

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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# HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

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## PART IV.

### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE INTERREGNUM FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE RESTORATION OF KING CHARLES II. AND THE RE- ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1659.

UPON the death of the protector, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year revived the confusions of the preceding ten. Richard Cromwell, being proclaimed protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts,<sup>1</sup> congratulating his accession to the dignity of protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes cheerfully devoted to support his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the Presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of November 25, entitled, "A proclamation for the better encouraging godly ministers and others;" and for their enjoying their dues and liberties, according to law, without being molested with indictments for not using the Common Prayer-book.

The young protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of January 1658-9. The elections were not according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced than cities and counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two

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<sup>1</sup> Of these addresses, Dr. Grey says, "nothing ever exceeded them in point of flattery, except those canting addresses of the dissenters to king James upon his indulgence:" and he gives several at length, as specimens' of the strain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will see that mayors, recorders, and aildermen, of that day could rival the Independent ministers, whom the doctor reproaches as "most foully guilty," in their effusions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their devoirs to the rising sun.—ED.

grand factions; the Wallingford-house party, which was for a commonwealth; and the Presbyterian, which with the majority of the parliament was for the protector. The Wallingford-house party, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the head, invited Dr. Owen and Dr. Manton to their consultations. Dr. Owen went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. Manton, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, He must down, and he shall down. Manton knew the voice to be Dr. Owen's, and understood him to mean the deposing of Richard, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. Owen's life discredits this story; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: he sided with the army, and drew up their address against Oliver's being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as soon as Richard became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet-council at Wallingford-house having gained over several to their party, prevailed with Richard to consent to their erecting a general council of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore, instead of supporting the protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the good old cause was ridiculed. Richard, sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of lord Broghill dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted they should meet no more; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the army and parliament at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his father's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, Richard became a cipher in the government; lord Broghill, afterward earl of Orrery, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the same time to have secured Fleetwood and Desborough, as he undertook to do with the hazard of his life, he might have been established; but the poor-spirited protector told him, that he was afraid of blood; upon which the captain, lord Howard, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-house, having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers.

Thus was the grandeur of Cromwell's family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches: Fleetwood had married the widow of Ireton, one of Oliver's daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. Desborough, who had married Oliver's sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. Lambert, whom Oliver had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with sir H. Vane, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. Henry Cromwell, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the protector who was upon the spot. I shall take the liberty to transcribe some passages out of them to my present purpose.

Upon the surprising news of Oliver's death, he writes to his brother, September 18, 1658,—“I am so astonished at the news of my dear father's sickness and death, that I know not what to say or write on so grievous an occasion; but the happy news of leaving your highness his successor gives some relief, not only on account of the public, but of our poor family, which the goodness of God has preserved from the contempt of our enemies. I may say without vanity, that your highness has been proclaimed here with as great joy, and general satisfaction (I believe), as in the best-affected places of England; and I make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and your highness's predecessor, would support you, and pour down a double portion of the same spirit that was so eminently in him, and would enable you to walk in his steps, and do worthily for his name, namesake and people, and continually preserve you in so doing, is the prayer of

“Yours, &c. H. C.”

In another letter of the same date, sent by an express messenger, he writes, that “he had caused a very dutiful address to be sent to the army, which had been already signed by several of the field officers, and when perfected, should be sent to him as a witness against any single officer that should hereafter warp from his obedience; so that I may and do assure your highness of the active subjection of this army to your government, and will answer for it with my life.—”

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he says, “If the account be true which I have received of the state of affairs in England, I confess it is no more than I looked for, only I had some hopes it might have been prevented by keeping all officers at their respective charges; but as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong you can neither stem it nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go adrift and expect the ebb. I thought those whom my father had raised from nothing would not so soon have forgot him, and

endeavour to destroy his family before he is in his grave. Why do I say I thought, when I know ambition and affection of empire never had any bounds. I cannot think these men will ever rest till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a nine days' wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what must be used gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubtful whether sober men will venture to embark themselves when things are in so high a distraction; or if they would, whether the army can be restrained from forcing elections.—I am almost afraid to come over to your highness, lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose this army, which, for aught I know, is the only stay you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I also think it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no question but all the letters will be opened that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your councils.

“I remain yours, &c. H. C.”

In a letter of the same date to his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, he writes:

“Dear Brother,

“I received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you; How came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge without licence would have flown in their face when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his highness's privity? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told of their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but, dear brother, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old cause which had long lain asleep.— I thought my father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us then not render evil for good, and make his memory stink before he is under ground. Let us remember his last legacy, and for his sake render his successor considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-word. Whither do these things tend? What a hurly-burly is there! One hundred Independent ministers called together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always befallen imposing spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate or presbytery? And is it a dangerous opinion, that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound principle when it is held by the fifth-monarchy men? Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues.

Let it be so carried, that all the people of God, though under different forms; yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not become the magistrate to descend into parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these things be done, and the world not think his highness a knave or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits? Dear brother, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the consideration of the miserable state of the innocent people of these nations: what have these sheep done that their blood should be the price of our lust and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late highness loved you; how he honoured you with the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand, which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring his highness his successor, shows that he left it there to preserve him and his reputation. O brother! use it to curb extravagant spirits, and busy-bodies, but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me, if I say God, and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulness to you. And you may rest assured, that you shall always find me your true friend and loving brother.

“H. C.”

In other letters to lord Broghill, afterward earl of Orrery, with whom he maintained an intimate correspondence, “he complains of his being forbid to come over into England; and that the clause in his new commission was left out; namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in order to prevent his coming over to England, which he hopes his highness will permit, there being much more cause to press it now than ever.” “I find (says he in a letter to the protector) that my enemies have sentenced me to an honourable banishment; I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it; but if they can denounce judgment upon my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminal. They have already begot a doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it.”—In a letter to secretary Thurloe, he writes, “that since he was not allowed to leave Ireland, he could do no more than sit still and look on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here (says he), though I could wish the writs had come timely that the members might have been there

before they had been excluded by a vote, which, it is said, will be the first thing brought upon the stage.”—From these, and some other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general Fleetwood was at the head of the councils which deposed Richard, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointment of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the Revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics.<sup>1</sup>

To return:—After the Rump parliament had sat about a week, the officers petitioned, “1. That the laws might have their free course. 2. That all public debts unsatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profess faith in the holy Trinity, and acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be the revealed will of God, may have protection and encouragement in the profession of their religion, while they give no disturbance to the state, except Papists, Prelatists, and persons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two universities, and all schools of learning, may be countenanced. 5. That those who took part with the king in the late wars, or are notoriously disaffected to the parliament’s cause, may be removed from all places of trust. 6. That the protector’s debts be paid, and an allowance of £10,000 per annum be allowed to Richard and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a representative of the people, consisting of one house, successively chosen by the people: and that the government of the nation may be placed in such a representative body, with a select senate co-ordinate in power; and that the administration of all executive power of government may be in a council of state, consisting of a convenient number of persons eminent for godliness, and who are, in principle, for the present cause.”

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but postponed the affair relating to Richard, till he should acquiesce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament, who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his high dignity,<sup>2</sup> by a writing

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<sup>1</sup> “He thought that prayers superseded the use of carnal weapons, and that ‘it was sufficient to trust in the hand of Providence without exerting the arm of flesh.’ He would fall on his knees and pray when he heard of a mutiny among the soldiers; and was with the utmost difficulty roused to action on several emergencies.” Granger’s History of England, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 17.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Cromwell has been reproached as “extremely pusillanimous,” as “a fool and a sot,” and “a titmous prince,” because he yielded to the times, and relinquished power and royalty. “But in the name of common sense (says Dr. Harris with virtuous animation), what was there weak and foolish in laying down a burden too heavy for the shoulders? What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confusion, the necessary consequences of retaining the government? Or what, in a word, in resigning the power to

under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the soul of Oliver survived in his son Richard may be seen by this conduct! His brother Henry, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts,<sup>1</sup> the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a farther contempt thrown upon the protector's memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The Presbyterians would have been content with Richard's government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the Rump-parliament, which was chiefly made up of enthusiasts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the king and the old constitution. The particulars of this union (says Rapin) are not known, because the historians who write of it, being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honour to the Presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the Presbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by sir

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such as, by experience, had been found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? Ambition, glory, fame, sound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, excited by them, have seldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world: but the man who can divest himself of empire for the sake of his fellow-men, must, in the eye of reason, be entitled to a much higher renown, than the purpled hero who leads them on to slaughter, though provinces or kingdoms are gained to him thereby."

