

THE  
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS;

OR,

PROTESTANT NONCONFORMISTS;

FROM

THE REFORMATION IN 1517, TO THE REVOLUTION IN 1688;

COMPRISING

An Account of their Principles;

THEIR ATTEMPTS FOR A FARTHER REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH, THEIR SUFFERINGS, AND  
THE LIVES AND CHARACTERS OF THEIR MOST CONSIDERABLE DIVINES.

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A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES.

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WITH HIS LIFE OF THE AUTHOR AND ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

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## CHAPTER II.

### FROM THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II. IN SCOTLAND, TO THE PRO- TECTORSHIP OF OLIVER CROMWELL. 1651.

THE coronation of king Charles by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give life to their cause, was solemnised at Scone on New-year's-day 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumstances would admit;<sup>1</sup> when his majesty took the following oath: "I Charles, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself and successors shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the general assembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal word and assent to all acts of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." This oath was annexed to the covenant itself, drawn up on a fair roll of parchment, and subscribed by him in the presence of the nobility and gentry.<sup>2</sup>

His majesty also signed a declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door.<sup>3</sup> He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his commission to Montrose. He acknowledged his own sins, and the sins of his father's house, and says, he will account them his enemies who oppose the covenants, both which he had taken without any sinister intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhorrence of all Popery, superstition, idolatry, and prelacy, and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his

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<sup>1</sup> The ceremonial of this coronation is given at length by Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. IIL—124—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts, p. 391.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, vol. 1. p. 78. Edinb. edit.

great sin in making peace with the Irish rebels, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future rather to choose affliction than sin; and though he judges charitably of those who have acted against the covenant, yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the conclusion, his majesty confesses over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the state of the question was now altered, inasmuch as he had obtained mercy to be on God's side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our historians, who complain of the prevarication of Cromwell, would do well to find a parallel to this in all history; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath,<sup>4</sup> "By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein." Mr. Baxter admits,<sup>1</sup> that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young king to speak and publish that, which they might easily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart; but surely his majesty was no less to blame, to trample upon the most sacred bonds of religion and society. He complied with the rigours of the Scots discipline and worship: he heard many prayers and sermons of great length. "I remember (says bishop Burnet<sup>2</sup>) in one fast-day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in religion." And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from necessity, that they would suffer none of his old friends to come into his presence and councils, nor so much as to serve in the army.

While the Scots were raising forces for the king's service, a private correspondence was carried on with the English Presbyterians; letters were also written, and messengers sent, from London to the king and queen-mother in France, to hasten an accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English Presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Considerable sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated their designs. The principal gentlemen and ministers concerned in the correspondence, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the late wars; as major Adams, Alford, and

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<sup>1</sup> "It seemed to me and many others (says Mr. Baxter), that the Scots miscarried divers ways: 1. In imposing laws upon their king, for which they had no authority: 2. In forcing him to dishonour the memory of his father by such confessions: 3. In tempting him to speak and .publish that which they might easily know was contrary to his heart, and so to take God's name in vain: 4. And in giving Cromwell occasion to charge them all with dissimulation." Baxter's Life, p. 66—ED.

<sup>2</sup> P- 73.

Huntington; colonel Vaughan, Sowton, Titus, Jackson, Bains, Barton; captain Adams, Potter, Far, Massey, Starks; and Mr. Gibbons. The ministers were, Dr. Drake, Mr. Case, Watson, Heyrick, Jenkins, Jackson, Jacquel, Robinson, Cawton, Nalson, Haviland, Blackmore, and Mr. Love. These had their private assemblies at major Adams's, colonel Barton's, and at Mr. Love's house, and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had their spies in all places. Major Adams, being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the council of state. On his information warrants were issued out for apprehending most of the gentlemen and ministers above mentioned; but several absconded, and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended were, Dr. Drake, Mr. Jenkins, Jackson, Robinson, Watson, Blackmore, and Haviland, who after some time were released on their petition for mercy, and promising submission to the government for the future; but Mr. Love and Gibbons were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. Jenkins's petition being expressed in very strong terms,<sup>1</sup> was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, "The humble petition of William Jenkins, prisoner, declaring his unfeigned sorrow for all his late miscarriages, and promising to be true and faithful to the present government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and submission to the present powers."

The reverend Mr. Love was brought before a new high court of justice erected for this purpose, as was the custom of these times for state criminals, when Mr. Attorney-general Prideaux, June 20, exhibited against him the following charge of high-treason: "that at several times in the years 1649, 1650, and 1651, and in several places, he, with the persons above mentioned, had maliciously combined and contrived to raise forces against the present government—that they had declared and published Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, to be king of England, without consent of parliament—that they had aided the Scots to invade this commonwealth—that the said Christopher Love, at divers times between the 29th of March

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<sup>1</sup> The most remarkable positions in this petition were: That the parliament, without the king, were the supreme authority of the nation: that God's providences are antecedent declarations of his will and approbation; and appeared as evidently in removing the king and investing their honours with the government, as in taking away and bestowing any government in any history of any age of the world: that the refusal of subjection to their authority was such an opposing the government set up by the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth, as none can have peace either in acting or suffering for: and that it was a duty to yield to this authority all active and cheerful obedience, in the Lord, for conscience' sake. Dr. Grey's Remarks, vol. 3. p. 127.—ED.

1650, and the first of June 1651, at London and other places, had traitorously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with Charles Stuart, son of the late king, and with the queen his mother, and with sundry of his council—that he did likewise hold correspondence with divers of the Scots nation, and had assisted them with money, arms, and other supplies, in the present war, as well as colonel Titus and others of the English nation, in confederacy with them, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach of the laws of the land.”—

To this charge Mr. Love, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded Not guilty. The witnesses against him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. Jackson was summoned, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. Love to be a good man; saying, he should have a bell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak anything that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. Love’s life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the public, and that the very safety of all government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him £500.

But it appeared by the other witnesses, that Mr. Love had carried on a criminal correspondence both with the king and the Scots. With regard to the king it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty’s death, several of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the king’s agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over colonel Titus with £100 to defray his expenses. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by colonel Alsford, which were read in Mr. Love’s house; with the copy of a letter from the king himself, Mr. Love being present. Upon these and such-like facts, the council for the commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to restore the king, contrary to the ordinance of January 30, 1648, which says, “that whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, or any other person, to be king of England, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the pains of death as a traitor.”

