question*. Note esp. its absence from Stubbe, *A Letter to an Officer of the Army concerning a Select Senate* and Rogers' *Diapoliteia*. The Baxter and Harringtonian responses are dealt with below. Vane had published anonymously before, but *A Needful Corrective* is his only publication to provide absolutely no bibliographical details. Even his Restoration-era publications, which have no printer or publisher, state the year of printing.

[255] James Harrington, *The Prerogative of Popular Government* (Thomas Brewster, 1657), sig. T2ʳ-[T3]ᵛ. Note signii and non-consecutive pagination. In Pocock, *The Political Works of James Harrington*, 389-566 (at 496-497).

[256] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 2, 8.

man?"[257] Vane reminds Harrington that when Moses was forty days on Mount Sinai "with the LORD" (e.g. Exo. 34:28) "the body of that godly Man was nourished […] not upon the air, but upon every word that proceeded out of the mouth of God" (cf. Deu. 8:3, Mat. 4:4). Harrington's model commonwealth, Vane suggests, is too mundane, earthly, even 'grubby'.[258] It is (at best) merely preparatory to the "perfection" of "the Work", which is "the new Heavens and Earth, wherein dwels Righteousness" (2 Pet. 3:13, cf. Isa. 65:17, 66:22, Rev. 21:1).[259]

Harrington and Vane agree that ancient Israel—before the establishment of the gentile institution of kingship with Saul (1 Sam. 8-10)—was originally and pristinely an equal commonwealth. Harrington states that because scripture has Jethro the Midianite priest ("an heathen") advising Moses concerning the commonwealth's administrative structure (Exo. 18:13-26), he has "warrant" to argue from the "humane prudence" evident "in heathen commonwealths or others."[260] Vane chides Harrington: "The high esteem and reverence you bear unto human Prudence […] does […], I fear, outweigh with you, beyond what it ought, to the derogation and prejudice of that pattern for Magistracy itself, which was shewn unto *Moses* in the Mount". Vane counters Harrington's interpretation of the book of Exodus:

> In the wisdom of [God's] Word he was […] taught to see the most excellent platforme of Civil Government; as having its root and inward principles, as well as its outward administration flowing from Divine Institution & revelation: […] *Moses* was he, that by conversing face to face with God [Exo. 33:11], and receiving the lively Oracles [Act. 7:38], was much better qualified to lay down the rules of a perfect Commonwealth Government then *Jethro* was[.]

Through use of the present tense in the ensuing passage, Vane suggests God continues to reveal the "pattern of Magistracy" just as he did to Moses:

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[257] Harrington, *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, in Pocock, *The Political Works of James Harrington*, 496. See e.g. David George Hale, *The Body Politic: Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature*, De Proprietatibus Litterarum, gen. ed. C. H. van Schooneveld (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1971).
[258] *Soil* for 'land' or 'property' was already obscure or archaic by Vane's time: *OED*, soil, n.1, cf. soil, v.1. I use 'grubby' to simultaneously capture the senses of dirty, childish ("*spec.* of a child [...] to make foul by defection"), sinful.
[259] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 8-9, 11.
[260] See e.g. James Harrington, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, in Pocock, *The Political Works*, 155-359 (at 176-177).

> [Where] the foundations of Government shall be laid so firm and deep as in the Word of God, bottomed upon that Corner-stone the Lord Jesus [Mar. 12:10, Mat. 21:42, Luk. 20:17, Act. 4:11, Eph. 2:20-22, 1 Pet. 2:4-8, cf. Psa. 118:22, Isa. 28:16], there is a Heavenly Ballance to be met with, which keeps all even. For upon this Stone there are seven eyes; God himself is he that engraves the graving thereof [Zec. 3:9], and gives forth, according to that pattern, the order and constitution of Magistracy, in its primitive purity and perfection[.][261]

Though the syntax is ambiguous, the "pattern" seems to refer to the striking image of "that Corner-stone the Lord Jesus", upon which "seven eyes" are "engrave[d]" by God. The causal conjunction beginning the last clause indicates the "seven eyes" constitute the basis of the "Heavenly Ballance" that Vane opposes to Harrington's merely 'earthly' balance in property. Vane's striking allusion to the prophecy of Zechariah opens a cluster of scripture verses that evoke the intertwined notions of balance and magistracy. For example, God tells the prophet: "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; […] [for they] shall see the plummet [בדיל אבן = lit. tin/alloy building-stone] in the hand of Zerubbabel *with* those seven" (Zec. 4:9-10). The rebuilder of the temple in Jerusalem, Zerubabbel, typifies the godly magistrate laying the foundations of government in the Word of God, imaged as the plumb-bob that ensures a vertical level. Zechariah is also shown a vision of Joshua, in which "the angel of the LORD" tells this future high priest: "If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt also judge [דין = govern] my house, and shalt also keep my courts […] For behold the stone that I have laid before Joshua" (Zec. 3:7-9). The seven eyes on the stone are said to be "the eyes of the LORD, which run to and fro through the whole earth." (Zec. 4:10) The book of Revelation glosses them as "the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth", which Jesus Christ "hath" (Rev. 5:6, e.g. 3:1). Vane seemingly conceived of these—according to an ancient tradition greatly elaborated by Kabbalists and Behmenists—as "the powers of the Holy Spirit" outlined in the messianic prophecy of Isaiah: "the spirit of the LORD […] rest[ing] upon him, the spirit of

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[261] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 1-2, 9.

wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD" (Isa. 11:2).[262] Isaiah, in particular, seems to speak as a rejoinder to Harrington: "with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth" (Isa. 11:3-4). Zechariah's vision also ends with a divine proclamation of restorative justice or equality: "I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day. In that day […] shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig tree." (Zec. 3:9-10)

Simply stated, Vane locates the political balance "in the Word of God", that is, in Jesus Christ (cf. Joh. 1:1-5, 14-18). Vane is playing with words when he commends Harrington for also "hav[ing] regard unto [laying the foundations of Government] […] in the Word of God".[263] Certainly, Harrington performs erudite biblical hermeneutics employing comparative examples from classical and rabbinical literature. But it was well-reputed, for instance, by Baxter in *A Key for Catholicks*, that such as "Leviathan [and] his Ocean" (i.e. Thomas Hobbes and James Harrington) were "stark Heathens, Atheists, or Infidels".[264] Henry Neville was charged in parliament "for atheism and blasphemy" in February 1659.[265] Baxter remarks that, "however they use the name of Christ", these political theorists are "guilty of Apostasie […] even gross Infidelity, causing them secretly to scorn at Christ and the holy Scripture, and the life to come, as bitterly as ever *Julian* [i.e. the apostate emperor (d.363)] did".[266] For Harrington and his followers, the mystical experiences that inform Vane's understanding—what he means by "in the Word of God"—could only be mere "figurative speech".[268]

The New Testament notion of *ekklēsia* (i.e. 'church' but lit. 'gathering', 'assembly') is

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[262] Cf. e.g. William C. Weinrich (ed.), *Revelation*, Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament XII, gen. ed. Thomas C. Oden (Downers Grove: InterVarsityPress Academic, 2005), 61-62, 76-77, 160; Elliot R. Wolfson, 'The Holy Cabala of Changes: Jacob Böhme and Jewish Esotericism', *Aries* 18 (2018), 21-53.
[263] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 9.
[264] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 335; cf. Richard Baxter, *The Crucifying of the World, by the Cross of Christ* (Nevill Simmons, 1658), sig. (f): "[*the vast tumultuous Ocean it self*] *may find that his Republick is not only inconsistent with a* Clergy *(an high commendation) but may possiby be as injurous to his Moral Honesty, as any other sort of Tyranny*"; Harrington, *Half a Sheet against Mr. Baxter* (n.p. n.d. [1658]), broadside.
[265] Rutt (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Burton*, vol. 3, 296 (16 Feb. 1659).
[266] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 335.
[268] Harrington, *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, in Pocock, 496.

essential to both Harrington's and Vane's conceptions of democratic or popular government. Harrington engages in an historical-critical exploration of the term as part of his polemic against ordination by laying on hands and governments based on that principle, such as monarchy and priestly theocracy.[269] But for Vane, the church is first and foremost a living spiritual unity among the "saints", which only incidentally or by extension becomes embodied in particular forms or institutions. [270] Harrington and his followers fundamentally misconstrue Vane's proposed governmental structure by ignoring or tacitly dismissing his mystical ecclesiology.[271] However, George Fox's *Queryes to Sʳ Henery Vane* is roughly contemporaneous with my proposed redating of Vane's letter to Harrington.[272] This document articulates the crux of a "disput[e] about the body of Christ" that occurred at Raby Castle in late 1657 or early 1658 and involved also Frances Vane, the family chaplain (probably George Sikes), "one of New Englande magistrates" (probably John Clarke), as well as Anthony Pearson and other unnamed Quakers.[273] The image of the church as "the body of Christ", with each person a "member" or 'limb' under Christ "the head", is a commonplace of the Pauline corpus in the New Testament (1 Cor. 6:15, 10:16-17, 12:14-27; Rom. 12:4-5; Col. 1:18, 24-25, 2:18-19, 3:14-15; Eph. 1:22-23, 4:4-6, 11-16, 5:30-32) and also features in the letter attributed to James (3:1-6). What can be reconstructed of the disagreement between Vane and the leading Quaker accentuates the ambiguity of the term "Body" in *A Needful Corrective*.

Vane defines "Government or Rule" as "that power which, *de facto*, comes to be set up as supreme, and is exercised over Nations or People […] for the good of the whole Body, in either of the three conditions of men [Harrington] mention[s], whether of Servants, Subjects, or Citizens."[274] The latter correspond in *The Prerogative of Popular Government* to a person's position under, respectively, "absolute monarchy", "aristocratical monarchy", and "a commonwealth, as

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[269] See e.g. *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, Book II.
[270] See e.g. Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*; Gilpin, 'Sir Henry Vane'.
[271] I suspect that Harrington's attack on the ancient Jewish "Cabala" in *The Art of Law-giving* is a coded attack on Vane's thinking in this regard.
[272] Its location in Fox's manuscript suggests a date after October 1657 but before 31 March 1658, which can be further narrowed to before the Old Style new year on 25 Mar. 1658.
[273] Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane*, 316, 312-313.
[274] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 3.

those of Israel, of Rome, of Holland."[275] Vane appears to be using "Body" in the common seventeenth-century political parlance to mean "the great Body, which we call the People". But there is a notable parallelism between the above-quoted statement and the one that immediately follows:

> [T]here is no Power but of God [cf. Joh. 19:11, Mat. 28:18], and the Powers that are [Rom. 13:1] sprung either from his Authority and Commission, or from his Tolleration and Permission. […] Power only belongs to God [Psa. 62:11, Mat. 6:13] […] promotion [or] abasement […] [comes] from him alone [cf. Psa. 68:35], in order to bring to passe the work which he hath to do in the World, for the good of his Church and People.[276]

This problematises a simple reading. The repeated expression of purpose at the end of both clauses generates a syntactic and (on the printed page) visual relationship between "Body" and "Church and People". This serves to accentuate the latent distinction between "the People" and "[God's] People". And what is God's work in the world? Vane's syntax points to the letter to the Ephesians: "for the edifying [οικοδομη = house-building] of the body of Christ" (Eph. 4:12-16).

Vane seems to have assumed an air of social and spiritual seniority that rankled Fox from the outset. He also apparently dismissed the Quaker prophet's characteristic deployment of the gospel traditionally attributed to John as "the preaching of selfe". Fox records that when challenged about his own "experience", "[Vane] begann to tell [him] how ye worde became flesh & dwelt amongst y^m" (cf. Joh. 1:14). Fox responded by interpreting this in the literal-historical sense of Jesus' ministry "amongst ye disciples". But Vane was countering the Quaker's proclamation of "ye true light which Christ doth enlighten every man" (Joh. 1:9). Against Fox's seemingly mediated participation via the light, Vane contended for Christ's real incarnation in the saints. Fox recalls: "[thou] said [the Saints of Christ] […] were of his flesh". Fox's subsequent entangling of Romans (4, 9) and Galatians (3) with the so-called protevangelium (Gen. 3:15) was

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[275] Harrington, *The Prerogative of Popular Government*, in Pocock, 441.
[276] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 6, 3.

misunderstood by Vane and Clarke as declaring "ye seed was God". Fox recalls that "[Vane] grew Into a great frett & a passion" when corrected.[277] This suggests that believing "the seed" to be divine was important to Vane.

Vane's mistake about "the seed" seems to have arisen from Fox's declaration that "whoe are of faith […] comes [*sic.*] to bee flesh of Christs flesh & bone of his bone."[278] (Cf. Eph. 5:30-32, 1 Cor. 6:15-17, Gen. 2:23-24) Fox repeats the same argument in both *Queryes* and the narrative, which suggests it was (for him) the main point: "[Christ] take[s] upon him [the seed of Abraham according to the flesh] [cf. Heb. 2:16] […] & destroyes y^t flesh which whoso joyneth unto becomes an harlot [1 Cor. 6:16], & so all come into his body, y^t wittnes his flesh". *Queryes* also implies that "all y^t come to eat of [Christ's] flesh & drinke of his blood"—in a spiritual sense somehow related to 'witnessing' rather than in any trans-/consubstantiatory or symbolic-ritual sense—"come to be of the flesh of Christ" (cf. Joh. 6:56). All but two of Fox's *Queryes* revolve around the accusations that Vane called Christ's body "Elementary of the Elements" and said "[Christ's] flesh and his blood is corrupt, and saw Corruptions". Their disagreement is not really about Christ's incarnation in the saints but rather the nature of Christ's flesh/body and blood. Fox asks Vane: "Whether or no the Saints of Christ […] were not of y^t flesh which saw no corruption?" (Act. 2:31, cf. 1 Cor. 15:50-54, Gal. 6:7-8); "Whether or not {that} body which thou saist is of the four Elements & corruptible, be the Church, for the Apostle sayes the body of Christ which is the Church?" (Col. 1:24) Fox's criticism is twofold. First, he is hostile to what he takes as unscriptural language: "where doth the scripture speake of the foure Elements"? Given previously cited evidence, it seems likely that he saw a corrupting influence from Böhme behind this alchemical terminology (**Chapter 2**). Second, he is troubled by how Vane's conception of Christ's body and blood affects the atonement: "can a corruptible body take away corruptions? […] And can a corruptible blood cleanse &

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[277] Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane*, 316, 313-314.
[278] Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane*, 313.