Ambition, cease: the idle contest end:

'Tis but a kingdom thou canst win or lose.

And why must murder'd myriads lose their all

(If life be all); why desolation lour

With famish'd frown on this affrighted ball,

That thou mayst flame the meteor of an hour.—MASON.

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 1. p. 214—ED.

<sup>1</sup> The parliament instituted, however, an inquiry into the debts of Richard Cromwell and a schedule of them was given in; by which it appeared, that Richard even after having reduced his father's debts from £28,000. to £23,550 owed £29,640. It was resolved to acquit Richard Cromwell from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-court, belonging to the state, which could be conveniently spared. It was also resolved to settle on him an annuity of £8,700 so as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of £10,000. But, through the changes that followed, Richard Cromwell derived no benefit from these resolutions. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 241. Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. 1. p-208, &c.—ED.



Richard Willis, a correspondent of secretary Thurloe's, so that sir George Booth, a Presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and sir Thomas Middleton, who joined him, were defeated by Lambert, and made prisoners.<sup>1</sup> The king and duke of York came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired, and his majesty, in despair, determined to rely upon the Roman-Catholic powers for the future. Several of the Presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection, as the reverend Mr. Newcombe of Manchester, Mr. Eaton of Walton, and Mr. Finch chaplain to sir George Booth, all afterward ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to secure the republican government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to Charles Stuart, and the whole race of king James, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances general Monk had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-house might not lie asleep, but that Fleetwood, whom they had chosen for their general, might be confirmed in his high station. The house demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of their chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbet, and others of the first rank: by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, October 13, Lambert with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament-house, and as the speaker passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded major Creed to conduct him back to his house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; Fleetwood having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament-house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had sat five months and

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<sup>1</sup> The parliament so much resented this insurrection, that they disfranchised the city of Chester. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 242.—ED.

six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of headstrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a Committee of Safety, which consisted of twenty-three persons who had the same authority and power that the late council of state had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament or king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts sent letters to general Monk in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance.

The committee of safety, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with Monk by Clarges his brother-in-law, but without success; for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this Lambert was sent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to Monk's march for about a month. In the meantime, the general, in order to gain time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the committee of safety, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to Monk he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The council of state, therefore, which sat before the Rump-parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over Monk to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting him general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died serjeant Bradshaw, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on king Charles at his trial: he died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it: he was buried in a very pompous manner in Westminster-abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long-parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, November 22, 1659, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The general having secured Scotland, and put garrisons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand

men; but while Lambert was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the present anarchy; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a free parliament, as did several of the detachments of the army; upon which Lambert retired towards London, and made way for Monk's entering England. The committees of safety, seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the parliament, which met again December 26, and would now have been glad to have had Monk back again in Scotland: for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England January 2, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord Fairfax received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men, both in city and country. The Rump being suspicious that Monk had some farther design, either of establishing himself after the example of Cromwell, or of restoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant, to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppose the bringing in or setting up any single person or house of lords in this commonwealth. They also sent Mr. Scot and Robinson to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded Presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the king's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Albans, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for Monk's entrance with his forces in a sort of triumph, February 3, 1659–60. Being conducted to the parliament-house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services; and the general having returned the compliment, acquainted the house, "that several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admission of the secluded members in 1648, without any previous oath or engagement, and that the present parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had

replied, that they were now a free parliament, and had voted to fill up their house in order to their being a full parliament; but to restore the secluded members without a previous oath to the present government, is what had never been done in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that neither the cavaliers nor fanatics should have any share in the administration.”

The citizens of London being Presbyterians fell in with Monk, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council, February 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house, to show their resentment, ordered the general to march into the city; to seize eleven of the most active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullises. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship. Monk, having arrested the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and Monk’s friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with Oliver Cromwell, that the Rump-parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotic king. Monk, therefore, convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother Clarges to assure them of his concern for what he had done; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request; but the general, not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord mayor of London, and the chief Presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprise; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of rumps thrown into them, in contempt of the parliament.

The general, being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members of 1648, who were of the Presbyterian party:<sup>1</sup> for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which Monk resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, February 24, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation, and told them “that the citizens of London were for a commonwealth, the old foundations of monarchy being so broken that it could not be restored but upon the ruins of the people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the king should return (says he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Besides, if the government of the state be monarchical, the church must follow, and prelacy be brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and have sworn against; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid Presbyterian government, with liberty of conscience, will be the most acceptable way to the church’s settlement.”<sup>2</sup> He then obliged them to subscribe the following articles: “1. To settle the armies so as to preserve the peace. 2. To provide for their support, and pay their arrears. 8. To constitute a council of state for Scotland and Ireland. And, 4. To call a new parliament and dissolve the present.” And so dismissed them with a strong party of guards to see them take their places in the house. This speech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and seems to have been drawn up by some of the moderate Presbyterians, with whom he kept a close correspondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the house as Cromwell did, yet his discharging the parliament-guards, and placing a strong body of his own horse at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them sufficiently to understand, what would be the consequence of their making opposition.

The house thus enlarged became entirely Presbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. that the king’s concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the engagement of 1649.—They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war raised by both houses of parliament against the king was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence were used upon the parliament in 1648.—They repealed the oath of

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grey has given a list of those secluded members. Examination, vol. 3. p. 250.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p. 63, 64.

abjuration of Charles Stuart.—They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious ministry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits.—They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other schools of learning.—And, to content the Independents, they voted, that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things seemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Isle of Wight. The Presbyterians being now again in the saddle, a day of thanksgiving was kept; after which the city-ministers petitioned for the redress of sundry grievances; as, 1. “That a more effectual course be taken against the Papists. 2. That the Quakers be prohibited opening their shops on the sabbath-day. 3. That the public ministers may not be disturbed in their public services.” They requested the house to establish the assembly’s Confession of Faith, Directory, and Catechisms; to appoint persons for approbation of ministers, till the next parliament should take farther order; and to call another assembly of divines, to be chosen by the ministers of the several counties, to heal the divisions of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

In answer to these requests, the house agreed to a bill, March 2, for approbation of public ministers, according to the Directory, and named Mr. Manton, and several others of the Presbyterian persuasion, for that service; which passed into an act March 14. They declared for the assembly’s Confession of Faith, except the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of discipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the public confession of faith of the church of England. The act passed the house March 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Calamy, to have the care of the press. On the same day they ordered the solemn league and covenant to be reprinted, and set up in every church in England, and read publicly by the minister once every year.

Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and honour, were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace; the Independents deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the Presbyterians, supported by Monk’s forces. After this the long-parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, that the war against the late king was just and lawful;<sup>2</sup> and all who

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p. 52. 75.

<sup>2</sup> This was the requisition put to such as sought a commission in the army, rather than to candidates for a seat in parliament: though Kennet, in his margin, applies it to the

had assisted in any war against the parliament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament.<sup>1</sup> They then appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons, to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves March 16, after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the Restoration, of which general Monk has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of sir Thomas Monk, of Potheridge in Devonshire, and served the king in the wars, for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides, and acted for the parliament. He afterward served Oliver Cromwell, and was by him left commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. Lord Clarendon and Echard say, “he was of a reserved nature, of deep thoughts, and of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he had in sound judgment. That he had a natural secrecy in him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a soldier; a strong body, a mind not easily disordered, an invincible courage, and a sedate and uniform contempt of death, without any frenzy of fanaticism or superstition to turn his head.” This is the language of flattery. Others have set him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprising, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he served but Cromwell. Ludlow says, he was a man of covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and scandalous conversation. Father Orleans says, that he was a man of slow understanding. And Whitelocke reports, that the French ambassador said, he had neither sense nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood, as appears in this very affair of the king’s restoration. He took the abjuration-oath once under Oliver; and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of Charles Stuart, and swore to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords.<sup>2</sup> And yet in his first message to the king by sir John Grenville, he assures his majesty, that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now.<sup>3</sup> When he came with his army to London, he assured the Rump-parliament of his cheerful obedience to all

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eligibility of members. He says nothing of the candidates being obliged to sign the declaration. So that Mr. Neal is not quite accurate in his statement of this matter—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Welwood’s Mem. p. 117, &c.