The other branch of the charge against Mr. Love, was his correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, captain Potter, Adams, and Mr. Jacquel, swore, that letters came from Scotland to colonel Bamfield with the letter L upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots affairs for three months after till Christmas. There came also letters from the earl of Argyle, Lothian, and Loudon, who proposed the raising £10,000 to buy arms, and to hire shipping, in order to land five thousand men in England. The letters were read at Mr. Love’s house; but the proposal being disliked,

only £40. was raised for the expenses of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from general Massey, in which he desires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel Titus's necessities; upon which it was agreed to raise £200 or £300 by way of contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. Love, who not only contributed himself, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was construed, by the council for the commonwealth, sufficient to bring Mr. Love within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which says, "that if any shall procure, invite, aid, or assist, any foreigners or strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament, or commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England, all such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high-treason."

Mr. Love in his defence behaved with a little too much freedom and boldness; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their lives. He observed, that to several of the facts there was only one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things; which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meetings of the above-named persons at his house, that a commission was read, but that he had dissented from it. He acknowledged farther, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some part of them, "but I was ignorant (says he) of the danger that I now see I am in. The act of August 2, 1650, makes it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the two nations being at war; now here my counsel acquaints me with my danger, that I being present when letters were read in my house, am guilty of a concealment, and therefore as to that, I humbly lay myself at your feet and mercy."

And to move the court to show mercy to him, he endeavoured to set out his own character in the most favourable light: "I have been called a malignant and apostate (says he), but, God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest; I shall retain my covenanting principles, from which by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I could account it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament's quarrel, against the forces raised by the late king, not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty; and I am so far from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the

same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever; though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished.

“Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable; when I was a scholar in Oxford and M. A., I was the first who publicly refused to subscribe the canons imposed by the late archbishop, for which I was expelled the convocation-house. When I came first to London, which was about twelve years ago, I was opposed by the bishop of London, and it was about three years before I could obtain so much as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641, I was imprisoned in Newcastle, for preaching against the service-book, from whence I was removed hither by habeas corpus, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war between the late king and parliament, I was accused for preaching treason and rebellion, merely because I maintained, in a sermon, at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulness of a defensive war. I was again complained of by the commissioners at Uxbridge for preaching a sermon, which I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to the first copy, I will own every line of it. After all this I have been three times in trouble since the late change of government. Once I was committed to custody, and twice cited before the committee for plundered ministers, but for want of proof was discharged. And now last of all, this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept several weeks in close prison, and am now arraigned for my life, and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have done and suffered so much, and who have lift up their hands with me in the same covenant; and yet I am not conscious of any personal act proved against me, that brings me within any of your laws as to treason.

“Upon the whole, though I never wrote nor sent letters into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of the nation; and though I disown the commission and instructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their king, I have desired and prayed, as a private man, that they might accomplish their ends upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”

He concludes with beseeching the court, that he may not be put to death for state reasons. He owns he had been guilty of a concealment, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when Abiathar the priest had done an unjustifiable action, king Solomon said, he would not put him to death at that time, because he bore the ark of the Lord God before David his father; and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.—“Thus (says he) I commit myself and my all to God, and to your judgments and consciences, with the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel, ‘As for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth

good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.' But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak."

The court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of counsel learned in the law, to argue some exceptions against the indictment; but after all that Mr. Hales could say for the prisoner, the court, after six days' hearing, on the 5th of July pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor.

Great intercessions<sup>1</sup> were made for the life of this reverend person, by the chief of the Presbyterian party in London; his wife presented several moving petitions; and two were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment; and that he might do something to deserve his life, he presented with his last petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a crisis, and king Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the Presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. Whitelocke says,<sup>2</sup> that colonel Fortescue was sent to general Cromwell with a petition on behalf of Mr. Love, but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair; bishop Rennet and Mr. Echard say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the post-boy being stopped upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late king's army, they searched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love, they tore it with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been such a fire-brand at the treaty of Uxbridge.<sup>3</sup> If this story be true, Mr. Love fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from Cromwell in behalf of Mr. Love, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, August 22, the very day the king entered Worcester at the head of his Scots army. Mr. Love mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution, and taking off his hat two several times to the people, made a long speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and

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<sup>1</sup> Not only by his wife and friends, says Mr. Granger, but by several parishes in London, and by fifty-four ministers. *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 13, 8vo.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials*, p. 471.

<sup>3</sup> *Compl. Hist.* p. 202. Echard, p. 689.



then adds, “I am for a regulated, mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed in my place the forces of the late king, because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the king to death, whose person I did promise in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my judgment against the engagement; I pray God forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government; I die with my judgment against it. And lastly, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, that were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my happiness and their ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a Christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and (I speak it without vanity) of a martyr. —I conclude with the speech of the apostle: ‘I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand, but I have finished my course, I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness—and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ,’ through whose blood I expect salvation, and remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all.”

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himself and his fellow-sufferer Mr. Gibbon, for the prosperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland, and for a happy union between the two nations, making no mention of the king. He then rose from his knees, and having taken leave of the ministers, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Love was a zealous Presbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly esteemed by his brethren. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Manton, and published under the title of “The saints’ triumph over death;” but his memory has suffered very much by lord Clarendon’s character;<sup>2</sup> who represents him as guilty of as much “treason against

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Love was born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire: became a servitor of New-Inn, Oxford, 1635, aged seventeen. In 1642 he proceeded master of arts. He was, at the beginning of his ministry, preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of colonel John Venn, and was called by the royalists Venn’s principal fireman at Windsor. He was, afterward, successively minister of St. Ann’s near Aldersgate, and St. Lawrence-Jewry, in London. He was the author of sermons and some pieces of practical divinity, which gained him a considerable reputation. He was buried with great lamentation on the north side of the chancel of St. Lawrence-Jewry. Wood’s Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 71; and Granger’s History, vol. 3. p. 18, 8vo.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 3. p. 434.

the late king as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himself with the recital of it to the last, as dying with false courage, or (as he calls it) in a raving fit of satisfaction, for having pursued the ends of the sanctified obligation, the covenant, without praying for the king, any farther than he propagated the covenant.”

To return to more public affairs. “After the battle of Dunbar, general Cromwell, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was seized with an ague which hung upon him all the spring, but as the summer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the king’s at Stirling; but not thinking it advisable to attempt his camp, he transported part of his forces over the frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the north.”