Justifie?"[279] Fox's extremely partial account necessitates some conjecture regarding Vane's possible responses.

Vane appears to have understood "[the woman's] seed" (Gen. 3:15)—inherited by Seth (Gen. 4:25) and passed down through various patriarchs and kings to manifest as Jesus (e.g. Rom. 1:3, cf. e.g. 2 Sam. 7:12-16, Gen. 9:8-9, 13, 15-17)—as divinity latent in all people. The synoptic gospels frequently have Jesus comparing "the kingdom [= βασιλεια] of God" to a "seed" (Mar. 4:26-34; Mat. 13:3-9, 18-32, 36-43; Luk. 8:4-8, 11-15, 13:18-19). The intertextual scripture cluster opened by Vane's allusion to the seven-eyed stone—Zechariah, Revelation, Isaiah—centres on related botanical imagery: "a Branch [נצר = a green shoot] shall grow out of [Jesse's] roots" (Isa. 11:1); "I will bring forth my servant the BRANCH [צמח = sprout] […] Behold the man whose name *is* The BRANCH [צמח]; and he shall grow up [יצמח = sprout] out of his place, and he shall build the temple of the LORD […] and shall sit and rule upon his throne" (Zec. 3:8, 6:12-13); "behold, […] the Root [ριζα = shoot] of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof. […] [I Jesus] am the root [ριζα] and the offspring of David" (Rev. 5:5, 22:16). These messianic passages furnish a glimpse of what Vane means by the "root and inward principles" of "Civil Government". Vane explains that the ideal commonwealth is one in which "the Authority and proposing Power"—a more accurate translation of βασιλεια—"is first originally in God and Christ himself, as [the People's] Political King and Civil Legislator".[280] He envisages "the kingdom of God" growing and spreading rhizomatically as each person nurtures the divine "seed" to "sprout" as the ruling Christ within. In the gospel traditionally attributed to John, Jesus ("the true vine") expresses his unity with the "disciples"—the first Christian assembly—by calling them "[his] branches [κλημα = vine shoots]" (Joh.. 15:1-8). The spiritual process of 'building' or 'growing' the church develops like a seed grows into a tree, from inward

[279] Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane*, 314-316. For Fox's understanding of Jesus' celestial flesh, see esp. Bailey, *New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism*.
[280] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 9.

to outward, from Christ within to Church in the world, from the personal to the political.

But what did Vane mean by terming Christ's body "Elementary" and "corruptible"? While it is obvious that he meant to characterise it as material—composed of the same basic stuff as human bodies, animals, plants, rocks, dust—to construe this further is to shift into speculation. However, Fox writes that Vane also said "yᵗ nothing doth dye, but sees corruption".[281] This hints at the complex of doctrines typically associated in seventeenth-century England with Origen of Alexandria (d.253). Burnet records that "[Vane's] friends told [him] [Vane] leaned to Origen's notion of an universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and to the doctrine of pre-existence".[282] Baxter also draws a connection: "[The Papists] animate the *Vanists*, the *Behmenists*, and other *Enthusiasts*, the *Seekers*, the *Quakers*, the *Origenists*, and all the other *Juglers* and *Hiders* of the times".[283] Sikes likens Vane to Origen but is evasive: "[*Origen*] did fairly offer at a more pertinent disquisition into the whole bulk of intelligibles, Divine or Philosophical, than was usual."[284] The "Origenist moment in English theology" is usually associated with Dr. Henry More of Christ's College, Cambridge, his colleagues and pupils, and the coterie of Quaker-Kabbalists with which he became entangled in the mid-1670s.[285] However, laws against proclaiming universal salvation, creation as divine emanation, and a temporary purgatorial hell show such opinions pervaded the sects by 1650.[286] Peter Sterry was a notable exponent of "a distinctly Calvinist" form of universal

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[281] Fox, *Queryes to Sr Henery Vane*, 315.

[282] Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, 284-285.

[283] Baxter, *A Key for Catholicks*, 337.

[284] Sikes, *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, 51.

[285] See e.g. Christian Hengstermann, 'Pre-existence and Universal Salvation – the Origenian Renaissance in Early Modern Cambridge', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 25.5 (2017), 971-989 (at 971); Christian Hengstermann, 'Divine Fate Moral and the Best of All Possible Worlds: Origen's *Apokatastasis Panton* in Cambridge Origenism and Enlightenment Rationalism', *Modern Theology* 38:2 (Apr. 2022), 419-444; Robin A. Parry with Ilaria L. E. Ramelli, *A Larger Hope? Universal Salvation from The Reformation to the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 2 (Eugene: Cascade Books, 2018), chap. 3; Allison P. Coudert, *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1698)*, Brill's Series in Jewish Studies (Leiden/Boston/Koln: Brill, 1999); D. P. Walker, *The Decline of Hell: Seventeenth-century Discussions of Eternal Torment* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1964). See also Gregory Macdonald (ed.), '*All Shall be Well': Explorations in Universalism and Christian Theology from Origen to Moltman*.

[286] *An Ordinance for the Punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies* (May 1649) & *An Act against several Atheistical, Blasphemous and Execrable Opinions* (Aug. 1650): "[t]hat all men shall be saved […] that the soul of any man after death goeth neither to Heaven or Hell, but to Purgatory" "maintain him or her self, or any other meer Creature, to be very God, […] or that the true God, or the Eternal Majesty dwells in the Creature and no where else […] or that such acts are acted by the true God, or by the Majesty of God, or the Eternity that is in them […] that there is neither Heaven nor Hell" Cf. Parry & Ramelli, *A Larger Hope?*, chap. 2., who note Gerrard Winstanley (the Digger) and Richard Coppin (Ranter-adjacent), who were both associates of Pordage.

salvation—maintaining divine predestination (salvation is just quicker and easier for the elect) against More's emphasis on free-will—which was also embraced by the Philadelphians in the 1690s. Though there is inconclusive evidence from the late 1640s, Sterry is generally thought to have come to this doctrine only after 1660, but according Parnham, this is the version of universal salvation "espoused" by Vane in the late 1650s.[287]

The 'Origenian' schema comprises emanation from the one pure divine spirit (πνευμα) into a multiplicity of minds (νοι) that through their own self-motion fall away from spiritual unity and "cool" (cf. ψυχρος = cold, fig. cold-hearted) to become souls (ψυχαι). God embodies the souls in matter (υλη), through which they are to work out their eventual restoration to unity. Christ functions as the unitive principle: preincarnate as "the Word [Λογος]", he is the union of minds in God (e.g. Joh. 1:1-5); incarnate, he is Christ united in the saints, spiritualising and returning their souls back to God (cf. Col. 1:15-18).[288] Fox tends to read scriptures referring to "incorruption" and "a spiritual body" as applying before the resurrection at the end of time (e.g. 1 Cor. 15:44). He seems unable to accept that Christ—both human and divine according to most Christologies—could be as fully embodied as he is spiritual. For Vane, on the other hand, Christ is God (spirit) in the flesh (e.g. 1 Tit. 3:16, 1 Pet. 3:18, 1 Joh. 4:2-3, cf. Joh. 1:14, Rom. 8:3), and therefore, the seed is the portion of the divine spirit in each person (e.g. 2 Pet. 1:4, Eph. 4:4, Joh. 4:24, Luk. 24:39). Vane deems the body of Christ "corruptible" because—until the endtime when Christ and the church, his "bride", become "one flesh" (e.g. Eph. 5:28-32, Rev. 21:2, 9, cf. Joh. 3:28, Gen. 2:24) and therefore "one spirit" (1 Cor. 6:17)—the church comprises the bodies of Christ's members. And these are not only subject to illness and ageing, but as Vane acknowledges, "[the] will of man

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[287] Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism*, 57-58, cf. Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane,* 197-198. See also Hickman, 'Love is All and God is Love', & Parker, "'The Sacred Circle of All-Being'".

[288] See Origen, *On First Principles: A Reader's Edition*, tr John Behr (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2019). However, my summary follows Hans Jonas, *Philosophical Essays: From Ancient Creed to Technological Man* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 305-323. See also Ilaria L. E. Ramelli, *The Christian Doctrine of Apocatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eruigena*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, eds. J. den Boeft et al (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013). By the end of the seventeenth century, advocates of various versions of this doctrinal cluster—Kabbalists, Behmenists, Spinozists—would be known as 'pantheists'.

[…] left to its own free motion" is "depraved, corrupted, and self-interested".[289]

In *A Needful Corrective*, he alludes to the epistle of James: "My brethren, be not many masters […] [for only the] perfect man [is] able […] to bridle the whole body" (Jam. 3:1-2). The "perfect man", of course, is Christ (cf. Eph. 4:13). Vane observes that "most men would rather choose the bondage whereunto they fall under the power of the sword moderately used [i.e. as in Aristocracy or regulated Monarchy], then commit themselves to the boundless power of the peoples will unbridled, and unsubjected to any rules from inward principles, or outward order and command." That is, most people would prefer something like the Protectorate over a democracy. Against Harrington's emphasis on "humane prudence", Vane contends that "[m]an, at his best, stands in need of the ballancing and ruling motion of Gods Spirit to keep him stedfast". He quotes the prophet Jeremiah (10:23): "*It is not in man to order his own steps.*" He contends for government by "inward principles". Like Quakers, Vane envisages a return to the prelapsarian state (cf. Gen. 2:25) as the necessary precursor to a truly free commonwealth:

> [L]et [man's] nature be made, as it was at first, holy and righteous, when his will was morally bounded within the excellent limits that were set unto it by the Law of God, unto which he did bear a naturall and willing conformity in the spirit of his mind, and was under the dictates of a pure enlightened reason.[290]

It is the "ruling and moving influence […] from the Spirit of God" that "heal[s] and restore[s] what is lost" and "add[s] […] more grace that may preserve from the danger of future relapse". Vane explicitly links this spiritual restoration to the franchise: "the right of consent and free gift by the common vote of the whole Body […] [is] consonant to those pure Principles of mans nature, wherein he was at first created". Vane defines "free Citizens" as "Brethren partaking of the Spirit of right reason […] men made in the image of God" (Gen. 1:26-27, cf. 1 Cor. 11:7).[291] There is a tendency—inherited from Harrington—to view Vane's proposals as regressive because

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[289] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 6.
[290] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 6. For the Quakers, see the sources cited above.
[291] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 6-7, 3-4

they are not democratic. Yet as Rachel Foxley observes, there is something odd about Harrington's "'aggressive' promotion" of "popular government" or "democracy" at a time when that form of government was "virtually synonymous with disorder". His advocacy for this form "did not spring from a positive assessment or the capabilities, or even the potential capacities, of the people." Harrington was "committed to the notion that there was a 'natural aristocracy'", and as Foxley writes, his bicameral parliament—aristocratic senate debates and proposes and popular representatives simply vote—"translated the ancient categories of rule by social groups into a kind of separation of powers." In Harrington's system, "[t]he instinctive responses of the people, guided fundamentally by their interest", are "almost mechanical".[292] Vane's embrace of universal salvation and liberty of conscience, on the other hand, suggest that (as Margaret Judson puts it) "all men [*sic*] as sons of God were potentially capable of sharing in government themselves."[293] Vane's proposals ask for time to educate (and let the spirit lead) the people toward a truly "Free State". In the context of England in 1659, as Vane (and later his spokespeople, Rogers and Stubbe) stressed, Harrington's negation of qualification for citizenship—unusual in historical republics—would inevitably result in the people surrendering their chance at freedom.[294]

Vane declares that "though it be easie with God to cause [a free State of Citizens] to be born at once […] by the extraordinary effusion of his Spirit upon all flesh" (Joe. 2:28, cf. Act. 2:17), "this remedy is not […] in mans power to take up at his pleasure." He seems to believe it will not occur until "the last of dayes". Therefore, Vane recommends that "in the time of the Common-wealths constituting […], for a season", the franchise be "restrained" to those who are "free born, in respect of their holy and righteous principles, flowing from the birth of the Spirit of God in them" (cf. Joh. 3:3-8), or who "have deserved to be trusted with the keeping or bearing

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[292] Rachel Foxley, 'Democracy in 1659: Harrington and the Good Old Cause', *The Nature of the English Revolution Revisited: Essays in Honour of John Morrill*, ed. Stephel Taylor & Grant Tapsell (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013) , 182.

[293] Judson, *The Political Thought of Sir Henry Vane*, 49.