<sup>3</sup> History of the Stuarts, p. 459.

their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the secluded members, he promised the parliament to take effectual care that they should do no hurt. When the commonwealth's men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the king, he replied, "I have often declared my resolution so to do;" and taking sir Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a house of peers." He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house? (says he.) Are they not the same that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay, farther, the general sent letters to all the regiments, assuring them that the government should continue a commonwealth, that they had no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured. So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the king from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. Welwood adds,<sup>1</sup> that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a Christian; and carried on the thread of dissimulation with wonderful dexterity. Bishop Burnet differs from the doctor, and says, that "though he had both the praise and the reward, yet a very small share of the restoration belonged to him.—The tide ran so strong that the general only went into it dexterously enough to get much fame and great rewards. If he had died soon after, he might have been more justly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known how false a judgment men are apt to make upon outward appearance."<sup>2</sup>

But before we relate the particulars of the Restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. Cromwell had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of Presbyterian ordination. This was the case in view, which induced some of the ancient bishops to petition the king to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by sir Edward Hyde, chancellor

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, p. 117, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Burnet's History, vol. 1. p. 126. 12mo.



of the exchequer, who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of the names to Dr. Barwick, to be communicated by him to the bishops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no deans and chapters to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *congé d'elire*, according to ancient custom.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir Edward Hyde was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for the dean and chapters<sup>1</sup> nonelection. But it was objected, that the supposal of a lapse would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno hire* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facilitate regia*; nor could they petition for such a licence, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. Barwick,<sup>1</sup> who was in England, and corresponded with the chancellor, proposed that his majesty should grant his commission to the

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<sup>1</sup> The Dr. Barwick to whom Mr. Neal refers was a singular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings Charles I. and II. He managed with great address and dexterity the correspondence of the first with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He corresponded with the second while he was abroad: and was sent by the bishops, as will afterwards appear, with their instructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, and wrote against the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was presented to the king: and he is said to have furnished lord Clarendon with a great part of the materials for his history. He was so dexterous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of Thurloe. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wetherslack in Westmoreland, and received his classical learning at Sedberg-school in Yorkshire, where he distinguished himself by acting the part of Hercules in one of Seneca's tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge; where, so eminent were his abilities and attainments, he was chosen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a master, which was heard before the privy-council. He resided some time in Durham-house in London as chaplain to the bishop, Dr. Morton; who bestowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolsingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, Charles II. promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanery of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was chosen prolocutor of the convocation. He

bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such dispensative clauses as should be found necessary upon the emergency of the case, his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning the persons and the sees, which commission may bear date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Bramhall, bishop of Derry, was for the Irish way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination; and therefore no way seemed to him so safe as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old bishop of Ely was so far from wishing, with Dr. Bramhall, that the Irish method might be introduced into England, that he said, if he should live to see the church restored, he would be an humble suitor to his majesty, that the privileges of the English church, in their elections of bishops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. Wren bishop of Ely, and Dr. Cosins of Peterborough, were for an expedient something like the second, to which the court agreed, and Mr. Chancellor Hyde wrote to Dr. Barwick for the form of such a commission as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be dispatched with all possible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old bishops were fearful lest it should be discovered, in which case they were sure to be the sufferers. Dr. Brownrigge of Exeter, and Dr. Skinner of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the rest declared their willingness to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occasion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters, says, the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by those who should be the guardians of it. He censures the slowness of the clergy, and says, it was very indecent, when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her sons should be timorous and fearful. Such were the chancellor's narrow

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died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, sincere devotion with sanctity of manners, and an undaunted spirit under his sufferings in the royal cause, for which he was imprisoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a consumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after some time, recovered to a miracle. See his Life; and Granger's History of England, vol. 3. p. 257, 8vo.—ED.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Barwick, p. 201, Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

principles, who seemed to hang the essence of Christianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of ecclesiastical power by an uninterrupted succession from the apostles.

The nonjurors had the like case in view after the Revolution, and provided for it in the best manner they could. But is not the Christian world in a sad condition, if the Christian bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on a regular uninterrupted succession from St. Peter? especially as Baronius a Popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair; that there had been no popes for some years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the same writer admits between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion!

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular consecration of Protestant bishops was a mere farce; for if he was not a Papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the Pyrenean treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the king stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty, with the earl of Bristol, and sir H. Bennet embraced the Roman-Catholic religion. The secret of this affair was well known to lord Clarendon, though he is pleased to mention it with great tenderness. "It is believed (says his lordship) by wise men, that in that treaty somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant interest; and that in a short time there would have been much done against it, both in France and Germany, if the measures they had then taken had not been shortly broken, chiefly by the surprising revolution in England, which happened the next year, and also by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, Don Lewis de Haro, and cardinal Mazarin, who both died not long after it."<sup>1</sup> But the secret of the king's reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldest son of lord Clarendon, and by the duke of Ormond, who declared to several persons of honour, that "he himself, to his great surprise and concern, accidentally in a morning early, saw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, with several priests and ecclesiastics about him. That he was soon after confirmed in his sentiments by sir Henry Bennet and the earl of Bristol, who both owned the king to be a Catholic as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Echard, p. 751.

themselves; but it was agreed, that this change should be kept as the greatest secret imaginable.” There is another story, says bishop Kennet, which I have reason to think true: “Sir H. Bennet was soon after seen to wait on the king from mass, at which sight the lord Culpeper had so much indignation, that he went up to Bennet, and spoke to this effect; ‘I see what you arc at; is this the way to bring our master home to his three kingdoms? Well, sir, if ever you and I live to see England together, I will have your head, or yon shall have mine;’ which words struck such terror upon sir Harry Bennet, that he never durst set his foot in England till after the death of lord Culpeper, who met with a very surprising end soon after the king’s return.”<sup>1</sup>

But though the prime-ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty’s abjuring the Protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a Papist long before, even before his brother James, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor, father Huddleston.<sup>2</sup> To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the testimony of the author of the *Mystery of Iniquity*, printed 1689, who writes thus; “The king’s [Charles II.’s] apostacy is not of so late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled, yet it is certain he abjured the Protestant religion soon after the exilement of the royal family, and was reconciled to the church of Rome at St. Germain in France. Nor were several of the then-suffering bishops and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither integrity nor courage to give the nation warning of it.”<sup>3</sup> Bishop Burnet, in the *History of his Life and Times*, confirms this testimony from the cardinal minister, who sent an advertisement of it to the bishop himself; he says, “that before the king left Paris (which was in June, 1654) he changed his religion, but by whose persuasion is not yet known; only cardinal De Retz was in the secret, and lord Aubigny had a great hand in it. Chancellor Hyde had some suspicion of it, but would not suffer himself to believe it quite .”<sup>4</sup> And sir Allen Broderick declared upon his death-bed, that king Charles II. made profession of the Popish religion at Fontainbleau, before he was sent out of France to Cologne.

The Dutch Protestants suspected the change, but the king denied it in the most public manner; for when he was at Brussels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to the reverend Mr. Cawton, the Presbyterian minister of the English congregation at Rotterdam.

“CHARLES REX.

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Wetwood’s *Memoirs*, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> Kennet’s *Chron.* p. 598.

<sup>4</sup> Burnet, vol. 1, p. 103, 104, 12mo.

“Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have received so full testimony of your affection to our person, and zeal for our service, that we are willing to recommend an affair to you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies’ should continue to lay all manner of scandals upon us, but are concerned that they should find credit with any to make our affection to the Protestant religion suspected, since the world cannot but take notice of our constant and uninterrupted profession of it in all places.—No man has or can more manifest his affection to and zeal for the Protestant religion than we have done. Now, as you cannot but have much conversation with the ministers of the Dutch church, we presume and expect that you will use your utmost diligence and dexterity to root out those unworthy aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked men; and that you assure all that will give credit to you, that we value ourselves so much upon that part of our title, of being defender of the faith, that no worldly consideration can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the Protestant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power. Given at Brussels, November 7, in the tenth year of our reign.”

To carry on the disguise, Dr. Morley afterward bishop of Manchester was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. Trigland, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the king’s steadfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king’s going to the Pyrenean treaty, to engage the Roman-Catholic powers for his restoration.<sup>1</sup>

But to confirm the Presbyterians farther, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty’s being turned Papist, sir Robert Murray and the countess of Balcarras were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their Presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the king’s steadfastness in the Protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers, not being acquainted with the secret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpose:

Monsieur Raymond Gaches, pastor of the reformed church at Paris, to the Rev. Mr. Baxter, March 23, 1659–60;—“I know what odium has been cast upon the king; some are dissatisfied in his constancy to the true religion.—I will not answer what truly may be said, that it belongs not to subjects to inquire into the prince’s religion; be he what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in civil matters is his due. But this prince never departed from the public profession of the true religion; nor

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<sup>1</sup> Kennel's Chron. p. 95.

did he disdain to be present at our religious assemblies at Roan and Rochelle, though he never graced our church at Paris with his presence, which truly grieved us.”<sup>1</sup>—

Monsieur Drelincourt, another of the French pastors at Paris, writes, March 24,—“A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the king’s restoration, is the opinion conceived by some, of his being turned Roman Catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the Protestant religion. But I see no ground for the report, his majesty making no profession of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition.—Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to suspect on slight grounds private persons, how can it approve jealousies upon persons so sacred! Besides, there are in the king’s family, and among his domestics, some gentlemen of our religion, and my old friends; who at several times have given me assurances of the piety of this prince, and his stability in the profession he makes. Your Presbyterians are now intrusted with the honour of our churches; if they recall this prince without the intervening of any foreign power, they will acquire to themselves immortal glory, and stop their mouths for ever, who charge us falsely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the maxim, No bishop no king, is falsely imputed to us.”—

The famous monsieur Daille of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the same purpose,—“I know it is reported that the king has changed his religion; but who can believe a thing so contrary to all probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know, that when he has resided in places where the exercise of his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chaplains with him, who have regularly performed divine service. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king expressed at the endeavours that were used to pervert the duke of Gloucester. And though it is objected, that he never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are better informed of this than any one, we can testify, that religion was not the cause of it, but that it was upon political and prudential considerations, which may be peculiar to our church, for he has gone to sermon in Caen, and some other towns; and in Holland he heard some sermons from the famous monsieur More, our present colleague. Thus, sir, it is more clear than the day, that whatsoever has been reported till this time, of the change of this prince’s religion, is a mere calumny.”<sup>2</sup>

Monsieur de L’Angle, minister of the Protestant church at Rouen, wrote upon the same subject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 91, 92.

<sup>2</sup> Rennet’s Cliron. p. 91, 95.

king's steadfastness in the Protestant religion. These letters were printed and industriously spread over the whole kingdom.

The king himself in his letter to the house of commons says, "Do you desire the advancement of the Protestant religion? We have by our constant profession and practice given sufficient testimony to the world, that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and protestations of those of a contrary profession, could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it."

It is a surprising reflection of Mr. Baxter,<sup>1</sup> upon occasion of these letters: "These divines (says he) knew nothing of the state of affairs in England. They knew not those men who were to be restored with the king. They pray (says he) for the success of my labours, when they are persuading me to put an end to my labours by setting up those prelates, who will silence me and many hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a blessing to them; and yet (says he) I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced, and our ministry at an end, and some of us lie in prisons, we may there and in that condition have peace of conscience in the discharge of our duty, and the exercise of faith patience, and charity, in our sufferings." Was there ever such reasoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon these extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general Monk in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Westminster, the general was on their side, and entertained Mr. John Collins, an Independent minister, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and Monk's declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the Presbyterians; upon which Mr. Caryl and Barker were sent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem; and after a few days returned the following answer, in a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches in and about London.

"Honourable and dear friends,

"I received yours, and am very sensible of your kindness expressed to the army in Scotland, in sending such honourable and reverend persons, whom we received with thankfulness and great joy as the messengers of the churches, and the ministers of Christ in these three nations. I do promise you for myself, and the rest of the officers here, that your interest, liberty, and encouragement, shall be very dear to us. And we shall take this as a renewed obligation to assert to the utmost, what we have already declared

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<sup>1</sup> Life, part 2, p. 216.

to the churches of Jesus Christ. I doubt not, but you have received satisfaction of our inclinations to a peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that some differences being obviated, we shall obtain a fair composure. I do assure you, that the great things that have been upon my heart to secure and provide for, are our liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ, which we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, assured in the promises purchased by the blood of our Saviour for us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people; in comparison of which we esteem all other things as dung and dross, but as they have a relation to and dependence upon this noble end. The others are our laws and rights as men, which must have their esteem in the second place; for which many members of the churches have been eminent instruments to labour in sweat and blood for these eighteen years last past, and our ancestors for many hundred years before; the substance of which may be reduced to a parliamentary government, and the people's consenting to the laws by which they are governed. That these privileges of the nation may be so bounded, that the churches may have both security and settlement, is my great desire, and of those with me. So that I hope you will own these just things, and give us that assistance that becomes the churches of Christ, in pursuance of this work. And we do assure you, we shall comply as far as possible, with respect had to the security and safety of the nation, and the preservation of our ancient birthright and liberties. And we shall pray, that we maybe kept from going out of God's way in doing God's work.

“ I do, in the name of the whole army and myself, give all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love; and though we are not able to make such returns as are in our hearts and desires to do, yet we shall endeavour, by all ways and means, to express our care and love to the churches, and shall leave the reward to him who is the God of peace, and has in special assured all blessings to the peacemakers. I conclude with the words of David, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, ‘Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, and blessed be your advice,’ and blessed be you all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you, and let his presence be in his churches, and they filled with his glory. I have no more, but to entreat your prayers for a happy issue of this unhappy difference; which is the prayer of him who is, reverend sirs and dear friends, your very affectionate brother and servant,

“Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659.

G. MONK.”

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the fumes of fanaticism. “You are the people (says he) who have filled the world with wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith: and the promises of God are sure and certain. We acknowledge that we ourselves have very much



contributed to the Lord's departing from our Israel, but we see God's hour is come, and the time of the people's deliverance, even the set time, is at hand. He cometh skipping over all the mountains of sin and unworthiness, &c. We humbly beseech you, not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people slightly, but to make so sure and lasting provision for both Christian and civil rights, as both this and future generations may have cause to rise up and call you blessed, and the blackest of designs may never be able to cast dirt in your faces any more."<sup>1</sup>—He then desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a free state or commonwealth. Signed by general Monk and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the general's coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous Presbyterian, and thought no more of the Independent churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. Calamy's church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom he approved. He consulted the Presbyterian ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. Sharp, afterward archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose words are these, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. Douglas in Scotland: "Sunday last, March 11, the general sent his coach for Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ash, and me; we had a long conversation with him in private, and convinced him, that a commonwealth was impracticable; and to our sense beat him off that sence he has hitherto maintained.—We urged upon him, that the Presbyterian interest, which he had espoused, was much concerned in keeping up this house, and settling the government upon terms. But the subtle general replied, that in regard he had declared so lately against a house of lords, and the continuing this house of commons, he could not so reputably do it."<sup>2</sup> Afterward, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the king to be at the bottom, were earnest with the general, that if the king must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight; the general at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a commonwealth; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favour of the king; and yet when this was moved in the convention-parliament by sir Matthew Hale, the general stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous Presbyterians were

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<sup>1</sup> Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, No. II.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 81.

gradually drawn into a snare, and made to believe, that presbytery was to be the established government of the church of England under king Charles II.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The general therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline.<sup>1</sup> But the Scots, not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. Sharp to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use his best endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a toleration in that kingdom. Sharp was to concert measures with Mr. Calamy, Ash, Manton, and Cowper; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, Sharp informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which Douglas replied, “It is best that the Presbyterian government be settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here is for admitting the king on no other but covenant-terms.”

