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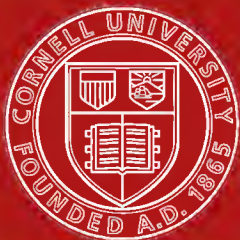
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THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A
FIFTH-MONARCHY-MAN.





M^r. Io. Rogers .

Facsimile of a contemporary engraving.

SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A
Fifth-Monarchy-Man.

CHIEFLY EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS

of JOHN ROGERS, Preacher,

by THE REV. EDWARD ROGERS, M.A.

Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

"The chief of these, among the Laity, were Major-General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Colonel Rich; among the Clergy, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feak, Mr. Symphon."—OLDMIXON'S History of the Stuarts.



LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER AND DYER.

1867.

G
M



PREFACE.

THE following account can claim no attention on the ground of the merits and importance of a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, whose name has been forgotten for nearly two hundred years. If it should prove interesting, it must be because it presents the “vera effigies,” the life-like and authentic portrait of one who, with much personal singularity, is no unfair representative of a faction which by its turbulent fanaticism earned for itself a momentary influence on politics, the hearty abhorrence of its opponents, and a certain place in history.

In the endeavour to construct a likeness of such a man as *John Rogers* appeared to his contemporaries and to himself, I have studiously availed myself of his own words, for in truth it is scarcely so much what he thought, did, and suffered, as the manner in which he himself described what he thought, did and suffered, which will enable the reader to understand him.

In thus compiling his life, chiefly from his own writings, my great difficulty has arisen from his exceeding volubility. “You will talk, I see,” *Oliver Cromwell* said to him,

“although it be nothing to the purpose.” As he talked so he wrote ; mixing with much that is terse and graphic a far greater quantity of what is tedious and irrelevant. I have been forced, therefore, to include in my extracts only so much as answered some purpose, omitting without scruple what I did not want, whether a word, a phrase, or a paragraph. By these excisions the continuity of my extracts has been so often interrupted that I have found it impossible, without perplexing the reader and disfiguring my book, even to mark their places by asterisks ; I have printed, therefore, as consecutive what in strictness should have been printed as a series of fragments.

This acknowledgment applies chiefly to the history of *Rogers’* early life and of his prison sufferings, to the Epistle to Purleigh, and to the five Epistles to *Cromwell*. In some of these, too, I have occasionally interpolated a word (within brackets) for the sake of grammar, or substituted a synonym for an expression which might unduly offend our modern sense of decorum.

In the Narrative of his interview with *Oliver Cromwell* I have indicated the omissions by the usual signs.

In dealing with his controversial works, “*Bethshemesh*” and “*Sagrir*,” and with *Crofton’s* “*Bethshemesh Clouded*,” I have only aimed at giving a general and just idea of their style and the more characteristic parts of their contents ; I have therefore not scrupled to extract, to re-arrange, or to condense, and that either in my own words, or in those of the respective authors, according to my judgment and convenience.

In extracts from books of the seventeenth century, the spelling and dates have been modernised except in a few in-

stances, where either inadvertently, or for some express purpose, the old form of spelling has been retained. Some of the more evident misprints, with which books of that period abounded, have been corrected.

I have only further to express my cordial acknowledgments to *Colonel J. L. Chester*, of the United States of America, the author of "The Life of John Rogers, the Marian Protomartyr," whose biographical sketch of the Fifth-Monarchy-Man in that book furnished me with authorities from which I commenced my own inquiries, and who has given me much friendly and valuable assistance in the course of them.





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LIFE AND OPINIONS OF A
Fifth-Monarchy-Man.

CHAPTER I.

JOHAN ROGERS, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, was the son of *Nehemiah Rogers*, Prebendary of Ely in the reign of Charles I, and the grandson of *Vincent Rogers*, minister of Stratford-le-Bow, in the reign of Elizabeth. Family tradition assigns to him and them a descent from *John Rogers*, the first sufferer for religion in the reign of Mary.

The life and character of Nehemiah are only remarkable for the contrast they afford to the life and character of his son. He was born in 1594, lost his father, Vincent, when he was eight years old, and was educated at Merchant Tailors' School and at Cambridge, where he became fellow of Jesus. Afterwards, as a clergyman of the Church of England, he held the curacy of St. Margaret's, Fish Street, London, from which he was transferred to the vicarage of Messing in Essex. In 1632 he published a sermon which he had preached at Kelvedon, on the occasion of Laud's second triennial visitation. In 1635 Laud announced to the president of St. John's, Oxford, that he had procured for the college the perpetual inheritance of the Rectory of Gatton, adding, "He that gives it to the college for my sake is *Mr. Nehemiah Rogers*, now a minister in Essex, and a man of good note. . . To whom and in what order this benefice upon

Laud's Works,
Ang. Cath.
Lib. vol. vii. p.
242.

Newcourt's
Repertorium,
vol. i. p. 313.

Walker's
Sufferings of
Clergy, part ii.
p. 22.

Parable of
Prodigal Son,
2nd Ed. 1632.

every avoidance shall be given, *Mr. Rogers* hath left wholly to my care." In 1636 he was preferred to a prebend at Ely, and in 1642 to the Rectory of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London. In 1642 and 1643 the Puritans cast out from their parsonages all the clergy of the Church of England who remained constant to Church and King. *Nehemiah Rogers* shared the fate of his brethren, and was thrown forth destitute on the world.

Like many others of the loyal clergy, when he lost his own home he found another in the homes of the country gentry. In process of time, but with great difficulty, he procured liberty to exercise his ministry, and during the later years of his life he officiated in various parishes in Essex. He died in 1660, a few days before Charles II. was publicly proclaimed in London.

He was a diligent writer while he could safely publish—that is to say, before 1640 and after 1658. His works, which were chiefly in exposition of the Parables, appear to have been popular in their day, but have not obtained any lasting reputation. One merit, however, they possess, for which they are here referred to; they reflect very clearly the character of the author, and it is in them that the contrast between father and son stands out most distinctly. Unlike his son, *Nehemiah Rogers* was of a gentle and peaceful disposition, and of moderate opinions; unlike his son, he had the art of conciliating those with whom he was brought in contact; and unlike his son, he loved to dwell not on political, but on practical religion, not on the iniquity of his adversaries, but on the kindness of his friends. These characteristics are most visible in his dedications, and especially in the earliest and the latest of them. Two or three extracts from these compositions, which are devoted, as he tells us, "to the testification of a thankful heart to those from whom he had received undeserved kindness," seem to illustrate his temper, and to a certain extent that of the times in which he lived. His first dedications are to the London citizens, of whose hospitality he had partaken in the good old times of King James I. "While I live," he says, "I shall confess your love, and the encouragement I had amongst you. What Candala, Queen of Pannonia, sometimes said to the Venetians for her royal entertainment, that she never knew herself to be queen till she came to their territories, I think the preachers of the Gospel may say, hardly can they know themselves, by their entertainment in the world, to be ministers of Jesus Christ, till they come to Londoners' houses and tables."

His lateſt dedications are to his pariſhioners in Eſſex, or to thoſe friends and patrons among the country gentry who had befriended him in his adverſity and old age. He thus writes to the worſhipful and religious gentleman, *Mr. Thomas Roberts*, of Little Braxted in Eſſex; and to the pious and religious gentlewoman, *Mrs. Dorothy Roberts*, his virtuous and worthy wife:—
 “Good Sir To you I am many ways obliged for your abundant favours and fruits of love really expreſſed even then when it pleaſed God moſt to darken my outward eſtate. For three years’ ſpace I moſt comfortably enjoyed my miniſtry through God’s goodneſs and yours in that pariſh where you now dwell, all which time I found your houſe to be both to me and mine, as the houſe of Oneſiphorus was to Paul, a houſe of great reſreſhment. Good *Mrs. Roberts*

To myſelf you have been like that godly Shunamite to Eliſha; you have joined as a partner to your huſband in his love and bounty, providing light and lodging, houſe room and firing, and other neceſſaries fitting for an Eliſha; and therefore I make bold to join you with him in this dedication, craving the like acceptance from you as from him.”

Thus, too, he commemorates the kindneſs of another of his lay patrons, *Mr. Edward Herrys*, of Much Badow:—“Worthy Sir Your friendly favours I may not bury in a kind of tacit acknowledgment, but I muſt needs acquaint the world with part of them. Under God, you were the principal means of my obtaining my liberty for the exerciſing of my miniſterial functions, and that in ſuch a time when it was thought ſcarce feaſible. You engaged your friends in it and were at coſt about it, and at length effected it, to my great comfort and content, who, having ſerved my Lord and Maſter fix full ’prenticeſhips in the works of the Goſpel, could not be but much troubled now in my old age, to be turned out of my ſervice, and have my indenture torn before death brought me my freedom, which I daily expect, wanting but few of thoſe years which David allows in common account to the days of man. This being done, yet you had not done, but were pleaſed, having the power in your hand, to remove me from that place where I was, from which I muſt confeſs I was drawn with much unwillingneſs, and preſent me to a living then vacant and in your power to diſpoſe of, where, with the general deſire and

Figleſs fig-tree,
 1659.
 Epistle
 dedicatory.

2 Tim. i. 16.

“The Faſt
 Friend,” 1658.
 Epistle
 dedicatory.

Ps. xc. 10.

Eccles. xii. 5.

Rev. ii. 19.

Infra, p. 34.

"Faith Friend."
Epist. to the
Reader.

Galat. iv. 19.
2 Cor. xii. 15.

good liking of the people as yet I am I have not been altogether idle in my younger time, no, not in a tempestuous season (to the glory of God who hath enabled me I speak it); albeit I see great cause, now that my almond tree doth bloom, and the weather serves, to double my diligence that my last works may be more than my first."

The following is part of his farewell to the parishioners from whom he had been drawn with so much reluctance, and affords a curious contrast to a farewell address from his son John, which will appear hereafter:—

"Friendly Reader,— Whilst God was pleased to cast out my lot amongst you at St. Ofyth* for the space of six years and upwards, I can comfortably use the Apostle's words—I travailed with pain, that Christ might be found in you. . . . St. Paul goes further, and tells the Corinthians, notwithstanding this, yet the more abundantly he loved, the less he was beloved of them; but that was not my case, and it was a great part of my happiness that it was so, for it is many a good minister's case. I found you for the generality at my first coming amongst you to be a most loving and willing people, and so you continued (so many as God continued life unto), even unto the time of my departing from you; you prevented me with your abundant courtesies, nor could I modestly desire anything of you that was not readily granted. To which, if I should add the great encouragement I had from those honourable persons now residing amongst you, both in countenancing my ministry and other great favours received, it may raise a wonder how it came about that I deserted you. . . . And now that I am removed from you, I cannot forget you, and my desire is that I may not be forgotten by you. That I remember you these few lines may let you understand, and that I may not be forgotten of you my hearty desire is that my labours amongst you may live in your hearts and lives. . . . And so, brethren, I com-

* From a manuscript list of the livings in Essex about the year 1653, it appears that St. Ofyth had then "neither parsonage nor vicarage," and that Mr. Nehemiah Rogers, the Incumbent, was "maintained by the Countess of Rivers."—*Lansdowne MSS.* 459.

mend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance amongst all them which are sanctified (Acts xx. 32), being the last text that was preached among you by him who is

A servant to you all
for the furtherance of
your souls' salvation,
NEHEMIAH ROGERS.

Doddinghurst,
July 22, 1658."

St. Ofyth, the parish which Nehemiah left, must have been a remarkable parish in those days, but Doddinghurst, to which he was transferred, must have been even more so. He tells the inhabitants that God had so blessed the labours of his predecessors "that there is not for anything that yet I perceive at present any faction or fraction amongst you, no Papist, Anabaptist, Quaker, or any such like schismatic; you live in amity and peace one with another (generally), which is not ordinary, and in these times a singular mercy."

The feelings with which he regarded the civil war and its consequences are sufficiently indicated in the following passage from a sermon, which he published about six weeks before the death of *Oliver Cromwell*:—"Let us look backward, and then take forward. How can we, in the first place, but lament and bewail our horrible ingratitude and unkind dealing with so bountiful and liberal a master. Marvellous hath been God's dealings towards this land and nation. Never any nation under Heaven that tasted more of the riches of God's bounty, nor stood more bound to God than this for his liberality. What peace! what plenty! what deliverances! What brightness of heavenly light for fourscore years did we enjoy! Whilst our neighbour nations were wearied with bloody wars, and scarce received any other dew than the blood of the inhabitants, we sat under our own vines and fig-trees, having peace within our walls and plenteousness within our palaces. We slept when they bled, we abounded when they wanted, we surfeited when they starved. Our sun did shine out gloriously whilst theirs was set. We had magistrates, ministers, schools, churches, laws, trade, all of the best, whilst they would have been glad of the worst, being deprived of them all. Ask Bohemia, ask Germany, what they thought of us. Would they not say, Happy

Deut. iv. 7.

Isai. v. 4, 7.

"Fast Friend,"
p. 449.

Ohel or
Bethshemesh,
p. 419.

art thou, O England! who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord? That which Moses said to Israel might be made ours (Deut. iv. 7): 'What nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh to them as the Lord our God is in all things we call unto him for?' But what use made we of this our Master's liberality? Surely whilst we should have been recounting mercies we were finding faults and spying flaws in our state and government. The civil was tyrannical, the ecclesiastical papistical, &c. Nothing pleased, not the hedge, not the wine-press, not the watch-tower, not the watchmen. These we trample down with our own feet, pluck down with our own hands. When God looked for grapes, behold wild grapes; for judgment and righteousness, sin and wickedness, hellish atheism and profaneness, horrid oaths and blasphemies, contempt of God's word and ordinances, violation of God's sabbaths, rebellion against governors, murder, theft, lying, and what not. . . . This was that which caused God to pull up the hedge, &c. to lay us even with other distressed churches, and make us know what we had by what we have lost. Thank we unthankfulness for what we have lost, for God takes no forfeiture but what unthankfulness makes."

Nehemiah Rogers married Margaret, sister of *William Colliugwood*, a loyal clergyman of Essex, who was ejected from his preferments in the Rebellion, and was one of the first Prebendaries of St. Paul's after the Restoration. With such relations it is not surprising that *John Rogers*, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, found but little sympathy in his own family when he broke away from them, and held communion with Puritans and Roundheads.

This John was the second son of *Nehemiah*, and was born in 1627. The following account of his early life is extracted from the history of his religious experiences, which he narrated by word of mouth before a congregation at Dublin. It was one of his tenets that every candidate for church-membership should deliver in according to his ability some such account of the previous works of grace upon his heart.

To give a formal account from year to year of my life would make me too tedious to you and myself. I hope we shall have opportunities hereafter to open ourselves in this kind one to another; in the mean time I shall cite

some of the most remarkable passages which to my present remembrance I have met with in former years to this day to do their duty and homage before you.

And first, when I was a schoolboy at Maldon, in Essex, I began to be roused up by two men, viz. *Mr. Fenner* and *Mr. Marshall*.* † The first of these about the tenth year of mine age, as I take it (for what I was before I know not, a mere—I know not what, although I was kept continually in good order, as to read every day and be catechized and the like), yet then hearing *Mr. William Fenner* full of zeal, stirring about, and thundering, and beating the pulpit, I was amazed and thought he was mad,—I wondered what he meant, and whilst I was gazing upon him I was struck, and saw that it was we that were mad, which made him so. “Oh,” says he, “you knotty! rugged! proud piece of flesh! you stony, rocky, flinty, hard heart, what wilt thou do when thou art roaring in hell amongst the damned!” &c. This made me at first amazed, which run often in my mind after, and I began now to be troubled, being scared and frightened, and out of fear of hell I fell to duties, hear sermons, read the scriptures, (though I knew not what I read, but only thought the bare reading was enough, morning and

1. Call to awaken him by the Word.

Scared at the thoughts of hell.

Very formal and strict in it.

* Dr. William Fenner was born in 1600; was presented by the Earl of Warwick to the Rectory of Rochford, in Essex, in 1629, and died in 1640. Anthony à Wood says that he “was much admired and frequented by the Puritanical party.”—*Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 451; ANTHONY À WOOD'S *Faßt. Oxon.* i. 223.

Stephen Marshall, the Presbyterian, was minister successively of Weathersfield and Finchingfield, in Essex, and lecturer at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He was a constant preacher before the Long Parliament, by which he was consulted in all matters of importance relating to religion. Without doubt,” says Clarendon, “the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the counsels at Court as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall had then upon the Houses” of Parliament.—*Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 241, and *Clarendon*, ii. 25.

Right
formality.

Under great
bondage of
works.

2. Call to
awaken by the
Word.

evening), and learned to pray, at first out of books, and all the graces, so called, that I could get. And besides family prayers I was afraid every night lest the devil should carry me away to Hell, if I did not first to myself, whilst my brother, my bedfellow, was fast asleep, say my prayers and my "Our Father," and "I believe in God," &c. and the Ten Commandments, and my little catechism (Dr. Hall's), which I had learned, and this I did every night duly before I durst sleep, and I made as much of them as of a charm to keep me well that night, which else I conceived the devils would tear me to pieces. And yet sometimes, when I was sleepy, to make the more haste I should say some of them at least, to be in a forwardness, in the chimney corner, whilst I was unbuttoning me, or untying my hose, or the like, preparing to go to bed, thinking all was well enough, so 'twas but done, only sometimes, though I was unwilling to it, yet out of fear I remember of the Devil, or some mischief, being ready to fancy anything to be the Devil, I should say my prayers, or commandments, or catechism, or all, twice over, suspecting I said them not well enough before. Thus, as the Apostle says, when I was a child I did childish things, and I thought this was very well, and very oftentimes would I be talking with some boy or other, getting him from all the rest to walk with me, and I would tell him of Hell and sin, and such like things, for it ran always in my mind, and I lived under a desperate fear. But for all this, *Mr. Marshall*, a while after in the same pulpit, took me napping, whilst I was, I know not how, bewitched to nod, and began to sleep; but his powerful voice * thundering against such as are drowsy, and sleep and slumber away their salvation, was at that time picked out for me, and very prevalent. I

* "Roar like Marshall, that Geneva Bull,
Hell and Damnation a pulpit-full."

—*Cleveland's Rebel Scot.*

started up with an aching heart, and was frightened at his words, which he yet pursued, and wounded me to the heart, when he told us how that when time was lost we could not call it again. O, I was sufficiently wounded, and fell a weeping. I could not hold, and after sermon I went home where I boarded, and sat alone crying and complaining that I had lost my time: and at that time I took up a purpose never to sleep at church more, and made a covenant with it, which I think to this day I observed ever since; and when I began (as at first I was often tempted) to be drowsy, I would always stand and hold on nothing, and cast my eyes about to open them more.) But after this I resolved to write down as well as I could every sermon I heard, and to get them by heart, and to say every night one sermon; and this course which I took made me more ready at night, when my father repeated the sermons, or the landlord where I boarded—for they both did it, being very godly,—this made me readier to answer when we were asked what we could remember. And this course I took customarily for nine or ten years together, long after I came from Cambridge; and hereby I was not only able to tell many men's sermons together, but also able (though chiefly by higher means) to preach at eighteen or nineteen years of age, as I did in Huntingdonshire, if not sooner, to the amazement of many, but to the table-talk of more.

But not long after this that I heard *Mr. Marshall* as before, I was further awakened by my father, who, preaching upon the Good Samaritan, and shewing his compassion, &c. preached and pressed so powerfully, that I was thrown into a trembling as lying under the guilt of Christ's blood, and was long perplexed about it.

But after all this there is another remarkable passage that I must never forget, which I met with, or rather met with me, to the purpose. About 1637, as I take it, at

How to keep
from sleeping
in the church.

More formal.

How to keep
Sermons many
years.

Nehemiah
Rogers, that
writ on the
Parables.

3. Call to
awaken by the
Word.

4. Call to
awaken by a
strange vision.

A warning to
such as take
God's name in
vain.

Messing, in Essex, I was playing with children, my fittest companions then, and running round about the house we lived in through two or three little gates, in sport and idleness as I was running with the rest, I know not how or upon what occasion, I threw out vain words, and crying, "O Lord" (which we were not suffered to do), my heart was suddenly smitten upon it, and I was suddenly set a running as if I had been possessed by I know not what power or spirit, not having any strength to stay myself, were it upon my life, until I was headlong carried through a little gateway, where as plainly to my thinking and in my appearance as ever I saw anything by the sunshine, there was set a naked sword glistering with a fearful edge, I thought, and which took up the whole space of the gate from one post to another, with a broad blade most keen and cruel, at which sad sight so fraught with frights I ghastly screeched, and yet had not the least power to stay or stop my precipitant course, but I was quickly carried quite unto it, so as that the edge of the cruel blade meeting with my body, it seemed to me impossible I should escape death, and I made no other account but to be quite cut off and parted asunder ; but afterward being hurried through with that headlong and furious force, I had strength to stay a little beyond it, and to perpend the perplexible peril which I was in. I stood as one amazed, or rather as one that knew not whether he were alive or dead ; I knew not how to believe myself less than a dead man, and afterward at least mortally and deadly wounded, if not desperately and deplorably cut in twain. Oh ! how I stood trembling and tumbling in my thoughts, until the vital blood, which was fled for the heart's defence, began to disperse again and to go quietly to their own homes, and then I looked about and turned me to the gateway, but the appearance was passed away, the sword gone and vanished, whilst I was left alone, the rest running away, in a labyrinth of fears, with-

out any wound without, but deeply and woefully wounded within, and never since (to the praise of God's grace), as I know of, have I had such extravagant, preposterous expressions pass from me.

But, good God, what was thy will herein? Thou who art not tied to means or order, best orderest and disposest of all things for thine own design and glory, and so this was, I am sure; but what it was I know not, yet it left a lasting impression upon me, and the scar is yet to be seen in my heart, though the wound be healed. But, alas! how long and lamentably I lay afflicted and in continual fears after this! Every thunder and lightning I looked upon as my fate and sent for me, and then I would fall to my prayers, and saying my Creed and Commandments, and to my sermons, as fast as might be, that I might be found well-doing at least, if not as a charm to defend me, or a challenge to God by virtue of them to keep and bless me. But all this while like an Israelite in Egypt I worked for life, and my services were my saviours, and I would to my brothers, sisters, and schoolfellows and companions, take occasion to talk of Heaven and Hell, and what a hard thing it was to be saved.

Some time after this in Maldon, where I was boarded, and put to the Free-school, I had a certain dream, which by the consequence proved a prevision of what is now come to pass. It was on a night about the time when the Spaniards and Hollanders had a scuffling and a kind of naumachie* upon the Downs, for then some talking of that fight filled me full of fears, and in the night my dream was that fire rained (as I may say), or rather poured down round about, and looking where I was, I thought it to be without the coach-yard gate of my father's house, and I

A prevision in
a dream at
Maldon, in
Essex.

* "1639, Sept. 7, Fight in the Downs between the Spanish and Dutch fleets."—*Historian's Guide*.

Interpreted by
Dr. Drayton.

Came to pass.

Resting in
doings.

was frightened to see nothing but fire, looking upward and round about, praying for deliverance. None came nigh me round about by a good space, but flaming else I thought in all places, and I could see none exempted; wherefore being afflicted for my father and our family, I fell on my knees for them, and I thought I continued so, long ere I could be heard, but was at last bid to arise and look, and then I thought the fire fell not so fast on my father's house as it did before, but by little and little abated till I awaked. Now, although this dream had seized much upon my spirits, yet I made no other account of it than of a fancy till five or six years after, in the Isle of Ely, meeting with *Dr. Drayton, D.D.* he declared to me for several reasons that this must be more than a mere dream, and that he was confident it did shew some fiery and angry dispensation upon all our family, and my father and the rest should lie under some trouble by the times or otherwise, and myself should be set free, and at this liberty to pray for them, and that by degrees they should be recovered and brought out, and the fire abate. Which interpretation (more fully by far from his own mouth) is for the most part verified at this day. But all this while I was labouring for life, exceedingly formal, and I did much covet to know the things of God, and therefore wished oft I were but a minister, such a one as *Mr. Fenner* is, or *Mr. Marshall*, or *Mr. Hooker*, or my father, or some other that was eminent, that I might attain to their knowledge, and then I thought I should do abundance more for God (as if God were beholding to me for my obedience), and I would then, I thought, be sure to get salvation (as if I could then easily do it).

Thus, a poor creature, I continued for several years together, and if you knew but half what I met with in that time you would say I was a poor creature indeed as any alive, for I kept to myself many fast-days, and would eat

nothing ; heard, read, sang psalms ; meditated, used soliloquies, and prayed many times a day, and what not ; and yet at last despaired even to the depth. What by often thoughts of Hell, reading Drexellius upon eternity, and then thinking of endless, endless and remediless torments, and what by frequent frights as before, and what by my father once preaching on the fool in the Gospel (Luke xii. 20), "Thou fool, this night will I take away thy soul ; then whose shall those things be that thou hast provided ?" —whence he handled a point of the folly of men to lay up here and forget Heaven, and shewing that Heaven came not with ease on a down bed, but many shall strive hard to enter and shall not be able, and that except you exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. v. 20), you shall in no case enter into the kingdom of Heaven,—what with these and other things I was almost in the bottomless abysses of torments. I took the Bible to look these Scriptures, read them over and over and over again, but the more I read the more I roared in the black gulf of despair, where I was cast so deep as to me and others I seemed sometimes past all recovery. I prayed, fasted, mourned, got into corners, yea many times, being I was ashamed to make my case known, I have ran into barns, stables, anywhere, pretending as if I had business, on purpose to pray, sigh, weep, knocking my breast, curse that ever I was born, wishing I were a stone, anything but what I was, for fear of Hell and the devils, whom I thought I saw every foot in several ugly shapes and forms, according to my fancies, and sometimes with great rolling flaming eyes like saucers, having sparkling firebrands in the one of their hands, and with the other reaching at me to tear me away to torments. O the leaps that I have made ! the frights that I have had ! the fears that I was in ! which continued off and on to the beginning of these times. Besides, great outward afflictions that I met with were of

Despaired.

5. Knock,
awakened by
the Word.

Fearful
afflictions and
tears.

Temptations.

much force to bring me into this condition, being often (and doubtless I might deserve it too, too much) beaten, bruised, turned out of doors, whirled and kicked about, hardly and unkindly used, at which times I should sometimes be tempted to murder myself, sometimes think I could not belong to God, for then he could not endure to see me thus used and afflicted; and yet I fly to Him and pray, and pray, and pray, but as good speak to a post, for I am not relieved. Sometimes I should read and weep, and, as my usual manner was in the time of my great despair, fall flat all along with my face on the ground, and cry, and call, and sigh, and weep, and call for help; but the Lord's time was not yet come to answer, and I was wont to weep half the night together, if not all sometimes, and to water my bed with my tears, for fear of Hell and the Devil, and therefore for sins or rebellious disobedience, and ever slept with my hands clasped close together in a praying posture, that if I did die, or that the devils did prey upon me, they might find me in a praying posture, sleeping as well as waking. I never durst go to sleep otherwise to my knowledge for five or six years together.

The greatest blow.

But the greatest blow I had was from the sentence of the aforefaid Scripture in *Matt. v. 20*. Surely, thought I, I but strive against the stream and seek out impossibilities, if I must exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees; I had often read of their strictness in their Houses and Synhedriums and Schools, &c. [and] these considerations and such like made me think it in vain to seek to be saved. In a word, to such a height was I grown up unto, that I did not only despair, but began to be distracted and out of my wits, as we use to say. I thought trees sometimes good Angels, sometimes bad, and looked upon bushes as the Dens of Devils. I should sit up whole nights sometimes in a little turret we had, in an orchard, from the house, studying, singing, whistling, whooping, or drawing figures, or one

Despair.

thing or other, or else be walking in the fields, woods, or some other places, talking to myself, speaking to trees as to men, or as to angels or God, and thinking the least whistling of the wind, or chirping of a bird, or lowing of a beast, to be some answer sent to me, as I would fancy it. But as these distracted distempers grew higher, I could not avoid the forcible temptations of a furious Devil, making me sometimes whet a knife, sometimes take a billet, sometimes one thing, sometimes another, to murder myself and sometimes others, and sometimes all—for I would have had all to have gone my way, methought. Many ways I tried, but was always prevented, till at last I was taken and bound hand and foot, and held or tied fast in a bed till the raging fits were over; and then, when I was spent and patient, if let go, yet without a watchful eye, though it may be I said nothing, yet the first thing I went about, it may be, would be to seek a knife, or to get to the window to cast myself down headlong; but I have been strangely and almost miraculously kept, even in the very act and instant of time, when a few minutes longer had been too late to save my life.

Miraculously
saved from
self-murder.

I dare boldly say, few that saw me in those headlong distempers did think me at the best fit for any place but Bedlam, and that I should ever be restored to what I am, which was also as strangely; for, as the distracted fits did much abate me, they did turn more to inward malady and melancholy, my continual cry being, "I am damned! I am damned! I am sure I can't be saved—it is impossible. Oh, Hell! Hell! fire about me! the devils are at me!" and I thought I heard the damned roaring and raving, and saw them as 'twere roaring, and their frisking and frying in everlasting torments. My mind and all was taken up with their howlings and screechings. This sad condition, day and night, lasted upon me until I was persuaded that there was a God, and that this God was righteous, and that he

Inward
melancholy
and despairs.

A word to the
wicked.

would hear prayers if I continued but knocking with importunity and gave not over ; then I resolved with myself, (and gathered together here and there those scattered reliques of reason which were left me), that I would continue prayer, and so I did (though by fits I was froward and mute, and wild and I know not how), yet off and on, five days together, scarce eating a bit of bread in all that time, and was after that in another form and frame of spirit, though by fits full of distraction and desperate thoughts, yet more serious and set to weigh things as in a balance, and to expostulate with the Lord, and to pray by fits most furiously, and now and then tears began again, which were all dried up before, to trickle and come tumbling down my face like swollen drops of blood, and I continued thus three or four days ; till one afternoon, coming into a chamber, my heart being as big as it could hold, I threw myself flat on my face as I used to do, knocking the boards and calling and crying to the Lord for deliverance, and using such exorcising expressions as might discover me in despair ; and starting up, I walked a turn or two, saying, “ Is there not a God ? Is he gracious ? Are the Scriptures false ? Canst thou take delight to see a poor soul thus set on the rack, fighting and roaring in torment ? Rise up and appear for thyself, thou great God, shew thyself gracious in one act of mercy, maugre all the devils in Hell ! ” And with knocking my breast and tearing my hair, I threw myself upon the bed, whilst my eyes were glazed with tears, and there I lay in a sudden sleep which seized upon me, and I dreamed of the same Scripture (the letter, which killed me), and yet of Christ (the Spirit which quickened me), and that his righteousness, by faith made mine, did exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, and except I, in and by the righteousness of Christ made mine, did excel the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, I could not be saved—that is, not without the righteousness of Christ.

Restored
extraordinarily
by a dream.

When I awaked, I was so much changed that I was amazed at myself at the suddenness of it; for I dreamed I was comforted and my heart filled with joy, and when I awaked it was so indeed. I started up and rebuked myself, saying, "Why, I am not damned! What's the matter? am I so filled with a fancy? with a sudden hope of I know not what nor whence?" At which time I fell to pray, and whilst I was praying I said, "Lord, is this true? say, is it true? if it be so, let it be shown me that it is so." So I was persuaded that the righteousness of Christ was mine, and thus I had the first assurance of salvation, for that very same Scripture that before condemned me did now justify me, that is, in Christ. Well, with this joy I continued to this hour, holding and keeping ground against all temptations (which are infinite) that I have met with ever since. Yet Satan, my continual and never-ceasing enemy, now began to muster up afresh more troubles against me, and to follow me with an host of afflictions and temptations, as Pharaoh followed Israel with a purpose to destroy him. And see how a bird that is escaped out of the hand is hunted up and down by the boys; the doors are shut, the windows and holes stopped to hinder her escape, and see how they hunt her, throw their hats at her, scare her up and down till they think to tire her and make her fall into their fingers again. So did Satan set upon me, I may say a thousand ways, by himself and his agents, to hunt me up and down, and to tire me out and to make me if he could fall into his fingers again, but that my God whom I unfeignedly serve from my soul did deliver me, does deliver me, and I trust will deliver me, as the Apostle says. For though the Devil did use many snares, and beset me so about, as you will hear, that it seemed scarce possible I should escape, yet the Lord set me at liberty from the snares of the fowler, though sometimes so subtly laid that I could not discern them; and what he could not do by his fair insinuations

Evangelical.

Confirmed and
seconded by
prayer and the
Word.

And got into
an assurance of
salvation, and
how.

Satan's fresh
bouts.

2 Cor. i. 10.

Greater
afflictions.

and subtleties and inward motions and temptations, he tried to do by violence in tormenting me and making me the most object of affliction and misery all about. For, to proceed, my friends became mine enemies, and my preciseness was an eyefore to many; near relations cast me off, and I was looked upon as disobedient for keeping company with such as were godly Puritans and accounted then Roundheads, and for praying and holding communion with them (though commanded to the contrary). At length I found so little love and so much malice from some, that I was turned out of doors,* and forced, as men say, to seek my fortune—to fly with my own feathers, with three shillings and sixpence or thereabouts, as I take it—to travel up and down in strange countries, and that in the coldest winter time of the year; in snowy weather up to the knees very often, and whilst the very icicles hung on my hair and cheeks a conflux of tears that came hot would thaw them, which fell abundantly from me in the open fields and highways, where none but God took notice of them. Yet I did often beg at poor cottages or so, but to come in to warm me or dry me, or for a draught of small beer or so, which would make some poor souls fall a weeping to see me. But after many dangers and troubles, I footed it as far as Cambridge, where I sought from college to college to be but a fizer or poor scholar, (my little stock of money being all gone, and the servitors of King's College, of which I was one before, being dismissed), but I could have no place, and I had no money, and I wanted bread, and that so long that all others failed to do anything for me, insomuch I was forced for life to try all things, and eat leather, and drink water, and eat old quills and pens where I could pick them up out of the dust, roasted in a few coals which were left in

Almost starved
at Cambridge.

* His father was "turned out of doors" also about this time (1642) by the Puritans.

the chamber where I was, and I assayed sometimes to eat grafs, and did it ; yea, I grew to that height of penury and famine that I sometimes tried to eat my own fingers, biting them till I could endure it no longer ; then tearing my hair and crying, I had recourse to prayer, whereby the passion, it may be, would away for the present ; but this continued so long that I met with temptations in the wilderness to turn stones into bread ; and the Devil did often tempt me to study Necromancy and Nigromancy, and to make use of Magic, and to make a league with him, and that then I should never want, but shew me as 'twere upon the pinnacle the glory of the world, so represented to me in my fancy, bidding me but obey him—that is, fall down and worship him, and I should have both my bags of money by me and be honoured of all men and owned by all my friends, and go home with great riches and in great respect. But God would not suffer me to hearken to him, but to tell him, “Thou art a liar from the beginning ; away, thou malicious accuser of the brethren, tempt me not.” And then I prayed and read the Scriptures, and writ holy meditations and soul-foliloquies on the 88th Psalm, all in verse very pathetical and fuitable to my condition ; and I began Dives and Lazarus here, and Lazarus and Dives hereafter, two books which I soon after concluded, using in it English, Latin, Italian, French—being very tragical, and all in verse very fuitable to my condition under several temptations ; all which I had thoughts, with some others which I have by me, to have printed for public profit, but wanted a purse ; so that instead of Magical and Astrological studies I bent my mind to holy meditations, soul comforting, Angelical and Evangelical contemplations. Yet I continued under strong temptations ; but, to the praise of God I speak it, I think never was I a more growing Christian than after Satan had these repulses. But yet I must not omit to tell you that I had one other temptation first, which was almost irrecover-

Temptations strong.

The Devil tempts to yield to him.

Is repulſed.

The Devil tempts another way.

A most strong
temptation

to murder
himself
prepared,

but strangely
prevented.

Much afflicted
for his sin and
yielding to
Satan.

able. For, finding myself almost starved and pined to death, my strength almost gone, my eyes sunk deep in my head, and wearing death's colours, I was almost at my wits' ends, for now one temptation got ground and came on audaciously, and grew strongly upon me, so that I could not escape it but it followed me. I took up the skin of my wasted hands and arms with a resolution to tear it off for hunger, but in vain. The Devil had so besotted me that I could see no ways to evade death; for I had been beholding to all the scholars I could find any courtesy in, to bring me scraps, or skins of salt fish, or something or other, in their handkerchiefs or pockets, which kept me alive awhile, till at last they were all weary, and I wasted almost to death and ashamed to beg openly about; and I was blinded as to any way that I could find to recover out of this condition. Wherefore after violent and never-ceasing temptations, I drew my knife, whetted it sharp, opened my doublet and shirt, and in the midst of the room where I was alone kneeled down to prayer to surrender my soul up into the hands of God, my knife lying by me prepared, and I prepared for the act; when, behold, a door which I thought was bolted all the night before was but shut to, which a scholar opens, and with the screeking of it made me start up and throw my knife into the chimney in haste, as ashamed of what I was doing; and in comes the scholar to tell me of a place in Huntingdonshire to teach gentlemen's children, at my Lord Brudenel's house, and how one of our college was sent to but refused it; by which means I was recovered out of that eminent danger, and after the scholar was gone did exceedingly reprove and check myself for suffering this temptation to grow so upon me for want of faith, and was much afflicted at it; but, being now night, I went, as I use to do, supperless to bed (after duty), but my heart melting into abundance of tears—first for the sin that I was about, and then for the love of God and his care

appearing for me ; until, with an heart full, and head full, and eyes full, and all, I was fallen into a deep sleep, and visited with an extraordinary token from on high, both in dream and vision, which hath been since accomplished (as I take it), and the last in Ireland the last year. The dream was this : That I was walking home to my Father's house with a staff in my hand ; and fearing lest I should be out of the way, I looked for the path, which at first I could scarce discern was a path, and began to look about and to question it, till by and bye I perceived some footsteps of some that had gone that way ; with that I went forward, and the further I went the plainer I perceived it to be the path, and that I was in the way, and I could see no other ; at which I rejoiced, and went on confidently as if I feared no evil nor enemy, till I came to a fine, glorious, beautiful house and building on the left hand of me, out of which came forth a beam which reached a little cross the way I was to go in ; so that I being at a little stand at first, yet would not stoop under this beam, but stepped aside and so passed away, laying my hand on it as I stepped by the side of it ; but the house I thought was all in a flame of a sudden ; so that, being something troubled thereat, I passed on in the way, wondering in myself what this should be, till I was overtaken by some rude, violent, malicious men, that laid to my charge the setting this house on fire, and would not hear me speak, but were harshly haling me away to prison, with which, being sufficiently frightened and all my flesh set a trembling, I awaked, and was offended with myself for being troubled at a dream—a foolish fancy ; so I laid me (it being yet dark) and fell asleep again, and was cast into the same dream again word for word ; and at my right hand I thought there was a grave, ancient man, full of white hairs like wool, a long white beard, who stood by me and bid me cheer up. “ Fear not ; for the Lord hath sent me to comfort thee,

Comforted and confirmed in dream and vision extraordinarily.

The dream is reiterated.

The dream interpreted in sleep.

How first
called to the
Ministry in his
sleep.

Prophetical.

Partly
performed of
late in Ireland,
as is well
known; but I
believe not
wholly.

and to tell thee that He hath chosen thee to preach His word and Gospel of Christ, which is the staff that thou hast in thy hand, and which staff (that is, the word of God) thou shalt walk home with to thy Father's house, i. e. Heaven, where is fulness of joy. But after a time thou wilt be troubled with the different opinions and ways of men, and seem at first to be at a loss, but the Lord will be thy guide. Go on, and as thou goest forward the way of the Lord will lie clearer and clearer before your eyes; but the footsteps are the examples of the saints that have gone before you, which will be a great help unto you, and you shall walk cheerfully on in the way which is clear to you (than the which you shall see no other); but yet you must meet the fair house on the left hand, i. e. the glory and great ones of the world, who make a great and fair show to men, as built high, but they must fall, and are but on the left hand of you, whilst you will despise them, preach against them, and turn your eye looking forward to go on in the way of God, and turn not about; but the beam, that comes out of this great house which makes so much show, is meant the powers and opinions of such, which, whilst somewhat crosses to the way, you step aside and will not stoop under, they are set on fire and inflamed of a sudden; but be not troubled, go forward; although they will send after you saying you have brought this fire upon them, and they will falsely accuse you, and seek to hale you away to prison for this fact." At which I awaked again, this being morning, about daybreak, and being filled with confidence and comfort, I rose up and writ it down presently. And away I went that day towards Diddington in Huntingdonshire, where the Lord Brudenel once lived, but was then sequestered;* and one that the

* An ordinance for sequestering notorious delinquents' estates was passed April 1, 1643.

Committee put in had gentlemen's children to board with him, whom I afterward taught. But after all these deliverances I did multiply abundantly in gifts and graces, either to pray, expound, read, sing hymns and spiritual songs. And finding the Lord so abundantly to endue me from above, and to qualify me for the call which I had before in the night for the ministry, which then I little meant or imagined could be (it being often resolved against before by my father, and my books ordered to be packed up); but finding things following so fairly to concur, I was much confirmed in it that the Lord had designed me thereunto.

At this time I came to be convinced of the Parliament's proceedings and cause to be more regular and in order to the great work that God hath to do in nations than the Kings, by comparing them together and bringing them to the Word, and then I saw clearly by the Word that God would do what he hath to be done by them, and for them, and for the Commonwealth.

It was not long after this that I was, by a godly people in Toseland,* earnestly importuned and at last prevailed with to preach the Gospel, and I was soon known in the country, and after sent for into Essex, where I settled, passing twice through the Assembly on examination and approbation.† So, although ever since I have met with many sorts of afflictions and oppositions, lies, slanders, threatenings, libels, vows, and endeavours to take away my life, yet many have added testimony to the word I have delivered in all places, the Lord be praised, to the great refreshing of my soul, and towards the making up of my

From that time how he grew fit for the Ministry.

2. Call to the Ministry.

3. Call to preach.

4. Call.

Vide Epistle to Purleigh before the 2 Liber.

* A small parish near St. Neots.

† He speaks elsewhere of having received Presbyterian orders in "the very first classis that ever was in England." Classis were fully organized nowhere except in Lancashire in the year 1646, and in London in 1647.

joy when I shall give an account (to their comfort) at the great day."

Either from choice or from necessity *Rogers* usually alighted on disturbed districts. In 1642, a few months before he was turned out of his father's house at Messing, the civil war had broken out. In August, *Charles I.* had set up his standard at Nottingham, and in October he had fought the indecisive battle of Edgehill. During the following winter those counties in which the parliamentary interest was sufficiently strong were forming themselves into Associations for mutual defence. The most influential of these was that of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Cambridge, to which Huntingdonshire was afterwards annexed. It is known by the name of the Eastern Association, and was placed under the command of *Lord Grey of Wark* and *Oliver Cromwell*. *Rogers* must have passed through the centre of this newly-formed association between Messing and Cambridge in the winter of 1642-3. Possibly he overrates the dangers and troubles of the road; but in truth those Eastern Counties, and especially Cambridgeshire, were at that time in a very disturbed state, and travellers were liable to inconveniences and interruptions, if not to positive dangers. A few months earlier *Sir John Brampton*, then a young man, had travelled on horseback through the same Association, on a mission from his father in Essex to the King at York, and his travelling experiences exemplify the sort of trouble to which *Rogers* also would probably have been exposed. "I went," he says, "from Skreenes thither (to York) in three days, stayed there one day, and returned home again to Skreenes in three days more on the same horse. . . . As we went about Stanford we were directed by the watchman a way to avoid the town, the plague being there. . . . In our return on Sunday, near Huntingdon, between that and Cambridge, certain musketeers start out of the corn, and command us to stand, telling us we must be searched, and to that end we must go before *Mr. Cromwell*, and give account from whence we came, and whither we were going. I asked where *Mr. Cromwell* was. A soldier told us he was four miles off. I said it was unreasonable to carry us out of our way; if *Mr. Cromwell* had been there I should have willingly given him all the satisfaction he could desire, and putting my hand into my pocket gave one of them twelve pence, who said we might pass."

Nor could he have chosen a more unlucky season for residence at Cambridge. In August of the same year (1642) the Colleges had endeavoured to send their plate to the King, and "one *Master Cromwell*, burgess for the town of Cambridge, and then newly turned a man of war," was sent by the Parliament to stop them. *Cromwell* surrounded the Colleges "while we were at our devotion in our several chapels," and carried away several heads of houses and doctors of divinity prisoners to London. Towards the end of the year Cambridge was garrisoned for the Parliament, and from that time forward for nearly two years the University was harassed in every possible way: gownsmen were ill-used by soldiers, King's College Chapel was turned into a drill-room, other Colleges into barracks, and finally upwards of two hundred fellows and tutors were expelled. In 1664, *Rogers* thus alludes to the interruption of his studies:—"Ultra jam duos vigintique annos elapsos doctrinæ *ιατρικῆς* hujus hospes fuero in Athenis Palæstrisque nostris donec inter arma non tantum leges, sed etiam literæ omnes fiebant, quum Bellona tantopere matribus truculenta ac formidolosa, matri almæ Cantab. nostræ bellicosa fuisset, Minervamque Pieridesque nostras e collegiis et possessione deturbasset."

Querela¹
Cantab. 4, 5.

Again, when he left Cambridge, in 1643, and settled in Huntingdonshire, he found that county also in a state of disorder. An ordinance of Parliament, dated 18th July, 1643, declares that "the weekly assessments for the County of Huntingdon have not yet been proceeded with, because of the fears and distractions of that county; that the said county being now become a frontier to the Associated Counties of Cambridge, &c. is enforced through the emergent dangers to make extraordinary provision of foot and horse for the safeguard of the said county and the other Associated against the incursions of the plundering enemy, and that this has occasioned extraordinary disbursements of money, of which the committee of that county is utterly unprovided." And three weeks afterwards *Oliver Cromwell* wrote as follows:—

"For my noble Friends the Committee of the Association sitting at Cambridge: These

"Huntingdon, 6 Aug. 1643.

"GENTLEMEN,

"You see by this Enclosed how sadly your affairs stand. It's no longer disputing, but Out instantly all you can! Raise all your

A collection of
Orders, &c.
published by
authority of
Parliament in
1646, p. 239.

A Fifth-Monarchy-Man.

Bands ; fend them to Huntingdon ; get up what Volunteers you can ; hasten your Horses.

“Send these letters to Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex without delay. I beseech you spare not, but be expeditious and industrious ! Almost all our foot have quitted Stamford ; there is nothing to Interrupt an enemy, but our horse, that is considerable. You must act lively ; do it without Distraction ! Neglect no means. I am

Your faithful Servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Carlyle's Oliver
Cromwell,
Suppl. to 1st
Ed. p. 15.

At this time *Rogers* came to be convinced of the justice of the Parliament's cause, and probably at this time also, and in Huntingdonshire, he took up arms as a volunteer, and performed those services in the field against the common enemy of which he boasted afterwards.





CHAPTER II.

ROGERS left Huntingdonshire and returned to Essex in 1647 or 1648. About the same time he received Presbyterian ordination, married a daughter of *Sir Robert Payne, Kt.*, of Midloe in Hunts, and became "settled Minister," or, in other words, Rector of Purleigh* near Maldon, a neighbourhood in which he must have been well known from his childhood. But he was too restless to "settle" anywhere. He hired a curate and betook himself to London. There he renounced his Presbyterian ordination, joined the Independents, became Lecturer at St. Thomas Apostle's in the City, and preached violent political sermons in support of the Long Parliament, which was still sitting.

In 1650 the Parliament made an order "to send over six able ministers to preach in Dublin, and they to have £200 per annum apiece out of Bishops' and Deans' and Chapters' lands in Ireland. And in the mean time, the Lord Lieutenant to take care that it be paid out of the public revenue; and if any of those ministers die in that service in Ireland, that the Parliament will make competent provision for their wives and children." And in the course of the next year *Rogers* was sent to Ireland by the Council of State on this Mission. The government of the country was administered at that time by the Commissioners of the English Parliament; of these *Iretton* and *Ludlow* conducted the military, and *John Weaver*, *Miles Corbet*, and *Colonel John Jones* the civil administration. On

Whitelock,
p. 445.
March 12.

* Walker speaks of Purleigh as "one of the best livings in those parts."
—*Sufferings of the Clergy*, part 2, p. 395.

Reid's History
of the
Presbyterian
Church in
Ireland, ii.
245.

his arrival, he found some of the Commissioners installed at Dublin. The following order testifies to their care for his material comfort :—

“ Dublin Castle,
22 August, 1651.

“ Ordered that the Commissioners of Revenue at Dublin do forthwith enquire what stipends and tithes or other maintenance do belong to the Ministers within the several parishes in the City of Dublin, and do certify the same to the Commissioners of Parliament. And they are likewise to provide two convenient houses belonging to the Commissioners, for the pleasant accommodation of *Mr. Rogers* and *Mr. Wyke* and their families.”

Shortly afterwards the Commissioners assigned Christ Church Cathedral to him and his congregation as a place of worship, and caused his name to be added to the list of Independent Ministers who were empowered to take order that the Gospel was preached in St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Ireland was in a very unsettled state at this time. It was more than twelve months since *Cromwell* had returned to England after the short and bloody campaign which commenced with the storm of Drogheda and Wexford; but the war still continued: *Ireton* was besieging Limerick, where he met his death; while the Irish, if not actually besieging, were at least harassing and alarming Dublin. *Col. Hewson*,* the governor of that city and of the adjoining district, gives a deplorable account of the state of

* *Col. Hewson* began life as a shoemaker. When the civil war broke out he joined the army as captain, “ fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel.” In 1645 he commanded a regiment in the campaign of Sir Thomas Fairfax, and “ manfully led the forlorn hope,” at the storm of Bridgewater. In 1649 he sat in the High Court of Justice, and signed the King's death-warrant. In the same year he and his regiment accompanied Oliver Cromwell to Ireland, where he did good service, and was appointed Governor of Dublin. He was a member of the Barebones and other Parliaments, of the Council of State in 1653 and 1659, and was knighted and raised to Cromwell's House of Peers in 1657. Shortly before the Restoration he made himself very notorious and unpopular, by suppressing a riot of apprentices in the city with unnecessary severity.—*Anthony à Wood*, Fast. 2, 78; *Sprigge's Ang. Red.*, p. 70; *Whitelock*.

his command, in a letter dated Oct. 11, 1651, and published in the London newspapers. The Irishry were ravaging the English territory, intercepting the English convoys, and storming the English garrisons. *Fitzpatrick* had made use of the hay that lay about Castle Jordan to fire that Castle, and so "our men were all taken prisoners;" nay, "in my absence they engaged my own troop, took 25, and killed 27." The letter, in short, contains a catalogue of disasters, relieved, however, by the intelligence that Independency was flourishing. "The Gospel takes blessed effect in this city; here is one church gathered, and they have chosen *Mr. Winter* for their pastor, and another church embodied this day that have not yet chosen their pastor, but I suppose they will pitch upon *Mr. Rogers*—both godly men."

Governor Hewson and his wife joined the church of *Mr. Rogers*, and delivered in an account of their religious experiences, which may be read still in "Bethshemesh." On the other hand, *Rogers* bestowed his assistance upon *Col. Hewson* in the field, boasting afterwards before *Cromwell*, that in Ireland, as well as in England, he had "engaged in the field and exposed his life to great dangers freely" for conscience sake. *Hugh Peters* had set him a notorious example in this respect.

But the patronage of these great personages was of no avail against sectarian animosities. The Anabaptists were now very powerful in Ireland; and a *Mr. Thomas Patient*, one of their preachers, who had been an army chaplain under *Cromwell*, and had settled at Waterford, created a schism in *Rogers'* congregation on the question of adult baptism. *Rogers* was willing to concede a great deal, but he never would allow that it was necessary to rebaptize those who had been already baptized as infants. *Patient*, on the other hand, and the Waterford Anabaptists, sent a letter by the hands of *Adjutant-General Allen* and *Captain Vernon*, to divers of the Christ Church Congregation, urging them to admit none to communion who allowed infant baptism. "The Jews," they said, "might as well have admitted uncircumcised persons to eat the Passover." Eventually *Rogers* became so annoyed by these dissensions that he threw up his appointment and returned to England, leaving *Mr. Thomas Patient* to preach at Christ Church in his place.

On his departure he received from the Commissioners for Ireland the following certificate:—

Mercurius
Politicus, Oct.
16-23, 1651.

“ Dublin Castle, 22 March, 1652.

“ Whereas *Mr. John Rogers*, Minister of the Gospel, was sent over and recommended to us by divers worthy members of the Council of State for preaching the Word of God in Ireland, where he hath continued for the space of — months, and being now desirous to return for England, we thought fit to certify whom it may concern, that the said *Mr. Rogers*, during his residence here, hath been painful and industrious in the work of the ministry; and we shall be glad that such laborious, faithful instruments may receive encouragement to repair to this land for the refreshing of poor souls, and for the propagating and carrying on the interest of Jesus Christ there.”

Reid, ii. 260.

Bethshemesh,
p. 28.

Great
encouragement
for Ministers in
Ireland.

The way to
root the rank,
corrupt
national
Ministry.

On his return to England he declared his opinion of those with whom he had been associated in Ireland with his usual freedom. He had no fault to find with the civil authorities; indeed, their example was one which the English might follow in some respects with very great advantage. “I am bound,” he says, in an epistle to the Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, “I am bound to bear testimony to your integrity and fidelity, and with no worse to England than your orderly and Gospel-like way of maintaining the ministry in Ireland; not only that they have enough and to spare, as I know by experience of two hundred pounds* per annum, a very large allowance, and paid them tax free and without fail, quarterly, out of the Treasury of Revenues, but in that they are not troubled with the thing called Tithes, nor with Parish cures,† not being placed as Parish Ministers in parishes. So that their consciences are not tied up to please men or malignant humours, as Parochial Ministers and Tithe-mongers here do. The Lord send us such an useful and orderly provision for the Ministry in England too, which will be the best means to set an honest, able, sound, holy, and powerful Ministry amongst us, and to cast down those wandering meteors, roving runagates, and those unworthy, wicked Preachers in the nation, who are fatted with Tithes and good liquor, but very lean and

* Said to be equal to about four or five times that amount of the present currency.

† A violent agitation against tithes and the parochial system was being carried on in England at this time.

corrupt in good lives. But such as these will up as long as Tithes and Parishes are up, having the old corrupt lives and sottish superstitions and opinions of their parishioners to be their guard and wall of defence round about them. And by this means will malignant humours be maintained in the nation, and Parish Churches and orders and ordinances, and Common Prayers and crossings and cringing, and such accursed stuff, be in most malignant parishes provided for; whilst in Ireland these trumperies must tumble for want of maintenance, and the Godly Ministry hath the more thereby, for no others are allowed salaries or stipends by the State, but such as are so reputed and approved of for godly and able."

But the compliments *Rogers* paid to the Commissioners of Ireland were not extended to the religious world of Dublin. During his sojourn there he wrote a book, and on his return to England justice to his own reputation constrained him to publish it, for his enemies, not content with assailing him in Dublin, were slandering him by their emissaries in London also. A few extracts culled from this vindication will disclose not only what he thought of his adversaries, but also what they thought and said of him, exemplifying a state of feeling between pastor and flock by no means uncommon then, and one which he in his own person very usually provoked.

"The author writ this" (among other reasons) "for names' sake. It is time to rescue my name and reputation from those baylies that have arrested and roughly handled it at the Devil's suit out of malice. I have met with men like college butlers, who have set up apace upon honest men's names, and charged them to the full (with full-maliced and foul-mouthed aspersions) which they will never wipe off again without I pay them (soundly) for it, which in time I may do more fully, before good witneses too. So did some in Dublin, aspersing my person and traducing the truth, possessing some people with strange opinions of me, as if I held many errors, who therefore looked upon me as an outlandish man, made up of strange fashions. . . . And indeed there was such a nest of hornets (which I knew not of, till stirring one I angered all) who came out all at once upon me so fast that many feared I would lose my life ere I got away; and indeed it is much mercy that I escaped them so well as I did, by the means of the most honourable Commissioners

Why the Author writ this? For name's sake.

The Author's sufferings by evil tongues.

Bethshemesh,
p. 50.

of Parliament's care of me and countenance to me. But now these persecuting and unchristian spirits, not being satisfied to drive the poor, painful bees out of one hive into another, and from one nation to another, as they have done some, but to have the honey, which they would have, they will burn the bees; and therefore it seems they have sent some (more anointed with brimstone than with the unction of the Spirit) hither, to pursue here what they have begun so ungodlily there. I will not for a world deny my daily failings, for which my soul is kept continually low; I must have many grains allowed me to make me weight. 'Quisnam sine crimine vivit?' Gold hath dross; some gravel will stick on the toes coming out of the purest bath. A good horse may trip, too; but is it not better that the waters run, though they run but muddily, than not at all? Sibbs says it is, in his 'Smoking Flax,' p. 115. Why, then, do these crows light so upon the carrion? I will confess it to my disgrace, as much as any man will have me, that I am subject to passion, and my heart is very proud and deceitful, and too self-seeking, the Lord knows; and I hope I am so far from justifying my corrupt self in the least, that I am always almost charging it upon myself, and can as heartily complain of myself as any enemy I have in the world, even for those things they say, as of pride, passion, &c.

The Author charges his own self as much as they, and makes no account of himself, but as he is in a new self.

Great mistakes in their reports of the Author.

"But, merciful friends! deal not too rigidly with me! Scotus, that famous schoolman, in a fit of apoplexy, was, by the cruel kindness of his over-officious friends, buried before he was dead. And so it seems I must be (might some have their wills) by the over-officious and cruel unkindness of some sudden censures. But, pray stay! It is not the interposition of some clouds that hinders or frustrates the motion of the sun. And, besides, there is some light in the very spots of the moon; and so there may be in those things which they account my spots, as passion (perhaps), it may be zeal, &c. For when I met with them, and took them by the hand, and prayed that there might be love, they called this hypocrisy. When I preached upon Job xxiii. 10, in Christ's Church (the Cathedral is so called), before the Commissioners in Dublin—viz. 'The Lord knoweth the way that I take, and when he hath tried me I shall come forth as gold,'—why? because they had abused me abroad in the names of Pope, Hypocrite, Priest, Proud, Passionate, &c.—

they said I preached myself and fought myself, with hundreds of such passages, as would obviate any unbiassed understanding, and inform them how these reproaches are but the abortives of malice and misinterpretation. Notwithstanding, I say, I will not, nor can I, free myself from these that they accuse me for, nor would I recriminate: and yet I must say I met with numberless provocations. Now the most exact archer, in shooting at the mark, may fail much when a man jogs him. And would it not vex a scrivener, after he had spent many hours in writing a large lease or patent, that one jostling him purposely makes him blot so at the last word or line, that he must be forced to write all over again and to lose all his labour? Such a plot there was to make me blot. But, blessed be God, Satan, I am sure, lost by it. . . . And albeit they say I was not patient, I confess (when a very little spark made them like gunpowder fly in my face) I felt a sore affliction to try my patience, to which ten for one have given a 'probatum est' under their hands. But as the husband that told his wife he had one ill fault, viz. that he was given to be angry without a cause—'O,' says his wife, 'I will remedy that, I warrant ye; fear not that fault, I shall do well enough with you for all that, for I shall give you cause enough,'—so I have often acknowledged it to them that I was given too much to be impatient; but they have as often made it appear that they were as much given to give cause enough—I should not want for that. And, indeed, for slanderer they excel all that I know of.

Thus, dear friends, in a time of troubles and afflictions, distractions and disturbances at Dublin, I began this treatise."

In truth, *Rogers* found himself at Dublin in a false position; his old-fashioned views, as they were considered, on Infant Baptism alienated one half of his congregation, and his new-fashioned views on other points, e.g. on religious toleration and the rights of women, alienated the rest. For, "indeed in Dublin they did no sooner espy an opinion with a strange face, which they were not used to, within their doors, but they asked whence he came and what he did there, and bid him be thrust out by head and shoulders, or else carry him to the magistrates, to be laid by the heels; and thus they dealt with those truths whose face they were not used to."

On his return from Dublin *Rogers* re-established himself at St. Thomas Apostle's; shortly afterwards his parishioners in Essex

Bethshemesh,
Epistle to the
Churches, p.
43—54.

Bethshemesh,
p. 48.

cited him for non-residence. The case was argued in Court, was decided against him, and he was deprived of the living. This kind of usage very much troubled him; and he petitioned the Lords Commissioners for his restoration, but without success. He bade farewell to his parishioners in an epistle, which he published a year afterwards in "Bethshemesh," and of which the following is the principal part:—

An Epistle to the Parish of Purleigh, in Essex, nigh Maldon, wherein the Author was settled Minister till of late:—

Bethshemesh,
p. 229.

DEAR FRIENDS,—

I call you dear, not only that I found you at a dear rate, but I am forced to leave you so; yet some of you are very dear to me and in my heart, and whom I can freely bear in my bosom to the Father. But because the death or departure of a Minister from his people should be his last sermon, I must therefore say in general to you this, that my greatest grief for most of you is, that, like the cypress, the more you were watered the more you withered. Would it not grieve you, husbandmen, to see your good seed every year to be lost and to lie and rot under huge hard clods, and never to bring forth fruits or to come up? So how can it but be my complaints before my Lord and Master when I give up my accounts (Heb. xiii. 17), and say, Lord, I have preached! prayed! catechized! expounded! conferred for above this five years at Purleigh to such a people, and they have not believed nor obeyed thy word, but many of them are as ignorant, arrogant, bitter, profane still, ungodly and opposers of Christ and his Gospel still as ever. O sad! what comfort can I have of this! Ah, it is too notoriously known that I have taken much pains to little purpose amongst you; and yet, O! what plottings and conspiracies there were against me! what lies and libels were invented! what scandals raised! what scoffs and scorns I continually met with! what huge taxes and troubles you

cast upon me! what backbitings and railings every day! what variety of designs were hatched in the midst of you to afflict me!—yea, with plotted and premeditated malice and menacings to undo me! what work you made to render me contemptible to all the country, before magistrates, ministers, people and all; yea, the children and servants set upon me to abuse me! yea, to stone me! yea, to swear to take away my life from me! All which forced me to be much absent from you. And O, friends, do ye think God will not visit you for these things? Have ye not suffered your servants and children to laugh and sport in the public places openly in the sight of all the people whilst the Word hath been preaching, and when I have mildly reproved them, to make mows and mocks at me in the open church—yea, to lay dog-whips and what not on the pulpit cushion when I was to preach? What kind of injury and abuses have you not returned to me for all my love and pains, and care and continual prayers for you! Hath there one poor soul of us in Church communion escaped your malice and menacing, and your diligence to raise ill reports, and to cause wrongs to befall them? Have ye not vowed not to leave us till you had rooted all of us from you, and not left a Roundhead or Independent to dwell nigh you? Have ye not consulted with all the Malignants about how to bring to pass these designs, yet in the midst of all these troubles and every-day new trials and wrongs from some or other of you, yet the Lord will one day witness what a care I had of you, when I could not be with or durst not, how I provided for you, and how ye were the travail, as well as the trouble, of my soul. Yet when you had not worried me away with all this, how often did many of you design to starve me from you. And though like a bird kept in a cage without meat, yet I must do my duty, and sing, though the thorn were ever at my breast. Still I followed you with love, patience, pity to

your poor miserable souls (O that ye knew it!) and with sweat and swink, praying, preaching, and expounding, in season and out of season.

But as I have heard of the Seminary in Lancashire, riding disguised, that lost his glove, one that found it rode galloping after him to restore it; but the Seminary fearing he was a Pursuivant, put spurs to horse and flew from him as fast as he could, and for fear he should be overtaken, he makes his horse take a hedge, and suddenly skipping over, fell full into a desperate deep pit, wherein he was drowned presently. O so, Sirs, the faster I have followed you to do good, to recover you, to help to save you, why, alas! the faster you fled away into sin, after sin rejecting all offers and opportunities almost, refusing to come to hear the Word on the week-day, and many of you not coming above once on the Lord's day. Oh, alas! for the Lord's sake, hear, make not such post-haste in sin, to the ruin of your soul, body, and all; but, O, remember, the pit is but on the other side; ye may soon be in it, but have a care lest you perish. Have I not spent out my own bowels, and, like a candle, consumed myself even out to give you light? Have I thought my life too dear for your souls? O no, but you would not regard it. Some pretended I was young, to keep them off; but alas! this was but a colour. Did not young *Solomon* give good counsel, young *Daniel* discern much, young *Joseph* fill the granary with plenty, and excel all the grandees and gravities in *Pharaoh's* Court for wisdom and judgment? Did not young *Timothy* preach the Gospel powerfully and profitably? But indeed the main offence you know was my zeal for God, for silence is the basest tenure a Minister can hold his living by. I could not be silent, but tell *Israel* of his sins and *Jacob* of his transgressions.

Thus having stood sentinel all this while among you, though I must be jostled aside now from you, I have given

you warning, and so will leave you. And being thus to part, I shall say with *Synefius*, I carry nothing from Purleigh (of $\pi\upsilon\rho$ and $\lambda\alpha\delta\varsigma$, fire and people) but “bonam conscientiam et malam valetudinem,” — a good conscience, an ill constitution, and an empty purse (being denied by you the bread I have earned with sweating brows). Yet the Lord show you mercy and melt your hearts. And so farewell, dear hearts, farewell.

Your affectionate friend and late your
Minister in the hot bowels of love
to you, yet ready to serve the mean-
est and worst of you in the work of
my Master Jesus Christ, in and for
whom I am

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study at Thomas Apostle's,
Lond. March 25, 1653.

Rogers returned from Dublin to London in March or April, 1652 — that is to say, about seven months after the defeat of *Charles II.* at Worcester, about twelve months before the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and a few weeks before the beginning of the war between the English and the Dutch.* In England the struggle between the Independents and Presbyterians had ended in the ascendancy of the former; in Parliament a series of desertions, “secessions,” and proscriptions had left scarcely any but the Independents sitting; and in the army, both officers and men, from the *Lord General Cromwell* downwards, were of the Independent or of some kindred sect. But, though the Presbyterians had been purged out of Parliament and the army, they were still strong among the lawyers and parochial clergy; and now the Independents and other sectaries began to clamour loudly for law reform and the abolition of tithes. If these two measures could be carried, lawyers and clergy would fall, and the triumph of the Independents would be complete.

* The Dutch ambassadors took their final departure from London on the 30th of June, 1652. But the first naval engagement between *Blake* and *Van Tromp* had taken place in May.

The Author's
leave of
Purleigh,
and he may
say of England.

Besides the contest between Presbyterians and Independents, there was heart-burning also between the Parliament and the Army. The Parliament proposed to reduce the Army; in retaliation the Army pressed for "a new Representative"—that is to say, for the dissolution of the existing Parliament and the election of another.

Rogers threw himself into all these struggles with his whole force, siding, of course, with the Independents against the Presbyterians, and with the Army against the Parliament. He wrote books against the Presbyterian Clergy, he preached and prophesied against the Parliament, and he both wrote and pleaded against the Lawyers.

His enemies asserted that his animosity against clergy and lawyers originated in personal resentment against *Serjeant Maynard*,* the eminent lawyer, and *Zachary Crofton*, a Presbyterian Minister. *Maynard* had been counsel against him in the Purlough case, had obstructed his preferment on another occasion, and, moreover, had insulted him, as he conceived, in open court. *Rogers* had a keen sense of any injustice or indignity offered to himself, and the account he gives of this last affront shows perhaps that the allegations of his enemies against his temper were not wholly groundless.

"Little less said one of the corrupt lawyers, viz. *Mr. Maynard*, to me last March, before the Lords Commissioners of the Seal,† in the Parliament Chambers at the Temple, whilst he was pleading the law for a Delinquent, Malignant Patron, over and over an open notorious enemy and cavalier against God and State, yet, having compounded, he must have the power to present a man of a wicked, malignant spirit—none else, and known for swearing, company-

Corrupt
lawyers.

* *Serjeant Maynard* was born at Tavistock in 1602, was member for Totnes in the Long Parliament, and one of the managers of the impeachment of the *Earl of Strafford*, "whom," says *Anthony Wood*, "he baited to some purpose in the name of the Commons of England." Afterwards he performed the same office by *Archbishop Laud*. He, with other Presbyterians, withdrew from the Long Parliament before the King's death. *Macauley* describes him as being, in 1689, "by universal acknowledgment the most subtle and the most learned of English jurists."—*Hist. of Engl.* iv. 32.