[294] Foxley, 'Democracy in 1659', 193.

their own Armes" in "defence" of "common right and publick freedome".[295] In the parlance of the times, this meant saints and soldiers (many of whom were also saints). Like Harrington, Vane proposes the "dispos[ition]" of parliament into "two Assemblies" to ensure the separation of the "Legislative Power" and "supreme executive Power". While Vane uses the terms "chosen" and "elected" regarding the biblically derived "Body of Elders" or "Ruling Senate" (cf. Exo. 18:17-26), it is unclear whether he imagines them directly elected like "the Peoples Representative" or somehow nominated from within the "one general Assembly". The only instance in which he directly states that the senate is "by [the People's] free suffrage elected" is in the middle of a millenarian eschatological progression: between "a restored People and holy Nation" with "[God] their chief Magistrate, and directed by the Spirit of their Head"; and "the mighty and universal pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh […] setting up […] Christ as King throughout the whole Earth […] in a visible manner […] for the space of a thousand yeares".[296]

Harrington construes Vane as aiming for a self-nominated "senate for life" against his own recommendation of limited terms and a one-third annual rotation.[297] If Harrington did arrange the publication of *A Needful Corrective*, it was perhaps not so much to expose Vane's millenarian visions but rather his evasiveness regarding the senate's constitution. In *Pour Enclouer le Canon*, Harrington recalls how the Israelite Sanhedrin—which both he and Vane take as their model—transformed into "mere oligarchy, by the means of ordination" or "laying on of hands". He sharpens the contemporary resonance: "the people [were] thus excluded and trampled upon by the Pharisees under [the] colour […] of religion, or tradition derived in their oral law or cabala from Moses". With pointed contemporary application, Harrington calls this a "pretended […] government of saints". He picks up on Baxter's characterisation of Vane as a Jesuit infiltrator, observing that "the government of the pope and his seventy cardinals" arose from this 'Pharasaic'

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[295] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 7-8.
[296] Vane, *A Needful Corrective*, 7-8, 5-6, 10-11
[297] Harrington, *Pour Enclouer le Canon*, in Pocock, 727-733 (at 730-732); Harrington, *A Discourse upon This Saying: The Spirit of the Nation is Not Yet to be Trusted with Liberty*, in Pocock, 735-745 (at 740).

precedent. As will be seen, Baxter and Harrington may have been corresponding during this time (**Chapter 6**). Harrington warns that there is no "certain distinction to be outwardly made between a saint and a hypocrite".[298] Yet Harrington's focus on outward distinctions exposes his lack of appreciation for Vane's prioritising of the "inward". From Vane's perspective, saints can recognise each other in the spirit.[299]

The contradiction that arises from assuming Vane's mystical conceptions are merely "figurative" is especially evident in the Harringtonian *The Armies Dutie*, which was published on the same day as *Pour Enclouer le Canon*. Its authors, including Neville and John Wildman, report—this is ostensibly circa late 1658—that "some weak well meaning men" "often whisper" to Fleetwood "that honest mens liberty would […] be secure […] [if] good men [were] put into power […] having Gods law in their hearts". More than their persuasive points about "arbitrarie power", "mortalitie", and "private interests", they emphasise the "blasphemous arrogancy" of this proposal: "indeed, an attempt to erect their throne, in it's kind, higher then Almightie Gods, who rules and judges onelie according to his lawes".[300] While presumably an attempt to appeal to the prevailing piety among the soldiery, this argument instead reveals that (against scripture) the authors do not really believe that God "put[s] [his] law in [people's] inward parts, and write[s] it in their hearts" (Jer. 31:33, Heb. 10:16, cf. also Psa. 37:31 & 40:8, Isa. 51:7, Eze. 36:27, Rom. 7:22, 8:5). The laws they have in mind are Harrington's democratically determined "fit orders of popular government".[301]

Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at Pickquet ([T]16 May 1659) is an anonymous and anonymously published satire, which represents the history of the Cromwellian regime through a series of pithy mock-speeches given during a game of cards by various political figures and

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[298] Harrington, *Pour Enclouer le Canon*, in Pocock, 730-731.
[299] Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*
[300] Henry Marten, Henry Neville, John Lawson, John Wildman, John Jones, & Samuel Moyer, *The Armies Dutie or, Faithfull Advice to the Souldiers* (n.p. [?Livewell Chapman], 1659), 14.
[301] Harrington, *A Discourse upon This Saying*, in Pocock, 738, 739.

branches (e.g. "*Upper-Bench*") or ecclesiastical affiliations (e.g "*Presbyterian*").[302] I suspect it would take an expert on early-modern games to fully appreciate the wit.[303] Fortunately, the speeches by Edmund Waller (poet and royalist turncoat former MP) and Major-General Thomas Harrison (leader of the Fifth-Monarchy Men) are more broadly amusing: "My Lord, you have hang'd *my* King, and I have no other way then to play into your hands." "I playd the fool, and went in for a *Fifth King*, when there was but four in the Stock."[304] Since about the mid-eighteenth century, this shoddily printed pamphlet has been attributed to Henry Neville. Informed contemporaries presumably recognised its provenance.[305] The character called "*Nevel*" declares: "I love not the Game […] I am all day dreaming of another Game."[306] Mahlberg interprets this dream game as the chance to establish a stable republican government, and she reads the fragmentary Latin maxims that bookend the pamphlet as, respectively, nostalgic (for the Commonwealth of 1649–1653) and hopeful.[307] To me, they express the jaded cynicism of a libertin érudit: "*Tempora mutantur et nos* — […] — *sic transit Gloria Mundi.*"[308] The ironic "Epilogue" shows something more like disillusionment than commendation: "*the Gentlemen that have been eminent in this last Dealing of the Cards, playd very fair in the former Game here described, With a |* Plaudite." "*Vane*" is given one of the longest speeches, and it characterises him as conceited, self-serving, and power-hungry: "One had better sometimes play with a good Gamester then a bungler […] If *Cromwell* had discarded as he

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[302] Henry Neville, *Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing, in a Game at Pickquet* (n.p. 1659), 7. There is a manuscript version of this satire from 1656 in Thomason's collection: see Mahlberg, *Sir Henry Neville*, 51-52.

[303] Cf. Henry Jones Cavendish, *The Laws and Principles of Whist Stated and Explained*, 22nd ed. (Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company, 1896), 45; Henry Jones Cavendish, *The Laws of Piquet* […] *with A Treatise on the Game*, 8th ed. (London: Thomas de la Rue & Co., 1892).

[304] Neville, *Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing*, 5, 6. Waller's speech is one of the earliest extant usages of the phrase "play into [someone's] hands" (cf. *OED*).

[305] It appears unattributed in the fifth volume of *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. 5 (T. Osbourne, 1745), 298-300. The anonymous 'Some Account of H. Neville' in the fourth edition of Neville's *Plato Redivivus* (A. Millar, 1763), 5-6, lists it among Neville's publications. A pasted-in fragment of a sales catalogue in a copy of the third edition—entitled *Discourses concerning Government* (A. Baldwin, 1698)—held by the British Library lists it as the work of "Nevylle (H.)". The typeface looks to be late eighteenth or even nineteenth century, and the cost (six shillings = AU$32) seems a little steep for a forty-year-old badly printed satirical pamphlet.

[306] Neville, *Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing*, 5.

[307] Mahlberg, *Henry Neville*, 53. She takes the sense as 'The times have changed and we (have changed)', which equivalent in meaning to the full quotation: "Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis". But the dash and transposed first-person-plural pronoun clearly indicate it is meant to be fragmentary. I suspect the game he is dreaming of is sex.

[308] Neville, *Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing*, t.-p., 8: 'The times have changed and we […] thus passes the Glory of the World.'

ought to have done, I had won my stake at it: as it is, I shall save my self". Like Harrington, Neville leans into Baxter and Prynne's fear-mongering rhetoric. The concluding Latin epigram alludes to the papal coronation speech—"Pater Sancte, sic transit gloria mundi!"—casting an unfavourable light on Vane's coming to power. Moreover, Neville gives the final speech to a "*Papist*": "If you all complain, I hope I shall win at last."[309]

Harrington's *A Discourse upon this Saying: The Spirit of the Nation is Not Yet to be Trusted with Liberty* ([T]17 May 1659) is framed as responses to four of the fifteen requests in *The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, &c.* (12 May 1659). His tendency to condense and alter quoted passages seems not entirely for the sake of clarity. In the most egregious instance, he amends the mundane and practical "intrusted with [the mannagement and exercise of the Government]" to the more absolute and biblically resonant "entrusted, (with power and authority)".[310] Moreover, the slippage of the second-person pronoun from the petitioners to parliament suggests the petition is really the proxy for an interrogation of Vane's principles. Harrington pinpoints the paradox at the centre of the nation's current troubles. Whereas "the prelatical and presbyterian sects" want "a king" to effectively circumscribe religious "liberty", "the rest of the religious sects" believe "some certain or convenient number of princes, or an oligarchy", is necessary to prevent "persecut[ion] for religion". But he argues from biblical precedents (1 Chr. 13:2-3, Deu. 1:13) that "by the command of God […] the spirit of the people [is to be] trusted with all matters either civil or religious." Indeed, "[t]he distinction of liberty into

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[309] Neville, *Shufling, Cutting, and Dealing*, 8, 6. Vane's gets 71 words, whereas both the "*Common-Pleas*" and "[General George] *Monk*" get 74 words each. Monk's would be very interesting to unpick for its seeming prescience: see Nicholas von Maltzahn, 'Henry Neville and the Art of the Possible: A Republican Letter Sent to General Monk (1660)', *The Seventeenth Century* 7.1 (1992), 41-52; Gaby Mahlberg, 'Neo-Harringtonianism and *A Letter Sent to General Monk* Revisited', *The Seventeenth Century* 24:2 (2009), 305-322 Colonel Thomas Pride says "*Baxter* and I are am at the Old Foolish Christmas Game with *Honours*." This may be the card-game known as "ruff-and-honours" (also known as "Trump" and "Whisk" or "Whist") but even still, I cannot really grasp the significance. If it is not a card-game, then other possibilities include Dun's in the Mire, Rowland Hoe, or Shoeing the Wild Mare: see e.g. Paul G. Brewster, 'Games and Sports in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century English Literature', *Western Folklore* 6.2 (Apr. 1947), 143-156.

[310] *The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Common-wealth of England, &c.* (Henry Hills & Francis Tyton, 1659), 9; Harrington, *A Discourse upon This Saying*, in Pocock, 738, cf. Pocock's note. Harrington dates this pamphlet 16 May, which, going by the dating of his other writings in 1659, is probably the date of publication.

civil and spiritual"—the wording suggests Harrington knows Milton's sonnet for Vane—"is not ancient" but "the only excuse that the late tyrant [i.e. Oliver Cromwell] pretended for his usurpation". Those who seek to "obtrude upon us oligarchy" similarly prove themselves to be no "saints" but "below men of even natural parts." Harrington notes the sectarian diversity among the Sanhedrin and Areopagus (Act. 23, 17) to reassure sectaries that "liberty of conscience" is inherent in even a flawed commonwealth: "The power that can invade the liberty of conscience can usurp civil liberty, and where there is a power that can usurp civil liberty, there is no commonwealth." Harrington follows his final plea that "the present rulers" "look […] unto the well-ordering of your commonwealth" with a fairly lame attempt at "prophecy" perhaps designed to appeal to sectaries.[311] This prophecy is just the most obvious sign of this pamphlet's hurried preparation, quickly composed in an attempt to outmanoeuvre Vane.

Peter Sterry published no writings nor gave any known public sermons during 1659. This is a marked change from his prominence under Oliver Cromwell. His reticence in this pivotal year is due to his widely reported "blasphemy" upon the death of the former Lord Protector in September 1658. According to *A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament (So Called)* (ᵀ20 Apr. 1659) by the royalist, Sir George Wharton, *"that cringing Court-Chaplain* Peter Sterry" had declared "[that] certainly that blessed holy spirit (*meaning the late P{r}otector*) was with Christ at the Right Hand of the Father". Wharton's information allegedly comes from *"several godly men"* who were present. One of these clergymen later told Burnet that Sterry also applied to Cromwell the description of "[God's] Son" from the epistle to the Hebrews: *"Make him the brightness of the father's glory, and the express image of his person"* (Heb. 1:3). While it is possible to trace Baxter's collaborative process through his correspondence, such records from within Vane's circle at this time are more limited.[312] Among them are three very personal and mystical epistles from Sterry to his children, dated circa

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[311] Harrington, *A Discourse upon This Saying*, in Pocock, 736, 738, 742-746.
[312] E.g. Pierre Guisony to Thomas Hobbes (15 May 1659) & Henry Stubbe to Thomas Hobbes (9 Oct. 1659), in Thomas Hobbes, *The Correspondence*, ed. Noel Malcolm, vol. 1, The Clarendon Edition of the Works of Thomas Hobbes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), #136, 501-504, & #138 505-506. See also Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*.

1658–1660. These unfortunately tend to confirm the old-fashioned and misguided perception of Sterry as platonically divorced from reality.[313] However, a letter to his daughter, Frances Webb, expresses strong feelings in scripture-saturated language about the unsettling events through which they were living:

> Stand fast in that Liberty, with which our Jesus hath made us free [Gal. 5:1] by his Death, and Resurrection, disenchanting all, and raising all the Divine Company from under their disguises, into Living, and Immortall Princes. […] Alarmes come From all parts. Lett these bee to us Trumpets sound Triumphant Flourishes to the Appearance of our Royall Bridegroome, and to our Marriage Day. [cf. Joe. 2:15-16, Matt. 25:1-13, Rev. 21:2] […] Our Jesus, O my Daughter, our Jesus shall appeare, and discover Himselfe in All These, and All These in Himselfe [cf. Eph. 1:23, cf. 1. Cor. 12:6, 15:28]. Our Jesus shall bee One [cf. Deu. 6:4, Eph. 4:4-6, 1 Cor. 6:17, Gal. 3:28] O, how Sweetly, purely, shall wee meete, embrace, having our Joys fullfilled each in other, never to part more! Even so Come Lord Jesus Come quickly [Rev. 22:20][.][314]

The extant copy of this letter is undated. Vivian de Sola Pinto "suppose[s] the words refer to the anxious times after the death of Cromwell".[315] Nabil Matar thinks "the anxiety […] point[s] to the year 1660 when negotiations for the Restoration were underway".[316] I am not so sure that "anxious" is the right description of its emotional tenor. While there is acknowledgement of threat ("Stand fast", "Alarmes come From all parts"), this is no sooner voiced than transformed into eschatological expectation. I am hesitant to assign a firm date on the basis of this expression of feeling, but I think sometime in 1659 more likely than either 1658 or 1660. It could be July or August, when there was a major though unsuccessful royalist insurrection, or October or December, when the army dissolved and then reinstituted parliament. But I am going to read it as if written in May 1659 and reflecting his excitement over the revived parliament. Like Vane, Sterry envisages continuity between the spiritual *ecclēsia* and the government: "raising all the Divine

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[313] Cf. Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, 39-40: "For an idealist philosopher and visionary like Sterry such changes [as the Restoration] would have little enough significance. He would regard them, as he regarded all the appearances of this world, as fleeting and evanescent shadows passing over the face of Eternity." Blerk!!

[314] In Nabil Matar (ed.), *Peter Sterry: Selected Writings*, University of Kansa Humanistic Studies, gen. ed. David M. Bergeron (New York et al: Peter Lang, 1994), 62-63.

[315] Pinto, *Peter Sterry*, 46-47.

[316] Matar, *Peter Sterry*, 64.

Company […] into Living, and Immortall Princes". Maybe he even inverts Baxter's slander: "from under their disguises". He echoes the educational hope that is the core of Vane's plan: "disenchanting all". Vane presents the establishment of a "Free-State" was a way of realising the kingdom of God, or as Sterry puts it here, the mystical marriage of Christ and church described in the book of Revelation as the descending of the New Jerusalem (Rev.). This letter ecstatically articulates the total mystical union that is the end goal of Vane's form of government: "Our Jesus shall bee One, O, how Sweetly, purely, shall wee meete, embrace, having our Joys fullfilled each in other, never to part more!"