The Independents and Baptists were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty affair. General Monk and the Presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims; the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The Independents offered to stand by their friends in parliament, and to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. Owen and Mr. Nye had frequent consultations with Mr. Whitelocke and St. John; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-house, offered to raise £100,000 for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehensive Monk and the Presbyterians designed to subvert; but those officers had lost their credit: their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty and another for the sword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and Monk in possession. In this confusion their general, Fleetwood, who had brought them into this distress, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the Independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the Independents sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the Presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and fought in the parliament’s

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 50.

quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was the cause of God; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, insomuch that when the army was new-modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the king, and treated him with honour till they found him unsteady to his promises of a toleration of their principles, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterward by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own safety and liberty. After the king's death they assumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, though they attempted it under several forms: the first was an absolute commonwealth, as most agreeable to their principles; but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own general, with the title of protector, who had skill enough to keep them in awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a Committee of Safety; but they wanted Oliver's head; their new general, Fleetwood, having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power made the nation sick of such distractions, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of Independents and Anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been fortunate soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who had the cause of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his county that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastic impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the Independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times, as, Dr. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, and Greenhill, &c. some of whom had no small reputation for politics; but their pulling down so many forms of government, without adhering steadily to

any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and Independents outwitted the Presbyterians in 1648, the Presbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the Independents at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous Presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, bishop of Exeter, born at Ipswich in the year 1592, educated at Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length chosen master of Katherine-hall in that university.<sup>1</sup> He was also prebendary of Durham, and rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of Manchester visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his majesty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbishop Laud's innovations:<sup>2</sup> for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of Mr. Barwick's pupils, and said to him, "I wonder your tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain from that form of worship [bowing towards the east] which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parliament, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it savour of the impiety of Arminianism, or of the superstition of Popery."<sup>3</sup>

He was succeeded by Dr. Spurstow; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops; but being a Calvinist, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector Cromwell to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, December 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. Gauden says, he was a person of great candour, sweetness, gravity, and solidity of judgment. He was consulted by

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<sup>1</sup> He was esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of his time to this seminary. He was one of those excellent men with whom archbishop Tillotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage, in the delivery, from the dignity of his person and the justness of his elocution. Granger's History of England, vol. 2. p. 161, 8vo.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Grey neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of Dr. Gauden, that bishop Brownrigge was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the church of England; "which (he said) he liked better and better as he grew older." He seems to have been very free in his advice to Cromwell; for when the protector, with some show of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some public affairs, then at a nonplus, bishop Brownrigge, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, "My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, Render unto Caesar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's:" with which free answer the protector rested rather silenced than satisfied. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 258.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Barwick, p. 17.

Mr. Baxter and others in several points of controversy, and was indeed a most humble Christian, and very patient under most severe fits of the stone, which were very acute and tedious for some time before his death.

The reverend Mr. Charles Herle, sometime prolocutor of the assembly of divines, at Westminster, was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lostwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598.<sup>1</sup> He was educated in Exeter-college, Oxon. In the year 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterward rector of Winwick in Lancashire, one of the richest livings in England, and was always esteemed a Puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the assembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. Twisse in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high esteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose and Mr. Gee. He was a moderate Presbyterian, and left behind him some practical and controversial writings. Mr. Fuller says,<sup>2</sup> he was so much of a Christian, scholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parsonage at Winwick in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in his own church, September 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. Thomas Cawton, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; he was afterward minister of Wivenhoe in Essex, 1637, and at last of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was, says the Oxford historian,<sup>3</sup> a learned and religious Puritan, driven into exile for preaching against the murder of king Charles I., and for being in the same plot with Mr. Love, for raising money to supply the army of king Charles II. when he was coming into England to recover his right. He fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the English church there, where he died August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.<sup>4</sup>

The new year [1660] began with the restoration of king Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. The long parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, general

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<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Athena*; Oxon. vol. 2. p. 151,152.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> Wood's *Athene Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 432.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Cawton had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety. Those great works, the *Polyglot Bible*, and Dr. Castle's *Polyglot Lexicon*, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It showed a most deep seriousness of spirit, though probably mingled with superstitious notions of the Lord's supper, that he fainted, when he first received it; and he ever afterward expressed, at that solemnity, the profoundest reverence and most elevated devotion. Granger's *History of England*, vol. 3. 8vo. p. 47.—ED.

Monk was courted by all parties. The republicans endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as king or protector, which, it is said, he would have accepted, if sir Anthony Ashley Cooper had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, it is certain Monk had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offers of reward.

The Presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons, were theirs; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed Episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust: nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification-act, that all who had been in arms against the long-parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next. The whole government therefore was with the Presbyterians, who were shy of the Independents as of a body of men more distant from the church, and more inclined to the commonwealth. They were no less vigilant to keep out of parliament the republicans of all sorts, some of whom, says Burnet,<sup>1</sup> ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the Episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animosities, under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. "We reflect (say they) upon our sufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent thoughts or inclinations against any persons whatsoever who have been instrumental in them; and if the indiscretion of any particular persons shall transport them to expressions contrary to this general sense, we shall disclaim them."<sup>2</sup> This was signed by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Morley and some of his brethren met privately with the Presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The king and chancellor Hyde carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, says, that "the king very well approved that Dr. Morley and some of

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<sup>1</sup> History, vol. 1. p. 123, 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Baxter, p. 216. 218. History of the Stuarts, p. 458.

<sup>3</sup> Kennet's Chronicle, p. 121. 144. Baxter's Life, part 2. p. 217.

his brethren should enter into conferences, and have frequent conversation with the Presbyterian party, in order to reduce them to such a temper as is consistent with the good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (says he) to assure them of present good preferments; but in my opinion you should rather endeavour to win over those who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and desire to merit from the church, than be over-solicitous to comply with the pride and passion of those who propose extravagant things.”<sup>1</sup> Such was the spirit or professions of the church-party, while they were decoying the others into the snare! The Presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the Independents and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new allies, but they would neither hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence; and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the Restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the Episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the Presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling cause. Dr. Barwick says, they paid no regard to it, and

Monk declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve, no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court-parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the covenant, and sent over the reverend Mr. James Sharp, with the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the Presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to sectaries. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the address to the same purpose: and some of the English Presbyterians were of the same mind; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the king but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight.<sup>2</sup> But this was only the resolution of a few; the majority, says Mr. Sharp, were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of archbishop Usher, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. Barwick adds,<sup>3</sup> “What the Presbyterians aimed at, who were

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Barwick, p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p. 101. 104. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Life, p. 256.

now superior to the Independents, was, that all matters should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of Wight,” which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church-matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the king should be settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the Presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. Calamy, Manton, and Ash, informed them in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to archbishop Usher’s moderate episcopacy.<sup>1</sup> Thus they were beaten from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices, and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the Presbyterians, without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the Episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the king was restored; and that their relying upon the royal word would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced the ministers to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the king, that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. Echard would set aside all their merit, by saying, “Whatever the Presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the Independents, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king and church.” Directly contrary to his majesty’s declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, “When we were in Holland we were attended with many grave and learned ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort we found to be full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy.”

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<sup>1</sup> Rennet’s Chron. p. 228.