While the general was employed in these parts, the Scots committee, that directed the marches of their army, fearing the storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the English Presbyterians; for this purpose colonel Massey was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, August 6, at the head of sixteen thousand men: but when the committee of ministers that attended the army, observed that the king and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the covenant, they sent an express to Massey without the king’s knowledge (says lord Clarendon<sup>1</sup>), requiring him to publish a declaration, to assure the people of their resolution to prosecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to Massey, forbidding him to publish the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve him; “but before this inhibition (says his lordship), the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from the houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the king well.” But his lordship is surely mistaken, for the king’s chief hopes under Massey were from the Presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his majesty’s declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the spirit he could wish for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aside, Massey’s measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his life in the quarrel.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Baxter,<sup>3</sup> who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordship, says, “the English knew that the Scots coming into England was rather a flight than a

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 3. p. 100. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Rapin, vol. 2. p. 585, folio.

<sup>3</sup> Life, p. 68.

march. They considered likewise, that the implacable cavaliers had made no preparation of the people's minds, by proposing any terms of a future reconciliation. That the prelatical divines were gone farther from the Presbyterians by Dr. Hammond's new way, than their predecessors; and that the cause they contended for being not concord but government, they had given the Presbyterian clergy and people no hopes of finding any abatement of their former burdens; and it is hard to persuade men to venture their lives in order to bring themselves into a prison or banishment." However, these were the true reasons, says Mr. Baxter, that no more came into the king at present; and had the Presbyterians observed them at the Restoration, they had made better terms for themselves than they did.

The parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of the king's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city; they raised the militia; they mustered the trained-bands, to the number of fourteen thousand; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near sixty thousand brave soldiers. Mr. Echard<sup>1</sup> represents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to escape out of the land; whereas, in reality, the unhappy king was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. General Cromwell sent an express to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the Presbyterians, who were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, that the reason of his not interposing between the enemy and England was, because he was resolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter. He desired the house to collect their forces together, and make the best stand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the same time he sent major-general Lambert with a strong body of horse to harass the king's forces, whilst himself with the body of the army, hastened after, leaving lieutenant-general Monk with a sufficient force to secure his conquests, and reduce the rest of the country, which he quickly accomplished. Bishop Burnet says,<sup>2</sup> there was an order and discipline among the English, and a face of gravity and piety, that amazed all people; most of them were Independents and Baptists, but all gifted men, and preached as they were moved, but never above once disturbed the public worship.

The earl of Derby was the only nobleman in England who raised fifteen hundred men for the young king, who before he could join the royal army, was defeated by colonel Lilburn, near Wigan in Lancashire, and his forces entirely dispersed, the earl being wounded retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from thence

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<sup>1</sup> P. 689.

<sup>2</sup> P. 80.

his majesty sent letters to London, commanding all his subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his royal standard; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the king's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His majesty's affairs were now at a crisis. Lambert was in his rear with a great body of horse, and Cromwell followed with ten thousand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thousand men. The king, being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. September 3, Cromwell attacked Powick-bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occasioned a general battle, in which his majesty's army was entirely destroyed; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the king's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cause. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part, and in the end became an absolute victory, the enemy's army being totally defeated, and the town in our possession, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets, took all their baggage and artillery. The dispute was long and very often at push of pike from one defence to another. There are about six or seven thousand prisoners, among whom are many officers and persons of quality. This, for aught I know, may be a crowning mercy." All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the king; it was declared high-treason to conceal him, and a reward of £1000 was set upon his head; but Providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage across the channel at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy, October 21, the morning after he embarked; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her small pension<sup>1</sup> from the court of France.

The hopes of the royalists were now expiring, for the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British plantations in America, were reduced this summer to the obedience of the parliament, insomuch that his majesty had neither fort nor castle nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it be-

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<sup>1</sup> This must be understood only of the king's first arrival: for her pension was so small and so ill paid, that when cardinal de Retz visited her on a time in the month of January, the princess Henrietta could not rise for want of a fire. When her son arrived, she had not money enough to buy him a change of linen for the next day. The French court was obliged to provide for his necessities, and settled on him a pension of six thousand livres per month. Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 134, 135. Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 441.—En.

ing forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the queen regent to shut up the chapel, it being the king's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic in any of his houses; nor could chancellor Hyde obtain more than a bare promise, that the queen of England would use her endeavours, that the Protestants of the family should have liberty to exercise their devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the king's arrival in France he immediately threw off the mask of a Presbyterian, and never went once to the Protestant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but lord Clarendon dissuaded him, because the Huguenots had not been hearty in his interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the old church of England. In truth, there being no farther prospect of the king's restoration by the Presbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman Catholics, and many of his majesty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legeuda Lignea*, published about this time, with a list of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals: the countess of Derby, lady Kilmichin, Lord Cottington, sir Marm. Langdale, sir Fr. Doddington, sir Theoph. Gilby, captain Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, D. D., De Cressy, prebendary of Windsor, Dr. Bayley, Dr. Cosins, junior, D. Goffe, and many others, not to mention the king himself, of whom father Huddleston his confessor writes in his treatise, entitled, "A short and plain Way to the Faith of the Church," published 1685, that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his majesty had read it, he declared he could not see how it could be answered.<sup>1</sup> Thus early, says a learned prelate of the church of England, was the king's advance towards Popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller demonstration hereafter.<sup>2</sup>

General Monk, whom Cromwell left in Scotland with six thousand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was soon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the several counties consenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or house of lords.<sup>3</sup> The power of the kirk was likewise restrained within a narrow compass; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not seize their estates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the ministers of the established kirk, so others not satisfied with

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<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, vol. 3. p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> Rennet, p. 200. 210. Rapin, vol. 2. p. 580, folio.

<sup>3</sup> Whitelocke, p. 498. 503, 504.

their form of church-government had liberty to serve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their several persuasions. This occasioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loss of their covenant, and church-discipline; and exclaimed against the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and heresy; but the English supported their friends against all opposition.

The laird of Drum, being threatened with excommunication for speaking against the kirk, and for refusing to swear that its discipline was of divine authority, fled to the English for protection, and then wrote the assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late bishops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the consciences of men any longer. The presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but Monk brandished his sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the state, upon which they desisted for the present.<sup>1</sup> Soon after this, commissioners, chiefly of the Independent persuasion, were sent into Scotland, to visit the universities, and to settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom, against the coercive claim of the kirk, by whose influence, a declaration was presented to the assembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favour of the congregational discipline, and for liberty of conscience; but the stubborn assembly-men, instead of yielding to the declaration, published a paper called a "Testimony against the present encroachments of the civil power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction," occasioned by a proclamation of the English commissioners appointing a committee for visiting their universities, which they take to be a special flower of the kirk-prerogative. The synod of Fife also protested against the public resolutions of the civil power; but the sword of the English kept them in awe; for when the synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. Whitelocke says,<sup>2</sup> that upon the day of appearance, their wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church where the synod sat; that they abused one of the ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and dispersed the assembly; upon which thirteen of the ministers met at a village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more synods should be held in that place, they pronounced the village accursed. When the general assembly met again at Edinburgh next summer, and were just entering upon business, lieutenant-colonel Cotterel went into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, told them that no ecclesiastical

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<sup>1</sup> Whitelocke, p. 500. 505. 515.