† The Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal at this time were *Whitelock*, *Keeble*, and *John L'Isle*.

keeping, and other vices ; and he must force such an one upon the poor people that never heard him so much as preach, to the joy of all the malignant, godless wretches in the country all about. . . . This *Mr. M.*, (one of the cast-out members of the House, I hear), pleading for this cause of the Devil (for I dare call it no other), much offended me, insomuch that I was urged in conscience to say before the Lords Commissioners, ‘ Sir, the Acts of the Apostles had been your best statute book in this business about souls ; you use not God’s word.’ But before I could go further, he punched me aside, with some abusive, foul-mouthed language, (as I hope ere long to declare to the world), saying, ‘ What do ye tell us of the word ? we have the law,’ &c. So the lawyers pushed me aside. But what a sad thing is this, that such laws and such lawyers should be suffered ; and how can a good Reformation be laid upon so base a foundation ? They are the lawyers all this while that have hindered the Reformation, and so they will as long as they have such influence upon the Parliament.”

Zachary Crofton’s offence was of a deeper dye. On his return from Dublin *Rogers* had established a Friday evening exercise or lecture at St. Thomas Apostle’s, to which he attracted a large congregation. Shortly afterwards an anonymous pamphlet was published, entitled, “ A Taste of the Doctrine of Thomas Apostle,” in which he and his exercise were severely handled ; the authorship was attributed, apparently with truth, to *Crofton*, the Presbyterian Minister of Garlick Hythe. It was imprudent to attack anonymously a man who was so regardless of conventionalities and so unscrupulous about personalities as his antagonist ; and *Zachary Crofton* found himself dragged into light as the author of the pamphlet with the least possible delay. “ *Memnon*, the General of *Darius* his army, hearing a mercenary foldier with vile language revile *Alexander* and exclaim against him, he struck him with a lance, saying he hired him to fight against him, not to rail upon him. Clamours against a very enemy require rather reproof than praise ; and I think there was no man much commended, but much condemned that poor, empty, wide-mouthed libeller of Garlick-hythe for his pamphlet he put out lately, whereby he hath brought himself into the report and reproof of all that hear his name, which may be eminently up and famous ere long in London, as it is in Cheshire and other places. I had, I confess, a full character of him indeed by *Master Mainwaring*, one that

They mock at
the Word.

Lawyers hinder
reformation.
Bethshemesh,
p. 220-3.

As that
libeller that
put out The
Taste of
Doctrine at
Tho.
Apostle’s.

Bethshemesh,
p. 226-7.

knew him well in Cheshire, at my *Lord Bradshaw's* table lately ; whilst *Sir William Brereton*,* with an eminent Minister that knows him highly too, was by, and gave so good account of him that I cannot but wonder how he could end in one lying, impudent pamphlet, and like a squib too dry, it seems, flash all out at once."

About this time the Fifth-Monarchy-Men were attracting much attention. *Rogers* joined their ranks, and became quickly one of their leading ministers. They were a small but determined body of men, recruited chiefly from among the more enthusiastic Independents. They believed that the age of the four first monarchies—the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman, had passed or was rapidly passing away, that *Christ* was now coming to reign personally and visibly in the fifth, and that when he came he would utterly destroy all those anti-christian Kings, Priests and Lawyers who now sat on his throne and usurped his powers. Then the saints would possess the earth, ruling it under *Christ* as his ministers, and executing justice upon all his enemies. They believed also, and declared that, in anticipation of his coming, the present work urgently incumbent on the Saints was "to bring things as near as might be before *Christ* comes to what they shall be when he is come."

Old leaven
purged out,
p. 56.

They were in hot haste to commence this preparatory work ; and past success had so intoxicated them that they saw no appalling difficulty in it. The sword of the Saints had overthrown an anti-christian church, had beheaded a bloody tyrant, and had conquered three kingdoms. That sword, they thought, was in their hands ; and here in England nothing remained to withstand them but Presbyterian priests, corrupt lawyers, and a superannuated Parliament.

When the saints had firmly established their dominion in England and had pulled down Antichrist there, then they would wage war against the enemies of *Christ* and the oppressors of his people over the whole earth. Never should the curse of Meroz be applied to them—"Curse ye Meroz ; curse ye bitterly the inhabit-

* *Bradshaw* and *Brereton*, as well as *Mainwaring* and *Crofton*, were Cheshire men. In 1644 *Sir William Brereton* was authorized by Parliament to eject all scandalous and ill-affected ministers in Cheshire, and to nominate others in their place.—*Scobell's Acts and Ordinances*, pt. 1, p. 67.

ants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

Of course it was more easy to justify these visions from the Old Testament than from the New; and accordingly it was in the Old Testament that they sought for laws, maxims, precedents, and examples. There, too, they found those texts which, when necessary, they could wrest into their service, either to palliate a piece of folly or to sanctify a crime. Such were, for example, "The saints shall take the kingdom and possess the kingdom;"* "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon;" "Curfed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully;"† "Overturn, overturn, overturn;"‡ and the latter part of the 149th Psalm—"Let the saints be joyful with glory, let them rejoice in their beds; let the praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to be avenged of the heathen, and to rebuke the people; to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with links of iron: that they may be avenged of them, as it is written, Such honour have all his saints."

As the Gospel of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men was to be propagated with the sword, so the sect itself seems to have originated in the army. Many officers of the highest reputation belonged to it, or at the least sympathized with it. Such were *Major-General Harrison, Colonels Alured, Overton, Okey, Rich, and Danvers,*

* "But the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever. . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; and all dominion shall serve and obey him."—*Dan. vii. 18, 27.*

† "Curfed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully [in margin 'negligently,'] and curfed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."—*Jer. xlviii. 10.* South speaks of Harrison as being "notable for having killed several after quarter given them by others, and using these words in the doing it—'Curfed be he,' &c."—*South's Sermons, ii. 422.*

‡ "Thus saith the Lord God, Remove the diadem and take off the crown; this shall not be the same; exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him."—*Ezek. xxi. 26, 27.*

Quartermaster-General Courtney, Adjutant-General Allen, and others; besides men of inferior rank, such as Spittlebouse, Cornet Day, and Buttphunt, of Cromwell's own life-guard—aetive, intriguing men, of considerable influence amongst their equals. These men generally were notorious as men who would neither spare their own blood nor the blood of others in the "Good Cause." *Cromwell* grudged no pains to gain them over to himself, and the baits he offered were the downfall of clergy and lawyers, and "No king but Jesus."

This general account of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men would not be complete without more particular reference to *Major-General Harrison*, their leader; both because in ability, resolution, and reputation he far surpassed all other members of his party, and because he will appear hereafter in personal and familiar association with *Rogers*.

The son of a grazier in Staffordshire, he received a fair education at Nantwich, and was indentured afterwards to an attorney in Clifford's Inn. When the war broke out he joined the army of the Parliament as a cornet of horse, and steadily rose to distinction. In 1645 he served the campaign under *Fairfax* as major, and afterwards colonel of *Fleetwood's* regiment, and is particularly mentioned in connection with the battle of Naseby and the storm of Basing House. *Hugh Peters* says, in a narrative of what fell under his own eyefight after the storm of Basing House:—"In the several rooms and about the house were slain seventy-four, and only one woman, the daughter of *Dr. Griffith*, who by her railing provoked our soldiers, then in heat, into a further passion. There lay dead upon the ground *Major Cuffe*, a man of great account amongst them and a notorious Papist, slain by the hands of *Major Harrison*, that godly and gallant gentleman, and *Robison* the player, who a little before the storm was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament and our army." Readers of *Sir Walter Scott* will remember *Roger Wildrake's* version of the death of "poor *Dick Robison* the player" by the hand of the butcher *Harrison*.

In 1647 he received the thanks of the House of Commons for his services in Ireland. But perhaps his behaviour to *Charles I.* in 1648-9 is that by which he was then best known, and may still be best appreciated. In 1648 he was charged with the responsibility of guarding the King as a prisoner from Hurst Castle to

Windsor. The following account of the journey, condensed from *Anthony Wood*, will not perhaps be thought wholly inadmissible, in consideration of the light it throws on the characteristics of a man who was to his party the hero, saint, and martyr of their cause. *Major Harrison* reached Hurst Castle, where the King was confined, unexpectedly and at midnight. The noise awakened the King, who was in some marvel to hear the drawbridge let down at that unseasonable hour. When he heard the cause, he told *Herbert*, his groom of the chambers, that this was the man who intended to assassinate him, as he had been informed by letter. The major tarried two nights at Hurst Castle; and when it was dark, having given orders for the King's removal, he departed to the place from whence he came. A week afterwards the King was conveyed by a party of horse from Hurst to Windsor. Near Farnham *Major Harrison* appeared at the head of another party, to the end that he might bring up the rear. His party was drawn up in good order, by which his Majesty was to pass; and the major in the head of them, gallantly mounted, with a velvet montier on his head and a new buff coat on his back, with a crimson silk scarf about his waist, richly fringed. As the King passed by on horseback with an easy pace, as delighted to see men well horsed and armed, the major gave the King a bow with his head, a soldado which his Majesty requited. This was the first time that the King saw the major; at which time *Thomas Herbert*, groom of the chambers, "from whom" (says *Wood*) "I had this story," riding a little behind the King, his Majesty called him to come near, and asked him who that captain was; and being told by him that it was *Major Harrison*, the King viewed him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him as made the major abashed, and fall back to his party sooner than probably he intended. The King said he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good, and found him not such an one as he was represented; and that, having judgment in faces, if he had observed him so well before he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him. That night the King got to Farnham, where he was lodged at a private gentleman's house; and a little before supper, his Majesty, standing by the fire in a large waincoated parlour, and in discourse with the mistress of the house, the King, notwithstanding the room was pretty full with army officers and country people that crowded in to have a sight of him, did at length see the major at the farther

Athenæ, ii.
590.
Fasti, ii. 76.

end of the parlour, talking with another officer; whereupon, beckoning to him with his hand to come nearer, he did so accordingly with due reverence; and his Majesty, taking him by the arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half-an-hour or more they did discourse together. Amongst other things, the King minded him that he had received information concerning the murder that he had intended on him in the Isle of Wight, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person. The major, in his vindication, assured his Majesty that what was reported of him was not true, yet he might report that the law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect of persons; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken and to no good end, went to his supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoicing to them there, to see him so cheerful in that company and in such a dolorous condition.

Harrison conducted the King safely to Windsor, and again from Windsor to St. James's, in order to his trial, and sat with him in the coach with his head covered, and talked with little or no reverence to him; and when the King proposed to him, "What do they intend to do with me, whether to murder me or not?" the major made answer that there was no intention to kill him: "We have no such thought; yet the Lord hath reserved you for a public example of justice."

According to Clarendon, the officers about this time consulted frequently what to do with the King. Some were for deposing him, others for taking away his life by poison; a third party, headed by *Ireton* and *Harrison*, would not endure either of the other ways, and urged his being brought to justice in the sight of the sun; and this party carried their point.

Harrison sat in the High Court of Justice, and signed the King's death-warrant.

In 1651, when *Oliver Cromwell* was in Scotland, *Harrison*, as major-general, was left in charge of Cumberland and the borders. When the Scotch army marched into England, he attended and harassed it. Afterwards he and *Cromwell* united their forces before Worcester, where *Charles II.* and the Scotch army were finally defeated. *Harrison* with the cavalry had charge of the pursuit.

At the time of the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he was M.P. for Wendover and Aylesbury, and a member of the Council

of State. Clarendon says, "There were few men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the conduct of anything committed to him."

Baxter says of him, that he was like *Cromwell*, who would not openly profess what opinion he was of, but was most inclined to Anabaptism and Antinomianism. "He would not dispute with me at all," says *Baxter*, "but he would in good discourse very fluently pour out himself in the extolling of free grace, which was favour to those that had right principles, though he had some misunderstandings of free grace himself. He was a man of excellent natural parts for affection and oratory, but not well seen in the principles of his religion; of a sanguine complexion, naturally of such vivacity, hilarity, and alacrity as another man hath when he hath drunken a cup too much, but naturally also so far from humble thoughts of himself that it was his ruin."

Harrison used to scandalize the Puritans by the gaiety of his attire. *Mrs. Hutchinson*, who was strongly prejudiced against him, tells a story of his persuading *Colonel Hutchinson* and others to come to the House of Commons on some great occasion in plain black suits, after which he appeared himself "in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant (foil) that one scarcely could discern the ground: and in this glittering habit he set himself just under the Speaker's chair; which made the other gentlemen think that his godly speeches the day before were but made that he alone might appear in the eyes of strangers. But this was part of his weakness; the Lord at last lifted him up above these poor earthly elevations, which then and some time afterwards prevailed too much with him."

The history of the dissolution of the Long Parliament (April 20, 1653,) has been told so often, and is so well known, that it would be unnecessary to repeat it, except for the sake of showing how *Oliver Cromwell* made use of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in preparing the way for his design, and of *Harrison* in executing it.

Contemporary writers state that *Cromwell* at this time made "higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage *Major-General Harrison*, *Colonel Rich*, and their party to himself. To this end he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the Parliament as not designing to do those good things they pretended to, but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers." And he "did indus-

Clarendon, vi.
220.

Reliquiæ
Baxterianæ,
pt. i. p. 57.

Mem. of Col.
Hutchinson,
p. 348.

Ludlow, ii.
449.

Heath's
Flagellum, p.
124, 125.

Ludlow, ii.
449.

Do. p. 454.

triously publish that they were so in love with their seats that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves." "Every other day almost more fasts or some such religious exercise was managed by *Cromwell* and *Harrison*, who mainly promoted the same proposals for a new Representative, in order to the personal reign of Christ; and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the hands of his saints, for all the prophecies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled; and this was cried up as the doctrine of the times. *Cromwell* seemed to be of the same judgment and of that Millenary principle. . . . So that he had absolutely fooled *Harrison* into a confidence of his good intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatness; and thereupon all the party *Harrison* could make, which was *Feak's*, *Rogers'*, and *Simpson's* congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament outed, and their fine module to take place, wherein righteousness and holiness should be exalted in the kingdoms of the world." "Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophecy the destruction of the Parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable. Inasmuch that the General, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to *Quartermaster-General Vernon*,* "that he was pushed on by two parties to do that the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end. One of these," said he, "is headed by *Major-General Lambert*. . . . Of the other *Major-General Harrison* is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet, from the impatience of his spirit, will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent." *Cromwell* joined "with *Major-General Harrison*, being confident that when he had used him and his party to dissolve the present Government, he could crush both him and them at his pleasure; and though it was no difficult matter to discover this, yet those poor, deluded, however well-meaning men, would not believe it."

In the meantime the sitting members of the Long Parliament had seen that a dissolution was inevitable; but they hoped to anticipate the designs of *Cromwell* by a bill which they had prepared themselves. This bill, however, contained clauses which were

* Quartermaster-General Vernon (sometimes called Captain Vernon) was a rigid Anabaptist, and a ringleader of the party which drove Rogers out of Ireland (*vide* p. 29). He preached violently against the Protectorate.

wholly incompatible with *Cromwell's* plans; and accordingly, he was resolved that it should never pass. On the morning of April 20th, 1653, Parliament met as usual at Westminster, and *Sir Henry Vane* arose and pressed for the passing the bill immediately. At this time *Cromwell*, with some of his officers, was in council at Whitehall; while *Harrison* and others were in their places in Parliament. By these last a messenger was hurried off to summon *Cromwell*. *Sir Henry Vane* sat down, and *Major-General Harrison* rose, and "most sweetly and humbly desired" the members to lay the bill aside, showing them the danger of it. *Harrison* sat down, *Vane* rose to reply, and *Cromwell* arrived. Calling to *Harrison*, who was on the other side of the House, to come to him, he told him that he judged the House ripe for a dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it. The major-general answered, (as he since told me, says Ludlow), "Sir, the work is very great and dangerous; therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then, the question for passing the bill being to be put, he said again to *Major-General Harrison*, "This is the time—I must do it;" and suddenly standing up, made a speech wherein he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches, charging them not to have a heart to do anything for the public good, to have espoused the corrupt interests of Presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, accusing them of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which, he affirmed, they designed never to observe; and thereupon told them that the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on his work that were more worthy.

Cromwell then called in the soldiers; "whereupon the sergeant attending the Parliament opened the doors, and *Lieutenant-Colonel Worley*, with two files of musketeers, entered the House; which *Sir Henry Vane*, observing from his place, said aloud, 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty!' Then *Cromwell* fell a railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O, *Sir Henry Vane!* *Sir Henry Vane!* the Lord deliver me from *Sir Henry Vane!*' Then, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, he said to *Harrison*, 'Fetch him down.' *Harrison* went to the Speaker and spoke to him to come down; but the

"Several Proceedings in Parliament," April 14-21, No. 186.

Ludlow, ii. 455.

Do. p. 456.

Do. p. 457.

Leicester's
Journal, p.
141, quoted in
Forster's Oliver
Cromwell, ii.
63.

Speaker sat still and said nothing. Then *Harrison* went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down. It happened that *Algernon Sidney* sat next to the Speaker, on the right hand. The General said to *Harrison*, 'Put him out.' *Harrison* spoke to *Sidney* to go out; but he said he would not go out, but sat still. The General said again, 'Put him out.' Then *Harrison* and *Worsley* (who commanded the General's own regiment of foot) put their hands upon *Sidney's* shoulders, as if they would force him to go out. Then he rose and went towards the door. Then the General went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the Speaker, and said, 'Take away these baubles.' So the soldiers took away the mace."

In the afternoon of the same day *Cromwell*, attended by *Lambert* and *Harrison*, came to the Council of State, where *Bradshaw* was presiding, and dissolved that also.

Whitelock says the dissolution of Parliament "occasioned much rejoicing in the King's party, who now daily expected the destruction of *Cromwell* and his party and army, yet made great applications and congratulations to him. Those of the Parliament's party were at a stand; divers fierce men, pastors of churches, and their congregations, were pleased at it, and generally the officers and soldiers of the army."

Whitelock,
April 20,
1653, p. 555.

Do. p. 555.

Cromwell convened a meeting of the chief officers of the army at Whitehall, on the 21st, the day after the dissolution; and during the next ten days he and this Council were "busy in consultation to find out a new Government and Governor for their Commonwealth." The creation of a Council of State was the first difficulty; and the proposals made when the subject was debated were very characteristic of the times and the men. "*Major-General Lambert* moved that a few persons, not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be entrusted with the supreme power. *Major-General Harrison* was for a greater number—inclining most to that of seventy, being the number of which the Jewish Sanhedrim consisted;" and *Okey* and others were for thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles.

Ludlow, ii.
462.
Forster's
Oliver
Cromwell, ii.
129.

While the officers were debating, *Rogers* was writing; and, five days after the dissolution of Parliament, he published his opinion of the crisis, with a scheme of his own for a new Government. It must be observed that the following, and the four similar letters which will appear hereafter, although not encum-

bered with the usual signs of omissions, contain yet little more than scanty extracts from the letters originally published :—

To his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell : a few proposals relating to Civil Government, humbly offered by John Rogers, an unworthy servant of Christ, and preacher of the Gospel, now at Thos. Apostles, London.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—

Whilst my soul is boiling over into earnest prayers to the Great Jehovah for wisdom, counsel, and courage for you in this exigency of importance, as the great deliverer of His people through God's grace out of the land of Egypt, I am visited with that word in Exodus (xii. 42), "It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out of Egypt. This is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations." So this is the day (viz. April 20, 1653) to be much observed, the rather for that in the revolution of times the changes will run their round out, and then the Lord will come to reign.

But, my Lord, my heart is full. I am pressed in spirit, and so are many others (after a solemn meeting of prayers with hundreds of this city at Thos. Apostles, London, about this change, and to seek God for you), to present you with these following proposals :

I. That your Excellency do choose the men that must govern this Commonwealth (being that it is the judgment of many faithful discerning Ministers that you are called thereunto by God). So *Moses* did choose able men to be Rulers in Exodus (xviii. 25, 26). And they judged the people at all seasons, but the hard cases they brought to *Moses*. And *Joshua*, the next General (with 's officers), commanded the people. "The Lord said to *Joshua* (though in another case), take you twelve men out of the

1st Proposal.

people, one of a tribe," &c. After this *Gideon*, the General of that little army of three bands that destroyed the huge hosts of the Midianites, was offered by the Israelites the government (Judges viii. 22), for he had won it; and *Nehemiah* (chap. vii. 2) gave commissions out to men fearing God to govern, and so all the Governours that ever were victorious in the Word were either Rulers themselves, or else chosen to be such, or else chose such. Wherefore we say as *Ezra* (vii. 25), "And thou, after the wisdom of thy God that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God, and teach ye them that know them not."

2 Proposal.

The second proposal, as to the number of persons that shall govern, I humbly propose either a Synhedrin, Parliament, Council of Seventy, or else one of a county; for that in the Commonwealth of Israel (which is our best pattern) they had three sorts of Courts—the Upper Court, or Synhedrin, which consisted of seventy. The second sort of Synhedrin was called the Lower Court, and consisted of twenty-three; and the third Court consisted but of three Judges in small cities. But secondly, or else choose one of a county representing that county, as one of a tribe did represent the tribe (Numbers i. 4), "And with you there shall be a man of a tribe." But if the present juncture of affairs requires a quicker despatch than in the interim twelve worthies may be chosen as present Governors (Joshua iv. 1, 2; Numbers i. 4), like to Israel's twelve Judges.

3 Proposal.

The third proposal, as to their qualifications. They must be men fearing God (Nehem. vii. 2; Exod. xviii. 21); lovers of truth and justice (Deut. xvi. 18); hating bribes and covetousness (which corrupt justice), (Deut. xvi. 19; Exod. xviii. 21); not respecters of persons (Deut. i. 17, and xvi. 19); wise (though not politic), and understanding in the times and seasons (Deut. i. 13). They

must govern as the servants of Jesus Christ, but not as Lords over Christ, lest the nobles be like Oreb and Zeb, and the princes as Zeba and Salmunna, that take the houses of God (i. e. Christ's government and jurisdiction over churches and consciences) into their possession. Such are set as on a wheel upon the run till they have run themselves all to pieces; and this was openly declared would be the ruin of this Parliament at Tho. Apostles, Feb. 18, unless God prevented: a day when we and the Navy were engaged all day long.*

The fourth proposal is, that the righteous of the worthies of the late Parliament may be owned with honour.

4 Proposal.

The fifth proposal is, that the Rulers be set solemnly and publicly apart by prayer to God.

5 Proposal.

These five proposals (Right Honourable) put in practice, with God's blessing, shall serve as five fingers for the work, and will shew that the hand of the Lord is with us, wherefore consult with the Saints (Deut. i. 13), and send to all discerning spirited men for their proposals.

And I beseech your Excellency to accept these few from a faithful Commonwealth man, and one who desires nothing of your Excellency for himself but to be one of the meanest of your servants for Christ and this Commonwealth,

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, Tho. Apostles,
25th day of second month Zin, 1653.

Subsequent events showed that these "five-fingered proposals," as they were afterwards called, were not put forward without a pretty accurate foreknowledge of the Lord General's intentions. A few days after their publication *Cromwell* and the Council of Officers decided that the Council of State should consist of *Oliver Cromwell* himself and of eight officers and four civilians, amongst

* "1653, Feb. 18. A terrible fight near the Isle of Wight and Portland, and the Dutch beaten."—*Historian's Guide*, p. 36.

See Oliver
Cromwell's
Speech,
Carlyle, ii. 217.

Forster, ii. 139.
Thurloe, i.
395.
"Exact
Relation," in
Somers' Tracts,
vi. 247, 266.

Bethshemesh,
p. 1.

whom the worthies of the late Parliament were conspicuously owned. *Rogers'* concluding recommendation of consulting the Saints was then fully complied with; ministers in various parts of the country, on whom the Council could rely, were directed to take the sense of the Congregational or Independent Churches in their several counties, and to send up to the Lord General and his officers the names of persons "able, loving truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness," whom they judged "qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government." This being done, *Cromwell* chose his own Parliament. He gave it the form of a county representation, excluding all cities and boroughs except London; he imposed no other qualification than that "of fearing God and of approved fidelity;" and within a week of their meeting his nominees in Parliament had set apart a day for seeking the direction of God, and had passed a resolution to stir up the godly of the nation to the same effect. The only point, in fact, in which *Rogers'* programme was not accurately followed, was that of numbers. The Council of State consisted of 13 instead of 12, and the Parliament of 140 instead of 70. The Council met for the first time April 29, 1653. A president was chosen weekly: *Lambert* was the first, *Pickering* the second, and *Harrison* the third. Five weeks, however, elapsed between the nomination of the Council of State and that of the new Parliament, and in the mean time *Rogers* addressed to *Oliver Cromwell* a second letter. It occurs as a dedicatory epistle to one of his controversial works. The following extracts will give some notion of its style and contents:—

*The Epistle
to the*

Right Honourable his Excellency

the

Lord General Cromwel,

*With an humble Request of John Rogers, Preacher of
the Gospel.*

MY LORD,—

I was bold to present your Excellency, some five weeks since, with a handful of proposals, fetched from the Commonwealth of Israel, for which it is well known to God

and man what uncharitable censures, rigid reprehensions, scurrilous, keen-tongued, and cutting calumnies, my way lay in that (and so doth in this), through both from seeming friends and serious foes.

Thus far, my Lord, I am entered the lists, and though in the midst of these hot engagements, and without a partner too but Christ, yet have I and so do I lift up my voice aloud, which I hope somewhat moves your Excellency to say, Be of good cheer, for we will engage with you—i. e. for Christ in the quarrel against Antichrist and the bloody Beast. Wherefore that my words and your works may be steeped all over in the unction with spread sails for good success, prayer comes with them and composes them thus:—

First, that your Excellency's eyes may see the fall of Antichrist and of mere national interests, the same as they rose up.

Secondly, as to the Commonweale. That your Excellency (with the others of the Lords Worthies) go on in the name of the great Jehovah Elohim, in looking out for and then overlooking of the Governors of this Nation; and seeing running waters are always sweetest, that there might be a yearly election (or so) of officers in greatest trust or power, least they should in time assume an absoluteness to themselves, and become oppressors. O deliver the Lord's people from proud, confronting *Pharaohs*, *Tobiah's*, and *Sanballats*, and such abominable, malignant Committee-men as are in the countries; and from the intolerable oppressions (which squeeze out the very hearts of thousands) both of the Norman iron yoke of corrupt lawyers, that live by sin, and from the wills, humours, passions and lusts of men, especially of such as grow rich by our ruin, of which many godly men and women of several parts of this nation have bitterly complained, and with tears told me how the lawyers had undone them and then laughed at them. And also from

the oppression of that Babylonian, brazen yoke of tithes ; as also of parish church constitutions, soul-tyrannizing advowsons and presentations, which make a mere sale of souls and keep up a national, antichristian, corrupt interest in ministers and people, as appears in the following treatise. And, indeed, as to maintenance, I do as heartily seek the Lord that ministers might not have too much, as that they might not have too little. And to speak for one, I do profess it from my heart that the greatest temptations I should fear falling into (if I know my own heart) would be great honour, esteem, place, preferment, or means too much and unfit for me.

Thirdly and especially. Every tongue is now tipt with talk of a treaty with the Hollanders and other nations. But if you make leagues, O let not Christ be forgotten ! to covenant for your selves or national interests and forget his ! O ! a peace upon the account of Christ, to engage together against Antichrist, Rome, prelates, enemies in all nations—to stand and fall, live and die together, in one cause, for the bare and very interest of Christ, would be a blessed peace indeed, without a penny from the purse of them to boot. But without this it is not all their treasures and estates that can make us a comfortable peace or league. For in Judges ii. 2, “Ye shall make no league with them, but throw down their altars,” &c.

But now, Right Honourable, I must beseech you—

1. To shun those shelves, sands, and rocks which your predecessors (viz. Kings, Lords, and the late Parliament), ran aground against and were broken all to pieces by ; I mean in matters of religion ; for believe it, however some say, that if men will usurp Christ’s power therein, they will find it a stone that will grind them to powder (Zach. xii. 3).

2. Countenance all you can (in your orbs, civil and military) the Congregational churches, as the gates and

palaces of Sion. For true zeal and devotion will take no pleasure to dwell slovenly, like *Galba's* wit, under a deformed roof (as in mixed congregations or antichristian church-ways). But—

3. Left we lose the substance for the shadow, there be, my Lord, a hidden number of saints (so called in Ps. lxxxiii. 3), that you must be a shield to, too, in your capacity. They are as yet scarce known in the world, as they will be ere long, when the elements are a little clearer.

For these ends and uses the Lord our God, we trust, hath anointed and appointed you; wherefore let these lines be accepted by your Excellency, and serve for refreshment to you in your subservice hours, and when you can, to take a turn or two in this treatise, among such trees of righteousness as are of the Lord's own planting (in his gardens), which will lead you with delight (if the Lord give but light) to James's* (the Apostle), yea, beyond, till you come to make Sion's House for your Excellency's habitation. Some compare *Queen Elizabeth* to a fluttish housewife, who swept the house, but left the dust behind the door. But now you, my Lord, have swept the whole house indeed, even whilst they were saying, "We shall never be moved, but stand sure as a mountain," Ps. xxx. 6, 7, as some Parliament men have since acknowledged it in discourse with me. O, then, set not aside the broom now, (for new brooms sweep clean). Go on untill you cast all the dust and filth that lay behind the door (in the late Parliament) out, as fittest for the common sewer. As fast as may be to it, my Lord, and the Lord send you good speed!

But the most wise God guide you! And that he may

* In Feb. 1650, the House of Commons had resolved "that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Oliver Cromwell) have the use of the lodgings called the Cock-pit, of the Spring Garden and St. James's House, and the command of St. James's Park."—*Carlyle*, i. 507.

double the spirit of your predecessors upon you, viz. of *Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Nehemiah*, and all others whom he hath anointed for the Government of his people, is and shall be the prayer of one who is willing to be anything till he be nothing, and would be nothing, though in a dungeon or on a dung-hill, so that his Lord and Master Christ may be all, who is in him,

Your Excellency's unfeignedly

Humble Servant,

JOHN ROGERS.

Thomas Apostles, Tamuz, the 4th month,
the 3rd day, 1653.

Cromwell's new Parliament, which has been already described, was summoned on the 8th of June, five days after the date of this dedicatory epistle, and met at Whitehall on the 4th of July. It constituted what was called by its friends "the Little Parliament," and by others the "Barebones Parliament," from *Praise-God Barbone*, a leather-seller in the City, one of the seven members for London. One hundred and thirty-eight members attended out of the one hundred and forty who were summoned; and by the instrument of Government handed to them by *Cromwell* and his officers, they were empowered to sit until November 3, 1654. Three months before their dissolution they were to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who were not to sit longer than a year, and were to provide for a further succession in Government. At one of the earliest sittings it was voted that the business of tithes should without delay be taken into consideration; and presently afterwards a similar resolution was carried in regard to the law. Committees were appointed, and tithes and law reform became again the prominent questions of the day.



CHAPTER III.



IN the course of this year *Rogers* published his two chief controversial works on the great religious and political questions of the day. One of these books, from which I have already quoted largely, was called "*Bethshemesh*," and the other "*Sagrir*." The first was written against the Clergy (Presbyterian), and the second against the Lawyers. "*Bethshemesh*" was answered, in its own style and spirit, by *Zachary Crofton*, in "*Bethshemesh Clouded*." The following account of these books will throw light on the personal character and history of the controversialists, as well as on their style of controversy and their peculiar and antagonistic tenets. But the reader for whom such disputes have no attraction may omit the whole of this chapter and pass on to the next, without any interruption to the thread of the narrative.

"*Ohel* or *Bethshemesh*, a tabernacle for the Sun, or *Irenicum Evangelicum*, an *Idea of Church Discipline*," was written before, and revised and published immediately after, the dissolution of the Long Parliament. It professed to prove that the Congregational form of church government adopted by the Independents was that which was most in accordance with Scripture, with primitive practice, and with reason. It contained, amongst other things, most of the materials for a history of the author's life up to the period of its publication, a confession of faith, and a full exhibition of his opinions and feelings on the points of immediate controversy between his party and the rest of the Christian world, or at least those divisions of it which he enumerates as containing his probable opponents. "Of this number," he says, "are Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Papists, and Anabaptists (I mean the

Bethshemesh,
Epistle to the
Churches,
p 56.

P. 350.

1 Cor. viii. 5,
6; John viii.
17, 18, 19; 1
John v. 5-9;
Matt xxviii.
19, 20.

Rom. i. 19,
20.

1. The Father.
Isa. xl. 28 and
xliii. 15; 1
Peter iv. 19;
Rom. iii. 6; 2
Chron. xx. 6;
Ps. lxvi. 7.

2. The Son.
Acts x. 42,
43; Isa. xlv.
21, 22; 1
John v. 20;
Isa. ix. 6, 7;
1 Tim. ii. 5;
1 John iv. 2,
3; 2 John 7.

most formal and furious of them,) and Ranters, yea, and the very formal and prelatie proud sort of Independents too will join issue with the rest as discontented persons. The Presbyterians," he adds, "I encounter most with, and the hottest conflict comes at last, in chap. 9, lib. 2, though every foot we fall a pickeering before, and now and then have pretty hot skirmishes."

The confession of faith it may be worth while to transcribe in extenso. It is as follows:—

"I acknowledge and profess from my very heart, before the Lord and you all here present, that I do believe there is but one God, who is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and an infinite and all-glorious Being, and distinguished into three subsistences, or (if that word offend) I will say into three personal proprieties and relations, according to his several operations and administrations, namely, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The Father is of himself, the Son proceedeth from the Father, and the Spirit from them both. And although the saints cannot take hold of God as God incomprehensible and inapprehensible, yet they know him as a Father, as a Son, as a Spirit dwelling in them, and so far as his several attributes makes him known to them.

"First, concerning the First Person (so called) of the Trinity, or God the Father; that He is the Great Creator and Governour of all things in heaven and earth, eternally distinct (as in Himself) from all creatures (as creatures) in His absolute Being and absolute Well-being, and that this God shall judge the world.

"But, secondly, concerning the second in the Trinity, the Son, *Jesus Christ*, of whom *Moses*, the Prophets, and the Apostles wrote, and in whom all the Scriptures are and shall be fulfilled, I believe him, as he is both God and man, making a complete mediator; and as God, equal to the Father, as man, of the tribe of *Judah*, the line of *David*, the seed of *Abraham*, and born of *Mary*, &c. and as both the only mediator between God and man. And he was

from everlasting, (and yet) as man from the womb he was separated, called, appointed, and anointed most fully with all gifts and graces necessary for all mankind.

"Concerning his offices—that he is King, Priest, and Prophet.

"First, as the Prophet, he hath revealed his Father's whole will, so far as is necessary for salvation, in his word and ordinances, and speaks it to his Church and fairs by his word and Spirit.

"Secondly, as Priest, being consecrated for us he hath appeared to put away sin, and hath offered himself the sacrifice for the sins of the people, once for all, laying down his life for his sheep; and he hath absolutely abolished all legal and ceremonial rites and shadows, and is now entered into the Holy of Holies, and sits at the right hand of Glory making intercession for us.

"Thirdly, as King in general, all power is given him in heaven and earth; and he doth exercise his power over men and angels, good and bad, for the safety of his fairs, and destruction of his enemies, till he hath made them all his footstool.

"In particular, that Christ is King over his Church, and shall reign on earth spiritually in the hearts of his fairs and by his word and Spirit. He gathers all his peoples together from idolatry, superstition, darkness, &c. into his own spiritual way of worship and holiness, and brings them to the Father; and by his Spirit he makes them a peculiar people, a royal priesthood, a holy generation, and instructs and governs them by his laws prepared for his Church and people.

"Thirdly, concerning the Spirit (the third of the Trinity), that he is sent by the Father and the Son to make application of the whole work of Redemption to those whom the Father hath given to the Son by His decree, and whom the Son hath brought to the Father by his blood, according

His Offices :

(1). Prophet.
Mic. v. 4;
Mal. iii. 1;
Deut. xviii. 15;
Acts iii. 22,
23; Isa. liv.
13.

(2). Priest.
Heb. ix. 12,
14; x. 3, 10;
Ephes. v. 2;
1 Pet. ii. 24;
John x. 15;
Colos. ii. 14,
15; Isa. liii.
12; Heb. xii.
24.

(3). King.
First, in general.
Matt. xxviii.
18; Ps. ii. 6;
xlv. 6; Heb. i.
8; Isa. ix. 6,
7; Rev. ii. 26,
27.

Secondly, in particular.
Matt. ii. 2;
Luke i. 33,
74, 75; xix.
27; Phil. ii. 9;
Haggai ii. 7;
Heb. xii. 27,
28; Isa. xlv.
22; Mic. iv.
2, &c.

3. The Spirit.
John xvi. 13,
14; Eph. i.
13, 14; iv.
30; Zach. ix.
11; Mal. iii.
1; Heb. x. 29;

xiii. 20; viii.
6, 8, 9; John
xvi. 8, 9;
Rom. viii. 2;
iv. 8.

John xv. 26.

Rom. viii. 16;
i. 4.

Gal. v. 22, 23;
1 John v. 7.

5. The Scrip-
tures.
Ps. cxlvii. 19,
20; John v.
39; 2 Cor. i.
13; Acts xxvi.
22; 2 Tim. iii.
16; 2 Pet. i.
20, 21; Gal.
vi. 16.

6. Man.
Ephes. ii. 1, 3;
John iii. 3, 4;
Acts xvii. 30,
31; Rom. viii.
13.

7. The Church.
Ephes. iv. 4.
Invisible and
Universal.
1 Cor. xii. 27,
28.

to the everlasting covenant made between the Father and the Son, which the Spirit carries on to us as the covenant of free grace for our salvation. By the operation of this Holy Spirit in me this grace was begun first by and through the Law, which awakened me so as that I saw I was lost and undone for ever, and then by the Gospel, whereby Christ was revealed to me (and in me by his Spirit), and his righteousness cleared up mine. (But of this hereafter).

“ This Spirit applied Christ Jesus (as far as I knew him) manifested to and in me, by which I was brought at length to close with Christ, and that so unfeignedly that I resolved to lose all before Christ. So such are—first, by Christ’s righteousness justified; secondly, by his Spirit adopted sons; thirdly, by his grace sanctified and really changed to the piety and purity of God’s holy image (gradually); and fourthly, glorified and changed from misery to happiness, which begins in the inward sense of God’s soul-melting love to them in Christ, from whence is the hope of glory and assurance of salvation, joy, peace, and happiness within, &c.

“ Fifthly, concerning the Scriptures in Old and New Testament, they are the Word of God, as they were writ and indited by the Holy Spirit, and that they are the standing rule left us both for our knowledge and practice, doctrine and discipline here below.

“ Sixthly, I believe that by the first *Adam’s* disobedience we all fell, and that we are all by nature the children of wrath, dead in sins and trespasses; and that those who live and die in their sins cannot be saved, nor any without regeneration or new birth.

“ Seventhly, concerning the Church of Christ, I know it is but one body Universal and Catholic, and that it is of all fairs, past, present, and to come, invisible and visible, yea spiritual and formal. But this I also believe, that God hath left a rule in his Word for Particular Congregational

Churches here upon earth as the visible, to make up his one entire and universal body.

“Eighthly. Now, concerning Christ’s particular Churches I believe, as I have preached and proved, such a church to be a fellowship called out of the world, and united to Christ as members to the head, and all one with another according to the word, for the worship of God and the edification one of another; and that such must be separate from false ways, worships, Antichristian superstitions, observances, &c. and willingly join in Christian communion and covenant or resolution of cleaving close to the Lord in this his way with purpose of heart and by free confession of their faith and subjection to the Gospel; and therein I specially believe that the ordinances of Christ are to be freely and frequently dispensed—as preaching, praying, prophecyng one by one, singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, sacraments, censures, offices and officers, and often and ordinary exercising of gifts.

“And that there is a choosing of and setting apart officers by the whole body, and that none doth orderly do the office of minister among them but such; and besides, to omit many other things and bring all up in this rear, I do really believe that such orderly churches have privileges royal, oracles and seals, and precious promises of God’s love, presence, and protection in a special manner, more than all the world besides. And although particular churches be distinct and independent bodies, even as cities compact, temples, houses, &c. yet all churches must walk by the same rule, and have counsel and comfort and help from one another when need requires, as being all members of one body, of which Christ is the head.

“And, to conclude, I am fully persuaded in my very soul that at the day of judgment, when the dead shall arise, that I shall arise also, and shall rejoice in Christ Jesus my Saviour, and reign with him for ever, and sing Hallelujah

8. Churches visible and Congregational. 1 Cor. xii. 20; Col. ii. 19; Eph. ii. 21, 22; Matt. xxviii. 20; Eph. iv. 29; 1 Thes. v. 11; John xv. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17, 19; Rev. xviii. 4; Ps. cx. 3; Isa. ii. 2, 4; 2 Cor. viii. 5; Acts xi. 23; Mal. iii. 16; Jude 20; Heb. x. 24, 25; Acts vi. 3; xiv. 23; Exod. xx. 24; 1 Kings ix. 3; Isa. iv. 5, 6; xxv. 6, 7, 8; Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14, 15; Rev. ii. 1; 2 Cor. vi. 3; Cant. iv. 16; vi. 2, 3; vii. 12; Isa. xxxiii. 17, 20; Ps. cxxii. 3.

John v. 28; 1 Cor. xv. 19; Acts xvii. 30, 31; 2 Tim. ii. 18; Heb. xii. 23.

for all eternity in the congregation of the first-born, where the spirits of just men are made perfect.

“And this is my faith, fetched from my very heart, and presented in the hearing of a heart-searching God and all of you here present.”

The controversial part, that is to say, the bulk of the book, arose of course out of the circumstances of the period. At this time the parishes and parochial churches of the country were, generally speaking, in the hands of the Presbyterians, whose system of church government had been sanctioned and to a certain extent established by Parliament. According to this, England was to be divided into parishes and provinces, and church government was to be carried on by Presbyteries and Assemblies, which were to be either parochial, classical, provincial, or national. Each parish was to have its parochial presbytery for parochial purposes; a certain number of adjoining parishes were to combine to form a classis with a classical assembly; these classes were to be united into provinces with provincial assemblies, and the provincial assemblies to send representatives to the national assembly. But, in spite of the letter of the law, the Presbyterian scheme was nowhere completely carried out except in Lancashire and London.

The whole system of Presbyteries and Assemblies subordinate one to another was an abomination to the Independents, whose instinct it was to repudiate authority, whether in Church or State. With them each separate congregation was a Church complete, self-sufficient, owing no obedience or allegiance to any authority whatever external to itself; in a word, every congregation was or ought to be, in fact as well as in name, an “Independent Church.” If the Presbyterian scheme of government was an abomination to them, the Parochial system, on which it was based, was scarcely less so. The Independents laughed at or utterly ignored the exclusive claims of a parochial clergy; these claims they maintained were not only mischievous and ridiculous, but essentially Antichristian, inasmuch as they were founded on the Antichristian notion that the Church was a mixed multitude of believers and unbelievers—sinners and saints indiscriminately, whereas in their opinion the Church was a select and exclusive society of the saints.

“Bethlehem” is divided into two books, “Chathan” and

Challah." In "Chathan" the author constructs an elaborate definition of the Church, maintaining that "Congregational," i. e. Independent Churches, are alone true Churches, and that "Parochial," i. e. Presbyterian (or Prelatic) Churches, are false and Antichristian Churches.

The following is his definition of a true Church :—"The true Church of Christ is, 1. A society of believers sanctified in Christ Jesus ; 2. Separate from the world's false ways and worships, united together into one body, Independent, or having a plenary power within itself, without the least subordination to any but Christ ; 3. Having the special presence of God in the midst of her ; 4. And being ordered and gathered by Christ's rule alone ; 5. All her members freely and voluntarily embodying without the least compulsion, having communion with the Father and the Son ; 6. All seeking the same end, viz. the honour and glory of God in His worship." Such are Independent Churches.

Each clause of his definition supplies him with a stage from which to assail the Presbyterian churches and the Parochial system—1. Parochial Churches are a mixed multitude of the world, including saints and sinners, believers and unbelievers indiscriminately ; 2. Parochial Churches are neither separate from sinners without nor united amongst themselves within, they are subordinate to cathedrals and convocations, synods, classes, and assemblies ; 3. Have not the beautiful and peculiar presence of God ; 4. Are ruled and ordered by ordinances and directories ; and 5. Are kept alive by stocks, prisons, fines, pillories, and punishments ; Finally, 6—they are full of profanity, excommunicate, and they rob God of His glory.

Having defined the Church in the first book, the author proceeds in the second to describe how in any particular locality a church may be gathered, embodied, and perpetuated. In the first place, persons desiring to enter into church society must be quite sure that they do so on good grounds, and that they act on their own free and unconstrained will, without any compulsion whatever, social, civil, or ecclesiastical. Having thus resolved to unite, they give effect to their resolution in a solemn, orderly manner, suitable to the occasion. Great scandals have arisen from neglecting this. "The godly," he says, "must needs be much offended at the practice of some that run preposterously into a way of fellowship on a sudden, in an hour's warning or two, and in some place

Bethshemesh,
p. 137.

Book ii. ch. i.

Book ii. ch. iii.

or other, too, that is unknown to any but themselves. They write down their names together, choose officers, and all at once or so, in an hour or two's time, make up a body and call themselves a church; and then all that will be joined must be joined to them that are thus jumbled together in a most undecent and undue order." As a means of checking such disorderly proceedings, the author offers the following order for church embodying which had been tested by his own experience, leaving others to be guided by it or not, as they pleased:—

First, then, in order to a communion of saints in a Gospel church-state, those that are godly must meet often to speak and pray together, and make mention of the Lord with savoury speeches tending to edification.

After this, being affectionately desirous to walk together in this way, and having agreed to it, they do write and give up their names to one whom they appoint to receive them.

In the mean time they most unanimously appoint a day of humiliation, or more, on which day they do lie low before the Lord and lick the dust. (Neh. i. 11). This they do by themselves, separate from others.

On such a day they appoint another day when they shall make a church body and unite, and if any be high, they send and seek for the assistance of some other church to bear testimony with them and give them the hand of fellowship and familiarity, not of lordship and authority.

On the day appointed, they judge it more to the honour of Jesus Christ to appear in public (unless there be persecution) in such a place, where any that will may come to hear and carry away anything they can.

The day is begun and kept on for some hours with the prayers of the faithful. They pray not in a slight and formal manner, but with a holy violence, and "bounce hard," "even until the room or house is ready to shake again."

After this, there is some preparatory sermon or speech made by one that is able and appointed thereto, and it is fit that the book of Christ's Law be at that time read openly, unto which he that preaches and exhorts is principally appointed, in a pulpit of wood (Nehem. viii. 4), in the public place or elsewhere.

Then the rules that the church is gathered by, and the grounds on which it is embodied, are laid open.

Next is the confession of faith begun by him who is appointed thereunto as the ablest to lead. This brother besides gives an account of the works of grace upon his heart, holding out at least some of his experiences.

After this brother hath delivered himself at large, having the more liberty because he leads as it were the others, then follow some other of the ablest of the brethren (for herein care must be had in public lest the weakness of a brother give advantage to them without) who lay down the grounds of their persuasion, and render a reason of the hope that is in them by Confession of Faith, Experiences of the work of grace, and the like.

Then as many as are appointed for that day go on, one by one, and possibly for this day but few as eight or ten, or more or less, be appointed, because the work is this day the most difficult and the most public.

Some will then have a formal covenant in writing; but this is not essential. After all this their names against whom no exception is taken are written down in a register, and these by prayer together give themselves up to God and to one another willingly.

To conclude this busy day, they pour out prayer and praise in such a measure that as it was said of Israel in Ezra—when the foundation of the temple was laid they could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of weeping, both were so great, so here it may be said the faints are so filled with praises and prayers that the noise of the one can hardly be discerned from the noise of the other.

As to other brethren and sisters that are to be admitted, they do make their confession and declare the work of God on their hearts in private when they are enchurchd among themselves, separate from the mixed multitude, so that the world may not take notice of their weakness in utterance or expression, and upbraid them and the truth.

After a church has been thus embodied, it admits members from time to time, as need requires. On these occasions the following order may be observed. The candidate must acquaint the church of his desire, and his name is placed on the first record, and some elders or brothers are deputed to inquire concerning him and confer with him. If their report is satisfactory, a special day is appointed for his admission; then if he be very unable to speak in public in the church (as some maids and others that are

Book ii. ch. iv.

Book ii. ch. v.

Book ii. ch. vi.

Mr. Nehemiah
Rogers, my
honoured
Father, in his
Parables.

Book ii. ch. iv.

bashful) the church indulgently chooses out some to receive in private the account of his faith and experiences, which they take in writing and deliver in to the church. But in ordinary cases the candidate appears in person and delivers publicly by word of mouth a confession of faith and an account of the work of grace on his heart. Great liberty of opinion is to be allowed in the matter; believers of all judgments are to be received, and none are to be rejected for difference of opinion in matters indifferent. (As an example of a confession of faith, the author offers that which was delivered* by himself by word of mouth at Dublin in 1651.) But besides this confession, every person to be admitted must produce some experimental evidence of the work of grace upon his soul for the church to judge of whereby he or she is convinced he is regenerate and received of God. This may have been given either by extraordinary ways in dreams, visions, voices, and the like, to a poor soul under extraordinary sad temptations or soul-miseries, or else by the ordinary operation of the Spirit in the changing effects of grace upon the judgment, will, and affections. These experiences the Saints ought to declare in open congregation, because by them the Church is able to judge of such as are godly, and because they are a warning piece shot off in the ears of others, for "God teacheth by them as well as by precepts" (faith *Mr. Rogers* in the "Good Samaritan," p. 222).

As models and examples the author inserts at full length the experiences of forty persons, most of whom were members of his congregation at Dublin, and amongst whom are *Col. Hewson*, the regicide, Governor of Dublin, and his wife, with several ministers and officers of the army. He concludes with his own experiences as delivered in at Dublin, and these supply the account of his early life which has been already given.

To return to the candidate for church membership. After he has delivered in his confession of faith and account of experiences, he is questioned by those that have any doubts, for none can deny that liberty; but should he be weak and imperfect in utterance, the questions must be easy and discreet, for "we must take heed of grieving tender hearts in expecting too much from them," or of turning away for a form. Then he withdraws, and the question of his admission is debated. If approved, he is again called in, and

* See page 58.

received by the right hand of fellowship and a short exhortation by the Pastor or other person in the name of the whole church. The ceremony ends with prayer and praise.

In the course of enunciating his system of church discipline, the author takes occasion to state and maintain his opinion on several other controverted questions, and especially on those three which had led to the disruption and dissolution of his Church at Dublin. These were, the proper relation of the civil magistrate towards the Church (including the question of liberty of conscience), the validity of infant baptism, and the rights of women in Christian churches. On these three points he claimed the glory of having been persecuted for the truth's sake.

As to liberty of conscience, the Presbyterians had consistently maintained that those who tolerated error were little better than those who held or propagated it, and that both ought to be dealt with by the civil magistrate. In "A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them," subscribed by the [Presbyterian] ministers of Christ in London, and published in 1648, there is classed among the errors which they "utterly loathe, execrate, and abhor," "the error of toleration, patronizing, and promoting all other errors and blasphemies whatsoever under the grossly abused notion of liberty of conscience," and they mention particularly the error "that little can be done unless liberty of conscience be allowed for every man and sort of men to worship God in that way and perform Christ's ordinances in that manner as shall appear to them most agreeable to God's word, and no man punished or discountenanced by authority for the same." The Presbyterian ministers pray that "some effectual means" may be found "by authority of Parliament for the utter abolition and extirpation of" these errors "out of the Church." *Rogers* joins issue with them, and maintains at some length that magistrates have nothing whatever to do with schismatics, heretics, blasphemers, and the like, as such, unless they commit some action worthy of punishment; that God alone is the Lord and Judge of consciences, and that until magistrates keep their own proper sphere, and meddle only with civil matters, ministers meddling only with spiritual, "we shall be far from a good reformation, and must look only for a lamentable check."

As he had been persecuted by the Presbyterians on one side

Book ii. ch. iv.

for his advocacy of religious liberty, so he was persecuted by the Anabaptists on the other for his advocacy of infant baptism. In support of his own practice of not requiring those who had been baptized as infants to be re-baptized as adults, he proves in "Bethshemesb,"—1. That the Apostles only baptized those who had never been baptized before; 2. That the baptism of infants, as generally administered, even if we admit it to have been corruptly administered, is notwithstanding true Baptism in the essential points of matter and form, and therefore is not to be repeated; 3. That although immersion may perhaps be preferable, inasmuch as it is more significant, yet aspersion is sufficient; 4. That even if we have been baptized by a corrupt administrator, still "his corrupt hand doth not invalidate the ordinance." And finally, he declares, 5. That when we find the fruit and effect of baptism to follow the ordinance on those who have been baptized as infants, we are satisfied "this covers all failings, and the outward is swallowed up in the inward."

Book ii. ch. viii.

The third question, to which he devotes a whole chapter in "Bethshemesb," is the question of the rights of women in a Christian Church, and "this was one thing which helped to set at a distance the two societies at Dublin." "The furies and harpies are flown up very high upon this point, and most men do arrogate a sovereignty to themselves which I see no warrant for." He, on the other hand, alleges prophecy, precept, and reason to show that sisters ought to have equal liberty with the brethren in speaking and voting, asking and answering, consenting and objecting, in the congregation of the Church. For prophecy he appeals to *Joel*, *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*. For precept he quotes "Go, tell it to the Church." Papists say this means, tell it to the Pope and his Cardinals; others say, tell it to the Prelates; Calvinists say, tell it to the Synod; some Independents say, tell it to the brethren. We say, tell it to the whole body, which consists of women as well as men. Women, he says, bore office in the Primitive Church; women were chosen to look after the poor; women laboured with *St. Paul* in the Gospel; *Phæbe* was a deaconess, and *Philip's* four daughters were prophetesses.

Again, women have frequently surpassed men for piety and judgment. Prudent *Abigail* excelled her husband; for knowledge *Priscilla* excelled *Apollos*, though a preacher; for faith, the Canaanite, of whom Christ said, "I have not seen so great faith, no,

not in Israel." For affection and zeal, "the Queen of the South shall rise up against the men of this generation." *Mary Magdalen* for piety and spirit outran and outreached the twelve disciples. So we read how *Jael* excelled in courage, *Deborah* in thankfulness, *Lois* and *Eunice* in faith and obedience, *Lydia* in entertaining the word. The Shunamite in faith, and zeal, and understanding excelled her husband. So the Samaritanes the rest of the citizens. We read of women exhorted to win their husbands to the truth. Yea, and in *Manoah's* wife you shall find a sounder faith and judgment than in her husband. "I remember I have read in *Ferome's* days of many holy women that exceeded others in learning and abilities, and in the studying of the Scriptures, and they had their commentaries upon them of their own making."

A further reason is taken from their strong affection to the truth, when once they be in the way of Christ. Hence it is that Satan so often makes the first trial of women for his turn and service, seeing where they take their affections are strongest; and he sped so well at first that he can't forget it. So he found out a *Dalilah* for *Sampson*, a *Jezebel* for *Ahab*, *Pharaoh's* daughter for *Solomon*, &c. For where they are bad they are exceeding bad, but where they are good they are exceeding good; for, as the gold sooner receives the form than iron or steel, so are women more readily wrought upon and persuaded into the truth than men; and as gold, so women many times take the fairest stamp and fullest impression.

"Yet before I conclude I must speak a word or two both to men and women. Let not men despise them, or wrong them of their liberty of voting and speaking in common affairs. To women I say, I wish ye be not too forward, and yet not too backward, but hold fast your liberty; keep your ground which Christ hath got and won for you, maintain your rights, defend your liberties even to the life; lose it not, but be courageous and keep it. And yet be cautious too, *festina lentè*—not too fast; but first be swift to hear, slow to speak: your silence may sometimes be the best advocate of your orderly liberty, and the sweetest evidence of your prudence and modesty. And yet ye ought not by your silence to betray your liberty, trouble your consciences, lose your privileges and rights, or see the truth taken away or suffer before your eyes. But, I say, be not too hafty nor

too high ; for as the note that comes too nigh the margin is in danger to run into the text the next impressiön, so spirits that run too high at first may soon fall into disorder and irregularity.

In a word, I say to all, ‘Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder.’”

Rogers, as he says, had “some pretty hot skirmishes” with the Presbyterians incidentally in the earlier part of his book ; but he reserves his direct and systematic assault upon them for the last and longest chapter, in which, hardly acknowledging their right to be ranked among Christian churches, “properly so called,” he exhibits, by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, a long catalogue of the points in which they agree with the Papists. The comparison is interesting, as showing in some detail how far the Presbyterians of the day had diverged from the Episcopalians, and had been themselves left behind by the Independents.

Papists and Presbyterians agree with each other, and of course differ from the Independents, in discipline, doctrine, and practice.

They agree in discipline. 1. In dividing the Church into principal and less principal—first the Pope and his Cardinals, or the Assembly and classes, and secondly the people ; 2. In saying that the Catholic Church always has been visible ; 3. In asserting a twofold headship to the Church—first Christ, and then the Pope or the Assembly ; 4. In saying all belong to the Church who make profession of Christ, whether Saints or not ; 5. In calling all who separate from them schismatics, heretics, or separatists, they themselves being neither separate out of Babylon or gathered and at unity in Sion ; 6. In laying the foundations of their Church not on Christ but on *St. Peter*, or on confessions of faith ; 7. In persecuting all who differ from them ; 8. In giving the power of the keys not to the congregation, but either to their prelates or to their classes ; 9. In various points connected with synods and assemblies, as to their necessity, power, or the like.

They agree in doctrine.

1. The Papists keep off the people from reading the Scriptures, find fault continually with the vulgar translation, affirm Scripture to be most hard, difficult, and obscure, and that it requires to be expounded by Fathers, Councils, &c. and make tradition necessary over and above. And so not only Prelates, of late, but the Presbyterians are too rigid to keep off the poor people from the Scrip-

tures, fearing they would excel their teachers, and take their pulpits from them. To see such in their pulpits as have not had hands upon them, O, how they screech for fear! (See this in that frothy, nameless pamphlet of a lying libeller and scandalous Philocompos, that is much cried up by that party for his voluble tongue. It is entitled, "A Taste of the Doctrine of the newly-erected Exercise at Thomas Apostle's.") Like the Papists, they fright the people from the Scriptures by telling them they want the original; others declare their Classes, Synods, &c. must determine the sense of the Scriptures, and add their authority thereto, or Fathers, Commentators, and such as are accounted orthodox: about which I have been in the lists with many. We dissent from both, and assert that the vulgar translation of the Scripture is sufficient in matters of faith for knowledge; that the Scriptures are to be believed, not because Synods or Councils tell us they are true, but because the Spirit tells us so; that we should sin against our consciences if we sat down content with the exposition of others, instead of seeking further and fuller; that the Scriptures are necessary to be known, and that it is not enough to hear the minister preach; that all things necessary to salvation to be found in Scriptures; and lastly, that the Scriptures are not so dark and undiscoverable as they would urge upon the people.

2. They agree about Baptism, imposing it as necessary to salvation, maintaining that infants ought to be brought to Baptism because they have the habit if not the act of faith, and because of the faith of their parents, and adopting the Jesuitical doctrine that Baptism wipes away sins going before. All this the Independents deny, affirming that the children of the faithful that are holy are holy before Baptism.

3. They agree as to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, in bidding men prepare themselves for it, and fast the day before they receive it (while we Independents say the preparations of the heart are of the Lord, and account fasting before the Lord's Supper to be mere foppery), in dispensing indiscriminately to all, in bidding the people fall down before it, or keep devoutly on their knees, or sit or kneel or stand at a distance from it. Some of them, too, affirm that all have had Christ who have had the sacrament; and some of them cut the bread instead of breaking it, which destroys the nature of the ordinance.

4. They agree, too, about the doctrine of works, affirming the necessity of works to salvation, crying up an inherent righteousness in man;

and they agree in pressing works and duties for fear of hell and for hope of heaven, roaring out with fire and lightning about the ears of the people to fright and scare them, and there to leave them. "They can say little else but hell and damnation to such as are afflicted, instead of using every means to bind up the broken, and pour in wine and oil into their wounds." 5. They agree too much about the merit of works. 6. Lastly, they agree in giving the civil magistrates too much power over the Church.

They agree in practice.

First, as to Ordination. (1). Papists make imposition of hands essential; so do Presbyterians. We affirm it to be a mere ceremony. (2). Papists say ordination is to be dispensed by the Bishops; the Presbyterians say by the Presbytery or classes; we say by the congregation. (3). Papists and Presbyterians say first ordain a man, and then let him be called and chosen; we say they put the cart before the horse. The Church must first choose him, after trial and examination, and then ordain him. "And I affirm that, as ordination Popishly dispensed does not give the essentials to the outward call of a minister, so the Presbyterian ordination, which I now disown before God and men, as being in the steps of Popery and successively from it, (though I was once, through dimightedness, under it, in the very first class that e'er was in England, if I mistake not), yet I say it is antichristian and disorderly, as preceding the election of the people of God, and not giving the essentials to the call of a true minister of Christ."

Next, as to distinctions and differences.

1. The Presbyterians, like the Papists, keep up a distinction between themselves as ministers and other people, and they would have no other dare to touch their sacred function or to enter their pulpits on pain of anathema. We deny the distinction between clergy and laity as Popish; there is no difference between ministers and the people, except it be to exceed them in knowledge and holy life. 2. Papists make a distinction of their Priests by garbs, gowns, caps, garments; so did the Prelates, and so do the Presbyterians, which we think a superstitious foppery. 3. Papists give some of their clergy principality or power over others of them; so do the Presbyterians in their classes, but we affirm no superiority among pastors any more than among churches. 4. Papists

and Presbyterians are too alike about tithes; they both say the payment of tithes is of absolute duty. We affirm three things—(1). That the Parliament, or any other supreme power, may throw down tithes; (2). That a competent maintenance and comfortable allowance to all able Gospel ministers who live soberly is of divine institution; but, (3). That this ought to be in as voluntary a way as may be, so that the people ought to be free in the manner of payment. 5. Papists and Presbyterians are too much alike in their names of days, months, and seasons. Such names as “Sunday” and “Monday,” “January” and “February,” “Christmas Michaelmas, Candlemas,” &c. must be reformed, as sprung from Popery or Paganism. 6. Their practice is too like the Papists about their public meeting-places, which they call “churches.” (1). The Presbyterians at this day hold what they can neither prove nor dare openly own—that there is a speciality in their churches, as if they were holier than other places; from whom we dissent, and affirm their churches to be no better than streets or barns in themselves, and so say all Protestants against Papists. (2). The Papists dedicated their churches to saints, and though the Presbyterians cannot for shame own these Popish decrees, yet what do they less than approve of their churches being so dedicated when they call them by their names as sainted—*St. Mary, St. John, St. James, St. Thomas Apostle*. “Therefore it would do well that our State would declare against those churches as no churches, that they might never be eyed or owned more than any other places, further than for conveniency’s sake, so that as hot, violent ministers might not approve, so not appropriate them as they do. For, indeed, some proud, self-conceited, hot-spirited Presbyterians I know (that account these churches their own inheritance) will keep or solely command the keys, and suffer none to preach but themselves, or of their own feather, gang, and fancy with them, and on the week days keep the door so close that a mouse may hardly get in, for fear of too much preaching, which they account dangerous, unless on their rounds on Sunday. So that they threaten to arrest such as dare preach in their pulpits or churches (as they say) without their consent. O sad! such doings we have in the countries yet; and are forced to preach under hedges or on mountains (which I have done myself, when we have not had a twig to shelter us from the rain). But woe be to them, for they have taken away the key of knowledge, and have not entered in

themselves, and them that were entering in they have hindered. But if these places must be dedicated to Saints, let them be dedicated to the use of saints living, and for the churches that are so indeed to meet in."

"Lastly, Papists and Presbyterians are too alike in their accurate scrutiny which they have of us, to observe what differences they can find among us, to make their advantage and outcry against us. This is an old Popish trick. We must acknowledge too many differences amongst us, and that about forms too. But there may be unity where there is not uniformity. And though we have too, too many divisions and differences amongst us, God knows, which is our daily grief, yet they are not so many or so dangerous as the bitter brethren would have all believe by looking into their magnifying-glasses. But those few that are, are not about points of faith, but for the most part forms, which are by some too hotly and hastily pressed and pursued."

The author concludes with an earnest exhortation to unity, which will be the result, he thinks, of three things now coming on the churches,—a short but sharp time of trial, a large pouring out of the spirit, and the near approach of the great and notable day of the Lord. Finally, he asserts and endeavours to prove that the Gospel order of the Congregational Church way, or, in other words, the Independent form of church government, is one of the great promises of these latter days, in which Christ alone shall reign and an earthly paradise be restored.

"τὸ θέλειν, τὸ τέλειν."

In "Bethshemesh," the greater part of which may be assigned to the last days of the Long Parliament,* the author exhibits himself as an advanced Independent; allusions to the Characteristic Fifth-Monarchy doctrines are comparatively few and faint. But in his next book, "Sagrir," which was published while the Barebones Parliament was in full vigour, he not only makes his usual onslaught on clergy, tithes, and lawyers, but he declares also, or develops, those views on foreign policy and a military millennium which were the characteristics of the Fifth-Monarchy-Man. The

Oct. 20, 1653.

* Most of the dedicatory Epistles are dated March and April, 1653. The book itself had been written in Dublin in 1651-2.

foreign policy advocated by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and enunciated in "Sagrir," was eminently warlike and aggressive, and at the same time eminently calculated to advance the interests of *Cromwell*. *Macaulay* says truly, "There was nothing which *Cromwell* had for his own sake and that of his family so much reason to desire as a general religious war in Europe. In such a war he must have been the Captain of the Protestant armies. The heart of England would have been with him. His victories would have been hailed with an unanimous enthusiasm unknown in the country since the rout of the Armada, and would have effaced the stain which one act condemned by the general voice of the nation has left on his splendid fame."

It was for some such war as this that the Fifth-Monarchy-Men thirsted; a war for the defence and extension of the Protestant faith over the whole world. To what extent *Cromwell* prompted them it is impossible to say, but it is worth remarking that he actually made England "the most formidable power in the world" by asserting within rational limits those very principles which they were then proclaiming with such exaggeration and extravagance, and that he insisted on almost incredible demands from other nations on the plea that "his people would not be otherwise satisfied." In fact, *Cromwell* availed himself of the clamours of the fanatics against foreign nations just as he had availed himself of their clamours against the Long Parliament, the clergy, and the lawyers, to stimulate his friends, to intimidate his enemies, and to prepare the way for a policy which was, after all, entirely his own.

"Sagrir," which appears to have been written in the autumn of 1653, is a volume of nearly 200 pages, and contains an Epistle to *Cromwell*, an Epistle to the Reader, a violent denunciation of existing laws and lawyers, and lengthy digressions on tithes, foreign policy, and the Fifth Monarchy. Its tone and temper are very fairly represented in its title-page, in which, however, the date seems to be wrongly printed: it was certainly published in 1653.

Macaulay,
Hist. of Engl.
i. 144 (Ed.
1858).

Macaulay, i.
143.

Clarendon, vii.
300.

סַגְרִיר *Sagrir,*

O R

Doomes-day drawing nigh,
With Thunder and Lightening to **LAWYERS,**
In an *Alarum*

For *New Laws*, and the *Peoples Liberties* from the
Norman and Babylonian Yokes.

Making Discoverie

Of the *present* ungodly *Laws* and *Lawyers* of the *Fourth Monarchy*,
and of the approach of the *FIFTH*; with those godly *Laws*,
Officers and Ordinances that belong to the *Legislative Power* of the Lord *Jesus*.

SHEWING

The *Glorious Work* Incumbent to *Civil Discipline* (once more) fet
before the *Parliament*, Lord *Generall*, *Army* and *People* of *England*, in
their distinct capacities upon the *Account* of *Christ* and his *Monarchy*.

Humbly presented to them by JOHN ROGERS, *an unfained Servant*
of *Christ*, and *this Common-wealth in their best Rights, Laws*
and *Liberties, lost many years.*

Bread of Deceit is sweet to a man, but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with Gravel.
Prov. 20, 17.

Who so stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he shall cry himself, but shal not be heard.
Prov. 21, 13.

They are Braffe and Iron, they are all Corrupters, the Bellows are burnt the Lead is consumed of the fire, the Founder melteth in vain, for the Wicked are not plucked away. *Ier. 6. 28, 29.*

נִשְׁמָטוּ בִּידֵי-סֹלֶעַ שְׁפָטֵיהֶם וְשָׁמְעוּ אָמְרִי בִּי נִעְמֹו: when
their Judges (or the greatest Lawyers) are thrown down into stony places, they shall
hear my Words, becaufe then they are sweet. *Psal. 141, 6.*

Causidicis, Erebo, Fisco, fas vivere raptō ;
Militibus, Medico, Tortori, occidere ludo ;
Mentiri Astrologis, Piſtoribus, atque Poetis.