Bishop Burnet acknowledges,<sup>1</sup> that many of the Presbyterian ministers, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the design of the restoration in so signal a manner, and with such success, that they had great merit, and a just title to very high preferments. Mr. Baxter<sup>2</sup> gives the following reasons of their conduct. “The Presbyterians (says he) were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themselves bound to do their utmost to restore the king, let the event be what it will.” But then he adds, “Most of them had great expectations of favour and respect; and because the king had taken the covenant they hoped he would remove subscriptions, and leave the Common Prayer and ceremonies indifferent; that they might not be cast out of the churches. Some, who were less sanguine, depended on such a liberty as the Protestants had in France; but others, who were better acquainted with the principles and tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to be silenced, imprisoned, and banished, but yet they would do their parts to restore the king, because no foreseen ill consequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty. Surely these were better Christians than casuists! When the ministers waited on his majesty in Holland, he gave them such encouraging promises, says Mr. Baxter, as raised in some of them high expectations. When he came to Whitehall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity, he said, “My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. I pray let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come hither.” Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the Episcopal party, for breaking through so many solemn vows and protestations; or the Presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse to the former; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long-parliament, and the meeting of the convention which brought in the king, general Monk, seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more freely with the king by sir J. Grenville, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the king to remove out of the

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1. p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Life, p. 216.

Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Bishop Burnet says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him.<sup>1</sup>

The convention met April 25, the earl of Manchester being chosen speaker of the house of peers, and sir Harbottle Grimstone of the commons. At the opening the sessions Dr. Reynolds preached before the houses. April 30 was appointed for a fast, when Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Hardy preached before the lords, and Dr. Gauden, Mr. Calamy, and Baxter, before the commons; all except Gauden of the Presbyterian party. Lord Clarendon says, the Presbyterian party in the house were rather troublesome than powerful; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at first of that party. Next day after the fast, the king by the advice of the general having removed privately to Breda, and addressed letters to both houses; the general stood up and acquainted the speaker, that one sir J. Grenville had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not presumed to open it; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir John was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar, withdrew, and carried another to the lords.<sup>2</sup> The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace; his majesty promising an act of oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the same cover was enclosed his majesty's declaration from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted (says he), let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of their lives, estates, or reputation. We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom. And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.—"Upon reading these letters, the commons voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government

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<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Two days after sir John Grenville received the thanks of the house, for delivering the king's letter, in a high strain of joy and adulation: and the house voted him £500 to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honour due to the person whom "the king had honoured to be the messenger of his gracious message." The city of London also presented to him and lord Mordaunt, who brought them his majesty's letter, £300 to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. 3, p. 260, 261, and note (o).—ED.

of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: money was voted to defray his expenses; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir Matthew Hale moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but Monk, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said, “the nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a flame; that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the king. What need is there of it (says he), when he is to bring neither arms nor treasure along with him?” He then added, “that he should lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow on the heads of those who should insist upon any motion that might retard the present settlement of the nation.”<sup>1</sup> Which frightened the house into a compliance. And this was all the service general Monk did towards the king’s restoration, for which he was rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land, and with one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the kingdom.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering representations made by lord Clarendon in his letters of the king’s good-nature, virtue, probity, and application to business;<sup>2</sup> so that when the earl of Southampton saw afterward what the king was like to prove, he said once in great wrath to the chancellor, “that it was to him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not possessed them in all his letters with such an opinion of the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himself or them any mischief, which was like to be the effect of their trusting him so entirely.” To which Hyde answered, that “he thought the king had so true a judgment, and so much good-nature, that when the age of pleasure should be over, and the idleness of his exile, which made him seek new diversions for want of other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind affairs, then he would have shaken off these entanglements.” But here the chancellor was mistaken.

When the lords and commons sent over a deputation to the king at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass might be granted to some of their number, to wait upon his majesty with an address from their brethren; accordingly Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Hall, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Case, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17, wherein, according to lord

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<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. 1. p. 123, 124, 12mo.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

Clarendon, “they magnified their own, and the affection of their friends, who had always wished his majesty’s restoration, according to the covenant, and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite him home. They thanked God for his majesty’s constancy to the Protestant religion, and declared themselves no enemies to moderate episcopacy, only they desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God’s worship, which in their judgments that used them were indifferent, but by others were held to be unlawful.”<sup>1</sup> But the tables were now turned: the king spoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their services, but told them he would refer all to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble historian) they met with very different usage; for when they entreated his majesty at his first landing not to use the Book of Common Prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the king replied with some warmth, “that while he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken away. That he had always used that form of service which he thought the best in the world, and had never discontinued it in places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them. That when he came into England he should not severely inquire how it was used in other churches, but he would have no other used in his own chapel.”<sup>2</sup> They then besought him, with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because it would give offence; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long used in the church; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. Baxter says, the king gave them such encouraging promises of peace, as raised some of them to high expectations. He never refused them a private audience when they desired it; and to amuse them farther, while they were once waiting in an antechamber, his majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him; “he thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended Heaven.” Upon hearing which old Mr. Case lifted up his hands to heaven,<sup>3</sup> and blessed God who had given them a praying king.

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p.139. Compl. Hist. p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet’s Chron. p. 152.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Daniel Dyke, who, soon after the Restoration, voluntarily resigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordshire, showed more discernment and judgment. For when Mr. Case, to induce him to continue in it, related the king’s behaviour, and argued what a hopeful prospect it gave them, Mr. Dyke wisely answered, “that they did but deceive and flatter themselves; that if the king was sincere in his show of piety and great respect for them and their religion, yet, when he came to be settled, the party that had formerly

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the king's favour, they were not less forward than the Presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. Barwick was sent over with the following instructions:-

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord-chancellor of England, and beg his lordship's assistance to present a most humble petition to his majesty in the name of the bishops, and then to deliver their lordships' letters to the chancellor, to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and to the secretary of state, wherein they returned those great men their most thankful acknowledgements, for their piety and affection to the church in the late most afflicted state.

2. He was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed; and to bring the bishops back his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to ask his majesty's pleasure, with regard to some of the bishops waiting on the sea-coast to pay their duty to his majesty, when by God's blessing he should soon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleasure, that they should attend him there in their episcopal habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majesty pleased should wait his arrival.

4. He was also to inquire concerning the number of his majesty's chaplains; whether any of them, besides those in waiting, should attend his arrival upon the coast; and to beg that his majesty would vouchsafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was most humbly to beseech his majesty, that if Dr. Lushington, formerly the king's chaplain, should offer to officiate in that capacity, his majesty would be pleased not to indulge him in that favour, till inquiry should be made concerning his suspected faith and principles. [He was a Socinian.]

6. Since it has been customary for our kings to celebrate public thanksgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beseech his majesty, to signify what was his royal pleasure in this behalf, considering the ruinous estate of that church.

7. His last instruction was to give a just and due account to his majesty, why the affair of filling up the vacant sees had met with no better success.

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adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over with him, would have the management of public affairs, and would circumvent all their designs, and in all probability not only turn them out, but take away their liberty too." Crosby's History of the Baptists, vol. 1. p. 357; and Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 43.—ED.

Mr. Barwick was most graciously received by the king and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was appointed to preach before his majesty.<sup>1</sup> The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the Presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home, the Episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. Griffith, having preached an angry sermon before the general at Mercers' Hall, March 25, on Prov. xxiv. 21; "My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change," was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released, and published his sermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their sermons took upon them to threaten those who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being advised, commanded chancellor Hyde to acquaint his correspondents, that he was extremely apprehensive of inconvenience and mischief to the church and himself, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to desire Mr. Barwick and Dr. Morley to use their credit and authority with such men, and to let them know from his majesty the tenderness of the conjuncture. The chancellor accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's sense, and added, that if occasion required they were to speak to the bishops of Ely and Salisbury to interpose their authority to conjure these men to make a better judgment of the season, and not to awaken those jealousies and apprehensions which all men should endeavour to extinguish. "And truly I hope (says the chancellor), if faults of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident these good men will be more troubled that the church should undergo a new suffering by their indiscretion, than for all that they have suffered hitherto themselves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. Richard Cromwell resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond sea: he had offered to relinquish it when he was divested of the protectorship, as appears by his letter on that occasion, which says,—“You should have had fuller experience of my high esteem for learning and learned men, if Providence had continued me in my high station; but as I accepted of the honour of being your chancellor in order to promote your prosperity, I assure you I will divest myself of the honour when it will contribute to your advantage.”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, as soon as the king's return was voted, he sent them the following resignation:

“Gentlemen,

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<sup>1</sup> Life of Barwick, p. 519, note.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

“I shall always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office, —I do therefore most freely resign and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity, that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful.