<sup>2</sup> P. 511, 512.

judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the west gate of the city with a troop of horse and a company of foot; and having taken away the commissioners from their several classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

But with all these commotions, bishop Burnet observes,<sup>1</sup> that the country was kept in great order; the garrisons in the highlands observed an exact discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the time of the usurpation in a flourishing condition; justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished; there was a great appearance of devotion; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent public-houses; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, insomuch that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament published an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Irish rebels, the murderers of Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before February 1, 1652. In the course of the year they chose a new council of state out of their own body for the next year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of September lieutenant-general Ireton died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a person of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprises, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any arguments or persuasions. He was a thorough commonwealth's man. Bishop Burnet says, he had the principles and temper of a Cassius,<sup>2</sup> and was most liberal in employing his purse and hazarding his person in the service of the public. He died in the midst of life, of a burning fever,<sup>3</sup> after ten days' sickness. His body being brought over into

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<sup>1</sup> History, vol. 1. p. 84, Edin, edition.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Clarendon ascribes the death of Ireton to the infection of the plague, which was gotten into his army. He was of Trinity-college in Oxford, and on leaving the university he studied at the Middle-Temple. He and Lambert distinguished themselves at the battle of Naseby, and were both concerned in drawing up the remonstrance of the army to the parliament. Ireton had the greatest hand in preparing the ordinance for the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the high court of justice, in which he sat as a judge. His authority was so great, that he was entirely submitted to in all the civil as well as martial affairs: though his parts were considered by some as more fitted for modelling a government, than

England was laid in state at Somerset-house, and buried in Westminster-abbey with a pomp and magnificence suited to the dignity of his station; but after the Restoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with Cromwell's, and buried under the gallows.

About the same time died Mr. Francis Woodcock, born in Chester 1613, and educated in Brazen-nose-college, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of the civil wars he sided with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. Lawrence-Jewry. He was afterward, by ordinance of parliament dated July 10, 1646, made parson of St. Olave's, Southwark; having the esteem of being a good scholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midst of his days and usefulness, *ætatis* thirty-eight.

Mr. George Walker proceeded B. D. in St. John's college, Cambridge. He was famous for his skill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent logician and theologian; being very much noted for his disputations with the Jesuit Fisher, and others of the Romish church; and afterward for his strict Sabbatarian principles. He was a member of the assembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. Thomas Wilson was born in Cumberland 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was first minister of Capel in Surrey, and after several other removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports, and not absolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. In 1643, he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, at Westminster, being reputed a good linguist, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robust constitution, and took vast pains in preaching and catechising; he had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every respect a cheerful and active Christian, but he trespassed too much upon his constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and cheerfully towards the end of the year 1651. Sir Edward Deering gave

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for the conduct of an army. The Oxford historian describes him as of a turbulent and saucy disposition, nurtured to mischief, and a profound thorough-paced dissembler under the mask of religion. His corpse was carried from the ship, in which it was brought to Bristol, in a hearse of velvet, attended by the mayor, aidemen, and council, in their formalities, and the governor and officers to the castle: from whence it was removed to London with great pomp. The parliament settled on his widow and children £2000 per ann. out of the lands belonging to George, duke of Bucks. His daughter, who married Thomas Bendish, esq. of Gray's-Inn, was a most singular character, and bore a greater resemblance, in countenance and dispositions, to her grandfather, Oliver Cromwell, than did any of his descendants. A curious sketch of her character, drawn by the Rev. Samuel Say, is preserved in the second volume of "Letters" published by Mr. Duncombe. Dr. Grey, vol. 3. p. 141, &c. Lord Clarendon's History, vol. 3. p. 407. Wood's Athen. Oxon. p. 81, 82. Whitelocke's Mem. p. 491. 494; and Granger's History, vol. 2. p. 259, and vol. 3. p. 10, 17.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Athen. Oxon. vol. 2. p. 81, 82.



him this character in the house of commons; “Mr. Wilson is as orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preaching, as any we have, and of an unblemished life.”

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the engagement, so that many episcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near it as they pleased. Many episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government; nor would they have been denied an open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politics.

The parliament having voted, in the year 1649, that tithes should be taken away as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, several petitions came out of the country, praying the house to bring this affair to an issue: one advised, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the parish engaged to pay the minister. This was suspected to come from the sectaries, and awakened the fears of the established clergy. Mr. Baxter printed the Worcester petition on the behalf of the ministers,<sup>1</sup> which was presented to the house by colonel Bridges and Mr. Foley; and Mr. Boreman, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, published “The countryman’s catechism, or the church’s plea for tithes,” dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons, of the realm; in which he insists upon their divine right. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. Selden, that tithes were abolished with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to satisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropped for the present.

Upon complaint of the expense and tediousness of lawsuits, it was moved in the house, that courts of justice might be settled in every county, and maintained at the public charge; and that all controversies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking anything more than their settled fees. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to consider of the inconveniences and delays of lawsuits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to several resolutions upon this head; but the dissolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection.

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<sup>1</sup> Baxter’s Life, p. 115.

An act had passed in the year 1649, for propagating the gospel in Wales; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which, Mr. Whitelocke writes,<sup>1</sup> “that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market-town there was placed one, and in most great towns two schoolmasters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to schoolmasters; and the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy:” of which we shall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flourishing a condition, says Mr. Rapin,<sup>2</sup> as under queen Elizabeth. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without consent of the people, the majority of whom were disaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an absolute commonwealth; but the administration was in the hands of the ablest men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner subdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth; but still there were two things that gave them uneasiness; one was, the growing power of the army, who were now at leisure, and expected rewards suitable to their successes: the other, the necessity they were under to dissolve themselves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was resolved to reduce the landforces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to secure the nation against the Dutch; for the parliament having a desire to strengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, sent over Oliver St. John, and sir Walter Strickland, with proposals for this purpose; but the Dutch treated them with neglect,<sup>3</sup> as their younger sister, which the parliament resenting, demanded satisfaction for the damages the English had sustained at Am-