Chapter 6. June 1659.

[Vane's] religion is really to make a party; he is led solely by interest.

—VISCOUNT JOHN MORDAUNT to Lord Chancellor Edward Hyde (6 Jun. 1659)

A Vindication of that Prudent and Honourable Knight, Sir Henry Vane, from the Lyes and Calumnies of Mr. Richard Baxter, Minister of Kidderminster (^T7 Jun. 1659) is the first identifiable Vanist publication. It is recognisable as such because it is the first overt defence of Vane and his policy of comprehensive toleration published in the wake of Baxter's invention of the category. The pamphlet's anonymous author—"*a True Friend and Servant of the Commonwealth of* ENGLAND, *&c.*"—scorns Baxter's label but concedes the existence of the sect: "the *Vanists,* (as you most *vainly* and foolishly call them)"; "I know [some] of them that you call *Vanists*". The othering third person, however, indicates he does not consider himself a Vanist. While he admits "[he] ha[s] often discoursed with this honourable *Gentleman* [i.e. Vane]" and "heard him interpret the Scriptures", he claims to write "without [that worthy *Knight*'s] privity and knowledge".[317] This is very unlikely. The mistaken attribution of this pamphlet to "*Stubs*"—in a letter from William Allen (12 Jul. 1659) included in *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*—has caused endemic confusion among bibliographers.[318] Henry Stubbe, presumably to correct the rumours, in *Malice Rebuked* (early Sep. 1659), attributes a quotation from this pamphlet to a "Mr. *Rogers*".[319] In the early nineteenth century, William Godwin recognised this as John Rogers, but it may be assumed that some contemporaries also got Stubbe's reference.[320] Baxter remembers Rogers as one of "the Fifth Monarchy Men" that "followed" Vane in early

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[317] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, t.p., 2, 12, 8, 3.
[318] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 91-92, cf. 76. See e.g. the English Short Title Catalogue.
[319] Stubbe, *Malice Rebuked*, 59; Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 7.
[320] William Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth of England*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), 31. See e.g. John Morrow, 'Republicanism and Public Virtue: William Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth of England*', *The Historical Journal* 34.3 (Sep. 1991), 645-664.

1659: "*Rogers* and *Feake*, and such like Firebrands preach [the Sectaries in the City] into Fury, and blow the Coales".[321] Stubbe was probably sponsored by Vane at this time, and minor variants between his quotation and the published text perhaps indicate access to a manuscript draft.[322] His insider knowledge concerning the author of *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane* shows he and Rogers were coordinating with each other and probably also with Vane.

A *Vindication*'s publisher, Livewell Chapman, was also involved with the Fifth Monarchists and had spent a fortnight imprisoned in close quarters with Rogers in early 1655.[323] Chapman appears to have produced all of Rogers' pamphlets and books in 1659.[324] Just over a fortnight before the defence of Vane, Chapman published Christopher Feake's *A Beam of Light, Shining in the Midst of Much Darkness and Confusion* ([T]21 May 1659). Feake's collaboration with Chapman functions as a call for sectaries to support the new government as the best means "for the *Advancement of the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*, throughout all the earth." (cf. e.g. 2 Pet. 1:11) The pamphlet is addressed "TO All the Children of Light" (Luk. 16:8) "*in the Name, and on the behalf of a little Remnant of the Lords People*" (e.g. Jer. 23:1-6, Rom. 9:27). It presents a providential retrospective of the civil war and regicide, hearkening to the republican slogan of "the Good Old Cause", and culminating in qualified support for "the True Commonwealthsmen, at this Day". However, Feake's biblical vision of "the Real Fifth-Kingdom-men […] uniting together in one Spirit, to become a *peculiar people* (or, as it were, a *Nation in the midst of the Nation*)" (e.g. 1 Cor. 6:17, Eph. 4:4. Phl. 1:27, Deu. 14:2, 1 Pet. 2:9; Deu. 4:34), unfortunately, plays into Harrington's

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[321] Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 101. The peculiar switch into present tense is in the original.

[322] Cf. Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, 25; *ODNB*. Thomason's copy of Henry Stubbe, *A Letter to an Officer of the Army concerning a Select Senate Mentioned by Them in Their Proposals to the Late Parliament* (Thomas Brewster, [26 Oct.] 1659), is inscribed "'A dangerous fellow'; Sr Henry Vanes Advysor". It has not been noted that Thomason puts the first clause in quotation marks, indicating that he is reporting a common judgment—not necessarily offering his own.

[323] John Rogers, *Jegar-Sahadvtha* (n.p. n.d. [[T]28 Jul. 1657), 14-15; cf. Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England*, 217-218.

[324] *The Plain Case of the Common-weal neer the Desperate Gulf of the Common-woe* ([T]3 Mar. 1659); *The Sad Suffering Case of Major-General Rob. Overton* ([T]3 Mar. 1659); *Mr. Pryn's Good Old Cause Stated and Stunted 10 Years Ago* (c. ?May); Διαπολιτεία (1 Sep. 1659). Only the last bears Rogers' full name. The second and third are initialled. The first is acknowledged by Rogers in Διαπολιτεία, 69. *M. Harrington's Parallel Unparallel'd* ([T]22 Sep. 1659) bears Rogers' name but no publisher. However, typographical quirks also utilised in Διαπολιτεία (e.g. use of gothic) make it very likely that Chapman produced this pamphlet too.

characterisation of Vane's political settlement as an oligarchy of pretended saints.[325]

The conjunction of the Harringtonian critique of *A Needful Corrective* with Feake's apocalyptic exhortations provoked rumours from the beginning of June of an imminent massacre by Fifth Monarchists under Vane's direction.[326] Feake concludes by exhorting his audience "to be in a readinesse, and at an hours warning, to *plead* and to *promote* this *blessed businesse*", that is, "*to execute the vengence written against Babylon*": "The *Great Whore which hath corrupted the earth with her fornications, and hath shed the bloud of the Saints of the most High, for so* many hundred years, *is to be stript naked, is to be made Desolate; Her flesh is to be eaten; she is to be burnt with fire*" (Rev. 17-18, cf. Jer. 50-51). Readers sympathetic to Fifth-Monarchist theologising would understand "waiting for the word of command from their Leader" as referring to the eschatological Christ.[327] But the day before *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane* came from the press, a broadside proclaimed that *A Beam of Light* heralded Vane's "Design" to have "[t]he Fifth Monarchy men [...] surprise and suppress the Army, to Fire the City, and to Massacre all considerable People of all sorts" on Tuesday 11 June. *An Alarum to the City and Souldiery* ([T]6 Jun. 1659), addressed "*Gentleman, and Fellow Souldiers*", exploits concern among the military about impending legislation to transfer the responsibility for commissioning officers to parliament: "The Parliaments new *Militia* [...] is in order to no other Design." It alleges that "[Vane] lately said in confidence to a Friend, This Army was any way to be suppress'd; for otherwise, they [i.e. parliament] should not be permitted to sit long."[328] Although Vane in fact led the faction more conciliatory to the soldiers' concerns—against Neville and Haselrig who prevailed—this broadside highlights Vane's association with militant millenaries to misrepresent him as spearheading the supposed takeover of the army.

The attempt to heighten divisions seems especially directed at the precarious but crucial

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[325] Christopher Feake, *A Beam of Light, Shining in the Midst of Much Darkness and Confusion* (Livewell Chapman, 1659), 58, sig. A2ʳ, [A4]ʳ, 3, 35, 57.
[326] See e.g. Routledge & Firth (eds.), *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers*, vol. 4, 220 (3 Jun.), 228 (9 Jun.), 232 (10 Jun.), 245 (23 Jun.); Thomas Birch (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq*, vol. 7 (Fletcher Gyles, Thomas Woodward, & Charles Davis, 1742), 686-687 (21 Jun.). Cf. Brown, *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, 185-187; Rogers, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 97-100; Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, 124-127, 131-135.
[327] Feake, *A Beam of Light*, 58-59.
[328] n.a., *An Alarum to the City and Souldiery, God Grant They May Not Neglect It* (n.p. n.d.), broadside.

alliance between Vane's party and military leadership. Residual loyalties to Cromwell and overtures from the Harringtonians had the leading officers at odds among themselves, and these fractures penetrated the rank-and-file soldiery. This was clearly an opportune moment for a careful rehabilitation of Vane's reputation and clarification of his policies to appear in print—though not from a notorious Fifth-Monarchy Man. Although Chapman also had a reputation as a Fifth Monarchist, he was not only less conspicuous (as the publisher), but his output at this time heavily featured petitions, declarations, and advices to parliament. Anyone interested in parliamentary goings-on would have been used to seeking out and reading Chapman productions for at least the previous year, regardless of his prior reputation. This readership—not only (or even primarily) sectaries—would have been drawn to the title page emblazoned with the name of perhaps the foremost politician of the moment.

In his acknowledged *Διαπολιτεία*, Rogers disingenuously attributes *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane* to "a *godly Minister*".[329] Stubbe's contemporaneous exposure of Rogers' authorship may indicate something about their different intended audiences. Whatever the case, Rogers' false ascription authenticates his authorial self-fashioning in this pamphlet as "in doctrinalls […] agree[ing] (for substance) with most of our godly Protestant Writers". The fervent Fifth-Monarchist preacher impersonates an element of Baxter's target audience—maybe one of the young or inexperienced ministers over whom Baxter is most worried. The pamphlet begins with the observation that "divers godly learned men"—Baxter's laudative adjective is emphasised throughout—have censured Baxter as "one of *an Heterodox* Judgement, levened [*sic.*] with Popish, *Socinian* and Arminian Errors". Extracted from Baxter's books are twenty-three "corrupt and unsound tenets, touching *Justification*, *Conversion*, the Nature of *Speciall Grace*, *Assurance*, *Perseverance*, the extent and effects of the *death* of Christ". Rogers lists Thomas Barlow, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, and Dr. John Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, first and second

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[329] Rogers, *Διαπολιτεία*, 24.

among those who have condemned Baxter for "*Symboliz*[*ing*] with the *Papists* in many materiall points".[330] Stubbe is thought to have worked as Owen's amanuensis during the latter period of the latter's dispute with Baxter, and as Under-Keeper of the Bodleian, was in regular contact with Barlow through 1659.[332] Rogers certainly read Baxter's writings himself. In Διαπολιτεία, he admits "[he] was so much affected" with *A Saints Everlasting Rest* ([S]15 Feb. 1650).[333] But it is not implausible that the summary of Baxter's twenty-three doctrinal deviances came from Owen (who was Baxter's bête noire) and Barlow via Stubbe. The hyperbolic accusation that Baxter tends to "*Socianianisme*"—in this context implying that Jesus' all-too-human death was merely exemplary—certainly echoes Owen's slippery-slope rhetoric in *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ* ([T]9 May 1655).[334] In any case, Rogers hits Baxter where he is most vulnerable: his emphatic public teaching that Jesus might have died for everyone's sins, not just the elect's (i.e. hypothetical universal salvation); that Christ's righteousness is contractually, rather than mystically or substantially, imputed to believers; and that 'works' play a role in justification.[335]

Rogers avers that "[he] take[s] not upon [himself] to *apologize* for any extravagant or heterodox opinions". He admits to not knowing "what [Vane's] judgment and apprehensions have been formerly" and can but "hope" that Vane is "not tainted [with Popery and *Jesuitisme*]".

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[330] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 7, 1, 9, 6.

[332] Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, chaps. 1-2. Cf. Daniel Cawdrey, *Independency Further Proved to be a Schism* (John Wright, 1658), 129-130; Henry Stubbe to Daniel Cawdrey (17 Mar. 1657), cited in Jeffrey R. Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), 236-237; John Owen, *A Defence of Mr. John Cotton from the Imputation of Selfe Contradiction* […] *whereunto is Prefixed, an Answer to a Late Treatise of the Said Mr. Cawdrey about the Nature of Schism* (Oxford: T. Robinson, 1658), 88. Note Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016), 163-164: "But the reality was that Stubbe had continued [i.e. until at least 1658] to act as [Owen's] research assistant. If he were also acting as an amanuensis, we might better understand how Owen was able to write so much so rapidly".

[333] Rogers, Διαπολιτεία, 15; cf. *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 12.

[334] John Owen, 'Of the Death of Christ, and of Iustification […] Vindicated from the Animadversions of Master R. B.', in *Vindicæ Evangelicæ or, The Mystery of the Gospell Vindicated, and Socinianisme Examined* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1655), 4, 10, 43 (pg. not cont.). On the important and long-lasting debates around 'Socinianism' (i.e. rationalist anti- or non-Trinitarianism) in seventeenth-century England, see e.g. Philip Dixon, *'Nice and Hot Disputes': The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Seventeenth Century* (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2003); Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, ser. ed. John Morrill, Ethan Shagan, & Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2010); Paul C. H. Lim, *Mystery Unveiled: The Crisis of the Trinity in Early Modern England*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology, ser. ed. David C. Steinmetz (Oxford et al: Oxford UP, 2012).

[335] This is my summary of some of the main points from Hans Boersma, *A Hot Pepper Corn: Richard Baxter's Doctrine of Justification in Its Seventeenth-century Context of Controversy* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing 2004).