“Gentlemen,

“Your affectionate friend and servant,

“RICH. CROMWELL.”

“Hursley

“May 8, 1660

Thus Richard went off the stage of public action. “As he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (says Burnet<sup>1</sup>), so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London, and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses of congratulation; but when he found the times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and as he had done no hurt to anybody, so nobody ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of human greatness; and of the security of innocence! In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. Clarke.<sup>2</sup> He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

The king landed at Dover May 26, and came the same night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and on Tuesday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable crowd of spectators.<sup>3</sup> As he passed along, old Mr. Arthur Jackson, an eminent Presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed Bible, which he was pleased to

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. 1. p. 116, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Under this name he lived, for some years, privately at Hursley, about seven miles from Romsey, now the seat of sir Thomas Heathcote, bart. and attended the meeting-house in Romsey. The pew in which he used to sit is still in being, and preserved entire at the church's removal to their new house, as a relic worthy of notice. Mr. Thomson's MS. Collections, under the word Romsey.—ED.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Grey gives from Echard and Heath a description of the procession.—ED.

receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct.<sup>1</sup>

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses, for themselves and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalist could have sat in the house; however, their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a Presbyterian parliament, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late king till the year 1648;<sup>2</sup> for when Mr. Lenthall, speaker of the long-parliament, in order to show the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that he that first drew his sword against the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the present speaker, by order of the house.

“Sir,

“The house has taken great offence at what you have said, which, in the judgment of the house, contains as high a reflection upon the justice of the proceedings of the lords and commons of the last parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be expressed. They apprehend there is much poison in the said words, and that they were spoken out of design to inflame, and to render them who drew the sword to bring delinquents to punishment, and to vindicate their just liberties, into balance with them who cut off the king's head; of which they express their abhorrence and detestation. Therefore I am commanded to let you know, that had these words fallen out at any other time in this parliament but when they had considerations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a sharper and severer sentence. Nevertheless, I am, according to command, to give you a sharp reprehension, and I do as sharply and severely as I can reprehend you for it.”

But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court;<sup>3</sup> for though they stopped short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for the securing men in

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<sup>1</sup> Baxter's Life, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Echard, p. 765.

<sup>3</sup> Rapin, p. 258.



the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was, as bishop Burnet observes,<sup>1</sup> the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate observes, the restoration of the king in this high and absolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miscarriages; so that if the revolution by king William and queen Mary had not taken place, the Restoration had been no blessing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the Rump had no power to appoint keepers of the liberties of England; nor had the keepers a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people, make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not strictly legal; which the court were so apprehensive of that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention-parliament had set about eight months, it was dissolved December 29, partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much Presbyterian; the prime minister [Hyde] having now formed a design, in concert with the bishops, of evacuating the church of all the Presbyterians.

The managing Presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from directors were become humble supplicants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor Hyde and the bishops; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended, at the instance of the earl of Manchester, to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz. Drs. Reynolds, Spurstow; Wallis, Manton, Bates; Mr. Calamy, Ashe, Case, Baxter, and Woodbridge.<sup>2</sup>

But none of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, each of them once. Here again the Presbyterians were divided in their politics, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Ashe, who were entirely directed by the earl of Manchester, and had frequent assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the city-ministers; but Dr. Seaman, Mr. Jenkins, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politics, says Mr. Baxter,<sup>3</sup> because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had

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<sup>1</sup> Page 126.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Baxter's Life, p. 229.

more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored to his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long-parliament which had not the royal assent were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the Common Prayer the only legal form of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his declaration had desired, that the Presbyterians would read so much of the liturgy as they themselves had no exception against, but most of them declined the proposal.<sup>1</sup> But to set an example to the rest of the nation, the house of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. Marston to read divine service before them, in his formalities, according to the Common Prayer-book; and the Sunday following, Dr. Garden preached and administered the sacrament to several of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31st of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly used should be constantly read in their house, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, shall be on any who are not present. The house of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who scrupled the use of the service-book, were prosecuted for offending against the statutes made in that behalf; the justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them.

The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferment; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the Presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers, were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for scandal, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. Goodwin having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen-college, the lords

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<sup>1</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 432.

ordered, “that Dr. Oliver be restored in as full and ample manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleasure of his majesty be farther known. And the three senior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution.”<sup>1</sup> The ejected fellows of New-college, Oxon, petitioned at the same time to be restored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that “Robert Grove, John Lampshire, &c. late fellows of New-college, Oxon, and all others who were unjustly ejected out of their fellowships, be forthwith restored; and that all such fellows as have been admitted contrary to the statute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fellows be admitted contrary to the statutes.”<sup>2</sup> And to prevent farther applications of this kind, the lords passed this general order, June 4, “that the chancellors of both universities shall take care that the several colleges in the said universities shall be governed according to their respective statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their headships, fellowships, or other officers relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored according to the said statutes of the university, and founders of colleges therein.”<sup>3</sup>

Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who in the months of August and September restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. In the university of Oxford, besides Dr. Oliver, already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were restored, and the present possessors ejected.

<i>Heads of colleges restored, August 3.</i>	<i>President of</i>	<i>In the place of heads ejected.</i>
Dr. Hannibal Potter,	Trinity-college	Dr. Seth Ward
Dr. Richard Bayly,	St. John's college	Mr. Thank. Owen
Dr. Francis Mansel,	Jesus-college	Mr. Francis Howel
Dr. Robert Newlin,	Corpus Christi-college	Dr. Edward Staunton
Dr. Gilbert Sheldon,	All Souls-college	Dr. Meredith, dec.
Dr. Thomas Yate,	Brazen Nose-college	Dr. D. Greenwood
Mr. Henry Wightwick,	Pembroke-college	Dr. Henry Langley.

N. B. This Mr. Wightwick was ejected a second time 1664.

Mr. Henry Wightwick,	St. Mary's-hall	Mr. Thomas Cole
Dr. Robert Saunderson,	Regius Prof. in Divinity	Dr. John Conant
Dr. Thomas Willis,	Nat. Phil. reader	Dr. Josh. Crosse
Dr. John Fell,	{ Can. of Chr. Ch. and Uni. }	} Mr. Ralph Button
Dr. Robert South,	} orator	
Dr. Thomas Barlow,	{ Can. of Christ-church and }	} Dr. H. Wilkinson, sen.
	} Marg. Prof.	

Besides these, all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were restored without exceptions, and such as had been nominated by the commissioners

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 173.

in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. The earl of Manchester, chancellor, was obliged to send the following letter to the university, dated August 3, for restoring Dr. Martin to the mastership of Queen's college, whom he had ejected for scandal by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

“Whereas I am informed, that Dr. Ed. Martin has been wrongfully put out of his mastership; these are to signify, to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an authority given to me, by the lords assembled in parliament, restore him to his said mastership, together with all lodgings, &c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have and enjoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unless cause be shown to the contrary within ten days after the date hereof.”<sup>1</sup> This gentleman was accordingly restored, and with him several others; as,

<i>Heads of Colleges restored.</i>	<i>Master of</i>	<i>In place of heads ejected,</i>
Dr. J. Cosins,	Peter-house	Dr. Lazarus Seaman
Dr. Thomas Paske,	Clare-hall	} Resigned to Dr. The. Dillingham
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Pembroke-hall	
Dr. Robert King,	Trinity-hall	Mr. William Moses
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Jesus-college	Mr. Bond
Dr. Edw. Rainbowe	} Magdalen-college, ejected for refusing Eng.	Mr. J. Worthington

All the surviving fellows unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the Presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.<sup>2</sup> To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the honours of the universities were offered to almost any who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government.<sup>3</sup> It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university by the visitors in 1648. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year; among whom, says the Oxford historian, some that had not been sufferers thrust themselves into the crowd for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created bachelors of divinity, seventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of physic, besides doctors of laws. The creations in the university of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midsummer-day, a

<sup>1</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 221, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Fasti, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, &c.

grace passed in the university in favour of some candidates for degrees.<sup>1</sup> August 2, the king sent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten persons doctors of divinity;<sup>2</sup> and on the 5th of September there were created, by virtue of his majesty's mandamus, no less than seventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of physic, and five bachelors of divinity. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.—Some of these were deserving persons, but the names of most of them are no where to be found but in the university-registers. Had the parliament-visitors in 1648, or Oliver Cromwell in his protectorship, made so free with the honours of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the illiterate, and prostitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a royal mandamus, without inquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical exercise, must be covered with a veil, because it was for the service of the church. In the midst of these promotions, the marquis of Hertford, chancellor of the university of Oxford, died, and was succeeded by sir Edward Hyde, now lord-chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of Clarendon. He was installed November 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

These promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Drs. Killigrew, Jones, Doughty, and Busby, were installed prebendaries of Westminster; and within a month or six weeks four more were added.<sup>3</sup> In the months of July and August, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were installed prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Chester, Litchfield, Bristol, Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, &c. were supplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.<sup>4</sup>—There were only nine bishops alive at the king's restoration, viz.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 220, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Rennet's Chron. p. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 204.