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 2. p. 586, folio edition.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Grey, evidently with a view to controvert Mr. Neal’s representation, as well as from prejudice against these ambassadors and the power from whom they received their commission, says, “the states of Holland treated them with much more regard and civility than was due to them:” and gives, as proofs of this, two of their own letters, in his Appendix, No. 50 and 51. But all which these letters prove is, that the first reception given to these gentlemen was both respectful and pompous. Mr. Neal is to be understood of the attention paid to their proposals: with respect to which the conduct of the Dutch was cold and evasive. And even the persons of the ambassadors did not escape insults, which the States did not properly resent. Mr. Strickland’s life was threatened. A plot was formed to assassinate Mr. St. John: and an affront was offered to him by prince Edward, one of the palatinate, as he was passing the streets. Mrs. Macaulay’s History, vol. 5. p. 83, 84, note; and Ludlow’s Memoirs, 4to. 1771, p. 148—ED.

boyna, and other parts of the East-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, passed the famous act of navigation, prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but English bottoms; or such as were of the country from whence they came. Upon this the Dutch sent over ambassadors, desiring a clause of exception for themselves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. Dorislaus. Both commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and Van Trump the Dutch admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting admiral Blake in the channel, and refusing him the flag, an engagement ensued May 17, which continued four hours till the night parted them. The Dutch excused the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the fleet out of the land-forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burden to the nation.

Cromwell, who was at the head of the army, quickly discovered that the continuance of the war must be his ruin, by disarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Besides, Mr. Rapin observes, that he had secret information of a conspiracy against his life; and without all question, if the army had not agreed to stand by their general, his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not suffer their men to be disbanded or sent to sea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpose they presented a petition to the house, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft language, and encouragement to hope for some suitable rewards for their past services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in affairs of state that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as resolute as their masters, instead of submitting, presented another petition, in which, having justified their behaviour, they boldly strike at the parliament's continuance, and put them in mind how many years they had sat; that they had engrossed all preferments and places of profit to themselves and their friends; that it was a manifest injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the service of their country, and an invasion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent choosing new representatives; they therefore insist upon their settling a new council of state for the administration of public affairs; and upon their fixing a preperatory day for the choice of a new parliament.

This was a new and delicate crisis; the civil and military powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their respective pretensions: if Cromwell, with the sword in his hand, had secured the election of a free representative of the people, and left the settlement of the nation to them, all men would have honoured and blessed him, for the people were

certainly weary of the parliament. But when the officers had destroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to establish, whether a monarchy, or a new republic; the general, being for a mixed monarchy, had, no doubt, some ambitious views to himself, and therefore called together some select friends of several professions to advise on the affair, when sir Thomas Widdrington, lord-chief-justice St. John, and the rest of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as most agreeable to the old constitution, and proposed the duke of Gloucester for king; but the officers of the army then present declared for a republic. Cromwell himself, after much hesitation, gave his opinion for something of a monarchical power, as most agreeable to the genius of the English, if it might be accomplished with safety to their rights and privileges as Englishmen and Christians.

Some time after, Cromwell desired Mr. Whitelocke's opinion upon the present situation of affairs: "My lord (says he), it is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we have gained an entire conquest over the enemy." Whitelocke replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." Cromwell answered, "that the officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honour and trust among themselves; that they delayed the public business, and designed to perpetuate themselves; that the officers thought it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power to which they might be accountable." Whitelocke said, "he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed the public good, though some particular persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers who were private men, and had received their commissions from the parliament, to pretend to control them." "But (says Cromwell) what if a man should take upon him to be king?" Whitelocke answered, "that the remedy was worse than the disease; and that the general had already all the power of a king without the envy, danger, and pomp, of the title." "But (says he) the title of king would make all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could not control." Whitelocke agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider, "whether the title of king would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well as those gentlemen who were for settling a free commonwealth; but if we must have a king (says he), the question will be, whether it shall be Cromwell or Stuart?"<sup>1</sup> The general asking his opinion upon this, Whitelocke proposed a private treaty with the king of the Scots, with whom he might make

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<sup>1</sup> Whitelocke, p. 523, &c.

his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but Cromwell was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversation with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of Whitelocke with confidence afterward.

Thus things remained<sup>1</sup> throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; one would not disband without their full pay; nor the other dissolve by the direction of their own servants, but voted the expediency of filling up their numbers, and that it should be high-treason to petition for their dissolution. When the general heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that it was not fit the parliament should continue any longer. This was published in hopes of frightening the house to make some advances towards a dissolution; but when colonel Ingoldsby informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small retinue of officers and soldiers marched to the parliament-house April 20, and having placed his men without doors, went into the house, and heard the debates. After some time he beckoned to colonel Harrison, on the other side of the house, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. Harrison replied, that the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, This is the time, I must do it; and, rising up in his place, he told the house, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made so ill a use; that some of them were whoremasters, looking towards Harry Martin and sir Peter Wentworth; others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, who had not at heart the public good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I say you are no parliament;" and, stamping with his foot, a file of musketeers entered the house; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major Harri-

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<sup>1</sup> Here may be inserted, from Whitelocke, two anecdotes, which afford a pleasing specimen of the temper of the Quakers under ill-treatment. February 3, 1653, they were assaulted and beaten by some people in the north. February 13, 1654, a similar outrage was offered to others of them, at Hasington in Northumberland, for speaking to the ministers on the sabbath-day: so that one or two of them were almost killed. The Quakers fell on their knees and prayed to God to forgive the people, as those who knew not what they did; and remonstrated with them so as to convince them of the evil of their conduct, on which they ceased from their violence, and began to reproach each other with being the occasions of it: and, in the last instance, beat one another more than they had before the Quakers. Memorials, p. 564. 599.—ED.

son taking the speaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. Cromwell then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the house; and having caused the doors to be locked upon them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the council of state, attended by major-general Lambert and Harrison, and as he entered the room, said, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice the parliament is dissolved." Serjeant Bradshaw replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, but you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved, for no power can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which, though no better than a usurpation, had raised the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long-parliament for the present; an assembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes:<sup>1</sup> "the acts of this parliament (says Mr. Coke<sup>2</sup>) will hardly find belief in future ages; and to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour or importunity: you hardly ever heard of any revolt from them; no soldiers or seamen being ever pressed. And as they excelled in civil affairs, so it must be confessed, they exercised in matters ecclesiastical no such severities as others before them did upon such as dissented from them."