However, regarding "the great point of *Justification* by the righteousnesse and obedience of *Christ* as *Mediator*", he has "hear[d]" Vane "of late […] express[…] himself clearly and faithfully". Whereas Baxter's "Principles […] will not be owned by sober pious Protestants", Vane certainly seems "Orthodox". Rogers strikes Baxter for doing that about which the latter had expressed most concern in *A Key for Catholicks*: "you have infected and poisoned many *young* Scholars in the *Universities,* and Ministers in the *Land,* who wanting experience […] have your person and gifts in admiration". In a most audacious inversion, he implicitly likens Baxter's doctrine "to the principles of the *Quakers,* who (together with the Papists) plead for justification by an inherent righteousness, or gracious qualifications under the notion of Christ or the Spirit *in them*".[336] As Tim Cooper demonstrates, Baxter's foremost polemical concern was the tendency for certain doctrines of Reformed soteriology—e.g. vicarious atonement, imputed righteousness, eternal justification—to slip into the antinomian assurance that Christ within frees believers from all legal and religious obligations.[337] This is the doctrinal contagion that Baxter charges Vane with importing from New England. Cooper notes that debates over *sola fide* and *sola gratia* often "played out" as "a battle for Luther".[338] By reducing Luther's paradoxical statements to unequivocal endorsement of "free Justification by the righteousnesse of Christ", Rogers makes the 'antinomian' facet of the great reformer's contested legacy to be core Protestant doctrine.[339] Moreover, he twists Baxter's soteriological doctrines—as heterodox as they are from the perspective of a staunch Calvinist like Owen—to imply that he endorsed the very notion of an inner Christ against which he formulated them! And while Vane certainly did advocate unconditional election for the chosen few, his soteriology allotted to the unredeemed majority the progessive sanctification that Rogers accuses Baxter of teaching.[340]

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[336] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 8-9, 12.

[337] Cooper, *Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-century England*. See also Hans Boersma, *A Hot Pepper Corn*.

[338] Cooper, *Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-century England*, 37.

[339] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 8.

[340] See e.g Parnham, 'Reconfiguring Mercy and Justice', 'Nurturing of Righteousness', 'Soul's Trial and Spirit's Voice'; cf. Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, chap. 7.

Rogers turns to Baxter's "cry[ing] out against [Sir *Henry Vane*] for holding an universall *Liberty* and Toleration in matters of *Religion*". He is again cagey: "For my part, I am not fully acquainted with [Vane's] judgment touching this point"; "I dare not positively affirm that the *Civil* Magistrate is not to *intermeddle* at all in matters of *Religion*".[343] He maintains this diffident posture as he presents ten arguments in favour of toleration—six from scripture (he cites Matt. 13:30 & 38; Luk. 9:54 & 55; 2 Tim. 4:25, Isa. 11:9, 2. Cor. 10:4, Matt. 5:44, 1 Tim. 1:13, Matt. 20:6, Ecc. 8:8), two from ecclesiastical and royal authorities, and one each from experience and recent history.[344] Rogers performs the open-minded consideration of the case for toleration that Vane and his allies hope readers of *A Key for Catholicks* will re-enact to soften their resistance. When Christians were persecuted, in "the first three hundred yeares after Christ", Rogers contends, "[t]he *Ancient* fathers [...] pleaded against all kind of violence for Religion". He exclaims: "if [Vane] be for such a *Liberty*, without exception or restraint, why should you quarrel with him [...] more then with *Luther*, *Austin*, and other Fathers!" Similarly, "a *Calvinist*" would "plead for *Toleration*" in a "*Popish* Countrey". Rogers emphasises Paul to the Corinthians: "The weapons of your warfare should be *spirtuall* and heavenly, not carnall and *worldly*." (2 Cor. 10:4) He blames those who "fight against the errors of the times, with prisons, dungeons, [and] fetters" for "dayly increas[ing]" the number of Quakers "in the Land". Such "opposers and gainsayers" of Protestant religion only grow "more confident of their dangerous and wicked opinions" "[by] glory[ing] in their *suffrings*".[345] Vane, as James Maclear speculates, was probably behind the mobilisation of provincial Quaker networks throughout May and June to petition against tithes and infiltrate the magistracy and local militiae.[346] Rogers' superficial anti-Quaker rhetoric—which ironically is an argument against persecution—identifies him with the majority that were suspicious of or hostile to the upstart

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[343] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 12, 14.
[344] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 14-18. Some of these examples may also have been given to him by Stubbe, who was researching early church history for both Owen and Vane at this time.
[345] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 12-14.
[346] James F. Maclear, 'Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum: A Chapter in the Domestication of Radical Puritanism', *Church History* 19.4 (Dec. 1950), 240-270.

sect.[347] Coming from a godly minister, it implies that support for toleration need not entail encouraging such troublemakers.

The biblical position, Rogers insists, is that "hereticks" should be "instruct[ed]" through "preaching, prayer, Christian conference, and a holy conversation […] in meeknesse and a spirit of love". He chides "Ministers of the Gospel" for "preach[ing] well out of a pulpit" but not "liv[ing] up to the rules of the Gospel". If they did, "[e]rrors would vanish and disappear". But as he turns to towards his conclusion, the tone becomes heated. He disparages "Mr. *Baxter* and other Ministers" as "[u]ngrateful men!", who "do endeavour by [their] Sermons and writings, to bring an *odium* upon the present *Government* and Governours […]" Across a series of rhetorical questions, he builds to the exclamation: "will nothing content you, unless you may Exercise a Lordly and Tyrannical *Domination* over the consciences of your Brethren, and bring the *civil* Magistrate under your Girdle […] that you may dispose of civil affairs as you please in *ordine ad spiritualia*?"[348] The concluding Latin phrase was typically used of the Pope's authority in worldly matters (such as international politics).[349] But it probably reminded people more of polemics against the Lords Spiritual that Vane helped legislate out of parliament (to widespread acclaim) or against the Presbyterian faction that sought power in the aftermath. Rogers, in keeping with his character, favourably alludes to parliament's decision on 21 May 1659, "[t]hat a Godly, Faithful, and Painful Gospel preaching Ministry, shall be every-where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained."[351] So he challenges Baxter and his ministerial association: "Is it your desire that Church-Government should be established in this Land? why then, If it be such a Government as is *Jure Divino*, you may set it up by the spiritual Sword [cf. Eph. 6:17], though you have no assistance from the civil

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[347] Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, chap. 5, argues that growing "anxiety" about "the so-called Quaker threat" through 1659 (especially from Jul.–Aug.) prompted a strong reaction toward more traditional forms (e.g. "Presbyterianism") and ultimately was "a force behind […] the return of Charles II."

[348] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 17, 13, 19.

[349] E.g. Harro Höpfl, 'Church and State', *A Companion to the Spanish Scholastics*, ed. Harald E. Braum, Erik De Bom, & Paolo Astorri, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, ed. Christopher M. Bellitto (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022), 363-389.

[351] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 662.

Magistrate."[352] If their national church is the form truly sanctioned by God (as the Presbyterians claimed of their system) then there is no need for its doctrine and discipline to be legally protected. Its establishment will be by the "the word of God" (Eph. 6:17).

But Rogers, switching into the first-person plural, declares: "The *Kingdome* of Christ is not of this world; and we know that when the Churches of Christ had least countenance from *Earthly powers*, they were best governed". At this moment, Rogers seems to be no longer speaking as godly minister but as a member of a group that opposes them: "You and we have the like liberty and opportunity, to improve our *spiritual* weapons and skill" (2 Cor. 10:4, cf. Eph. 6:10-20).[353] This is the spiritualised version of Fifth Monarchist eschatological warfare advocated by Vane.[354] In the context of the adversarial structure created by the dialogue between *A Key for Catholicks* and *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, the most obvious group with which Rogers would be aligning himself is the Vanists. Yet almost as soon as he reveals himself as a Vanist, he reassumes the mask of a godly minister. Just as he had at the outset, he cites the book of Proverbs (26:12, 15:28, 16:23, 29:11), as "a true friend", to encourage a fellow minister to "[l]ook up to God for spiritual strength, that [he] may be *crucified* to the fame and *praise* of men", to "be earnest with the Lord to give [him] true *humility* and self-denyal, and that wisdom which is from above" (Jam. 3:17).[355] On the one hand, these can read like conventional piety, but on the other, especially with the emphasised "*crucified*", it bespeaks the "spiritual death" through which the saints "mystically recapitulated Christ's own suffering, crucifixion, and entombment." This notion—ultimately derived from the *gelassenheit* or kenosis (cf. Phl. 2:7) of medieval mystics but also present in Familist teachings—is central to Vane's mystical theology.[356]

In the wake of *A Vindication*, Vane commenced presenting the political settlement sketched

[352] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 19.
[353] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 19-20.
[354] See e.g. Gilpin, 'Sir Henry Vane', 377.
[355] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 20-21, cf. t.p., 1.
[356] Gilpin, 'Sir Henry Vane', 367 & passim; cf. Parnham, *Sir Henry Vane*, chap.6. See also Stuart Masters, *The Rule of Christ: Themes in the Theology of James Nayler*, Quaker Studies, chf. ed. Stephen W. Angell & Pink Dandelion (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2021), chap. 3. This aspect of Vane's theologising (I hope) will be the topic of future study.

in *A Needful Corrective* to his parliamentary colleagues. It is possible he had been somewhat pressured into this by the Harringtonian exposure the previous month.[357] That Rogers' and Stubbe's comprehensive responses to the Harringtonian critique were delayed until September may indicate unpreparedness. Archibald Johnston, Lord Wariston, records in his diary that "[he] heard Sir H. Vayne debayted for the Senate from Scripture and Henry Nevil against it without Scripture" (17 Jun. 1659) and "about the great question of *melior au* [*sic.*] *major pars* should governe" (18 Jun.).[358] A royalist conspirator wrote Charles II's Secretary of State on 17 June: "Wee are here still buildinge vp a Republique. […] Sir Henry Vayne is stiffe for ye guifted men allone, and those only such as his owne holines shall deeme soe." The same wrote the next week: "[Sir Hen. Vayne] would haue some few refyned spiritts (and those of his owne nomination) sitt at helme of State togeather with the Councell till the people be made familiar with a Republique and in loue with it, that is till he cease to be."[359] The French Ambassador reported on 30 June that he had heard that Vane's "influence" had "diminished" because of a speech in parliament in which "[Vane] stated […] that the people were mad [*fol* = foolish], and that the authority of the State ought not to be entrusted to them, but to pious and holy persons, under which name he is understood to mean the Sectaries of the Fifth Monarchy, to whom he preaches very regularly."[360] The negative propaganda generated by Baxter and Prynne, the Harringtonians, and royalist agitators made it impossible for Vane to get an impartial hearing.

While Vane was stating his case in parliament, an anonymous pamphlet entitled *A Light Shining out of Darknes* ([T]17 Jun. 1659) came from the press bearing no information about author,

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[357] Cf. Woolrych, 'The Good Old Cause', 155, with reference to *A Needful Corrective*: "Vane does not seem to have championed the senate openly".

[358] *Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston*, ed. James D. Ogilvie, vol. 3, Publications of the Scottish History Society (Edinburgh: Scottish Historical Society, 1940), 120-121.

[359] "Mr. Miles" to Edward Nicholas (17 & 24 Jun. 1659), *The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas*, ed. George F. Warner, vol. 4, Camden, Third Series (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1920), ed. George F. Warner, vol. 4, Camden Series (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1920), 157, 161-162.

[360] Antoine de Bordeaux to Henri-Auguste de Loménie, Count of Brienne (10 Jul. 1659 = 30 Jun. 1659), in François Guizot, *History of Richard Cromwell and the Restoration of Charles II*, tr. Andrew R. Scoble, vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1856), #55, 421-425 (at 424); François Guizot, *Histoire du Protectorat de Richard Cromwell et du Retablissement des Stuart (1658–1660)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Didier et Co., 1856), 400.

publisher, or printer. Its Bible-inspired title (2 Cor. 4:6, cf. e.g. Psa. 107:14, 1 Pet. 2:9), akin to

Feake's (cf. Joh. 1:5), marks it out as directed towards a sectarian audience. Indeed, the third edition

(1699) was published by a Quaker publisher, and all three were catalogued in the nineteenth century

as "Friends' Books".[361] Identical typographic and formatting conventions indicate the same printer

was responsible for at least a dozen similar pamphlets between February and November 1659, as

well as Stubbe's *Malice Rebuked*.[362] Many have 'queries' in the title—perhaps inspired by *XXV*

Queries—and the subtitle of this particular example is "Occasional Queries SUBMITTED To the

JUDGMENT of such as would *enquire* into the true State of things in our TIMES."[363] It seems there

was some consternation about the author's identity. Thomason inscribed his copy, "Sʳ Henry Vaine.

K." However, on 20 July, Samuel Hartlib wrote the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University that

"Stubs (who was once tutor to Sr H. Vane's son, and is now under library keeper at Oxford) is said

to be the author of Light out of Darkness. But we have more cause to fear the sword of the

Quakers than that pamphlet."[364] Stubbe's friend, Anthony à Wood, corroborates this information

in *Athenæ Oxonienses*.[365] Christopher Hill is right to conclude that "on stylistic grounds" the queries

themselves are "almost certainly by Stubbe" and also "that contemporaries could be unsure of the

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[361] Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books or Books Written by Members of the Society of Friends Commonly Called Quakers* (London: Joseph Smith, 1863), 36: "This work is supposed to have been originally written H. STUBBE, of *Ch. Ch. Oxford*, and afterwards edited and published by WILLIAM PENN." On the publisher of the third edition, Tace Sowle, see esp. Louisiane Ferlier, 'Tace Sowle-Raylton (1666–1749) and that Circulation of Books in the London Quaker Community', *Library & Information History 31.3* (Aug. 2015). 157-170.

[362] I have not had the opportunity to fully explore the identity of this printer/publisher. E.g. *Your Servant Gentlemen, or What Think You of a Query or Two More?* (n.p. [ᵀ27 Feb.] 1659); *The Character or Ear-mark of Mr. William Prynne* (n.p. [ᵀ17 May] 1659); *Eighteen New Court-Quæries Humbly Offered* (n.p. [ᵀ26 May] 1659); W. C., *Trades Destruction is Englands Ruine, or Excise Decryed* (n.p. [ᵀ28 May] 1659); S. W., *Works of Darknes brought to Light* (n.p. [ᵀ30 May] 1659); *Democritus Turned States-man: or Twenty Quæries between Iest and Earnest, Proposed to All True-Hearted Englishmen* [n.p. [ᵀ3 Jun.] 1659); "*Sundry Weak Brethren*", *Nineteen Cases of Conscience* (n.p. [ᵀ14 Jun.] 1659); George Gregory, *A Bakers-Dozen of Plain Down-right Queries, Harmlesse and Honest* (n.p. [ᵀ17 Jun.] 1659); "several of the Officers and Souldiers under the Conduct of the Lord *LAMBERT*", *One and Twenty Chester Queries* (n.p. [ᵀ15 Sep.] 1659). But if I were to hazard a guess, I reckon it would be identifiable through the type, etc., as one of the printers working with Chapman and/or Brewster.