L O N D O N,

Printed by R. I. to be sold by *Giles Calvert* at the *Black Spread Eagle*, at
the *West end of Pauls* 1654.

“To the Right Honourable the Lord General Cromwell, the people’s Victorious Champion in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

MY LORD,

His Excellency the Lord Jesus hath sent out his summons to other nations also; and the blade of that sword whose handle is held in England will reach to the very gates of Rome ere long, but by what instruments we know not; yet for what end we know, (Ps. lxxii. 2, 4, 13) viz. to break in pieces the oppressor and to deliver the poor and needy. Now, my Lord, hitherto he hath honoured you in his war. Let him also do so in his work, which the war hath made way for, viz. in throwing down of tyranny and oppression, which as you have begun to do, so this treatise hath unavoidable reference to yourself to carry on, as our conqueror upon Christ’s and the Commonwealth’s account, and not upon your own. Therefore are the eyes of thousands upon you, to see what you will do for their safety and freedom, according to the just rights and liberties of the people of this nation, which they had before the Norman tyranny and conquest; for it is far better for us, my Lord, now to hang us than not to help us against these unsufferable laws and lawyers, which rob us of justice and righteousness, as it is obvious in this treatise. It is without malice to a man of them, and merely out of conscience to engage against sin and enemies to Christ and this Commonwealth that I must make such a character of them as I do. It may be I speak spiritfully yet not spitefully; though oppression makes a wise man mad, says *Solomon* (Eccl. vii. 7). And indeed, if it be madness to engage against sin, I will be so: for—

‘Si natura negat facit indignatio verfum.’

Wherefore, my Lord, I beseech you contemn not the

There is a prediction, which says C. shall found within the walls of Rome.

clock that tells you how the time passës. A mean herald may go on great errands ; and on this errand he is contented to be mean and contemptible who is sent to you, and prays unfeignedly for you that you may never be fet aside, but be of singular use yet in this generation ; and then, and not till then, rest from your labours as *David* did (Acts xiii. 36).

The sword of the Lord and of *Gideon** together gets the loud suffrage of your suffering yet

your heartily humble

servant in the service

of our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, the 8th month, 20th day.

Thomas Apostle's."

Some of these sufferings are connected with his unceasing protests against the iniquity of tithes. He gives the following account of them in his Epistle to the Reader :—

" I confess I was occasionally the fourteenth day of the seventh month at the Committee of Tithes,† in the Chequer

* *Gideon* was a favourite example, and " the sword of the Lord and of *Gideon* " a favourite watchword with such men as *Rogers* ; for *Gideon* with his handful of men first routed whole hosts of his enemies, and then cut off the heads of their kings (" Bethshemesh," p. 171). On the other hand, to such men as his father, *Nehemiah*, " the sword of the Lord and of *Gideon* " was significant only of religious intolerance, cruelty, and rebellion. " Theological hatreds as one termeth them are most bitter hatreds. He that strikes for religion strikes with a razor ; the other thrusts with a foil. When a battle is fought ' by the sword of the Lord and of *Gideon*, ' then it ever proceeds with the greatest cruelty ; and rebellion never proves so loud and dangerous as when religion is pretended."—*The Figless Fig-tree*, p. 280.

† The Committee of Tithes appointed by the Barebones Parliament consisted of thirty-two members. The first, third, and fifth names on the list were those of *Major-General Harrison*, *Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and

Chamber, where was a rude rabble, and amongst them many lawyers and ministers of the city and country too, to tug for tithes; and finding liberty given to any to speak, I being desired so to do by some Parliament men, I accepted of the call, for that I could not in conscience be silent, seeing I had such a season to make my blow at Antichrist and to speak for Christ; but finding that the liberty was limited to what could be said as to or against their propriety by the law, I only laid a foundation for a future discourse, which I took up on the 16th day. And because *Master Jacob*, being of a like constitution and complexion in principles with the priests, with the assistance of one of his brethren, that foul-mouthed scandalous fellow of Garlick-hithe, censoriously and rashly condemned me as full of impertinences therein, although they were well rebuked for their rough, proud spirits, and the Committee took *Mr. Jacob* up sharply for his folly, impertinency, and impatience (for he wanted his note-book); yet, to satisfy some of the precious servants of God, I shall here insert what I said.

Ques. Whether the present clergy have right by the laws of this land to tithes? Before my answer I premised that, without fee, preferment, or bye-end, I should offer my judgment, being brought hereto by a good conscience, as persuaded that I appeared for Christ against Antichrist, so that I would not be daunted by the threats of any given out against me. Then I digested my discourse into four heads:—

Anf. Neg. 1 (*ab origine*).—From the rise of those common laws that they plead to give them this right, i. e.

Praise-God Barbone. The Committee was ordered to sit in the Chequer Chamber. “This Committee hath power to punish scandalous ministers, and to prefer godly ministers in their place.”—*From “A New List of all the Members of this present Parliament. 1655.”*

The Author's speech at the Committee, Sept. 16.

The present Ministers no right to Tithes by the law proved.

Anf. 1. Because common laws which give the right are down.

Anf. 2.
Because there
the laws look
on men
ordained in
another way.

Anf. 3. The
end of the law
is lost by those
laws which
grant tithes.

Anf. 4. The
foundation of
such is sand,
and unbound.

To the Parlia-
ment.

canon, or Christian law so called. If the canon or ecclesiastical law is down, and gives them no right, then the common laws, which arose therefrom, are down and fallen with them. But the canon law is down, &c: ergo, the consequence is clear. . . .

Anf. 2 (ex objecto). The laws which they plead and pretend for propriety look on such only as were ordained according to the Popish canons then in force when those laws were made; but the present clergy disown those canons and ordination—ergo, the laws that refer thereto. . . .

Anf. 3 (a fine). From the end of all honest laws, which must be preferred before the letter of the laws, viz. the public good and freedom of the people. . . .

Anf. 4. From the foundation of the laws, which ought to be the eternal law of God. . . .

Thus their propriety to tithes is proved rotten and invalid by their own laws, as to the principle, object, end, and foundation of them; and if God do not honour our present governours with such a stripping of the ornaments and pulling away the black patches of the impudent harlot as this does, I fear they will hardly be the men then that must tear her flesh from her bones and burn it with fire. . . .

This is the substance of what I delivered by word of mouth, (which I had a copy of in writing, whence I have taken this), and afterward in writing by an honourable member of Parliament. But that the spirit of Antichrist might appear for itself, there was such uncivil talking, hissing, mocking, threatenings, railings, and crowding me, whiles I was speaking to the Committee, to interrupt me, that the Chairman, with many members, were forced to check them, and to rise up to chide several times. After we were withdrawing by order from the Committee, *Mr. Jacob* exclaims against me. With that I turned back, and heard him say I offered many impertinencies, and he was glad the truth had so many weak enemies as I was. Let

him and all my enemies know that I trust I shall be a very weak enemy to truth as long as I live; I desire to be so, and rather to die than be any enemy at all to truth. But yet tell him that Antichrist, against whom I engaged in this business of tithes, which the blood of the martyrs will witness with me (Fox, p. 494, ii., 80, and 537, &c.) I say, tell him that Antichrist shall find stronger, and abler, and faithfuller, and more undaunted, resolute enemies than I am to this trash, and trumpery, and relic of Antichrist; and it is my joy to be one, though a weak one, that engages for Christ herein, though I was grieved to be alone among so many adversaries of the clergy, lawyers, and rude rabble at that time. But my answer to *Mr. Jacob's* affront was this—that he spoke like himself (meaning a Presbyterian, and one that would have been *Mr. Love's* successor); and that as Augustine once said he was content to speak false Latin, so he might but win their souls to Christ, so I said I was welcome to speak foolishly and impertinently, so I might but serve my master Christ therein, as I trust I had; which since, among many others, some Parliament men and honest ministers, too, and members of the army, have with thanks told me was well. But after he was reproved by the Committee, we withdrew, where a huge conflux of rigid clergy, solicitors, and rabble fell a railing and assaulting me (among whom was *Crofton*, the preacher of Garlick-hithe, threatening and abusing me); but I was through mercy rescued by some friends and members of the army, and carried away to a friend's house to refresh my spirits, which were much spent with their violencies. But I did not feel the hurt which I had by their crowdings, punches, and pulling about, and getting me (as they had once that day) under their feet till I cried for help; I felt it not till the next day; and then, what with inward bruises and outward soreness and sickness, I fell into a fierce fever, when, amongst others, *Colonel Rathbone* came to visit me, and told me how

the rabble the day before fell upon him also, upon the same account of engaging against that garbage of Antichrist; and for applauding what I had offered to the Committee they fell upon him, and he was stabbed twice, once in the forehead and the other was in his side, so that he hardly escaped with his life; and as soon as he was dressed by the chirurgions, he said, he came to give me warning of them, they were so incensed against me it would be dangerous to stir abroad for some time, seeing my life was threatened.

By this it appears what a spirit it is that pleads for tithes; inasmuch as I wonder nothing at their lying, railing, and abusing me about this city, and in Martin-in-the-Fields, where the Presbyterian professors follow their old trade of venting and inventing to the amazement of honest men. . . . But for all this storm their tithe must tumble, and the standing, too, of those nationalists ere long.

There be two sorts of men that must and will be my professed adversaries, viz. the national clergy and the Norman lawyers. Whiles I am engaged against the Babylonian and Norman yokes, and strike at the block or body of them (as I have done at the first in a treatise of Church Discipline, and do at the last in these lines of Civil Discipline), the fierce chips fly about mine ears; but they must into the fire ere long, with the beast and false prophets (Rev. xix. 20). Some brats of this brood are very bitter B * * * biters as well as P * * * biters; but I am positive, with *Jo. Hufs*, that all the (National Corrupt) Clergy must be quite taken away ere the Church of Christ be truly reformed, or Antichrist fall. I hear some are pursuing me with the rage of the Red Dragon (Rev. xii.), and in chief the forenamed scandalous libeller *Crofton*, of Garlick-hithe, the fittest man for such a business I know of. He is, it seems, full of arts, and sciences, and tongues too, for wronging and slandering; and whiles he dialogues with his nose, his communication is mere smoke. This is he that

Clergy and
Lawyers.

Backbiters and
Presbyters.

calls all Independents Devils, and says they are damned that are so. This is he that preacheth they were damned that took the Engagement (as I have it to shew under an honest minister's hand). This is he that, on pain of damnation, and as they will answer it before him at the day of Judgment, requires the people to hear him only, and not stir from him to any other man. This is he that is so notoriously known for a scurrilous and scandalous Priest in many counties, and is most grossly Popish, both in doctrine and practice, as doth appear to many, and may ere long to more. This is he that is always slandering and persecuting the people of God, calling them nauseous names and making lies of them in the pulpit; yea, of such as are asleep in the grave, whom he inhumanly slanders, and what not that is ignoble and unworthy. Far, much worse I might speak, but I shall spare him and the reader."

Rogers concludes this part of his book with a few words on the approach of the Fifth Monarchy, of which he speaks more fully afterwards.

. "Schoolboys look after holydays, worldly men after rent days, chapmen after market days, travellers after fair days, professors after Lord's days, and the people of God long for these days of Christ, viz. the end of the four monarchies (Dan. vii.), that the Fifth may come, wherein Christ and his saints shall rule the world. Mark it, by Anno 1656 the flood begins; and, as in *Noah's* flood, after the doors were shut up there was no mercy, though they came wading middle deep, so let this be an alarm to all men to make haste while the door of the ark is open. In few years they will find it shut; and then, though they wade through and through much danger, whether Parliament men, Army men, Merchant men, Clergy men, Lawyers, or others, they may find it too late, and that their delays have bred dangers; for the door will be shut

What days we
look for.

1656. By that
year Haste—
Haste—Haste.

shortly. My aim herein is to awaken them all up to their work, in the reftoration of God's laws and government, the people's liberties and privileges, the Commonwealth's comfort and advantages, in Chrift's kingdom and appearances, which is and fhall be the mark of my arrow, yea the rainbow of my cloud that looks on the fun, and that which my foul fhall pump out apace in all my prayers to God in Chrift for this Commonwealth, whose honeft, faithful fervant I am in my heart, without the cunning politick or artificiall compofition of compliments, though I muft and do fuffer for my fincerity and fimlicity."

The character of the foreign policy which *Rogers* and his party advocated is exhibited in the following digreffion, which is introduced into the firft part of his book, and opens the way for the main attack upon Lawyers.

A digreffion.

To affist our neighbours.

France.

Holland.

"Let me digrefs a little now, for the public's fake, in this my difcourfe, to acquaint the Governours of our Nation how much the meffage from Bourdeaux in France, or any other nation concerns us; for we are bound by the law of God to help our neighbour as well as ourfelves, and fo to aid the fubjects of other princes that are either perfecuted for true religion or oppreffed under tyranny. What mean our Governours to take no more notice of this? How durft our army to be ftill, now the work is to do abroad? Are there no Protestants in France and Germany even under perfecution? And do not the fubjects of France that lie under the iron yoke of tyranny fend and feek and fue to us for affiftance? Well, woe be to us 'if we help not the Lord (Judg. v. 23) againft the mighty;' for it is the Lord hath fent for us thither, and calls for a part of our army at leaft into France or Holland. Therefore, 'Curfed be they that do the work of the Lord negligently,' or but by halves (Jer. xlviii. 10).

Wherefore, let me tell our army and statesmen that if they belong to the Lord yet, and if God hath good to do by them yet, that then they shall not be able to sit still long ; for if they will not take their work abroad they shall have it home, as sure as God lives and is righteous. For where the kingdom of Christ comes, there is no such thing as bounds, or limits, or rivers, or seas, that shall cage up or confine the fervent zeal and flaming affections of an Army, Representative, or People spirited for the work of Christ, which is more and more public, and looks beyond seas now. O no ! no more than the bounds or limits of a parish shall confine a minister of the Gospel to the spiritual work of Christ.

A word to the Army.

The work will go beyond seas.

So, as it is against the law of nature for the King of France to be worse than an enemy to his own citizens and subjects, so it is as much against the law of God, should they supplicate to us for assistance, to be worse than neighbours ; and then such professors and pretenders for the kingdom of Christ as we make a noise of in the world to be, if we strike not now in for the interest of Christ, and take not the opportunity to visit those coasts, and to view the condition of the Protestants and oppressed ones in that kingdom.

The Gadites desired to be at rest and to go no further, but to stay on the other side Jordan and to live there ; which though *Moses* assented to, yet it was with this proviso, that they should go on and assist their other brethren with their whole work, and go thorough-stick with it, now they had begun it, until the Israelites had conquered the land of Canaan—yea, and to go first out, as in the van, because they would first sit down ; and if they refused to do this, then they were anathematized and destined to destruction, like them that were adjudged rebels at Cadesh Barnea, and none of them by the decree of God were ever to enter into the land of Canaan. So such of the Army, Representative,

Gadites—who, now.

When 'tis time
for the Army
to rest.

and Commonwealth that have no heart to go further beyond the seas (Jordan), but would be at rest on this side, should hear a *Moses* say, What! What! your brethren go on and fight further for Canaan, and you sit still and live lazing and idling at home! No, no! away, you that would first sit down and lay down your arms and live in peace, get you first out beyond Jordan; for you shall not return to your cattle and corn, and fine, finical fig-leaves, to be coached and complimented into effeminacy and fooleries; no, nor yet to dwell at home in England with your wives, until the Lord hath driven his enemies before you, and granted a place to your brethren beyond Jordan, as well as to you on this side it; and then you shall return in peace and with welcome, and be innocent before the Lord and his people Israel, and abide in quietness, and not till then.

Our warrant
for this.

And let not men dispute so much whether it be lawful to defend or strike in for another's liberty and deliverance, if it were lawful to do so for our own, seeing we must love our neighbour as ourselves. If we love Christ in our own nation, why not in another? and if justice, and peace, and piety, and righteousness among ourselves, why not among others? O! for shame, sirs! let's rub our eyes and look about us. And after the wicked lawyers have had a bang, let us beat a march and alarm the whole world (Jer. l. 2). 'Declare ye among the nations and publish, and set up a standard; publish and conceal not, (till ye) say Babylon is taken.' 'Who is on my side, saith the Lord — who?' 'Come against her from the utmost border (even Ireland and Scotland), open her storehouses, cast her up as heaps; destroy her utterly—let nothing of her be left. Woe unto them, for their day is come, the time of their visitation. The vengeance of the Lord our God, yea the vengeance of his Temple (or Churches).' Jer. l. 26—29.

An alarm.

I intended not this length, but the Lord would have it so; and so I come in again to the Lawyers.

The two plagues of this nation rose up both from the bottomless smoke, and are the Priests and the Lawyers. Both alike they keep up a corrupt, carnal, antichristian interest. The Priests would fill the cup of the harlot for the nation to drink of, and the Lawyers would clothe her with scarlet. But woe be to us if either be suffered to trade; 'for because thou hast let go them that I have appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for theirs, and thy people for theirs' (1 Kings xx. 42).

They must fall together, seeing ever since Edward III. his time in England they were advanced together, as to their height and interest. The Lawyers, who are tyrants and oppressors of the civil state, may as well be compared to the locusts, mentioned Rev. ix. 3,* &c. as the Priests the tyrants and oppressors of the Ecclesiastical state. For—

1. Out of the smoke which darkened the air as well as the sun, earth as well as heaven, and so out of that Antichristian darkness which arose upon the state, civil as well

Priests and
Lawyers the
two plagues
that rose
together.

Lawyers
locusts.

1. Arising out
of the
bottomless pit
smoke.

* "And he opened the bottomless pit, and there arose a smoke out of the pit as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth, and unto them was given power as the scorpions of the earth had power; and it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the field, neither any green thing, neither any tree, but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months; and their torment was as the torment of a scorpion when he striketh a man. And in those days shall men seek death and shall not find it, and shall desire to die and death shall flee from them. And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breastplates as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails; and their power was to hurt men five months."—Rev. ix. 2-10.

as ecclesiastical, came these locusts (ver. 2, 3,) upon the earth, and Lawyers into this kingdom (vide *Malmſbury*). In William II. his time they proceeded from the Roman Clergy.

2. Unclean creatures.

2. Locusts are unclean creatures, many times translated grafshoppers; and the Midianites and Amalekites which came against Israel in *Gideon's* days (Judg. vii. 12) were said to be like grafshoppers, which, says *Cooper*, signifies bodily oppressors, Egyptian plagues (as Exodus x. 13, 14.) Grievous! Such are the Lawyers all over the nation.

3. For multitude.

3. Locusts have their strength in their multitude. O, what heaps of this noisome vermin may you see at a time in the Temple or Westminster Hall. These do make up the numerous army of Antichrist in this state against Christ, and are to torment men (Rev. ix. 3, 5, 7); and so, Exodus x. 14, they cover the earth.

4. For their variety of orders.

4. Locusts have their variety of orders, and ye may see them noted in their several colours and marks. Thus have Antichrist's laity—I mean Lawyers, as well as Antichrist's Clergy—I mean Priests. It were but lost labour to enter into this number of his name, or to reckon up the variety of orders and degrees of this brood of the beast, distinguished by several forms, sects, and habits of divers fashions.

5. For their earthly disposition.

5. Locusts are of earthly dispositions, greedy devourers, insatiable for covetousness, always desiring, but never delighting to work, sow, labour, nor plough, but to eat up the fruits of other men's labours, and to fall or seize upon and take possession of the best meadows, vallies, and pleasant places of the land. Now the Lawyers, as well as Priests, are such a plague of locusts.

6. For their leaping.

6. Locusts have a leap like grafshoppers, and so have the Lawyers; for like the leopards they get their prey saliendo, by leaps, which are sometimes very large; and as to the things of God, or religious exercises, we shall find few of them frequent them unless by leaps now and then.

I always except such as were Lawyers and are converted. But such are not many. . . . As to the fest of them in general, (excepting some particular rare ones — such *Zenases* as are honest and godly amongst them), these locusts may leap to a little honesty it may be on Sundays, but all the days after they follow their old trade of lying and oppressing, and eating up the greens of the land. ‘*Subitos dant saltus sed protinus in terram cadunt.*’ Their ordinary going is but higgie-haggle, here and there, this way and that, on this side and on that too, for any cause or client, so they meet but with an angel* in the way.

7. These locusts that help to make up the army of Antichrist had a power like to scorpions given to them (Rev. ix. 3); and so have the Lawyers. (1). ‘*Scorpio est blanda facie sed cauda pungit occulte.*’ The scorpion hath a flattering face, and so these locusts (Rev. ix. 7, 8); ‘their faces were as the faces of men, and they had hair as the hair of women.’ But (ver. 10) their tails were like to scorpions, that had stings to torment men. All this signifies their hypocrisy and craft, as well as cruelty to hurt us. (2). As scorpions, ever since they were cursed, in Gen. iii. 14—‘Thou art cursed above every beast of the field, upon thy belly shalt thou go and dust thou shalt eat all thy days,’—I say ever since, with their tails (which torment us) they gather up the dust of the earth, and feed altogether upon earthly things as their meat. So they, like the unclean beasts under the law, creep on all four upon the earth, and all this upon their belly too. O bitter curse! they cannot abide the things above. And this makes them ready to receive petitions, opinions, causes, complaints, many hours together, about bodies and estates, but cannot abide a petition that concerns souls; which lately I tried their patience with before the Lords Commissioners, but upon the naming

Titus iii. 13.

7. Like
scorpions.

(1). Flattering
faces full of
craft and
cruelty.

(2). They eat
the dust.

They cannot
abide a plea
out of
Scripture.

* The “angel” was worth originally 6s. 8d.

(3). They sting
deadly, and by
degrees.

8. Monsters.

(1). In their
bodies.

(2). Their
heads.

(3). Their
faces.

of a Scripture or two they would not hear it; at which, drawing my Bible out of my pocket, and telling them that that was the statute book to be used in such cases, and beginning to open some Scriptures I came to that in Ezek. xxii. 27—‘Her princes are ravening wolves, they seek to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain,’ &c; but they fell a chafing and fuming, and would not hear it. But (3). Scorpions sting, but not dead at first, but the wound works by degrees. The Lawyers, like them, sting deadly; and it were better they killed us right out (Rev. ix. 6) than to consume, perplex, pain, grieve, afflict us to death by degrees; the plague of them is the worse. Thus these locusts are like scorpions.

8. These locusts were monster-form, and that multi-form, being made up of many sorts of creatures. So these Lawyers are foxes for subtlety, vipers for venom, dogs for mouthing it, but tigers for tearing it and cruelty. But (1) in their body, ‘Horses prepared for battle,’—horses not common, but kept up, and fed, pampered—jades that work not but feed hard, and eat and drink of the best. (2) ‘On their heads as it were crowns;’ so are these locusts or Lawyers Antichrist’s army of crowned men in state matters, as well as the Priests and Clergy his army in ecclesiastical matters, not only in their wear of caps like crowns, but in that they get the legislative power, and have (more regum), in the manner of kings, lords, and such like persons, imposed laws and ties to consciences, tyrannizing and oppressing all the people of God as their vassals and subjects. (3). They had ‘faces like the faces of men’—that is, (lest men should loathe and abhor them for their cruelty and cursed disposition), they insinuate into great places, Kings’ courts and palaces, &c. by simulation and fine glozing, flattering shows of humanity and great humility—having learned the art of dissembling in their Inns of Court, having it infused as a principle, which Kings and

rulers held by their authority, that none was fit to rule unless he can dissemble. These Lawyers never more dissemble than when they resemble the faces of men; for they put the fairest faces on the foulest actions. There be no greater flatterers in the world. But soft, sirs. (4). 'Hair as the hair of women' (Rev. ix. 8); that is, as *Cotterius* notes: 1. 'Varias fraudes,' their variety of art to deceive and insinuate; 2. 'Ornatum illicitum,' their unlawful attire, to make a great show with fine, soft, and delicate ornaments; and 3. 'Effeminatos mores,' their effeminacy and womanish fancies and fashions. And, like women, O how they love their long hair and 'delicate comam alunt, pingunt, mulcent,' powdering and painting it. (5.) 'Their teeth as the teeth of lions' (Rev. ix. 8). Such an expression is in Joel i. 6. 'Voraces et truculenti sunt,' that is, they are ravenous and cruel; so that in the description of them there is 'falsi boni simulatio et veri mali dissimulatio et aperta sævitia,' a semblance of good in their faces, a dissemblance of evil in their hair; but 'dentibus crudelitas significatur,' by their teeth is figured out open cruelty and tyranny; and be sure these state locusts or Lawyers, where they cannot get what they would with the first or second, they bring in the third, and shew their teeth to the purpose in tearing away men's estates, liberties, and lives too, if they can. 'Omnia rapiunt, æraria exhauriunt, domos devorant, agros vastant, crudeles et sævi sunt in pios qui in manus eorum incidunt,' making themselves rich by others' ruin. (6). 'They had habergeons of iron,' Rev. ix. 9. That is, their outward defences, whilst corrupt laws and Lawyers have been a long time, especially in these five months that they have so fearfully tormented us (I mean for the 150 years last past), kept up by secular powers, so that there was no opposing them. (7). 'And the sound of their wings like the sound of chariots.' This state army of Antichrist being, as we heard before, so crafty, cruel, fierce, strong,

With their art
of dissembling.

(4). Their
hair.

(5). Their
teeth terrible.

(6). Habergeons
of iron.

(7). Their
wings and
privileges.

forcible, and armed with secular powers, they have wings, that is, such things, advantages, and privileges, with which they fly high in boldness and ambition and are elevated exceedingly and lifted up, and especially to the terror of honest people. *Beda*, writing on this place, says, 'Expavescendum magis quam exponendum.' It is rather trembled at than interpreted, how the army of these locusts increase; for with their wings they make such a huge noise as amazes and amuses men and makes them afraid of them.

The army of locusts.

Noise of their wings—what.

Lawyers perplex us—how.

(8). Stings in their tails.

For the noise is first confused, like the sound of many chariots, uttering no distinct noise, terrifying the people with horror at their loud, clamorous voices, lamentable lying, pleadings and disputes, and violent janglings and indistinct voices which others must not rightly understand. Secondly, it is comfortless, for they neither sound glory to God nor peace to men, but all vexation, suits, troubles, mischiefs that may be. As King Jabin (Judges, iv. 2, 3) had nine hundred chariots of iron, and for twenty years vexed Israel sore; but these have a hundred and twenty years vexed England sore, so that nothing but ruin and undoing is looked for from them, and a man needs no more trouble than to be within the sound of their chariots and laws, I'll warrant him his heart will ache and quake too. For as 'diversi currus diversis viis cum impetu currunt,' &c. Divers chariots run divers ways, and all furiously to battle, so do these Antichrist's state locusts, in divers ways perplex us and sting us out of one court into another, with unreasonable restlessness, till they have run over us or ruined us with violent contentions or torments, and that which is worst is, that they are so numerous and run so many ways that we can by no means escape them. 8. These monstrous locusts 'have stings in their tails,' (Rev. ix. 10), not only the priests and prelates, and so Antichrist's ecclesiastical army, have their tails as officials, commissaries, proctors, registrars, and such like, that did grievously afflict

and torment men, but also the lawyers, Antichrist's state army, have their long tails too, with terrible stings, and such are solicitors, clerks, bailiffs, serjeants, gaolers, and such like, and it is so much to their advantage in tormenting men to have terrible tails that they will have none to execute their warrants, writs, orders, or the like (as near as they can), but the most cursed, graceless villains they can get, and by this means are men (in the country, above all places) abused by bloody villains, drunken fots, who sit night and day drinking and swilling upon an honest man's score whom they have served with a warrant or so, and yet use him (it may be), if he be a man fearing God, worse than a dog, in beating, bruising, pulling, threatening, and abusing him all manner of ways, if he do not fill their pouch with money and their paunch with liquor up to the throat. These torment so with their tails that some men had better be hanged right out than so used, and (v. 6) 'seek death but cannot find it,' 'Mors optanda magis,' while clubs and canes lie thumping upon the backs of poor people that once come under the bailiffs, being so cruelly plagued, pulled away from their wives, hailed up and down by head and ears, bereaved of their relations, and robbed and spoiled of their estates and comfortable subsistence. Oh! how sad is the torment of their tails, as thousands can testify to this hour. So that all the lawyers' estates cannot make amends for the world of mischief they have done and yet do daily with their tails, which are most violent, virulent, and venomous.

Thus are they described in their monster-formity, or monstrous deformity:—

9. These locusts have a limited power; As, 1, to persons (Rev. ix. 4), 'that they should not hurt the grass, nor the green things, nor the trees; 2, to time (v. 5), 'they had power to hurt but five months.' 1. To persons. The Saints, who are of three sorts, resembled (1) by grass,

Such multitude of clerks, &c. are against justice and true law.—Mir. of Just. fol. 246.

Judge Arnold was hanged for saving a bailiff from death who had robbed the people with distresses and extorted money from them. See Mir. of Just. 241. And now the bailiffs do it daily, and no justice.

9. Their limited power.

To persons.

To time.

χρότος, weak, yet fappy, and (2) by green, χλωρός, flourishing things, and (3) by trees of the highest and tallest stature in Christ, viz.—Fathers, young men, and children (1 John ii). Yet all are to abstain from lawyers, and the lawyers are to have nothing to do with them, for, as the Apostle says, ‘Dare any of you go to law before the unjust,’ but as it is in 1 Tim. i. 9, the law is not made for the righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, so it is Rev. ix. 4, for them that have not the seal on their foreheads. 2. To time. But five months. . . . taking in Scripture sense a day for a year (Num. xiv. 34) at thirty days for a month, yet five months is but 150 years, which is a short time. But to this I think Bullinger says well that the allusion is made to the time of the locusts or grasshoppers coming forth, which is about April, as we say, and continues to September, i. e. the five hot months. So these locusts have a summer time of doing mischief for about the space of 150 or 155 years, which will be a hot time for them. They sing, and leap, and devour.

Don Pluto dares not to assay, though he be Prince of Hell,
So much as lawyers dare, though they their souls to angels sell.”

He proceeds to argue that we must not reckon from the first time of power, for that is of long standing, i. e. from Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, but from the time when the weather began to grow warm upon them, i. e. from 1369 until H. 7, 1504.

The lawyers’
end within a
year or two.

“Then their summer months to do mischief and to torment the people came on apace, and continued hot to them, that they had and did almost what they listed; but now their five months, i. e. 150 years, are upon expiring, and their power to torment will be no more by a year or two, their September is hard by, and a west wind will

remove them out of those places wherein they have fat, and fung, and plagued us for five months.

But to conclude this chapter, we might well wonder how the lawyers yet stood, seeing the priests, and prelates, and such like locusts were swept away, but that their five months we find began here in England after the priests and prelates, yet now the day of their destiny draws nigh. 'Wherefore, gird up thy loins,' saith the Lord, 'and speak unto them all that I command thee. Be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them.'

This invective is given at much length, though also with much condensation, both as a specimen of *Rogers'* detailed application of prophecy, and because Law and Lawyers, supplying as they did one of the two great political questions of the day, were the subject of his book. From it he proceeds to declare the advent of the Fifth Monarchy.

Daniel tells us of four Beasts. The last of these beasts had ten horns, amongst which rose another little horn, and this little horn persecuted the saints till the judgment sat, when they took away his dominion and destroyed it for ever.

Now the four Beasts are the four great Monarchies; the ten horns are the ten European kingdoms which arose out of the last of those Monarchies. As concerning the little horn, "with much assurance and clear sight," he asserts it to be *William the Conqueror* and his Norman successors, all fierce persecutors of the saints, but cut off at last and for ever by "the Judgment, which was anno 1648 in that High Court of Judicature erected for the King's trial." After this comes the Fifth Monarchy. By 1660 the work of this monarchy is to get as far as Rome, and by 1666, is to be visible in all the earth. It will come mysteriously, suddenly, and terribly, and will redeem the people—1st, from ecclesiastical bondage, decrees, councils, orders, and ordinances of the Pope, priest, prelate, or the like; 2, from civil bondage and slavery, or those bloody, base, unjust, accursed, tyrannical laws and sin-monopolizing lawyers as now oppress and afflict the people. And so he calls on the Parliament—the Barebones Parliament, then sitting—to prepare everything for the entry of the Fifth

The Fifth Monarchy now hard by.

The little horn—i. e. William the Conqueror.

The manner how.
For the Redemption of the people—
from ecclesiastical slavery of souls—
from civil slavery of bodies.

1. To model
all for the
Fifth
Monarchy.

2. That the
laws agree
with God's
laws.

3. To do all
for Christ and
his monarchy.

In the Fifth
Monarchy.

To avoid
faction and
parties.

The pretty
design of the
former
Parliament.

Monarchy; and, in order to this—1. To appoint none except the saints to place or office. 2. To abolish all those unjust and cruel laws, and to pull down those courts, terms, and lawyers, yea, and tithes, too, which have occasioned such actions, continued complaints, and vexations to the people, and wrongs to God and men, good and bad. 3. To set up God's law alone, being that in Deut. vi. 1.

"These are the Commandments" (i. e. the ten in two tables given to *Moses* on Mount Sinai, Exod. xx.) "the Statutes," (i. e. the several cases arising out of each Commandment tending to establish and confirm each command) "and the judgments," (i. e. the sentence upon the breach of every law, how, and what, the punishment must be). Now this law, statute-book, and judgment-seat of God must be set up in the Fifth Monarchy, and then shall we be restored to (1) God's laws; (2) in our own language, (3) read, and expounded, and made known to the people, (4) at free cost, without charge, (5) justice will be had at home then, and judges sit in all the gates of the cities, (6) and every man plead his own cause, (then no need of lawyers), (7) justice will not be delayed, but speedy, (8) and executed without gainfaying, according to the law (set) of God, and without respect of persons, (9) then judges shall be as at first, and justice also in every city, and (10) then the Lord will be our only lawgiver, and the law abide for ever, without alteration, as there is now, and ought to be, in the forms of men. "Wherefore, if you be men whom the Lord will own and honour in the work, up then and about it. . . The Lord Jesus awaken you with the noise of the Monarchy which is swift in motion and now nigh us, lest you be surprised."

Lastly, he urges them to avoid making of parties and running into contentions, as the former Parliaments had done.

"O what hot contests were between the two parties in general of Presbyterians and Independents (besides particular parties) in the Parliament before. What ways they had thereby to advance and advantage themselves and friends was obvious to every eye, and by this pretty artifice they shared the Commonwealth almost between them. Besides private cheats, what abundance of open ones, by gifts, rich offices, and employments in committees

and treasures they obtained ! And in pretence of serving the public, too, they shuffled the trumps into their own hands, and how artificially have they confounded the accounts by laying on numberless taxes and assessments, whilst the multitude of money ran through so many muddy channels, committees, officers, and collecting lickfingers, as it is impossible to make any public account thereof. So that, notwithstanding all fair promises to the people, no accounts are or ever will be given of those many millions of money which were made by King's lands, bishops' and deans' and delinquents' estates, arrears, excise, assessment, and the like, which some have licked up so handsomely into insatiable tubs, εἰς πίθον τετριμμένον, &c. that they bought great manors and lordships of many hundreds a year, whilst poor *publica fides* is but *Punica fides*.

Thus by their factions they had their several designs for themselves and interests of their own, and with their Hocus Pocus could conjure up and carry their own for the public, and in pretence of the public, with honour and wealth enough, they did gladly sacrifice the public peace to their own private interests, and when they had set all on fire, as several times they did in the nation by troubles and wars, they would with joy warm their own hands at those unhappy and unhallowed flames which themselves kindled. Witness *Hollis*, *Stapleton*, *Masse*, *Sir John Clotworthy*, and many others more lately whom I forbear. But see thus the issue of parties and factions in the Parliament, to the hindrance and hurt of the public ; and O how do honest men's hearts ache already to hear what factions, schisms, and parties are in this Parliament. Yea, about the poor, petty, Popish trash and trumpery of tithes, which shall tumble in due time, when self-interest is more laid aside, and Christ is with more unanimous concurrence accepted of ; for the harlot shall be stripped, though Babylon's birds lament it so. But in the interim, we trust our good God will give these

So now parties
about tithes.

1655.

governours a new clue to lead them out of this labyrinth. . . .

But to conclude, the day of our deliverance is dawned. Let the priests and lawyers, Antichrist's Church and State servants and solicitors, sit and howl, and as many as trade with Babylon and gain thereby. Let them look and lament by fifty-five next, and cast dust on their heads (Rev. xviii. 19), for the hour of their torment makes haste. Wherefore, woe! woe! woe! to them that hear the voice which now warns them, and yet will not beware and come out."

"Bethshemesh" and "Sagrir" attracted a host of critics, of whom *Zachary Crofton* was the most eminent, and his book alone has descended to posterity.

Crofton's criticisms on "Bethshemesh" are minute, personal, and pedantic. Commencing with reflections on the size, the price, the frontispiece, and the title-page of the book, he arrives by degrees at the dedicatory epistles, and with the materials they supply he attacks not only the political and religious opinions, but the personal and bodily infirmities of the author; not only his "pride, passion, and infolency," but the weakness of his constitution and the colour of his face. A very few extracts will show that in his attacks on the Presbyterians *Rogers* did not attack men who were unwilling or unable to retaliate in kind, and will show also the estimation in which he, his books and his "Exercises," were held by contemporary and unfriendly critics. The following is *Crofton's* account, not perhaps a very unfair one, of *Rogers's* style of controversy:—

"Let any ingenuous man read his reasoning, and they shall find him railing beyond the bounds of modesty, as the denominating parochial constitution an antichristian, corrupt, Christ-crucifying, Christ-slighting, and Christ-destroying Church state, and all parishes synagogues of Satan; without any demonstration that they are such, more than that they differ from his fancy. So also, the reviling the late Assembly as lordly usurpers of Christ's power, bold brazen-faced myf-

tery of iniquity, composers of a doctrine for asses, and such-like epithets doth he use for all Presbyterian Assemblies and Ministers, which modesty doth blush to mention. Amongst others, he singles out by name but one antagonist, and takes notice of one only piece opposing his doctrine. Yet the weapons with which you shall find him fighting are no other than the slanderous traducing of the supposed author, calumniating him with the titles of lying, poor, empty, wide-mouthed libeller, scandalous philo-compos, violent comet, Jesuitical Presbyter, furious-pated, and one outed of his place for scandal and malignancy; and the work itself, though no other than a modest proposal of just exceptions, by denominating it a frothy pamphlet, malicious, spurious, and frog-like froth, not rendering the least answer to any one objection in it, nor reason for such reviling terms, other than mere falsities and positive untruths."

And this is *Crofton's* own style of rejoinder:—

"His First Epistle is to the *General Cromwell*, in which we may observe these few considerations. . . . He saith, 'I do profess it from my heart, that the greatest temptation I should fear falling into would be great honour, esteem, place, preferment, or means too much or unfit for me.' A fair profession. But a little to expostulate with the Rabbi. Do any that know your proud and ambitious genius, even your intimate friends that observe the very frame of your heart, give credit to the same? Will the Commissioners of Ireland, from your insulting carriage and insolent contest, nay, almost any that knew you in Dublin, conclude this to be true, who generally represent you to be of a contrary disposition? Doth your holding Purleigh, in Essex, when you embraced another place not far thence, or of inferior means, when you offered you know who thirty or forty pounds per annum to be

The Author of
the Taste of
the Doctrine
of the Exercise
at Thomas
Apostle's.

"Bethshemesh
Clouded."

your curate in the one, or of your holding Purleigh and receiving the State's salary of £200 per annum, tax free, (as himself confesseth in page 28) in Ireland, nay Purleigh and Thomas Apostles, London, since at the same time, supplying the one by *Mr. Needham*; nay, will your solicitous seeking after great benefices, your rage against *Mr. Maynard* (a known faithful man), but for being a just instrument to stop your pursuit, or yet your subtle obtaining of the Great Seal for Martin's-in-the-Fields, to the supplanting of *Mr. Sangor*, possessed of it, and unjust imposing of yourself and ministry on the people, not only undesired and uncalled for, but expressly refused and denied, conclude or proclaim to the world that the falling into great places and means is the great temptation you fear? For shame, man!—recall your profession or publish better demonstration, lest you be not believed. . . .

I shall pass from this briefly to his next epistles, which are all of them so full of levity, falsity, vanity, and loquacity, for method indigested, for matter various and variously repeated, for manner—sometimes complaining of his own mishaps, and I doubt justly incurred troubles and self-created opposition, proclaiming his own pride, passion, insolency, as made obvious in every place whither he came—sometimes, Momus-like, carping at and condemning others, with unjust criminations, railing and reviling, more than rationally convincing; and herein sometimes he reflects on the Presbyterians in general, then on the late Assembly of Divines, sometimes on some in Ireland, then on the men that carry on Blackfriars Exercise, sometimes on particular persons, as *Mr. Maynard* and myself; so that, in a great, high-flown, furious fancy, he falls on all to clear himself; whilst he doth but more fully manifest his ignorance, impudence, imbecility, impertinencies and what not, that may proclaim a man swelling with pride to boil over in passion; and so indeed presents

himself much more *Zoilus* than Zealous (though he abundantly affect the latter); so that the very foam and froth that he disgorgeth in his Epistle is sufficient to render his tabernacle distasteful to any civil, modest, ingenuous, rational man, though of his own judgment."

Crofton proceeds to accuse his adversary of being actuated by a spirit of obscurity and darkness, a spirit of error, a spirit of self-contradiction, a spirit of self-condemnation, a spirit most grossly abusing authors whom he pretendeth to produce, and most palpably abusing the Scriptures, with which he jingles and makes a stir as if every text were the very principles he fancies, when many of them, to a due observer, will be found altogether impertinent to the thing to which they are annexed as proof. All this it is unnecessary to exhibit. But in the Appendix to "*Bethshemesh Clouded*" *Crofton* gives an account of the original dispute between himself and *Rogers*, which affords us, at no unreasonable length, a life-like picture of a denominational squabble of the time.

"In the foregoing treatise," says *Crofton*, "I have endeavoured to rescue the truths and churches of God from *Mr. Rogers*' fancies and false censures: give me leave a little to rescue my own name from his slanders, and represent to you his dealings with me in particular; wherein I may say of him, as *Dr. Rivet* of *Bishop Montague*, 'This man cannot so much as motion any man from whom he differs in opinion, though it be but in the slightest matters, without reproach.' That I may be brief, I shall, in order to my own vindication, lay before you the cause and calumny or matter he urgeth against me.

I. In reference to the cause, you must understand that about December last there was erected, then a new, already become a late exercise, at *Thomas Apostle's*, London, on Friday evenings, at the first of which *Mr. Rogers* preached, and with a loud cry called into his tabernacle or church way. Against which exercise, and in special *Mr. Rogers*'

"A Vindication of 'A Taste of the Doctrine of Thomas Apostle's' and of its Author."

sermon, there was some just exception taken; and in a little book entitled 'A Taste of the newly erected Exercise at Thomas Apottle's, London,' first signified to the Rabbi, and so indeed to the world; and this was that which provoked *Mr. Rogers* against me, for till this he heard me and embraced me.

Well, many men wonder why the coming abroad of this pamphlet should so much provoke, for the modesty of its style may be submitted to the judgment and censure of the meekest Independent; nay, and withal it bears not my name upon it. Aye! but upon a convention of saints at his house, it must be judged my work, for two reasons, which must be sent for to hear. (1). The words 'faith of assurance' and 'faith of adherence' had been in my mouth on the Lord's day, and in this on Friday following; ergo, it was a judicious reason. (2). I said to *Mr. Corken*, 'I would break this exercise;' and this was the way to it, to publish this paper. That the exercise was broken up I was and am glad, but that I so spake I denied. Yet, indeed, when I saw the countenance of the fatherless child, I offered to be its nurse, though I called not myself its father. I did and do aver the exceptions therein to be justly laid and modestly propounded, and such as should be maintained against their fury; and this was the cause of laying this book at my door and fathering it on me as its author, and flying in my face for its exceptions—from which consider these. (1). That difference of opinion is the cause of his rage. This is very suitable to his liberty of conscience for all opinions, and unity among saints of all judgments. (Lib. 2).

(2). That modest exceptions are answered with violent calumniations of the author, not one reasonable answer being given to any one exception, but railing on the poor paper—branding it as a frothy and nameless pamphlet, malicious, spurious, frog-like froth.

(3). For this he must fly in my face, on mere conjecture that I was the author. Suppose I had been, was there cause thus to whip home the poor babe, and with Billingsgate weapons to fly in the face of the father? Was this author the only exceptor against his doctrine? Witness the voice from the gallery the first night, and in the chancel the second night, excepting against his doctrine. Oh, but these were Anabaptistical brethren, and therefore to be indulged. Nay, again, had I not cause to have published it, to the rescue of my name from the repute of falling in with such a fanatic society which began to arise?—for that, on a paper subtly conveyed to me when in the pulpit, amongst the bills expressing the wants to be prayed for, I had (being, indeed, suddenly surprised), given notice to my hearers of a lecture to be held at that place by ministers of Westminster and London, though not one that I know of appeared; and for that also, expecting the lecture to be accordingly performed, I was amongst them as a hearer, unto the offence of some which spake to me of it; so that I say, had I as the author signed it with my name, what cause had there been of such retort?—but much less can such dealing with a man on mere conjecture be commended. But to pass from the cause of the Rabbi's rage to the matter which he chargeth on me. The matter charged is twofold; first, that which concerns the book and its author—secondly, that which concerns my person.”

After defending his book, *Crofton* charges *Rogers* with setting about to destroy his character.

“In order to which, he lays about and enquires all Cheshire men out that he can hear of that there have known me, and he strictly enquires of them concerning my carriage in that country—whether I were not a malignant or scandalous man, and endeavours to get depositions before the Committee for plundered ministers. The truth of this

you may conjecture from his dealing with *Mr. Sam. Baxter*, Minister of St. Olave's, Silver Street, London, whom he sent for three several times to his house; and when he came to the same, he assisted with his learned colleague *Rabbi Walker*,* he requires his answers to certain interrogatories, composed for the purpose, concerning me and my carriage in Cheshire and those parts. Nay, and to deter him into accusations of me, he threatens the calling him before the Army—terrible judges, to give in evidence against me. And yet, *Mr. Baxter* not regarding his threats, and so not (as indeed he could not) answering his expectations, he goes to Westminster, and from thence sends a deterring summons to *Mr. Baxter*, signed by *Mr. Shepherd*, deputy of the ward of Martin's Vintry, wherein he was required forthwith to appear before him, to give in evidence against *Zachary Crofton*.

Is not this meekness—with a Mahometan spirit, to advance his principles 'vi et armis,' by force and fury?"

So much for a theological quarrel, which probably received considerable attention in the year 1653.

* Henry Walker was originally an ironmonger, and afterwards a student at Queen's College, Cambridge. He was ordained deacon by the Archbishop of Canterbury. When Charles I. went to the city to demand the five members of the House of Commons who had taken refuge there, Walker, from the crowd, shouted "To your tents, O Israel!" and threw a pamphlet with that title into the King's coach. He took a very active part against Laud in his adversity, publishing "Canterbury's Pilgrimage," "Canterbury's Dream," &c. During the Protectorate he incurred the bitter hatred of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men as the editor of the Government newspaper.



CHAPTER IV.



WHILE *Rogers* was vituperating lawyers, and *Crofton* vituperating *Rogers*, the Barebones Parliament came to an end. Viewed as a Revolutionary Convention, which it was, and not as a Parliament, which it was not, it hardly deserved the amount of ridicule it has received. *Carlyle* thus sums up the history of its doings and the cause of its fall:—"In their five months time they passed various good Acts; chose, with good insight, a new Council of State; took wise charge of the needful supplies; did all the routine business of a Parliament in a quite unexceptionable, or even in a superior manner. . . . But, alas, they had decided on abolishing Tithes, on supporting a Christian Ministry by some other method than Tithes;—nay, far worse, they had decided on abolishing the Court of Chancery! Finding grievances greater than could be borne; finding, for one thing, Twenty-three thousand Causes of from five to thirty years continuance lying undetermined in Chancery, it seemed to the Little Parliament that some Court ought to be contrived which would actually determine these and the like Causes;—and that, on the whole, Chancery would be better for abolition. Vote to that effect stands registered in the Commons Journals; but still, for near two hundred years now, only expects fulfilment.—So far as one can discover in the huge twilight of Dryasdust, it was mainly by this attack on the Lawyers, and attempt to abolish Chancery, that the Little Parliament perished. Tithes helped, no doubt; and the clamours of a safely settled Ministry, Presbyterian-Royalist many of them. But the Lawyers exclaimed: 'Chancery? Law

Carlyle's
Oliver Crom-
well, vol. ii.
p. 224.

Burton's Diary,
I. xiv.

Merc. Pol.,
Dec. 9 to 16,
No. 183.

"Old Leaven
Purged Out,"
p. 56.

"An Exact
Relation," in
Somers' Tracts,
vi. 266.

Perfect
Diurnal, No.
210, Dec. 12
to 19, 1653.

of the Bible? Do you mean to bring-in the *Mosaic dispensation*, then; and deprive men of their properties? Deprive men of their properties; and us of our learned wigs and lucrative long-windedness,—with your search for 'Simple Justice' and 'God's Law' instead of Learned-Serjeant's Law?' There was immense 'carousing in the Temple' when this Parliament ended; as great tremors had been in the like quarters while it continued."

The attack on the lawyers was doubtless the main cause of the fall of the Barebones Parliament, but the immediately preceding cause was the Tithe question. On Saturday, the 10th of December, Parliament passed a resolution by a majority of fifty-six to fifty-four, which was considered equivalent to a vote for the abolition of tithes. This was the time for *Cromwell* to interfere. The Parliament had previously alienated the army by backwardness in voting its pay; it had now made deadly enemies of the lawyers, the clergy, and the lay impropiators of tithes. *Cromwell* and his party spent Sunday in consultation. On Monday, December 12, they packed the House, and before the opposite party had fully assembled it was moved and carried, "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that therefore it is requisite to deliver up unto the *Lord General Cromwell* the powers which they received from him." Whereupon the Speaker rose "in an irruptious way," and with many members of the House departed to Whitehall, where they resigned their powers into the hands of *Cromwell*. *Major-General Harrison*, who with some twenty-seven others remained sitting, was expelled from the House—very much as he had expelled others—by a file of musketeers.

Thus perished the "Barebones" or "Little" Parliament, after sitting from July 4 to December 12, 1653. *Cromwell*, according to his custom in such cases, convened a council of his officers, who, after several days seeking of God and advising therein, resolved that a Council of twenty-one godly, able, and discreet persons should be named, and that his Excellency should be chosen Lord Protector of the three nations. "In pursuance hereof," continued the Government newspaper, "several persons of eminency and worth are already made choice of to be of the said council, and on Friday last [the 16th] His Excellency came down to Westminster and was installed Lord Protector of the three nations."

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men were furious. They execrated the government of any and every "single person," whether pope, prince, or protector. England's work and their own was not to raise up but to throw down principalities and powers; they had fought and bled, they had preached and prayed, they had cast out and brought in, that they might have "no king but Jesus," and now they were outwitted, betrayed, and were likely to be oppressed by the very man whom they had most trusted.

Cromwell was fully aware of the fury of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, which, indeed, they did not attempt to conceal. It is said by *Oldmixon*, in his History of the Stuarts, that the chiefs of their party were at this time *Major-General Harrison*, *Colonel Rich*, and *Mr. Carew* among the laity, and *Rogers*, *Feake*, and *Simpson* among the clergy. The three first were summoned at once before *Cromwell*, and when they refused to engage not to act against him, *Harrison* was ordered to his house in Staffordshire, *Carew* was imprisoned in Pendennis Castle, and *Rich* committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. The ministers would have been unmolested if they could have remained silent, but silence in that day of rebuke and blasphemy was to them not only a sin but an impossibility. The Barebones Parliament resigned on the 12th of December, the Protectorate was announced on the 16th, and two days afterwards, that is to say, on Sunday, the 18th, *Feake* and a certain *Vavasor Powell* declared open war, and told their hearers in Christ Church, Newgate, that *Oliver Cromwell* was "the dissemblingest perjured villain in the world, and desired that, if there were any of his friends there, they would go and tell him what they said, and withal, that his reign was but short, and that he should be served worse than that great tyrant the last Lord Protector was, he being altogether as bad, if not worse than he." The next day, Monday, the 19th, the Lord Protector was proclaimed by the heralds in Westminster and the City, and *Vavasor Powell* preached against him again in the same strain. Two days afterwards, on the 21st, *Feake* and *Powel* were summoned before the Council, and committed to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, but they were released on the 24th, in time for *Powell* to preach against *Cromwell* for the third time on Sunday the 25th.

Nor was *Rogers* idle. On the very day (Dec. 21) on which his brethren were summoned before the Council, he published the following epistle to *Oliver Cromwell*:—

P. 423.

Thurloe, i.
641.

“TO HIS HIGHNESS LORD GENERAL CROMWELL,
LORD PROTECTOR, &c.

*The humble Cautionary Proposals of John Rogers, Minister
of the Gospel according to the Dispensation of the Spirit
(now) at Thomas Apostles, London.*

MY LORD,

It is the great Jehovah Nissi, or Lord Protector of his people, who hath awakened me morning by morning, who would not let me rest day nor night since you were proclaimed Lord Protector, until his Spirit had set me upon my feet in these following proposals with cautions. Now because none else is upon this errand, which is so eminently for Christ and his interest, and so many are up and jocund already for the interest of Antichrist, therefore I can find no truce nor peace within me till I become obedient to the Lord God which hath opened mine ear, and I will not rebel. Therefore have I set my face like a flint, for I know that I shall not be ashamed.

1st Proposal. Take heed of Protecting the plantations of Antichrist or the Towers of Babylon, which must fall, and with fury too, upon the heads of their Protectors, as Isaiah xxxi. 3, ‘When the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helpeth (or is their Protector) and he that is holpen shall fall with him.’

2nd Proposal. Take heed of being guided or governed with the old State principles of carnal policy, for Antichrist works now more in a mystery of iniquity than ever. And what the Beast could not do with his horns here in England (by cruel pushing) which we hope are off, yet he hopes to do it with his heads (by cunning plotting) which we fear are on. This principle of policy was fatal to *Jehu*, *Ahithophel’s* counsel came to nothing, and *Antiochus* could not Protect himself.

3rd Propofal. Take heed of carnal counfellors, I mean fuch men as feek themselves more than Chrif. *Darius* had fuch counfellors, who flattered him to his face (*Dan.* vi. 6, 7); but they were enemies to *Daniel*, the true prophet (who had an excellent fpirit). Therefore, my lord, let them give you counfel that are converfant with the fecrets of God and the vifions of thefe days. *Belshazzar* did fend for *Daniel* to open the vifion to him that concerned him, fo when you find, my Lord, all the wife men of the world to fail you in the vifions of thefe times and feafons by their liberal arts and fciences, philofophical notions or rules, then fend for the *Daniels* (of an excellent fpirit) to confer with upon the prophecies. Befides, my Lord, it concerns you, you will find fome day, to have a high efteem of thofe moft honourable members of the laft Parliament that proved faithful to Chrif againft Antichrif and his caufe.

4th Propofal. Take heed of meddling with the Protection of men's carnal, cruel, heathenifh laws, guilty of tyranny, oppreffions, perjury, cheating, injufice, perfecution, and much innocent blood, and moft of them contrary to the laws of God, whofe laws are to be reftored and made republic law in thefe latter days, as *Ifaiah* xlii. 21, 22, 'for his righteousnefs' fake he will magnify the law, and make it honourable.' His are the beft in all cafes that ever were made, which muft be known to all, (*Deut.* xxx. 10, 16).

5th Propofal. Take heed of Protecting the carnal,*

* "There was a paper delivered to his highnefs from one *Mr. Rogers*. The perfons and titles of orthodox divines do feem to be much difpleafing to him. I fhall here give it to the difcreet reader for novelty's fake :— 'Take heed of protecting the carnal, national, antichriftian clergy,'" &c.— From the *Weekly Intelligencer*, Dec. 27 to Jan. 3, 1653—4.

This paragraph feems to have been inferted in the newfpapers for the fake of fecuring the fymphathies of the orthodox, i. e. the Prefbyterian Divines againft *Rogers* and his party. The firft four "propofals" are fuppreffed, while the fifth is copied at full length.

national, Antichristian Clergy, though they come in the name of orthodox or learned. . . . So *Ahab* (a notable politician) did Protect his national Clergy, or Prophets (who were his not the Lord's), and by their suggestion hated and persecuted the true Prophet *Micaiah*, which proved his ruin.

Make haste, my Lord, for Christ's Protection against the plagues that are (as sure as God is righteous) coming upon Babylon, and all that will cleave to her in interest. *Luther* was not too bold, in the name of the Lord, to tell his Lord Protector, the *Electoꝛ of Saxony*, 'Judico Celsitud. Vestꝛ. plus a me pꝛæsidi et tutelæ habituram esse quam mihi pꝛæstare. Huic causæ nullus gladius consulere aut opem ferre posse'—that by his prayers he had gained him more safety and Protection than he had received from him; and that the cause of Christ needed not his Protection, but he needed that's Protection. And 'Sive id credat C. V. five non credat,' (says he), whether you believe it or no, yet this way I will undertake to secure and Protect your Highnesses soul, body, estate, and all, (viz. by faith and prayer), if you engage freely in the cause of Christ against Antichrist. So say I, my Lord, in that name which sent me, which fills me with courage and confidence, that if you will freely oblige for Christ and his interest, the faith and prayers of the saints, which were never higher than now, shall Protect you sufficiently in all emergencies; but if you will engage for Antichrist and his interests, the loud-crying faith and incessant high-spirited prayers of the saints will all engage against you, and never give *Jehovah-Nissi*, the Lord our Protector rest, till the excellency of *Jacob* have prevailed. (2 Chron. xix. 6). 'Take heed what you do.'

Thus the Lord hath stirred me up by an irresistible and restless power (once more) to lay his work before you, for that he hath used you as a most glorious instrument in the three nations (by the faith and prayers of this people),

to make way for this work, which if you reject will reject you, and be the infallible forerunner of your fall; which that God may prevent is the fervent prayers of the faithful people night and day, whose souls mourn in secret for you, whose hearts ache and bleed abundantly on your behalf, as for a man most dear in their souls, but under most desperate temptations and dangers. I have freely exposed myself, in this my Master's service, by whose Spirit I am, I hope, full of power, to all the sharp censures, reproaches, revilings, and hard measures that I can meet with from men or devils, choosing rather to have my peace within me than without me. 'Ruere cum Christo quam regnare cum Cæsare.' It may be men will judge me proud or self-seeking, as they thought of *Luther*. . . . But in these proposals, I am sure I have kept my sphere, and followed the strong impulse of God's own Spirit in me and many others, however it be taken. Wherefore, the great God awaken you to his work; else the time will come when God will say, 'Let him alone, he is joined to idols.' (Hos. iv. 17).

Now, that the hand of the Lord may be with you, see what these five fingers point at to you, which, if you practise, will be able to Protect you as well as direct you in this dreadful day of the Lord's Controversy for Sion. They concern you, my Lord, more than *Cæsar's* paper did him. Now, that they may not prove a handwriting against you and a cup of trembling put into your hands, they are strengthened with a divine generosity, and shall struggle with you in the faith, tears, and prayers of many who pray and mourn for you, and amongst others

Your afflicted, faithful servant,

For the interest of my Lord Jesus,

JOHN ROGERS.

From my Study, the 21st day of Tebeth,
or the 10th month."

Rogers was probably as active in preaching as in writing ; for it appears that on Monday, the 9th of January, 1654, about three weeks after the date of his Cautionary letter, he and *Vavasor Powell* preached so violently against the Government in their church in Newgate market, that *William Erberry*, another Independent Minister, was constrained in conscience to remonstrate.* It appears, from the letter *Erberry* published, that *Rogers* chose for his text Jerem. xlii. 20—"For ye dissembled in your hearts when ye sent me unto the Lord your God, saying, Pray for us," &c. "This he [*Rogers*] interpreted as the dissembling of some in power to ask the prayers of the Prophets and people of God in their troubles, who now act contrary to their own professed purposes of no personal rule." It is difficult to suppose that he would have allowed his congregation to overlook the two verses which immediately follow that from which he took his text—"And now I have this day declared it to you ; but ye have not obeyed the voice of the Lord your God, nor anything for the which he hath sent me unto you. Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go and to sojourn."

On the 23rd of January, 1654, a fortnight after the date of this sermon, *Cromwell* and his Council published an ordinance declaring what offences should be accounted treason. These were—"to compass or imagine the death of the Lord Protector ; to raise forces against the present Government ; to deny that the Protector and the people assembled in Parliament are the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy is centred in him ; or to affirm that the Government is tyrannical, usurped, or illegal, or that there is any Parliament now in being ; also the proclaiming or in anywise promoting any of the posterity of the late King to be King or Chief Magistrate." All such ordinances issued by the Protector and Council had the force of law.

Notwithstanding its last clause, this ordinance was considered by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men to be levelled directly at them ; and their anger was further inflamed when *Feake* and *Simpson* were

* "An Olive Leaf ; or, some Peaceable Considerations to the Christian Meeting at Christ Church in London, Monday, Jan. 9, 1654. By *William Erberry*."

arrested under its authority, on Jan. 26, and sent to Windfor Castle a few days later.

But in truth it was high time for the Protector to take precautions for the security of his person and government. At that moment plots were being hatched by the Royalists and Fifth-Monarchy-Men against both; and such plots were a source of continual uneasiness to *Cromwell* and his family for the rest of his life.

The following is one of the many informations received by *Thurloe*, who had the management of this department:—

“A LETTER OF ELLEN ASKE.

MR. R. NELSON,—

May it please your worshipec to acquaint his highnes that I am able to discover many of my lords deedly and destructive enemyes, and those that latly upon a fast day in London did gather together in a place that I can discover, because then there present, and did there most strangely rayle against his highnes and said the plague of God confound him, calling him ‘round-heded doge, I would I had his flesh between my teeth,’ and much more as bade; and one of them said ‘now he is gone to pray let us go charge and bind him.’

Furder I have harde of a secrett plot of many who resolve to have a runing army against my lord his highnes for blood, and have as I understand horses bought redy for that purpose, and my frinde . . . *Isaac Wellis* doath know the man which I confave can discover very much of this great plott which doath, I feare, drawe nere to be executed by a people called a 5th monirchy peopll; and that there is a gentillwoman who did tell me that that work would not be accomplished until she went, for she should be one of them that should pull him down or help down with him, was the word said. Whereas I am afraid to speak with any but my Lord or your worshipp; the reason of it is, because there are

Whitelock, p.
580.

in my Lords house or thereunto belonging them that doe declare to *Mr. Rodgers*, and so to *Mr. Pheake* and oatheres, what allmost foever is spoken in my Lord's one house. I being not long since a herer of *John Rodgers*, did understand much, and had almost been destroyed or swalowed up with delusions that my Lord was not a man that stood for truth and peace. So with my humble sarvice presente to you, . . . I rest your Sarvant,

ELLEN ASKE."

"THE EXAMINATION OF ELLEN ASKE.

That *Mr. Rogers* told her that one *Rachel* or *Abigal* — that lives about the Tower is very intimate with a gentleman that waits constantly on his Highness, and usually at his elbow when he is in his chair at dinner, that publishes all he hears or knows to be done in his Highness's family to the said *Rachel* or *Abigal*.

That *Mr. Aske*, now in the 'Elizabeth' of London, at Gravesend, . . . hath a list of the names of all those that subscribed for the raising of horse against his Highness and this present Government.

The said *Mr. Aske* only named *Major-General Harrison*, *Rogers*, *Feake*, and one that was a commander in some great place, that should have been the Commander-in-Chief; but he could not remember his name. . . . Many other particulars she told me, of horses that were bought for that purpose, and to be lodged in the town, to be put in execution by way of surprize. . . .

This examination was taken Feb. 17, 1654, by me,

RO. NELSON."

In consequence, probably, of this information, the "powers" caused *Rogers'* house to be searched, and his papers seized, which elicited his fifth and last letter to *Cromwell*.

Mene, Tekel, Perez,
OR,
A little Appearance of the
H A N D - W R I T I N G

(In a Glance of Light)

Against the Powers and Apostates of the
T I M E S.

By a Letter written to, and lamenting over

Oliver Lord Cromwel.

BY JOHN ROGERS.

In this woful Howre of his Temptation, and of
Sion's fore pangs, and *Solemne Appeals*; and of the precious *Saints* im-
prisonments and perfecution for *this* most *Glorious*, betrayed,
denyed, and crucified *Cause of Christ Jesus*

KING OF SAINTS AND NATIONS.

There sin is written with a Pen of Iron, and the point of a Diamond (ungue adamantino צפרי) whiles there Children remember their Altars and Groves again. Jer. 17, 15.

Why do ye persecute me, as God? and are not satisfied with my flesh? oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a Book! that they were graven with an iron pen in the Rock for ever! For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand in the Latter end upon the EARTH, &c. Job 19. 22, 23, 24, 25, &c.

Heu pietas! ubi prisca? profana o tempora! Mundi!
Fax! Vesper! prope Nox! O Mora! Christe Veni!
Sinite Virgam Corripientem ne sentiat Malleum Conterentem. Bern.

“A WORD BY THE WAY TO THE READER.

Since the time that I was lately so illegally and arbitrarily plundered without any cause shown or known by this unrighteous self-created powers that is got uppermost, I have with the words of Jeremy (ch. xx. 8, 9) ‘cried out violence and spoil! because the word of the Lord is made a reproach and derision daily. Then I said, I will not make mention nor speak any more in His name. But His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay,’ but constrained in spirit wrote this letter. Yet seeing by several messengers I have assayed, and that several days together to get it delivered, and finding it so difficult that it is doubtful whether it be safely conveyed to him or no, you find it printed as the most probable means of having it presented to his eye, for that many flatterers are ready to run with the news to their master (as v. 10). ‘Report, say they, and we will report it. All my familiars watched for my halting, saying peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and take our revenge on him.’ Well, if they do so, we come, Cross of Christ, for my next petition to ‘Thy Kingdom come’ is ‘Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.’ Yet who knows but this weak word may awaken him a little. . . . But whether this do or not, my conscience is now so well satisfied, my heart refreshed, and my spirit so warmed in the strength of our dear (despised) Christ, that I hope to go on with Jer. xx. 11: ‘For the Lord is with me who is the terrible one, therefore my persecutors shall stumble, they shall not prevail, but they shall be greatly ashamed, for they shall not prosper (long), and their everlasting confusion

shall never be forgotten.' This is the victorious, overturning,* already triumphing faith of hundreds (blessed be Jehovah) besides

JOHN ROGERS."

"MY LORD,—

While the souls of many of the Lord's dear servants (who sit weeping over you) are in travail and struggle for you in the hour of temptation, I most humbly beg, as upon my knees, for your own soul and family, and for the poor afflicted saints' sake, that you will but weigh these few lines of our present lamentation in the balance of your heart and conscience, one part of an hour which you may best spare and be most serious in, which, if the Lord whom I serve require it, I think I could as freely write with my own blood as with ink, in tears and gall of grief. O, our bowels! our bowels! Our hearts ache and are pained within us to hear the doleful groans, and crys, tears, prayers, and solemn appeals of godly people in the nation round about to the Righteous Judge of the whole earth, which doubtless will be answered with a dreadful dispensation and severe decree upon those that be found the enemies to the Lord Jesus and his exaltation. The apprehension whereof hath so seized upon my spirit that I should sin if some way or other I gave you no notice thereof, for that your own person is (yet) so dear in our very souls that bowels of affection are frequently seen to you in mourning,

* See Oliver Cromwell's Speech to Parliament, Sept. 4, 1654. He says, in allusion to the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, "Whilst these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other, family against family, parent against child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but 'Overturn, Overturn, Overturn,' a Scripture very much abused and challenged by all men of discontented spirits."—*Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 599.

praying, and wrestling for you (if possible) to recover you out of those bottomless snares wherein you are so deeply ensnared by the evil counsel of parasites, subtle and self-seeking flatterers, Dawbers and Deceivers, who have not that lively sense to the Lord Jesus, His poor saints, and interest, nor yet to your soul (so desperately engaged, we humbly conceive) as we who are counted enemies for the truth's sake, as the Lord will witness, have, of whom, as Philip. iii. 18, 19: 'I have told you often, and now tell you again, even weeping, that they are the enemies to the Cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.' Jer. ix. 1, 2: 'Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people, and go from them, for they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men.' I cannot speak with you in person, therefore I beseech you, read these words, which our tears and prayers are the ambassadors and forerunners of, 'mittamus preces et lacrymas cordis legatos' (Cyprian), for that we have not the least grain of ill-will, hatred, or malice (as some suggest and say) against any person, but only against the sin and evil of this change of government, which God will (and if righteous, we are sure must) judge, and then, as once you said in your letter to the Kirk of Scotland, 'God, who knoweth us, will in His due time manifest whether we do multiply these things as men, or do we them for the Lord Christ, and his poor people's sake.' Wherefore,

Your own
declarations.