Dr. William Juxon,	bishop of London
Dr. William Pierse,	Bath and Wells
Dr. Matthew Wren,	Ely
Dr. Robert Skinner,	Oxford
Dr. William Roberts,	* Bangor
Dr. John Warner,	Rochester
Dr. Bryan Duppa,	Sarum
Dr. Henry King,	Chichester
Dr. Accepted Frewen,	Litchf. and Coventry.† 1

In order to make way for a new creation, some of the bishops above mentioned were translated to better sees; as,

Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency, says Bishop Burnet,<sup>2</sup> as being the eldest and most eminent of the surviving bishops; he never was a great divine, but was now superannuated.

Dr. Accepted Frewen was translated to York, September 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the son of a Puritanical minister, and himself inclined that way, till some time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyalist, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the see of Litchfield and Coventry: he made no figure in the learned world,<sup>3</sup> and died in the year 1664.

Dr. Bryan Duppa was translated to Winchester, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the service. He was a meek, humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, says Bishop Burnet,<sup>4</sup> and would have been more esteemed if he had died before the Restoration, for he made not that use of the great wealth that flowed in upon him as was expected.<sup>5</sup>

To make way for the election of new bishops in a regular and canonical

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 1. p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> \* Dr. Grey observes, however, on the authority of Wood, that Dr. Frewen, though he published only a Latin oration, with some verses on the death of prince Henry, was esteemed a general scholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral church, and a splendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed £1000 to Magdalen-college, Oxon, of which he had been president. Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 2. p. 663, 664. Godwinus de Præsulibus, cura Richardson, p. 714.—ED.

<sup>4</sup> Page 258.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Grey censures Mr. Neal for adopting this mistake of bishop Burnet, and says that Dr. Duppa's charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing alms-houses, with other charitable deeds, in benevolences, repairs, &c., £16,000 and was so good to his tenants as to abate £30,000 in fines. Richardson says, that during the two years he lived after his translation to the see of Winchester, he expended great sums in public services; and was meditating more undertakings. He built an alms-house at Richmond, and endowed it by his will with £1500. He bequeathed £200 to the alms-house at Pembridge in Herts; and, to omit private donations, he left to the church of Salisbury £500 of Winchester £200 of St. Paul's, London, £300 and of Cirencester, £200. Grey's *Examination*, vol. 3. p. 276; and Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 243.—ED.

manner, it was first necessary to restore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was advanced to the see of London; he was esteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had since engaged so deep in politics, says bishop Burnet,<sup>1</sup> that scarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dexterous man in business, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his professions of friendship. He seemed not to have a deep sense of religion, if any at all; and spoke of it most commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reason the king looked upon him as a wise and honest clergyman. He was one of the most powerful and implacable adversaries of the Nonconformists. .

Dr. Henchman was consecrated bishop of Sarum, and Dr. George Morley bishop of Worcester, October 28. December 2, seven bishops were consecrated together in St. Peter's, Westminster, viz.

Dr. John Cosins,	bishop of Durham
Dr. William Lawes,	St. David's
Dr. Benjamin Laney,	Peterborough
Dr. Hugh Lloyd,	Landaff
Dr. Richard Sterne,	Carlisle
Dr. Bryan Walton,	Chester
Dr. John Gauden,	Exeter.

On the 6th of January following four other bishops were consecrated, viz.

Dr. Gilbert Ironside,	bishop of Bristol
Dr. Edward Reynolds,	Norwich
Dr. Nicholas Monk,	Hereford
Dr. William Nicholson,	Gloucester.

Four or five sees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the Presbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be seen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite so ripe for execution; the Scots parliament disannulled the covenant, but episcopacy was not established in either of the kingdoms till next year. The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malcontents; the Independents and Anabaptists petitioned the king only for a toleration;<sup>2</sup> and the English Papists, depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty £100,000 before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the

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<sup>1</sup> Page 257.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

following clause in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs—That others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no justice of peace offer to disturb them.<sup>1</sup> When this was debated in the king's presence after the Restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace; but Mr. Baxter, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of Papists and Socinians; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said, the Presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. These still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, but the Independents and Baptists were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The Puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a mere Munster; and that if the Goths and Vandals, and even the Turks, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism, disloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university-chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age, as the Stillingfleets, Tillotsons, Bulls, Barrows, Whitbys, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and displaced. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of hypocrites; their looks, their dress, and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers to produce any period of time since the Reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciseness in indifferent matters; but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politics, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people were sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: there was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy set upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to excess in preaching and praying, and catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The magistrates did their duty in suppressing all kind of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public-houses. There was not a play

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<sup>1</sup> Compl. Hist. p. 258.



acted in any theatre in England for almost twenty years. The Lord's day was observed with unusual reverence: and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. The times which followed the Restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he usually came from his mistresses' apartments to church, even on sacrament-days.<sup>1</sup> There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. Women-actresses were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage; and the more obscene, the king was the better pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices. From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of old cavalier rioting and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matters of ridicule to libertines and scoffers:<sup>2</sup> some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words or actions, was the way to be accounted a schismatic, a fanatic, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for Presbyterians, and every Presbyterian was a rebel. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the restraints of their order. Every week, says Mr. Baxter,<sup>3</sup> produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night,

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<sup>1</sup> Rennet's Chron. p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Kennet's Chron. p. 493.

<sup>3</sup> Life, part 2. p. 288.

and mobbed in the streets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit.<sup>1</sup> Such was the general dissoluteness of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. Francis Taylor, sometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterward of Yalden, from whence he was called to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, and had a considerable share in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. Taylor removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Christ-church in that city, where I presume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critic in the oriental languages, and one of the most considerable divines of the assembly. He published several valuable works, and among others a translation of the Jerusalem Targum on the Pentateuch out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. Gataker, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epistle of Selden's, and several others, relating to Jewish antiquities. Among the letters to archbishop Usher there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, 1635. He corresponded also with Boetius, and most of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a son who was blind,<sup>2</sup> but ejected for nonconformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage-church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Grey questions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. Baxter's account of the matter, and of the conduct of himself and some of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will scarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candour in what Dr. Grey adds concerning the reply of Mr. Selden to an alderman of the long-parliament on the subject of episcopacy. The alderman said, "that there were so many clamours against such and such prelates, that they would never be quiet till they had no more bishops." On this Mr. Selden informed the house, what grievous complaints there were against such and such aldermen; and therefore, by parity of reasoning, it was his opinion, he said, that they should have no more aldermen. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human society itself, may be dissolved by the same argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men shall be revenged upon the whole body. Grey's Examination, vol. 3. p. 267.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> He lost his sight by the small-pox: but pursued his studies by the aid of others who read to him. His brother, who was also blind, he supported, and took great pains to instruct and win over to serious religion, but not with all the success he desired: he was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher: and his ministry was much valued and respected. He did not long survive the treatment he met with, in being seized and carried to prison; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. Palmer's Nonconformists' Memorial, vol. 2. p. 57, 58.—ED.