[363] Henry Stubbe & Henry Vane, *A Light Shining out of Darknes* (n.p. 1659), t.p.

[364] Samuel Hartlib to Dr. John Worthington (20 Jul. 1659), *The Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, ed. James Crossley, vol. 1, Remains Historical & Literary Connected wth the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester (Mancester: The Chetham Society, 1847), 140-158 (at 142-144). Crossley transcribes the title without italics. For more on Hartlib's circle, see e.g. the essays in Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie, & Timothy Raylor (eds.), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge et al: Cambridge UP, 2002); J. T. Young, *Faith, Medical Alchemy and Natural Philosophy: Johann Moriaen, Reformed Intelligencer, and the Hartlib Circle*, The History of Medicine in Context, ser. ed. Andrew Cunningham & Ole Peter Grell (Aldershot/Brookfield/Singapore/Sydney: Ashgate, 1998).

[365] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 2, col. 416.

authorship suggests that at the time Stubbe and Vane were believed to have closely similar views."[366] James Jacob, assuming the pamphlet is solely Stubbe's, somewhat awkwardly leverages it to "say more precisely how [Stubbe] departed from Hobbes".[367] Stubbe and the notorious royalist and materialist philosopher had been communicating about Stubbe's (unfinished) Latin translation of *Leviathan* ([S]20 Jan. 1651) and the controversy with Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, Dr. John Wallis.[368] But neither Hill nor Jacob distinguishes between the first and second editions of *A Light Shining out of Darknes* and too quickly dismiss indications that more than one author was involved.

The address "TO THE READER" is written as if by someone other than the person it refers to as "*the* Questionist". It introduces the author of the queries as "*one, who desires to lye lowe in his own eyes: and after all his Reading, rather to doubt,* (doubting *is no more the way to errour, than to* truth) *than to* assert." This person is throughout referred to in the third-person singular.[369] It may well be conventional affected modesty. However, the preface to the second edition ([T]8 Nov. 1659)— marketed as "*revised by the Authour*"—opens with the declaration that "*the former* Editioner [...] *had too great a share, that I should call it* mine." It ends with an advertisement for "*the* Defence of the good old Cause, *published by* H. Stubbe *of Ch. Ch. in* Oxon", in which "[*s*]*ome Queries* [...] *wanting here, which which were in former, as that of* Toleration*, [...] [are] more largely and convincingly handled*".[370] It seems a straightforward inference that Stubbe is the author of this preface. Perhaps Vane was the author of the first edition's preface, Stubbe's "*former* Editioner", and that is what Thomason's note is

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[366] Hill, *The Experience of Defeat*, 255-256.
[367] Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, 36-40 (at 39).
[368] See e.g. Hobbes, *The Correspondence* , vol. 1, #80 (11 Apr. 1656), #87 (8 Jul. 1656), #91 (7 Oct. 1656), #96 (25 Oct. 1656), #97 (25 Oct. 1656), #98 (9 Nov. 1656), #101 (26 Nov. 1656), #102 (29 Nov. 1656), #104 (8 Dec. 1656), #107 (19 Dec. 1656), #11 (26 Dec. 1656), #113 (13 Jan. 1657), #116 (30 Jan 1657.), #119 (14 Feb. 1657), #122 (17 Mar. 1657), #123 (11 Apr. 1657), #125 (6 May 1657), #138 (9 Oct. 1659), 271-222, 293-294, 311-314, 333-341, 378-380, 383-386, 394-397, 425-427, 430-433, 439-441, 448-450, 455-461, 464-467, 505-506; Jacob, *Henry Stubbe*, chap. 1; Collins, *The Allegiance of Thomas Hobbes*, 181-183, chap. 6 passim. Cf. also Douglas Jesseph, 'Geometry, Religion and Politics: Context and Consequences of the Hobbes-Wallis Dispute', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 72.4 (Dec. 2018), 469-486. The extant correspondence is only one way, from Stubbe to Hobbes. See also Thomas Barlow to Hobbes (23 Dec. 1656), #109, 420-422, and Pierre Guisony to Hobbes (15 May 1659), #136, 501-504.
[369] Henry Stubbe & Henry Vane, *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, sig. A2[r]-[A4][v].
[370] Henry Stubbe, *A Light Shining out of Darknes* [...] *with A Brief Apology for the Quakers*, 2nd ed. (n.p. 1659), sig. A2[r-v].

meant to indicate. One can imagine Vane commissioning the academic Stubbe to gather authoritative citations in response to the forty-four queries—at least some of which appear to be composed by Vane—and then deciding to publish them as "*of such moment*" under a title designed to capture sectaries' attention. The preface tends to his elliptical argumentation and biblical idiom: "*our* God […] *is* a consuming fire" (Heb. 12:29, cf. e.g. Deu. 4:24); "[*l*]*et us owe our* Reformation *to God and not* Belial *or Antichrist*" (cf. 2 Cor. 6:15).[371] One might suspect he effectively ventriloquises Stubbe:

> *He thought fit in his questions to produce such* testimonies *as made for the* Negative *and* Heterodoxe *part. Unto which process he was enclined by severall reasons: One is, because that the generall prejudices of many in this age, are such, that if he had not done this, they would not have thought* these things questionable. *Secondly, he had a tender regard to those who have the subject of these queries to be their* Assertions*: in the behalf of these, he did set down what you see, that their* Opponents (*though they pride themselves with the concept of* learning *and esteem of others as* illiterate) *may at last own them for less than* fanatical *and groundless* Opinionists.[372]

As the later editions make explicit, and Hartlib already recognised, *A Light Shining out of Darknes* was issued on behalf of the Quakers. 'Loving' or 'tender' is how Friends typically characterise Vane's attitude (see **Chapter 2**). Vane signalled his support as soon as parliament resumed in May by forming "a Committee to consider of the Imprisonment of such Persons who continue committed for Conscience-sake".[373] Also around this time, as James Maclear uncovers, parliament secretly requested (probably through Vane's contacts and at his prompting) provincial Quakers to compile lists of local magistrates categorised according to their relative friendliness. These were collated in London by the start of June. Had the royalist uprising not intervened in August, this plan would have constituted "a sweeping reorganization of the magistracy". Along with the recruitment of Quakers in local militiae, such mobilisations exacerbated the widespread

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[371] For elliptical argumentation, see the transition pp.4-5 and the end. Another example is cited below.
[372] Henry Stubbe & Henry Vane, *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, sig. [A4]ʳ⁻ᵛ.
[373] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 648.

fears of a takeover of the country by fanatics.[374]

A Light Shining out of Darknes addresses the respective validity of a university-trained professional ministry and inspired lay preaching. It must have emboldened Quakers to be handed erudite evidence in an easily digestible format proving *"the* first Christians" were "Handy-crafts-men *of severall Trades"* who "prophe[sied] one after another" (cf. 1 Cor. 14:31) *"in* private houses", *"the* Market places *and* Streets". Some queries seem to respond to *A Key for Catholicks*. Stubbe shows that early church fathers characterised Christians as "sectam" that met in "conventicul[īs]". That even into the fourth century, "[*p*]*ersecution for* Religion [*was*] *condemned"* and "*a toleration granted to all"*. He cites a barrage of learned authorities to prove the "*absurdity*" of the claim of "*the present* Ministry […] *to be* Ministers *of the Church* Catholique". And the sixth query—evidencing Vane's elliptical syntax—explicates the role of *ecclēsia* in Vane's political proposals: "Ecclesia […] [*is*] *a* Law-terme*, deduced from* free-states, *in which commonwealths, the supream popular Assembly acted and Organised by the* Archon *and* Proedri (*as a Church form'd and Presbyterated by a* Minister *and Elders*) *which did not* rule *but* Preside". However, "*the just and full scope of the holy Spirit*" in using such a "terme" can be "determine[d]" only by "*the Spirit that gave it out at first*". Read alongside other queries, this statement declares prophetic inspiration more useful to "*lead us to* [*the*] *sense of Scripture*" than "*the knowledg of Tongues*" and "*the strength of a criticisme*".[375] This reflects both Vane's own beliefs as well as the stance of (especially) the Quakers.

Stubbe's citations are largely in chunks of untranslated Latin, "*being not transcribed out of men that* misalledged *them, but fetched from their Originall* Authors."[376] Clearly, Vane and/or Stubbe envisaged another more educated audience. *A Light Shining out of Darknes* coincided with a massive

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[374] Maclear, 'Quakerism and the End of the Interregnum', 255; Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, chap. 5. For the evidence of this scheme, which I wish I had more time to explore, not all of which is cited in the aforementioned studies, see e.g. *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Second Series, 1659 to 1664*, Journal Supplement (London/Philadelphia: Friends' Historical Society, 1911); John Harwood, *To All People that Profess the Eternal Truth of the Living God* (n.p. 1663), 4; Robert Rich (ed.), *Hidden Things brought to Light* (n.p. 1678), 29; John Taylor, *A Loving & Friendly Invitation to all Sinners to Repent* (John Bringhurst, 1683), 13. George Fox's mysterious illness in the middle of 1659 is also relevant.

[375] Henry Stubbe & Henry Vane, *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, 18, 17, 24, 13, 36-37, 4-5, 17, cf. 14.

[376] Henry Stubbe & Henry Vane, *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, sig. A2ʳ.

Quaker-organised campaign of petitions against tithing—the compulsory taxation that furnished financial support for professional ministers of established Presbyterian and Independent churches. Initially, parliament responded favourably, resolving on 14 June to establish a committee "to consider, how a more equal and comfortable Maintenance may be settled for the Ministry, and Satisfaction of the People, than by Tythes". However, reception of a petition openly sponsored by Vane was postponed on 20 June only to receive a lukewarm response from the House the next day.[377] This would have also been about the time Vane gave the humiliating speech that (according to the French ambassador) prompted his opponents to offer him a diplomatic placement in Holland as "a pretext for removing him from England".[378] On 27 June, parliament responded to "a Paper" submitted by Anthony Pearson (the Quaker who had insisted Fox meet Vane in 1658) by voting to harden its language: "the Payment of Tythes shall continue as now they are, until unless this Parliament shall find out some other more equal and comfortable Maintenance". Moreover, by resolving "[t]hat the Judges do publish this Vote for Payment of Tythes, in their several Circuits", parliament effectively signalled its intention to imprison conscientious objectors.[379] If the learned citations in *A Light Shining out of Darknes* had been intended to sway those in parliamentary circles—especially those with a vote—the strategy had not succeeded. Vane was not able to parlay his widespread support among sectaries, soldiers, and municipal governors into effective lobbying of his parliamentary colleagues.

At this moment, Prynne and Baxter renewed their propaganda campaign. Prynne published two accounts of his attempt to resume sitting: *A True and Perfect Narrative* ([S]13 Jun. 1659) and *Loyalty Banished* ([T]16 Jun. 1659). The latter is a relatively straightforward account designed to be more affordable and accessible. The former includes an extra ninety pages of verbose and near-

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[377] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 683, 689, 690. See Edward Vallance, 'Harrington, Petitioning, and the Construction of Public Opinion', *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism*, 119-131 (at 128), who notes that Vane's petition was the only one the many in this period to provoke a vote about giving thanks and not to be reproduced in the government newsbook, *Mercurius Politicus*. Something of its content can be gleaned from William Sprigge, *A Modest Plea for an Equal Common-wealth against Monarchy* (Giles Calvert, 1659), 73-74. Sprigge was an associate of Stubbe at Oxford and the younger brother of Vane's "disciple", Joshua Sprigge.

[378] Bordeaux to de Brienne, in *History of Richard Cromwell*, 42.

[379] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 694. I have doctored this quotation to represent the vote to amend the language.

hysterical legalese defending the old constitution and butchering the army and republicans. Prynne's concluding diatribe presents the first instance of someone else employing Baxter's neologism:

> In the last place, Mr. *Prynne* shall most importunately beseech all the antient Nobility, secluded Members, well-affected Gentry Clergy, Commonalty of the English Nation (which had never so many *effeminate, false heads,* and *hearts* as now, many Jesuite, Priest, Monk, lurking under the disguise of womanish Perewigges brought into fashion by [upstart *Pseudo-Polititians]*) […] [to] go out only couragiously against these Invaders of your Countries Rights, Liberties, Privileges, without fear or dispondencie; Own not their incroached Parliamentarie power, Acts, Imposition, Edicts, Taxes, Excises in anie kind; Keep fast your purse-strings, and part with no farther pay to your *Armie-Saints,* till they obediently submit to your commands, as their *Masters,* and acknowledge themselves to be your *mercinarie Servants,* not your soveraign new Lords, Masters: Then without any more fighting, bloudshed, danger to your persons or estates, you shall soon behold the *Mungrel multitude* of *Anabaptists, Quakers, Sectaries, Republicans, Vanists, Cromwellists, Iesuits, Papists,* now combined against you, divided against each other (as you see they are pretty well) and every of them will help to destroy one another, as they begin to doe[.][380]

This is another sign that Baxter and Prynne—if not actively collaborating—were at least paying attention to each other's work. John Rogers remarks on "how PRINIAN Mr. *Baxters* words and Arguments are for Law, and how BAXTERIAN, Mr. *Prynne*'s proofs are for *Scripture*".[381] More surprisingly, both also appear to have been engaging with the Harringtonians. Prynne provides a short satirical *Answer* ([T]17 Jun. 1659) to their *Proposition in Order to the Proposing of a Commonwealth or Democracie* ([T]14 Jun. 1659). This broadside lists "Mr. *Prynne*" with about a hundred other representatives of the various factions—Royalists, Cromwellians, ministers (e.g. "Mr. *Baxter* of *Kidderminster*"), at least half-a-dozen close associates of Vane—on a hypothetical "Committee to receive Mr. *Harrington*'s Propositions" in the (perhaps facetious) hope they would "[be] convinced".[382] Prynne insists that there can be no such committee until "the *House of Peers*, and the *secluded Members* of the *Commons House* […] be permitted freely to sit, debate, and vote". Amidst

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[380] Prynne, *A True and Perfect Narrative*, 92, 98. Cf. William Prynne, *Loyalty Banished* (n.p. 1659).
[381] Rogers, Διαπολιτεία, 6.
[382] *A Proposition in Order to the Proposing of a Commonwealth or Democracie* (n.p. n.d. [[T]14 Jun. 1659]), broadside. Those connected with Vane include Slingsby Bethel, Sir Robert Honeywood, Colonel John Okey, Anthony Pearson, Edward Harrison, Edward Salloway.

other jibes, Prynne invokes "the antient *Law of Charondas*, the Law-giver of the *Athenians*, (the first erectors of Commonwealths,)" to suggest that "Mr. *Harrington* and his friends may all come […] with *Ropes about their necks*, and in case they shall not convince the said Committee […] they shall forwith […] be hanged up by the neck as Traitors and seditious Persons till they be dead."[383] This performance of hostility—presumably designed for laughs—does not undermine the basic fact that the Harringtonians had reached out to him, and he responded.