First, be pleased, we beseech you with weeping tears, to compare a little present transactions with former engagements, and with the Army's declarations, &c. as that of June 14, 1647, page 6, declaring that you took up arms in judgment and conscience for the people's just rights and liberties, and resolved to assert and vindicate them against all arbitrary power, violence, and opposition, and against

all particular parties and interests whatsoever, so page 7, that it is no resisting of magistracy to fide with just principles. . . . So page 9—that ‘we are so far from designing and complying to have an absolute arbitrary power signed or settled for continuance in any *PERSONS WHATSOEVER*, as that if we might be sure to obtain it, we cannot wish to have it so in the persons of any whom we ourselves could most confide in, or who should appear most of our principles and opinions.’ . . .

Secondly. Be pleased, my Lord, a little to revise or reason with the rise of this change upon the breaking up of the late Parliament, taking its being but for this end, to keep up the carnal interests the Parliament had voted down, viz. of clergy, carnal church-state, tithes, presentations, &c.

. . . Now, for the Parliament to do that which the army and good people round the nation have declared to be their duty, viz. to take off the civil dependence of the national clergy with their national Church-State, and to vote a new model of the law, viz. less intricate, uncertain, tyrannical, and unjust, and more consonant with God’s word and statutes, and judgments, and right reason, and more plain, easy, and clear; and to take away corrupt and simonious presentations, whereby souls and people are bought and sold to great men’s lusts; for this, formerly judged to be their duty, to be dissolved and broken, yea, at that time, too, when this longed-for mercy after many years was brought to the birth . . . yea, and after the long-sitting Parliament was broken, too, for their neglect of these very things (with others), seems strange to us, and the more dissatisfies us for that we see this power succeed for the support and upholding of those things which that Parliament had voted down, and what the army and good people had so often declared props of Antichrist. . . .

O, my Lord, that the opening and bleeding of our

Against
absolute
government in
one person.

The rise of
this G. upon
the ruin of
the last
Parliament.

Rev. xviii. 13,
being
merchandize
of Babylon.

The already
effects and
fruits of this
change most
grievous to the
faithful and
godly.

bowels for these things might be a little regarded and pitied.

Thirdly. May you be (most humbly, and as upon our bended knees) entreated to take a little account of the already fruits and effects of this alteration, (which the Lord knows we bitterly bewail before the great God as more heavy to us than the precedent changes) in shutting up the doors of our public meeting-places, hindering us in God's worship, imprisoning our dear brothers and friends, plundering, reproaching, and grieving them, (and them only) that have been all these wars, and yet are (and we hope ever will be) faithful to the Cause and Kingdom of Christ, threatening to take away their lives, and endeavouring to stone and stab them, aspersing them with most palpable, loathsome, and notorious falsities, to possess good people in the counties with prejudice against them, as if they were against all Magistracy, Ministry, and Property, which with a wonderful and wicked confidence some write and spread about (the Lord lay it seriously to their hearts and humble them for it) but we cannot be suffered to print the truth or to answer their cruel calumnies or accusations, whilst we desire no other weapons (the Lord knoweth) for our warfare but the word of truth, which shall be our defence; yet we are not suffered to print, but are plundered of our notes and writings, while all manner of lies, flanders, and malicious reports are printed and divulged of us. . . .

How alike this
G. is to it
which God
hath thrown
down before
our eyes.

Our weapons
of warfare and
our adversaries
— what they
are.

Lastly, my Lord, may you be pleased but to see a little in the midst of our trouble and agony how like this present government looks to that which the Lord (by the faith and prayers of his despised people) hath so eminently engaged against, laid in dust, and stamped upon with disdain. . . . And must we not pray that you may be freed from such as have subtly ensnared you, and do, prelate-like, possess you and others against us that we are fanatic mad-men, fools, and heady enemies to Magistracy, Minis-

try, and all, &c. for which our hearts are pained within us, whiles we ponder these things and our spirits grieved that men of so much former merit and eminency should so sinfully and unchristianlike condemn and accuse us of things our hearts abhor and loathe within us, and call for severity under the name of justice, and dealeth persecution against us in the matters of our faith and conscience, merely and alone for the exalting Jesus Christ. . . .

But, my Lord, may the presented truth (or poor crucified Jesus) beg this favour, to give it as much favour as His adversaries have for their gross lies or falsities in printing or otherwise, therefore will you be pleased (though but for a little time, a month or two) to release those laws which hinder the publishing of the truth. Let our brethren or any that will oppose us, convince or conquer all they can with the good word of God, and we shall be satisfied to try it out with them so, but not with the weapons of the world, as they have them (now) all on their side, to imprison, persecute, or put to death, for that is Antichrist's not Christ's way of warfare. . . . Therefore, as *Luther* wrote to the *Dukes of Saxony*, so do we humbly to you, my Lord. 'I would not,' saith he, 'but all have free liberty, yet if any transgress Gospel bounds, and would raise up seditions or wars against you, then you may repress them.' . . . So, my Lord, if we stir up people to risings, tumults, or carnal warfare, as men falsely charge us, then punish us as you please, for it is contrary to our principles so to do.

Furthermore, O that you would not believe every report of the Boutefeus or Fireblowers of these our new troubles against us. . . . Will you be pleased to peruse a little those writings taken out of my study, and satisfy yourself concerning the truth of them, and not believe those bits and parts which some sycophants probably will acquaint you with. . . .

But if we have no hopes left to prevail with you, yet

our hearts are filled with hope, and sure we are to prevail with God. Our appeal is in heaven, and the faith and prayer which are up (as high as ever since the world stood) either will bring forth your conversion (for *Luther* faith the Church converts 'totum mundum sanguine et oratione') or your confusion. For the death and destruction of the persecutors was, as it was said of the death of *Arius*, 'precationis opus non morbi.'

But if it be asked what we would have you to do, our present answer is—

First, advise with the Lord about your former declarations. . . .

2. And then proclaim a fast, a solemn day of humiliation for the errors and sins past, as 1 Kings xxi. 27-29— 'It came to pass when *Ahab* heard those words he rent his clothes and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, &c. And the Lord said, Seekest thou how *Ahab* humbleth himself before me. Because he humbleth himself before me I will not bring the evil in his days.' . . . Let out the Lord's prisoners whom the Churches are robbed of, viz. *Mr. Feak* and *Mr. Simpson*. And that they may open to you the present vision of God given them in these things according to the dispensation of the Spirit, O, hear them once at least preach to you the power of Jesus . . . let them have, though but for a month or two, and though but half so much liberty to open the word of the Lord to you as your chaplains have. . . . But if you will yet go on, 'ad exitium potius quam ad exercitium,' after all our bleeding entreaties, and be hardened up by the dangerous counsel of your own reason or them about you, then, my Lord, our souls shall mourn in secret for you as for one desperately lost indeed, and we shall proceed to bear our testimony against the sin of the times, for our appeal hangs in Heaven and we cannot recall it. Yea, as *Luther* once said, 'Quo magis illi furunt eo amplius procedo,' the more men rage

What to be
done in order
to return.

Let out the
Lord's
prisoners, Mr.
Feak, Mr.
Simpson, Han.
Taprel in
Bridewell.

Our resolution.

the more resolute we hope to be in our appeals, faith, and prayer. . . .

So far as I may,

Your true sincere Servant,

JOHN ROGERS."

On the 20th of March, 1654, two months after the Ordinance of Treason, another ordinance was published, which was scarcely less offensive to the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. It was called an ordinance for the "Approbation of Public Preachers," and provided that every person who had been admitted to a benefice within the last twelve months, or who might thereafter be admitted, should be "judged and approved by the persons hereafter named to be a person for the Grace of God in him, his holy and unblameable conversation, as also for his knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the Gospel." Such as were approved received from the "Triers," as they were called, an instrument in writing, without which no one was to be deemed lawfully possessed of any living or benefice, and by virtue of which, when obtained, the holder was put in as full possession as if he had been admitted by institution and induction. Thirty-seven Commissioners (or Triers) were named, and the partial and oppressive way in which they used their power was bitterly complained of both by Royalist clergy on the one side, and by such men as *Rogers* on the other.

The authorities do not seem to have noticed Mene, Tekel, Perez, or the sermons which preceded it. To requite their forbearance, *Rogers* held a solemn service of humiliation over their sins, and as a preliminary he published the grounds on which he acted.

"The Grounds of Meeting at Tho. Apostle's, the 28th day of the first Month [March], 1654, in solemn humiliation before the Lord, beginning at 7 o'clock in the morning.

1. The manner of the coming in of the present G—— with the sudden breaking up of the last Parliament, for that they would have changed the present National Ministry, lawyers, presentations, taxes and oppressions, and

Scobell's Acts
and Ordinances, part ii.
p. 279.

for that they would have ruled as Saints—therefore driven out of the house.

2. The present grand apostacy of professors, churches, preachers, and eminent persons of the nobles of Judah in the Army, city and country, from their former engagements, declarations, professions and promises for Christ and his kingdom, cause and interest.

3. The prosecution of the faithful remnant that threatens them, wherein we may spread before the Lord those new-made laws of treason, &c. which look too much like tyranny, according to which the servants of the Lord are imprisoned at Windsor, and others threatened.

4. The manifold tentations abroad, both here and in the country, which are of divers sorts, as adversity, imprisonment, loss of friends, liberties, &c; on the other side, offers of places, preferments, honours, &c; and on all sides the spirit of delusion by false deluding pamphlets, arguments, fallacies, and lies, whereby many good people are blinded in city and country.

5. The present deadness and flatness of spirit that is upon the little remnant of Saints that are not yet backslidden, as at All-hallows meeting and elsewhere; that those that remain may have a full, free, fit and quickened spirit, beyond whatever they yet had, to engage with one heart and mind, by constant faith and prayer, in the present testimony.

6. As to deplore the present magistracy and ministry, and such wicked ones which are heightened in their expectations and exalted into places; so also to be earnest for the magistracy and ministry of the unction according to the promise in the latter days, that Christ alone may be exalted.

7. To spread before the Lord the animosities, jealousies, heartburnings and divisions, that are amongst the Saints and Churches, about forms, opinions, or points of judg-

ment, and that the Lord would make an union in the Spirit.

8. On these and divers other grounds which we might mention, as hypocrisy, pride, and oppression; to mourn also for the present unseasonable weather and drought, which threatens famine and mortality, that the Lord would remove causes that the effects might cease."

Thurloe, ii.
196.

It was very usual in those days for the more zealous members of the congregation to take short-hand notes of their minister's sermons. This custom enabled *Thurloe's* spies to provide themselves, in the same way, with the following abstract of the sermon which *Rogers* delivered on this occasion.

"INFORMATION AGAINST MR. ROGERS.

*May** 28, at *Thomas Apostles*; in his prayer these and such like passages. Hasten the time when all absolute power shall be devolved into the hand of Christ, when we shall have no Lord Protector but our Lord Jesus, the only true Protector and Defender of the Faith. Let our faith have so much of the grain of mustard seed as to say to that great mountain, 'Be removed,' and it shall be removed.

Look on mercy upon thy faints at Windfor, that are imprisoned for the truth and testimony of Jesus; be thou their freedom and enlargement, &c. Remember thy handmaid,† who is brought to town, and threatened by the worldly powers, who crucify Christ Jesus in the spirit every day. Hear the blasphemies of the Court, and regard their ridiculous pomp and vanity. And now Christ Jesus is proclaimed King, pour forth thy vials on the worldly powers, the powers of Antichrist.

* The date "May 28" in *Thurloe* is probably a misprint for "March 28."

† Probably *Hannah Taprell*.

Then he blessed God, that had yet reserved himself a remnant, who had not bowed their knees to *Baal*.

He named his text out of the 5th chapter of the letter of Matthew, 25th verse — ‘Agree with thine adversary quickly.’ By the adversary, he said, was meant Christ, whom the apostate professors and wicked ones of this world had made their adversary; and so made this his doctrine. ‘Tis the concernment of all adulterous, apostate professors to make a speedy agreement with their adversary. And because the kingly office of Christ was at this present time most eminently opposed, he would speak to the present powers, who are the opposers of it in their Government, in their priesthood, in their armies.

The apostate professors of this age have openly broken all God’s commandments, as I shall show in their order.

1. To the first. ‘I am the Lord thy God, that brought thee out of Egypt; thou shalt have no other God but me.’ But, as Israel of old made themselves calves, and said, ‘Lo these are our Gods, which brought us out of Egypt,’ so the men of this generation say, Lo this, and lo that; lo our strength and lo our armies have brought us out of bondage from under monarchical government, &c.

2. ‘Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image.’ But the present powers have set up graven images, that is to say, the works of men’s imaginations. They have lately set up Triers at Whitehall—a new set of doctors, worshippers of the inventions of man; a new commission-court to give out tickets and seals, and instruments and picklocks to open houses and pulpits, and pig-sties and hen-roosts, to fetch thence eggs and geese, and pigs and tithes—a most sottish and ridiculous foppery, nay, mere idolatry. ‘Tis an horrible sin in any to own them or receive commission from them. The last Parliament would have proved a reformer and have pulled down this image, but that the powers of this world interposed. And I believe

one day they must give a sad account for it. If any have received such commission from them, let them return it, and quickly agree with the adversary.

3. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.' But the men in present power have eminently taken God's name in vain, by applying his attributes to sinister ends. Their pretensions were for the honour of God, for the interest of Christ—what more frequent in their mouths? Well! God took them at their words, gave them many a victory in trust, to see what they would do with it after so many promises and pretences. But at last, what God gave them only in trust, for the advancement of his glory, they have purloined and abused to the advancement of themselves, breaking all oaths, promises, covenants, engagements, declarations. When they go to fight another battle, they cannot give that for a word any more, 'No King but Jesus'—a word which won them more than their swords. No, they have set up now a King of their own.

4. 'Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath.' They are guilty of the breach of this commandment who do their own works. Those who have no soul-rest cannot keep a Sabbath. Such are they that gape after court honour, privileges, preferments, advantages.

5. 'Honour thy father and mother.' To obey the world before God makes us guilty of this commandment. God will say to the men of this generation, 'Go to your Governour, go to your Protector.' 'If I be a father, where is my honour?'

6. 'Thou shalt do no murder.' There is a heart murder; those that hate the spirit in the saints are murderers. Those who have it in their intent and desire to murder the saints, though for some respects of their own they refrain from the outward act, they are murderers before God. Some in the present power are guilty of this

murderous intent. Before, nothing but the laws of Christ and the interest of Christ ; but now 'tis a particular and personal interest, the interest of a man, the cause of a man. Those who were slain for the cause of Christ their blood cries aloud 'let Christ reign;' but those who say, 'let us reign,' make themselves guilty of that blood, and so are murderers.

Then he converted his discourse against spies and tale-bearers, recounting out of the Book of Martyrs and other stories God's remarkable judgments against them.

7. 'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' There is a heart adultery, as Christ also expounds it. He that looks upon pleasures and honours and profits, and lusts after them, this lust of the heart is adultery. The present powers have committed adultery with all interests, with the cavalier party, with the army, with the clergy.

8. 'Thou shalt not steal.' They are thieves and robbers which take away violently that which is not their right, that which does not belong to them. We have great thieves and rich thieves, army thieves and clergy thieves. A poor pirate was brought before *Alexander the Great* for robbing ; and being demanded the reason, the pirate answered him, 'This is the sole difference 'twixt you and me ; you are the great thief, and I am but the little one.' 'Do violence to no man,' said *John the Baptist* to the soldiers ; but our soldiers do violence to all men. What right have those men in the throne to it ? The Cavalier party will say *Charles Stewart* has a right ; but I say there's no man breathing has more right to it than the meanest child that walks the streets. The kingdom is the Lord's and his Christ's. They which detain what they have unjustly taken are thieves. Why do they not make restitution of their stolen powers, their stolen thrones and dignities, restore them to the saints whom they despised and cast out, under the name of Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

They that make unlawful haste to be rich are thieves and robbers. (Then he directed his speech to my Lord Protector.) Certainly he is in a desperate condition. No wonder we hear so much of plots—two or three already; though, for my part, 'tis the desire of my soul that he may not be taken off by any of them, but rather that he may repent, and God recover him again to himself. Because he hath oppressed and forsaken the poor, because he hath violently taken away a house which he builded not, surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly, he shall not save of that which he desired (Job xx. 19). Oh, thou black Whitehall! thou black Whitehall!—fah! fah! it stinks of the brimstone of Sodom and the smoke of the bottomless pit! The flying roll of God's curses shall overtake the family of that great thief there—he that robbed us of the benefit of our prayers, of our tears, of our blood; the blood of my poor husband will the widow say, the blood of my poor father will the orphan say, the blood of my dear friend will many say. These shed their blood for the cause of Jesus Christ and for the interest of his kingdom; but that which they purchased at so dear a rate is taken from us by violence; we are robbed of it, and the cause of Christ is made the cause of a man.

He would have proceeded to the two other commandments, but that time prevented him.

At the conclusion of his discourse he produced a letter from *Mr. Feake* at Windsor, giving a large account of what betided him there; how he had preached to some soldiers of the guard, and that they were much affected with what he spake; how he was remanded to his chamber by the governor, and a long dialogue betwixt them on that occasion. All which he distinctly read to the people, being a very numerous assembly. And thus closed all,—In sum, my dear friends, you may shortly expect a new book of Martyrs. The faints are worse dealt with by the powers

of this age than they were by the heathens of old. *Paul* was suffered to preach at Rome, but they now are forbid to preach the Gospel.

Afterwards a hymn was set, composed for the occasion, which the people sung very affectionately. It began thus—‘Come, glorious King of Sion, come to defend thy cause against all earthly powers, and to work deliverance for thy captives,’ and much to that purpose.”

Thurloe, iii.
483.

This information was preserved and was afterwards produced, but it was not instantly acted upon. *Rogers* remained at large until July. The following extracts from the Order Book of the Council of State, and from the London newspapers, will explain what happened next.

“COUNCIL OF STATE, *July 25, 1654.*

His Highness present.

Mr. Laurence, L^d President. Maj. Gen. Lambert, L^d Visc. Lisle, Col. Fiennes, Mr. Rous, Gen. Disbrowe, Col. Mackworth, Col. Montague, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Col. Sydenham, Col. Jones, Major-Gen. Shippon, Mr. Major, Mr. Strickland, Sir Charles Wolseley.

Appr. in pfon.

Ordered—That *Hannah Taprell*, formerly committed to Bridewell, be set at liberty, and that a warrant to the Master of Bridewell be in that behalf issued.

Appr. in pfon.

That *Mr. John Rogers* be sent for in safe custody, to answer such matters as shall be objected against him, and that a warrant to the Serjeant-at-Arms be in that behalf issued.

Entry or Fair
Order Book of
the Council of
State, No. 103,
in the Public
Record Office.

That *Col. Jones, Col. Sydenham, Col. Mackworth, Mr. Rous, Sir Charles Wolseley*, or any two of them, be a committee to examine *Mr. Rogers* and the matters charged on him, he being ordered this day to be sent for in custody.”

" July 27, 1654.

Mr. John Rogers, of Thomas Apottle's, London, was this day apprehended by a messenger, touching some things by him preached and written against the present power. He was before a committee of the Council, and remains in the custody of a messenger, but did much desire to have been in prison."

Several Proceedings in State Affairs, No. 253.

" August 10, 1654.

Mr. John Rogers, prisoner at Lambeth, preacheth daily to people that come to visit him, whither many do resort. But Mr. John Simson, who now owns and prays for the present powers, hath been there with him."

Several Proceedings in State Affairs, No. 255.

The following letter (from *Thurloe*, iii. 485), has neither date nor signature. It was probably written at this time by *Serjeant Dendy*,* who was Serjeant-at-Arms to the Council of State, and was responsible for the custody of his kinsman *Rogers* in Lambeth Palace.†

* Serjeant Dendy, earlier in life, executed warrants for the Star Chamber. In 1637, with a warrant from Archbishop Laud, he broke open Mr. Burton's house at midnight and arrested him, for which he was censured by Parliament in 1640. In January, 1649, he was appointed Serjeant-at-Arms to the High Court of Justice, which condemned Charles I. In this capacity he proclaimed the Court in Westminster Hall, and took charge of the King as a prisoner at the bar. On January 29, after sentence had been passed, it was ordered "that the officer of the Ordnance at the Tower of London, in whose hands or custody the bright execution axe for the executing malefactors is, do forthwith deliver the same unto Edward Dendy, Esq., Serjeant-at-Arms attending the Court, or his deputies."

† Most of the Bishops' palaces and houses in and near London were converted into prisons in 1642-3.—*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i. 57.

Life and Opinions of a

“A LETTER TO THE PROTECTOR CONCERNING
MR. ROGERS.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—

Having for these five or six years had more opportunities to read *Mr. Rogers* than many others, I humbly conceive it not altogether improper (especially at this time) to give your Highness as true a character of him as his actings and my slender observations thereupon hath led me to. . .

Now, that your Highness may know *Mr. Rogers* of Thomas Apostle's from that man which he describes and would have others to think him to be, by his book called a 'Tabernacle,' I shall, in as few words as I can, discover more of the man than the Christian in him; that so your Highness may in some measure discern him from some others, and that before the change of Government, against which *Mr. Rogers*, with a pretended zeal of God, hath so furiously appeared.

About six years since *Mr. Rogers* married *Sir Robert Paine's* daughter, late of Huntingdonshire, who was the relict of *Mr. Smyth*, of St. Neot's, where for some time he taught school, and from whence by Providence he was called to a living at Purleigh in Essex, worth, as I have been informed, above £200 per annum, where the people, as in many other places, being but children in understanding, and such as, I have heard him say, did not know how to value men for their abilities, the said *Mr. Rogers*—I fear overprizing his gifts, did thereupon turn non-resident; and, hiring another to supply his place at Purleigh, he came to London; and endeavouring to get a lecture, which in short time he obtained at Thos. Apostle's. Thus neglecting his charge at Purleigh, about 33 miles off London, it pleased God to stir up the patron and parish against him, so that he was ejected thence.

Mr. Rogers, hereat being exceedingly troubled, petitioned the Lords Commissioners for a restitution, from whom not obtaining his desires, and meeting therein with opposition from *Serjeant Maynard*, he thereupon, as incensed against lawyers, writ a pamphlet; and how he vented his spirit in that quarrel I presume your Highness is not only a stranger to.

After the loss of Purleigh, *Mr. Rogers* solicits hard for the rectory of Martin's, and to that end endeavours the removing of one *Mr. Sangor*, a godly man; and being asked why he would do so, he replied that *Mr. Sangor* had a living of £100 a year in the country—forgetting that it was lately his own case in Purleigh, when yet he had a lecture in London and lived there. But, not seeking a way of God, his endeavours here also proved abortive.

Whereupon *Mr. Rogers* puts forth a book called 'A Tabernacle for the Sun,' and according to the dedication of it presents one to your Highness, not doubting but that this book would have attracted your Highness' especial favour to him; but the Lord, who weighs the spirits and ponders all men's goings, did, for ought I know, cause your Highness to see more of *Mr. Rogers* than he could of himself. Whether a disappointment herein hath not been a ground of *Mr. Rogers* his discontent (that I say not malice) I will not positively affirm, yet fear (as the Apostle speaks of a young novice) that he hath been lifted up of pride and fallen into the condemnation of the devil. For, saith the same Apostle, 'The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves,' &c. My Lord, I could say much more, but am unwilling to trouble your Highness; only I beseech your Highness to permit me to speak my heart in one thing, which is this—viz. that if your Highness should study to please *Mr. Rogers*, you cannot do it in a more direct line than by imprisoning of

him. Not that I believe he hath any principle wherewithal truly to glory before God, nor doth he simply delight in being restrained; but, my Lord, by this means he gets great store of money, having many visitants, and some of quality. Wherefore, my Lord, I humbly submit it to your Highness' consideration, whether, after a sober and sharp reproof, it would not be well to give him his liberty; for, my Lord, in reality and truth his design is not for the Fifth Monarchy, but how to get money. And to that end he hath for above these two years given it out, that it hath been strong upon his heart that he shall die a martyr, though, I fear, none of those whom Christ hath as yet owned. And therefore, what other comfort he hath by imprisonment than getting money, I understand not: for certain it is he acts not in the spirit of Jesus; and being not conformable to Christ in his death and sufferings, surely the Spirit of Glory, nor of God, doth not rest upon him. Wherefore, my Lord, I beseech you consider whether it would not be best yet a little longer, by gentleness and meekness, to heap up coals of fire upon his head; and if he turn not at such a reproof, which God usually takes up to reduce sinners, then certainly the Lord hath not called your Highness to bear the sword in vain: and yet, if he persist in the forwardness of his heart, I hope when the Parliament sits they will call him to an account; which I confess I would rather they should do than your Highness, of whose uprightness I hope the Lord will bear further witness to, notwithstanding all gainfayers.

I desired to know of *Mr. Secretary* whether all comers might be admitted to *Mr. Rogers*, who told me that he had no directions at all therein. The last Lord's Day I am informed that there was at the least a hundred persons that went to see him; neither can I restrain them until your Highness' pleasure be known herein."

While he was in prison *Rogers* wrote two books,—

1. "Prison-born Morning Beams;" or, a History of his Sufferings at Lambeth. The Introduction only was saved, and this was printed as part of his second book,—

2. "Jegar Sahadutha; or, a Heart Appeal:" a History of his sufferings at Windsor and elsewhere.

He was very much annoyed at the difficulty he found in securing a printer in the face of the Ordinance of Treason, and at the cowardly mutilations to which his books were subjected. Of course they were printed secretly, and, so far as the printer was concerned, anonymously. It must be remembered always that when these books were circulated he was still in prison, wholly and entirely at the mercy of the authorities, the gaolers, and the soldiers whom he so fiercely reviles.

Accompanying the book is a short Preface, of which the following is a part:—

"FROM A FRIEND TO A FRIEND.

The books mentioned by the author are very strangely miscarried; only the Introductory part to the first treatise, or 'Prison-born Morning Beams,' are preserved and gotten together, as the occasion of his falling upon so large a system, so some part of his sufferings at Lambeth until Windsor, which therefore we have added unto his 'Heart Appeal,' (having been hardly kept and collected) that the view of present persecution may be the more clear, and his History the more complete, though to my knowledge many things are omitted, passages left out, fleeced, and sheered round, besides much more which in time may be added, if need be, as some of us hear, of several reasonings between him and O. P., him and soldiers, him and ministers, him and many adversaries, besides what sufferings have been added since these papers came from him to this chain.

It may be these sufferings may work upon some that hear them; they have on some that saw them, yea, even amongst the soldiers, for we hear that one of them formerly

bufy is now wounded and touched in confcience for it, and others have left them for their cruelty to thefe, whiles the Cavaliers can have liberty to drink, fwear, or anything, it feems, and live as they lift. And thus, fay the foldiers, may our friends too, fo they be for their Lord Protector and his G——, whom the Lord protect us from, and from their wickednefs in high places.”

The next chapter, compiled from various parts of the Introduction to “Prison-born Morning Beams,” will give an account of his arrest and his imprifonment at Lambeth.





CHAPTER V.



MORNING BEAMS; OR, THE VISION OF THE PRISON PATHMOS.

LIB. I.

CHAPTER I.—HAGAH.

*The Introduction, with the cause accidental
of the following Discourse upon the present truth and testimony.*

IT is none of the least part of our prison Threnodies in the present tragedy, which the bloody Beast by a new guise hath acted again upon the stage of Great Brittanny, the trampling under foot the present truth and testimony of Jesus, so as that scarce one interpreter of a thousand durst entertain or own it simply, which at best hath but a passport from many, and so is whipped away from one to another, from post to pillar, according to the Court law for a vagrant, with warrants like to Pope Eugenius, ‘hoc esse verum, si ipse velit, sed non aliter.’ This or that is true if he, His Holiness (or His Highness) will have it so, but not otherwise. Who then can find the faith or courage to expose his life, or at least his liberty and estate to so prodigal a hazard, as he must do who will fetch it from under the Beast’s foot, and feel the acrimony or cruelty of his sharp clunch, claw, or horn piercing him to the very heart.

The General
Introduction by
way of
Lamentation.

Well may our prisons found and resound with exaggerated night groans, for the Court and country increase in lying and transgressing, and falling backwards, perpetrating iniquity at so high a rate as will suddenly fill up their measure. This I see evidently from my iron bars. And yet none intercede for the truth; not one will run after it, follow it, meet it, or to the face of all own it. O what a lamentation is this! if one doth like Wisdom's child but a little justify it . . . he that doth so exposes himself to be spoiled, plundered, imprisoned, and made a prey of to the ravenous beast that eats bones and all. (Zeph. iii. 3).

Also when I advert the height of the controversy already between the Lamb and the Beast (precious blood of saints having sealed thereto) and the vials so lately poured out upon the King, lords, prelates, and corrupt powers of this State; also our late zeal against Common Prayer, Crosses, Painted Windows, Rails, Surplices, Corrupt Ministers, Magistrates, and the like; O! my soul even bleeds within me to behold the present apostacy of spirit, principles, and persons, not only among mercenary professors, but the little remnant whose coldness, cowardliness, and carelessness is almost incredible, at this time of day too. And were it not to fulfil the word of God (Rev. xi.) that this present death is upon us for these three years and an half, I should be so astonished at it as not to know what to make of it.

But when I am venting my burthen with these like words or passions, 'Lord, where is the spirit of old, yea, the spirit, and faith, and courage that we ourselves had some ten, twelve, or fourteen years ago, among the good old Puritans? Yea, the spirit of Englishmen and rational men among us. O! what a change it is! What sheepishness, what sleepiness, what deadness, what darkness, what timorousness, and what tameness is now seized upon us!' The

light arising in darkness doth put an end to such reasonings and syllogisms, giving rest to my spirit till the time of the end, which is at hand.

Now, if ever there were a time to hear the grave-groans of the living and the dead, of those who are in prison-graves, and of those whose skulls and bones we left behind us in the field, and of those under the altar, who cry, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true?' (Rev. vi. 10). Yea, the shrill heaven, heart, and earth tearing call of faints, past, present, and to come, from the days of Abel to this day, to maintain their cause, to revenge their blood and the Lamb's, and to be UP AND DOING for the Lord Jesus, the King of Saints, it is NOW within a year or two, as we shall show you.

Woe to them that are at ease (Amos vi. 1), yea, to the very women that are careless (Isaiah xxxii. 9, 10, 11, 12), for they shall lament; and if ye will be all silent, the very graves shall open, the dead shall live, the dry bones shall live, the stones of the street shall speak, and the beam of the timber utter it, the witnesses will arise, and the earthquake come to take vengeance against this apostate generation of four professors.

But, say some, seeing the prisons are so deeply sensible, and bear so heavy a burden for us, how falls it that before now your exonerating groans and sighs got not a free passage abroad in the nation?

1. To which I must answer, that for above a year's imprisonment now, partly more at large and partly close, I have been under the pressure of the spirit, as if my heart would break within me at times, to see so servile and degenerate a spirit, as yet, among the saints. Yet, with patience, purposing to wait and possess my soul, as unwilling to write what few if any were able to bear, though most honourable truth, I kept in as long as I could, not knowing but there might have been before this a kindly recurrence among

1st reason why
the prisons are
so silent.

some of those retrograde motions which so tremendous and fearful a wrath as I easily foresee follows the heels of. Besides, so great is the servile spirit and fear which possesses the hearts of men against the glorious cause and controversy of Christ, for which we are imprisoned, plundered, exiled, or persecuted, that what we write to ease our hearts and consciences, with the greatest sobriety and simplicity, we cannot carry through the press or get printed upon any terms almost in the language, life, and favour of the present anointing from the Holy One which is upon us and teaches us all things. That new-found engine of the Beast (the Ordinance of Treason for words and imaginations) hath put them into so panic and foolish a fear that above an hundred sheets preparing for the press, to enlighten the deluded, abused people of this nation as to us and our cause, or rather Christ's (while they give out we suffer not for conscience) have been either betrayed by Iscariot kisses, plundered from me, or stifled before they were born, and all this lest the people should have light into the sufferings of our consciences, or conscience of our sufferings, viz. the truth of the Fifth Kingdom, or to receive a right information of the apostacies, hypocrisies, perjury, cheating, persecution, and unheard-of baseness of such as are gotten into power.

2. The marvellous trials which I have encountered with in the flesh since imprisonment have much impeded my appearing in public until now. But the truth, cause, and persecuted saints do expect some account at my hands, it seems, of the particular harsh usage I and my family met with under this power in Lambeth House (and since), where I was for above five and thirty weeks, and then sent to Windsor Castle the 31st day of first month, 1655, with two messengers, who delivered me up prisoner here a little before noon.

I was fetched out of my bed the 27th day of fourth

2nd Reason.
The prison
opprobries,
abuses, and
injuries,
especially at
Lambeth.

month in 1654, early in the morning ; and at night, after all day waiting, I was sent to Lambeth Prison, being very ill and distempered with a fever ; yet for all that, at eleven in the night, did a messenger rap at the gates, called another of the messengers, who was going into his bed, made him put on his clothes again to assist him, and so they came both, with *Harding* the under-gaoler, to carry me at that time of night I knew not whither (nor would they tell me). But being very ill on the bed, and my wife also unready, I told them I was not able, prayed them to let me alone for that one night—told them the righteous man was merciful to a beast, and were a beast of theirs, horse or cow, so ill or little able to stir, they would be more merciful—with many more arguments I and my wife also desired them to forbear that night ; but they said they had orders from *Serjeant Dendy* to remove me presently, and I must not stay, one of them speaking very high and threatening. The issue was, they made me rise, and my wife to make herself ready ; and I, scarce able to go, my head being light with the fierceness of the fever, was forced that time of night to one *Leadbeater's** house, a messenger, into a little low dark room, where was very little air, which I much needed, and for which I rather wished to be in the other prison. The next day at night new orders came to carry me to Lambeth again, where I continued, till *Serjeant Dendy* procured my removal. Of which place I shall choose principally for the present to give a short hint or abstract account, leaving the whole history for a fitter season, that the obstreperous false reports may be obviated, our sufferings (a little) known and sympathized with, His poor servants prayed for, their faith and patience owned, their God be glorified, and his enemies

* Joshua Leadbeater was appointed one of fourteen men to attend the Council as Deputies to the Serjeant-at-Arms, 26th Dec. 1651.—*Order in Council of that date.*

Worse than
heathen
tyranny to us.

1. Uncon-
demned and
without law.

This is contrary
to all or most
of their
declarations,
where they call
this tyranny in
the King and
Bishops, and
incongruous
with the laws
of God, of
nature, and of
nations.

found liars and ashamed of their worse than heathen tyranny to us. Which appears in these particulars,

1. By the law of the heathens (the Romans) none were to suffer before the law had judged and condemned them. This is the rule of reason, contrary whereunto our persecutors now practise, having put us into prison thus year after year, with worse usage and more close than the worst Malefactors, Cavaliers, Plotters, Ranters, Blasphemers, or offenders they put amongst us. For all the while I was, by order from *Serjeant Dendy*, kept out from the air of the common hall, the wicked crew of Cavaliers, Plotters, Ranters, Roarers, drinking, cursing, swearing, finging, fiddling, gaming, and blaspheming day and night, had the benefit of it. Yea, for above thirty weeks they would not suffer me to stir out of the gate for air; but the worst of all other prisoners had their liberty with their keepers every day. And when order was to let but three at a time to come to see me—yea, not to suffer man, woman, or child to come at me, nor one of my family to stir out for necessities for me, the worst of men besides had all that would come to see them, yea the most loose sort of people that could be, to sit up healthing, hooping, ranting, and revelling with them at the highest rate in the most hideous manner about mine ears. These had abundance of liberty to sin, when we could not have liberty to pray together, or to have any holy assembly but at the prison grates, when I put my head out at the iron bars to my dear brethren and sisters in Christ who stood in the street. And all this without any law condemning, any crime charged formally upon us, any witness against us, any trial of us, or licence given us to answer in any open Court. Only the sixth of the last month the last year I was carried to Whitehall into a chamber, (where what was objected was denied to be any charge against us), and so remanded to prison again; but by no other law than lust and will—the beasts' law, 'fic

volò, sic jubeo, fit pro ratione voluntas.' 'Take him, gaoler,' being all the trial, law, and sentence.

2. Under the dragon power of Rome, the very gaolers, who are usually the worst of men, were more civil, courteous, and urbane than ours are to us; for *Paul's* gaoler let who would come to visit him (Acts xxiv. 23). Yea, their gaoler pitied them, and washed their wounds and stripes, and made much of them (Acts xvi. 33); but our gaolers do add stripes, aggravate our crimes (pretended), augment our afflictions, accumulate into mountains lies, slanders, vilifying speeches and reproaches upon us, invent and inform what they can, with any colour, against us, daily going to Whitehall for that purpose, and every way more to us than to the worst malefactor they had. At Lambeth we found it so, from the upper to the under, from the master to the man gaoler; while others found very fair quarters and civil courtship who fed them with round sums, which we could not buy at so dear a rate, and therefore, besides other reasons, were forced to coarser fare. For after a few weeks, word was brought to my wife that I must pay in fees somewhat more than six pounds a week (which I was not able to do, having no estate in the world, and what I had being all taken away from me), and this for the rooms to *Serjeant Dendy*. About a week's space after this one of *Serjeant Dendy's* men, old *Meazy*, came up at candle-light into my prison chamber in the name of *Serjeant Dendy*, saying he came from him to demand the money which was due to him, for his fees and the chambers for so many weeks; saying I was to pay but ten shillings a day fees for myself, for although it was twenty shillings a day, yet the Parliament put down ten shillings a day of it; and for that *Serjeant Dendy* would use me courteously, he would have but fourteen shillings a week rent for the room where we kept a fire for my family while they were with me, and for the little inward lodging room, where was no chimney,

z. Our gaolers worse to us than the heathens. A history of some few passages for an instance.

where I lay, I should know that when I came out. I told him I was not able to pay so much, nor did I judge it reasonable, being in prison upon will, and nothing brought to my charge; and therefore those that imprisoned me must pay him. Yet this I would do willingly: if *Serjeant Dendy* will choose one honest man I will choose another, and what they think meet for me to pay, as God shall enable me, I will, saying withal I would know the *lowest* which I must pay. He said £4 4s. a week was the lowest, at which I told him I was not able to do it, nor did my brother *Feake* at Windfor pay so much, but as I heard, but so much in a quarter as is demanded of me in a week; and that it was worse than tyranny to take away all I had to live on, turn my wife and children, poor sucking babes, out of doors, when the Lord allows a snail a shell, yet my poor wife and babes had not a shell to live in but my prison; yea, and to hinder those that would minister to our wants, and to demand £4 4s. a week too, was wonderful unjust. But the old man, being techy hereat, flew from me with these menaces, 'You must and shall pay it, before you go out from hence.'

But because the carriage of this business was so cruel, merciless, and unchristian, *Serjeant Dendy* was ashamed to own it to good men, stoutly and often affirming that neither he nor any for him did ever demand it of me or threaten me about it. But with how little modesty and grace, and that ye may see what wide mouths ravenous fishes have, it follows under the hands of some present in the prison chamber when the old man came for the money, two of them being church-members:—

'We whose names are hereunder written do certify to whomsoever it may concern, that old *Michael Meazy* came as he said from *Serjeant Dendy* (whose servant he is) into the chamber where *Mr. Rogers* is prisoner now at Lam-

beth, and in our hearing demanded of *Mr. Rogers* the sum of ten shillings a day for fees for himself a prisoner to *Serjeant Dendy*, and of fourteen shillings a week for his chambers (in all £4 4s. a week): and for that *Mr. Rogers* made scruple to pay so much at present, the said *Meazy* told him he must and should pay it before he went out from thence. This we witness by our hands, who heard him demand that sum of him, and can depose it.

DOROTHY HILL,
ALICE LEWIS,
ANN EVINGTON.'

Notwithstanding, with so strange a face they denied this, and said I was no minister of Jesus Christ if I affirmed it, and they would publish in newbooks against me, and the like, I can shew it under *Serjeant Dendy's* own hand, by several orders and letters, that the not paying those fees and sums of money was one thing that made him so harsh to me above others. For, soon after, the old man went to Whitehall and told his tale against me in his own mood and figure, and then followed the ensuing letter from *Serjeant Dendy* to me:—

'SIR,

I took not my house at Lambeth to accommodate families, but only such prisoners as by order of the Council stand committed to me; and therefore, whereas I hear you say *Mr. Feake* at Windsor hath his wife and children with him, and yet pays nothing, which is not altogether improbable, because Windsor Castle is the State's proper house, but so is not mine nor the goods. Wherefore, inasmuch as I am informed that it is commonly reported that you are at £6 a week charge (though I know not of a penny that hath as yet been received from you); and this declared on purpose to abuse the well-minded, by provoking their

charity toward you, of which I wish you were as capable as some other. Further, your wife at your first coming to my house, vapouring that she would give £5 aforehand, so you might be accommodated at my house (which was more public than others of my deputies, and so to serve your design was rather made choice of), upon these considerations, having no allowance at all from the State to defray so great a charge as my house at Lambeth amounts to, I desire you will remove your children and servants to some other place more proper for them, to which end I have ordered that you have a week's time from this day to dispose of them, and for your own particular, and your wife, if she be with you, to be treated with all civility, and have as good accommodation as my house can afford. So, wishing that you may be partaker of Christ's sufferings rather than those of evildoers, I rest,

Your loving friend,

E. DENDY.

Sept. 14, 1654.'

I confess I was much grieved at this letter, for that I knew not whither to send my poor children from me, two of them being about a year old and very weak, and my poor family being thrust out of all. Besides, the lines were fraught with false reports, I perceived, of my wife and me, and pitiful, uncharitable censures and suppositions, as that I sought to come thither to abuse the well-minded, whereas I knew not of my returning to Lambeth till *Harding* came with a new order; nor did I otherwise desire it but for air, in the time of my burning fever. I confess I did desire more air; and so my wife said she had better give five pounds than be so choked up in a little hole for want of air (as *Lead-beater's* house was). But then came in consolation from Matt. v.—'Blessed are ye when they shall speak all manner

of evil of you.' So that I thought it best to spread it before the Lord, and wait with patience; and so I did, without any noise, as the sheep that is bit by the fierce teeth of a dog weeps inwardly most, and whines not like a hog. But ere long he sends a most severe order to the under-gaoler to take away the beds from under us, yea, to execute his order that night that one of my children lay giving up the ghost; but because the child was gasping he could not find the heart to execute it; and the child dying that night, he then said he would not have done it for a hundred pounds, though his master commanded him so strictly to observe his orders. But for all this, and the death of one child and the weakness or drawing on of another,* their immanity without pity was prosecuted upon me; and to show it sufficiently the under-gaoler brings me these two ensuing warrants:—

‘ WILLIAM HARDING : †

I am informed one of *Mr. Rogers* his children was carried away last night very sick, and which, for ought I

* “ 1653. Peter } Sons of John and Elizabeth Rogers, borne and baptized
Paul } 28 September.

1654. Paul y^e son of John and Elizabeth Rogers, dec^d y^e 12th, bur^d.
y^e 13th October.

1654. Peter y^e son of John and Elizabeth Rogers, dec^d y^e 1st, bur^d.
y^e 2 of November.”

From the Parish Register of St. Thomas Apostle's, London.

† Anthony Wood gives the following account of this Harding :—“ In the times of Usurpation, when the Bishops were put down and their lands sold, the said palace [Lambeth] was inhabited by several lay persons, of whom Tho. Scot, one of the Regicides, and one Harding, were two. Which last having the chapel allotted to him as part of his share, he divided it into two rooms. . . . At length, hearing that the corpse of Archbishop Parker had been there interred, he took up the floor and pavement under it, and having so done dug up the corpse, which was put into cere cloth of many doubles in a coffin of lead. The coffin he sold to a plumber; and after he had caused the cere cloth to be cut open to the

know, may be the small-pox, which you cannot but hear the city and suburbs are much infested with, and none more liable to take the disease than children. Wherefore, in regard of the danger through multitudes of persons coming to *Mr. Rogers*, I would have you once more let him know that I expect that he remove his children and servants to some other place. For I am resolved not to endanger the health of my prisoners any longer. Therefore, if *Mr. Rogers* will not remove his children after so fair and civil a warning, let the bedding be carried into another room. Herein fail not.

Yours,

E. DENDY.'

But the truth is, the gaoler's children were ill of the swine-pox, whereby we and other prisoners were in danger, but, blessed be the Lord, not one of ours; and the child we sent away one night, for fear he should catch it in the house, the next day we had him home again to the prison; for we had not, nor have we any other earthly home but a prison now. So that my family was forced to be with me, which was according to the law of God and nature (the child being in good health); nor was there the least ground to suspect such a disease in my family.

And indeed, the warning, which he calls civil, to send my children from me (and the Lord knows I knew not whither) I could not see civil or Christian, and therefore rested rather contented to have the bedding pulled from

flesh (which he found fresh as if newly dead), he conveyed the corpse into an outhouse where he kept poultry, and there privately tumbled it into an hole. About the time of the Restoration of Charles II. that base fellow, the brute that removed it, was forced to discover where he had laid it; whereupon it was brought into the chapel, and buried just above the Litany desk, near the steps ascending to the altar."—*A. Wood*, Athen. Oxon. i. 689.

under me, and to lie in pads of straw with my poor children, than to be so merciless and unfatherly to them as he commanded. Besides, there were very few prisoners then in the house, and abundance of rooms stood empty for want of guests, they not having a third part of the prisoners (I hear) are there now. Nor had we any more chamber room than one prisoner who was in before us, a plotter.

With this he delivered me another at the same time, which follows :—

‘ WILLIAM HARDING,

It's not unknown to you the great charge I am at for my house, &c. and particularly for my goods, for which I pay seven pounds a month, which by the year is £91. All which I perceive *Mr. Rogers* and his wife are not sensible of, otherwise they would not take upon them to appoint what lodgings my prisoners should have, as that they should not lie two in a bed but single, so as the prisoners' wives might come and live with them ; which freedom I shall not deny to any prisoner, although I might do it. So I hereby again order you to remove *Mr. Rogers* his children and servants forthwith. And if the printer's wife do come, let them lie in the chamber within *Mr. Rogers*, or in the outward room, which he will. For I see no reason that I should find bedding for *Mr. Rogers* his children and servants, when he refuseth to pay me for it. I do expect that my orders should be better observed by you than hitherto they have been, otherwise I shall see that directions be followed more to my quiet. If you find that *Mr. Rogers* or his wife will not remove their children and servants, let

Mr. Brown.*

Mr. Chapman's.
The lodging room where I lodged.

* Two persons of this name, “papiſts,” were amongst the Royalist “plotters” imprisoned in June, 1654, for Gerard and Vowel's plot.

me know it, and I shall dispose of *Mr. Rogers* to some other place ; being resolved to free my house of such domineering spirits.

Yours,

E. DENDY.

Oft. 20, 1654.'

These two together sounded very harsh to my very heart, at that season too, whiles another sweet child was so near the grave too, very weak, and died within three or four days after. I confess the trials were very great ; but, for that I perceived this was a matter of money, and nothing else would stay the surges and sources of this raging sea, I sent my wife after candlelight to Whitehall, with five pounds, which I was glad I could get together for him (not being able to send him more then), who carried it ; but at that time they thought it not fit to receive it, but to accost her with coarse courtship and dialect, and so to send her home to prison again, telling her that we domineered in his house, and took upon us to appoint lodgings for his prisoners, &c. How such stories could be coined or invented I wondered, when for three, four, or six weeks together I stirred not out of my room or spake with one prisoner or gaoler, perceiving how they were set together against me—the prisoners for reproving their sins at so high a rate day and night when I had liberty to preach and pray. Seeing I was in prison with so wicked a blaspheming, cursing, ranting crew—‘*hominibus perfrectæ frontis*’—with men of so much impudence and immodesty, with raving beasts, with very brutes, I judged it best not only to keep out of their company, but out of their sight, as much as might be ; inasmuch that they could not tell, I am persuaded, but on the Lord’s day, or when I preached or prayed in family, or the like, whether I was in the prison or no, but by hearsay. Yet it seems, the night before this last warrant he sent me,

Mr. Chapman and *Mr. Spittlehouse** were brought in prisoners, who supped with me in my prison-chambers. That night at table, in discourse they said they lay both in one bed. I said I thought, if they would, they might have each of them a chamber, one within the other; for that all the other prisoners had so that I saw. But the gaoler's boy listening, as some one or other frequently did for stories at my chamber door, carried down, as unhappy boys use to do, what he could make of it to his father, who carried it or sent it next morning betimes to Whitehall, which occasioned the aforesaid's words, as I conceive.

After, I put pen to paper and wrote these ensuing lines:—

‘ COUSIN DENDY,

I have received several messages from you which have been very harsh and unexpected, and indeed, I think, undeserved. I had wrote unto you long before, had not my wife desired to come to you, as she did late last night, and had done it long before had not my children been so ill. One of them is dead, and another very weak; and having but two left alive, I did hope for more mercy. I beseech

* Live-well Chapman was the printer of most of the books published by the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Col. Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, speaks of him as “the owner or at least a sharer in the private press, which hath and doth so much mischief.”—*Thurloe*, iv. 379.

Spittlehouse published, about this time, “Certain Queries propounded to the most serious consideration of those persons now in power, or any others whom they may or do concern. By John Spittlehouse (late of the Army), whom the Lord hath stirred up (in the absence of Mr. Feake and Mr. Rogers, now prisoners of the Lord Jesus), to mind our present Rulers and Army of their Persecutions and Apostacies, and what is likely to follow them for so doing if they repent not. London: printed for Live-well Chapman, in Pope's-head Alley. 1654.”

you, cousin, be not too ready to receive false and unworthy reports, &c. &c.

With our real and true respects to my cousin, your wife, and all our friends with you, I am

Your unfeignedly loving, though
Afflicted and oppressed kinsman,

JOHN ROGERS.

Lamb (i' th') Prison,

Viz. Christ in this Mount with me. Oct. 21.

Postscript.—Here *Harding* denies that ever I or any of us domineered or said anything of the prisoners about other rooms or lodgings. *Mr. Meazy* also denies that ever he told you I said *Mr. Feake* pays nothing.'

I confess I wrote brokenly, my mind being so distracted, but not so as might minister any just occasion to use me and my poor family as they did afterwards, insulting over us, and adding affliction to our bonds daily. A while after this old *Meazy* came again for money, who had £5 of us, being all that we could then get him, which bought us quiet for a few days; but then finding us unable to lay down the full price for it, we lost the mansion. And besides we bought our provisions, and had our drink at the best hand from abroad, which made our gaolers, upper and under, more enemies to us than before; for the gain which *Harding* had, and which it is said he pays out of every barrel of beer to his master, is great from prisoners. So that now nothing but evaporating wrath, cursing and swearing to be revenged, setting all the wicked prisoners upon us, who put their wits upon the tent-hooks, to that purpose inventing and coining new ways and words, saying they hoped to see me dance in a rope and swing in a halter, calling us Hypocrites, Liers, Deceivers, yea, Rogues and

Queans and Devils, and what not, affronting me to my face if I went but down stairs, which made me seldom stir down for air, not above once or twice in a quarter of a year. When *Paul* was in danger of his life, his Gaoler, the Captain, came and rescued him from the Jews, and after loosed his bonds; but these are so far from pity, ingenuity, or Christianity, that their frequent dialect is bitter, bloody, malicious, and menacing, as if they longed to have our blood, swearing to run me through if I offered to stir, putting Cavaliers, Ranters, Blasphemers upon it to plot against me for my life, to gather up articles against me from what they overheard or invented, from my praying or preaching, or singing of hymns, writing down all they could make for their purpose, and then sending them to *Serjeant Dendy*, or to Whitehall to *Mr. Thurloe*, against me. The first informer they got up against me was one *Abdy*, a high Ranter and Blasphemer and Atheist, who was stabbed to death that day that he was promised and expected his reward at Whitehall for his good service against me, and his were some of the articles they read against me at Whitehall. This man did frequently consult with the Devil, calling him his God, and, as I heard, in the chamber below me conjured him up in a personal shape. When he heard me at prayer in my family he would come to the door, shrieking, yelling, and screaming with a most hideous noise, thump at the door, open it, and come in among us, singing, roaring, smoking tobacco, cursing, swearing, blaspheming, blowing horns, and the like, on purpose to disturb us. Three days before he was stabbed, and after he had sent in his forged articles, which he gathered against me to take away my life, he made a most blasphemous song. This song he and some more of the same sort came to my door with singing it together in the tune of a psalm or hymn, scoffing, laughing, swearing, and blaspheming most hideously between whiles. Besides him some other

of the prisoners were put on this practice, and a little before I was called to Whitehall last, old *Meazy* came, he said, from *Serjeant Dendy* to bid them get all their papers they had ready, who said they would, and immediately went together one day after another until they had gathered up articles into two or three sheets, as I hear, against me, bragging what they would do, and so sent them to *Serjeant Dendy*, and he appointed his man to carry them to *Mr. Thurloe*. They were grown so high then as to come into my chamber upon me and invade me, my wife and family there, with violent and most virulent invectives, stabbing words and threats, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτῶν ὅπλα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτῶν μάκαιρα ὀξεῖα, inſomuch as they being deſperate, our lives we thought were in danger by them. So that I ſay we received not Roman civility, or ſo much as ſober Heathen uſage from them, and were by many degrees more brutiſhly and barbarouſly treated than the verieſt miſcreant Cavaliers, Ranters, or Blaſphemers they had. For they had the liberty of any room in the houſe; of any of their friends, though ever ſo rude, to ſee them; yea, the Cavaliers at this day, courted by *Serjeant Dendy* and his wife, offering to ſend down-bedding if they lay too hard, giving them liberty to go abroad when they will, by day or by night, yea to go to Taverns when they liſt, yea to take the key and let who they will in and who they will out, and to keep my friends out, as if they were the gaolers, ſcoffing and mocking them by the name of holy fiſters and holy brethren, and what not.

3. The priſon company with us worſe than in the Heathens' days.

3. They ſurpaſs the Roman tyranny, yea, of Nero too, in this, that *Paul* was priſoner in his own hired houſe two whole years, and he was ſuffered to dwell by himſelf; but we are torn out of our houſes like beaſts out of holes, and brought as I was into ſuch a company and crew at Lambeth, with them that were brought in there, that for drinking, ſwearing, revelling, fiddling, ſinging, roaring, and

blaspheming, day and night, I never heard the like among the worst Cavaliers or wickedest of men, making the Prison to me a very Portraiture of Hell and Horror and hideous Blasphemy among the damned ones, as I may have a season to acquaint the world with ere long, for now I do but hint and instance in things for proof. They were so wicked that besides all their most hideous mockery and contemning the ordinances of Christ, and foresaid living in sin day and night, they would assault my family, get the key, and solicit them to Taverns if they could, take the children, threaten them, and force them to swear, curse, and call vile names. Yet these were the informers against and accusers of me. Though I expect to suffer the sharper for telling this little of the truth, yet Jehovah is on my side, of whom shall I be afraid?

4. The Roman power under Dragon government did give liberty to all *Paul's* friends to visit him and minister to him; but our friends and acquaintance are forbid as to their coming. The 18th of the last twelfth month they let in a godly maid, after long waiting to see me, who went into the kitchen, the way up to my chamber; but there they fell upon her, and beat her about the head and body most sadly, while others looked on, laughed at it, and made them sport with it, and then turned her so abused out of doors again without seeing me. Another they resolved to let in on purpose to pump him, several of the Cavaliers with the Gaoler having agreed it, as we hear; but the man hearing of it, prevented them, and never durst come to see me there after that. As to their ministering to us, they do use very strange and incredible lies, reports and means, for all that I can see, to starve us and keep others from ministering to us, for they have taken away all, and yet exact heavy fees, and say they ask none, and report high mountains of lies, either to make us odious that none might regard us, or else if a friend but come and

4. To hinder friends visiting and ministering to us worse than the Heathens.

dine with us, reporting we fare so bravely and better than their *Lord Protector*, and that all the churches in England had gathered for us, and that the church of Hull* had sent me thirty pounds at Lambeth, with abundance more of such abominable untruths, on purpose to possess our friends with these reports, and to bind up their hands from ministering to us, who have, may they be believed, so little need, and had they been believed, the Lord knows we might have starved. *Serjeant Dendy* was very diligent to vent such reports to such friends as have told me of it again with grief when they saw them so untrue. Sometimes too they say we are kept high in prison, and it makes us proud, and that for this reason we will keep in; and at other times that their *Lord Protector* gives us a large table and liberal allowance. The truth, or rather the untruth, is soon known: neither doth their *Lord Protector's* charity reach to us, so far as to allow us bread and water, for all that he hath taken away our livelihood from us and our little ones, which is far more cruelty than King, Prelates, Papists or Heathen did show, for they gave an allowance to every traitor, besides what friends ministered to them. Yea, *Bonner*, as bloody a beast as he was, sent provision to *Mr. Philpot* and others into his Coal-house. But we know whom we serve; yea, when bread fails, faith feeds hard, (Ps. xxxvii. 3,) 'pascere fide,' as Junius reads it; for faith fetched *Daniel* his dinner into the den, out of *Hab-bacuc's* belly too, if the story be true, whiles the Lions lacked, and so faith fetches in food and raiment and outward things for us, sore against our enemies' and persecutors' minds, it seems (Ps. xxiii. 5; xxxiv. 10), by opening the hearts and minds of some poor Saints to save it out of their own bowels for us, though there be but few, and

* His friend Colonel Overton had been the Governor at Hull, and Cann, the Fifth-Monarchy-Man, the Minister of a church there.

those all poor, that dare or do own us at such a distance. 'Dat bene, dat multum qui dat cum munere vultum.' But I speak for the discovery of that unreasonable spirit which is in our persecutors, who report every mite or morsel of bread a mountain, upon a design to stay the hands of the Saints from ministering unto us, and so to tire and starve us into an Apostacy and yielding from our principles with them. But 'fides famem non formidat,' for as one says 'if these persecutors and pursuivants, tyrants and gaolers, will take away my meat, I trust my God will take away my stomach, and so 'tis all one still,' for this I am sure of, that we shall be satisfied when our enemies shall want and be ashamed (Prov. xiii. 25; Isa. lxxv. 13). Amen, says faith, who fetches this in also.

But thus far for the fourth particular, which proves their inveterate malice and hatred to the cause and me.

5. They fall short of heathen civility, in the allowance the Romans gave; yea, *Nero*, as notorious a tyrant as he was, to *Paul* (Acts xxviii. 31), 'preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, no man forbidding him;' yea, and this at Rome, too, under *Nero's* nose. But we are forbidden to preach in prison, and our friends forbidden to come to us to hear us. Yea, *Serjeant Dendy* sent a letter at large, which I have by me, to forbid it. Yea, the church society I walk with are not suffered to come at me to pray or exercise with me; and after, they had an express order to turn me out from the air and use of the common hall in Lambeth, because I preached and prayed there. They said also, they had order to keep prisoner any man that should dare to pray with me in my chamber. The same day, when *Jonathan Taylor*, of Warwick Church, was with me and prayed, they gave warning thereof; and after that they took strict notice of any that looked like a gifted brother. Here also at Windsor we have like experience, having been beaten,

5. To hinder praying and preaching to poor souls is beyond the Tyranny of Heathens.

abused, and clapped up close for it, as we shall show ere long. This is doubtless so high a crime, among Christians too, that *Nero* shall find more mercy at the Day of Judgment, and it shall be easier for him than for these men, in this matter. But, 'signum est mihi majoris gloriæ ut omnes impii (fere) me detestantur.'

I might mention other particulars, too, wherein our persecutors and gaolers are worse to us than heathens or Romans under the Dragon Government, or Papists and Prelates under the Beast's Government; and to us too, who have all along fought in the field, raised men, spent our estates and ventured our lives, and for the very truths and upon the same principles we now suffer in. All this is the aggravation of the threnody.

Much might we say of *Paul's* plea of freeborn (Acts xxii. 28), and as we are the conquerors and never yet the conquered, though cheated and deceived fide; and much more I might say, but that the sword as it is hath neither eyes nor ears, and therefore can neither pity us as Englishmen nor as Christians. 'The soldiers' counsel was,' Acts xxvii. 42, (and is it not?) 'to kill the prisoners.' But stay, Brother Redcoat! we except against thee; for we will have no butcher for a juryman.

The main causes which moved *Serjeant Dendy* to be so long a suitor, as I hear, to the Council for my removal to Windsor—according to his several threatenings by letters, messages, word of mouth at Whitehall that day I was before them—was the complaint the prisoners made, being afraid to take that freedom and excess in sin day and night as they would do, while I was there; and then the gains which he lost by my being there, both in fees and otherwise. As Acts xvi. 19, 'When they saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught *Paul* and *Silas* and drew them to the market place to the rulers, and the rulers cast them into prison' (ver. 23, 24); yea they were 'thrust into

the inner prison.' But there they sang praises; and so do we our 'antelucanos hymnos,' and so we will, till the foundations of this earthly government rend. Amen, Hallelujah! Yet I can tell them, that with a better conscience, which is my continual feast, I can look out at these iron bars and sing, whiles the thorn is at my breast to keep me watchful, than they can at their belconas or rattling coaches, or ruffling in their gold and gaudiness, died in the blood of saints, and gotten by hypocrisy and cozening. No wonder they are alarmed with continual fears, whiles we poor worms in prison need none of their courts of guard, but can sleep sweetly and securely, though madmen, drunkards, and devils are about us day and night. Thou proudest tyrant, thou canst but batter the vessel, thou canst but hurt the bark; but my life is hid with Christ in God. Amen! and Lord keep it there, that I faint not.

3. Another reason why I appeared not publicly from prison before was imprecation, having been in the valley for the vision many days and months before I could come to this; and I must confess I did deliberate with too much flesh and blood, at first contenting myself more with the heavenly prison and presence of waiting than of writing, of praying than of publishing anything to the world, so that I might run the less hazard to life, liberty, fame, or estate, &c. But I was soon roused up out of this contentation and kind of contemplation whether I will or no, by a loud call to me for what is already born of God in me about the work of this age, yea, of the forty-five ensuing years after this, wherein the Lamb's followers and sufferers under the banner of Christ are to know their places, maintain their watches, keep their motions, continue their marches, renew their charges, till they rout Babylon, and destroy the Beast's dominion root and branch, yea, until they do wonders in this old world. For the years of wonders (Dan. xii. 6) are now entering, upon the descension of the

3rd Reason.

The order of the Author's call to this treatise.

1. A special message from the Lord brought by a choice servant of Christ and his Church.

Spirit of Life from God. And in order, I am to sound the ensuing trumpet to the two witnesses and remnant of the woman's seed, for it is no time to dally; the danger is great, the day is come, and we are engaged (there is no going off); live or die, stand or fall, fight or flight, is at hand. So that, after a long and humble attendance at the Throne for my present work, I am put upon this; whatever I must do or endure for it, so Jesus be but magnified, my spirit is pitched, having so manifest and manifold a call for it thus.

1. A message brought to me the 10th of this month by our S. H. T.,* who had a week's close communion and conference with the Lord, in heavenly visits and visions—singing, praying, contemplating, communicating, and receiving amongst other things a message to deliver me in the prison, which I had to this effect:—That the Lamb's Book should be unsealed and the vision opened to me, bidding me be of good cheer, for I should shortly know my own work and what Israel ought to do.

Besides, upon the first day of the third month last, after a very solemn fast all day with my concaptive, to know our work and what we should do, the succeeding night in my sleep, I thought I lay under the shadow of a great mulberry tree, which hung full of great ripe mulberries.” . . .

[He dreams that the mulberries fall into his mouth, whereby he is abundantly refreshed.]

* Probably “our Sister Hannah Taprell.” (See p. 123, margin.) The newspapers of the day report of her that she was “a maid that lived at Hackney, and a member of Mr. John Simpson's church. She appeared to be in a trance for a fortnight at a time; and some say that what she does is by a mighty inspiration. Her custom is to pray sometimes an hour and sometimes two hours, and then sings two hymns in two several tunes, and then prays again, and sometimes sings again. Her prayers are in exceeding good method and order, and her matter is various.”—From *Several Proceedings*, Jan. 16, 1654.

. . . . "And when I awaked I was so indeed, full of joy, and could not hold, but told my wife of it presently, and afterwards my friends. But before noon the same day I received a letter from the aforesaid person with these lines :—' Truly, brother, I have seen you frequently in the Divine bosom, and have sung abundantly Hallelujah for the cordials which I saw poured down your throat, which made you, I apprehended, like a champion, and like a triumphing conqueror. Go on, thou champion; for He hath said He will stand by thee who stood by *Paul* at his first answer, when none stood by him,' &c. Some may muse at my admitting of these things, but I do assure them it is neither to boast of them nor to build upon them, which is very dangerous; but it is to observe the concurrence and good effects of such passages. For though I am as far from taking notice of, or having dependence upon dreams or visions as any man alive, yet I must not omit the night teaching of the Spirit, nor such dreams or visions which bring forth blessed effects upon the spirits of men, or are ratifications of the truth and mind of God.

2. To second that servant of God, the very next day, and since, many days in a week, have men of much wisdom, grace, holiness and integrity come unto me, to tell me that it is the expectation of the choicest saints in London, and some in the country also, the Remnant of the woman, to hear some news of the prison vision; yea, that they have kept praying by whole days and whole nights for that purpose, being very high to hear from us, that they, who are ready to give proof of their faith for the Lamb with us, in the very same battalia and testimony against the Beast, might be provoked by us in the present work, watch, and warfare.

3. The variety of reports, and of unsatiable reporters, which have run about city and country; yea, their very preachers, to make us monsters in the eyes of the poor

2. The incessant expectation of the people of God.

3. The flying reports which pass and repass upon our

Principles and
Practices

by ministers in
pulpits and out,

and by false
brethren.

deluded people, report strange things of us as they use to do of dogs—first spread abroad they are mad, and then hang them. Thus are we reported, and their inhuman tyranny upon us is in the pulpits reported to be no persecution, but an act of justice. But how many of the present friars, chaplains or parsons can prove our sufferings so, or dare utter it with such boldness for orthodox doctrine to their poor deluded people, had not they the spirit of the Beast, and forehead of the Whore newly painted, I profess I should have wondered; or how the people can be willing to hear so high pulpit lies at their priest's mouth is as much to be admired, were they not such pitiful slaves in soul and body. For can there be an act of justice without a trial, or trial without crime, or crime without a law, or the like? Yet without all or any of these we lie in prisons year after year, only for preaching the truth, as their own consciences can and do tell them, and all the world knows, and no formal charge against us to this day. So that the Prelates and Papists, who had a law of the land, &c. had more colour of justice than these men. Besides them, and the fore-mentioned at Court, there be others, too, set a-work by Satan, viz. false brethren of the Churches we walk with—especially two withdrawn from for scandal and sin (whose names I am loath to make too public, for who knows but they may repent and be other men, which would be a great rejoicing to me), have most unchristianly reported, if not invented, such things as my very soul abhors, which is publicly spread as far as Lewes in Suffex—yea, the pastor of the church told me, for all he knew, as far as Edinburgh in Scotland. And this makes me mention it the more particularly, because no author can be found for it, and the Cause of Christ is so much concerned in it: which makes the Devil so busy at this day, by divers instruments, after the aforesaid two, to report me to have played at cards in Lambeth Prison (a very vile slander) the last Christmas, as they call it. The

Cavalier prisoners, and the rest of the ranting crew in that prison, did play, drink, and game day and night all the time; but for my part, I neither saw nor touched a pair of cards all the time, nor to my knowledge any one of my family; and to take off all scruple, I have had a kind of antipathy to cards ever since my sufferings with the Puritans (so called by the Prelates) when I was yet but a child, being then led to it by their example when I knew no other reason, and cannot endure to see a pair of cards; and if I see but any anywhere that I can lay hands of, I burn them.

4. Another degree of the call is the proud, flaunting, and Goliath-like challenge made us by some of the Court-catchers and boasters. One of the late Clerical Commissioners hath twice pressed it upon me in the prison to print somewhat; saying he would warrant I should have liberty to do it without offence and without danger, print what I would, withal that I should have an answer; which, with a kind of boasting and insulting, being urged so hard upon me, for the truth's sake was a notable inducement to point my pen, for I hope to find a little stone fit for the purpose.

5. I find, besides all said before, cases of conscience come thick upon me, and sent apace unto me, for resolves in the work of the day about the witnesses, the time, the street, the rise, the order and effects of their rising; also about the vials and about the Beast's dominion, the first and second Beasts, with their characters, and about the number of the Beast's name, and who is the man that makes up the last character of the Beast, viz. 666; and several queries, which I may say some scores of saints sent or brought to me—to whom I shall minister my light in the ensuing treatise, having a sufficient call (whatever it should cost me) in my place as a minister of the Gospel to answer all cases of conscience.