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed assembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a vote to put the late king to death—they subverted the constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their sessions after his majesty's demise—by erecting high courts of justice of their own nomination for capital offences—by raising taxes, and doing all other acts of sovereignty without consent of the people; all which

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Macaulay, after quoting the high eulogiums made on the government of this parliament, adds, "It is to be remembered, that to them is due the singular praise of having pursued the true interest of their country in attending particularly to its maritime strength, and carrying on its foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which raised England to so great a height of glory and prosperity, has never yet been followed, and in all probability never will, by the succeeding monarchs. The aim of princes is to make conquests on their subjects, not to enlarge the empire of a free people. A standing army is a never-failing instrument of domestic triumph; and it is very doubtful, whether a naval force could be rendered useful in any capacity but that of extending the power and prosperity of the country." *Hist. of England*, vol. 5. p. 106, note, 8vo.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Detect*, p. 363.

they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any superior, or giving place to a new body of representatives. If then it be inquired, what right or authority general Cromwell and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every Englishman has to put an end to a usurpation when it is in his power, provided he can substitute something better in its room; and if Cromwell could by this method have restored the constitution, and referred the settlement of the government to a free and full representative of the people, no wise man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people; and yet Mr. Rapin<sup>1</sup> is of opinion, that even this was impracticable, there being three opposite interests in the nation; the republicans, who were for an absolute commonwealth; the Presbyterians, who were for restoring things to the condition they were in in 1648; and the cavaliers, who were for setting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars; it was by no means possible (says he<sup>2</sup>) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let loose they would have destroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confusion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible superiority to one, was capable to hold the other two in subjection. The king was no way interested in the change, for it was not Charles Stuart, but a republican usurpation, that was dispossessed of the supreme power. If the general had failed in his design, and lost his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing then it was not practicable to choose a free parliament, nor fit to let the old one perpetuate themselves, Oliver Cromwell had no other choice, but to abandon the state, or to take the administration upon himself; or put it into the hands of some other person who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the public good in the choice, must be left to the judgment of every reader; but if it was necessary that there should be a supreme authority, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general Cromwell was more capable of governing the state in such a storm than any man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more justice have been urged against any other single person, or body of men in the nation, except the right heir. However, all the three parties, of cavaliers, Presbyterians, and republicans, were displeased with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2. p. 289, folio edition.

<sup>2</sup> Rapin, p. 149.

conspiracies against his person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present crisis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently dispersed, the sovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which Cromwell was head, who published a declaration, justifying his dissolution of the late parliament, and promising to put the administration into the hands of persons, of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, April 30, another declaration was published, signed by Oliver Cromwell, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of state to take care of the government, till a new representative body of men could be called together; and June 8, the general, by the advice of his council, sent the following summons to one hundred and forty select persons, out of the several counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the nation: "I Oliver Cromwell, captain-general, &c. do hereby summons and require you — being one of the persons nominated by myself, with the advice of my council, personally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth of July next ensuing the date hereof, to take upon you the trust of the affairs of the commonwealth; to which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the county of —; and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand this eighth of June 1653.

"O. CROMWELL."

These were high acts of sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of extreme necessity. The dissolution of the long-parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addresses from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct, and promising to stand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himself, and thirty officers, to choose representatives for the whole nation, without interesting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other circumstances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the general, after a short speech, delivered them an instrument in parchment under his hand and seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to November 3, 1654, and empowering them, three months before their dissolution, to make choice of others to succeed them for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says Whitelocke,<sup>1</sup> that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, p. 534.



and estate,<sup>1</sup> should accept of the supreme authority of the nation, upon such a summons, and from such hands. Most of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the little parliament; and by others, Barebones<sup>2</sup> parliament, from a leather-seller of that name, who was one of the most active members. When the general was withdrawn, they chose Mr. Rouse, an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their speaker, and then voted themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Mr. Baxter<sup>3</sup> places them in a contemptible light, and says, “they intended to eject all the parish-ministers, and to encourage the gathering Independent churches; that they cast out all the ministers in Wales, which, though bad enough for the most part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants they set up in their room; and that they attempted, and had almost accomplished, the same in England.” But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grey, after lord Clarendon and others, and Mr. Hume since them, have spoken in severe and contemptuous terms of this assembly and their proceedings. “The major part of them (says his lordship) consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest name, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching.” But many of Cromwell's after-councillors, many of the chief officers of the army, were in this assembly. They were treated as the supreme authority of the nation by sovereign princes, and had the most humble applications made to them by the chief cavaliers, as by the earls of Worcester, Derby and Shrewsbury, lord Mansfield and the countess of Derby: and they were, during their short session, employed about points of the highest national concernment; such as, abolishing the court of chancery on account of its expensiveness and delays, the forming a new body of the law, the union of Scotland with England, the regulation of marriages, and the investing the solemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magistrate, with other matters of moment. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 335—337.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> There were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his name, viz. “Praise God, Barebone; Christ came into the world to save Barebone; and, if Christ had not died thou hadst been damned, Barebone.” In this style were the Christian names of very many persons formed in the times of the civil wars. It was said, that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of Matthew. A jury was returned in the county of Sussex .of the following names:

<i>Accepted</i> , Trevor of Norsham.	<i>Return</i> , Spelman of Watling.
<i>Redeemed</i> , Compton of Battle.	<i>Be Faithful</i> , Joyner of Britling.
<i>Faint not</i> , Hewet of Heathfield.	<i>Fly Debate</i> , Robert of ditto.
<i>Make-peace</i> , Heaton of Hare.	<i>Fight the good Fight of Faith</i> ; White of
<i>God-reward</i> , Smart of Fivehurst.	Emer.
<i>Stand fast on high</i> , Stringer of Crow-	<i>More Fruit</i> , Fowler of East-Hadley.
lmrst.	<i>Hope for</i> , Bending of ditto.
<i>Earth</i> , Adams of Warbleton.	<i>Graceful</i> , Ilarding of Lewes.
<i>Called</i> , Lower of ditto.	<i>Veep not</i> , Billings, ditto,
<i>Kill Sin</i> , Pimple of Witham.	<i>Meek</i> , Brewer of Okeham.

Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. p. 68, 8vo. note: and Dr. Grey, p. 286, 287, note. Mr. Hume has also given this list of the Sussex jury. But the ridicule, which falls on this mode of naming children, belongs not to these times only: for the practice was in use long before. Harris's *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 342, the note.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> P. 70. 180.

London petitioned, that more learned and approved ministers might be sent into the country to preach the gospel; that their settled maintenance by law might be confirmed; and their just properties preserved; and that the universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that house; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commissioners should be sent into the several counties, who should have power to eject scandalous ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worship. That such as were approved for public ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any scrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring justices of peace should settle the value, which the owner of the land should be obliged to pay; but as for the tithes themselves, they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropiators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied.