The publication of *Ten Considerable Quæries concerning Tithes* (ᵀ27 Jun. 1659) coincides with parliament's ultimate rejection of the anti-tithe campaign. Prynne adopts the form of *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, presenting scriptural, legal, and academic citations to support tithing, but does not overtly acknowledge the prior pamphlet. Punning, he observes that "[*n*]*ine parts of Ten* of the present eager *Petitioners* […] appear to be poor mecanical persons […] without any *Tithable lands, livings, estates*". Their petitioning has been "instigat[ed] […] [by] those disguised *Jesuits, Popish Priests, Monks* and *Romish Emissaries*, which bear chief sway in most *Separate Congregations* of *Anabaptists, Quakers*, and other *Antagonists*". The action against tithes is merely a front for "the *subversion, extirpation* of their *Ministry, Function*, and thereby of our *Protestant Church* and *Religion*". Prynne borrows back his own anti-Catholic rhetoric from Baxter to implicate Vane as the "disguised *Jesuit*" behind the campaign against tithes. Prynne reiterates his former claim that parliament will hypocritically leverage other taxes to "preserv[e] […] their *New-Commonwealth,* and the Armies pay". And again, he declares it illegal "to admit of any debates […] during the *absence* & forcible seclusion of most of those *Knights, Citizens,* and *Burgesses* they [i.e. the most considerable part of the *Nobility, Gentry, Farmers, Citizens, and Freemen of the whole Nation*] duly *elected* to represent their *persons*".[384] At the very least, Prynne and Harrington share the belief in fundamental social hierarchy.

Baxter's engagement with the Harringtonians is more openly conciliatory. In the first

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[383] William Prynne, *An Answer to a Proposition in Order to the Proposing of a Commonwealth or Democracy* (n.p. 1659), 4.
[384] William Prynne, *Ten Considerable Quæries concerning Tithes* (Edward Thomas, 1659), 1, 5-6, 2.

preface of *A Holy Commonwealth* (ˢ22 Jun. 1659), addressed "[t]o all those in the Army or elsewhere, that have caused our many and great Eclipses", he advertises that Harrington "invit[ed]" him "to give an account of [his] Political Principles". Given that Baxter compiled these "Political Aphorisms" "while the Lord Protector […] did exercise the Government", it is likely that Harrington "summoned" Baxter after encountering the comments about "Democratical Polititians" in *A Key for Catholicks*.[385] This was around the time Harrington was dissociating from the republican coalition led by Vane (see **Chapter 5**). Rogers appears to have been aware of Baxter's engagement with Harrington a month or more prior to the publication of *A Holy Commonwealth*: "perhaps if Mr. *Baxter* were called to consult about the weighty affairs of the *State*, as you may be in due time; for you pretend to some skill in the *Politicks*, (as appears by your most judicious censure of the Commonwealth of *Oceana*, and its Author)".[386] In any case, Baxter effectively produces Harringtonian propaganda in the prefatory "Discussion of the *Answer* to the *Healing Question*" (written around mid-May). He implies Vane's authorship of *A Needful Corrective*—thus making it publicly known for the first time—in the context of approving Harrington's "just indignation against an Oligarchy, or the setting up of a self-conceited Party".[387] In yet another preface, he exploits popular fears by predicting that "if now it be in the hearts of any to set up a party […] and to cry up themselves as the Godly Party", the end result will resemble the notorious takeover of Münster by apocalyptic Anabaptists in 1534. Evoking his polemical attack on "[t]he *Vani*" in *A Key for Catholicks*, he adds, "[let] the Church expect a New-England Vindication". God will intervene to ruin the Vanists once again.[388] It is not so straightforward, however, to suggest that Baxter and Harrington were colluding for the cause of restoring Charles II.

While Baxter's commitment to the Protectorate under Richard Cromwell seems to have been genuine, and he was definitely in league with royalists by the end of 1659, his loyalties in the

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[385] Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 1, 15, 3.
[386] Rogers, *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*, 6.
[387] Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 39-40, 15.
[388] Baxter *A Holy Commonwealth*, 15.

intervening six or so months are unclear. Moreover, although Rachel Hammersley notices that Harrington's and Neville's attitudes to monarchy are "ambiguous", their reputations as core republican theorists have precluded consideration of the possibility that they would actively work in the royalist cause in the context of 1659. Hammersley does remark that "it is striking that [Harrington] does not respond to Baxter [i.e. *A Holy Commonwealth*]".[389] Baxter "leave[s] it to the Reader, whether the way [he] […] hold[s] be not the true Mean between the extreams [i.e. of Harrington's *A Discourse* and Vane's *A Needful Corrective*]".[390] Baxter reverses Harrington's Erastian subordination of church to state. He agrees with Vane that the people need to be educated to make good political choices and that only those deemed thus suitable should be eligible for political participation. Of course, for Baxter, such education comes via a godly ministry, whereas for Vane, it is through mystical discipline and the teaching of Christ within. Baxter alludes to Vane's position: "If we could possess [the Major part of our people] with the Holy Ghost, as Christ did his Apostles", then they might come "from their fishing and tent-making […] and from their Plows, and Carts, and Dung-hills".[391] Baxter has more faith in the potential of the common people than Harrington or Prynne.

Baxter, Harrington, and Prynne promote incompatible proposals and presumably write for different (albeit overlapping) audiences. And yet there is an intriguing sense of coordination. Certainly, John Rogers links the three in the full title of *Διαπολιτεία. A Christian Concertation with Mr. Prin, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, for the True Cause of the Commonwealth*. He construes the involvement of John Maitland, the Earl of Lauderdale, in *A Key for Catholicks* as a sign that Baxter (like Prynne) was working for the royalists.[392] Baxter certainly benefited from his friendship with Lauderdale once Charles II came into power. Although there is not the scope to properly explore it here, it would be worth reconsidering Nicholas von Maltzahn's speculation that Henry Neville is the "H.

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[389] Hammersley, *James Harrington*, 202.
[390] Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 40
[391] Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 83.
[392] Rogers, *Διαπολιτεία*, 18.

N." of *A Letter Sent to General Monk* (ᵀ2 Feb. 1659). Maltzahn notes "its Harringtonian emphasis on the role of the gentry in controlling the militia" and "assertion of the republican possibilities in the ancient constitution [i.e King, Lords, and Commons]".[393] It is also worth noting that when Harrington was arrested in 1661, it was Lauderdale assigned for his interrogation. But these are research topics for another day. It suffices to note that in concentrating their efforts on defeating Vane and his allies, Harrington and his allies helped bring about the arrangement for which Prynne and (at least from late 1659) Baxter were hoping—the revival of the monarchy.

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[393] Maltzahn, 'Henry Neville and the Art of the Possible', 43; but cf. Mahlberg, 'Neo-Harringtonianism and *A Letter Sent to General Monk* Revisited'.

Chapter 7. Reflecting on the Outcome: Conclusions & Proposals.

And I doe account this lot of mine no other then what is to be expected by those that are not of the world, but whom Christ hath chosen out of it[.]

—The Substance of What Sir Henry Vane Intended to Have Spoken upon the Scaffold on Tower-Hill (1662)

The process of preparing a thesis is one of pruning. I initially intended this dissertation to encompass a much broader scope. I had planned to introduce intertextual close readings of occasional writings produced during two periods of significant upheaval (1658–1660 and 1651–1653) with a broader thematic unpacking of the 'mature' theological and prophetic volumes upon which my protagonists' reputations largely rest (c.1662–1710). I commenced working on 1659 because it was the period in which the term *Vanist* was coined, and it was the period about which I knew the least. By the time it became apparent that I would only be able to tackle one of my three designated periods, I was already too far into 1659 to turn back. *Non, je ne regrette rien.* Although the writings my protagonists produced in the other two periods more closely reflect my interest in vernacular experimental theology, it has been a valuable learning experience to closely follow—month to month—the events of that pivotal year. I have discovered that none of the existing accounts really comes to grips with the machinations and breakdowns that eventually (though not inevitably) led to the so-called 'Restoration' in 1660. For someone with more acumen in the history and theory of politics and a greater understanding of the internal dynamics of the New Model Army, proceeding chronologically rather than thematically could produce a much clearer picture. Samuel Gardiner and Charles Firth's magisterial twenty-volume history, which does adopt this meticulous procedure, unfortunately ends with *The Last Years of the Protectorate 1656–1658* (1909).

It only became apparent to me very late in the preparation of this dissertation that it would not encompass everything my protagonists wrote in 1659. There are many many texts I have read and annotated that do not appear in this dissertation. That I was not able to proceed to the

significant batch of Vanist writings belatedly published in September—Stubbe's *A Defence of the Good Old Cause* and *Malice Rebuked*, Rogers' *Διαπολιτεία* and *M. Harrington's Parallel Unparallel'd*, and William Sprigge's *A Modest Plea, for an Equal Commonwealth, against Monarchy*—has skewed the dissertation too much towards hostile witnesses. Nonetheless, my analyses of the writings of Baxter, Prynne, and the Harringtonians, as well as *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane* and *A Light Shining out of Darknes*, have managed to acknowledge the contingent, occasional, and collaborative aspects of their production. Adopting an understanding of *sect* as social network or 'constellation' (à la Brod and Hessayon) has highlighted that all these writers wrote on behalf of groups or factions. Rogers' linking of Prynne, Baxter, and Harrington as the Vanists' chief adversaries poses the question—insufficiently noted by prior scholarship—about the possible connections between the groups for which they were spokespeople. Harrington's received status as an important political theorist obscures the fact that most of his writings were produced in response to the particular circumstances of 1659. They gain their shape chiefly as polemical engagements with writings by Vane, Rogers, and Stubbe. And it is worth emphasising (in case it has not come through in the prior discussion) that Vane's political settlement was the only one explicitly designed to prevent the revival of monarchy. It is (at the very least) suspicious that Harrington and his allies switched from attacking royalists to attacking Vane and his colleagues at the exact moment an enduring Commonwealth became a real possibility.

I want to offer a few proposals by way of conclusion. Vane's writings deserve a modern edition. Harrington has one. Neville has one. Even TheaurauJohn Tany has three! I imagine that this would comprise two volumes: one focused on his magnum opus, *The Retired Mans Meditations*, and the other gathering his shorter writings, including those still in manuscript.[394] It would include an introduction that would be most useful if it emphasised his interactions and theological intersections with contemporaneous Quakers, Behmenists, and Fifth Monarchists. Although this

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[394] Considered in e.g. Mohamed, 'Milton, Sir Henry Vane, and the Brief but Significant Life of Godly Republicanism'.

thesis has not managed to adequately convey it, Vane wrote much more about God and attitudes and practices designed to keep a person in touch with the Spirit than he did about politics. Indeed, his politics flowed from his mystical theology. I also think a study that takes seriously the influence of Frances Vane, Frances Sterry, Elizabeth Rogers, and other family members, on the predominating male figureheads is worth pursuing. A more comprehensive version of this thesis—if I had access to the requisite archives—would have commenced with such an investigation. Furthermore, John Rogers's writings are also deserving of more serious attention than they have hitherto received. J. G. A. Pocock's brisk dismissal of "the unhappy Rogers" as "incoherent" and "so confused a thinker" descends from Harrington via John Toland and the Tory satirist who republished Rogers' proposals for the nominated parliament of 1653 as *A Scheme of the Government of the Pretended Saints* (1712).[395] Even just the brief consideration of *A Vindication of Sir Henry Vane*—a fairly circumscribed work—I hope shows him to be a writer of curious resources. Nicholas McDowell notes Rogers' "preference for the 'jesting' method of Erasmian satire" and that "[he] reads the classical texts in which he had been educated in the same way that many radical prophets used Scripture, as an allegorical account of inner spiritual states."[396] There is more here to learn.

The Vanist sect is a construct created by Richard Baxter for specific polemical purposes. However, that construct represents a real group of people who worked together. They may have had different methods and aims—some compatible, some incompatible—but their contemporaries recognised them as connected. This allows someone like me, hundreds of years in the future, to read an awful lot and attempt to reconstruct the interactions between them. This dissertation is provisional because the outcome has not proved able to adequately demonstrate my thesis. The methodology employed by Hessayon and Brod—indebted to *Konstellationsforschung*—is an excellent tool for engaging with the sectarian milieu. Rather than impose artificial structures

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[395] Pocock, 'Editorial Introduction', *The Political Works of James Harrington*, 111; John Rogers, *A Scheme for the Government of Pretended Saints* (Richard Newcomb, 1712), cf. *To His Lord Generall Cromwell* (Robert Ibbitson, 1653).
[396] McDowell, *The English Radical Imagination*, 135, 188.

(including overarching narratives) upon the flux of human interactions, it allows significance to emerge from tracing what people did and said, day to day, week to week, month to month. It focuses on the production of texts as much as on their surface textures and illocutionary force. Having become attuned to this microscopic-like detail, when I return to studies—even good ones—that proceed via other methods, their tendency to advance atemporal claims makes me immediately sceptical. It does not work to leverage a claim from April 1659 to support what someone may or may not have been doing or thinking in January 1660. The circumstances were different. People change. Even a 'sect' is not a stable entity. Those who were members or adherents or participants in 1652 may not be the same people who were in 1659. Properly accomplishing the aims of this thesis would require targeted studies of multiple periods. I hope one day to do that.