4. The Challenge of some of the Court Champions.

5. The many cases of conscience sent me alluding to this subject.

6. The doubts which are occasioned by contradiction of doctrine in our absence.

7. Experiences of fresh incomes of light.

8. All temptations removed and the way cleared with many sweet promises.

Many objections made and answered.
Objection.
Answered.

6. The frequent news brought us of that unsteadiness, darkness, and indeed malignity and contradiction of doctrine which is delivered at London, whereby abundance of precious hearts have told me they are so confounded that they know not what to say, and can see no light in their doctrine, which makes them take so long journeys to the prison for information; for that some of our brethren, instead of snuffing the candle, put it quite out, and so leave our wonted hearers in the dark.

7.
8. To name no more, I was somewhat dejected, yet not so as to despond or doubt of assistance, to see the most tremendous and dreadful wrath of God, which is to begin within two or three years upon this apostate generation, to pass before me. Some temptations seized upon me, (through self-diffidence and bodily distemper), *as* at the apprehension of the inextricacy, depth, and incomprehensiveness of those deep prophecies which I have to ferry over or pass through, wherein so many more able have sunk and fallen before me, *so* at the fierce looks, bellowing threats, and atrocity of the Beast now up in England, who will not be able to bear the tidings of his destruction. But as the first part of the temptation was obviated and deformed by the former promises, so the other by what follows. For this morning, being the 18th of the 10th month, to make all the way clear, a full commission was given me, and ‘*quietus est*,’ signed and sent to me thus. First, I saw in my sleep a great Dragon of large size.”

[He dreams that the Dragon perishes without power of hurting, &c.]

“Yet I objected. But, Lord, though I have a call from circumstances and saints, &c. yet what have I from the Scriptures?”

Then came into my mind tumbling abundance of Scriptures and promises one upon another, as *Isaiah xxxv*.

3, 4; xl. 1, 2; yea, that of Luke xxii. 32 was flung in forcibly upon my spirit, with abundance more.

But I objected further, What particular call have I, who am in prison, to publish to the world anything that reflects so sharply upon the present powers, persons, armies, or the like?

Objection.

But that of James v. 10 perched upon me in that point immediately—‘Take the prophets who have spoken in the name of the Lord for an example;’ for they feared not, in or out of prison, the powers or persons of Kings or the like.

Answered.

Then I fell upon my unfitness, fewness of years, smallness of light, shallowness of judgment, weakness of faith, and the like.

Objection.

But was presently silenced by God’s words to *Moses* and *Jeremiah* suggested unto me (Exod. iv. 11, so Jer. i. 6, 7)—‘Say not I am a child; for what I command thee thou shalt speak (and write abroad, and) be not afraid of their faces; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord.’ Do not I, the Lord, take when, where, and whom I will, and give of my Spirit, power, and ability to whom I will? Now therefore arise, and my Spirit shall be with thee, the pen of a ready writer. With which word my heart did exult and leap within me, being as full as I could hold.

Answered.

But, Lord, said I, what is it that I must write? What message shall thy poor worm have for the world? When presently, before I asked almost, much fell upon me at once. ‘The day of the Lord is at hand! It is his day! the day of his wrath! of his vengeance! and of great destruction upon the inhabitants of the world! upon this land! upon these apostates and adulterous generation of evil-doers! for they are all turned aside! Blood cryeth unto blood, and the earth shall cover her slain no more! The Witnesses shall up upon their feet, and the remnant

The message
in bulk.

of the woman's seed do wondrous things; for by the spirit of *Elijah* they shall restore all again—Magistracy and Ministry as at the first, and recover the Holy City from the Gentiles that have trod it under these 42 months. They shall assault the great city, and climb up the wall like men of war; they shall pour out the vials upon the powers, priests, and armies of the Beast, and on all his dominion, and execute the vengeance on all his worshippers and irrefragable supporters, subjects and followers that have his name or mark on their foreheads. Yea, the earthquake shall rend them up by the very roots, and the little stone strike them up by the very toes; and none shall save them from the wrath of the Lamb that is to come.'

Objection.

But ah! Lord, said I, these men in power, hast thou not owned them in the field at Nazeby, Dunbar, Worcester? and wilt thou now reject them?

Answered.

Upon which fell these Scriptures upon me: *Isaiah* x.—'Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth therewith, or the saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it? as if the rod should shake itself against them that lift it up, or as if the staff should lift up itself as if it were not wood. Therefore shall the Lord Jehovah of Armies send among his fat ones leanness, and under his glory he shall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire; and the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame; and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day.' Besides this, that of *Jer.* xviii.—'At the instant that I shall speak concerning a nation and a kingdom to build and to plant it, if it do evil in my sight and obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.' But especially that of *Jeremiah*—'Tell *Coniah*, were he as a signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck him thence and give him into the hand of them that seek him.'

With these things I was satisfied and flesh was silenced,

and faith so supplied and well raised that I fell forthwith upon this work. Wherein, according to my illumination, I must desire leave to differ from many of our dear brethren whom I highly honour, that have put us and the present work at too great distance, having sent it to Germany or to other places, from whence it being sent back again to us in Great Brittanny, as I can show by letter from foreign parts, where I hold correspondence with the choicest lights, who see the rising of the Witnesses and ruin of the Beast's dominion in this our street first. Thus far for the call to it.

It may be I may be judged none of the wisest to make so much ado in the entry of the discourse, and to tell such a story of my Call to this treatise, which few men will heed or hear. Notwithstanding, it is not labour lost; for one may learn wisdom by looking upon a fool; and indeed, I do grant that I am instructed, and study it every day more and more, to be and to speak like them whom the wise men of the times repute fools, i. e. in all plainness, simplicity, and experimental language, and not in the wisdom of words or acts, as the world would have us (1 Cor. ii. 4). I have studied to be wise, as well as others; but now I am learning to be a fool, which none will look after, because such are the Lord's instruments, and by such he will confound the wisdom of the wise. Yea, such asses and idiots as we are (by grace) the King of Saints shall ride upon into his throne; for, as one said, 'Asinos et idiotas Christus elegit.' And, indeed, I write to and for such fools, and not to the wise. But to such fools as Jehovah hath made promise to (Isaiah xxxv. 8) that they should not err in the way, I write. And who but such madmen and fools, in the world's opinion, would oppose Powers, Armies, Kings, Councils, Priests, Lawyers, or the reigning corruptions of the reigning Beast, as they do? who but they will run their lives, liberties, estates, &c. into such apparent hazard?

We accounted
fools and
madmen, and
how we are so.

or who but fools would despise preferments and places—£200, £300, or £1000 a year—and tread gold and silver under their feet at this day? Who be they but fools or madmen, that dare be so bold against great persons, &c. as to utter all their minds at once, though they die for it? or who but such will be meddling so? Who but fools and madmen, that will be venturing with a *Gideon* army of 300 against an army of 30, 40, or 100,000 men? And who but fools that build upon things not seen (Heb. xi. 1) nor likely in reason to come to pass, as if they were already present? and who but they that look on the ends of the earth? Yet amongst these fools for Christ's sake I am content to be numbered, and for such fools and madmen I calculate and inculcate the ensuing discourse; so that, as the Apostle says, 'Wherein any is bold (I speak foolishly) I am bold also.'

Some of the complaints poured forth at Lambeth were transmitted to Whitehall; the following reply is anonymous, but the superscription, date, and contents seem to indicate that it was either one of the papers collected by the Gaolers from *Abdy* and other prisoners, or the Gaolers' own vindication of themselves:—

*"A Vindication against the Complaints of Mr. Rogers,
addressed to Edward Dendy, Esq.*

Lambeth, Feb. 3, 1655.

SIR,

In answer to yours about the unjust complaint of *Mr. Rogers*, we return these lines, being part of our just vindication in brief, and remain ready to enlarge verbally.

First, to his charge that drunkards and swearers intrude into his chamber and sit by his fire, we know of none but *Mr. Spittlehouse* (of late a champion creature of *Mr. Rogers*, though now at defiance), sat in his chamber, as being use to it; but for swearing and drunkenness, let

Spittlehouse clear himself. The whole house can witness us clear from those extravagancies.

We were never in his chamber but at his public speaking, except once, when—some three weeks ago—he challenged and sent for us five or six times, as being galled by a relation sent him from us, occasioned by his abuses offered, wherein we discovered that we would not have him think us so ignorant, but that we discerned out of what box he juggled, by his and his society's proceedings, in publishing sedition, treason, rebellion, and therein included heresy.

For though we hated informing, yet not being satisfied if to conceal treason were not treason, we showed our dislike thereof to your officers; adding, moreover, that his Highness had but bad servants if he were not acquainted with these odious proceedings, which to us are very strange that a handful of Scum, the very Raff of Billingsgate, Redriffe, Ratcliff, Wappen, &c. shall aim at the destruction of this Government, as being by *Mr. Rogers* encouraged, animated, instigated, and seduced, not in any mystical expressions, but in plain words, viz:—

That 'twill be all their own very shortly, and the great man at Whitehall must suddenly be confounded and destroyed, averring, with the most of ugly expressions and confidence, that they are the saints that must shortly enjoy and possess the glory of the earth, and all men being either saints or devils, whosoever is not of their mind are devils, they being the saints.

That the Antichrist, the Babylon, the great Dragon, or the Man of Sin, *Oliver Cromwell*, at Whitehall, must be pulled down, with much such-like fantastic stuff.

One of them, speaking or preaching in *Mr. Rogers'* chamber, had these words: that we did not live in an age to expect miracles, that Babylon cannot be destroyed, nor the saint at Windsor be released, by only faith and prayer,

but you must be of courage, and make use of material instruments, and proceed by force ; per example, said he, if this house at Lambeth were to be pulled down, you must make use of materials, and not expect 'twill ever fall by faith and prayer.

Another time praying thus—‘ Lord, when wilt thou trample under feet him that hath stolen the government into his hands ?’

Another time praying—‘ Lord, when wilt thou free thy faints from the fear of men ? when shall they by force redeem the captives of the Lord in Windfor, this place, &c ?’ and as I apprehended, one faint at Maidstone by name was expressed.

We add to this his intentions to raise seditions, treason, rebellion, and heresy, as by witnesses here can attest, that *Mr. Rogers* did read a letter openly to his auditors, which he said came from *Mr. Powel* from Wales, who did assure him of twenty thousand faints there ready to hazard their blood in defence of their cause.

Thus much for present vindication, forced from us by *Mr. Rogers* his aspersions, occasioned by the aforesaid relation sent him, the heads or chief contents thereof, which so much disturbed him, and which we, from the premises and other evidences concluded, which were—

That he had undeceived us from supposing his way a blind zeal, by his frequent bloodthirsty expressions.

That his chief aim was carnal in striking at the head of the Government, that he, as counting himself the chief of faints, might attain to the height of temporal preferments.

That he was uncharitable, damning and cursing all others not of his opinion.

That his hocus was to seduce the silly multitude, and juggle their means into his pocket, appeared by the continual gatherings at home and abroad, which we think is

one chief reason why those journeymen that factiously join with him do follow his steps in exclaiming against the Government, that they might procure to themselves such like profits, and why we judged him a perfect hypocrite, was then related.

We shall conclude (being all passages would take up many sheets) with *Mr. Rogers'* relation to his auditors the occasion why *Col. Overton* was secured, whereby you may judge what edification he hath for his society, the whole design being to turn and wind state proceedings by his commenting to their fond sense, saying 'twas not only for a private meeting with some of the saints in the country, and proceeding, charged the *Lord Protector* for injustice in that.

And, finally, take notice of his self-made hymns, read by him, and publicly sung by him and his society for divine service. This one verse for pattern:—

For God begins to honour us,
The saints are marching on;
The sword is sharp, the arrows swift,
To destroy Babylon:
Against the kingdom of the Beast
We witnesses do rise, &c.

This and much more you shall not only, if needful, have hands for, but from us and others. Aio."



CHAPTER VI.



HE Gaolers' Vindication seems to have been prepared and forwarded to *Secretary Thurloe* on the 3rd of February, 1655, in anticipation of what was to happen on the 6th. On that day *Rogers* was taken by his keeper to Whitehall, in order that he and *Oliver Cromwell* might debate face to face, and in the presence of their respective adherents, whether *Rogers* was a prisoner for the cause of Christ, or whether he suffered as a busy-body and evil-doer. In the debate *Kiffin*, the Anabaptist, and others of the Court party, interposed on one side, and sundry obscure Fifth-Monarchy-Men on the other.

The following account of *Cromwell's* policy towards the chief religious parties of the day—extracted from *Heath's* "Flagellum"—will perhaps help the reader to understand his tone in the debate with *Rogers*. But if he entertained towards the Fifth-Monarchy-Men the feelings here attributed to him, it was not until after his repeated and evidently sincere efforts to conciliate them had proved abortive:—

"We will discourse a little," says *Heath*, "of the present state of religion, and what opinion *Cromwell* best affected. The orthodox Protestants were wholly suppressed; and yet some reverend persons, as *Dr. Usher*, the Bishop of Armagh, and *Dr. Browning*, the Bishop of Exeter, received some shows of respect and reverence from him—which he more manifestly boasted in the funeral expenses of the learned *Usher*, and this to captate a reputation of his love to scholars and the meek, modest, and virtuous clergy. The Presbyterian was rather tolerated than countenanced. . . . The Independents and Anabaptists he loved and preferred by turns, and was most constant to them, as the men that would and did support his usurpation. Only he could by no means endure the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, though by their dotages he had raised

himself to this height ; and therefore *Feake* and *Rogers* were by him committed to prison in the Castle of Windsor, where they continued a long while. And not only so, but he set *Kiffin* the Anabaptist (whom he had taken out of design into his favour) with his party together by the ears with *Feake's*, to the raising of a feud between them—the balance of his security in the Government. The like he did between the Presbyterian and Independent, a subdivided schism from the Church of England, as *Feake's* and *Kiffin's* were from Independency.”

The following account of what passed on the 6th of February is taken from the Government newspaper of the day, and was afterwards incorporated by *Anthony Wood* into his account of *John Rogers* :—

“ Feb. 6, 1655.

Mr. John Rogers, prisoner at Lambeth, was this day brought before his Highness the *Lord Protector* at Whitehall, occasioned by an address last week made by some of his friends that had been with his Highness to desire his enlargement, who being told how high a charge was against him, and that he was not a prisoner for the cause of Christ, but suffered as a busy-body and an evil-doer, did then desire that they might hear it debated by his Highness and *Mr. Rogers*, they being by, which his Highness consented to, and this night he was admitted to his Highness with many of his friends, and being told of an high charge exhibited against him, *Mr. Rogers* charged them that brought it in to be drunkards and swearers. His Highness asked him which of them ? and he could not name one of them that he knew. His Highness pressed him for Scripture for his actings. He said the Scripture is positive and privative. His Highness asked him which of those evil Kings that he mentioned that God destroyed he would parallel to this present state ? to which his Highness having no positive but a privative answer, showed what a disproportion there is, those being such as laboured to destroy the people of God, but his work was to preserve them

Heath's Flagellum, p. 143.

Athenæ Oxon.
ii. 594, ed. 1721.

from destroying one another. As, if the whole power was in the Presbyterians they would force all to their way, and they, the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, would do the like, and so the re-baptized persons also, and his work was to keep all the godly of several judgments in peace, because like men falling out in the street would run their heads one against another, he was as a constable to part them and keep them in peace. And when he cried down the National Ministry and National Church mentioned to be Antichristian, his Highness told him that it was not so, for that is to force all to one form that is National, which is not done in this Commonwealth.

These are but a taste of much more as it was represented to me by some present. Afterwards *Major-General Harrison, Colonel Rich*, and some others, made address to his Highness to desire the release of him, *Mr. Feake*, and some others, or to try them. His Highness showed how he kept them from trial out of mercy, because if they were tried the law would take away their lives."

"Several Proceedings in State Affairs," No. 280.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men were very much dissatisfied with this account of the interview between *Oliver Cromwell* and their champion, and published their version of the story in a "Narrative" of their own. It appears on the title-page of this tract that it was "printed in the year 1654;" it must have been printed, therefore, within six or seven weeks at the latest from the day on which the interview took place. The year at that time began, not on the 1st of January, but on the 25th of March; according to this computation, the interview took place, not on the 6th of February, 1655, as we should reckon it, but on the 6th of February, 1654, and the "Narrative" must have been printed in the interval between that day and the 25th of March following, when the year 1654 expired.

The following is a reprint of the original tract, except that the spelling has been modernised, and some parts of the introductory matter and a few words of the actual narrative have been omitted, but every such case of omission is indicated to the reader by the customary signs.

The Faithfull
NARRATIVE
OF
The late *Testimony* and *Demand*
made to *Oliver Cromwel*, and his *Powers*, on
the Behalf of the
LORDS PRISONERS,
In the Name of the *Lord Jehovah* (Jefus Christ,)
King of *Saints and Nations*.

Published by Faithful hands, Members of Churches (out of the original Copies), to prevent mistakes, and misreports there-upon.

To the *Faithful Remnant* of the
Lamb, who are in this Day of *great Rebuke* and *Blasphemy*, ingaged against the *BEAST* and his *GOVERNMENT*, especially, to the *New Non-Conforming Churches*, and *Saints* in *City and Country*, commonly called by the *Name of Fifth Monarchy-men*.

Numb. 16. 5. *Even to morrow the Lord will shew who are his, and who is holy, and will cause him to come near to him, even him whom he hath chosen will he cause to come near to him: therefore take you Gensers, &c.* Gen. 42. 16. *And ye shall be kept in Prison, that your words may be proved.*

Printed in the year. 1654.

An Apolo-
getical Epistle
to the little
Remnant of
the Lamb.

“To the little Remnant of the Lamb against the Beast and his Government.

SOME may wonder what we mean, the meanest of all the flock, to be so public, and it may be our dearest brethren, the Lord's Prisoners at Lambeth, Windsor, and elsewhere. . . . But, besides other reasons, should we be longer silent, the three following would fall foully upon us:—

1. For that some of Satan's surrogates, the Court pensioners and pamphleteers, have let fly many filthy lies and false reports about city and country, to possess them with prejudicate apprehensions and misinformations against us. . . . This we find State policy in all histories and ages, and the practice of proud tyrants, pedagogues, and persecutors, first creating lies against the faints, and then bringing them into sufferings, when once they had made them sufficiently odious, so that no eye might pity them. Thus *Isaiah* was reported for a liar, *Jeremiah* a traitor, *Daniel* a rebel, *Christ* a blasphemer, *Paul* a pestilent fellow, the Apostles stirrers up of sedition and preachers of new laws and doctrine, and such as would subvert all magistracy and ministry, laws and customs, and all then present. This principle and practice is revived again under this Government, Nero-like to enrobe the faithfullest of the asserters of the truth and testimony of Jesus with bear-skins, then to bait them with their mastiffs or bloodhounds, like men that will report their dogs mad when they have a mind to hang them. So, doubtless, the lies raised against the poor faints, trampled upon and traduced (now) everywhere, especially the Lord's prisoners, *Mr. Feake*, *Mr. Rogers*, and others, are precursory to some base if not bloody design against them. Therefore it is they give out that they are railers, liars, stirrers up of sedition and

tumults, enemies to Government, magistracy, ministry, laws, and evil-doers and what not, as persecutors use to do of old. What is pretended against *Mr. Rogers* may appear in what follows, who refused to make a full or formal reply without it were in an open court, by a just and legal trial, according to honest and known laws. Therefore, and for no other reason, as he declared to them in our hearing, was it that he declined to answer, and not because he was non-plust, not able or afraid to answer, or the like, as the Court creatures, who have made it their employment for some days to blaze lies about, have most wickedly and untruly reported; but the truth is, they all seem to be given up over head and ears into strong lies and delusions. . . .

2. It is and hath been, but now more than ever, since the Court-glosses have been printed and published upon it, the earnest desire, expectation, and indeed call of many of the saints to have as true a narrative of the late testimonies as we could publish . . . and knowing no other are so well accommodated to undertake it as some of us who were either ear-witnesses or writers hereof, we resolve to publish it, and therefore have compared the papers together that were taken in characters, and have given this account, which we believe is as well taken as could be in such a crowd, and among such interruptions, confusions, and disturbances, we do not say to every individual word, point, or circumstance, but in all the material passages to the best of our knowledge, observation, or remembrance.

3. It is of some concernment to all the Remnant of the Woman's seed in city and country to know how far the Remnant in London with this testimony of Jesus and Cause have gone and are engaged . . . lest they also by their sleepiness and silence incur the curse (Judges v. 23), which God forbid! For these and many other reasons are we stirred up to this narrative, seeing as *Ahab* did send for

Micaiah (2 Chron. xviii.) to see if he would say 'Go up and prosper,' as his own prophets did say to him, and as *Ahab* said (v. 15), 'I adjure thee say nothing but the truth,' which when he said he would not suffer, but said (as v. 25), 'Carry him back, put this fellow in prison, and feed him with the bread of affliction,' so also was *Mr. Rogers* remanded to his bonds in Lambeth with more severity than before, too.

Neither are we without our temptations in this little business for the Lamb. . . . We consider how eagerly our enemies would gape for advantage against us, should they find the least mistake, and possibly they will find many, for as there is no pen, so there is no man without erratas, yet for the truth's sake (so far as the copies taken in shorthand and our friends have agreed in one, though we confess it cannot be published so exactly as we could wish, seeing we met with so much interruption, as we said before) the Lord knows we have been as faithful and impartial as we could be for our lives, and we bless our gracious Father, we fear not what flesh can do unto us as long as the Lord is with us, and on our side, and as long as we can claim protection from Jehovah our King by covenant, interest, privilege, and propriety (however some censure that sit at stern, as if we were ignorant of the Covenant of Grace; they shall find it otherwise, by the grace of our God, ere it be long). . . .

This conscience feasts us with very excellent viands from above, which we believe no caterer in the Court can provide their Great Masters withal; but theirs is like to have but four sauce, though it be but outlandish, like as when chirurgions open the dead bodies of epicures, they find many indigested crudities, so will the Ancient of Days ere long, when He sits to anatomize, dissect, and rip up their consciences, find many a foul crudity—viz. the skulls, blood, and bones of thousands of the faints to stick there. But the Lord have mercy upon them, for the plague is begun,

if they be not past recovery or true repentance. But if they be, then the righteous and holy just God, who is our God, will appear against them and their interest speedily, powerfully, and effectually, according to all the faith, tears, and appeals of His poor worm *Jacob*, in whose hand we believe will be the new threshing instrument visibly, ere long. And then this contemptible testimony or coarse barley-cake of truth will tumble from the *Gideon* camp and smite down all their tents according to the faith and prayer of Christ's and His poor Remnant's despised servants,

To do or to suffer, to live or to die with
them in this most glorious though
clouded, precious though persecuted
Cause of Christ Jesus,

Hur Horton.

Samuel Bradley.

Christopher Crayle.

William Bragg.

Hugh Day.

William Medley.

Edward Grove.

Francis Young.

John Pugh.

James Wilson.

John Durden.

Daniel Ingoll.

‘Lift up a banner upon the high mountain, exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand that they may go into the gates of the nobles. I have commanded my sanctified ones, I have also called my mighty ones for mine anger, even them that rejoice in my Highness.’ (*Isaiah* xiii. 2, 3).

A Faithful Narrative to the Faithful Remnant round the Nation, the New Non-conformist Churches and Saints in City and Country that go under the name of Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

THE hope we have of fair weather arises from the Rainbow in the Cloud ; though the Cloud be black, the Sun is up and looks full upon it, which hath produced divers colours, and put the poor Saints hard upon faith, groans, and prayers to make up that tremendous Judgment and dreadful Thunderbolt that must fall out of this black cloud, and which begins to rattle already over the heads of the present persecutors, as Rev. iv. and the 5. . . . And it is well known the New Non-conformists round the nation are at it day and night . . . giving the Lord no rest, and though many have been as dead as dry bones, yet they begin to gather sinews apace now, and are like (may we speak it without alaruming the New Court) to be an exceeding great army, for the Witnesses are warm and begin to stir, and benumbed senses by use get life apace, so that the Remnant of the Woman's seed are like to have their hands full, ere long, and long they think it. Among them are those despised ones of the Lord that walk in fellowship with *Mr. Rogers*, now prisoner for the testimony of Jesus at Lambeth, who after several solemn days and whole nights, did find it a present duty incumbent upon them (and preparative to future) to go to Whitehall, the revived Court, and demand the Lord's prisoners, and bear their Testimony against these in present powers, for their gross sins and apostacies ; which the whole body agreed to, not one dissenting, with a loud suffrage of joy and alacrity, blessing the Lord that they should be honoured by the Lord Jesus as to be called to this Testimony for his suffering Truth and Saints at this day.

They fought the Lord earnestly two whole nights herein, though the first night they were disturbed by some rude abusive ruffians, that seemed zealots for their Protector; they roughly handled, scurrilously miscalled and abused some of the Brethren, that they hurried them away from prayer to prison (for night-prayers are reputed dangerous and disturbful to the Court interest), yet for all that they kept another night, to have directions from the throne in the management of so high and noble a Message, and that they might not in the least dishonour the dear name of the Lord Jehovah, nor the Cause and Kingdom of Jesus Christ that now suffers. So after they found much of God's presence and many sweet promises to apply, and concluded unanimously upon the number of Twelve (which is the Lamb's number against the Beast, and the root and square number of the hundred, forty-four thousand, in Rev. xiv.) to deliver the Message in trust to *Oliver Cromwell* in person, in the name of the great Jehovah. And now, that God alone might have the choice of the men, another time was appointed to seek the Lord, and then they all agreed to take their call by lot given in the name of the Lord, so that after solemn looking up to heaven the lot was given from the lap (Prov. xvi. 33, and xviii. 18), and fell upon twelve, but (to observe the Lord's wisdom) those that they in their wisdom should probably and principally have pitched upon, for parts, utterance, and abilities, were by the Lord's lot put by; yet this appearing so undeniably to be of God, the same Twelve were fully satisfied and accepted their call. Afterward they agreed to go (every one with his Bible in his hand) upon the Message of the Church. Accordingly, upon the 29th of the eleventh month, a solemn day of prayer was kept, and they were sent out in the name of the Lord Jesus. The contents of the Message with which they were entrusted is as followeth:—

THE
M E S S A G E
OF THE
C H U R C H

To O. C. by
*the Twelve.**

The Message
of the Twelve
Brethren.

‘WE are sent unto you, Twelve of us, in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of that Church Society whereof *Mr. Rogers*, now prisoner for the Lord Jesus at Lambeth, is overseer in the Holy Ghost, although we be poor despised worms, and the weakest and unworthiest of the Lord’s number or of the body to which we are related, and although we be not so able to speak as others of our Society might have been, yet after much seeking the Lord to be with us, and trusting in the strength and name of our Lord Christ, by which we are come out this day, after the seal of some promises upon our spirits in the strength of the anointing, we are (as well as the Lord shall enable us) come to deliver our Message to you from the Lord; and that—

The Reasons.

First, because the Lot of the Lord is cast upon us above others.

Secondly, because the Lord hath chosen the poor and

* Anthony à Wood says that this Message was drawn up by Rogers himself.—*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 594.

most despised things to confound and appear against the wife and great ones of the world (1 Cor. i. 27).

Thirdly, because we are bound to sympathise with the Saints in bonds (Heb. xiii. 3) in the defence of the Gospel (Philip. i. 7-14) and the Apostle blames them that stood not by him in his bonds (2 Tim. iv. 16), but we are resolved by the grace of our God to own and stand by these our brethren, the faithful servants of the Most High, and true and faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, who are now persecuted and imprisoned by you and your powers.

Fourthly, because the Primitive Saints, who had a Primitive Spirit (which we pray for and are in daily expectation of) spake boldly in the name of the Lord (James v. and the 10), and so must we to you in the plainness, foolishness, and simplicity of the Gospel, without any politic, studied, or artificial frame of words or expressions after the wisdom of the world or the princes of the world (1 Cor. ii. 6, 8; 2 Cor. ii. 17); therefore it is we dare not give flattering titles to any man whose breath is in his nostrils (Job xxxii. 21, 22), nor come we to make our petition to man, but to God we do, in these matters of our Faith and Conscience, for which we contend this day, and for which our dear Brethren are cruelly imprisoned at Lambeth (meaning our brother *Rogers*) and Windfor (meaning *Mr. Feake*).

Nota.

1. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus, and of that whole society who have entrusted us on this errand, we are to DEMAND the Lord's prisoners—those prisoners of hope at Lambeth and Windfor, as due to Christ and His Churches, whom ye have so unchristianly rent and torn from us (we meaning the churches), and neither we nor they know for what to this day, but we are persuaded it is for their Faith and Conscience in the Truth and Testimony of Jesus Christ, against the foul apostacies and sins of the times in professours, whether in Powers, Priests, Armies, or others, that have cast off the true Cause and Interest of

The testimony.

In the prison
Mr. Feake, Mr.
Rogers, Mr.
Spittlehouse,
Col. Overton,
Col. Alured,
Adj.-Gen.
Allen, with
many others.
Since that
Maj.-Gen.
Harrison, Col.
Courtney, Col.
Rich, M.
Chary,
imprisoned the
16th day of
this month,
besides all in
other countries
and Scotland
those there
that are like to
lose their lives
by bloody
trials, all these
with many
others at this
day suffering
for and with
the Testimony
of a good
conscience
against men
that have
betrayed the
cause of Christ;
others have
been impris-
oned, as Mr.
Vavasor Powel,
Mr. Jo. Simson,
Col. Okey, &c.

Christ and have taken up the creature's instead thereof, which can never stand. This Demand we make according to Isaiah xlii. 22 ; 2 Chron. xxviii. 11.

2. And lastly, though we never yet did it in public, yet so long as you go on thus we dare not but join with our suffering brethren (viz. in what prisons soever) for their Consciences and this Cause of Christ, and declare and testify against you and the rest that adhere unto you, whether in power or out, so long as you are the enemies of Christ and His Cause at this day, which we must do with the words of truth and sobriety, for the Lord will rend you and all up by the roots that are not plants of His own planting, and the great God will appear (ere long) to confound and destroy this spirit of persecution, injustice, and tyranny, which the poor Non-conforming Saints feel so sorely, and we pray you consider that of *A/a* (2 Chron. xvi.) though a good man and a great general and conquerour, when once he forsook the Lord, relied on an arm of flesh, and began to imprison the Lord's prophet, the hand of God was against him (and so on others), and so will His wrath be upon you and those that belong to you, if you go on thus, and if God give you not a true and timely repentance of these great sins, which cry day and night for vengeance against you and yours, and so do thousands of the poor persecuted saints (however you are made to believe), therefore we pray you see (if you will yet keep the captives of the Lord) Jer. l. 33, but mark it, v. 34; so Isai. xxix. 20, 21; Ps. cii. 17, 20, 21; Ps. xxxvii. 32, 33, 34; Ps. lxxix. 11, and faith Christ, 'What you did unto these you did unto me,' and Acts ix. 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' so see in Matth. xviii. 28, 30, 34; see v. 35; Isa. xlix. 24, 25; Mal. ii. 11, 12. Now to conclude. The day of Christ is at hand which will set them free, and will, ere long, call you and all about you to judgment for all these things that you have done and suffered

to be done against the Lord Jesus and all His Saints, and for all the blood of the Saints that hath been shed against this interest, and these evil things which you have set up again to the joy of the wicked, the grief of the godly, and reproach of pure religion and undefiled. This is the sum of our Message which we are sent to deliver to you in the name of the Lord, and whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, we leave it with you and to your conscience, before God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth.'

After long waiting they obtained access, and all Twelve being present together, one, as the mouth of them, delivered the message, but the word DEMAND would not go down well, but the *Lord Cromwell* told them that *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* suffered not for conscience, but as evildoers and busybodies in other men's matters. One of the Twelve then said, 'If so, why were they not tried by some known and just law, and convicted for evildoers? but to keep them there in so long and cruel imprisonment, without showing cause, was contrary to God's law and the just laws of men; besides, they were sick and weakly men.' But he said he would put it to an issue, upon Friday or Tuesday (as he said) *Mr. Rogers* should be brought before him. On the sixth day of this twelfth month, being the third day of the week, the brethren and sisters (many of them) of the Society met together, and with much difficulty got into the prison to pray with *Mr. Rogers*, which they continued till between three and four of the clock, and then they were called away by the gaoler to go to Whitehall, according to his *Lord Protector's* order, so that in the name of (another) the Lord Protector of heaven and earth, the great Jehovah (whose face they had so solemnly and so often sought for His presence with them) *Mr. Rogers* set out of Lambeth along with *Harding*, his keeper, and the rest from the Church Society (twenty brethren being the

Feb. 6 last,
1654 [5].

most) going along with him, much rejoicing as they went (according to Acts v. 41) that they were so honoured to be called before men for the Name, Faith, and Cause of Jesus; and when they came to Whitehall Bridge others of the dear Saints of several Churches, waiting with tears, and prayers, and acclamations, partly of joy and partly of grief, to receive him, and with an unanimous suffrage, and signal tokens of love to him and to this blessed Cause he suffers in, they prayed the Lord's presence to accompany him. So we passed by, and *Mr. Rogers* was by his Keeper carried into the chamber hard by the Council Chamber; but the keeper only had admittance into the long Gallery to give notice that the prisoner was there; but by and by he came out again and told *Mr. Rogers* and his friends that they must all go down again, and go through the Guard Chamber, but *Mr. Rogers* answered that was strange, being come so near where the Great Man was they must now go down to go through the Guard Chamber and about again; but the Keeper answered they must do it, he had order for it, which he did, not in the least resisting, but the main end was, as they found afterwards, to try whether they were sword-proof or no. So by force *Mr. Rogers* and his friends were carried the other way back again through the Guard Chamber. Many other people flocked about them, the Keeper going foremost, *Mr. Rogers* and his wife next to him, and his friends following close after him, until they came up to the Guard Chamber door. Immediately was the word of command given to the Guard, who, as soon as they saw them and us coming in, fell foully upon us with their swords and their halberds, saying, 'Keep back, keep back!' to which *Mr. Rogers* answered with all his heart he would go back, but his Keeper would not let him. We also said if they would give us liberty we would go back as fast as we could, but they would not hear us, but fell upon us with a word and a blow, flashing and striking in a most

The harsh
usage of the
poor persecuted
Fifth-
Monarchy-
Men.

violent manner, calling us rogues, damned rogues, and evacuating the most venomous words in their bellies, &c. but we told them not one of us had a weapon, but the Bible in their hands some had, and so we told them; but some said the sword of the Spirit would be too hard for them one day, which occasioned them to be the more violent, who struck (to choose) at their Bibles, hands, and heads, and so followed them, fighting, flashing, and beating the poor naked Christians all the way into the court again, and there laying about them too, and saying they cared not for their Bibles, still inculcating, insulting, and calling us damned rogues and cursed dogs, and the like; but *Mr. Rogers* and two or three more were shut in among their swords, whiles the rest of the brethren were kept without in the court, and did with very much patience bear all their railings, reproachings, scoffs, scorns, flouts, jeers, and injuries offered them all the while by the soldiers and others of the Court Creatures. In the mean time *Mr. Rogers* with two or three more were brought into the Chamber of Henry the Eighth, where were many gentlemen of the Court complexion, some excusing the aforesaid violence and assault, saying it was by accident, to which he answered he conceived it not, but that it was rather a plot, and for aught he knew there might be a design to murder some or other, for the word was given to fall on, and it is conceived by most that they did it on purpose to raise us to a mutiny, that so they might have had, at least in appearance or pretence, some (or a more just) cause against *Mr. Rogers* and his friends in Church fellowship with him, for the Guardians confess they did but as they were commanded. Whilst some were excusing this affront put upon Christ and His persecuted Churches, others said it was good enough for us, and it was pity we were not worse used than we were. *Mr. Rogers* in the interim was talking with others, and two of the Guard told him how sorry they were their fellows

were so rough, and drew their swords, flashing so fiercely, and what a mercy it was no more mischief was done, seeing they had the command given them to do what they did, and that it was the readiness of some amongst them against us, especially the outlandish. There was a short discourse between *Mr. Rogers* and some others.

A. S. 'Why did you come up there?'

Nota.

Mr. R. 'We were sent for and commanded to come, yea, brought by force upon you, and by your Master's command, who fell a flashing us with your swords, so that it is probable it was a design against us on purpose, else why should peaceable men that had no kind of weapons in their hands or about them, without sword or staff, but only the Bibles with us—poor naked men and women—be forced by order and command to come before your Master, and be thus abused, affronted, flashed, and driven into dangers? But the Lord is righteous, who will judge.'

W. F. 'But why came you with so many?'

Ro. 'We were sent for and commanded, and those that came are Christians and Church members, no ways uncivil or disorderly.'

A. S. 'Well, it's well it was no worse.'

Ro. 'It was the Lord that made it so, in whose name we came; and He hath delivered us from your fury and the rage of the sword, for they struck with rage, fury, and high purpose to do more mischief than they did, but it is Heb. xi. "By faith they obtained promises, escaped the edge of the sword, &c." and so have we escaped yours, though some do bear the mark; but the Lord Jesus will reward them when He comes.'

And you see, gentlemen, your sword cuts bluntly, and doth little execution upon the poor Fifth-Monarchy-Men, though they be but naked and unarmed; but it may be this business will be ominous to you in this place.'

For so it was
to the late
King and his
Court, where
his Messengers
and Guardmen

A. S. 'We wonder to see so many women, and what they meant.'

Ro. 'And are ye so fearful? It may be it is true, then, what we hear, that the barking of a dog lately running about the yard gave you a very great alarm, seeing the sight of a few women hath frightened you so pitifully as to draw your swords upon them and hurt them. Alas! poor hearts! you are pitifully affrighted, it seems. What would you have done, then, at the sight of weapons, if a few white aprons makes you fly to your swords and halberds?'

But by and by came a Gentleman Messenger to *Mr. Rogers*, saying that his Lord was at leisure to speak with him, but the keeper at the door suffered none to go in with him save whom they listed. One of the Twelve that was sent for, going in with *Mr. Rogers*, a Guardman standing by took him by the shoulders in a very hostile manner and tore his cloak off his back and abused him. But *Mr. Rogers* and three or four more went into the chamber where their Great Master was, to whom some of his Court sycophants had told such tales as they used to do to justify themselves, and complained first, which is the Machiavellian policy and principle, as if we had intended a tumult, which was a thing our souls abhorred, and a most impudent untruth, for there was not one had a weapon or staff with them, or spake one uncivil word; but after *Mr. Rogers* with three or four more were brought into the room by *Serjeant Dendy*, the Great Man had with him two gentlemen more, who stood by the fire-side, and a pistol lay prepared at the window where he himself at first was. Then he came to the fireside in great majesty, without moving or showing the least civility of a man, though all stood bare to him and gave respect. By and by he spake, and bid one call in two or three more of the Church Society, or of the Twelve that had been with him before, when the DEMAND was made. Whiles they were gone for them saith he,—

fell upon the
Citizens with
their swords
at the Gate,
there was his
blood shed.

O. C. 'I sent for some of you, *Mr. Rogers* and some more of the Church ; but you bring with you about two hundred and fifty men to make tumults and risings, therefore send them away, or I will not speak one word.' To which *Mr. Rogers* answered, and to give him a civil respect, said, 'My Lord'—

Ro. 'You are ruled much by informations which you take upon the reports of them about you, whether true or false, which brings the Lord's people into so much trouble by you, but there is no such matter.'

O. P. 'Ha! You will talk, I see, although it be nothing to purpose. Who speaks to you?' With that he turns to one of his Creatures, saying, 'What say you—is there not so many?'

Servant. His servant answered, 'Yes, and it please your Highness, there's above an hundred below, and it is to be feared they might have made a tumult.'

Ro. 'If they must be believed, they must. Yet this I may say, I think there are not thirty men that belong to us ; and besides, they are all peaceable Christians, related to us in the faith of the Gospel, all unarmed, apprehending your order and command to reach them, and they are only those with us as have been this day together seeking the face of the Lord, and now, according to your order, at four o'clock attending here.'

But by this time company was coming in apace into the room at both doors, but all were Court Creatures, to the number of fourscore or more, as we conceive, either of the Council, army men, lawyers, and councillors, or of his creatures that were his ministers, or new made gentlemen, or the like ; but not one of them related to *Mr. Rogers* or that Church Society, till at last, with much ado, two or three more were crowded in of them ; but all the rest were left waiting below in the yard, abused, scoffed, hissed and hooted at by some of the soldiers, as will appear by and by.

O. P. 'I promised to send for you, for some of your

The Room
fills with the
Courtiers.

friends came and spake sharply to me, as if I had apostated from the Cause of Christ, and persecuting godly Ministers, naming *Mr. Rogers* and *Mr. Feake*, and spake other things that were sharp enough. You might have had patience in your words. Now you have liberty to speak to those things, but do not abuse your liberty. You told me *Mr. R.* suffered for the Gospel. I told you he suffered as a Railer, as a Seducer, and a Busybody in other men's matters, and a Stirrer up of Sedition, which rulers, led by just principles, might suppress. I told you *Mr. Rogers* suffered justly, and not for the Testimony of Jesus Christ; and, indeed, in some degree it is blasphemy to call suffering for evil-doing suffering for the Gospel; and if he suffers for railing, and despising those that God hath set over us, to say this his suffering is for the Gospel, is making Christ the patron of such things; but if it were suffering for the Gospel something might have been said, yet not so much as saying uncharitably he suffered for evil-doing; so that I say this is the thing in Scripture, and if we show you that you suffer for transgression, then you abuse that Scripture, which I have often thought on, that it is "to make a man an offender for a word." I wish it were better understood in the plainness of the spirit, for (to interpret that Scripture) it was the evil of those times, which was to lie in wait for words on purpose to catch at words without actions, and that is a sin; but some words are actions, and words are conjugal with actions, for actions and words are as sharp as swords, and such things I charge you with, and you suffer not for the Testimony of Jesus Christ. I speak—God is my witness—I know it, that no man in England does suffer for the Testimony of Jesus. Nay, do not lift up your hands and your eyes, for there is no man in England which suffers so. There are those that are far better than *Mr. Rogers*, though comparisons are not good, and not near his principles, yet if they should suffer

He begins his long speech with manifest reproaching and manifold untruths.

And is it not the evil of these times? so that he is condemned out of his own mouth, as in Luke xix. 22.

It seems when he said so, "he called God to witness," Mr. Rogers lifted up his hand, and his eyes appealing to

witness also,
at which
posture he was
offended.

for the Testimony of Jesus: But there is such liberty, I wish it be not abused, that no man in England suffereth for Christ, and it is not your fancy, you must bring strong words to acquaint me of your sharp expressions.'

After he had spake, and all were silent, *Mr. Rogers* desired to know of him whom he expected to reply, whether himself or some other—the answer to, 'Who would.'

Rogers. 'Do you expect me to answer? I will pre-mise this, before I speak further. I have been twenty-seven weeks a prisoner (my brother *Feake* above a year), and there hath been no charge against me; but now I am brought before you, I desire to know in what capacity I stand before you—as a Prisoner, or as a Freeman; as a Christian to a Christian, with equal freedom that others have, or as a slave?'

O. P. 'A Prisoner is a Freeman, as Christ hath made you free, and so you are a Freeman.'

Ro. 'It's true, indeed, my Lord; and yet I must say, as some gentlemen here present know I did before I was imprisoned, and when they would have had me meet in Coleman Street to discourse our principles upon which we suffer, that it is unreasonable to desire it at the disadvantages we meet with, seeing they who are our antagonists have the advantage of a law new made, which they call an "Ordinance of Treason," to lash us with, as a master hath a rod in his hand overawing his schoolboys; so that it is a very unjust and unequal thing that they should speak as freemen and we as slaves under an overawing; but if that law be repealed, though but pro tempore, during such debates, and we be restored to our just and equal liberty with the adversaries, so as to engage on even ground, we are ready to argue it with them when and where they will; but till then it is unreasonable, for every word we speak may be a snare to us.'

O. P. 'I know not what snare may be in this. Are you

Mr. Rogers
told him that
Ordinance
making
Treason for
words was such
as Queen Mary
herself, as
bloody as she
was, would
abhor, as
appears in
Hollinshed in
the first year of
her reign,
which made

fo afraid of snares? What need you fear, that will speak fo boldly?’

Ro. ‘I blefs the Lord I fear them not, nor the force of any men or devils, in thefe matters of my Faith and Confcience, for which I fuffer; yet I fhould be loath to run into snares, which difputes have been to the people of God; for *Stephen*, (Acts vi.) before he was tried for his life, he was firft enfnared by difputes and then brought to the Council, tried and arraigned for his life, and they murdered and deftroyed him. And in *Queen Mary’s* days, before they put any to death, they began it cunningly with enfnaring difcourfes in the Convocation houfe, and fo gathered matter to take their lives away and murder them.’

O. P. ‘You are afraid of snares and advantages taken for your life, when there is no fuch a thing; but I tell you, upon your friends’ Petition I fent for you, to fatisfy them you fuffer as an evil-doer.’

Ro. ‘Say you fo, my Lord? that is more than ever I heard before. Nor dare I take this liberty upon that account of Petitioning for it; but that I believe the Lord will help me by his own Spirit to anfwer, as indeed I have not ftudied a form of words for you, though you have prepared matter againft me, I hear; but I am, in the ftrength of the Anointing, ready to anfwer.’

O. P. ‘Ah, we know you are ready enough.’

Ro. ‘Yea, although I have made no other preparation than faith in the promifes, however fome may scoff at them, yet I have, I blefs the Lord, the comfort of them, and hope

their tyranny
worse than the
Roman
tyranny.

That they
feemed to do
all this in
juftice and by
appeal and free
courts. At
this they were
vexed, and
look on one
another.

O. was troubled
at that word,
and faid,
Preparation!
ha! what!
but it is well
known what
for feveral days
were the
informations
(fome lay on

the table) a gathering againft him; and the prifoners put in for plotting had by one Meazy a charge to get all their papers ready upon the 30th day of the 11th month laft, who were very bufy to get them, and are we hear a gathering more; for when Mr. Rogers is forced to preach out at the window to the members of the church and thofe that come to hear him, thefe wicked and bloody beaft-like men have liberty to come into a room under him to write what they can catch or forge or patch together, though all the week long they are in another room at the further end of the houfe day and night, finging, fwearing, ranting, fiddling, blafpheming, day and night, to go out in the night, yea without a Keeper, to carry on the defign.

I shall have the benefit of that promise which I have the seal of in my heart, in Matt. x.—“Take no care what to say, for in that hour shall it be given unto you;” therefore I doubt not but to speak to you and them about you in the name of the Lord Jesus, and in the demonstration of his Holy Spirit.’ (He was interrupted).

O. P. ‘Take heed you do not abuse the Scripture. If you be such a disciple, then that promise shall be made good unto you, and then you may say you suffer for Christ.’

Ro. ‘I doubt not but that will appear that I am His disciple who made me that promise; and if we be not able to make it out to unbiaſſed men that we suffer for Christ and a good conscience, by God’s holy word, then chop off my head. But indeed, my Lord, we can clear it to all the world, would they hear us, and not handle us so roughly as you do; for we have had a very dangerous passage to you this day, an “ardua via” through swords and halberds.’

O. P. ‘Indeed?’ (says he in a scoff); ‘and I pray who was wounded?’

Ro. ‘It was a mercy there were no more hurt, though many were bruised, beaten, and hurt, and among others my wife; but who the rest be, as yet I know not.’

O. P. ‘No, so I think! But I have no time to dispute those things.’

Ro. ‘Why, then I say, as I said before, my way must be clear before I can proceed further; for if they *Petitioned* I have done, and dare not answer a word on that ground, because I represent thousands of the poor Saints, who are one with me in this Cause, whose trust I cannot, I dare not betray.’

O. P. ‘Then we have done: for I tell you you came here by a desire. I told them I would put it to the issue this meeting, and that I would prove it you suffered for evil-doing.’

Ro. ‘That will not be so easily done. But, my Lord, I

ſpeak as, I hope, I am a civil man, and in ſome meaſure a rational man, and I truſt through grace I am a Chriſtian, nor doth Chriſtianity deſtroy civility ; and yet I muſt ſay again, that [if] I came hither by the deſire or requeſt of my friends, I ſhall not, I will not ſpeak a word any farther than to tell you my reaſons. For I would not have any friend *Petition* for me, wherein and to whom I cannot with a good conſcience *Petition* for myſelf. Now, in the matters of faith and truth, for which we ſuffer, we cannot *Petition* to you, for we are not debtors to man but to God, who is the lawgiver and only proper judge therein, and therefore we *Petition* to the Lord Jehovah our Judge. Then, 2. If they did ſo, they did not answer the truſt the Church whereto they are related repoſed in them ; for it was ſet upon their hearts as an incumbent point of duty to Chriſt and his Churches to make *Demand* of the Lord's priſoners in the name of the Lord Jeſus, whom you and your powers have ſo unchriſtianly, and indeed with worſe than Roman tyranny, rent and torn from the Churches ; ſo that if they made a *Petition* to you I am ſilent, and ſhall ſay no more, as I ſaid before.'

Brother C. (one of the Twelve). 'I ſhall lay open the whole ſtate of the buſineſs, for we are entrusted with a Meſſage from our Society, and did but according to our truſt make the Demand and bear our Teſtimony, and made no requeſt at all to you ; but when you ſaid our brother *Rogers* ſuffered as an evil-doer, we ſaid then, Why do you not make it appear ? and you ſaid you would on Friday or Tueſday, and this was all.'

O. C. 'Well ! who ſays it is more ? Who ſays you *Petitioned* ? I told you he ſuffered as an Evil-doer, as a Railer, as a Seducer.'

Ro. 'But your words are not proofs, my Lord. But yet, ſeeing my way is more clear now, I ſhall ſay ſomewhat more ; there is no law of God nor yet of man that makes

See their
Ordinance for
Treason.

me such an offender but yours, which is worse than the Roman law and tyranny, that makes a man a Traitor for words.'

O. P. 'Who calls you a Traitor? I call you not. See, I believe you speak many things according to the Gospel, but you suffer for evil doing.'

Ro. 'The Gospel of the Kingdom may occasionally be so accounted and judged; for, as Christ our Saviour saith "I came not to send peace but the sword," the doctrine of Christ by the powers of the world hath ever been reputed sedition, railing, lying, and speaking evil of dignities.'

O. P. 'I grieve that you call this the Gospel; for every one is ready to come and say, This is the Gospel, with words in their mouths, and say this is the meaning of the Scripture; but there wants the power of godliness, for Christ and his disciples will not speak evil of no man.'

Ro. 'Yea, they did speak against sinners as sinners, which is no evil-speaking. But who made you the judge of the Scriptures, my Lord? Whatever you say, it shall never appear, I trust, to the Saints or unbiassed discerning men that I suffer as an evil-doer. Whatever you say or suppose, I can make it appear it is an essential fundamental principle of faith, which is now under persecution, and for which we suffer, viz. the Kingly Office of Christ; and those that deny that truth, for and in which we suffer, are indeed heretics, and not we. It is true this present Testimony for Christ's Kingly Interest hath two parts, viz. the positive and the privative; now, for the last it is we suffer, and not for evil-doing.'

O. P. 'Why, who will hinder your preaching the Gospel of Christ—yea, His Personal Reign? who will hinder? You speak of high notions, but you do not preach the Gospel to build up souls in Christ.'

Ro. 'I know, my Lord, that you are a Sophister. And so it seems, for a part of the truth we may preach, but not

What the
testimony is
they suffer in.

How knows he
that? for he
hears him not
preach.

With that the
officers and
them present

the whole, not the Gospel of the Kingdom preached for a witness, as Matt. xxiv. 14, to witness against the crying sins of men in power or out of power; for that seems to strike at your interest too much.'

O. P. 'Why, what interest is mine?'

Ro. 'A worldly interest, which God will destroy.'

O. P. 'Ha!—And do you judge me?'

Ro. 'Yea, by the word of the Lord, in the majesty, might, strength, power, vigour, life, and authority of the Holy Ghost I can, do, and dare judge you and your actions (1 Cor. ii.): "The spiritual man judgeth all things, whilst he himself is judged of no man." Besides, I am called by the Holy Ghost, which hath appointed me to preach the Gospel, to judge sins.'

O. P. 'And who will hinder you to preach the Gospel or to do so—speak against sin as much as you will.'

Ro. You do from preaching that part of the Gospel which decries the public sins of the times, or of men in powers, armies, &c. Neither is it, as you say, a railing, lying, or speaking evil of dignities; for the word railing, in Jude 9, is βλασφημία. Now this is no blasphemy, to speak the truth, or against evils; nor is it railing to call a man as he is. To call a drunkard a drunkard is no railing . . . to call a thief a thief, to call an apostate an apostate, is no railing; but to call one so that is not so is railing.'

O. P. 'To call an honest man a thief is railing. . . Though I do know you have truths of Christ in you, yet I will prove you suffer for railing, lying, and as a raiser of sedition; and I told them that I would have you sent for to satisfy them.'

Ro. 'If that you say can be made to appear, it is fit I should suffer; but, as *Reynold* said, "Nihil est quin male interpretando possit depravari."'

O. P. 'This will appear in the informations that are upon the table there, what a railer you are; and therefore

scuffed, and
some gnashed
with their
teeth at the
prisoner.

What sort of informers will serve against Fifth-Monarchy-Men.

He said there was no such word in his speech, but see it, p. 13: "It is some satisfaction, if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men and not by the hands of persons" (speaking of the plotters) "differing little from beasts."

Meaning now another paper of informations of what was preached at Thomas Apostle's, that also lay upon the table with the other out of Lambeth Prison.

let them be read,' (says he to some by him) 'for there be many of them: the witnesses and the evidences all are ready, it will appear easily, and out of the prison such informations, evidences there are brought in, let them be read.'

Ro. 'Your informations will not make it appear ere the more to just men. I looked to have had a fair trial, or a Christian debate. But this is otherwise, seeing men that are hired or any other ways basely suborned do inform against me. As for them out of prison, it is a sign that your cause is not very good, that needs such informers as the prisoners at Lambeth. They are such as you yourself have put in for plotting against you, lest they should cut your throat, and of whom you yourself have said, in your last speech, that they differed little from Beasts; and yet you can take their informations against me,—yea, drunkards, swearers . . . Cavaliers, ranters, any men that make nothing to lye, swear, drink, curse, ban . . . and blaspheme day and night, and what not? And yet these must inform against me, to take away my life. These are but bad evidences, my Lord; and besides, were they honest men, it were illegal.'

O. P. 'Nay, they are honest, godly men, that mourn over you, and that are troubled for you, that will witness these things against you.'

Ro. 'I hardly believe honest men will accept of such an office, to inform against the poor people of God, and to seek the blood of any one of Christ's little ones; but I rather believe they are some of your hired men, who seek for any stuff to gratify your ears. But might I but stand on even ground, with equal freedom, I would undertake to any unbiassed Christian to make it appear that the subject matter of our suffering [is] for the Truth and Testimony of Jesus, our infirmities excepted, which the Lord knows are many, and therefore we must overcome by the blood of the Lamb and the word of the Testimony (Rev. xii.)'

O. P. 'Nay, but I know you well enough, I know you, and what your principle is too, I know that you never preached the Covenant of Grace, yea, I know it, I have had some discourse with you formerly, I know you are ignorant of the Covenant, nay, for all your lifting up your eyes, it is so.'

Ro. 'That is strange you should judge so. My condition were uncomfortable then, indeed, if I did not know the Covenant of Grace, yea, fruition, whiles it may be some have a national, disciplinary, or barely intuitive knowledge, there be many can testify whether I am so ignorant or no of the Covenant of Christ, who have been my hearers long ago. It is for a branch, yea a principal branch of the New Testament Covenant that we are persecuted (as Acts ii. 30), viz. that part that God hath sworn unto, to exalt Christ over all His enemies, and to make Him King over all Nations. This Covenant of the Father to the Son makes us grapple with the Beast, and contest so as we do with the powers of the world, though others are ignorant of the Covenant.'

O. P. 'Nay, I tell you, I know you well enough, and I know your principles; though you are but a young man, yet you have been in many places, and are known well enough.'

Ro. 'Yea, I am, so I hope, known of Christ too; and amongst other places, I have been in the Field too against the common enemies, that are now gotten so high again, where I think I have done more for nothing, in mere conscience for the Lord Christ's sake (never seeking wages as your mercenary men), than any of your colonels can say.'

O. P. 'You talk of that is nothing to the purpose.'

Kiffin. 'I cannot see, my Lord, there will be any danger to have those papers read. We desired to hear how it appears that *Mr. Ro.* suffers as an evil-doer; and if it please your Highness, let those informations be read that are

At whose confidence Mr. Rogers with admiration lifted up his eyes and hands.

This being spoken in such confusion of others and the Great Man's heat together, he was hardly heard, but only of them who stood nigh and wrote. One of his courtiers made answer, but he went on in his heat.

Raising men, arming himself and others, engaging in the field in England and Ireland, spending his estate, killing his cattle for the army freely, exposing his person to great dangers freely.

Which gentleman was Mr. Kiffin, who since with some of his members hath slandered him behind his back.

Mark it out of his own mouth.

brought in there, that we may hear how it appears as your Highness says.'

O. P. 'Ah! so I say. Let them be read.'

Ro. 'My Lord, that gentleman spake very smoothly, but we know now by experience the greatest snares are couched under the smoothest words; so there is a great snare in his, for he desires them to be read, that they may judge thereby whether I be an evil-doer or not, so that I thank the gentleman for his charity. He seems beforehand resolved to judge me according to them, whether right or wrong, true or false, or whatever they be, and whoever informs, and whether they can be proved or no against me. But I perceive by him he is some mercenary man, that hath some dependence upon you, and from such I look for no other. But the most, my Lord, that can be said against me is but an evil speaker (which, by God's assistance, I trust in this matter shall never be proved against me neither) and not an evil-doer, for notwithstanding your former words, I can prove that the very heathens themselves abhorred to make words matter of fact as you do.'

O. P. 'It is matter of fact you are questioned for, for speaking evil of authority, raising false accusations; for if they were as *Nero* you are not to speak evil of them, for what hath the Devil his name for, but because he is an accuser of the brethren; and it is not for your good deeds you are punished, for what saith Christ, "for which of my good deeds do you punish me?" and so you say, but you shall hear if these be read, whether it be for your good deeds or for evil doing.'

Ro. 'And as they answered Christ then, so do you us: it was not for his good deeds they would stone him, but for his blasphemy, and so pretended to do it legally, for the law would have a blasphemer stoned; but that which they called blasphemy was indeed the truth and good, and so it is now; what you call evil is good, and the Devil, my Lord,

hath his name from calumniating, flandering, and lying, and accusing the good, or grace of God, but not for accusing evil or declaring against sin, the evils of Apostacy, persecution, or the like. But if you will read the articles you may, yet expect not a word of answer from me, unless it be in an open and legal court, before a competent and fit judge, which you are not, my Lord, nor those about you; but those things which are my due right granted, I am ready to answer them in Westminster Hall, where I believe the Lord's Remnant, who are one with me in this Cause, will stand by me; and at last you can have but a poor carcase, that is every day dying; yet I am resolved with the help of God not to throw away my life, nor to betray this blessed Cause so as to answer to I know not what spurious and forged informations or charge in a chamber, grounded on malice or that which is worse; nor will I be tried in huggemugger, but if I have offended, it is fit I have open justice.'

O. P. 'Who tries you? and who says it is a charge? Who calls it a charge? I say not so; and see! before you hear them you call them spurious.' (With that he takes up one that was titled from Lambeth, and was going to read somewhat).

R. 'Yea, and I have good grounds so to do, seeing they come from such kind of informers as they are.'

(Then *O. P.* read one article from Lambeth, as that he should call him, *Oliver Cromwell*, that great dragon that sits at Whitehall, pull him out, &c.)

Ro. 'There is such stuff as I abhor to have in my mouth, but I shall forbear to answer, for that it is not worth the answering to.'

O. P. 'These things will be proved.'

Brother H. (one of the Twelve) 'We desire the things our brother *Rogers* suffers for may be publicly known to all, for we apprehend he suffers for the truth, and the things which you hear you may be misinformed in.'

So that the
accuser of the
good and grace
of God is on
that side by the
informers and
persecutors.

One Abdy, the
chief informer,
that very day
he came with
his Keeper to
look for his
reward, he was
stabbed in
Fleet Street,
being imprisoned
for
Blasphemy,
Adultery,
Ranting,
Atheism, and
the most
horrid sins
that ever were
heard of.

Ro. 'Therefore let me have a fair hearing in a legal court; and I hope the Lord will make me ready for whatever I must suffer, right or wrong, if it must be so. But yet, I tell you, my Lord, I fear not anything that you can lay against me justly and honestly, but the truth is you take up anything that your informers can handsomely patch together, who, like the Devil, take a bit here and a bit there, that makes for their turn, and you take it as it lies, for granted presently. O, my Lord, I cannot but mourn for you and your condition, which is sad and to be bewailed, and the rather for that you have so many about you who for their own ends to get the world into their hands do deceive you; but the Lord will judge righteously, ere long, I am sure, and let appear whether you or we have the best bottom to bear us up, for I bless the Lord the comforter is with me. I think my condition, through Grace, though a poor prisoner, a great deal better than yours; I would not change with you.'

O. P. 'Well, well, you are known well enough, and what spirit you are of. We know you, and to call your sufferings for Christ when they are for evil-doing is not well; yea, it is Blasphemy; yea, I say Blasphemy again, for all your lifting up of your eyes, and I tell you, yea, you, that in a good box of ointment a little thing—a dead fly—may spoil all, yea, a little fly.'

Ro. 'I dare not, my Lord, justify myself in my infirmities, but I bless the Lord I can apply Christ's merits. I beseech you, speak not so reproachfully of the Spirit of God to call it fanatic, or an evil spirit, for that is Blasphemy so to do (and see *Isai.* lxiii. 10), neither call evil good or good evil, for that is prevarication (*Isai.* v. 20), that which you judge evil-doing the Lord judgeth well-doing and my duty. Yet I must tell you, the Lord never made you a judge over our faith, nor of His Scripture, whereof you take upon you.'

Mr. Rogers,
amazed at such
language, again
lifted up his
hand and eyes
towards
heaven,
appealing to
God to judge
righteously.

O. P. 'Well, you know that the time was there was no great difference betwixt you and me. I had you in my eye, and did think of you for employment (and preferment); you know it well enough.'

Ro. 'True, my Lord; and then you could say to me you thought no man in England so fit, but since the case is altered indeed; but I pray consider who it is is changed. Surely, it must be Conscience that makes me suffer, then, through so many temptations as I have met with. And I have often said, let me be convinced by good words that I am an evil-doer, as you said, and I would lay my neck under your feet for mercy; but till then I must keep my Conscience.'

One of the Grandees (as we take it it was *G. Deſborough*) says, 'Let the informations be read, let them be heard;' and then *Scobell* was called to read them, not those from Lambeth, but those that were brought in from Thomas Apostle's, from what *Mr. Rogers* prayed, what he preached, and what they sang in hymns. What he prayed was for the prisoners of the Lord at Windsor, and against the tyranny of all Antichristian powers, and to that purpose, and that God would hasten his Vials out upon them. What he preached was out of Matth. v.—'Agree with thine adversary (Christ) quickly,' and he observed, 'Apostate-adulterate professors must agree quickly with Christ, their adversary,' applying it to the present Powers as such, proving they break the Ten Commandments. As the 1st. In setting up idols again, a golden calf; so the army and fleshly strength, and the like are idolized, whilst men say, these are the gods that brought us up out of Egypt.

2nd Command is,—Graven images, and so are the Tryers, and High Court Commissioners—such the inventions and graven images of men's making with their seals, parchments, black boxes, and picklocks, padlocks and keys for your hog-sties, pig-sties, and goose-stalls.

The informations from Thomas Apostle's read.

The Articles against Mr. Rogers as well as they could be taken.

These Articles are many of them false for matter and form, as can be made appear by hundreds.

3rd Command. Take not My name in vain, &c. Such as have broke all their Declarations, Engagements, and abused His Attributes, using that name of God for their own ends, are guilty of this.

4th Command. Remember that thou keep holy the, &c. speaking of soul-rest, and saying that the present Powers kept not the Sabbath that rested in their pleasures, flesh, &c. and not in Christ, but did their own work.

5th Command. Honour thy father and mother, &c. They break this Commandment in their disobedience to God, the heavenly Father.

6th. Thou shalt not murder, &c. Murderers are of many sorts—such as have betrayed the blood that hath been shed against this kind of Government, &c. And then he converted his discourse against informers that come for blood, and said, to hate a brother without a cause is murder.

7th. Thou shalt not commit adultery, &c. This they did with others, as Army, Lawyer's, Priest's interest, and that which they before destroyed.

8th. Steal not. Now there are great thieves and little thieves (great ones are now in present Powers) and army thieves, clergy thieves, lawyer thieves, and the Great Thief now in Whitehall. But the other two he left to another time. When he had done he read a letter from *Mr. Feake*, where was a dialogue between him and the Governor, and then he commented upon it, and said it is worse now than it was with the Romans, for then Paul might preach, though a prisoner, but now we are denied it. After that he sung an hymn, and the people joined with great alacrity, against oppression and persecution, &c.

After this information was read, *Mr. Rogers* said, 'My Lord, I had a purpose not to answer one word hereto, this being no suitable place or time to answer a charge, and no witnesses appearing against me to make it good; but yet I shall tell you this, for I will not, with the Lord's help, speak

Now is Mr.
Rogers forced
to preach out
at the iron bars
of the prison
on Lord's days.

a word but what I will own to your face, for I love to appear in the sincerity of my soul and conscience for my Lord and Master (Jesus Christ) plain to all men, and to lay open my principles, which I have no cause (through grace) to be ashamed of. The matter of this is much of it true, but as to the form, there is a great deal of patching and botching put in by your mercenary hirelings which I will not own; but as to much of the matter of it, I must dare, and with the Lord's grace I will, though I die for it, and without you should cut my tongue out of my head, I shall continue the Testimony, up and tell you, moreover, with the rest about you here, that I regard your laws in the matters of my God no more than straws, for "*Imperia Divina non sunt subiecta magistratui*," faith one of the Martyrs; and tell you that I will not be accountable to the magistrate nor submit to his judgment in the matters of my Faith, which the civil law can take no due cognizance of.'

One of his Council said: 'Ha! *Imperia Divina*!'

Ro. 'So I say, *Imperia Divina*.'

O. P. Saith he, 'Are these spurious articles now? put in by drunkards and swearers too? . . . Are they not? Ha!—ha!—'

Ro. 'My Lord, I know what I say. Those which were sent from Lambeth put in by the prisoners there; those, I say, are such. I did not say all, but those that I see there, which lie upon the table, titled from Lambeth; and besides, there is *Serjeant Dendy* knows this that I say, for he himself (I thank him) sent in their informations against me to *Mr. Thurloe*, which he cannot deny.'

S. Dendy. 'My Lord, I delivered him none.'

Ro. 'I say not you delivered them, but you sent them by your man, who delivered them according to your directions.'

S. Dendy. 'But my Mother, my Lord, this was my Mother, for she catechized me, my Lord, and I told her.'

They would fain have shifted off them from Lambeth as it seems, as if they were ashamed of them.

Ro. 'So that is true, as I said before, that those from Lambeth prison are spurious, wicked, and illegal.'

Mr. Cre. 'Pray, my Lord, let *Mr. Rogers* have a copy of his charge, for the law allows it him.'

O. P. 'No, this is not his trial.'

Ro. 'Why, then let me have it, as you are a Christian; for is it fit I be denied a sight of my accusation against me?' (But he turned away and would not hear).

Mr. Cre. 'Then, my Lord, let us have Liberty of Conscience. Will you not give us so much liberty as the Parliament gave?' (With that he turned about in anger).

O. P. 'I tell you there was never such Liberty of Conscience, no, never such liberty since the days of Antichrist as is now—for may not men preach and pray what they will? and have not men their liberty of all opinions?'

Ro. 'It is true there is liberty enough, and too much too, for drunkards, swearers, and men of vile debauched principles and evil lives, Common-prayer men, and such like, we know, round the nation.' (Then his creatures about him scoffed).

O. P. 'Ha!—are drunkenness, swearing, opinions then?'

Ro. 'I say not so, but I say such men may have their opinions, whilst we are persecuted for the truth. But why do you not, my Lord, let out my brother *Feake* at Windsor with myself? Seeing we suffer in one Cause, for one Testimony, and I trust by one Spirit of Jesus Christ, let us both out to answer for ourselves jointly together, and to make it appear to all uninterested Christians that we are no evil-doers in the matter we suffer for; which if we do not, then let us suffer.'

O. P. '*Mr. Feake!* truly, *Mr. Feake!* I think less evil may be said of him than of you; but there are many of different opinions that come to me, and they know they have all their liberty of their opinions.'