July 23, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the gospel; that is (says bishop Kennet), to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order; or, in other language, the penal laws. This was done at the instance of the Independents, who petitioned for protection against the presbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their imposing hardships on one another.

Mr. Echard, and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaic laws of government in their place; and that all schools of learning, and titles of honour, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the Christian simplicity. But no such proposals were made to the house, and therefore it is unjust to lay them to their charge.

The solemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the clergy; but this convention considered it a civil contract, and put it into the hands of justices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts, “that after the 29th of September, 1653, all persons who shall agree to be married within the commonwealth of England, shall deliver in their names and places of abode, with the names of their parents, guardians, and overseers, to the registrar of the parish where each party lives, who shall publish the banns in the church or chapel three several Lord’s days, after the morning service; or else in the market-place three several weeks successively, between the hours of eleven and two, on a marketday, if the party desire it. The registrar shall make out a certificate of the due performance of one or the other, at

the request of the parties concerned, without which they shall not proceed to marriage.

“It is farther enacted, that all persons intending to marry shall come before some justice of peace within the county, city, or town corporate, where publication has been made, as aforesaid, with their certificate, and with sufficient proof of the consent of the parents, if either party be under age, and then the marriage shall proceed in this manner:

“The man to be married shall take the woman by the hand, and distinctly pronounce these words, I, A. B. do here in the presence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, take thee, C. D. for my wedded wife; and do also, in the presence of God, and before those witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving and faithful husband.

“Then the woman taking the man by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words, I, C. D. do here in the presence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, take thee, A. B. for my wedded husband; and do also in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

“After this, the justice may and shall declare the said man and woman to be from henceforth husband and wife; and from and after such consent so expressed, and such declaration made of the same (as to the form of marriage), it shall be good and effectual in law; and no other marriage whatsoever, within the commonwealth of England, after the 29th of September, 1653, shall be held or accounted a marriage, according to the law of England.”

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector’s parliament in the year 1656, except the clause, “that no other marriage whatsoever within the commonwealth of England shall be held or accounted a legal marriage;” and it was wisely done of the parliament at the Restoration, to confirm these marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious lawsuits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little significance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the several parties too stubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wisely resigned, and surrendered back their sovereignty into the same hands that gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve days.

The general and his officers finding themselves reinvested with the supreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to strike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large instrument of forty-two articles, entitled, “The government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.” It appoints the government to be in a single person;—that the single person be the general Oliver Cromwell, whose style and title should be his highness, lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and

Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging—that the lord-protector should have a council, consisting of no more than twenty-one persons, nor less than thirteen, to assist him in the administration. A parliament was to be chosen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longest, and not to be dissolved without their consent in less than five months. It was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof sixty were to make a house. The counties of England and Wales were to choose two hundred and thirty-nine; the other elections to be distributed among the chief cities and market-towns, without regard to ancient custom. The county of Dorset was to choose eleven members; Cornwall eight; Bedfordshire five; the several ridings of Yorkshire fourteen; Middlesex four; the city of London six; Westminster two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of representatives to be chosen by them one hundred and sixty.—If the protector refused to issue out writs, the commissioners of the great seal, or the high sheriff of the county was to do it under pain of treason—none to have votes but such as were worth £200. This regulation, being wisely proportioned, met with universal approbation. Lord Clarendon says, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, &c. if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be supplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—such bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not signed in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this instrument.—In the present crisis, the protector and his council might publish ordinances which should have force till the first sessions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except treason and murder; the militia was intrusted with him and his council, except during the sessions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the protector had almost all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorship was to be elective, and no protector after the present to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were these:

Art. 35. “That the Christian religion contained in the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations, and that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue.

Art. 36. “That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation.

Art. 37. "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts: provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or prelacy, or to such as under a profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness.

Art. 38. "That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses, in any law, statute, or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

The protector was installed with great magnificence, December 16, 1653, in the court of chancery, by order of the council of officers, in presence of the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers, who were summoned to attend on this occasion. Oliver Cromwell, standing uncovered on the left hand of a chair of state set for him, first subscribed the instrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath:

"Whereas the major part of the last parliament (judging that their sitting any longer as then constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did dissolve the same; and by a writing under their hands, dated the 12th of this instant December, resigned to me their powers and authorities. And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations upon such a basis and foundation, as, by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty so long contended for; and upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may answer the ends afore-mentioned; and having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations in the manner expressed in the said form of government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly; and do promise, in the presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but to my power observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."

After this he sat down in the chair of state covered, and the commissioners delivered him the great seal, and the lord-mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremo-

ny being over, the soldiers, with a shout, cried out, "God bless the lord-protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." In their return to Whitehall the lord-mayor carried the sword before his highness uncovered, and presently after he was proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the British dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by surprising management, supported only by the sword, advance himself to the supreme government of three kingdoms without consent of parliament or people. His birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by disbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themselves: which of the two usurpations was most eligible must be left with the reader; but how he brought the officers into his measures, and supported his sovereignty by an army of enthusiasts, Anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all posterity; and though by this adventurous act he drew upon himself the plots and conspiracies of the several factions in the nation, yet his genius and resolution surmounted all difficulties, his short empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the British isles, and of terror to the rest of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new instrument of government, and will necessarily observe, that it was a creature of Cromwell's and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper representative of the people. How far the present circumstances of the nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the clergy who were for church-power; the Presbyterians preached and wrote against the 36th and 37th articles, as inconsistent with their establishment, and sinking it almost to a level with their sectaries. The republicans were dissatisfied because the engagement, by which they had sworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords, was set aside. Bishop Kennet is angry with the protector's latitude, because there was no test or barrier to the establishment. "How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer the pretence of Cromwell and his officers (says his lordship), appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the commonwealth, which was the magna charta of the new constitution, there is not a word of churches or ministers, nor anything but the Christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth." Strange, that this should displease a Christian bishop! But his lordship should have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to such as injured the civil rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the public peace. And do the Scriptures

authorize us to go farther? The sixth article provides, “that the laws in being relating to the Presbyterian religion were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated, or repealed; nor any new law made, but by consent of parliament.” The 36th adds, “that until a better provision can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.” And triers were appointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned persons invading the pulpit. This part of the instrument is, in my opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting Popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of manners, upon a level. The open toleration of Popery is hardly consistent with the safety of a Protestant government; otherwise, considered merely as a religious institution, I see not why it should be crushed by the civil power: and licentiousness of manners is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if the Episcopalians would have given security for their living peaceably under their new masters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected; however, the protector did not in every instance adhere strictly to the instrument.