Appendix: Biographies & Portraits

from the relevant entries in the *ODNB*

Baxter, Richard

b.1615, Rowton | d.1691, Charterhouse Square

Father an impoverished gentleman of Eaton Constantine, Shrewsbury. Educated at Wroxeter grammar school and then privately. Read extensively, particularly in the Scholastic theologians, but did not attend university. Struggled with severe illness. Ordained deacon at Worcester (1638), then assistant vicar at Bridgnorth, Shropshire (1639). Publicly nonconformist by 1640. Briefly lecturer in Kidderminster, Worcestershire (1641–1642). Preached to parliamentary soldiers and became army chaplain (1646–1647). Invited to vicarage at Kidderminster (1647–1660). Established the Worcestershire Voluntary Association of Ministers, soon spread to other counties (1652–1660). Involved in attempts to formulate plans for settlement of a comprehensive national church (1650s). Courted by royalists and preached to parliament in favour of Charles II but declined offer of bishopric of Hereford (1659–1660). Failed to secure toleration for nonconformists and ejected from Kidderminster (1660), preached around London (1660–1662). Married Margaret Charlton (1662), moved to Acton, Middlesex (1663), then Totteridge, Hertfordshire, (1669), no children. Briefly imprisoned for illegal preaching (1669). Attempts again at comprehensive national church (1670s). Licensed as a nonconformist preacher (1672–1673). Moved back to London, illegally preaching in various locations (1673–1675), fled to Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, to avoid arrest (1675). Returned to London and illegal preaching (1676–1676). Greatly grieved by death of Margaret Baxter (1681). Imprisoned (1682, 1684, 1685–1686). Moved to Charterhouse Yard, Finsbury, assisted Matthew Sylvester to minister at Rutland House, preached when health allowed. Often mocked for prolix writing and voluminous publishing.

Feake, Christopher

b. c.1611, ?London | d. c.1682, ?Dorking

Father a gentleman of Surrey. Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1628–1635, M.A.). Married Jane Man (c.1637), eight children (by 1653). Vicar of Elsham, Lincolnshire (c.1637), All Saints, Hertford (c.1646), then Christ Church, Newgate (1647). Lecturer at St Anne Blackfriars and All Hallows-the-Great, London (1647–1654). Leading preacher of Fifth Monarchist movement (c.1650). Preached to House of Commons (1652). Imprisoned and lost lectureships as "obnoxious" to the government (1654). Met Vane in prison (1656). Released and returned to vehement preaching against the government; imprisoned again (1657). Reputed in league with Vane (1659). Itinerant preaching to maintain Fifth Monarchy movement (c.1661–1663). Teacher in Dorking, Surrey (1662). Arrested but released on good-behaviour bond (1663). Licensed as Independent preacher (c.1672–1682).

Fox, George

b.1624, Fenny Drayton | d.1691, London

Father a weaver and parish churchwarden. No record of his education but learned to read (chiefly the Bible), writing indicates a learning difficulty. Apprenticed to a cobbler in Mancetter (c.1635–1643). Suffering from depression, wandered the midlands discussing his situation with various religious leaders, eventually broke with the church (1643–1646). Received a divine message that God "was now come to *Teach* his People himself". Started to preach this inherently anti-clerical and anti-scriptural message around the provinces, imprisoned several times, including for blasphemy (1650). Followers established the movement that hostile contemporaries dubbed Quakers due to the writhing and trembling that characterised their meetings (by 1652). Imprisoned in Launceston (1655). Challenge by group around James Nayler in London (1655–1656) led to creation of disciplinary structures (from 1657). Attempted cooperation with the revived Commonwealth government but suffering depression retreated to Reading (1659). Reconciled with Nayler but imprisoned for five months after return of Charles II (1660). Quakers issued so-called 'peace testimony' in the wake of Fifth Monarchist uprising (1661). Restoration parliaments enacted laws designed to suppress Quakers (1660s), Fox imprisoned (1664, 1666, 1673, 1675). Visited colonies in Barbados, Jamaica, Maryland, Carolina (1671–1673). Increased disciplinary controls after controversy with John Perrot (from 1666). Married Margaret Fell (1669), no children, divided time between London and Fell's residence at Swarthmore Hall. Further challenges and controversies led to the creation of greater disciplinary controls. Quakers tolerated under James II (1685). Fox's posthumously published *Journal* (1694) represents him as the sole leader, founder, and authoritative voice of the early Quakers.

Harrington, James

b.1611, Upton | d.1677, Little Ambry

Father a knight of Lincolnshire, descended from old aristocratic family. Attended Trinity College, Oxford, but left without a degree (1629), briefly registered at Inns of Court but did not become a lawyer. Travelled to Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, France, Italy, Venice, some diplomatic activity, and learned the languages (c.1631–1636). Seems to have retired into private study. Gentleman groom of the royal bedchamber, Charles I, some retrospective accounts have him attending the king on the scaffold (c.1647–1649). Charles' death prompted some kind of mental breakdown. Returned to live at family home in Rand, Lincolnshire, then moved to Little Ambry, Westminster (by 1656). Published *Oceana*, perhaps through assistance from Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of the Lord Protector (1656). Associated with republicans, former Levellers, and the MPs Henry Neville, Andrew Marvell, et al (by 1658). 'Harringtonian' faction in Richard Cromwell's first parliament (1659). Harrington's most prolific period of publishing occurred during the subsequent revival of the purged parliament (1659–1660). Formed the Rota club, drawing a diverse assortment to political debates (late 1659 into 1660). Ceased publishing after the Restoration but arrested and papers seized (1661), transferred to fort on St. Nicholas Island (1662). Severe deterioration of physical and mental health, addicted to guaiacum, released after petitioning from his sisters and the Earl of Bath. Married daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dayrell of Buckinghamshire (1675), no children. Little is known about his later life but was cared for by friends, including Neville.

Neville, Henry

b.1620, Billingbear | d.1694, ?London

Father a knight of Berkshire, old aristocratic family. Married Elizabeth Staverton (by 1633), no children, inherited her estate after she died young. Merton then University College, left without degree (c.1636–1641). European tour (1642–1644). Satires of women associated with parliamentary side popular (1647, 1650). MP for Abingdon, Berkshire, supported by second-cousin, Algernon Sidney, and Henry Marten (1649). Elected to Council of State (1651). After ejection of parliament (1653), banished from London as "obnoxious to Cromwell" (1654), returned under licence but reelection blocked, successfully sued the sheriff (1655, 1656). May have helped James Harrington write *Oceana* (1656). MP for Reading (1658–1659). Unsuccessfully charged with atheism and blasphemy, appointed to Council of State (1659). Prominent in Rota club (1659–1660). Retired to private life in Berkshire (from 1660), arrested on suspicion of involvement in Yorkshire rising (1663–1664). Moved to Italy (1664–1667). *Isle of Pines* (1668) international sensation (many translations). Living in London (from early 1670s). Possibly involved in clandestine political operations, publishing again (1669–1680).

Prynne, William

b.1600, Upper Swainswick | d.1669, London

Father a farmer from Somerset. Bath grammar school (1612–1615), Oriel College, Oxford (1616–1621, B.A.), then Lincoln's Inn (1621), called to the bar (1628). Never married. Twice found guilty of sedition, ears removed, nose slit, branded on cheeks (1633, 1637). A celebrity among those opposed to Archbishop Laud and his ecclesiastical reforms. Exiled to Channel Islands (1637–1640). Prolific and vituperative writer, especially against Catholics, bishops, playhouses, taverns, etc., also opposed Independents. MP for Newport, Cornwall (1648) but expelled as a royalist, briefly arrested (1648–1649). Agitated in favour of royalists, harrassed and arrested (1650s). Rewarded by Charles II appointment Keeper of Records (1660). Established reputation as eccentric antiquarian but remained controversial for his outspoken 'Puritan' opinions.

Rogers, John

b.1627, Messing | d. after 1671

Father vicar of Messing. School at Malden, took notes and memorised sermons, frightening religious visions throughout childhood, thought mad. Expelled from home due to Puritan leanings (1642). Lived in total poverty until offered place as teacher in St Neots, Huntingdonshire, also began preaching (c.1645). King's College, Cambridge (1642–1646, B.A.). Ordained as a Presbyterian minister (1647). Married Elizabeth, widowed daughter of Sir Robert Payne of Midloe, Huntingdonshire (c.1647), two children, John, Paul, Peter, Prisonborn. Rector of Purleigh, hired a curate and moved to London, Independent lecturer at St Thomas Apostle (1648). Commissioned by Council of State to preach in Ireland (1651). Returned to St. Thomas Apostle's, removed from rectorship of Purleigh (1652). Condemned for his use of Hebrew and extreme views—millenarian, anti-clerical, anti-lawyer (1653). Political proposals adopted for nominated parliament (1653). Fifth Monarchist opposed Protectorate (1654–1659). Imprisoned with other Fifth Monarchists (1654–1656). Met Sir Henry Vane in prison (1656), collaborated with him (1657–1659). Briefly army chaplain, then preacher at St. Julian's, Shrewsbury, then returned to Dublin (1659). Arrested (1660), left

to the Netherlands, studied medicine, Leiden and Utrecht (1660–1662, M. D.). Returned to England, incorporated at Oxford (M. D.). Reported still alive in November 1671. Son, John, wealthy through tobacco trade, MP for Plymouth, created Baronet of Wisdome, Devon (1699).

Sterry, Peter

b.1613, Southwark | d.1672, Bishopsgate

Father a cooper from Gloucestershire. Emmanuel College, Cambridge, studied under Benjamin Whichcote, and reputed among the first to publicly profess 'Platonism' at the university (1629–1639, M.A., Fellow). Chaplain to Robert Greville, Lord Brooke, possibly assisted with *The Nature of Truth* (1639–1643). Married Frances Asheworth (1641), children Frances, Joseph Lee, Peter, and Gratiana. Leading Independent, Westminster Assembly of Divines (1643–1653). Preacher at St. Margaret's (from 1645), to Council of State (from 1649), to parliament (from 1654). Committee of Triers (from 1654). Worked with Menasseh ben Israel on readmission of Jewish people to England (1656). Pardoned by Charles II (1660). Chaplain to Philip Sidney, Viscount Lisle (1661). Preached to private conventicles and cultivated 'Lovely Society' in Surrey. Followers produced three posthumous volumes (1675, 1683, 1710).

Stubbe, Henry

b.1632, Partney | d.1676, Bath

Possibly born out of wedlock. Father parish rector. Father ejected as 'Anabaptist', moved to Tredagh, Ireland (mid-1630s). After Irish rebellion moved to London with mother and sibling (1641). Attended Westminster school, headmaster recommended him to Sir Henry Vane, who thereafter sponsored his education (1642–1649). Noted for aptitude with Greek. Christ Church, Oxford (1649–1656, M.A.). Served with parliamentary army in Scotland (1653–1655). Appointed Underkeeper of the Bodleian Library through support of Vice-Chancellor, John Owen (1656–1659). Collaborated with Thomas Hobbes (1656–1659). Employed by Vane as propagandist (1659–1660). Ejected from Oxford (late 1659), was a member of the Rota club (late 1659 – early 1660), complained of in parliament (early 1660). Practiced medicine (from 1660), Royal Physician to Jamaica (1662–1664). Physician in Warwick, including to the Conways at Ragley Hall (1660s–1670s). Vociferous opponent of the Royal Society (late 1660s – early 1670s). Secretary of State, Earl of Arlington, employed him to produce propaganda for war with the Netherlands. Resumed medical practice (1674). Wrote groundbreaking historical account of Islam (c.1670s), which circulated in manuscript well into the eighteenth century but remained unpublished until 1911. Drowned in a shallow river while intoxicated.

Vane, Sir Henry

b.1613, Debden | d.1662, London

Father, greater gentry, a courtier of Charles I and MP. Westminster school (1620s), spiritual crisis (c.1628), a few months at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, left without degree (1630). Aide to ambassador to Vienna (1631). Return to England, nonconformist, emigrated to New England (1635). Governor of Massachusetts during the so-called 'Antinomian Controversy,' took the side of the antinomians and was replaced (1636–1637). Returned to England, father rehabilitated reputation, made joint Treasurer of the Navy (1639). MP for Hull (1640–1646), knighted (1640), married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray of Ashby, Lincolnshire (1640), children Frances, Henry, Edward, Albinia, Cecil, Cecil (again), Dorothy, Anna, Margaret, Thomas, Christopher, Elizabeth, Ralph, Katherine. Possibly influenced by wife's family toward more extreme political and religious opinions, crucial involvement in the execution of Charles I's favourite for treason and expulsion of bishops (1641). Active supporter of parliamentary side in first civil war but perceived as "timorous" for not assuming military command (1643–1644). Generally considered (even by enemies) as an excellent politician and persuasive speaker. Withdrew from parliament during Presbyterian ascendency (1645–1647). Commissioned to negotiate between parliament and army (1647–1648). Opposed the execution of Charles I, absented himself from parliament (1648). Persuaded by Cromwell to join Council of State (1649–1653). Collaborated with Roger Williams (founder of Rhode Island), John Milton (Secretary for Foreign Tongues), and various preachers and prophets against proposals for national church with Reformed doctrine and polity (1651–1653). Singled out by Cromwell when parliament ejected by military coup (1653). Retired to Belleau and then Raby Castle (from 1655), worshipped with family, friends, and others. Employed Henry Stubbe as tutor for Henry Jr. instead of sending him to school or university (c.1650s). Attempt to return to politics blocked by Cromwell, arrested for sedition (1656). Cultivated relationships with Quakers and Fifth Monarchists. Started political campaigning again (1658), returned as MP for Whitchuch (1659). Collaborated with other republican MPs and army to bring down the Protectorate and reinstitute Commonwealth parliament (1659). Parliament charged him with crimes and misdemeanours and banished him to his rural residences (early 1660). Excluded from indemnity under Charles II, refused to flee, arrested at London residence, imprisoned for two years on Scilly Isles (1660–1662). Beheaded for treason 14 June 1662.

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Richard Baxter
by Robert White (1673)
line engraving, 255 mm x 172 mm
National Portrait Gallery (NPG D29729)

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George Fox
attributed to Sir Peter Lely (17th cent.)
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Swarthmore College

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James Harrington
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William Prynne
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etching, 130 mm x 80 mm
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John Rogers
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Sir Henry Vane the Younger
by William Faithorne (1662)
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