Ro. 'Yea, every man almost that talks with you is apt

He confessed that Anti-christ's Government is now up in England yet, so that no wonder the Prisons are so full of precious saints.

to think you of his opinion, my Lord, whatever he be.' (His creatures scoffed again).

O. P. 'Nay, you do not,' (saith he in anger. His creatures scoffed and laughed again).

Ro. 'Some of this judgment do think you so, although, as I said before, the privative or negative part of the Testimony you cannot bear.'

O. P. 'Pish! here is a great deal of positive and privative to show you are a Scholar, and 'tis well known what you are. And where do you find that distinction?'

Ro. 'In logic.'

O. P. 'Ha!'

Ro. 'I must tell you in the name of the Lord Jehovah that your condition is very desperate, and if you consult the holy oracles you will find it; for the next Vial which is to be poured out is the scorching hot one, and must fall upon the Apostate professors, that have forsaken and betrayed the Cause of Christ. And look to it, it is like to fall heavy upon your heads and those that are about you; I pray think of that in Hosea i. 4—the blood of *Jezreel* shall be upon the house of *Jehu*—though *Jehu* did obey the Lord in doing justice on *Ahab* and *Jezebel*; yet because he fell into the same predicament of sin, walking in the same steps of evil which *Ahab* walked in, the very blood of them fell upon his head.'

O. P. 'Your spirit is to judge, but I regard not your words; look you to your conscience, and I will look to mine. Yet for that of *Jehu*, why, what was that for? It was for fear lest the people should go back again to the house of *David* and to *Jerusalem*.' (And so he was running into the story of *Jeroboam*, but he was corrected. Then *Kiffin* said 'It is so;' then said *Mr. Rogers*, 'It is not so of *Jehu*, but of *Jeroboam*, which he speaks of.' Then he corrected himself, and said), 'Well, but *Jehu*—can you parallel it now? Why, his heart was hypocritical, and by

But some of that opinion do as Mr. T. G. and others.

They thought Mr. Rogers to be an antic, because he spake in power and great zeal.

policy clave to the same sin of his predecessors, and *Baal* again, to please the people.'

Ro. 'True, my Lord; and is it not so now?'

O. P. 'Hah!'—(saith he, and turned about to his army men)—'and so he spake of the army too. What can you say of them?'

Ro. 'I say they are an Apostate army, that have most perfidiously betrayed the Cause of Christ, broken their faith in so many Declarations and Engagements, and are odious to the Saints; yea, the very name of them will be odious to the children that are yet unborn.' (With that the army men—for many officers were by—were forely vexed, some grating their teeth and laying heads together).

O. P. 'I tell you,' (saith he in a chafe) 'I tell you, and you! that they have kept them all to a tittle. Not one of you can make it appear that they have broke one declaration or engagement, or a tittle of one; prove it if you can, any of you.'

Ro. Mr. Rogers did earnestly prefs for liberty to instance in some, and with much ado said—'My Lord, if you would have patience, I would instance in many.' (They scoff again).

O. P. 'Am I impatient, then? let them that stand by see! Nay, it is you are so full, like the Pamphleteers.'

Ro. 'They that write Pamphlets now never printed more lies and blasphemies since the world stood.'

O. P. 'I think so too.'

Ro. 'But, my Lord, if you please to let me speak, for if I be extreme, [it] is not "*passio concupiscibilis*," as we see in some men who speak all for themselves, whilst we seek only for Christ and his kingdom, but rather a "*passio irascibilis*," (which it may be is my weakness, but sure it is my indignation to sin and self, and that which I see set up instead of Christ); but if you will give me leave I will instance in declarations, as that in '47, for one, page 9, where they

For there were many postures and actions tending to disturb and interrupt him.

declare against any authority or absolute power in any person or persons whatsoever during life, saying the people so subjected were mere slaves, and that you would not have it so in any, no, not in any of your own army, or of your own Principles, nor yet of whom you might have most personal assurance, and that it was no resisting of magistracy to side with just principles, and much more to that purpose. Besides, in several others, as in Alban's, and that when the army went to Scotland against the Clergy and Tithes.' (But *Master Rogers* was interrupted, and not suffered to insist on any others).

O. P. 'And who? Hear me: who? — who, I say, hath broken that? Where is an arbitrary or absolute power? (nay, hear me): where is such a power?'

Ro. 'Is not the Long-sword such? By what law or power are we put into prison, my brother *Feake* above these twelve months, I above twenty-eight weeks, and several others of our brethren, and we know not for what to this day? which I say again is worse, yea worse than the Roman law. And is not this Arbitrary? And is not your power with the armies Absolute, to break up Parliaments and do what you will? But, if you please, let me instance in others.' (But they would not suffer him).

One of the army—some say *L. C. W.** 'Sir,' (saith he to *Mr. Rogers*), 'you say the army have broken all their Engagements.'

Ro. 'Yea, every one of them; and if they make another Declaration, they will hardly be believed again by good people.'

L. C. W. 'But I pray by what rule do you resist Powers set up of God?'

Ro. 'Sir, you are mistaken; we do not resist such as are

* Probably Lieut.-Col. Worsley, of Cromwell's own regiment.

But Mr. Ro.
was interrupted
and forced to
break off,
whiles O. P.
proceeded.

set up of God, but we resist sin in all men. And as *Luther* said, "Inveniar sane superbus, &c." I may be accounted proud, mad, or anything, but be it so, "ne modo impii silentii arguar, dum Christus patitur," rather than I be guilty of the sin of silence.'

O. P. 'Now, for the Army, they are resolved not to rest till they have performed all they engaged; and they are about it as fast as they can do it in order.' (And much to that purpose he spake. But then *Mr. Her.* desired to speak).

Mr. Her. 'I desire to speak a word.'

O. P. 'Well, do.'

Mr. Her. 'That gentleman' (meaning L. C. W.) 'asked by what rule we resist Powers. We desire, then, to be satisfied by what rule you resisted the King, and warred against him and his adherents, and destroyed the Government before, seeing they were accounted too a lawful authority. And consider how much blood cries under the altar, "How long, O Lord, holy and true?"'

O. P. Would undertake to answer by a long narrative of the people's grievances, the King's absolute power, and his seeking to destroy his subjects till they were forced to take up arms for their own defence, so that it was a defensive War; and the former Powers had broken their Engagements and forfeited their trust. Much more was spoken by one or other thereto. But saith he, looking upon *Mr. Ro.* 'Ha!'

O. P. 'I see he is full to speak.'

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, I am, for (ex concessis) our controversy is decided, and the case is plain on our side, and seems so now more than ever; for do not the poor people of God feel a Prerogative Interest now up? As the old Nonconformists, or the good old Puritans were persecuted, imprisoned, reproached, and denied protection from men, and therefore were forced to fly to God by faith and prayer and tears day and night, not ceasing till the Vial of

The Contro-
versy cleared
out of their
own mouths.

Wrath was poured out upon the heads of the King and his Prelates; so I say the new Nonconformists are abused, disowned, and denied protection, persecuted, imprisoned, banished, and forced day and night (yea thousands of them in city and country) to their faith, tears, prayers, and appeals, which are the “Bombarda Christianorum,” and will prevail, as sure as God is in Heaven, to bring down the next hot, scorching Vial of His Wrath upon these new enemies and Persecutors.

Besides, 2, in your own declaration, p. 7 of that 1643, you say it is no resisting of magistracy to side with just principles. And is it not just to side with that Interest which the blood of so many thousands of the Saints hath sealed to in the three nations, and so many Declarations, Vows, and Engagements have been made for, viz. for the Lamb’s, and against this your Interest, which we have all engaged, prayed, bled, and fought against? Now, my Lord, let the loud cries of the blood, shed against these things you have set up, be heard, and make restitution of that blood, those lives, tears, bowels, faith, prayer, limbs, and skulls of us and our relations left in the fields and laid out against this kind of Government, whether in Civil or Ecclesiastical; or else let us have what they were laid out for; otherwise we must and will, with the Lord’s help, side with those just principles that have been so sealed to and owned by the Lord. And this will be a most apparent defensive war as ever was in the world, to defend what the blood, and bones, and estates of so many thousands of the Saints of God have bought at so high a rate, which they are wronged [of], for they never thought of setting up this. And therefore I say, my Lord, if our God, the Lord Jehovah, do give his call, I am ready, for one amongst the Lord’s Remnant, “to side with just principles” in the strength of the Anointing, whether it be “prædicando, precando, or præliando,” by preaching, praying, or fighting.’

The state of the controversy is between Christ and O. P.—Christ's Government and Man's.

This speech seemed to trouble them all.

An Ignoramus brought in very honestly.

Sir Gibb. P[ickering.] 'Said you not "præliando?"'

'Yes,' (says *Mr. R.*), 'in the Spirit of the Lord, for the case was never so clear as now it is, in the state of the controversy. For the controversy is not now between man and man, one Government of the world and another Government of the world, or King and People, but it is now between Christ and you, my Lord, Christ's Government and yours; and which of these two are the higher Powers for us to side with and be obedient unto, judge ye.'

O. P. 'Ha! who denies the case to be clearer now? But I heard indeed it is some of your principles to be at it; Why, you long to be at it—you want but an opportunity.'

Ro. 'The Remnant of the Woman's seed must be at it when they have the Call. For I beseech you, my Lord, to consider how near it is to the end of the Beast's dominion, the 42 months, and what time of day it is with us now.' (But *Mr. Ro.* was interrupted).

O. P. 'Talk not of that, for I must tell you plainly they are things I understand not.'

Ro. 'It seems, my Lord, so, else surely you durst not lay violent hands upon us for the Testimony and Truth of the day as you do.'

B. D. (one of the Twelve). 'Why, then, do you imprison others for the light, if you yourself be so ignorant?' But then some of the Court creatures pulled him by the cloak, and laid violent hands on him, and called him stinking, base fellow, saying he knew not whom he spake to, nor where he was, giving him many uncivil words. But afterward one of them said to him, 'Ask for *Mr. Rogers* out of prison; ask for him, and my Lord will let him out.' But *B. D.* answered, 'No, Sir, we came not for that.'

B. P. 'Great men are not always wise.'

O. P. 'See!' says he, looking upon his army men.

Ro. 'They are not always wise with the wisdom of God, though they may have much carnal policy, subtilty, and

reason of state. But the seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head.' (Which *Mr. Ro.* speaking with a high voice and great alacrity, it made the Courtiers scoff at him as if he were a madman).

O. P. 'Ha! And thus they talk of the Ministry and Commissioners for Approbation, and say they are Antichristian.'

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, we do say so, and they are so, as to their standing upon a wrong, un-Gospel foot of account; and I will prove them, and your Triers (I speak not as to their persons, but as to their standing) Antichristian for matter, and form, and rule, by which they fit, and end for which they fit.'

O. P. 'You fix the name of Antichristian upon anything.'

Ro. 'Pray, my Lord, make no law against that name; let it not be Treason to use the name of Antichristian, for that name will up yet higher and higher, and many things that you think good and Christian will be found Antichristian ere long.'

O. P. (Being angry, looked on his army men). 'See,' (said he), 'and so all is Antichristian, and Tithes are so too, with you; but I will prove they are not.'

Ro. 'My Lord, you were once of another mind, and told me you'd have them pulled down, and put into a treasury.'

O. P. 'Did I ever say so?'

Ro. 'Yea, that you did, in the Cock-pit—the round place there; and said, moreover, that the poor should be maintained, and put to work with what remained of them, that we might have no beggar in England.'

O. P. 'Ha! there be many gentlemen know that I have been for them, and will maintain the justness of them.'

Ro. 'But, my Lord, how can that be that the National Ministry is not Antichristian?'

See your Ordinance, March 20, 1653. The ground is upon Patrons' right to present to cure of souls, the Creator is your L. P. Cromwell, the matter men of corrupt principles and practices, and most of them of the National Church; the end is to fill Parish-cures and get Tithes—all Antichristian.

O. P. 'See, now, how you run ! It is not a National Ministry that is now established, nor can you make it appear they are Antichristian.'

Ro. 'Yea, my Lord, without any difficulty : out of your own law, which hath constituted these Triers and High-Court-Commissioners to establish a worldly clergy.'

O. P. 'I tell you, you and you, that you cannot, for they ordain none.'

Ro. 'No ; but if the Pope, Prelate, or Devil should ordain them, they must approve of them, settle them in their parishes, and what not, if they be but conformable to——' (He is interrupted).

O. P. 'I tell you—I tell you, it is their Grace they judge of, and not for parts or learning Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.'

Ro. 'And who made them judges of Grace, my Lord ? At most they can but judge of the fruits of Grace, and how dare they take upon them to be judges over Grace ? It is not you, but the Lord Jesus, that can make them such judges.' (With that he turned away, as very angry).

B. H. 'My Lord, we are very much dissatisfied with what you have done against these prisoners of the Lord Jesus, for so they are, and we must count them so, for you have given us no satisfaction at all in what you pretend them to be as evil-doers.'

O. P. 'I cannot tell you, then, how to help it.'

B. H. 'For my part, I must declare against you, and will venture my life, if I be called to it, with these our brethren that suffer.'

B. Cr. 'As for those Articles, we have heard them read against our brother *Rogers* out of his sermons preached at Thomas Apostle's, and from what he prayed at Thomas Apostle's. Set aside but what is put in by your Informers, which we will take our oaths that heard them all preached, were never spoken by him ; only I say that excepted, we

will live and die with him upon those Articles, and will own him with our lives.'

'Yea,' said *Mr. Ro.* 'and I believe an hundred will that heard and writ them.'

O. P. 'Well,' saith he, 'I'll fend for some of you ere long, but I have lost this time, and have public business upon me at this time: I had rather have given £500!—I tell you there wants brotherly love, and the several sorts of forms would cut the throats one of another, should not I keep the peace.'

Ro. 'Those you call Fifth-Monarchy-Men are driven by your sword to love one another.'

O. P. 'Why, I tell you there be Anabaptists' (pointing at *Mr. Kiffin*), 'and they would cut the throats of them that are not under their forms; so would the Presbyterians cut the throats of them that are not of their forms, and so would you Fifth-Monarchy-Men. It is fit to keep all these forms out of the Power.'

Ro. 'Who made you, my Lord, a judge of our principles? You speak evil of you know not what. For that Fifth-Monarchy principle, as you call it, is of such a latitude as takes in all Saints, all such as are sanctified in Christ Jesus, without respect of what form or judgment he is. But "*Judicium fit secundum vim intellectualis luminis*"'—(He was interrupted).

O. P. 'What do you tell us of your Latin?'

Ro. 'Why, my Lord, you are Chancellor of Oxford, and can you not bear that language?'

B. C. 'My Lord, we have great comfort by the Ministry of our brother *Rogers*, and great miss of him, and therefore we have demanded his liberty, and desire to know whether he shall be at liberty or no.'

O. P. 'I will take my own time; you shall not know what I will do.'

B. H. 'Then let us have liberty to hear him preach.'

And yet for all S. Dendy's baseness to the poor persecuted people of God, and his readiness to prevent the Great Man's answer, he can let in as many as will come to the drunken profane prisoners and plotters, so that friends are glad to use their names (if they know any of them) that come to see Mr. Rogers.

S. Dendy. 'It cannot be, my Lord, for I have many prisoners, and 'tis dangerous.'

Ro. 'Pray, my Lord, consider that place in *Isaiah* xlix. 24, 25, 26, for the Lord will deliver the lawful captive in that day which is coming. You can but have my blood at last, and you had like to have had it already in the Prison ere this. Two of my children have died there since my imprisonment, and I have been at Death's door.'

B. H. 'It is unreasonable our brother *Ro.* should be kept prisoner so in such a place and at such a charge, as is for him above £200 per annum, and we know no cause for it, but his conscience.'

Then *S. Dendy* was spoken to, to answer for himself.

S. D. 'Now, my Lord, I see one of my accusers. I never demanded a penny of *Mr. Ro.* nor of my Aunt, his wife, who is one of *Sir Robert Payne's* daughters.'

O. P. 'I knew her father very well.'

S. D. 'But they have, my Lord, three rooms, and it cannot be allowed.'

Ro. 'No more room than one prisoner had before, being divided into three little rooms, and but one chimney in them all. The Plotter that went out before I came into them had them all. And for the fees, though you in person demanded them not, yet your man, old *Meazy*, did for you several times, viz. £4 4s. per week, which he did before witness, as I can prove under their hands, and he said I should not go out till the Serjeant had it. And what besides I was to pay you I was not to know till I went out.'

Mrs. Ro. said to *Serjeant Dendy*—'It's true, you have had but five pounds yet of it.'

O. P. 'Why, he is your nephew, who was accounted one that loved the people of God.'

Ro. 'So were others as well as he till this trial.'

Mr. Cre. 'My Lord, will you not give us the liberty to

hear him in the prifon then, feeing you will not let us hear him abroad?’

O. P. ‘Is that the liberty you fought for?’ fays he in a fcoff.

Mr. Cre. ‘Yes, Sir, and that which we demand.’ But then the Great Man would be gone, and as he was going out *Mr. Ro.* defired him to remember he muft be judged, and the day of the Lord was near, and that he would ere long, and thofe about him, find them that now he and they counted falfe Prophets in Windfor and Lambeth true Prophets, and what they have faid they fhould find come to pafs ere many years yet, for that the righteous Jehovah who fitteth on high heareth all our prayers, fighs, groans, and tears. But away he went, and would not hear.

As foon as we came out of the room *Serjeant Dendy* in the gallery threatened what he would do, and how he would fend them further off, and order them ere long, *Mr. Rogers* receiving the threatening without impatience or one word of reply unto him.

That very night a ftrict order was fent after him to Lambeth Prifon that no more than fix may come to fee *Mr. R.* at a time, no fuch order being made for any of the other prifoners, who have of lewd company as many as they will at a time. And fince that the gaoler hath been fo ftrict, efpecially upon the Lord’s days, according to his orders from Whitehall, that he will not fuffer one Brother to come in to fee him or to pray with him, that is fent from the Churches of Chrift upon thofe days, if he knows him, to keep a holy reft with *Mr. R.* But to pafs over that, and leave it to the Judge of heaven and earth, who we are fure will not overpafs it.

During this difcourfe between *Mr. R.* and the Great Man above, the brethren that were below in the yard had their fhare of reproaches and abufes. For the members of the Churches of Chrift who could not have accefs with

In the mean
time the
contumelies,
contempt, and
opprobrious

abuses the
members of
Mr. Feake's,
Mr. Rogers',
Mr. Raworth's,
and of some
other
Churches, met
with below in
the yard,
during the
foresaid
discourse with
O. Cromwel.

So that we
believe the
Lord hath a
little remnant
in the Army
also, whose
souls do
secretly mourn
for these
abominations,
and it is
observable that

Mr. Ro. were kept below, and encompassed about with divers of the debaucht soldiers, who when they heard us declare against those barbarous actions which the Guard so cruelly acted with their swords against our naked brethren and friends, those aforesaid soldiers began to question the occasion of our being there, which when we had told them they began to set up their voices, many of them hooting and hissing at us, as if we had not been Christians or creatures of the like make with themselves, telling us we had often risen, and they had allayed us, and they made no question but they should also allay us at this time, if we intended to rise. To whom we answered that there was no such thing in our eye now as to avenge ourselves by or with external weapons, but said, we have here Swords (showing our Bibles) which we believe will in God's appointed time, being guided and accompanied by his Spirit, destroy and cut in pieces your Swords, which now you draw against us and it.

Afterwards we further observed that whilst we were waiting below in the open yard for the return of our friend and friends, there being of us, as near as we can remember, betwixt forty and fifty persons, men and women, that we could find no place in the aforesaid yard where we might have any quiet, or be free from the uncivil reproaches, scoffing, jeers, blasphemous nicknames, and what not, which some of the aforesaid Foot-guard threw upon us with great contempt and scorn, telling us Bridewell and such like places were fitter for us than to be there.

But in the midst of their uncivil, unchristianlike, and very lewd language to us, we cannot but remember that spirit of remorse and pity which seemed to be in some of their Officers, to see us so abused, inasmuch as some of the Officers told us they were sorry to see such things, namely, the uncivil carriage of some of their soldiers; yet, said they, we cannot expect better where it is not.

Thus for the space of divers hours we were hurried up

and down, not being suffered to be in quiet in any one place without the company of divers of those unruly fellows, whom we should have been content to let hear our discourse would they have suffered us to stand still or in quiet. But they so uncivilly and most ungodlily shew their obscene and filthy speeches and actions . . . using such words as we are ashamed to utter or express, besides manifold more provocations, revilings, and threatenings, and sinful actions, wherein they seemed to take great delight.

But after *Mr. Rogers* and the Brethren that were with him came down into the yard many friends gathered about him. Whiles *Mr. R.* being remanded again to prison, was going to take water with his keeper, he heard *Major-General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Mr. Carew, Quartermaster-General Courtney, Mr. Ireton, Mr. Squib*, with many others, were there in the yard, so that *Mr. Ro.* went to them, and after joyful salutations, he told them he was going to prison again, and that there were articles put in by wicked men out of the prison against him, which he excepted against as illegal, and as given in by plotters, and men given to drinking, swearing, and such like sins, and some others which were read against him from Thomas Apostle's. But as he was telling this he was interrupted by one that cried out, 'That is false! it is false!' Upon which he was silent to look upon the man that so said, and it was *Mr. Kiffin*, who had crowded among us to listen for tales to carry to his Master, who then said, 'They were not articles put in by drunkards; that is untrue, &c. but by honest, godly men, that heard you at Thomas Apostle's.' To which *Mr. Rogers* replied that the articles were of two sorts—those read were from Thomas Apostle's, but those unread (which he excepted against) were from Lambeth, given in by such lewd men, and he saw them upon the table, and that his *Lord Protector* besides said they had informations from the prison, and moreover read one of them, viz. that of the

the Lord hath
by degrees
pulled the
choicest of
them out of
this Apostate
Army, that
they might not
partake of
their plagues,
as M. G.
Harrison, Col.
Rich, Col.
Okey, Col.
Alured, Adj.-
Gen. Allen,
M. G. Overton,
Maj. Wiggins,
Dr. Day, and
many others.

Great Dragon, and *Serjeant Dendy* sent them to *Mr. Thurloe*, as was proved ; so that it was not false, but very true. At which *Mr. Kiffin* was so silenced that he could not say a word for himself, which some of the gentlemen by seeing, reproved him for his rashness, and so *Mr. Ro.* and they parted, perceiving people to flock about them, and without doubt to have somewhat to inform their Great Master against *Mr. Ro.* or some of the poor Saints, but that is the principle or practice of self-seeking sycophants and Court parasites, to make themselves, and not care how they murder others or what they inform against them.

Whiles *Mr. R.* was carried away to prison again, the foresaid Gentlemen, of much merit and singular honour amongst the choicest Saints, for their unspotted sanctity and integrity to the betrayed Truth and Cause of Christ, went up to the Great Man, although before they could have any access the sword was drawn at them also, and fet at *Mr. Carey's* breast, but after eight or ten of them had liberty to O. P. they brought him the same kind of message from Jehovah that was before delivered him by the Twelve, making a

M.G.Harrison,
Col. Rich,
Mr. Carew, *
Mr. Squib,
Mr. Courtney,
Mr. Ireton,
and many
others, con-
tinued up the
Testimony and
the Demand to
O. P. the very
same night.

* Mr. John Carew was the second son of Sir Richard Carew of Antony. His elder brother, Sir Alexander Carew, was beheaded in 1644, by sentence of a Parliamentary Court-Martial, for attempting to surrender Drake's Island, in Plymouth Sound, to the King. John Carew signed the death-warrant of King Charles I, for which he was executed in 1660. Mr. Squib was one of the members for Middlesex in the Barebones Parliament.

When Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell visited Oxford, in 1649, an honorary degree of M.A. was conferred upon the chief officers of their staff, and amongst others upon Hugh Courtney. He is described by Anthony Wood as "an officer of note," and served afterwards as Quartermaster-General in Ireland. He sat for North Wales in the Barebones Parliament, while a member also of the Council of State.

Mr. Ireton was brother to Henry Ireton, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, was member for London in the Barebones Parliament, a member of the Council of State, and Lord Mayor of London in 1659.

Demand of the Lord's prisoners, and bearing their Testimony to his face against him and his Government.

In the mean time *Mr. Kiffin* below had got a company together in *Mr. Rogers'* absence, railing upon him, and saying he was a wicked man, and had told what was not true of the articles, and spake against his Lord. But *Mr. G.* a precious, godly Christian, and a member of the church at D. then spake aloud to *Mr. Kiffin*, as *Mr. Kiffin* did before to *Mr. Rogers*, saying, 'That's false, for I can,' says he, 'no more be silent for *Mr. Rogers* than you can be for your *Lord Protector*. What *Mr. Rogers* spake was truth, as he made it appear to your face,' and then he told him how. So that poor *Mr. K.* was silenced again the second time, and could not go on till a more private and clandestine meeting among his own kind of time-servers and self-seekers, where he might tell his untruths against *Mr. R.*, *Major-General Harrison*, and others without control (as we hear he, with some that belong unto him, have done at large), and have them taken upon the trust and credit of his word at a venture. It is but reason and gratitude to his Great Master to possess all he can against the poor persecuted Saints in the behalf of him to whom he is so highly obliged, above any one man almost in England, for his large favours and beneficial patentees. But ere long the Merchants who were made rich (by compliance with Babylon) shall weep and wail, and say 'Alas! alas!' (Rev. xviii. 15, 16).*

It is to be observed, that very day the sword was drawn twice at the Witnesses and Woman's feed. The Providence is also admirable; at that very juncture, when *Mr. R.* and the Brethren were before him to maintain the Testi-

Somewhat
observable.

* For an account of Kiffin's subsequent prosperity and misfortunes, see "Macaulay's History of England," ii. 488 (Ed. 1858).

mony and Demand made by the Twelve, that on that very day (many assemblies of the Saints in several places being hard at the Throne) the Lord should call out one (unknown to any of us) whole meeting of the praying number, being about thirty-four men, to go to Whitehall and bear their Witness also.

The concurrence of the Testimony and the Demand is no less considerable (seeing one had not the knowledge of the other's Message) that *Major-General Harrison, Mr. Carew*, and the rest should second the aforefaid Twelve by a mere hand and call of God, which they were obedient unto, which is very exemplary and encouraging to all the Saints and Churches in England, who are faithful to the cause of Christ, seeing so leading and calling a Providence.

The Demand and the Testimony is of a sudden gotten to a high pitch, which doth mightily raise up the expectations of the believing Remnant.

It is not meet for us to publish the matter of their Testimony, being of the same nature with this Narrative; neither can we do it so accurately and faithfully as we hope some others will. The present work of the day—to gag the misreports thereupon, for the quickening and strengthening them that are to follow us, calling for the publication thereof without delay, wherever it lies, and the rather for that those choice servants of the Lord Jesus, *Major-General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Mr. Carew*, and *Colonel Courtney*, are so cruelly used for their Testimony and the Truth's sake, having no fact but their faith to charge them with, and hurried away to prison with a troop of horse, we know not whither. So that the man must needs be wilfully blind indeed now, that will not see and say, The Saints are under persecution.

Therefore let not the good people of the nation be so shamefully abused and deceived as they have been with lying pamphlets and informers, whiles the Truth cannot,

The Testimony
up at a high
pitch.

M.G.Harrison,
Mr. Carew, and
Mr. Courtney
sent away,
with a troop of
horse, to
prison, we
know not
whither, the
22nd day of the
12th month
[February].

A word of
caution.

must not, dare not be printed, for fear of offending the men in Power and suffering a prison or worse. Of all, beware of that Abominable Oracle the late Ironmonger, but now Parish Preacher, *Walker* (his Weekly Proceedings), whose forehead hath for many years been plated and brazened in the trade and art of lying, making it his calling and his living (except the Triers help him more easily to the parish tithes). This drives the poor man to so much pitiful scraping among the Court clerks for a few lies to sell every week at an easy rate, that he and his family may live comfortably upon the lying, slandering, and traducing the Lord's peculiar ones, who are as the apple of his eyes. How lamentably he hath abused *Mr. Feake*, *Mr. Rogers*, *Major-General Overton*, and many others, is well known, and one day he must answer before the just Judge of all hearts with a wan countenance and woful conscience, however he thinks to palliate it at present with a 'So 'twas told me.' But, as *Solomon* says (Prov. xvii. 4), 'A liar giveth ear to a naughty tongue,' and the curse is threatened not only to them that make but them that receive and report lies (Rev. xxi). Therefore (Exod. xxiii. 1), 'Put not thy hand to an unrighteous witness.'

These things are published in mere love to the Truth and despised Saints of God, for whose sake we are contented to become a reproach in the world, and to suffer anything, by his grace, that man can inflict upon us, so our dear Lord Jesus may but reign, his Truth triumph, and his Kingdom be exalted. Amen, Amen."

As will presently appear, neither the "Message to O. C. by the Twelve," nor the reasonings of *Rogers*, nor the advocacy of *Harrison*, *Carew*, and *Courtney* could induce *Cromwell* to release his prisoner. In the mean time *Henry Walker* revenged himself on the Twelve for the abuse lavished upon him in the "Narrative," by publishing the following account of them in his "Perfect Proceedings:"—

"There are twelve men about London, said to be notorious

A man so base and scandalous as makes him horrible, and his name to stink among the Churches as very unfit matter to be a member of a Church, but rather fit to be excommunicated and exploded the Society of all the Saints for bringing so foul a reproach upon Religion, which he hath formerly pretended to, till he followed this Trade of Merchant for lies.

See page 179.

Perfect Proceedings,
March 27,
1655.

impostors, who pretend to be of a Society whereof *Mr. Rogers*, prisoner in Lambeth House, is overseer, but never a one of them are of the church at Westminster, of which *Mr. Rogers* is a member, but no overseer neither, but another minister of great worth and piety. Their names are *Hur Horton*, *Christopher Crayle*," &c. "notable firebrands, concerning whom divers honest, godly men are ready to make it appear that abundance of filthy, base lies have been raised and spread about the city by them, such as all good Christians had need to take heed they be not poisoned with, for it is thought they have some Jesuit or Popish priest at the helm with them, and they are much of the same spirit that *John Spittlehouse*, prisoner at Lambeth, is of, who was once an under-marshall in the army, and then bloody enough, but since he was stripped of that, as cunning an impostor as the twelve. This is but a touch of them. I have many of their pranks ready by me to make known if need be, but I had rather see them turn honest men."





CHAPTER VII.



AFTER his interview with *Cromwell*, *Rogers* was remanded to Lambeth Prison, where he remained until *Serjeant Dendy* procured from the Council of State the following order for his removal to Windsor :—

“ COUNCIL OF STATE.

Friday, 30 March, 1655.

His Highness present.

Lo. Presi. Laurence, Lo. Lambert, Col. Montagu, Mr. Rous, E. of Mulgrave, Col. Fiennes, Col. Sydenham, Col. Jones, Lord Lisle, Sir Gilb. Pickering, Sir Chas. Wolfley, Mr. Strickland.

A letter from *Serjeant Dendy* to the *Lord President* was this day read. Ordered by His Highness the *Lord Protector* and the Council that *Mr. Rogers* be removed from Lambeth House to Windsor Castle, and that warrants be issued to the *Serjeant at Arms* to convey him to Windsor Castle, and to the *Governor* of Windsor Castle to receive him in Custody.”

“ On the 30th of March, 1655,” says Wood, “ *Oliver* and his Council ordered that the said *Rogers* should be removed to Windsor Castle. Whereupon the next day he was carried there, and his wife rode after him.”

Rogers records the history of what he suffered as a prisoner at Windsor and elsewhere, in the book entitled “ *Jegar Sahadvtha*,” from which all the remaining part of this chapter is extracted. As usual, the title-page of the book is characteristic of the author; it is therefore reproduced here.

Fair Entry
Book of the
Council of
State,
in the Public
Record Office.
Athenæ Oxon.
ii. 595.

JEGAR SAHADVTHA : AN ORLED PILLAR.

Set up for Posterity.

Against the present *Wickednesses*, Hypocrisies, Blasphemies, Persecutions, and Cruelties of this *Serpent power* (now up) in *England* (the Out-Street of the Beast.) Or, a *HEART APPEALE* to HEAVEN and EARTH, broken out of *Bonds* and *Banishment* at last, in a Relation of some part of the past and present Sufferings of *JOHN ROGERS* in close Prison and continued Banishment, for the most blessed Cause and Testimony of *JESUS*; the sound of the Seventh Trumpet and the Gospel of the seven Thunders, or holy Oracles (called *rayling* by them in Power) sealed up to the time of the End.

From Carisbrook Castle in the third Year of my Captivity, the Fifth-Prison, and the third in Exile, having been hurried about from post to pillar,

Quia perdere nolo substantiam propter Accidentia.

Gen. 31. 36, 37. *What is my trespass? What is my sin, that thou hast so hotly pursued after me?—Set it here before my Bretheren and thy Brethren, that they may judge betwixt us both!*

Lam. 4. 3. *The very Sea-monster (or תַּנִּין Tannin the old Serpent) drawn out the Breast, they suckle their young ones (or Protected ones from the root גִּרְגֹר gur, he sojourned with or dwelt under), the daughter of my people is a cruel one, as the Ostritch in the WilderNESS.*

Lam. 3. 52, 53, 55. *Mine enemies have hunted, hunting me like a Sparrow without Cause (or grace of צֶדֶק chen), they have cut off my dayes in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me: I called upon thy name (O Jehovab) out of the under dungeon.*

Non Vindictâ fed Victoriâ.

“The poor Prisoner, Pilgrim and Exile in Caines-br-Castle from the top of Amana, the top of Shenir and Hermon, from the Lion’s den, from the Mountains of the Leopards, to all his fellow-citizens in Sion and fellow-separates out of Babylon, and to such as are not ashamed of our chain, especially in that Church Society whereof the Holy Ghost hath made him an Overseer.

BECAUSE the cruelty of this Serpent in England (whom effeminate lusting Eve-like professors have fallen in and fallen off and fallen down with) from whose face we fly till the time, times and a dividend (Rev. xii. 14), is hardly heard of, known, or believed abroad, his horns looking so like a Lamb, but that ye may hear a little how he speaks and persecutes like a Dragon, I have held it a duty for further discovery of him and his spirit, to publish thus much further of his Nimrodian Tyranny and Trading in this kingdom since the late Apostasy. That which I have seen and felt of his fury at Lambeth, for so many months, among monsters rather than men, so greedy of my blood, I omit here, as being mentioned in my preface to ‘Prisonborn,’ but that men, if they will, may see, what an unreasonable, beast-like Monster this is that rends, tears, and devours so, I have added this history of some passages since Lambeth, which I have suffered for the sake of my dear Master Jesus Christ in this his Cause.

Now I do declare it, as before the most Righteous and Holy Judge of Heaven and Earth, should any one ask me why I have been, that is as some say, upon the civil account, so long in prison, hard bonds and banishment, year after year (which long imprisonment the Martyrs accounted worse than death) I must acknowledge an absolute ignorance in my own conscience before God, angels, and men,

let some Timefervers say what they please for themselves, without this be it that I cannot in my conscience turn with the dog to the vomit, and in plain English, lie, dissemble, forswear, and play the traitor to Christ, the hypocrite to God, and the knave with men as others have done. I will not deny but my infirmities have been very many, which I think I could weep over the feet of any that shall reprove me for them, but what I have done worthy of imprisonment and banishment, (them excepted) I know not, this I can say from my soul, that I think as I preached, so I fought nothing but Christ and his Kingdom. Canutus, King of England, in those thick times of popery, did confess to all his lords about him no mortal worthy of the name of king, save He to whose beck, heaven, earth, and sea are obedient (Hen. of Hunt.), and shall we in these days after such solemn engagements for a Theocracy, as I have proved, admit of any other King, Lord Protector, or Lawgiver, to ravish us with their lusts? God forbid!

Wherefore, for Christ's sake, stand fast, unmoveable, and abounding in the work of the Lord, and I do profess, for my part, I will abide by it, for as one of the Martyrs often used Vespasian's saying, 'Imperatorem decet stantem mori,' it becomes us, that are Kings and Priests to God, (Rev. v. 10), to die standing, not stooping to the lust of any man, especially now the day of Christ is come. Therefore let us all fall in, and on, and stand to it, with the Lamb and the twenty-four elders, or the twenty-four orders of the Levites about the throne in this Cause, by which tribe of Levi are indeed to be understood the Generation Saints, the first-born, who like the Levites (before under a curse, Gen. xlix. 7) obtained the blessing for executing judgment (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28, 29) with the sword on their brethren and spared not. So that such Generation Saints (the twenty-four) shall join in one work and song with the Lamb, and with all the living creatures about the throne,

and with the Holy Angels, (Rev. iv. 9-11, v. 11) and altogether in one Hallelujah, Amen. As, Isaiah lii. 7, 8, which he waits for, who is buried with the body of Jesus in this new Sepulchre, where the soldiers seek to keep down his resurrection, and the hope of your brother,

JOHN ROGERS."

"A High Witness, or Heart Appeal, &c.

I SHALL take up a few of my subsecive hours, for the public good, in giving a short and succinct account of some few more of those barbarous, brutish acts of this Beast now up in Great Britanny upon my body, since my removal from Lambeth prison to Windsor, and into this Isle of Wight, where I am now, a poor pilgrim, prisoner and forsaken, banished man. As a preface to 'Prisonborn,' or my former treatise out of prison, I gave a narrative of some part of my Lambeth sufferings, and as an introduction to this 'Banishborn' (I intended it) I shall proceed so far as I think it my duty.

They brought me into the wide jaw of Windsor Castle the 31st day of the first month, 1655, delivering my body up to that den of Leopards, according to this order from their angry masters, procured by *Serjeant Dendy*, whom the Dragon hath given a power unto for a time, and times, and a dividend, but he acts as a serpent full subtilly:—

'These are to will and require you, to receive into your Custody from the hands of *Edward Dendy, Esquire*, Serjeant at Arms attending the Council, or his Deputy, the body of *Mr. John Rogers*, and him safely to keep a prisoner in Windsor Castle, until you shall receive further order from the Council. Hereof you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at Whitehall

Life and Opinions of a

this 30th day of March, 1655. Signed in the name and by the order of the Council.

HENRY LAWRENCE, *President*.

To the Governor of Windfor Castle or his Deputy.'

Thus *Serjeant Dendy*, upon monstrous reports of my preaching out of the prison grates, got this order by solicitation, and to screw up his power to the highest peg of severity, he sent strict orders to his under gaolers that neither man, woman, or child should come at me, nor any of my family stir out, so much as for food, money or any other necessaries whatsoever, inasmuch as my friends who came to visit me were forced to stand in the street, with soldiers at their heels, to hear what we said, whiles I spake out at the iron bars unto them. And in the night, when no one of my friends or acquaintance might hear a word thereof, he sent a messenger, very late, to bid me be ready by six in the morning, for I must be carried on the other side the water, this being the first notice I had of their secret design, nor would he tell me whither, to whom, or for what, nor (as then) show me any order for it, nor would he suffer any of my friends to know of it, but to my great astonishment I heard some calling under my windows almost all night and by day break very much, whom we thought our enemies, till the morning discovered them to be our friends, who by a special providence of God were raised out of their beds and had heard a rumour that I was to be carried away that morning by day break, and waited at the prison gates where I was to come out, with many tears, and prayers, and supplies of my wants, but the ruffians, struck, shoved, and pushed them away what they could, and hurried me from them, and so carried me to Windfor Castle.

That day word was given before to the Governor of the

Cattle, and by orders the soldiers were set on both sides, with their arms and matches light, to receive the prisoner coming; but when they saw me come in, some of the Officers told me, they were ready to sink down in the place where they stood, they expecting some Cavalier, or lewd person rather, and not me, as they said, to be so dealt with, some of them knowing me both in this nation, and in Ireland, and looking upon one another with amazement, saw it an apparent persecution, as they said upon good men for their conscience and the Cause of Christ. After a longer attendance I was put into a little room, which had one little window, and which did so excessively smoke, that the wind made it worse than a prison, if in that cold season we would keep a fire, the very coals thereof being blown into the room about, but I ran to the door to ease my eyes a little, and to take some air, thinking to have walked a little in the yard, but it was denied me, the sentinels standing at my door to keep me in, yet afterwards, for very shame, and perhaps pity, I had more liberty, and the sentinels were taken off, which continued till the sixth of the third month ensuing.

With a tolerable modesty and humanity, they admitted me the liberty of the prison, and access to my brother *Feakes'* chamber for one month, without interruption, where we worshipped the Lord together. But on the 29th day of the second month [April], being the Lord's day, in the absence of the Governor, two of the officers, viz. *Capt. Weston*, and one *Pepper*, an ensign, the latter (being lately fetched out from a common soldier, and lifted up with so sudden an excessive pride, conceit, and ambition, zealous of higher promotion and therefore striving to exceed and so to supplant his superior in cruelty to us), falling out with the other for admitting us to meet in the worship of our God upon the Lord's days, although privately in our prison chamber, and to amend so great a mistake and foul a crime,

they forthwith forced a Sentinel upon the door to hinder me going up to my fellow-prisoner's chamber, which, when I saw, I was desired by the Lord's people present to begin there, and so I drew out my Bible; at the door, (several of our friends, with my brother *Feake* being by), we began in an Hymn and prayer, proceeded on with the text, but was often interrupted by the soldiers, and the hearers driven away with violence, at last the aforesaid officers admitted we should go into the Chamber as before, and took off the Sentinels, and so we continued together with much comfort, a few of us, in praying, singing, and exhorting one another, until late at night, according to the primitive practice of the persecuted Saints. But the Devil did not like this, and therefore against the next Lord's day following he had made ready his rage, the day before which the Governor* himself, being come home, and instructed with the matter by his *Ensign Pepper*, sent for us two prisoners with a peremptory sword power of *coram nobis*, who after we had looked up to the hills, from whence our help comes, went readily and cheerfully. The Governor assaulted us fiercely with some other of his officers like fell beasts, charging my fellow prisoner with a foul fault in his child of three or four years old, that he should call O. C. fool, at which my Brother F. said that he would affirm more, viz. that he is a tyrant, which made them high in their rage against him, with whom I thought I was bound to bear my witness modestly, but the Governor brake out into such bitter rage, that he was mere anger, without ears, or reason, threatening to lay me forthwith into the hole, if I preached against his master. At which I rejoiced, and said, yea do,

* Colonel Whichcot who six years before had "roughly and positively" refused to allow Charles the 1st to be buried according to the rites of the book of Common Prayer (Clarendon, vi. 242) was still Governor of Wind-for Castle. *Feake* mentions him by name.—*Thurloe*, v. 757.

Sir, with all my heart, I am as ready to suffer it for my Master, as you are to do it for yours; and I tell you, Sir, I fear not the worst you men can do, and, with the Grace of my God, I will preach for my Christ, against *Cromwell*, or any other that oppose Christ, though I die for it; if I have but a peeping hole, or a hole to breathe out at, I shall preach, if you do not suffer us to do it in our prison lodges privately, for my commission is not from man, but God, and my authority is greater from above than thy power. In the interim, be it known to thee, that I fear neither thee, nor thy sword, in these matters of our God.

The next day (being the Lord's) they began to put their hell-begotten plot into practice, for our friends that came to visit us from London they kept upon their guard, and would not admit them to us, which when my con-captive heard, unknown to me, he went into the chapel, and with the people's leave, he began prayer in the pulpit, which they were attentive unto, I, hearing thereof, whilst I was pleading with the Governor in the yard for our Christian liberty upon the Lord's day, to meet together in our chambers, to pray and worship (who was called from me to fetch soldiers) I went into the chapel, where he was praying, without the least touch of the times, or government, I stood at the pulpit door, but by and bye came up a file or two of soldiers armed, and ready as if they would have discharged presently upon us, led up first by the Governor and then by a Serjeant, one *Baker*, all very imperiously, and with their hats on. This *Baker* till then seemed unsatisfied with such unchristian proceedings, but upon his rise to preferment of an Ensign he became very rigorous like the rest, he came up to the pulpit door where I stood between him and my fellow-prisoner still praying, and, laying hands on me to pull me down and him out, I spake softly to him saying, 'O will you, a great professor and one who seemed smit in conscience for such cruelty, exercise it, and where too? when

he is praying! let him but pray out, tarry but a little.' 'What,' says he, 'will you justify him?' 'Oh and alas,' said I, 'and should I not? Is he not serving of a good Master? Do not fight against Christ so, oh, do it not, let him but conclude his prayer.' 'Pull him down,' saith the Governor. I said, 'Sir, let him but pray out a quarter of an hour, but till the Minister comes.' But then said the rude soldiers to *Baker*, 'Do you not hear the Governor, pull him down,' and up came the soldiers like raging beasts, the Governor standing under the pulpit to see the execution. Then the first soldier of the file with his musket struck at my brother *Feake*, while he was yet praying, but I standing received the blow, the Governor still pursuing his command, so that *Baker*, (being prejudiced as hath been gathered by his words against brother *Feake* for his judgment against dipping, which this *Baker* was so rigid unto) and the soldiers pulled, and tore me, who held the pulpit door, with such bitterness, eagerness, and roughness, that they therewith and the blows struck at us, that fell upon the pulpit door, brake it in pieces, and so pulled me down, and laid violent hands on him, and carried us away with very great abuses, both in word and deed, *Pepper* with one party of soldiers sent with me, who did drag, hale, punch and push me one way to my prison lodge, and another party of soldiers carrying him, another way, to his prison lodge. Our friends, who seeing us so brutishly handled offered to intercede, or speak for us, were beaten, threatened and put quite out, and not suffered to visit either of us. After a little breathing being thus haled in and kept close with Sentinels set at our doors, my brother *Feake* began to preach out of the prison window, which I heard at my prison door, the day being very calm, where the Sentinels stood to keep me in, and when they beat up the drums to drown his voice at that end, I at my end was stirred up upon the same subject and text to proceed until the drums

ceased, and then he began again. In the afternoon, at the door, on the same subject, I proceeded, (some few of our friends that came from London having gotten into some holes and corners in the yard, where they were hid, to hear), but in my prayer was a Serjeant with soldiers sent up to drive me in and stop my mouth, a little fierce man, who fell to it with great fury. As I was yet in prayer holding up on a brick in the wall, desiring with tears the Lord to open their eyes and consciences, some two or three of the poor soldiers were struck in their consciences, and though commanded could not fall on in that duty, but with tears desired the rest of their fellows to let me alone, saying they would to prison first. But the little fierce Green Dragon, the Serjeant with some others, fell on the more barbarously, laid hold on my throat as if to have strangled me, tore off my cloak and rent it, and me, my arms, and clothes, still I praying, and looking up to my God whiles they were beating, bouncing, tearing and thumping me. And then I said, 'Yea, strike on, strike on, thus did the soldiers deal with Christ my Master, him they beat, haled, thumped, spit on, and the disciple is not better than his Master, beat on, beat on, sirs, O, blessed blows!' But thus they cast me in, and shut the doors upon me, and set other Sentinels upon me. So after a little breathing, being so cruelly handled, I continued out at my prison window, preaching, singing, praying, and praising my most dear Lord and Father in Christ who hath made me, so poor a sinful wretch, to be numbered and accounted among them that suffer for Jesus, and his Kingdom's sake. In this close imprisonment, though nothing so close as now it is, I was, though very ill and sore in my body, stirred up to exercise every morning, as I use to do in my family, at the window of the prison for the benefit of the poor Sentinels who stood under in the yard, expounding the Scriptures, and praying, and upon the third day of the week, which was the eighth of the third month, 1655, my brother

[May, 1655.]

Feake with two soldiers at his heels passing by stood still to hear me pray, but an Irish Ensign, then captain of the guard (formerly I hear a Cavalier) commanded them to bring him away, and not let him stand, but he said, Let me alone a little, I am much refreshed, pray hear, says he, &c. But that Ensign sent up more soldiers, who pressed much upon him, but he said he was about a good work, and wished them also to hear the prayers, but *C. W.* said it was forbidden fruit at that time, and desired one to come to me, and speak to me to be so civil as to forbear praying, but the party refused so to do. The Ensign called upon them to bring him away without delay and to take him by head and heels, but a poor Serjeant, an officer sent up for that purpose, refused so to do, and said he had rather go to prison, yet entreated *B. F.* to come away, and when he found his arguments of no more force with him in that duty the Serjeant was returning, but in the way this wicked Ensign, whose feet were swift to shed blood, saluted him as an enemy, for not tearing him away by head and shoulders at first, with sword and scabbard struck blows in such strength that the iron thereof cut through his skull, and brake his brain-pan. So sadly gashed, mangled, and wounded, the blood spinning out a great distance from him, he with much ado reeled to a seat, where he assayed to break his sword, and throw away his scabbard, with a witness against them to wear it no more in such service. But in the mean time this enraged monster with his naked sword laid about the rest who now ran away with *B. F.* as with a light burden, and so, like the dog in the smith's forge, they that would not stir at the many strokes upon God's anvil, whiles we were at our work, could run now at the sight of a wand, yea, with wind in their wings, lift up their Ephah (*Zech. v. 9*). Work, poor wretches! Such miserable slaves are they all. According to the Arabic adage (which for want of characters the press omits) 'Men' la a-rifo-tchaira,

&c,' they that cannot discriminate are company for beasts. The Serjeant was conveyed into a house, and as it was by the Chirurgeon himself supposed, mortally wounded, and a dead man, for after he had taken out two or three pieces of his skull, he concluded him doubtful of recovery, if not beyond it, it being so contiguous and ambiguous, for at last he found it but a hair's breadth between him and death, being hewed to the caruncles and concavity of the head, and should have utterly despaired but that the cerebran skin was marvellously kept from the cuts. Thus blood was shed in their rage against religion and the worship of God, who formerly and when it was their interest have with blood contended for it. But the Avenger of blood will pursue these sons of *Belial*, and woe unto them that build their city in blood, for when their plague comes the name of their place shall be called Kibroth-hattaavah, the graves of lust, for whiles the flesh is between their teeth the Lord shall smite them. In the interim consider—

First, that we lie as yet among the pots in the hot kiln, the iron furnace of Egypt between the very hearths, where the fire is kindled in the hottest urn among the tile-pots. I mean in those ovens of men's wrath—garrisons of soldiers.

Secondly, we may see 'e polypragmosyne,' the pragmatical proclivity and activity of the Cavalierish spirit to prosecute and execute the rage of the Beast upon us under the Sword Sovereignty.

Thirdly, it appears a conviction of conscience is a capital crime with them, and merits cutting, flashing, and shedding of blood without mercy, calling the touch of conscience contempt, melancholy, and madness, they themselves being feared, and having made shipwreck thereof.

Fourthly, it is evident we are under as barbarous a spirit of the Beast as at this day exercised in any part of the world, and as miserable a servitude as among the Turks, for in all places they will use their prisoners civilly, and not

multiply afflictions upon them every day as these men do, and study to, much less so monstrously and murderously hack and hew men for making conscience in their unreasonable commands. But to make us in a yet more Turk-like slavery, and that what is now our cause may be quickly the case of others, and of all, if need be, behold the Bashaws and Begler-Beys sent down to settle their Divans and Militia into every county,* with the Timariots also, and Zamiacks, or Deputy Bashaws, under them, besides the Janizzaries, Gemoglanies, and Spahies, or Guards, about their Grand S. at Whitehall. And in the army there are also their Achingies (Hinds of the Country) or new Militia troops, too, to forage up and down for prey, and to keep the Lord's Lambs from meeting and feeding together on Christ's commons. Is not this a new Turkey, then? Let them palliate all as they will with good words, yet as the proverb is, 'Soltanon bila adalin kanakrin bila maa.' 'Their Sultan without justice shall be found like a brook without water,' and neither his soldiers nor multitudes, can save him when the time of his judgment is come, 'Islah ho-rai, &c.'

Fifthly, it is certain, too, these red *Esaus* must have red meat, I mean blood, to feed on, and I easily foresee with what greediness and design they do provoke poor simple plain *Jacobs*, honest hearts, by exaggerating and accumulating, to some rising or (untimely) action of defence, for them to have a full blow at them, the belly-ful's of the Saints' blood, which they so much threaten and thirst after, that their Shebna himself said he could freely have his arms up to his elbows in their blood.

* About this time the counties of England were distributed into districts and with their militia placed under the government of "Major-Generals." The arbitrary conduct of these military governors and their substitutes caused great dissatisfaction.

Sixthly, it is our comfort that all they can do unto us is but to drive us to our God and Father. For a testimony whereof, I must refer to that beam of light which led me into a most lucid and facile supputation, proved and illustrated in my foresaid treatise, having found very excellent food from the roots of the Hebrew (Chaldy, Samaritan, Syrian), Arabic, (Persian), and Æthiopic tongues, which I daily converse with, and reading the Scriptures by, I find Manna wrapped up in the Dewes of Heaven.

But to proceed. Upon the 16th day of the third month, 1655, were Commissioners sent from Whitehall, in a colour of justice to be done for our diversified injuries, which by this had made a loud noise in the ears of men, so as the Courtiers were put to this policy for a shift, and in pretence of wrongs done unto us, and to enquire after the matter of fact, we found the integral of their negotiation to be against us, that all the information they could squeeze out of any sorts of persons, soldiers or enemies, might be modelled and formed up together against us, and so presented to their *Lord Protector*. The Commissioners that sat upon us were *Mr. H.* Mr. Wood, Mr. Cresset, Mr. Carter, Mr. Woodard, Mr. B., Mr. Oxenbridge, and Angelo*. The first day they sat I was interrupted in the duty of expounding and praying in the morning, and from my sweat out of that exercise taken away by the Marshall in the company of my brother *F.* to be cooled in

* *Mr. Cornelius Holland* originally served the King, then sided against him, and sat in the High Court of Justice which condemned him to death. He was M.P. for Wendover in the Long Parliament, and his name, as well as that of *Col. Whichcot*, the Governor of Windsor Castle, appears on the list of many Berkshire committees. *Mr. Woodard* was Vicar of Bray, near Windsor; and *Oxenbridge* was a fellow of Eton, and *Woodard's* son-in-law.—*Athen. Oxon.* ii. 537.

the other. When we came before them in the Governor's lodgings they told us their errand by the mouth of *Mr. Holland*. We desired to see their Commission and to hear it read, which their clerk did; and as on the one side it signified some wrongs we had received of the soldiers, so on the other side (and which was the main body of the business) upon complaint against *Mr. Christopher Feake* and *Mr. John Rogers*, that they stirred up the soldiers to sedition and mutiny against their officers and the Government, those whose names were underwritten by the foresaid Commission were authorized to examine and make report to him. Given under his seal manual, and in the head of it *O. P.* When we heard it, the design was obvious unto us. Under the head of hearing a little of what we should say, to hear all they could possibly scrape up, or that any could forge or find out against us. Brother *Feake* first spake, and I seconded him. We both told them we were in the capacity of prisoners, and that close, but if they had power to right us we required our due liberty, or at least to be in *statu quo* and to have the liberty of the Castle as the Cavaliers and all prisoners but ourselves had to breathe in; but that denied, we demanded a copy of their Commission. We were bid to withdraw, and after a long debate called in again with this recusation—that we did not own the Government, and therefore they could not allow us a copy of their Commission without we would own the Power that sent them. We told them that was not the point, nor was it now the matter in hand, yet we could assure them we should not own them as they were Commissioners, for so our lives would be in jeopardy and our liberties betrayed, for that what they were to do was as Justices of the Quorum, to hear, examine, prepare, and to give their prepared papers to their *Lord Protector*, whereby he may pretend we have had a trial, depositions taken, and nothing rests to do but to hang or head us; therefore we did not intend to be involved into

such a snare, nor to be thus treated with or tried in a hole. Answer was made us they had no such design, but we told them they had not the intentions of their *Lord Protector* in their hands, however, and through our simplicity, and it may be theirs too, he might make his game; but although as Commissioners we would not meddle with them, yet as brethren or friends in an amicable way, we were ready to give them or any other an account of our faith, hopes, and sufferings. Answer was made us they were our friends and brethren too, but were sent for our good, and sat to hear what injuries we received. We told them, whether for our good or hurt, we excepted against the matter, the form, the rule, and the end of their Commission, and could take no cognizance of them in the capacity of Commissioners. For matter, I said, for that some men, as *Mr. Oxenbridge*, &c. were parties concerned; as to form, they were an illegal court, nor ought they to rake the prisons for informations against poor prisoners; but to immure us so long and barbarously, and now to stir every stinking puddle to find matter for it is not fair, but like the Tyrant that did first hang the man and then hear his cause, or the Constable (as the *Protector* calls himself) that first knocks the man down and then bids him stand, &c. Besides, as they were incompetent judges, and no authentic court, so the end for which they sat (let them shape it as well as they can) was wicked and unchristian, to rake up informations and declarations against us in the matter of our faith and consciences. They told us they were to take report of matter of fact. We saw it incumbent to deal plainly with them, and to tell them the utmost our enemies had to impeach us was but for words in preaching and praying, or Christian conference with us. *Mr. Oxenbridge* answered that words were matter of fact. With that we knew their meaning, and *Mr. H.* said he must needs confess the charge against us was very high; yea, said we, in your calendar or law

See p. 174

you make it Treason to do such things as in your Commission seems charged upon us; but we valued not that, yet insisted upon a copy of their Commission.

The next day these locomotive Commissioners adjourned to Frogmore, the Governor's house beyond the town, and there sat to hear, receive, and examine all that would come in with any accusation against us, which we in close prison were kept in ignorance of.

The next day early *Mr. Br.* came to me (who had preached the day before a little too reflecting upon us, but being my worthy friend, I am tender of him and entirely respect him), he desired me to forbear my exercise, which I did that morning, and we were hastened again before these gentlemen, with a friend or two then with us. They offered then to read the accusations and informations they had taken up against us if we would consent they should report them to *O. P.* But we said, as before, our minds were the same, and they were the same, so that as Commissioners we would not so much as hear them read to us or reply a word to them, with which they were offended, and we renewed our exception against them, both grey and black Missionaries, the Ministers having no such rule from Christ left them to sit in Commission thus against their brethren, nor had the other either law or conscience to commend them to this employment, and particularly in that some there present were constituted members of the High Court of Justice for the punishing them with death who should declare *Charles Stuart* or *any other person* chief Magistrate in the three nations, &c. and this they had solemnly sworn to so. I drew out the Act of Parliament to read it to them, and offered reasons why we could not in conscience take cognizance of them, but they were deaf and obtuse of hearing; yea, two or three of them, viz. *Mr. Wood* and *Oxenbridge*, rent away from the rest in discontent, and so, after a little discourse with some of the other about the Fifth Kingdom,

they dissolved, and left us in our close prisons and cruel hands where they found us. They went home with a flea in their ears, it seems, but well fraught with informations against us to their master, who hath doubtless laid them up with the rest for a timous and more terrible treatment, and whiles with *Joab* they say brother with the one hand, they stab us with the other hand under the fifth rib, and shed out our bowels in the dust. But the Lord will raise the dust of Sion (Ps. 102), and in general we may note,—

First, that Apostates are the worst and subtlest sort of persecutors, and of all people most brutishly bent on their own ways, &c.

Secondly, that more justice is to be had from a down-right heathen Government than from an apostate interest.

Thirdly, that the Justice of God doth ever avenge with the sword upon an apostate interest (Lev. xxvi. 25), ‘I will bring the sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant.’ So Exodus xxxii. 27. Now this Apostasy is that which immediately precedes the rise of the Holy Camp or Sword in this our street first (Rev. xi. 3, Dan. vii. 22, 25, 27) at the end of the forty-two months.

This is the male child that Sion’s travail will bring forth now immediately, and begin to move us; yea, the sound of the seven trumpets gives the alarm, and the third woe is now at hand. Only this caution love as your lives, as not to stay behind at the Call, so not to stir untimely, lest you fall before your enemies, like them (Numbers xiv. 40, 42, 44), and they be heightened against you. But be first united in the inner court and the outer. Yea, these called Fifth-Monarchy-Men and Commonwealth-Men must unite too* upon the principle of Righteousness to all men, which

* “That party of men called ‘Levellers,’ who call themselves ‘Commonwealth’s-men.’”—O. Cromwell’s speech, Jan. 22, 1655, in *Carlyle*,

may easily be obtained, and then, March, for the signs are upon us, and the trumpets sound, Horse, horse, and away!

Fourthly. . . . And note from hence, 1. . . . 2. . . . 3. . . . 4. . . . 5. . . . 6. What eminent testimony hath been borne from Heaven against these practices of theirs. For at Lambeth the great accuser *Abdy** was stabbed that day he should have been rewarded by them for his good service, and another, one *Porter*,† spitting upon my head when I was preaching with my head out at the grates, killed one of their own officers, for which he lies in the Gatehouse, if he be not executed: and here at Windfor, *Mr. Wood*, one of our bitterest enemies amongst the Commissioners, pleading much for the Governor and soldiers in the wrongs they did us, hath not enjoyed himself since, as it is reported, but was presently after snatched away by a sudden hand of God, so that ‘in the way of Thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for Thee.’ And as Judges v. 31, ‘So let all Thine enemies perish, O Lord,

ii. 330. “There have been endeavours—as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy-Men and the Commonwealth-Men, that there might be union in order to an end—no end can be so bad as that of Herod’s was—but in order to end in blood and confusion.”—O. Cromwell’s speech, 17th Sept. 1656, in *Carlyle*, ii. 436. See also *Thurloe*, vi. 185.

* “Fleet Street, London, Jan. 18.—There was one hanged this day at Fetter Lane end named James Rawlins, who not long since, in a mad ranting humour, took a resolution to kill the first he should meet; and so meeting in the street one Mr. George Abdy, he without any more ado ran him through. He upon the gibbet acknowledged the fact that he killed him wilfully, and professed hearty repentance.”—*Merc. Pol.* No. 241.

† “March 28.—Young Porter, son of Endymion Porter, who lately carried away a young lady formerly mentioned, was brought before his Highness, he having yesterday run a soldier through in Covent Garden, who is since dead. He was committed for it to the Gatehouse.”—*Perfected Proceedings*, No. 286.

but let them that love thee be as the sun when he goeth forth in his strength.' Amen and Amen.

My imprisonment at Windfor continued until the second day of the eighth month. Upon the first day of the eighth month, in the evening, a Cornet of horse came to Windfor with orders from Whitehall (or hell, rather, as from men, but indeed as to us from Heaven) to carry us away with him to Sandown fort; and so he gave us time to prepare till the next morning, and we must not dispute it. My difficulty lay in the managing of this so sudden news to my poor wife, who was very weak and in childbed, ready to sink upon any sudden motion, in so dangerous a condition as she was, being but four days (not five full) out in childbed, after so hard and sore a labour as gave her up in the judgment of them about her for a dead woman, or at least the child, but that the God of prayers, yea, our prison God, almost beyond expectation saved both, but yet so as the least trouble, grief, or sudden fright would probably have endangered her as much or more than before. This made me look up to Him in whom I centre, who giveth wisdom and upbraideth not. Weighing her weakness, for a space of time I was treating with her upon the promises especially to the persecuted and suffering ones for Christ, and so was I first insinuating, preparing, warming and affecting her heart with the precious truths and promises before I could break the matter unto her, who notwithstanding received it with tears and troubles of heart, not knowing whether they would banish me to Barbados, or such like place, or else barbarously murder me before we see the faces of one another more, and not having time to provide for wife or children, or the poor Prison-born babe, I was the next morning, notwithstanding I wanted necessities, and had not riding coat, boots, or things fit for such a journey, yet with musketeers and officers they fetched me out of my chamber by violence, and rent

[Oa. 1655.]

me from my weak wife in childbed and weeping babes and children about me. But I bleſs the Lord that I had firſt ſome ſealing refreshment to my inward man. For in my ſleep, before I waked in the morning, the Lord met me, at which I ſaid, 'Jehovah is on my ſide; I will not fear what fleſh can do unto me,' with which I awaked, fell to prayer, and aroſe preparing my family with prayers and exhortation to all that were about me; and conveying a few of my papers into the bottom of my ſtockings at the ſoles of my feet, to preſerve them from their hands and ſearches, I was brought away to my brother *Feake*. So by force we were brought to horſeback, and with the troopers led like the flock of thy ſlaughter, O Lord (Zech. xi. 4, 5), the poor people on both ſides the ſtreets, ſtanding weeping, lifting up their eyes, bleſſing, pitying, and praying for us as we paſſed through, to ſee us ſo carried and hurried into baniſhment for the name of Chriſt. I bleſs my God I much rejoiced, though I was ſo harſhly rent from my deareſt relations and worldly commodities, not having one foot of land, houſe, or eſtate in the world to live upon, but only the providence of my God. And yet I ſang, I ſay, in this bleſſed ſuffering for joy, like the bird of the day or the nightingale at the thorn. Yea, 'Dum ova in gremio ſunt.'

The firſt night we reached Farnham. The next morning was very cold, bluſtering, ſtormy, and bitter; yet before I was fully ready they had taken horſe and I was called away and ſtayed for, ſo I haſted and we rode through great rain, ſtorm, winds, and very fore weather to Alton, I think they call it, where we about noon being ſoaked quite through our clothes, and I and ſome others bitterly ill, feveriſh, and weary, had leave to reſreſh a little with fire and proviſions for ourſelves and horſes. So we all tarried there a ſmall time hoping it would hold up, the weather yet continuing as bad as before, and the way which we had to go being worſe, which made the Cornet and his company

of troopers well content we should tarry until the next morn, and myself, being very violently afflicted with the headache and in a high, burning, feverish distemper, did much desire it, as also did our friend, C. D. (now Epaphras our fellow-prisoner), he being likewise somewhat troubled with the pain in head, so I laid me down upon the bed, brother *Feake* and his wife being both well, through the goodness of God. Yet some of them would be going, although we were so ill, and the weather and the ways so exceeding bad, but then I did beg in that bitter distemper to stay but one hour upon the bed, only until I had took a little slumber, hoping to be a little better by it, but I could not obtain it, notwithstanding some did entreat it for me, yet to no purpose, for away they went, took horse and left me behind with some troopers to follow in that violent, bad weather, which I was but ill provided against, which when I saw I was forced to arise, muffle my face about with a scarf, and ride after a great pace not only to overtake them, which I soon did, but to get to some inn as soon as I could possibly, that I might lie down and ease my afflicted head, the Cornet straightways appointing the place we should go unto that night, which was a little village three or four miles short of Portsmouth, whither, I bless the Lord that enabled me! though with pain I reached, some of the troopers and the Cornet himself being with me, late at night; I called for a chamber, which the host brought me into, a little poor pitiful room, and made a fire. I laid my head a little on a bed for ease, yet I entreated the man to make a good fire and provide a room for my brother *Feake* and his wife, who were near, the which he did, and six, yea six, were forced to lie in my room all that night, and some four or five the next day and night, when we came to Portsmouth, so ill were we accommodated in lodgings.

The next day, being the fifth of the 8th month, 1655, we were in the morning called away with the tide to trans-

port out of our native country into exile, which was some trial to our flesh, not knowing their further design therein ; but whiles I was committing it to our Heavenly Father, I was called away and the friends that were with us, so we went to the waterside ; and upon the sea-shore I put my brother *F.* in mind of our Lord and Master's practice upon the seashore to the people, and of Paul's practice at such times to preach ; whereupon he agreed, and began speaking until the tide came very near us, then I essayed to exhort the people, which were gathered about and did affectionately hear, out of Acts xxviii. 20, but the Cornet forbade me and interrupted me often with the tides rising upon us and the people's increasing, so I was broken off abruptly in the midst of the application, at which the people showed abundance of affection by tears abundantly, prayers, and earnest cries to the Lord for us, some laying hold on my hands, some on my garments ; and so we parted, the people looking after us upon the shore a long time, and so we were carried away to Ryde, tossing but a little on the seas, and there horfed away, and conveyed to Sandown fort. A mile before we came at it, the Ensign who was the keeper being at Brading, and knowing who we were, rode galloping, and overtook us, but gave no respect at all ; he kept on before us prisoners very full and fell, as it seems, against us, at a venture speaking such bitter and enraged words, as made us wonder, and the Gaol being as black as the Gaoler and as threatening an earth-hole, without shelter, tree, or house about it, upon the sea and bogs, it looked already as if it were the end of the world to us, insomuch as the very troopers were troubled and wept, some of them, to see it (a little description of the place I gave in my Post-script of the Prisonborn Treatise, and so I shall forbear here), but when we came to it, we were carried into the fort, or rather dungeon, lately made out of the earth, so bad as the worst prisoner, or Cavalier, that ever they had they never cast into it, though

Mr. Bull speaks of one *C. Kern* put there, nor was ever any prisoner, as the *Ensign* himself said it often, put there before, and for many nights, six nights together after our weary journey, they made us lie in our clothes, notwithstanding they had bedding locked up in a room, allowing us neither bed nor straw, thus turning us into the hole like beasts. This continued until the noise thereof about the island stirred up some honest people in Newport to send us beds, which was a great refreshment to us, blessed be the Lord.