But though in point of policy the Episcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their assemblies were connived at; and several of their clergy indulged the public exercise of their ministry without the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, or engagements; as Dr. Hall, afterward bishop of Chester, Dr. Wild, Pearson, Ball, Hardy, Griffith, Farrington and others. Several of the bishops, who had been kept from public service by the covenant and engagement, preached again publicly in the city, as archbishop Usher, bishop Brownrigge, and others. Mr. Baxter, who was very far from being a friend of the protector, says, “that all men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under his government—that he removed the terrors and prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known that the Presbyterians did not approve of the usurpation, but when they saw that Cromwell’s design was to do good in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cause would admit, they acquiesced.” And then comparing these times with those after the Restoration, he adds, “I shall for the future think that land happy, where the people have but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, I shall not hereafter much fear such a toleration, nor despair

that truth will bear down its adversaries.”<sup>1</sup> This was a considerable testimony to the protector’s administration, from the pen of an adversary.

The protector’s first council were, major-general Lambert, lieutenant-general Fleetwood, colonel Montague, afterward earl of Sandwich; Philip lord viscount Lisle, since earl of Leicester; colonel Desborough, sir Gilbert Pickering, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward earl of Shaftsbury; sir Charles Woolsley, major-general Skippon, Mr. Strictland, colonel Sydenham, colonel Jones, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Lawrence, and Mr. Major: men of great name in those times; some of whom made a considerable figure after the Restoration. The protector’s wise conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties easy. He indulged the army in their enthusiastic raptures, and sometimes joined in their prayers and sermons. He countenanced the Presbyterians, by assuring them he would maintain the public ministry, and give them all due encouragement. He supported the Independents, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to considerable livings in the church and universities; and by joining them in one commission with the Presbyterians as triers of all such as desired to be admitted to benefices. But he absolutely forbade the clergy of every denomination dealing in politics, as not belonging to their profession; and when he perceived the managing Presbyterians took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself.

It was happy for the wise and moderate Presbyterians, that the protector disarmed their discipline of its coercive power, for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of religion; they had their monthly or quarterly classical presbyteries in every county, for the ordination of ministers, by imposition of hands, according to the Directory, to whom they gave certificates, or testimonials, in the following words:

“We the ministers of the presbytery of. —, having examined Mr. — according to the tenor of the ordinance for that purpose, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment (no just exception having been made to his ordination), having approved him, and accordingly, on the day and year hereafter expressed, have proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a preaching presbyter, and work of the ministry, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful minister of Jesus Christ. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names this – day of September 1653.”

Other testimonials were in this form:

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<sup>1</sup> Life, p. 86, 87.



“We the ministers of Christ, who are called to watch over this part of his flock in the city of ——, with the assistance of some others, that we might not be wanting to the service of the church in its necessity, having received credible testimonials, under the hands of divers ministers of the gospel, and others, of the sober, righteous, and godly conversation of ——, as also concerning his gifts for the ministry, have proceeded to make farther trial of his fitness for so great a work; and being in some good measure satisfied concerning his piety and ability, have upon the — day of — 1653, proceeded solemnly to set him apart to the office of a presbyter, and work of the ministry, by laying on our hands with fasting and prayer; by virtue whereof we do esteem and declare him a lawful minister of Christ, and hereby recommend him to the church of ——. In witness whereof we have set our hands, &c.”

When the Presbyterians found that their classes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on those who refused to submit to their discipline, the ministers of the several denominations in the country began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly counsel and advice. Mr. Baxter, and his brethren of Worcestershire, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. Vines and Gataker; and when he had drawn up articles of concord, he submitted them to the correction of archbishop Usher, and other episcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more discipline should be practised than the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent divines agreed in; that they should not meddle with politics or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church-censures; but only to assist, advise, and encourage, each other in propagating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from profane and scandalous communicants.<sup>1</sup> Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in some market-town, where there was a sermon in the morning; and after dinner the conversation was upon such points of doctrine or discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some theological question which had been appointed the preceding month. Doctor Warmestry, afterward dean of Worcester, and Dr. Good, one of the prebendaries of Hereford, sent Mr. Baxter a letter dated September 20, 1653, wherein they testify their approbation of the association above mentioned, and of the articles of concord.<sup>2</sup>

In the west of England, Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, and Mr. Good of Exeter, prevailed with the ministers of the several persuasions in those parts, to follow the example of Worcestershire; accordingly they parcelled

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<sup>1</sup> Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 147, &c. p. 167, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 149.

themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: the reverend Mr. Hughes presided in those of 1655 and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and several of the episcopal divines of the best character, as well as Independents, joined with them; “the chief of the Presbyterian and Independent divines, who were weary of divisions, and willing to strengthen each other’s hands, united in these assemblies, though the exasperated prelatists, the more rigid Presbyterians, and severer sort of Independents, kept at a distance: but many remarkable advantages (says Mr. Baxter) attended these associations;” they opened and preserved a friendly correspondence among the ministers; they removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, insomuch that the controversies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their spirit bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

But these country associations were not countenanced by the more zealous Presbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion-college; they could hardly digest a toleration of the sectaries, much less submit to a coalition, but resolved to keep close to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial assembly: they wanted the sword of discipline, and were impatient under the present restraint: and nothing but the piercing eye of the protector, whose spies were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying, and plotting, against the government. However, the country ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good neighbourhood, and spread the associations through Wiltshire, Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and other parts; that if I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly associations among the dissenters in several counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. William Gouge, born at Stratford-le-Bow in the year 1575, and educated at King’s-college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was settled at Blackfriars, London, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the star-chamber. In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, and was in such reputation, that he often filled the moderator’s chair in his absence. He was a modest, humble, and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, a universal scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was esteemed the father of the London ministers, and died comfortably and piously December 12, 1653, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Blackfriars almost forty-six years.

Doctor Thomas Hill, of whom mention has been made before, was born in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young scholars for many years. He was afterward preferred to the living of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, and was chosen into the assembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and was one of the morning lecturers at Westminster-abbey. He was afterwards chosen to be master of Emanuel-college, Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity-college; in which stations he behaved with great prudence and circumspection. He was a good scholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the university; a strict Calvinist, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of a holy and unblamable conversation. He died of a quartan ague December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> He spent nine years at King's-college; and was never absent from public prayers at the chapel, and constantly read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day. He was the laborious, exemplary, and much-loved minister, of whom none thought or spoke ill, says Mr. Granger, "but such as were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself." He refused the provostship of King's college in Cambridge; and had eight children, who lived to man's and woman's estate. Clarke's Lives in his General Martyrology, p. 234;—and Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 179, 8vo.—Ed.