For other things also we were forely put to it: the bread we could get for money, which was not easy, was very bad, of bad flavour and of worse taste, but good enough for poor prisoners; and the water we drank was of a filthy ditch (without we caught some rain now and then), brackish, black, and very unwholesome, if not venomous.

Now to obviate this report of our hard usage, which brake abroad about the ears of the Court, they cunningly caused an order to be printed (which was cried about London streets, and the report thereof spread about the nation, to stop the other report of their inhuman Tyranny and bad usage of us), that we were removed to a private house for better accommodation. The contents are as followeth of the two orders:—

‘ Friday, the 28th of September, 1655.

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered—By His Highness the *Lord Protector* and the Council, that *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers*, now Prisoners in Windfor Castle, be forthwith removed to Sandown Castle, under the command of *Captain Bourman*,* in the Isle of

* Captain Bourman was one of the three officers to whom Colonel

Wight, there to be secured in safe Custody, till further orders, to which purpose warrants are to be issued, and it is referred to our *Com. Gen. Whalley* to take order for appointing a guard to convey them accordingly.'

Upon this order and other warrants, as if we were felons or fearful villains and miscreants, we were carried into this Banishment. But that saying of our Saviour hath sweetly refreshed me (Luke xxii. 52), 'Be ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves? When I was daily with you teaching, ye stretched forth no hands against me; but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.' The other order follows:—

' *At the Council at Whitehall, Tuesday, 9th of October,*
1655.

Whereas His Highness and the Council are informed that Sandown Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* are at present secured, doth not afford them convenient accommodations, Ordered by His Highness and the Council, that the said *Mr. Feake* and *Mr. Rogers* be removed from the said Castle to such part of the West of the Isle of Wight as *Maj. Bourman* shall judge meet for accommodation of their health and with respect to their security and privacy.'

The pretence of this order they also printed and spread about that the *Cornet Str.* who brought us hither, upon his return made report of the badness of the place and the want of fitting conveniences (as if they knew it not before), and thereupon they printed it (Oct. 12, 1655) that order was immediately sent for our removal to some private

Hammond entrusted the custody of Charles I. in the Isle of Wight.—
Rushworth's State Papers, viii. 1351.

house, where we might be lodged, and have air and things fitting for our health. Now this counter-report pretending love and pity almost quashed the former of their cruelty to us, but for all this high noise there was no such matter really effected, but people were deluded and gulled, and lulled with a good opinion of these Persecutors for this pretence of their charity to us, and then the enemy could take a better blow in Cruelty at us, and with less noise than before, as he did indeed at me, as fully as foully, in my removal to this monstrous Theatre of Tyranny, where I now am, under the rage of wild Beasts rather than rational creatures, looking when to be torn a-pieces, trampled under foot, yea murdered by them should the Lord, whom I serve, suffer them to be let loose. For if ever there were such a people as *Philastrius* tells us of (Lib. de Hær.) called Caiani, from *Cain*, whom they honoured for his fratricide, saying he had the greatest power, but his brother *Abel* the least, and they would serve the greatest power, sure these I am now amongst, of all men I ever saw, are such, and their Castle may be called not Carisbrook so much as Cains-brook, for they serve his power and principle. But for all their pretences, there we continued at that worse than *Bonner's* Coal House until the 31st day of the 8th month, and notwithstanding the Lord visited me like a Father with a sore and fierce fever in the hole, I was, with that on my back, carried away through sad storms, ways, and weather, by order from the Court, with soldiers and the Ensign from this fort further into Banishment to Aston House of Freshwater Island, an Isle within an Isle, an exile within exile, &c. 'ubi lateres duplicantur,' and about this time did some of the sisters of the Church society go to Whitehall with a Demand of me, refusing to petition or send in a prayer, but after long tarrying and much difficulty, word was brought them from O. C. with a great assèveration, that orders were sent down to open the Prison

[Oæ. 31, 1655.]

doors to me, and let me out, but if I would not, then to accommodate me with all conveniences in the prison. But 'pectus Satanæ mendaciis fecundissimum est,' there was never any such matter that ever I heard of, but this policy was invented to pack them away by those that have made lies their refuge. They asked why the brethren came not, and why my wife came not, but I had indeed sent letters to her to keep off, lest parleying with the serpent she should be ensnared. With me I carried about my papers in my clothes and other ways hiding them at Afton House in holes and walls, and pots and pans, to preserve them from the enemy. In this prison also, being near the sea, I had *Nazianzen's* sight of sad shipwrecks (as they have done with their faith and conscience that banish us) and of the sea working (like the wicked enemies, who foam nothing but filth, mire and dirt). In this house was I guarded with a fierce company of Herodians (soldiers), for as they, who handled my Lord Christ so cruelly, would fancy *Herod* to be the Messiah (Epiph. Hær. xx.), so they who handle us so hardly (some of the best) fancy their *Lord Protector C.* to be the man on whose shoulders the Government of Christ lies, according to Isaiah ix. 6 (and blasphemous speech to his Parliament Jan. 22, 1654, p. 31, 32). But these sat up day and night to watch me, and yet indeed it was a much better prison than the other for air and other accommodations, for diet, lodging, &c. Thither came my poor wife with two children unto me. Upon the Lord's days, because I preached, were four soldiers, or fore biting leopards, set afresh upon my bones, but upon other days but two, who were renewed upon me day by day, and followed me so close with their Herodian rudeness that some of them would force within my room at unseemly seasons, and that with very irrational brutishness indeed. Two or three gentlemen and my dear friends from London who came to see me were there assaulted, and more soldiers of

the fiercest sort were fetched from Yarmouth, a mile or two off, to seize upon them and their horses, carrying them prisoners before the Deputy Governor for no other reason but for visiting me. I shall pass over the daily wrongs the people had in whose house I was kept prisoner, the soldiers put upon it by officers. Some poor people of the island that crept in to hear me preach on the Lord's day were wonderfully menaced by the soldiers, yea their names taken and conveyed to the Deputy Governor to be ordered or committed, yea some of these brutish bears were sent abroad, before the poor creatures that came to hear the Word were at the house, to force them away lest they should hear me preach. A Lieutenant came to tell me if I would not preach nor meddle with *L. P.* in my sermons I should have liberty to take the air a mile or two on the downs, a soldier or two attending me, to whom I said that liberty was my right, but to take it on such terms I would lose my right first. The worst Churls they could pick were appointed to watch and ward me day and night; but this prison being too commodious where I might see friends in the yard if they came to see me, it being a good air and in itself well accommodated, I was removed from thence with a company of soldiers upon the fifth day of the tenth month to Carisbrook Castle, or rather Cainsbrook Castle, where I now am. And indeed they did show a most unchristian inhumanity in the manner of removal of me, the days being so short, the ways so bad, and the weather so bitter, and, to boot, by reason of so long and lamentable an imprisonment, my body so unused to it, and yet with poor little horses at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, so late, they called me out and away, which when I boggled at (it being so unreasonable an hour for such a journey in a dark cold night over bleak downs, dangerous ways, scarce going by one house till Carisbrook, for my wife and two children), the Leopards consulted together, and one of the

[Dec. 5, 1655.]

officers concluded to pull me out by the ears, and so by force and fury to fetch me away; but when I saw I must go, knowing their bloody dispositions, and that by no means I could be permitted to tarry until the morning, I required of the chief officer, the Serjeant, a copy of his warrant; who showed me his, although the other officers, as they used to do, said to some others his sword was his warrant, pointing to it by his side, which when I heard I said, 'In good time is it come to that: and thus every thief in the Highway says.' But in this Isle it is the constant and common answer of the soldiers, when we ask by what law or order, to say, 'By this,' drawing their sword or laying hand on the hilt. The order was to convey me hither. Within one hour or little more the night was come upon us, the ways were exceeding glib and rough with ice and frosts, the winds high and sharp, which blew the snow out of the clouds full upon our faces, the night was very black, dismal and dark, without moonshine or starlight, until we came at Carisbrook town, the road being unbeaten and over high mountainy downs up and down, so that we did alight often in the dark, and footed it as far and fast as we could. My wife being weak, rode, but once was very ill with the unusual black night air. I also was at last overcome, and I fell down twice in the way, but with hot waters I was refreshed a little, and forced to trudge in the dark again, until, with a very dangerous difficulty, contemplating the hard travels of Saints and Martyrs, after several hours in the night we were brought into a poor house in Carisbrook, and there lying upon a bed I was pretty well refreshed, after an hour or two, and then a Serjeant came to me in the deep of the night with a copy of the order for the keeper of the Castle to receive me his prisoner under *Scobell's* hand, Clerk of the Council in Whitehall, not signifying for what cause or crime, nor hath any order so done to this day, that ever I could see,

but only their will and pleasure. The orders are as followeth:—

‘In pursuance of an order of the Council of the 28th of November last, you are hereby authorized and required safely to convey *Mr. Rogers* from the house of *Mr. Urry* at Afton, and so to deliver him to the Commander in Chief at Carisbrook Castle, to be there secured till further orders from His Highness or the Council. Given under my hand at Brook this 4th day of December, 1655.

To *Serjeant Nollard* these.

THOMAS BOREMAN.’

‘*Wednesday, the 28th day of November, 1655.*

At the Council at Whitehall.

Ordered—That *Mr. Rogers*, now restrained to a private house in the Isle of Wight, be removed to Carisbrook Castle, and there secured till further order. And that the Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight do take care that he be removed accordingly.

HENRY SCOBELL,

*Clerk of the Council.’**

* The removal of Rogers from a private house to the stricter confinement of Carisbrook Castle was owing probably to the intelligence which the Government had received of a projected insurrection. On the 13th of November, 1655, Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell, “It is certain that the Fifth-Monarchy-Men (some of them, I mean) have designs of putting us into blood, but I trust this will be prevented.”—*Thurloe*, iv. 191.

Here is no crime nor cause, I thank the Lord ; which minds me of that in Jer. l. 20, ' Their iniquity shall be sought for, and there shall be none.' Nor could their juggle of accommodation be now pretended, it being because of the accommodation rather in Afton House, and because of the incredible cruelty and tyranny of this Castle that I was brought hither.

But to proceed. In this pitifully distempered estate of body I was sent for from that poor house, the Commissary and some others being ready, to convey me with the fore-said Sergeant, Corporal, and Soldiers into the Castle, and for my encouragement they told us the moon was up ; but perceiving their resolution and importunity, I desired liberty to prayer, after which we were carried up into the Castle ; as I came in at the first gate I made a stand, resigning myself, soul and body, into the hands of my most dear God and Father through Jesus Christ, not knowing that ever I should come out alive. I said aloud to them all, ' In the name of the Lord do I enter here, and for the sake of Jesus,' which they all witnessed unto, as well enemies as others. I was guarded through the Musketeers, standing on both sides with muskets, pieces, and matches light. I was with my wife and two children put up into a very little, poor, smoking, cold garret, upon the top of all which was a common soldiers' room ; and although it was a little trial to my wife, not having a chair to sit on, and so little that we could not readily turn or set about business in it, the bedstead which was borrowed taking up the most part, and the smoke of the chimney turning all into the rooms at some times, so as we could scarce see one another ; yet did I much rejoice to be so pent up.

The next morning came my dear con-captives for this most noble and excellent cause of the King of Saints, to see me, *Maj. Gen. Harrison* and *Mr. Courtney*, who were a long time kept up in this close Gaol where now I was brought to

be their companion. Some part of our time which was spent together was in praying, instructing, and praising our God, not omitting this His merciful overruling sweet Providence, which has brought us together into one Gaol as well as one exile, for one and the same Master, and in one and the same Cause, Testimony, and Truth, and this too by those very men that not long before would not let me come near this Castle, lest I should once have seen these servants of the Lord upon the walls. Upon the Lord's days I preached in my room, as I used to do, and who of the soldiers would had liberty to hear me for two or three days. Yea *Bull* himself, the grand keeper hereof. But this liberty at first was to find out matter against me for a colour of their pretended future Tragedy, Tyranny and Intrenchment. I was also soon after removed into better rooms, which now *Mr. Bull* brags of, where I now am, but the bedding we had in the garret was taken from us, and we forced to some want therein, till some at Newport sent some in unto us, for which, with what we hire, we bless the Lord, notwithstanding I told *Bull* I was well contented to lie on straw, or else, if they would not allow me straw, on bare boards, only I pitied my poor wife being not well. Some honest people of the country did desire me to minister to them some light of the Kingdom of Christ and of His second Coming, so that we kept every fifth day in the afternoon for that purpose, and poor people came in apace many miles about to hear me. Yea some Presbyterians who came out of novelty, or with no good will, when they once came brought others with them the next day, so that the noise was great about the Island, and the Priests raged, it is reported, lest their offices should be left unto them desolate; and some Officers came to hear with a purpose to catch matter of accusation against me, but went away with approval. Yet the enemy could not rest thus, but finding nothing which they could fix upon against me, and the

[Dec. 27, 1655.]

people increafing, upon the twenty-feventh day of the tenth month *Bull* went forth of feafting, and left men of moft brutifh fpirit to manage his new plot and orders in his abfence, fetting Sentinels upon my door, and driving away the people who came to hear the Gofpel. Some poor people got in and flood under my prifon windows, the Herodian foldiers not fuffering them to come into the room. But fome poor fouls having got in did occafion a defire to hear me preach in the yard, out of the window, or anywhere, but for this once, but the rude leopards began to rave and roar at that motion, faying they would not fuffer it, and were forely incensed, uttering as we fay ‘Decempedalia’ and ‘fefquipedalia verba,’ or ‘Uperolcha.’ But I, *Maj. Gen.* and *Mr. C.* withdrew into my lodge, and after a little fpace I began in prayer, and fell a little to preaching out of the window to the poor people who defired it, and becaufe fome few of the foldiers were touched in confcience and could not exercife their commanded cruelty, they took certain lewd fellows of the bafe fort, and fo fet upon us and the poor people hearing under the windows, who weeped, cried, and prayed that for this once they might hear, but the brutifh foldiers haled and furiously drove them away with their fwords (the law we are now under), men and women, fhutting and fhoving them out at the gates, yea threatening to put the poor hearts into their hole or dungeon. Although I did fo ply the rough brutes with Scriptures, entreaties, tears (as the Lord did melt me then exceedingly, that I think I might fay with *Aug.* ‘Ad pedes prociderem et flerem quantum poffem’), to let the poor fheep alone for this once, yea but a little—a little, feeing they came fo far and fo many miles, about 8 or 9 miles afoot, poor hearts, many of them, yet thefe Soldiers would not hear me, only one or two who heard were weary of this work of the Devil, and others frefh and crank to it recruited them. They had

turned away that day, before this, many great companies round the Island, and *Mr. S.* a godly minister, told me at least five hundred had come from about the Island, could they have had liberty to hear the noise of the Gospel of the Kingdom. But by and by came *Bull* in to make a thorough execution of this persecution. He took some of the Soldiers to task, threatening them, and if any were resolved to hear me he required them immediately to lay down their arms and begone. He told them they were weak and were soon deluded, and whatever I said of Christ I meant no such thing, and the Castle would be in danger to hear such a one as I was, and he would not suffer it. After a while the *Maj. Gen.*, *Mr. C.* and I did look up unto our Maker, and proceeded from such an access to some discourse with *Bull*, who was worrying of the poor soldiers that were not yet in full compliance with him. When we came near he bristled up fiercely through a forced compliment which he hath learned the art of. The *Maj. Gen.* first spake unto him, by whom we demanded his grounds to deal so injuriously with us and the poor people. But he in a quandary what to say (though his tongue is too voluble and violent with lying and flandering), he hammered out at last that he did it to prevent inconveniences, saying the people had itching ears, and he confessed he had heard me preach very good things, but he believed I had a design in time to insinuate into the people against the Government, to throw down his *Lord Protector*, and set up *Maj. Gen.*; notwithstanding I preached Christ, yet that was the thing he perceived I drove on, and with words to that effect he fell on a very bestial fury of rage and railing upon the *Maj. Gen.*, but yet as very grossly flattering me to my face as abusing me behind my back. But we told him we drove on no design but the pure design of God, nor had I the least word or thought ever (I bless God) of throwing down one man to set up

another, much less *Maj. Gen. H.*; but this was his own device.

And thus this pitiful, ignorant, but, as he carries it, a most proud, Sultan-like, insulting *Orbilius*, and indeed a most conceited Wretch of Wrath, he now foully falls upon the poor miserable enslaved people of this Island, falling into most foul, irritating, unfavoury, provoking language, with his wonted impudence, and open faculty of lying, flandering, bearding and abusing, for which he is so notoriously famous in this Isle, that we went for shame from him, ‘*furdīs auribus sed oculis intentis in Christum,*’ and so left him to that spirit that possessed him. Upon the Lord’s day after some men of the Island came into the Castle to hear, but the Sentinels at the door drove them off again and turned them into their own chapel. Yet I preaching near the window and my voice heard through, some poor people would steal under the wall and in holes to hear, but were soon discovered and driven away. Yea *Bull* himself, when he came out of the Castle, did bestir himself, and lay about him, and because some of the soldiers would stand behind the guard door, or make as if they walked about business in the yard to hear (as they did at Windsor often make as if they lay on the grass and slept), he drives his soldiers into the guard and there keeps them in himself till I had done (as the *Bishop of L.* used to tell *K. James* a tale in the sermon time, when any good man preached against the Hierarchy or ceremonies of their Church, lest the King should overhear them, and so receive the truth preached), talking to them of Cocks and Bulls as we say, lest any of them should hear a word of the Sermon. In the middle of the week he came to me, and threatened to deal with me and remove me out of these rooms if I let my voice be so loud as to be heard out at the windows more, to their disturbance as he said, but I told him I should obey God and not man in this matter; then he bid

the bed I had to lie on to be taken away, which was done, at which I demanded of him straw to lie on; but the good people, especially *Mr. B.* a well affected honest man, at whose house the godly people meet at Newport, kept me from lying on the boards.

Upon the 21st or 22nd day of the 11th month the Protector's *Bull* began to roar and gore again more fiercely than formerly, without any cause shown why, kept us up close prisoners with incredible cruelty, suffering none, man, woman or child to come near us, nor our victuals or necessaries to come to us, or any of our families to fetch it in unto us, but when we would have sent out for provisions the servant was stayed by the Captain of the Guard and told none should go, which he had orders for, nor any provisions come to us, but by their hands, which when we heard we perceived clearly their design, now began, to destroy us, starve us, murder us, or massacre us for to make us comply with their lusts, and thus they laid siege against us to conquer us to their side, i.e. to play the Hypocrites, Apostates, perjured Wretches and Beasts with them; and now behold what a Providence of our Father, (who taketh care for the sparrows and worms and clotheth the lilies, feedeth the birds), did minister unto us in this great strait, there was sent in to the *Major-General* by a Knight of their own party (not of their own make nor of the post), peradventure in pity, it being the first and last of that kind, a little lamb, and to my poor wife bound up in brown papers, and so undiscovered, a neck of veal from Newport, yet, after all this was gone, and we in want as before, we prevailed with a little girl of one of the soldiers for a piece of money to fetch us a little bread, we being without; but upon her return they took her and carried her into *Bull's* hall, and there examined, frightened, roughly handled and threatened her, and kept her from coming into the Castle any more.

This day did a godly minister, *Mr. S.*, of Newport, get

[January, 1656.]

in to a lodge of *C. F.* with exceeding desire to see us, and a friend of the said town had sent us a cold pie ; but the honest man which brought it was carried before *Bull* with his pie, with whom he had for a long time pleaded, near an hour, for liberty to come into my lodge and bring the pie ; but at last and with much difficulty he obtained leave for a quarter of an hour with a Corporal, at his elbow, to peep into our prison upon us. Who, poor man, with tears and troubles did deliver it ; and left this with us before the Corporal's face, that these cruel persecutions, so far exceeding them, in this matter, that we read of in the book of martyrs, had by all he could perceive some bloody design against us, but he prayed us to be cheerful in the Lord, for they could but kill the body. I hearing of the Minister of Christ stepped to the lodge where he was, with the foldier at my heels, but they put him out again at the gate presently and would not so much suffer us, so much as at the gate, to see one another, though at a distance and a foldier between ; so I was returning in again to my own prison full of comfort in my spirit at all this, and presently I heard several at once, the Sergeant, Corporal, and Soldiers falling upon the honest man who had brought the pie, with very vile and blasphemous language ; for that it seems he, as he was going out at the gate, with tears did exhort them to take heed of what they did, and to beware of persecuting and offending of Christ's little ones, &c. But they brake out many at once, ' What ! What ! Preaching ! We will have no preaching, no sermonizing, none of the Spirit, begone about your business. What ! you turn preacher too. All preachers now ! ' with much more of such ungracious, unfavoury stuff. At which I confess my heart ached, and by a mere Providence hearing God and his Ordinances so blasphemed and mocked at, I could not but turn me, contrary to my intention and purpose, to them, and particularly spake to one *King*, saying, ' O, Sirs, I am sorry to hear such words, from you indeed I did hope better

things than so to scoff and mock at preaching at the Word and Spirit, indeed I have scarce heard the like or worse from the worst Cavaliers, and will you imitate them in this also?' At which they were incensed and turned upon me bristling like wild boars whose tusks were whetted in their own foam, and so fell bitterly upon me and told me I was their prisoner and I did not know it, meaning, I suppose, for that I durst be so bold as to reprove them. I told them I was the Lord's prisoner for all that, for whose sake I was willing to suffer bonds. But said K., the Serjeant, 'You are not in prison for the Lord.' 'For what then?' said I, (for I am sure none of their Orders or Mitimuses that ever I could see yet did ever signify any cause why they committed me, and have kept me now in several prisons nearly two years already and in banishment.) 'If we are transgressors and you have matter against us, why do ye not try us? O search into your consciences, for you never treated the Cavaliers so brutally here.' (Nay, they would let the Cavaliers that were there liberty to go abroad and ride about to Newport, and up and down to ale-houses, drinking, feasting, gaming, and committing sin every day and partake with them too in it, yet we must gnaw the bit and be kept without bread.) 'Is this righteous in the sight of God?' *Corporal Haddaways* answered me that we were worse than Cavaliers therefore. Then I perceived that their teeth were on edge to be upon me, and one bade me begone in; but being warm in my spirit '*Quo magis illi furunt eo amplius procedo*,' as Luther said, I told them I was doing no harm, and prayed them to consult with the word of God about their present condition; but then came out an old man and bid me go in; I told him I was about the Lord's work and did no harm, nor was I ever forbid to stand in that place where I stood, and I did think it as good ground to stand on as that in my prison; but now they began fierce upon me, many at once, like so many wide-

mouthed wolves, to fall on, as if they would not have left the bones until the morrow, and out came *Bull*, who immediately, without hearing me, gave them either the sign or the word to fall upon me, notwithstanding I cried out to him, 'What have I done, only rebuked sin and blasphemy.' But he was far more barbarous than the Heathen chief captain of the band (Acts xxi. 31, 32), who, as soon as he came, they left beating of Paul, and he rescued him; but this worse than Heathen was hot in his gall, and greedy, 'furdis auribus sed plenis faucibus,' he commanded and encouraged them, and looked on and directed them with his cane to do it; and as soon as he came the cruel Soldiers, armed as for a combat, fell thick upon me with their bent fists, beating and some haling, as if they had intended my death forthwith (Acts xxi. 31), 'colaphis et verberibus pluentes et grandientes.' After a while two or three of them, especially *S. King*, the Captain of the Guard, then cried out, 'Let us carry him to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon with him!' at which I was by some hauled and turned about that way; and then I said, as they were thrusting, pulling, and striking me, 'Yea, yea, with all my heart, with all my heart, I rejoice more therein, for I shall find my dear Christ therein, I am sure, I shall find my God there as well as in my chamber, do what you can.' And indeed I was refreshed thereat. Thus in effect I said and my spirit leaped; but when they saw my comfort and courage in it when they cried out to the Dungeon, to the Dungeon with me, they were daunted at that, and then hauled me up a pair of stairs, at the foot of which came some fresh soldiers to help the rest, who were weary with haling and abusing me. One *Robert Jenkins* particularly with his fists ready bent, first held them to my face to show me them, (to whom I said, 'Ah, I know your weapons') and then he fell upon me amain; these greedy brutes learning no other way of preferment and favour with the grand

gaoler *Bull*, before whose eyes he showed his valour in violence, but by such exploits, as we say, that when they cannot shoot men they will shoot pigeons, or anything, *Bull* with others crying and following, as Acts xxi. 36, John xix. 15, 'Away with him, away with him.' 'Ah,' said I, 'so did the soldiers deal with my Lord Jesus, and the servant is not greater than his Lord. But O, thou hypocrite, dost thou profess the Word, and read it, and yet, contrary to the Word of God, Law, or Reason, biddest thy men to abuse me thus without any cause? the Lord will judge thee for thy hypocrisy and contempt. Doth not the Word say to soldiers, "Do violence to no man?"' But this renewed their rage and roughness, and then this *Serjeant King*, as if he had been at cuffs for his life, fell on afresh with his fists, doubled his blows about my head, neck, and shoulders, so unreasonably, that some of their creatures cried out to him, 'Hold your hands—stay your hands—hold your hands!' But I said, 'Ah, Lord my God, look thou down!—but do you strike on, Sirs—strike, strike, strike! for my Lord Jesus Christ takes these blows, for His sake, well at my hands, though I am sure not at yours.' But as they had often done before, they mocked at Jesus. 'Pish!' says the *Corporal Haddaways*, 'what talk you of Christ?' But they, some hauling, some thumping, and some beating, had gotten me up a wrong pair of stairs, and when they knew that, they never stayed to let me come down, nor offered it, but some at my back, thrusting, some at each side, and *S. King* at my hands, pulled me out at length with the Corporal, and all at once pulled me down, at one pluck, the stairs, as if they had rent mine arm from my shoulders; but falling upon other soldiers, by the gracious Providence of my most dear Father I was preserved, my poor wife being by, and the maid screeching and crying, and then they hauled me, almost spent out of breath, the other pair of stairs, and at the door of the room wherein they with such

cruelty carried me, and where I now am, they renewed their violence with such redoubled strength and atrocity, that several of them laying hold on me, some at my back, some on shoulders, and some at sides, cast me headlong (who not knowing their design could not prevent it) with such an united force, fierceness, fury and wrath, as if they meant no longer to dally, but dash me in pieces, so that the least they could have conceived therein was to have broken my bones, or put them out of joint, imitating those savage spirits filled with wrath which carried my most blessed Saviour to the brow of the hill (Luke iv. 28, 29), that they might cast him down headlong. But the same God that delivered him, delivered also me, a poor wretch not worthy to be named, much less honoured thus, and that by a very marvellous appearance, for in the fall my head and face were preserved from the battery of the ground by lighting upon the arms and shoulders of the maid and one of my children, the blow of which threw both them also to the ground, but my face was so preserved though my body bruised with the fall, which fall I perceived rejoiced the bloody spectators at their hearts, and if otherwise it was, I think, that I was not quite killed with the fall, as Tully says, ‘*Quia totum telum in corpore non recepisset,*’ to whom I turned with these words passing through tears unto them, ‘Well, Sirs, now you have done thus, O that I could entreat you to search into the Scripture, and see if you find any warrant there for this practice. If you do, then the Lord give you the blessing for it; but if not, then the most righteous God convince you of it, and judge you for it.’ And this was all I said to them, knowing they were hardened, and at these few words and tears they fell a scoffing, and there left me, where I now am at the writing of this, with very great consolation and joy through believing, forasmuch as these ‘*verbera*’ were ‘*ubera,*’ full dugs for my soul to suck out of.

And methinks I now may say I begin to be the Minister of Christ, and the servant of Christ Jesus, and companion with Christ in the world. As *Ignatius*, when he came to the wild beasts to be devoured, his bones broken, his blood sucked, and his whole body crushed with them, 'Now,' says he, 'now I begin to be a Christian.' Your dainty, mincing professors, who are afraid of sufferings at this day, shall be shut out in that day when the Bridegroom comes, for '*Christianus est Crucianus*' and '*Lucianus*,' saith *Luther*.

Obj. But we live not under such Persecutors as the former Saints did, who were headed, hanged, flayed, beaten, broken on racks, tossed on bulls' horns, rent and torn of wild beasts, broiled on gridirons, starved, stoned, &c.

Answ. 1. No! If you did, I do wonder where we should find a Christian then, or them that would come running to the tortures as those Martyrs, wearying the Tyrants with their faith, courage, and constancy to their teeth as they did, when indeed ye are afraid of and faint at a little plundering, prisonment, banishment, soft beatings, and easy deaths, for the Testimony of our dear Jesus, who now suffers.

2. Yet we have such persecutors of Christ and his Cause at this day as would not spare us were we as high, as resolute, and of as noble a spirit for Christ as the former martyrs, who had not learned the State policy of professors (now-a-days) to spare themselves and comply a little, and not to run themselves into sufferings, for so they call it, but they rather ran to them, accounting it their glory, challenged and provoked in a manner their Tyrants. Now, it is not so much because our present Nimrods and Oppressors are better than the former tyrants, as because we poor-spirited Christians and white-livered milkops are worse, and indeed a shame to the Saints and Martyrs of former days, that we suffer so little for Christ our Lord. Ah,

alas! we love, indulge, ease, and pamper the flesh more than the former Saints ever did or durst.

3. To answer this objection with *Mr. Burroughs* out of *Salvian*, I must say to them, then, the less they have to show of passive obedience the more they are to show of active, and the greater faithfulness, constancy, and courage in the present trials, for as there was such a magnanimity and spirit in the suffering Saints as made the whole world wonder amazed, and think them mad, desperate, and beside themselves, so is there to be in the acting Saints at these days, who are to make it a sport, play, and pleasure to them to run upon cannon-mouths, sword-points, and on thousands for one, in the service of Christ. Therefore let us look to it, that we may make amends that way, and that the world may say of us also, for the active part, such men were never heard of.

4. I had my singular consolation, too, that the Lord hath made it my lot to fall into this fierce *Bull's* hands, of any, because he hath not his fellow in this dominion that I can hear of, for all manner of brutish and barbarous tyranny, unreasonable and insatiable cruelty, so that *Bonner* I believe had not a more apt gaoler for his turn in those times, if *Cluny* or *Alexander** came near him; wherefore let not my words be thought the complaints of a squeamish spirit, for I assure you I do heartily digest all he can do against me, and if it were said of *Luther* that 'pascitur conviciis,' I may say it with no little soul-solace that 'pascor conviciis et verberibus.'

5. For that it is so teaching a dispensation. O, it is good, it is good to be beaten into more good rather than be without it, for these blows do make my head ring with the music of Heaven. It is said that *Domitian* his mother, when she was of child of him, dreamed that she had a wolf

* *Cluny* and *Alexander*, gaolers mentioned in "*Foxe's Book of Martyrs*."

in her, flaming with fire out of his mouth. Such a flame came out of thy mouth, O fierce *Bull*, as shall be sure to burn thee up, like *Sampson's* foxes, in the field which thou thyself hast set on fire, for thy wickedness burneth as fire.

6. Nor is it fit we should lose such fruit as this by our sinful silence, for, as *Solomon* says (*Eccles.* iii. 7), 'There is a time to speak and a time to be silent,' as *Is.* lxii. 6, 'Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence.' To be silent in such day of rebuke and blasphemy as this is, is a crying sin.

But I say I have the seal of the Lord's acceptance, and *Jehovah Shammah* is my company in this close bonds and imprisonment, to whom I say (as *Ps.* lxix. 19), 'Thou hast known my reproach, and my shame, and my dishonour; mine adversaries are all before thee.'

But to proceed. In this condition, thus beaten and bruised, I was laid down, and fear being that my bruises were most inward, which as yet I had but little felt, means was used to have liberty but to send out for a little *Parmy Citterne** and snow water to drink for an inward bruise, which they refused to suffer, with more barbarous tyranny than the very enemies in war show to wounded prisoners, and nothing near to the compassion of that gaoler (*Acts* xvi.) who washed *Paul* and *Silas'* wounds, nor to the kindness of the barbarians to *Paul* at *Melita*—the greater will be their judgment. When I began to be cold and stiff I began to feel their blows sore indeed; but by a good providence of the Lord's, the *Major-General* had a precious ointment and salve for such purposes, as to outward bruises, which I used. This horrible tyranny of theirs took report round the Island and into England our own land quickly, and this began by the means of a poor Barber then in the

* "And telling me the sovereign'st thing on earth
Was *Parmaceti* for an inward bruise."

—*Shakspeare: K. Henry IV. Act i. Sc. 3.*

Castle, who carried the said news of this sad Tragedy to Newport, where the next day, being market, it abounded, and so spread of a sudden ; but this poor Barber was brought before *Bull* for it, and hardly escaped ; yet the truth, which is always best to stand to, set him free from them. Then their work was to lay their heads together to kill this report by denying that ever they abused, beat, or bruised me, notwithstanding some days after, when I stirred forth again, I offered to show them the marks they had given me, both myself, wife, and maid being black and blue in divers places divers days after, on the one and thirtieth day of the eleventh month. But after this *Bull* sent word with an engagement to them we might send out for things, which was the first time they offered so much to me ; but I could not compound with them in a Cause which was none of my own to compound in. And in these straits we had another seasonable experience from our Father, for with the compassion which Christians about the Island and Newport had to hear of our sufferings and want of provisions, they sent a man, and we desired him to come to the prison-gates with some provisions, as bread and meat, &c. every seventh day, and a woman once a week with butter for us to buy ; and although they were threatened for coming, yet they made conscience thereof, and continued it to the praise of our dear God in this our extremity ; so that we had some provision brought to us for our money at last, notwithstanding the vexation of the enemies (for so they have declared they are) thereat, searching, handling, tossing, and tumbling our provisions in their hands up and down, yea, throwing the very butter in the dirt after we have bought it, and examining the very bones of the meat for letters, as they pretended, or some other secret designs ; such are the dreads of the Lord upon them. This hath already continued upon us above twelve weeks, and how long it may we know not. Some may think us somewhat obstinate not to engage or

subscribe unto them, rather than be starved or so used as we are to this day, but indeed it is a comfortable obstinacy then, and for my Christ only, whose Cause I cannot with a good conscience betray upon a composition with his enemies. What is this obstinacy but the same with the primitive Saints who would not cast one grain into the fire, to save their lives! and shall we? God forbid! But as *Nic. Shellen* said, he that kept off the ban-dogs at stave's-end, not as thinking to escape them, 'but that I would see,' says he, 'these foxes leap high above ground for my blood, if they have it.' And shall not I for my most dear Lord make these gaping Leopards get it then, 'Saliendo, saliendo,' by sweat and leaping for it too, that all men may see they are greedy of it, whiles they give out they desire it not? Yes, surely!

Notwithstanding all this, their cruelty was yet greater to me in that they knew I had no estate, nothing to live upon, nor would they suffer one to minister unto me or mine, nor one to come in, and such as have sent in have hitherto miscarried. I have heard of some letters with tokens sent to me, and at one time five or six together, but I never received more than one, with six shillings and two cheefes, to this day, being above this twelve weeks now, the tokens not only causing the letters to miscarry, whether through the hands of these soldiers or no I am not sure, but *Bull* himself keeping some of them from me; and then they report about we are bloody men, bloody men, laying, *Athaliah*-like therein, guilt upon the Lord's poor innocent ones, saying they intercepted letters which show it. The maid went to this upper gaoler for some of my letters after he had done with them, read, and showed them to many with much scoffing, but he said they were not fit for such a fellow as I, but bid her tell me when I was sober and out of my frantic fits I should have them. She saying, 'Why, Sir, you have never seen him distempered yet,' he threatened to kick her down stairs if she held not her tongue,

calling her misnames, and afterwards bade her pack up and begone forthwith that day, for that none should live with us but of his choosing, my wife all this while being very ill.

The carriers of this Island are strictly warned, we hear, not to bring or receive our letters for us, but shall bring them all to him. A letter which the *Major-General's* man wrote to send out, after it had passed his approbation, was returned back again, writ upon in the sides, and after so sent out, with a most ungracious, unfavoury spirit, mocking and flouting me thereon by name, saying I was in one of those fits which I was in when I was tied to my bed; by which he meant my condition in the way which the Lord took to my conversion, which he had read in my book of Church Discipline, among the experiences of the works of grace therein recorded; but this so profane a foul-mouthed Ishmaelite, this so irreligious a railing Rabshakeh, may be so miserable in soul and body for want of such experiences and deliverances that he one day may (and shall if he make not haste for 'pœnitentia fera raro est vera') seek them with tears, and find no place for repentance; to which judgment I must leave him.

But for all this, and an incomparable abundance more from day to day of our sufferings which I might write, we are accounted no sufferers, nor this any persecution, by the present Apostates and timeservers. Yea, and notwithstanding all this tyranny and cruelty to us, my wife and children and all the family kept close prisoners with such heavy and unreasonable provocations every day, two officers of the army did profess to us that in their hearing *Bull* is much blamed at Whitehall for not being more strict and rigid unto us, and suffering us so much as he does, which is but the very air to breathe in, and he doth what he can to discontinue us in that. Therefore, O Lord God of Righteousness, do thou declare whether this be a persecution or no.

It was deemed ridiculous as well as most rigorous in the hottest of the wars upon the worst enemies to have imposed what they do daily upon us, and yet they have the face to justify it, as if it were nothing. Wherein we observe : 1. The exceeding, horrible height of their impudence and hypocrisy ; and,

2. Their cruel subtilty, whilst they are whipping and beating us, they bid us be quiet and patient, like the tyrannical step-dame, that knocks, beats, and makes the poor child cry, and then whips him without mercy for crying, and says he may thank himself ; they call for patience, and bid us be patient in our sufferings, whiles they are laying on upon us till they make us cry out, and then they say it is our impatience ; such an unreasonable generation of men are our gaolers, persecutors and murderers ; yea they pretend plots, and do this lest there should be any risings, when indeed by their insupportable oppressions, persecutions, and provocations, they do all they can to stir us up, whether we will or no, unto it, for the necessary preservation of our lives, liberties, relations, religion, and consciences, from their so monstrous inhumanity and persecution in hypocrisy.

3. That they put us into the worst prisons and hardest persecutions, yea bait us with the wickedest and worst persons they can find out, men of the most notorious debauched principles, practices, scandals, impudence and atheism, and all this too in pretence of love to us, as appears in their Orders for removal from Sandown Fort ; and so they said in my last removal from Afton House, it was for my better accommodation, but indeed it was for my more bitter affliction in flesh and worse usage, except my dear companions' company.

4. We see by this what it is to be ruled by the sword, which hath neither eyes nor ears but ' *pro ratione voluntas.*'

5. The impudent practice of the lying slanderous reports of us breaks out either immediately before an intended

mischiefe, or as soon as they have done it. Sometimes they report us mad and frantic, as persecutors have done, and so doth *Bull* and his masters make as if we wanted senses, when we are fullest of the Holy Ghost, witnessing for our dear Christ against their rotten interest and hypocrisy, and sometimes, as we find before of *Bull*, like *Morgan* to *Philpot* (Fox, vol. iii. 572), they fall a raving, and blaspheming of God and his tabernacle, and abusing us as if we were not sober. So said *Morgan*, 'I ween it to be the spirit of the buttery which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to be burned, and, I ween, went drunken to it.' 'But it appeareth,' saith *Philpot*, 'you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God. Wherefore I must now tell thee,' saith he (and so say I to thee, thou raging *Bull*, with the very same spirit and authority of the great Judge of Heaven and Earth), 'thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living God whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scorers of his Word and blasphemers of his people as thou art. Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God which is in me to say thus unto thee, O thou enemy of all righteousness; and I tell thee, thou Hypocrite, I pass not this for thy fire and fagots or what thy bloody heart can do unto me, neither, I thank God my Lord, stand I in fear of the same, my faith in Christ shall overcome them; but Hell fire is thy portion and is prepared for thee, except thou speedily repent, yea the hottest of Hell for such Hypocrites as thou art.'

At other times we are reported fools, and that is a very pleasant reproach too. Go on, scorn, deride and flout us, as long as you list, for this our foolishness profits us, and so for all your other reproaches which are chiefest riches wherein we rejoice and make a jest of them and of all they can do unto us.

6. It appeareth a plain design to starve us or reduce us to such extremity as might make us to stoop, and so to betray our consciences and our Christ in this Cause, as appeared by their imposing of conditions upon us and the servants for the meat we must eat, if they went out to fetch us in any : besides as to my own particular, I confess their conditions were most hard to me and my family in the passive part, they (knowing I lived by Providence, having no means, land, house, or estate to live upon) kept back not only all people, but all letters, from coming or ministering unto me, all this upon me being only because I would not 'perdere substantiam propter accidentia,' lose my Christ for a crown, nor conscience for coin, which doubtless I might have had enough in my own country if I had sought or accepted of a desire to O. C. for his grace to remove me near to my acquaintance and friends at London (which my poverty in the world might call for more than any others), who would not have suffered me to want, which notwithstanding the Lord of his mercy prevented (by the help of my honoured Con-captivated Coexiles and other ways), and of his great Grace, gave unto me in this dispensation lest I should seek a carnal kingdom. I remember *Lot's* wife lies at the entry of such temptations.

But besides these there be some other particular experiences as teaching me,

1. In that I am all along so clearly and constantly under the Beast's rage as if I were, I think, more than others more particularly aimed at, for their goring, gushing, horning, worrying and grievous persecuting from one prison to another, both in my native country and in exile, especially since I have been hurried about in this island, and put to *Bulls* and *Boremans* who obey the orders of the Beast; but especially in the first's very brutish and indeed barbarous, unreasonable, pushing sharp horns, so that it is evident I am thus used by the Beast's dominion and spirit. I remember

that *Purchas* in his *Pilgrim* tells us of one that did write of the first Creation of the Chaos, in which lived monstrous Creatures, bulls that were headed like men, and dogs with divers bodies, but I leave such fancies to the Adamites, only I dare affirm in this Chaos and confusion, which precedes the new Creation, men are very monstrous in their principles and actions, and wild *Bulls* do bear the faces of men to flatter with in this serpent estate of the old world, whose hired men are like bullocks (Jer. xlv. 21); but (as Jer. l. 27), 'Slay all their Bulls, let them go down to the slaughter. Woe unto them, for their day is come, the time of their visitation.' 'O Lord, rebuke the Company of spearmen, the multitude of the Bulls, with the calves of the people, till every one submit himself.'

2. In that my most gracious over-ruling Father hath made the enemy to imprison and persecute me, not only in the same way and spirit, but in the very same places where the Martyrs of old were imprisoned and persecuted, which did refresh me indeed, as at Lambeth, that old Butcher's shop and shambles of the Saints, where so many, even *Wickliffe* himself, and all along since, have suffered, their rings whereto they were chained remaining in the walls to this day, which did affect me much to see. And after that at Windsor, where eminent martyrs, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, were put, in their way to Oxford, in bloody *Queen Mary's* days.

3. In that I am also instructed how to want as well as to abound, having passed through prisons, reproaches, tumults, beatings and buffetings often, throwings headlong, banishment and spitting upon, yea spoiling of my goods, which hath been much (one letter hath signified to me the loss of an hundred pounds at one time), and in plunderings often, and in perils of life, sickness, fevers, storms, cold, snow, and tempests, without bed, without bread, in sore travels and several other trials. Yet all this for my most dear

Christ against *Cromwell* and the whole earth, blessed be Jehovah. Therefore I wait but for Whitehall or the Prætorium hall.

4. In that the enemy though he hath sought it greedily, yet to this day hath not found any just cause or colour for my imprisonment and exile, nor so much as signified why in their Orders of Commitment, which is my great comfort and advantage. As Paul saith in his fourth complaint (Acts xxv. 7, 8, xxiv. 12, 13).

5.
6.

7. In that the Lord hath in this school instructed me to preach in tumults and uproars (2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 6), and in all things to prove myself the minister of my God.

But before I finish we find a fresh assault of Satan upon us, in this close prison, perpetrated to make our bonds the more heavy. Upon the 20th of the first month, 1656, came *Captain Floyd* and *Major Strange* with an order from Whitehall to remove *Maj. Gen. Harrison* from us to Highgate to his own house, a prisoner, under pretence of the very desperate danger of death his father, the Colonel, was in, as also his dear yoke fellow so near the time of her travail; but our precious Con-captive thus surpris'd was in great fears of the serpent's snares in this order, and would not give them any resolve what to do until he had acquainted us therewith, assured us of his jealousies left his further liberty, company, and outward comforts should be any entanglement unto him or let to his inward joys and prison experiences, so that he did earnestly desire us to set it before the Throne for a resolution, which we agreed to, and at the end of that day came in the two again who were to take him into custody, who, after we had given him our apprehensions, dealt very roundly and plainly with them that he could not thank them for their pretended love, nor did he think his father or wife would be worse by his continuance in this prison, but

[20th March,
1656.]

rather the better, for he was persuaded they should do well, and for a gaol he had rather have this than any for the cruelty thereof, and of *Bull* (who made so little conscience of what he said or did, and who had indeed played the very Beast with us), so that for suffering it was the best prison we could be in, nor would he make his house a prison; to this effect he spake, and told them that he could not declare his readiness to go with them, but if they would carry him away he could not help it. They said they did desire to serve him with all civility and respect, and were loath to use any violence, but could not go without him, and they were now to take custody of him, and so desired him to prepare himself the next day and to give directions which way he would go. But he told them that he would have nothing to do with it, but he was a sufferer; nor would he direct, nor bear any of the charges, for he was a prisoner; and so that night they parted, and we prayed, as we used to do together every night. The next morning *Bull* delivered him up to the other two, who took possession of him; we had much discourse, and indeed the Lord gave him a very noble spirit, though broken in himself, to deal plainly both with *Bull* and them, expressing his unwillingness to leave us behind, or rather his desire to partake and tarry with us still in so sore bonds. But when we saw he must be gone, we parted with no little heaviness for a season, and I said to *C. Fl.* ‘Sir, tell your Masters or any that ask after us, that it were a little more mercy, if they had it, to put us into any Dungeon in London, our own land, than to leave us here in the hands of such Blasphemers and Brutes so skilful to destroy, but still we bless the Lord, for our Father makes it sweet to us.’ We got upon a wall and looked after them till they came near to Newport, and then my dear fellow-prisoner, *Mr. Courtney* (who is left here) and I kept the rest of the day in prayer, easing our hearts and emptying our tears into the bosom of heaven, being a little troubled

for our loss of so precious a help, so choice a companion as he was to us.

After this, we being like men out of mind in this iron grave, their cruelty increased yet more upon us to tire us out. And *Bull's* brutish modesty was to have imposed upon the maid servant's father that his daughter must tell him all the tales that she could ; if she heard us at table, bed, or board, but speak a word of *O. C.* or any of their cruelty, that she must betray her master and bring him word of it, and would have bound her father to it in a bond. To me particularly was their malice monstrous ; they put another soldier and his wife and four children into our other room, where *Bull* himself had put us, threw our wood and things out of doors, brake open the locks, and nailed up the door from us, with reproachful words to boot, and this by *Bull's* command, but we let them patiently, in our own matters, use any tyranny without taking notice.

Strict orders were given that no one dare to show familiarity unto us, and the woman with her four children put into our room was charged when she came in to beware of us, for if any of them were found to be familiar, that is respectful or civil to any of us, they should be turned out of the Castle without remedy, or if any should but listen or stand to hear me at prayer or in duty to God, except it be such as were or are sent to listen under the windows and into holes for that purpose, to catch or fetch some matter to make a crime of, which above these two years they have been raking for, so good is my God who blinds them that they see not where my infirmities lie most—but where the Almighty hath armed me with His buckler of truth, His back-piece of innocency and breast-plate of righteousness, there they shoot their arrows to hurt me.

As for their rigidity continued unto us in close prison, wherein they keep me and my wife and family, not suffering one of us to stir out, nor man, woman, nor child to

[14th April,
1656.]

come at us, the like cruelty was never inflicted upon the worst of men of late years in these nations, neither among Papists, Prelates, nor to the Cavaliers, Scots or Irish, nor in the worst of wars.

Upon the 14th of the 2nd month were two brethren, sent from the Church at London to visit us, and particularly to minister to me, not suffered to come in, the gaoler *Bull* and his complices being hard at bowls, yet had time to forbid it, and more too, so that before they returned home to London again, I with my con-captive *Mr. C.* got out at a hole upon the Castle wall on high, and they two were let into the Ramparts without the walls, and we spake to one another on the walls with tears and joys at their desire (being their teacher and overseer), but presently orders came from the bowlers to the soldiers to fall upon the two Messengers, which they did pretty greedily, and so pulled, tore, and thumped them, who were standing by with nothing but Bibles in their hands, out of the Ramparts into the highway; but because they could not well beat them out of the highways (which was as far off from the Castle Wall as I could well be heard with my loudest voice), and for that I think twenty were by this time gathered to hear me (and almost all poor women), they did no more then but threaten them, and send soldiers to oversee and look whether any were soldiers' wives, that either their husbands might correct them, for that is an allowed practice with soldiers here to beat their wives, or else their husbands be turned out upon it.

Within these few days it was reported as if there would be some stirrs in England, at which they rage against the Independent and Anabaptist rogues as they call them, and particularly threaten what they will do with us upon it, *Corporal Had.* saying to his other soldiers that if he knew but one of themselves that were any ways familiar, meaning civil in respect, with *Courtney* or *Rogers*, he would run his

sword into his guts presently with his own hands. Their daily breathing seems to be after our blood, for to name no more the last second day *Serj. King* with some others took my little child in coats, examined him about us, and with flatteries tempted the child to tell what we said, did, and eat, or anything that he could get out. This *S. King* is such another ambitious, covetous, pragmatical youth as was *Pepper* at Windfor. The title this *King* gives to me is fagot-maker, and so reports I hear that I was a fagot-maker up and down. But indeed I may live to make fagots by the King of Heaven's appointment to bind up such stubble as they are for the day of wrath, if they repent not. He does also rage exceedingly that Quartermaster Gen. and I have our distinct rooms.

Thus are they every day insulting over us at their pleasure; if they do but see us their hearts so rise against us that (as Acts vii. 54, 57) they do even gnash, some of them, as I have said, with their teeth, and look as if they were ready to run upon us with one accord, notwithstanding we do endeavour when they do fall foully upon us to convince them with soft and sound words, ministering as we are able to their wives (whom they keep poor enough) either in money, clothes, or food, though they dare not be to know it, and so returning good for evil; and if any of them be seen by another to show any kind of respect to us, to do anything for us, or stir his hat kindly, he is as I said before under a public check, if not in danger to be turned out.

These are I confess but trifles to what might be mentioned, and to what we see and suffer every day; yea to mention but yesterday, because it was the last day of all, for every day affords us new matter, and so I conclude with this tragical history at present."

[They ill-treat his maid, and throw her out at the gate of the Castle]

—“where the poor creature is even now, like *Lazarus*, and hath been many hours lying with her lame limbs and bundle for admittance if it may be, but there she may lie yet many a day, they that go by many of them scoffing and abusing her bitterly, knowing all my family is ill, wife and children, and not a servant that they suffer to live with us and help us in this need. I asked indeed *King* by what rule he did this, and that on the Lord’s day, saying if he were a Christian the rule was (Luke iii.), ‘Soldiers, do violence to none,’ but he made a scoff at what I said and turned away in great fury, and then I said, ‘Well, the Lord will look down and see all these things,’ at which he turned and said, ‘Pish! the Lord! What do you tell us, the Lord! Who is the Lord? You are not the Lord, are you?’ and so went on raging and blaspheming, and the rest scoffing for company, as full of fury as they could hold, who indeed have not the patience to hear the Lord’s name so much as mentioned unless at Ale-houses and in sin, so sadly profane are they! and indeed how can they be otherwise? When men with wicked and idle courses have spent all their means and cannot, or will not, work, they get into these garrisons, to drink and guzzle their pay out before their pay-day comes, and, for other misdemeanours deserving too to be cashiered, can find no way to secure their places but by their brutish, premeditated and barbarous cruelty to us, wherein they merit most that are monstrous. And these things I declare, as in the sight of the God of truth, to be true, having read over again and again what I have written, and do not know one line I have written too large, the Lord knows.

I had thought long ere this to have been at an end, and that this persecution would have added or imposed a *Quietus* est to my body by death, out of the continuance of their cruelty, but it pleases the Father that I should yet live as one always

dying under their immanity, and now, since that of the poor maid's sufferings before mentioned, I am entreated by friends to enlarge this sad history a little further, but I had rather a thousand times to set it before the Lord my God than once to make mention of it to any below, yet by reason of friends' importunity, to whom I must not be ungrateful, I shall give you a short view of this new link added to my chain since.

Since the maid's such monstrous usage without any cause, and being cast out at the gate with her clothes rent and torn, where, besides that, she lay on the ground lame, like *Lazarus* at the gate, six or seven hours the next day for admittance, and at last was let in again with no little stir and threatening, I had liberty to go into my dear Co-exile's chamber, not knowing of any design they had upon me, which it seems they watched for, and had orders from *Bull*, as they say, to observe when I did so, being now resolved to take their rage from the lame creature (having little credit of their cruelty to her), and to wreak it upon me and my poor weak wife, which they did at present thus, (but O Lord, let the remainder of their wrath praise thee!) upon a sudden, after my fellow-prisoner had invited me into his chamber, four or six musketeers, with swords, guns, and light matches were set upon me there, and soon after more followed them, they set also soldiers upon my weak wife and family, yea, into the very room raging, which frightened her for the suddenness of it, she being as ignorant as I of the meaning of this new piece of tyranny, and so keeping us asunder that we could not come at one another, see or hear, so as to know of each other's condition or what the matter was, which made it look like a bad business, as bad as if forthwith they had intended to murder me at least; my wife's sickness subjecting her withal to very frightful fancies, fears, and apprehensions, wondering what would become of me, still asking after me, and what was become

of me, or what they had done with me ; and besides, to make it a thorough piece monstrous matter to her, they set within her chamber the most uncivil, drunken, raging wretches, stamping, threatening, grinding their teeth, calling jade, quean, carrion, with many such obscene names, bending their fists, striking, tearing, thumping, railing, with their staggering, if any offered to go in the room, not suffering them to stir for necessaries within the room, offering and drawing the naked sword upon them with asseverations several times, without any provocation given them in word or deed ; and soon after followed ten or twelve more, as they inform me, and filled the room with such rude creatures and doings, without any regard at all to sex, sickness, or condition. As they were at this inhuman sport, persecuting my wife and family, those armed soldiers with me were not wanting with great violence and fury to execute their orders, as they called it, for I, offering to go to the door with desire to see my wife, being fearful of some mischief to her, though I knew not of this cruel usage of her in her so weak and sickly condition, was forcibly beaten and punched in again, although I desired I might but stand at the window to see her, with as many armed soldiers to grind me as they would, but it could not be obtained, which did augment our mutual fears and troubles for one another. But thus were they insulting over us, laughing at us, and abusing of us here, whiles others of them were rending, tearing, and ransacking in my prison chamber with great violence and threats, pulling the very sheets off the bed so immodestly as some Turks would abhor, that the maid asking if they were not ashamed, they even shouted at her again, calling her limping carrion, jade, quean, and what they pleased. At all which and infinite other taunts, incivilities, threats, and abuses, my poor wife was, I may say, frightened almost unto death, as hath appeared ever since, and for some time days and nights her continual cry was ‘ they

would kill her, they would be her death, they will make an end of her, she shall never recover it,' &c. Within this time the Commissary came to me and told me I must be put into a little hole or the dark chamber at the end of my fellow-prisoner's chamber, they would bring my things thither, but the bed I had allowed me to lie upon they would take away; and so, it may be, supposing they had sufficiently affected my wife and me for once (if I do not wrong them with charity), they brought what pleased them into this cave, where I am now left to feed upon, Heb. xi. 38, 'of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in deserts, mountains, in DENS and CAVES of the earth,' and v. 36, 'others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of BONDS and IMPRISONMENT,' this being the 8th or 9th removal, 5th or 6th PRISON, and the 2nd or 3rd year, all which is true, though it may seem strange. Into this little dark, cold, smoky, stinking, and unwholesome HOLE they put me, my wife and family guarded hither to me. My family, which are five of us, cast into this one little room, as if like beasts we should be altogether day and night, and in a room too that would not hold two beds, for one will take up the greatest part, indeed, too little a cave for one body, the soldiers many of them deriding and making sport to see this usage, though some had a little reluctance and pitied us. Yea, for all my wife was so very ill they took away our bedding, which a friend had lent us, and carried it into the Lieutenant's chamber, who had been a busybody in this tragedy, as it proves to be, and there kept it, some saying the boards were too good for us to lie upon, and what were we that we must have beds, we were prisoners, indeed they would have us to the dungeon, and we should live in that, and that we should know we were prisoners, and the like, although moderate men that have pleaded for them yet confess where they have put us in is the very

next degree to a dungeon, and all they can say is, others have lived there; but then they consider not how it was accommodated, hung, kept warm, and fitted for others, and that never any family did or could live in this hole, but had other rooms to live in that were lightfome, more wholesome, and tolerable, and but that my dear fellow-prisoner's man left a little garret for the maid and child to lie in on his bed, we must have lain one upon another like horses in a litter; nay that they will not allow us neither for our money which they allow to beasts. Yea, they took away even curtains and valance, not allowing us a curtain to keep out the wind or cold, which are known to be very bitter in this place. All which and more too I trust I can take thankfully and joyfully for my dearest Jesus' sake. Only I must confess, the present condition, weakness, and illness of my dear yoke-fellow doth cut deep, and would deeper had not the Most High cut a covenant in Jesus Christ with me, which standeth sure and well-ordered in all things. (Gen. xv. 18; 2 Sam. xxiii. 5).

The ground of this act of tyranny lies, as the rest does, in their arbitrary breasts to weary, tire, or provoke, consume, spend us out, break our very hearts' strings with such lingering tyranny, and so to kill us if they can that way, who seem weary with letting us live so long, and sure the spring of this continued fresh-sprouting cruelty cannot arise altogether out of WHITE-HELL. Nor can I conjecture other subordinate cause as to this unhandfome force upon us from that room, but that then we should see their horrible wickedness every day, drinking, smoking, profaning the sabbath and name of God at the alehouse, beating and abusing the Saints or such as came to visit us, and if friends came to visit us that they would not let in, at a back window I could see them, which was an offence, but in this hole we know not when any come, nor will they let them

so much as with soldiers come to see us, but turn them away weeping and unknown to us, as two men, friends that came from London, they have done so to already, I hear; and now one, a Gentlewoman from London, at this time we by a Providence hear is at the gate, that they will not let come to us, so that I think these may be the reasons, besides the threats of *Serjeant King*, who lusted for this cruelty, and threatened it long.

And here also have I done nothing that they should put me into this Dungeon, and that it is a Dungeon, yea, not only beyond *Joseph's*, but far exceeding some felon's in England, I shall a little describe it to you. It is some three steps long and three steps broad, not so long as one of the little garrets they put us into first, when they brought me into this Castle with a promise of two rooms, two beds, and better accommodation till they have gotten me in, but now they gripe me and perform not a tittle of their promises; but 'tis no wonder from men of such principles that they make no more bones of breaking an oath than a soldier does of cracking a louse. Nor is it so large as any of the rooms we had at Windsor. Underneath it is a deep low vault, from whence arises into the room day and night unwholesome vapours, winds, and filthy, damp mists, very dangerous, the boards being broken and rotten. The chimney is a little low thing, casting smoke so unreasonably in such a little close room that it is uncomfortable, and better to be bitten with cold than smothered with smoke. All the light that comes in is a little dark window, which for many hundred years I suppose never saw the sun, unless a little at nights upon the long days of summer, so that it looks at noon in the room as if it were night. Before the window is a great hill which keeps off light and air, so that the air that comes in to us is either out of the vault, a deep, damp, hollow cave underneath us, exceeding unwholesome, as we find by woful experience to the flesh day

and night, or else in at the door, and what that is let any one judge, for at the very door, within three steps, is the filthy common sewer, &c. And I think when it is best and sweetest it is when there is less of the common sewer air and more of the other, that is, when it smells but musty and foggy, like a well, cave, or low cellar underground, with raw, cold, and aqueous humours. Now, if in these and other respects it be not a Dungeon, and far exceeding many, yea, in many respects the very dungeon of this Castle, which they threaten me so much with, I am much mistaken.

But now for some fruits too of their tyranny, that we may tell you how it tastes, as from them, ever since hath my poor wife been weak and sick, yea, so by fits and through frights as I feared her dissolution before this, and that which made her yet the more dejected and down, as at death's door, was the want of means, they not suffering help to come when sent for, but rather upbraiding and saying, Pish! we could be sick and well when we would; the sense whereof made her complain deeply and look upon herself as a lost woman for some days. Besides, the lame maid was now taken ill also, she feeling their cruel usage, lying and complaining full of pain and torment for six or seven days together, but they would not suffer so much as a woman sent for to help her, she keeping her bed, which one in pity lent her to lie on. But we sought the Lord for help, for compassion, for remedy, we not being suffered neither to send out a letter to signify a word of our condition or cruel usage; some seven or eight letters we have reckoned they have kept of late, though not a word in them, for the most of them, that meddled with these matters or their government, only of my wife's sickness, sending for means, as also for a little money which one had of ours, but they neither let those letters go the right way, nor told us of their stay, so all lost it is like. All I hear they can say is that I dated one of them from 'Carisbrook Castle, a

Den of Cruelty,' which they pretend a high capital crime, so afraid are they the least truth of their tyranny should come to light. But the Lord our God heard us graciously, and gave us some hope of their recovery, inasmuch as my wife began to grow a little cheerful, lively, and in hope to outgrow her frights and fits; but ah! behold their barbarous wickedness, O thou God of righteousness, O, how envious are they at thy goodness, for this time they take (*Bull* and a company of them being feasting, ranting, gaming, making merry and bowling in a green they have for that purpose, and from this sport he orders his cruelty, commands a violent party of soldiers, not once regarding my wife's long weakness and the maid's lameness) to set upon us afresh, and so tear away this bed also, that my wife now lay upon, from under us; but it pleased God to give a foresight of it by several signs I had of a new trouble coming upon us, *Bull* with the soldiers being so exceeding crank, merry, laughing, and like them in Amos vi. 'at ease;' whereat besides, seeing them cast their eye so at my dung-hole lodge, I did resolve they had a new design, so communicated my thoughts to my wife, wishing her to be of good cheer, and so going into my Co-exile's chamber, which is the help we have for air, we locked up our own chamber door, and a while after came in these soldiers, like greedy leopards, for the bed we lay on, and perceiving our door locked, according to orders with hatchets, swords, &c, broke open the door; lock and all, notwithstanding that I pleaded with them my wife's weak condition, how they had already almost killed her; but they would not hear; in they went, tore all the things off the bed and carried away to the very bolster and pillow, where they now lie in the aforesaid Lieutenant's chamber. And I was answered that in no prisons were felons and murderers allowed a bed to lie upon, ranking us with them. Yea, they had taken away the very sheets. My poor wife was this while ready to faint, very

ill, and falling into her fits again, through frights, which for present were prevented by means, my fellow-prisoner also using all endeavours to comfort her, but afterwards she fell ill again as she used to be before this last cruelty renewing her sickness, so as all her flesh would fall a trembling, her whole body be as in an agony, but especially her head, which doth swell so that for want of the means here, and because they seem resolved to give no rest, as we think, until they have murdered her or been her death, she must now be forced to leave me in their clutches, and, if the Lord make her able, to get to London for the preservation of her life, which the Lord in mercy grant me.

I shall break off abruptly here, by reason my poor weak wife is now leaving me and creeping out of this Castle gaol, yet Rehoboth, where is room for me, and my soul is left at a fresh spring. O blessed be my God! but I must confess it is grievous to the flesh to be left in the hands of such as have threatened and seemed to thirst for my blood as greedily as the dog for the sheep's; but yet, by God's Grace, they shall leap above ground for it, and not get it by gaping, (Ps. xxxvii. 32, 33, 34), 'The wicked watcheth the righteous and seeketh to slay him, but the Lord will not leave him in his hand; wait on the Lord, and keep his way, and he shall exalt thee to inherit the land.' This is a sure word, and in season here where I hope to wait, and wait in hope that will never make me ashamed, notwithstanding the violence done to my flesh, the afflictions of my body and relations, and the danger of death in this Dungeon-like hole, which I hope in Christ we dare sometimes look full face upon and meet; though many times I must needs say with *Bishop Ridley*, martyr, I think I could creep into a mouse-hole, and that is when through these late outrageous exercises I have fits of sudden fear and am so subject to frightings. But O pray! pray! pray!

for us incessantly with faith, all ye that shall hear these tidings, that He may always stand by us, who stood by *Paul* against the Beasts of Ephesus, and before *Nero*, not knowing which way our most dear deliverer will come, whether by life or death, to free us from fierce and unreasonable creatures, though for my own part I rather expect the latter in this place ere long, desiring to be found faithful unto death in this most glorious Cause of Christ Jesus, my Lord, King and Master. Nor do I think if I die that you will hear the perioding passages of their Tyranny or this Tragedy upon my body; or that I shall write more to get it out, my papers lying hid under ground, where I fear they will rot, but the Lord will raise up the truth from the dead, I do know assuredly.

Now to offer my thoughts a little further. From what I foresee and may easily gather, I dare affirm—

1. That either extraordinary sufferings or extraordinary actions, in either of which we must carry our lives in our hands to offer up, are at the door of England. But the last rather I look for.

2. But if it break forth and continue in worse sufferings by persecution, &c, I expect it in *Julian* the Apostate's way of policy, by returning the worst of the old Clergy and ejected secular P. or such like people and spirits into place again, 'ut bello intestino expugnarent ecclesiam,' notwithstanding our persecutors seem at present so unmerciful to some of the honestest and best of them, that they would not have them by school* or otherwise to earn bread for their families honestly, which is monstrous tyranny even to the worst of men, and makes my heart

* By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1654, and confirmed in 1656, "no minister was permitted to teach school in the parish from which he had been ejected."—*Collier*, viii. 375; *Scobell's Acts*, part ii. 346.

sometimes bleed within me. But somewhat like to this seems their reviving of the old orders, degrees, Popish customs, forked caps, hoods and tippets, and such antichristian trash, which so many martyrs have witnessed against, besides the famous burial of the Archbishop of Ireland at O. P. charges in England,* while we may rot in his prisons.

3. If in actions amongst the Saints, as I am most inclined to think, then look for such a spirit to be doing with, as the Saints had in primitive times to be suffering with, like the woman of Valenciennes, who said she would rather burn her body than burn her Bible, and so was burnt; or rather that woman which the martyr *Guy de Briz* mentions in a letter to his mother. ‘I remember,’ says he, ‘I have read how the poor Christians in primitive times were assembled together in great numbers to hear the Word, and a great Commander was sent by the Emperor to put them all to the sword, which a Christian woman hearing, hastened with all the speed she could to be at this meeting, carrying her little one in her arms. As she drew nigh to the troop of horsemen she rushed in to get through. The Governor, seeing her make such haste, called to her and examined her whither she posted so fast. She gave him this short answer, “I am going,” saith she, “to the assembly of Christians.” “What to do?” says he. “Hast thou not heard that I am commanded to put them all to death?” “Yes, yes,” says she, “I know it well, and therefore make I haste that I may not come too late, lest I be not worthy to lose my life with them.” “But what wilt thou do with the little child?” says he. “I will carry it with me,” says she, “that it may also have the crown of martyrdom.”’

I could tell you in primitive times of whole flocks that

* In April, 1656, James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, “was buried in Westminster Abbey, Cromwell allowing two hundred and fifty pounds for the expense of the funeral.”—*Collier*, viii. 378.

would run in voluntarily to be tormented when they heard Christians were to suffer. Now I say I do expect as high, forward, and excellent a spirit to come down for action, that will make nothing but sport for Christ's sake to run in among multitudes of enemies in the name of the Lord, and though men account them mad, desperate, or such as throw away their lives, they will on upon swords and pikes, and play as prettily, merrily and cheerfully with cannon-bullets, as at stool-ball. And if the Roman, Trojan, and Persian spirit was so invincible and resolute in the day of it, do we think the Fifth-kingdom spirit shall not be so much rather? and what a shameful thing is it, as Jerome says, that faith in Christ Jesus should not make us as courageous for Him as ever infidels or carnal men were, or are, for their Master.

4. For that resolution goes before action I find in my prospective that the Lord hath ripened his Saints at a high rate already, especially such hidden ones of his as hang most in the Sun of generation light. Methinks they begin to be shod with Gospel preparations (Ephes. vi.) and hoofs of brass to break in pieces many people (Micah iv.) These Levites, of the order of twenty-four (in Chron. xxiv. and xxv. and xxvi. and xxvii.) who are to execute the judgment thoroughly upon all that have run a whoring from the Lord (Exod. xxxii. 27, 28, 29) with the sword. In the mean time, O Lord, look down on thy prisoners and behold how greedy these beasts are (as Micah iii. 2) to pluck off their skin and flesh from off their bones, yea to eat the flesh of thy people, to break their bones and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within their chaldron; yet (v. 4) 'They will cry unto the Lord.'

Now for conclusion, let my most dear and honoured brethren, in bonds and out also, be of good cheer, full of faith and expectation, unmoveable in the Lord, knowing their labour, their love, and their bonds be accepted (1 Cor. xv. 58); yea your infirmities, my friends, are over-

looked (Jer. l. 20) in the Covenant of Grace, and your Cause of (Christ) assisted and laboured after by the whole Creation. As Luther said, upon Henry 8's letters against him, 'Agant quicquid possint Henrici, Episcopi, atque adeo Turca, et ipse Sathan, nos filii fumus regni.' Pish, let all the Harries, Bishops, Turks, and Devils do their worst as long as Christ is ours. And so we are the children of the Kingdom, we care not, we spare not, we fear not, though they kill us, spit upon us, beat, bruise, imprison, or crucify us to death for our Christ. Therefore, O you, the Lord's prisoners and royal persecuted ones, in Pathmos-like exiles, and in Pathmian prisons, my most dear and honoured brethren indeed, and now more than ever, *Maj. Gen. Harrison* and *Mr. Courtney*, *Mr. Carew*, *Col. Rich*, *Maj. Gen. Overton*, *Cornet Day*, *Brother Feake*, &c, and all the rest whom I salute in the Lord's name, and look towards from this top of Amana (for it is a nurse as the word signifies in the truth), this top of Shenir (where is the prosperous teacher as the word signifies), and this Hill of Hermon (Cant. iv. 8), full of dews dedicated to God, yea from these Lions' dens and mountains of Leopards, where I am now cast for a prey by man to be devoured, in Carisbrook Castle, a close prison and kennel of unclean creatures; from hence, I say, do I cry aloud and call upon you, (having no other way to speak unto you but this, where you be in the world) as men already forgotten by some, and as dead men out of mind. And now, my brethren in bonds and banishment, how rest you in your Arimathæan sepulchres? are you not sweetly embalmed in your sufferings? and do not the affectionate Marys find you out with their spices? or is it a resurrection time with you first, before they can do that? will the Whale's belly vomit you out, and up again, amongst your brethren at liberty, after you have lain like dead carcases your part of the three days? What say you, O you honourable ones of the earth that is to come,

to all these things? Do you not lie easy and sweet in your prisons and exiles? are not your beds blessed and green for your beloved and you to lie down in? O that I were with you! O that I could visit you! that I could hear what you would tell me! how cheer you, how live you, how feed you, how lodge you, what find you, what feel you, what see you, what satisfies you, and what enjoy you of the day-springs from on high at hand? Doth not the most High Jehovah-Shammah stand by you saying, Be of good cheer, *Harrison, Rich, Carew, Courtney, Overton, &c.*, for even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee, when I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Sion, and made thee as a sword of a mighty man? I am with you, I have oiled your bonds and made them easy and sweet unto you. Yea I have muzzled of this mis-shapen Court-Monster, this ugly Creature, this Bastard of Ashdod, this seed of the Dragon, begotten in darkness, brought forth in weakness, and nourished with unreasonableness, growing up in wickedness, to continue with shortness and to be confounded with the fierceness of the wrath of God which is at hand (Rev. xiv. 10-20). Wherefore Up, Up, O Concaptives and Co-exiles, if ever now with courage, Sirs, be ready and look about you, for I tell you truly after our forty-two monthed voyage, we may see the land. Let us sing and shout for joy, for that our sails are filled, our tackling is good, our motion is swift, our compass is true, and we are near the haven; come then, tack about, Sirs, and to our business, to our work with might and main, make haste, keep ground, prepare the cable and cast anchor, yea awake, awake all you that be aboard, for the time is come to visit the coasts and set ashore, yea, my beloved, the Sun of persecution grows now low and will set soon, O therefore let us stand to it like Heart of Oak without warping in the least. O consider a little, is it comely for us to hang down our heads!

and so near the Haven, or to droop at the end of the forty-two months? What—Now!—now to yield or parley about it, being this fort of Truth our stronghold hath held out so long and valiantly too against the Beast and his image by all the Saints and Martyrs and for so many hundred years; yea and all the Saints that have left us their skulls, blood, ashes, and bones behind them for an encouragement, yea the whole creation, yea God, Christ, Angels, and men do expect our constancy and faithfulness to the end; and shall we now faint or fear the enemy, seeing we are so well accommodated with all necessities, yea much beyond our blessed predecessors for outward things? and upon so poor a slight siege too of the enemy as this is—who is almost worsted without hand, and now too that such great relief is raising for us by the Spirit of Life, the Fifth-kingdom Spirit, which we wait for every day, such as hath not been heard of for above this thousand years, and shall not we stand to it? Shall not we hold it out, and die like Christ's men? or shall we admit of any composition, capitulation or terms with them, or be routed in the rear for want of faith or courage to carry it up? Oh, no, no, God forbid, but let us rally by faith, and by the Grace of God keep our ground like men, and make haste with the main body, as they began blessedly in that wing of honourable Wales,* to move for the relief of the engaged forlorn. For the Lord's sake make haste and march up, yea fall out most fiercely, O ye men of courage, upon this Apostate and perfidious enemy, with such an undaunted, invincible, and impregnable resolution as may make them know they are not ordinary prisoners whom they would bury alive in these iron graves, for the most blessed Cause that ever was on foot in earth, or that ever was betrayed by men. Come, come, Sirs, pre-

* The Fifth-Monarchy Men relied much on an insurrection which Vavafor Powell was to have organized in Wales.

pare your companies, for King Jesus His Mount Sion muster-day is at hand; His Magazines and Artillery, yea His most excellent Mortar-pieces and batteries be ready; we wait only for the word from on High to fall on, and faith and prayer to do the Execution according to Rev. xviii. 6, 'Reward her as she hath rewarded you,' and then, by the Grace of God, the proudest of them all shall know we are engaged on life and death, to sink or swim, stand or fall with the Lord Jesus our Captain General upon his Red Horse against the Beast's Government, so as neither to give nor take quarter, but according to his orders.

Therefore take the Alarm, my brethren, be up and ready, for we are not our own, but Christ's, nor are we redeemed to men, but to God; therefore, like champions refreshed with wine, let the shout of a King be heard among us. Are we not yet awakened and warmed? Is it not high time for the two Witnesses to be uniting, stirring and rising, yea standing upon their feet? and I hope we (you of the magistracy and we of the ministry) are of the same spirit with them. Besides, let us consider how eagerly Shear-jafub, or the little Remnant, is making ready for your rise; yea, Maher-shalal-hash-baz is ready to pitch his great tent and to blow his great trump; yea, the man among the myrtle-trees (Zech. i. 8) on his red horse is already mounted, if I mistake not, and ready to march, with his sword to execute, and fire to plead with all nations; for his bow he used upon his white horse (Rev. vi. 2) hitherto, but the next is his sword on his red horse, and the slain of the Lord shall be many (Isa. lxvi. 16). Yea, and after the harvest (wherein I hope to be a reaper, a cutter down or a gatherer in), the blood of the vintage will be up unto the horses' bridles (Rev. xiv. 20), viz. those horses that are to carry the 4th Chariot from between the two mountains of brass, wherein the Lord Jesus sits to give laws unto the whole earth (Zech. vi. 1, 7, 8); and this I can easily fore-

see, for I have a most obvious undeniable prospective of it from this cliff of the rock where my present lot is. But ah ! Lord, may I say, what meaneth this that men be so hush and still then at this day ? yea, good men so asleep, so secure (Zech. i. 11). ‘Behold, all the earth sitteth still and is at rest.’ Why, it is that they may be surpris’d as in the days of *Noah* and *Lot*, and with the coming as a thief in the night. Therefore, O my brethren, let us enter the Ark, for no safety will be found but in the work, believe it ; listen, for the noise of his chariot wheels is in some measure come upon us ; look about, and believe with boldness and with gladness ; yea, up, and make ready to run, to run with these horsemen who are at hand ; prepare, prepare, put on the whole armour of God to stand, outstand, and withstand, in this evil day. Awake, awake, yea rouse up, O Saints, with most royal resolution, and shake yourselves from your prison dust, O captive daughter of Sion, for it is high time ; yea, the time is now come to start up like Lions (too stout for sufferings as before), putting off your sackcloth or captivity garments, and putting on your beautiful Zion robes to follow the Lamb with (Isa. lii. 1, 2). And when you put on these robes you must put off all those Relations, though ever so dear, that may make you stagger, yea even stamp upon them ; as Jerome said, ‘If my father were weeping on his knees before me, and my mother hanging on my neck behind me, and all my brethren, sisters, and kindred round about me, I’d run over them all,’ and in this case we are bidden even to hate them if we follow Christ. Wherefore, O my most honourable Brethren, Con-captives and Co-exiles, yea most noble Fellow-commoners at the King’s charges, let us up together all at once and fall in all at once (Numb. xiii. 30) with one mind, as one man (Zeph. iii. 9). Appoint the duty, appropriate the duty, and to it. Yea, do it with such a shout too (Jer. l. 14, 15 ; Amos. ii. 2) as may make the ears of

the enemies to ring ; yea, begin the earthquake (Rev. xi. 13), and rend up by the very roots the foundations of these persecuting Nimrods with their prisons (Acts xvi. 26), so as one stone be not left for a corner of them ; yea, till there be such a trembling, shaking, and consternation, yea a μεταθεσις, translation, over-turning, and total amotion of them, that the Beast's government may never have a being more in England, neither in Civils, Ecclesiastics, nor Militaries. For Jehovah Sabaoth will confound them and break them to pieces before us, yea this house of Saul rejected must fall flat before the house of David, the little stripling, and all this Apostative interest of Councils, Courts, Triers, Clergy, Academies, and Armies, whom the Lord is departed from. But our Cause cannot miscarry, my friends ; it cannot fail us, who are heirs of the promise, because every iota of it, as we contend for it, is founded in the new and everlasting covenant, blessed be the Lord the Holy one of Israel, who hath already given us so many gracious and specifying prison prognostics of the great day of Jezreel at hand.

I am prevented in my word to the little Remnant ; I mean the Lamb's faithful followers, of the Woman's seed, that keep the commandments of God and testimony of Jesus ; but in my Banishborn treatise (lib. last) I write at large to them and of their work (if it ever come to light), though I confess my *Bucer*-like hand, which writes but bad, may be some let or at least delay therein ; yet at present I am to bid them BEWARE and PREPARE : beware of running before orders come from Jehovah of Armies, and prepare for them when they come, yea to make all their arrows ready against Babylon, for the time to visit her is now come, and it is easy to see the signs of the times come upon us, yea the signs complete them, this little Horn, this last B., this ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς Ἀποστασίας (as the learned read ἀμαρτίας), this last limb of the Beast's go-

vernment and the man that maketh up his number fix thousand fix hundred and fix (as we have proved in Prison-born), he is now come. O up! and be ready, then, like Roaring Lions against the end, the time, times and dividend, to run and climb the wall like mighty men, and Jehovah shall utter his voice before you, his dread shall be on your enemies who have insulted over you, but shall fall before you (Josh. ii. 9; Rev. xi. 11); yea, they shall tremble and fear, and wax feeble as women (Jer. li. 30; Nahum iii. 13), and become bread for your swords to eat, because their defence is departed from them (Numb. xiv. 9). Nor are the most godly among them that have apostatized these times any more to be reckoned amongst the Lamb's number than *Dan* and *Ephraim*, because of their Apostasy (Judges xvii. and xviii.), were reckoned among the sealed ones of the 144,000 (Rev. vii. 5, 6, 7, 8). Wherefore up, O my dear Hearts, who are of that number that stand before the Throne (Rev. vii. 9), or with the Lamb in Mount Sion (Rev. xiv. 1). Up and be ready with your Ahod weapon; awake, arise, O English Shear-jafub, for out of Judah, Christ with us Gentiles of the sea, comes forth the corner, out of him the nail, out of him the battle bow, and they shall be as mighty men which tread down the enemies as mire in the streets in the battle, and they shall fight because the Lord is with them (Zech. x. 5).

Wherefore—1. Be sure you begin your muster or to mount your horses (Zech. i. 8) upon a Mount Sion ground, or in a new covenant principle: that is, purely for or rather with Christ and his Kingdom, and for no earthly persons, things or Interests of men whatsoever. Such a war was never yet in the Four Monarchies. And 2. Be sure that you be fully separate from the Beast's dominion in all things and in every ministration, as well civil and military as ecclesiastic. And furthermore, 3. Be sure you lose not the least opportunity or nick of time put into your hands to do the

work when the end comes. And 4. Be fure you fet not upon it with your own fpirits, nor pour out in it your own wrath and revenge, but God's only, and upon fuch fubjects too as the Word reveals. Yea, 5. Laftly, be fure that you in your a&tings, executings, and fufferings, be upon no other bottom or foundation but the Lord Jefus.

Therefore, Up, O ye Saints, to take the Kingdom (Dan. vii. 18) and to poffefs it for ever, for the Gentiles have poffeffed the outer Court this 42 months, and 'tis now time to arife—yea, high time to deliver thyfelf, O Sion (Ifa. lii. 1, 2), and fhake off thy duft to lay wafte the land of *Nimrod* with the fword (Mic. v. 6, 7). And the Remnant of *Jacob*, the worm, fhall be in the midft of many people as a Dew from the Lord, as the fhowers upon the grafs that tarrieth not for man, yea among the Gentiles as a Lion, who if he go through both treadeth down and teareth in pieces, and none can deliver (Num. xxiii. 24). The Holy City is the Holy Camp in the outward Court of the tabernacle that is to arife with the two Witneffes, and rout the Beaft that trod it under foot.

Therefore for the Lord's fake, Sirs, be Valiant, like *David's* worthies, yea *King Solomon's* men (Cant. iii. 7, 8), who all hold fwords, being expert in war. It is faid of *Sadeel* that with *Genes*, a citizen, he fought fo furiously for the then Cause of God that he himfelf put a thoufand Spaniards to flight, and fhall we fear? Regard not your lives for the work of Chrift when called to it. Blessed Lord, when wilt thou raife us up with thy Spirit of life, or how long fhall all lie dead? O what cowards are we now to run into holes and corners for fear of fufferings! Surely, Lord Jefus, had all thy Difciples dealt thus with thee in their generations, there would have been but few Martyrs or followers of the Lamb. O I blufh for fhame when I behold them that are gone before with thefe that now follow. *Ignatius* faid he had rather be a Martyr than a

Monarch, but now men had rather be Monsters than Martyrs. When the Dragon Emperors gave orders to put all to death that would confesse themselves Christians, they came in of themselves by whole flocks, confessing themselves Christians, and defying the Heathen; they ran in voluntarily to die and to be tormented. But ah, where be they that run in flocks to Whitehall now, saying, we are Fifth-Monarchy-Men, or for the Kingdom of Christ, and will live and die with our brethren together? (See 1 John iii. 16), 'Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the Brethren.' Now I beseech the Lord awaken you, if you be of that race, and rouse you up and set you all awork, as upon life and death, with all speed to overcome the Beast and his followers, with as lively a spirit, as high a zeal, and readines to die in the service of Christ, and so to overcome with the word of the Testimony and blood of the Lamb, not loving your lives. Bate me none of my sufferings, says *Gordius* to his tormentors, for it is my loss then, 'majora certamina, majora sequuntur præmia.'

Wherefore because I must break off with these few words to you as to Overcomers (for so I trust you are, or will be, in Christ Jesus), and close followers of the Lamb, I shall leave you with that blessed man *Mr. Holland's* legacy bequeathed to his friends at his death against Popery, 'Commendo vos dilectioni Dei et odio Papatus,' &c. So against this Apostate generation I commend you, my brethren, to the dearest love of God and to the deadliest hatred of these Hypocrites and Apostates. Amen. For (Heb. x. 38) 'If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.'

I would have had a word to this Bastard of Ashdod, this illegitimate monster, had he ears to hear, but his most irrational rage hath hindered me, and I must be silent, with a loud cry to thee, *O. P.*, out of this den, where thou hast

cast me so inconsiderately, with such cruelty, and for so long a time too, of whom I think I might have said, as *Tacitus* of *Galba*, ‘*Dignissimus imperandi, nisi imperasset.*’ How worthy hadst thou been of rule, if thou hadst not ruled. But as high as thou art, and as low as I am under thy foot, methinks when I am mounted and winged by the Holy Ghost, thou art as much under me and my Christ whom I serve in these bonds and in this Cause. Yea, as *Cirius Theodorus* said to *Modestus* about *Basil* when he was under his tyranny, ‘*O Modestus, why Basil is above thee : thou art but a poor Pismire to him, though thou roarest against him like a Lion,*’ and be not offended at it, for I tell thee through thy cruelty I am set upon a Mount so high, as I see thee and all the Kings of the Earth to boot, as proud as they be, but like Hoppimithumbs—I mean but like ants about a molehill, which I laugh at when I see them most busy about their nests, which in one crush will be destroyed, kicked down, and dispersed like the dust on the floor (Dan. ii. 35). Wherefore, Sir, that you had but once this sight, and if I speak not to a man most desperately resolved and hardened up to irrecoverable destruction, yea to one worse than a stone, yea guilty of the great sin against the Holy Ghost, let me be heard. And O that I might be heard in thy conscience, O thou ! O thou sinful man ! before the decree come forth, and thy sentence be executed. How fore a ruin is running upon thee, though thou see it not ! Wherefore either deliver us quickly quit of these dens (admiring our hitherto preservation from on high, whose Angel hath delivered us out of the mouths of these savage beasts), and give you glory to God as *Darius* did, if thou canst find in thy heart so to do, forasmuch as innocence and truth is found on our side, or else I say unto thee by the AUTHORITY of the Lord committed to me, that thou shalt DIE like a BEAST, yea more miserably than in a DEN or a DUNGEON. And as *Romanus* said to

the Tyrant, so I tell thee and them about thee, that I appeal from this thy Tyranny, which hath no pity, to the Throne of Christ, 'et cito vos omnes' (as *Jerome* of Prague said to his persecutors), 'ut respondeatis coram altissimo et iustissimo iudice post (45) annos'—I summon you all that have a hand or heart in this persecution to appear before my Christ, His elect Angels and Saints, the most supreme power and righteous Judge, after the 1335 days, where We shall judge you that now judge us, though this is your hour and the power of darkness. So be it, as saith the faithful Witness, the Amen, for a little season, yea a very little while and He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.

Even so, Amen, come quickly, Lord Jesus. Amos i. 11, 'For three transgressions and for four I will not turn away the punishment thereof, because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever.'

Finis in Imis, Ultimis et Novissimis.

Amen. Hallelujah."

"A Postscript.

READER. Thou art desired to take notice, that in the forced absence of the Author in banishment, the Press lets many mistakes in printing pass uncontrolled, and for want of due help and ability doth miscarry of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which was intermingled in some eminent passages. Now the Lord bless thee in these evil days, and give thee bowels to the suffering Saints and truth, and help thee to follow that which is good, and which make for thy peace and comfort in the world to come. Amen."

"A Necessary Word to the Ingenious Reader.

MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND—

It is about a year since I had a perfunctory glance and perusal of these papers in this piece called an Introduction, &c, to Prison-born Morning beams, which I found, as you see, so infinitely mangled and misshaped, that I was, and yet am, in such a dress ashamed to own them. Which deformity put upon them by others through want of skill, care, or love to the suffering author, shall be greedily multiplied by some men to abuse me with, upon whose back the erratas of other men it seems must lie till truth and Innocency may come abroad and find justice.

But yet I must beseech you to a little charity and candour towards me, and not to impute the many pitiful solecisms of books, which issue in my name, to my pen, but to their pates and the press together intrusted. For some, I hear, since my long imprisonment have been glad of the opportunity of traducing me freely about my treatise of Church-discipline, but I for ever bless my God though the unreasonable sword hath given them leave to insult over me and trample upon me, yet the Truth is above them and their malice. She may be blamed but never shamed by those monstrous reports, which be most made of her in her sufferings and bonds, for 'chagor charbecha gnat-jarech' (wherein is written King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Rev. xix. 16), 'Gibbor hodecha ve hadarecha,' yea, 'tselach rechab gnaldeberemet ve gnanvah tsedeg' is some of my daily song to my King. Nor do I greatly fear the foiling of the hottest enemies I have, with the power of His truth, meekness, and righteousness, whether they be the 'Rozenim' (lean ones as rulers are called, Ps. xxii), or the 'Abburim,' fat BULLS (as enemies are called, Ps. xxii. 12), and fiercest

foes that now triumph over us, for it is their time. Nor had that frothy rabble of airy stuff, gathered up together into a cloud of Vapour and exhaled from the dung hill of one CRAFTON, a malignant Priest of London, a little before my imprisonment, escaped the public fire, but the long lawless sword interposed, took away my papers, and plundered from me amongst them the reply to (what is sober in) his stage-play Treatise. Nevertheless I do yet more abundantly bless the Lord for his light of the seven lamps of fire which burn before the throne, only I must entreat thee, my reader and friend, to wait with patience and in hope with us till deliverance and liberty to the truth be restored, and in the interim mend with thy pen the following erratas before thou proceedest in this part called the Introduction.*

What the other part called Jegar Sahadutha,† or a Heart Appeal, &c, is for errata I am ignorant, nor have I seen sheet of it, only I fear so hard a travail, through so many obstructions in the birth and so little help from the neighbourhood will at the least deform it, if not endanger the very being of it, in my absence and exile. Yea, and which is worse, I am informed those few seeming friends that do assist the birth have agreed to cut off some members of that little Treatise to facilitate the Birth, but how can it then live? or if it does, so monstrously mishapen as they think, I hear, to make it, I shall want will and affection to own it as mine, for I differ from their vote who had rather have it born a cripple than not at all.

My dear Reader,—A word more. It may be thou wilt wonder to see the Introduction to a year or two prison

* The history of his sufferings at Lambeth, p. 137-168.

† The history of his sufferings at Windfor and in the Isle of Wight, p. 225-304.

travail of spirit put in this place, and therein hear news of an ensuing treatise or two about the Two British Witnesſes, and of a more obvious ſupputation of times according to the Danielian and Apocalyptic accounts; alſo of the 42 months period upon us, and of the ſlaughter of the two Witneſſes in this Street for the ſingle time, dual time, and a dividend, with the myſtery of that number 666; alſo a ſynopſis of the Lamb's Government, ſhewing the difference between the Lamb's and the Beaſt's G.; alſo a very lucid diſcovery of the Kingdom of Chriſt on earth, and the preſent work of Saints in England, the order, inſtruments and matter of the vials, the thouſand years and firſt Reſurrection with the order thereof, and much more, but ſee nothing. Alas! alas! (as Lam. iv. 3) it is becauſe this (Tannin) ſerpent ſea monſter hath ſought to devour it, and the truth betrayers and murderers have purſued theſe males that they cannot come forth, none being ſo hardy to help them, he that offers it makes himſelf a prey. But this poor miſcellany of general matter hath with much ado remained untaken to declare aloud their cruelty, who have hindered and ſtified the moſt ſpecial.

Much more might be added, in this Tragedy, of our hard trials to the fleſh, both as to the preſent condition of my own body, ſo much diſtempered in this unwholeſome hole of this Caſtle whereinto I am caſt, ſo alſo my wife, whoſe ſufferings have been ſo great in this gaol, that ſeveral Doctors of Phyſic in London have affirmed her ſickneſs to have riſen from the rude handlings and frights with the unwholeſomeness of the pit we are put into together, to the evident hazard of her life. (This is known to him in Power). Yea and the reſt of my family with me, ſome or other or all, being continually ill and afflicted with diſtempers, pains, ſickneſs, lameneſs, and other ſore trials of the fleſh. But I had much rather affect to make my condition known to God than to men who have not the bowels

of men. Wherefore 'karenu Shemcha Jehovah mibbor,' we have called upon thee, O God, from this grievous pit of Caines-brook-Chaines.

To conclude ; forasmuch, loving reader, as I find no faith, no truth, or constancy in men, but (through the persecution of undoubted foes and perfidiousness of dawbing and doubtful friends, who promised fair but perform foully), all I do for the public is either betrayed, killed, spoiled, or obstructed in my absence, and a true friend to one in prison being 'rara avis in terris,' I am forced now, in this third year of my imprisonment and banishment, to convert my time more particularly than I had intended to my own use and profit, by perfecting my search of and studies in the Holy Scriptures through the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Arabic, and so Persian roots, which is my present and daily work, and I do bless my God for this great blessing upon me in that little progress which through His Grace I have made into the Pentateuch, Psalms and Prophets. For by the Hebrew, Chald., Samaritan (Rabbinic), Arabic (Persian), Æthiopic, Armenian, and Coptic tongues, in all which, except the two last, I am now perusing the Scriptures of holy inspiration, I have received a most sweet light, taste, and singular comfort to my own soul, and have yet a lively hope that I shall one day therein serve the public again, although for days, weeks, months, and years, I have now lain among the tile-pots in the fiery furnace and burning kiln, and by the walls like a Dead man out of mind.

Now, O all ye friends, fellow-citizens of Sion and fellow-waiters with us for the help of Israel, bear us a little in your bowels and bosom before the Father, (me and my dearest Concaptives and Co-exiles in this glorious Cause of Christ). When you come before the King into his Presence Chamber of grace and supplication, be sure you forget not *Joseph*, and I beseech you in those open, bleeding, yearning bowels, which hung upon the Cross, to mind a poor

worm and prisoner of hope (and of a little faith) in this valley of Achor and Eschol.

Now I commit you all to the Inner Court comforts and counsels, that ye may be measured in these disorderly times by the Angel's cubit, the golden reed, and not by men's rotten rules, according to the which I am laid out and measured in the Lord's tabernacle of Testament, yea bound with those golden chains which fasten the shoulder-pieces to the Breast-plate, wherein is put the Urim and Thummim by the finger of God, and thereby I have an answer of God to my great encouragement and rejoicing, who yet remain, in the faith, hope, and patience of the Kingdom,

THINE as a heave-offering to the Lord by
the hand of Christ, in this fat soil,
wherein my foot is dipped in oil,

Jo. Ro."





CHAPTER VIII.

ROGERS carries down the history of his prison sufferings to July or August, 1656. In September of that year *Sir Henry Vane* became his fellow-prisoner at Carisbrook; an intimacy appears to have sprung up between them, and from this time *Vane* was spoken of more and more as a leader of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and *Rogers** became the staunch and zealous supporter of *Vane*. Towards the end of the year *Cromwell* felt himself able to release many of his political prisoners. *Vane* and *Feake* were released on the 31st of December, and *Rogers* a fortnight afterwards.†

In the winter of 1655, while *Rogers* was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, a conspiracy had been organized in London, which came to a crisis in April, 1657, about three months

Jan. 14, 1657.
Thurloe, iv.
191; vi. 163,
184.

* In one of his later publications he speaks of the great comfort he had received from hearing *Sir Henry Vane* open and apply the Scriptures "in Carisbrook Castle and elsewhere."—*Διαπολιτεία*, p. 21.

†

"Whitehall, Jan. 14, 1657.

It hath been ordered by his Highness and the Council that Mr. Rogers, who was committed to the Isle of Wight, and Mr. David Jenkins, commonly known by the name of Judge Jenkins, be set at liberty."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 344. For an account of Judge Jenkins, see "*Forster's Life of H. Martin*," p. 258.

"Mr. Rogers, preacher, being released by order of his Highness and the Council from the Isle of Wight, came this Wednesday, Jan. 21st, about three of the clock in the afternoon, into London."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 345.

after his liberation. The ringleader was a wine cooper of the name of *Venner*, and his accomplices were chiefly from the lower ranks of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. The more considerable members of the party—*Harrison, Rich, Carew, Rogers, &c.*—were founded, but refused to act. Some of the designs of the conspirators are explained in the following extracts from *Thurloe*.

April, 1657.

Thurloe, vi.
163.

“ Resolutions about some design of an insurrection.

1. That the time with submission to the will and providence of God be the third day of the week, and the seventh day of the second month in the night.

2.

3. That . . . principally we endeavour and engage against the army and principals of the army, the greatest and . . . the general and officers, and that according to reason and wisdom we do not separate colours and engage against many strong enemies at once, as the priests and lawyers.

4. Our judgment is, that having a convenient place and providence we will seize upon a troop of horse and execute their officers and any sentinel of guard of any and all proved soldiers that do oppose us, and take their horses and arms, and horse our men withal, to take in with us those proved soldiers that shall submit themselves.

5. That such gain and spoil as is due to the Lord and to the treasury and work of the Lord, according to the rule and practice of the Scripture, both of gold, silver, brass, and precious things, &c, be brought into a common stock and treasury, and that officers be appointed to that charge, to receive that account and . . . it accordingly, and that that which is for the brothers for their particular encouragement be equally distributed to the whole, those that engage and those that stay with the stuff; besides, respect is to be had to all others with us in the work, over and above their wages and hire.

24, 1st month.

The meeting of *Mr. Portman* and his brother with us, what they propounded . . . the answer we gave . . . the

three things he objected. That *Jones* affirms that we have no the spirit of God, shall be blasted, &c, and his two reasons—I. because the ancient wise Christians are not with us, as *Mr. Carew*, *Mr. Rogers*, *Mr. Harrison*, &c, and—2. because the time is not come by two months.”

The insurrection was a complete failure.

Thurloe, vi.
186.

“It pleased God to give some light into their actions all along,” said *Thurloe*; in fact, his spies had given him from the beginning an exact account of the whole conspiracy, and when the proper time arrived “his Highness sent a party of horse and seized upon twenty of them, who had with them twenty-five pair of pistols and holsters, powder, shot, and match proportionable, their standard” [a red lion couchant, with the motto, ‘Who shall rouse him’], “and were booted and spurred, ready to take horse and begone.” Afterwards search was made and more arms and ammunition were found. Other prisoners also were taken, and *Harrison* was arrested and sent to the Tower. *Rogers* was not molested.

Thurloe describes *Venner* as a man “that had about two years since a place in the Tower, from whence he was removed, being observed to be a fellow of desperate and bloody spirit, and was suspected to have had designs to blow up the Tower with powder, and would say that the time would come that the handmaids of the Lord would make no more of killing men, than He had also spake at the same time very desperate words concerning the murdering of his Highness. This bloody man was to be the ringleader of this bloody business.” *Thurloe* adds that his accomplices “were mean fellows of no note, but such as had blown up one another by a weekly meeting they had at a place called Swan Alley, in Coleman Street.”

Thurloe, vi.
185.

The prisoners were sent to the Tower, but were never brought to trial.

Two months later the Government received intelligence of another Fifth-Monarchy conspiracy.

“An information about *Col. Harrison*, &c.

June 15, 1657.

Col. Harrison, *Mr. Pheake*, *Mr. Can*,* and *Mr. Rogers*,

* John Cann was one of the most active preachers of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men. About this time (1657) he published “The Time of the End,” to which are prefixed two prefaces, one by Feake and the other by Rogers.

meet ordinarily at *Mr. Daforme's* house in Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange, where they profess themselves ready for an insurrection, the time being now come, as they say, wherein the three years and half is at an end in which the witnesses have lien dead, and that there will be a resurrection of them.

It is confidently believed that upon this delusion they will ground an attempt which may be attended with some mischief, they professing it to be their resolution to destroy all that shall oppose them."—*June 15, 1657.*

It does not appear that this information was acted upon.

In the beginning of the next year (1658) *Cromwell's* House of Commons grew restive under his government, they scrupled to recognize his "other House" as "the House of Lords," and "some spake reproachfully in the House of Commons of the other House." "The Protector looked upon himself as aimed at by them . . . and he was the more incensed because at this time the Fifth-Monarchy-Men began again their enterprises to overthrow him and his Government by force, . . . he therefore took a resolution suddenly to dissolve this Parliament." He arranged his plans with his usual promptitude and completeness. Before five o'clock in the morning of Feb. 3, he had despatched the following note to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

"Feb. 3, 1658.

SIR,—I desire you to seize *Major-General Harrison, Mr. Carew, Portman*, and such as are eminent Fifth-Monarchy-Men, especially *Feake* and *Rogers*. Do it speedily and you shall have a warrant after you have done."

The formal warrant was forwarded in the afternoon, and the arrests were made before night.

"OLIVER P.

Whereas we are given to understand that several persons have been of late endeavouring, inasmuch as in them lay, to asperse, reproach, withstand, and subvert the governors and government of this commonwealth, as it is now established; and have been at work and fought by all means to disturb the public peace, raise seditions and commotions, seeking to disaffect and exasperate the

Thurloe, vi.
349.

Whitelock,
672.

Feb. 1658.

Somers' State
Tracts, vi. 482.
Burton's Diary,
iii. 448, 494.

hearts and spirits of the people, so that thereby they might bring the nation again into blood : And whereas some of the contrivers and actors are made known unto us to be *Hugh Courtney*, *John Rogers*, and *John Portman*, who obscure themselves in and about our City of London : These are, therefore, to will and require you to make, or cause to be made, strict and diligent search for the said persons, and them and every of them to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended and brought into our Tower of London ; and that you keep them there in safe custody until you shall receive our further order therein concerning them, every or any of them respectively. And we do also hereby authorize and require you to seize or cause to be seized all books, writings, letters, and papers, as shall by you be found requisite ; as also all such weapons, arms, or any dangerous things, to them or any of them belonging, or that are in their custody. And for the better execution whereof, you are hereby authorized to break open any doors, locks, boxes, or bolts, trunks, chests, boxes, or other places. And herein all our officers, as well civil and military, are required to be aiding and assisting you ; and for which this shall be your Warrant.

Given at Whitehall, this third day of
February, 1658.

To *Sir John Barkstead*, Knt, lieutenant of our
Tower of London."

Thurloe, vi.
775.

Having thus provided against those who were most likely to be dangerous, *Cromwell*, the next day (Feb. 4) went to the House of Lords, summoned the House of Commons, and dissolved Parliament, the last Parliament he was destined to meet.

The following account of the state of affairs in London, at this time, appeared in a foreign newspaper :—

" *Extract out of the printed news at Amsterdam.*

De Londres, le 21^m. Febr. 1657.

Sur quelque difficultez survenues entre le parlement et le sieur *Protecteur Cromwell*, de quoy on nous escrit, que le mesme Parliament s'est separée avec un grand mescontentment, ce que voyant ledit sieur Protecteur, il s'est tenu maistre absolu de la

Tour, dans laquelle on écrit que *Monsieur Rogers* a esté mis prisonnier depuis peu de jours de quoy on ne parle point du sujet, et depuis l'on a imprimé quantité de libelles ou lettres, que l'on a distribués entre les soldats et le peuple, lesquels ne tendent qu'à sédition.

From President Downing [to Thurloe].

I thought fit by the above extract to let you see what news is printed at Amsterdam, which is published there by a brother of the Secretary of the Spanish Ambassador last here."

Thurloe, vi.
795.

In the mean time the London Government newspapers were busy writing down the prisoners.

"Feb. 4, 1658.—It is observable that *Major-General Harrison* and his wife, *Mr. John Carew*, and *Major Courtney*, though formerly supposed to be persons a story or two above ordinances,* being desirous to enter into the way of the re-baptized, have all of them sometime since the beginning of this frosty weather, been dipped, notwithstanding the bitterness of the season, and it is further observable that when the said *Major Courtney* was apprehended (who, with *Mr. Rogers*, the minister, &c, now stand committed to the Tower) there were found in his lodgings several dangerous printed pamphlets, divers of which were enclosed in letters directed to several persons in the country, being the very same pamphlets with those which have lately been scattered up and down among the soldiery and elsewhere."

Merc. Pol.,
No. 402. See
also Burton's
Diary, iii. 449.

"Tower of London, Feb. 10.

"What endeavours have of late been used by some to pervert the soldiery and others from their due obedience is now apparent,

* Sir Henry Vane is spoken of by Clarendon as "a man not to be described by any character of religion, in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagancies of every sect or faction, and even became (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordinances*, unlimited or unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection."—*Clarendon*, viii. 373.

Merc. Pol., No.
402.

the seditious books and pamphlets which were scattered up and down among the army and elsewhere being many of them taken in the lodgings of *Major Courtney* and *Mr. Rogers*, the minister, who both stand committed to this place, and bundles of the same books they were preparing to send abroad to infect the people there. But besides these two there is a third who likewise stands committed here, and that is one *Mr. Portman*, formerly a secretary in the fleet under *General Blake*, of the same party with *Rogers* and *Courtney*, and every whit as high and peremptory. . . More there are abroad of this gang."

But two days afterwards the "*Mercurius Politicus*" qualifies the charge so far as *Rogers* is concerned.

"Tower, Feb. 12, 1658.

Merc. Pol., No.
403.

Left the account from hence lately printed should seem to reflect upon *Mr. Rogers*, the minister, prisoner here, as if the seditious books and pamphlets then mentioned had been found with him as well as *Mr. Courtney*, the truth is none of them were found with him, but he stands committed here by special warrant for other causes."

Merc. Pol.,
No. 411.

Rogers was not detained long in the Tower. He and *Feake* were released on the 16th of April.

1658.

There was a notorious Fifth-Monarchy meeting-house in Swan Alley, Coleman Street. In this had been contrived *Venner's* abortive insurrection of April, 1657, and from this the Fifth-Monarchy-Men issued armed in the later insurrection of 1661. On the first of April, 1658, the Lord Mayor and one of the Sheriffs proceeded to this meeting, and while they sat on horseback outside, the City Marshall broke open the door and arrested all who were within. "*Old Brother Cann*" was in the pulpit. The prisoners were sent to the Counter in the Poultry, and some of them, *Cornet Day* amongst the rest, were examined afterwards before the Lord Mayor. Nothing could be drawn from *Cornet Day* "till he told them he would give it under his hand to prove *Oliver Cromwell* a juggler by his own confession, and so much did he leave with the Mayor in a piece of paper, which was the great charge he was

afterwards arraigned for." After three weeks he was brought before the sessions at the Old Bailey, and came before them with his hat on, carefully explaining that he wore it, not because he was a Quaker, but because he did not acknowledge the authority of the Court. It was of course pulled off. He then refused to plead. "I require," he said, "that my accusers come face to face, and I will answer to my charge: that is, prove *Oliver Cromwell* a juggler by his own confession." But they pressed him to plead guilty or not guilty. On the third and last day of the trial "*Brother Rogers*" (who had been released from the Tower just eight days before) "went with him and stood by him at the bar." *Day* still persisted that he could prove *O. C.* a juggler, and offered to call witnesses. The jury "found not the prisoner guilty of the indictment; but for two or three words which he had spoken, and brought Scripture for it, that they did not quit him of; for he had confessed them and stood to the justification of them." On this, *Day* was sentenced to a fine of 200 marks and six months' imprisonment, after which he was to find bail. This account is taken from a pamphlet published at the time.* *Ludlow*, writing probably from memory, gives a slightly different version of the story:—"Some persons that used to meet in Coleman Street to deplore the apostasy of the times, and particularly that of Whitehall, were seized by the Lord Mayor's officers, pursuant to *Cromwell's* orders, as they were coming out from their meeting-place. Amongst these was a Cornet whose name was *Day*, and who being charged with saying that *Cromwell* was a Rogue and a Traitor, confessed the words, and to justify himself said that *Cromwell* had affirmed in the presence of himself and divers other officers, that if he did oppress the conscientious, or betray the liberties of the people, or not take away Tithes by a certain time now past, they should then have liberty to say he was a Rogue and a Traitor. He moved therefore that he might be permitted to produce his witnesses who were then present to the particulars before mentioned. But the matter was so ordered that he and some

* "A narrative wherein is faithfully set forth the sufferings of John Cann, Wentworth Day, &c, called as their Newsbook saith 'Fifth-Monarchy-Men,' published by a friend to the prisoners and the Good Old Cause they suffer for."—*Lond.* 1658.

Ludlow, ii.
604-5.
Sept. 3, 1658.

others were fined and imprisoned for their pretended misdemeanours."

The third of September was in *Oliver Cromwell's* opinion his fortunate day, for on that day he had won the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. On the third of September, 1658, he died. *Richard Cromwell* succeeded to the Protectorate, and summoned a Parliament, which met on January 27, 1659.

At this time the struggle for power lay between three parties. First were the supporters of *Richard Cromwell*, including *Baxter* with some of the more eminent Presbyterians. Many of these men supported the protectorate not because they loved it, but because they thought it the nearest approach to a monarchy which the nation would endure; when *Richard* failed them they transferred their allegiance more or less openly to the King.

Secondly were those Republicans, Independents, and Fifth-Monarchy-Men who ranged themselves under *Sir Henry Vane*. *Vane's* republicanism was sincere and uncompromising, and in spite of a religious enthusiasm which bordered upon insanity, he was one of the most able politicians of the day.

The third party was composed of officers, and was called the Wallingford House* party, from the quarters of *General Fleetwood*, where it met. These men were noisy Republicans, and great sticklers for the "Good Old Cause," but as politicians they were selfish and incapable. The two latter parties, under *Vane* and *Fleetwood* respectively, coalesced for the overthrow of *Richard Cromwell*. They forced him first to dissolve Parliament, and then to abdicate.

Rogers contributed his assistance in his own peculiar department. "*Richard Cromwell*," says *Baxter*, "was not so formidable as his father, and therefore every one boldly spurned at him. The Fifth-Monarchy-Men followed *Sir Henry Vane*, and raised a great and violent clamorous party against him among the sectaries in the city. *Rogers* and *Feake* and such like firebrands preach them into fury and blow the coals."

After the abdication of *Richard* the Wallingford House party were for a short time supreme, and recalled to power on their own authority the remnant of the old Long Parliament. This

Reliquiæ
Baxterianæ,
part i. p. 101.

* Wallingford House stood on the site of the present Admiralty.

consisted of those forty or fifty* members of that Parliament who had acquiesced in the *King's* execution, had established a republic, and had clung to their seats in spite of purgings, proscriptions, and seclusions, until they were violently expelled by *Oliver Cromwell*. They resumed their seats on the 7th of May, 1659, and immediately appointed a Committee of Safety and a Council of State. *Sir Henry Vane* was a member of both. *Rogers* was quite as much elated when they were reinstated as he had been formerly when they were expelled, and for his services on their behalf he claimed now as much credit as he had claimed formerly for his zeal against them. In an address "to the Parliament of the Commonwealth now returned to the great exercise of supreme trust," he says: "You are brought together to do your last works by the same hand that blessed you to do your first, neither have we been wanting in our poor prayers to the Almighty, and incessant endeavours with the Mighty, particularly the Army, Council of Officers, and others, to effect your return and the late turn."

May, 1659.

But a Parliament of Republicans and Regicides, restored by the Army, and supported by Fifth-Monarchy-Men, was very distasteful to the Country generally, and quickly became equally distasteful to the Army itself. It was particularly odious to the citizens of London, who had been sufficiently frightened by the plots and insurrections of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in the time of *Oliver Cromwell*, and were now panic-stricken when they found the leaders and allies of these men sitting, not only in Parliament, but in the Council of State and Committee of Safety. The following "broadside" bears witness to the fears of the citizens and to the notoriety of that ill-feeling which already existed between the Parliament and the Army:—

"An Alarum to the City and Soldiery.

God grant they may not neglect it.

GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS,

At this time, when our ruin and destruction is upon us, this

* Oldmixon says 65; Echard and Rapin 40; Prynne says 42, and gives their names, "there being 300 members more of the old Parliament yet living, besides those who are dead."—*Prynne's True and Perfect Narrative*, 1659, p. 35.

June, 1659.

is no place for many words. The Fifth-Monarchy-Men are armed, officered, and every way in readiness, upon the word given them, to surprisè and suppress the Army, to fire the City, and to massacre all considerable people of all sorts whom they suspect averse to what they impiously designed. *Feake* hath lately given them the Alarum in print. *Sir Henry Vane* is chief in the design, and lately said in confidence to a friend, This Army was every way to be suppressed, for otherwise they should not be permitted to sit long. The Parliament's new Militia and their listings in several counties is in order to no other design. If God gives you not eyes to see the destruction that is even at your doors, or if you see it, [and] want hearts and courage to prevent it, it then seems the decree is gone out against you. You may have your warning, and we have done our duties. Beware Tuesday next. We say BEWARE."

In the mean time *Rogers* was busy supporting the new Government, with his pen. *William Prynne*, the barrister, who had been twice sentenced to stand in the pillory and lose his ears for libel, and on whom the sentence had been twice, so far as it was possible, executed, who had written more seditious libels, and had been confined in more prisons, than perhaps any other man in England, was now the boldest writer on the Presbyterian Royalist side. He and *Rogers* soon came into collision; they both professed the most profound veneration for the "Good Old Cause," but they could by no means agree what the "Good Old Cause" was. *Prynne* published "The true Good Old Cause rightly stated, and the false uncased." *Rogers* answered with "*Mr. Prynne's* Good Old Cause stated and stunted ten years ago." *Prynne* rejoined with "The Republicans' and others' spurious Good Old Cause briefly and truly Anatomized." *Rogers* with "*Διαπολιτεία*, a Christian Concertation with *Mr. Prynne*, *Mr. Baxter*, *Mr. Harrington*,"* or an answer to *Mr. Prynne's* Perditory Anatomy," &c. &c. *Prynne* wrote "A brief necessary Vindication . . . from the false malicious calumnies of . . . *Mr. John Rogers* and *Mr. Needham*." *Harrington* answered with "A Parallel of the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of *Mr. Rogers*," and the

* James Harrington, the Author of "*Oceana*."

controversy seems to have ended with "*Mr. Harrington's* parallel unparalleled," from the pen of *Rogers*.*

Prynne reduces all material differences between himself on one side, and *Rogers* and *Needham* on the other, into six distinct questions, of which it will be sufficient here to give but one. "The first question between *John Rogers* and *Mr. Prynne* . . . is but this, whether the defence, maintenance of the true Protestant religion, the King's royal person, authority, government, posterity, the privileges and rights of Parliament, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons, the laws, statutes of the land, the liberty, property of the subject, and peace, safety of the kingdom, were the only true 'Good Old Cause,' for which the Long Parliament and their Armies first took up arms in 1642, and continued them till the Treaty with the King, 1648 (as *Mr. Prynne* asserts and proves, like a Lawyer, by punctual evidences, witnesses, votes, declarations) . . . or whether the erecting of a new Commonwealth and Parliament without a King and House of Lords, and majority of the Commons' House, upon the ruins of the late King, Kingdom, Parliament, since 1648 to 1653, and the reviving of it May 7, 1659, by some swaying Army Officers and the far minor part of the old Commons' House confederating with them . . . [were the Good Old Cause], which *Rogers* endeavours to prove, like a Logician, without any evidence, witness, but his own *ipse scripsit* . . . making that which was never in being but since 1648 to be the Good Old Cause for whose defence they took up arms in 1642." In short, it seems that the "Good Old Cause," as interpreted by *Prynne*, meant a limited Monarchy, and the "Good Old Cause," as interpreted by *Rogers*, meant a Republic.

Besides the pamphlets elicited by his controversy with *Prynne*, *Rogers* wrote many others about this time without his name, which can only be identified as his by some accidental reference to them in his own or his opponents' writings. Such were "The plain case of the Commonweal near the desperate gulf of Common-

Prynne's
"Brief Necessary Vindication," p. 2.

* About this time was published "A vindication of that prudent and honourable Knight Sir Henry Vane from the lies and calumnies of Richard Baxter." Anthony à Wood attributes the authorship to Henry Stubbes, Stubbes quotes it as the work of Mr. Rogers, and Rogers quotes it as the work of "a goodly Minister."

woe." "A reviving word from the Quick and Dead, &c." "The sad suffering case of *Major-General Robert Overton*, prisoner in the Isle of Jersey, stated and presented to the serious consideration of those who are either of a pious or public spirit"—with probably many others.*

The Council of State nominated by this Parliament seem to have been very willing to recompense *Rogers* for his zeal on their behalf, but the preferments they offered him suggest the suspicion that they found it at least as expedient to remove him as to reward him. The following is from "the letter-book" of the Council of State.

In the Public
Record Office.

"To the Commissioners for governing, ordering, and settling the affairs of Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,

July, 1659.

Mr. John Rogers being willing to go for Ireland to the end he may apply himself to the preaching of the Gospel there, and the council being willing to give him their countenance in such an undertaking, they have furnished him with fifty pounds out of their contingencies, and have thought fit in an especial manner to recommend him (as they hereby do) to your care, desiring that he may have like encouragement as heretofore in that work.

"Dd. to him."

[Signed] A. JOHNSTON,
President.

Whitehall, 19 July, 1659."

This mission to Ireland had small attractions for *Rogers*, but he was quite aware that the tide which was then in his favour might turn against him, and clearly thought that he had undergone already a sufficiency of suffering for the "Good Old Cause." "Seeing," he says to the Council, "I am not worthy to live in my own nation, I am glad that you are so worthy as to send me

* "What scurrilous books have been contrived by Needham, Goodwin, Milton, Rogers, and such like Billingsgate authors is not unknown to any."—*History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our Pretended Saints*. By Henry Foulis. 1674. 2nd Ed. p. 24.

into another. I would say with Chrysostom, 'Well, the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof,' 'et nil nisi peccatum timeo.' Yea, I would answer too with Aristotle, when asked why he left Athens, 'ὅτι οὐ βούλεται Ἀθηναίους δις ἐξαμαρτεῖν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν,' I would not have the Athenians to sin twice against philosophy, nor would I that our honourable worthies should run the second time upon the same rock or danger of ruin." He signs himself—

"Your servant to my utmost power,
whether in this nation or any other, for
the Cause of Christ and his Commonwealth,

JOHN ROGERS ;"

and dates "from my house in Aldersgate Street, 14th of 5th month, called July, in the first year of our second deliverance or return to the liberty of a free state."

But this exile to Ireland was not actually inflicted upon him. Before he had set out news reached London of the Royalist insurrection in Cheshire, under *Sir George Booth*. The Council of State met instantly and issued orders for raising troops, commissioning officers, and despatching an army to the scene of action. Among the regiments then officered, was that of *Col. Charles Fairfax*, and among the names of its commissioned officers appears that of "*John Rogers*, Chaplain." In fact, none were at this time more zealous for the Government, than the party to which *Rogers* was attached. The Presbyterian gentry had contrived *Sir George Booth's* insurrection, and "the Presbyterian ministers," says *Whitelock*, "did labour to further it." On the other hand, "the Congregational Churches desired leave to raise three regiments for the Parliament, and had their willing consent thereto."

General Lambert was one of those who signed the Order by which *Rogers* was appointed to a regimental chaplaincy, and on the same day (August 6) he marched out of London at the head of the troops against the enemy. In less than a fortnight the Royalists were utterly routed and dispersed, and their leaders taken prisoners. *Rogers* probably joined his regiment, for shortly afterwards he speaks of having been "called aside of a sudden" into another part of the harvest, and in September he pleads "the late rebellion" as an apology for a delay of five weeks in the publication of an answer to *Prynne*.

August, 1659.

Minute Book
of the Com-
mittee of
Safety, in the
Public Record
Office.
Whitelock,
p. 682.

A lampoon of this date, written by a Royalist in the style of the Seven Champions of Christendom, describes how *Sir Lambert* marched against the loyal knight as far as the forest of Northimbria, and how before *Sir Lambert* departed out of the City of London, the Seer Feko and the Seer Rogero, high priests of the temples of the idols, came unto him and declared unto him their visions.

Sept. 1659.

On his return *Rogers* procured the following order from the Council of State,

“Monday, 19, September, 1659.

Ordered—That *Mr. Rogers*, the minister, be dispensed with from going to Ireland this winter, according to his desire to that purpose signified to the Council.”

“*Rogers* dispensed with.”

From “Fair Order Book of Council of State,” in the Public Record Office.

October, 1659.

And about three weeks afterwards he was appointed lecturer at Shrewsbury. The date of this appointment is remarkable.

The suppression of *Sir George Booth's* insurrection by *General Lambert* led to increased jealousy between the Parliament and the officers of the army, the latter presumed more and more upon their services, while the Parliament grew more and more jealous of interference, until a trial of strength became inevitable. On October the 12th (1659), Parliament ordered the dismissal from their commands of *Lambert*, *Desborough*, and seven or eight others of the principal officers of the army. On the next day, October 13, those regiments upon which Parliament could rely, marched out of their quarters in Scotland Yard and took possession of Westminster Hall, with the Palace Yard and avenues adjoining. On the other hand, *Lambert*, with the regiments on which he relied, marched out also and took possession of Westminster Abbey and the space around it. During the whole day the soldiers of the opposite factions stood face to face in Westminster, “expecting orders to fall on.” The sitting of Parliament was interrupted, and the speaker turned back in his coach, but the Council of State sat in Whitehall, and as the leaders of both factions were members a “long and smart debate” ensued. It was finally arranged that the Parliament should be dissolved; and the Council of officers undertook to provide for the preservation of the peace, to frame a constitution, to summon a Parliament, and “so to settle all things.” When this was agreed upon the soldiers

were ordered to withdraw to their quarters, and as *Lambert* and his confederates had accomplished all that they had desired, the order was obeyed, and the soldiers withdrew accordingly.

The following minutes in the order book of the Council of State are the whole official records of what passed there in the morning of this eventful day. It does not appear how *Rogers* succeeded in securing for himself such an undue proportion of attention.

“Thursday, 13 of October, 1659—morning.

Lord Whitelock, *President*.

Sir James Harrington, Lord Lambert, Mr. Nevill, Major Salwey, Col. Downes, Col. Dixwell, Lord Wareston, Lord Fleetwood, Sir Henry Vane, Col. Thomson, Mr. Reynolds, Major-General Disbrow, Mr. Challoner, Col. Berry.

Ordered—That the *Lord Whitelock* be President of the council for the present, and that he be desired to take the chair accordingly.

That all the forces of the army which are now standing at their arms and all other forces raised by authority of Parliament, and now upon their march, or in arms, be and are hereby required forthwith to repair to their several and respective quarters until further orders from the Council.

Passed nemine contradicente.

That this order of the Council be forthwith communicated to the commanders of the said forces by the clerks or messengers of the council, that the same may be observed accordingly.

That the Lord President of the Council do sign the aforesaid orders.

That the Council do adjourn for one hour.

Ordered—upon the petition of divers well-affected persons in and about Shrewsbury that *Mr. John Rogers* be and hereby is appointed a public preacher in Shrewsbury, and that for the exercise of his ministry and conveniency of the auditory, he have the free use of the public meeting place called St. Julian, and other adjacent vacant places mentioned in the petition, as he shall have opportunity. And for the encouragement of the said *Mr. Rogers* it is further ordered that the augmentation with the arrears formerly granted to *Mr. Burnet* or any other lecturer or minister in

From Order
Book of
Council of
State.

January, 1660.

St. Julian's, together with so much more as will make it one hundred and fifty pounds by the year, being the allowance granted to the several lecturers in the city of Hereford, be paid unto the said *Mr. John Rogers*. And the trustees for the maintenance of ministers, and augmentations are to take special care that the same be paid accordingly."

The Council of Officers nominated a committee of ten from the Council of State to carry on the Government. Afterwards they appointed a Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-three persons. *Sir Henry Vane* was a member of both.

But this Government satisfied nobody. It was not even supported by the army itself, and very soon fell to pieces. On the 26th of December the soldiers brought back with acclamations the very Parliament which they had dissolved ten weeks before. In January, 1660, *Sir Henry Vane* was ordered to repair to his house at Raby and remain there; and in February *Monk* reached London and restored the secluded members to their places in Parliament. This threw the majority into the hands of the Royalists, and was the beginning of the end. Parliament was dissolved, and on May 1 the new Parliament voted that the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons, and at the same time received letters from and voted humble addresses to *Charles II.*

Whether *Rogers* ever reached Shrewsbury is uncertain. He can be traced for a few years after the Restoration as a private person, but his public career as preacher and politician ended with the Commonwealth, and little now remains to be done but to record a few incidents of the life or of the death of those in whom, for various reasons and in different degrees, he had been chiefly interested.

His father *Nehemiah*, to whom he never alludes without due reverence, lived long enough to see the bonfires blazing for the Restoration of Monarchy, and to preach once afterwards, but not long enough to see the King return, or to be himself restored to the rectory in London and the stall at Ely, which he had forfeited for his loyalty eighteen years before. On his way home from morning service at Doddington he fell speechless to the ground in the churchyard, and died before the hour of afternoon service. He was buried May 9th, 1660, the very day *Charles the Second* was publicly proclaimed in London.

The Restoration, which drove *John Rogers* into obscurity, sent his more eminent friends, patrons, and accomplices to the scaffold. The chief leaders of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men among the laity were *Harrison*, *Carew*, and latterly *Sir Henry Vane*. All three were executed. *Harrison* was the first to suffer, as he had been also the first arrested. He was tried and convicted as a Regicide, and was executed at Charing Cross with all the usual barbarities. While he was being drawn to the gallows on a sledge, some one in derision called to him, "Where is your Good Old Cause?" He with a cheerful smile clapped his hand on his breast, and said, "Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood." *Carew* suffered two days afterwards with equal courage. *Vane* was kept in prison and suspense for two years, and was then tried and executed.

State Trials,
ii. 406.

The proceedings against the Regicides and their accomplices disposed also of *Colonel Jones* and *Miles Corbet*, who had befriended *Rogers* in Ireland, of *Colonel Okey*, his fellow-sufferer under *Cromwell*, and of *Colonel Barkstead*, his gaoler in the Tower. They were all executed. *Ludlow*, another of his patrons in Ireland, *Colonel Hewson*, whose experiences he records in "Bethshemesh," *Mr. Holland*, the spokesman of "the Locomotive" Commission at Windsor Castle, and his unkind kinsman *Serjeant Dendy*, were attainted for their respective shares in the King's trial, but escaped abroad and died peaceably in their beds.

The Fifth-Monarchy-Men's insurrection of 1661 closed the career of many of his associates of the humbler sort. This insurrection was concerted in the notorious old meeting-house of Coleman Street. The Government had received intelligence of its designs and had arrested most of its ringleaders, including *Cornet Day*, *Quartermaster-General Courtney*, *Colonel Overton*, and *Major Allen*. But they omitted to arrest *Venner*, and on Sunday evening, January 6, 1661, he and about sixty of his followers sallied out of their meeting-house in open insurrection. They marched first to *Rogers'* old quarters of St. Thomas Apostle's "to call in more of their party, thence into Whitecross Street, coming into the City again at Cripplegate, and going out again at Aldersgate, declaring for King Jesus, and killing several people. *Sir Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor, having notice of their desperate design, got together some files of the Train Bands, who were at first repulsed by *Venner's* party, who fought with an incredible

Insurrection of
the Fifth-
Monarchy-
Men.

Their horrid
enthusiasm.

Defeated.

Condemned
and executed.
Bishop
Kennet's
Complete
History of
England, iii.
225.

impulse of infatuation, as making themselves to believe that one should chase a thousand and no weapon formed against them should prosper. But finding themselves harder pressed, and being told the Life Guards were coming down upon them, they retired, and under cover of the dark evening got into Caen Wood, betwixt Highgate and Hampstead: and a party of horse and foot being sent thither to hunt them out, on Wednesday morning very early this villanous crew returned again to London, dividing themselves into two parties, one whereof appeared about Leadenhall, and from thence marched into Little Eastcheap, where they fought obstinately, but were dispersed by the Train Bands. *Venner* with another party came to the Lord Mayor's house, thinking to have surprised him, but missing their aim they marched into Wood Street, where they were met by *Colonel Corbet* and about twenty horse. *Corbet* and nine only of his horsemen charged through the rebels and broke them, and the Trained Band foot fell in and pursued them. They fought with a courage more brutish and devilish than was ever seen in men, and if their numbers had been equal to their spirits they would have overturned the city, and the nation, and the world. *Venner*, who was much wounded before he could be taken, was soon after, with about sixteen of his crew, arraigned at the Old Bailey, and being all found guilty, they were executed in several places in London, most of them raving and threatening judgment, and calling down vengeance upon the King, the Judges, and the City." *Venner* himself was hanged opposite the Coleman Street meeting-house.

The severities exercised on the Fifth-Monarchy-Men after this insurrection were sufficient to repress, but not to extinguish them. For years their conspiracies were a continual source of uneasiness to the Government, and most of those who conspired under *Cromwell* re-appear as conspirators under *Charles II.* *Brother Feake* clung to his old trade, and passed his life either in hiding in and round London, in stealthy journeys about the country, or in prison. *Quartermaster-General Courtney*, after his arrest in January, 1661, was detained in the Gatehouse until the following June, when he was released on giving security in £1,000 that he would go abroad within fifteen days and not return. But five years afterwards, while the plague was raging in London, the Government received intelligence that a wide-spread conspiracy was on foot, that the head of this serpent lay between Edmonton and Ware, in retired

places in Epping Forest and Enfield Chase, and in London, that "those two pernicious fellows *Hugh Courtney* and *Walter Thimbleton*," had been seen lurking about the neighbourhood on foot, and that unless they were inquired after serious mischief would ensue. *Courtney* seems to have escaped. If arrested, he would probably have shared the fate of another of *Rogers'* army friends, *Colonel Rathbone*. In April, 1666, two or three months after *Courtney's* visit to England, *Colonel Rathbone* and seven others were indicted at the Old Bailey for conspiring the death of his Majesty and the overthrow of the Government, and "then to have declared for an equal division of land, &c." It is said "the evidence against these persons was very full and clear." At any rate, they were found guilty of high treason on the 26th of April, and were executed at Tyburn on the 30th.

So far as the Restoration influenced their fortunes, *Rogers'* old Presbyterian antagonists, the lawyer *Maynard* and the preacher *Crofton*, were to a certain extent representative men in their respective professions, for the Restoration brought promotion to the one and ruin to the other. *Maynard* was courted and honoured by the Government of *Charles II.*, and lived to compliment *William III.* on the Revolution. He was M.P. for Plymouth as late as 1689, and died at the age of eighty-eight in the next year. On the other hand, that "Jesuitical Presbyter," *Zachary Crofton*, after having been sent to the Tower shortly before the Restoration for preaching in favour of Monarchy, was sent there again shortly after the Restoration for preaching against Episcopacy. In 1662 he was ejected from his living of St. Botolph, Aldgate, "left preaching," and became a cheese factor in Cheshire. But he made himself so obnoxious to the authorities, civil and ecclesiastical, that he was arrested again and imprisoned in Chester Castle. On his release he took a farm in Bedfordshire, and afterwards a school in his old parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate. There he died and was buried in 1672, the rector of the parish preaching at the funeral.

To return to *John Rogers*. After the Restoration the free cities of Holland became cities of refuge for those Republicans whose names had become too notorious in England, and *Rogers* emigrated with the rest. In his early life, and in obedience to his father, who had constantly opposed his inclination to the ministry, he had entered upon the study of medicine at Cambridge, but

In a letter dated Jan. 8, 1666, now in the Public Record Office.

See page 81.

London Gazette, April 26 and 30, 1666.

Calamy's Memorial, i. 103.

"An Information from Lord Brereton," in Record Office.

Smith's Obituary, p. 97 (Camden Society).

he was swept away by the excitement of the times, and "fell to preaching" before he was nineteen. He was now thirty-three, with a wife and family, but without home, without property, without professional means of subsistence, and he returned to the calling for which he had been originally intended. The Universities of Leyden and Utrecht were famous then for their schools of medicine; he studied at both, and took the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Utrecht, in October, 1662, publishing at the same time some inaugural dissertations in Latin. There was the usual colony of English refugees in Utrecht, some of whom appear to have suffered by the Act against non-conformity, which came into operation on "Black Bartholomew's-day," 1662. *Rogers* appended to his treatises several of the congratulatory addresses* he received from these men. He must have returned to England shortly after this time, for in the same year (1662) he is described as "*Rogers* of Bermondsey," in the Herald's visitation of Surrey.

In 1663 his existence is attested to only by an entry in *Secretary Williamson's* "Spy-book," a list of disaffected and dangerous persons who were watched by the Secretary's spies. "— *Rogers*, pastor of a church—dwells in St. Mary Madlen's parish, practizeth physic, and meets often at his own house."

In 1664 he was admitted to an "ad eundem" degree of Doctor of Medicine at Oxford. *Anthony Wood* describes him only as the son of *Nehemiah Rogers*, of Duddinghurst. Keen-eyed as *Wood* was where a Puritan or sectary was concerned, he failed apparently to identify the physician of Utrecht whose "ad eundem" degree he registers in his *Fasti*, with the "busy," "pragmatical," "impudent," and "notorious Fifth-Monarchy-Man," whose biography he had sketched in his *Athenæ*.

In the Herald's
College.

In the Public
Record Office.

Fasti, ii. 159.

Athenæ, ii.
594, ed. 1721.

* Plausus in honorem ac meritum inaugurale Doctissimi, generis ac morum splendore Ornatissimi, Dignissimi D. Johannis Rogersii, Anglo-Britanni, Cantabrigienfis, datus cum in celeberrimâ Trajecti juxta Rhenum Academia summis summo merito in Arte Medica titulis, honoribus, dignitatibus, auctus, ac Apollinari Choro conscriptus triumphabat, Oct. 17, 1662.

Quis te Naturæ miris præfecerit aris,
Qui modo de cælo fulmina sacra dabas,
Ecce alio nunc igne cales, Phœbique Sacerdos
Non metuit pœnas, Bartholomæe, tuas, &c. &c.

In 1665 *Rogers* published a second edition of his medical treatises, which with amazing inconsistency he dedicates to *Clarendon*.* The great plague of London broke out in the same year, and certain advertisements, in the "Intelligencer" and "News," of "Alexiterial and Antipestilential medicine, an admirable and experimented preservative from the plague," "made up by the order of J. R., M.D.," carry with them, in their phraseology and pretensions, strong internal evidence of his pen. The fact that one so bent on notoriety should have left behind him no trace even of his existence after that date, suggests the conjecture that he must have perished in 1665. But in truth the date of his death is absolutely uncertain.

July 31,
August 3, 1665.

The following extract is from the Visitation of Surrey:—

"ROGERS OF BERMONDSEY.

Nehemiah Rogers,
of Duddinghurst, in
com. Essex.

Margaret, da.

John Rogers, of St.
Mary Magdalen's,
Bermondsey, in com.
Surry, Dr. in Physicke
1662.

Elizabeth, da. of Sir
Robert Payne, of
Midloe, in com.
Hunt., Knt.

John, sonne & heire,
Æt. 13, An^o. 1662.

Prisonborne.

[Signed] JOHN ROGERS."

John, the eldest son, settled at Plymouth, where he acquired a large fortune as a merchant. He was elected M.P. for that borough and created a Baronet in 1698, was High Sheriff of Devon in 1701, and died in 1710.

Prisonborn, the younger son, is said by his nephew, the second *Sir John Rogers*, to "have been christened by that name on

* This edition is dated "E Museolo meo in suburb. Londinensi atque in Calend. Mart. anno τῆς Χριστογονίας, 1664," i.e. March 1, 1665.

See page 245.

account of his being born at Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, while his mother abode there with her husband, then confined a prisoner in the said Castle by *Oliver Cromwell*," "who, the said *Prisonborn*, after the Restoration bore a commission in his Majesty's army, and was killed in a duel in France." *Prisonborn* was more probably "the poor prisonborn babe" born at Windsor in 1655.

Two other children, *Peter* and *Paul*, died in Lambeth Prison.

FINIS.



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"To his Highness Lord General Cromwell, the humble Cautionary Proposals of John Rogers," December 21, 1653, single sheet, folio.

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"*Διαπορίαι*, a Christian Concertation with Mr. Prynne, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, for the True Cause of the Commonwealth," &c. London, 1659.

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- "Querela Cantabrigienfis," 1647.
 Sprigge's "Anglia Rediviva," 1647.
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 "A Narrative wherein is faithfully set forth the Sufferings of John Cann, Wentworth Day, John Clark . . . and George Strange, called, as their Newbook faith, Fifth-Monarchy-Men; that is, how eight of them were taken in Coleman Street, month second (called April), day first, 1658, as they were in the solemn worship of God, and by the Lord Mayor sent prisoners to the Counter in the Poultry; also of the arraignment of Wentworth Day and John Clark in the Old Bailey . . . published by a friend to the prisoners and the Good Old Cause they suffer for. Acts v. 38, 39. London, printed in the year 1658."
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 "A brief necessary Vindication of the Old and New secluded Members from the false malicious Calumnies, and of the Fundamental Rights, Liberties, Privileges, Government, Interests, of the Freemen, Parliaments, People of England, from the late avowed Subversions—
 1. Of John Rogers, in his unchristian Concertation with Mr. Prynne and others.
 2. Of M: Nedham, in his 'Interest will not lie' . . . by William Prynne, of Swainswick, Esq., a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn."
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