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Evans, B.

The early English Baptists

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VOL. VIII.

THE EARLY ENGLISH BAPTISTS.—VOL. II.

THE
EARLY ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

VOL. II.

BY
B. EVANS, D.D.

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P R E F A C E .

ONLY a very few words are necessary in introducing this volume to the attention of the reader. He will find in the preface to the former one the principles which have guided me, and the end I have had in view in writing this work. The few sentences I pen belong to the apologetic class.

When I consented to prepare a sketch of Early Baptist History for the BUNYAN LIBRARY, I had no idea that it would swell into its present magnitude. As the work progressed, the materials multiplied; but I hoped that, by condensation, the present volume would exhaust my resources. Many of the incidents which form the staple of the works of my predecessors, have been reduced in this work to the narrowest bounds. I have done what, honestly and justly, I could do. Much that is new and illustrative of our history lies unused before me. The volume might have been enlarged greatly; but at some cost of feeling I have steadily checked this, and omitted much which might have given something like completeness to my outline. I have felt the evil of writing to order. My work is necessarily incomplete. Under other chapters, much would be introduced which forms an important element in Baptist history. Whether the outline already sketched in the first volume will

ever be completed, it is not for me to say. It rests with the publishers, and perhaps with the subscribers, to determine if a third volume shall make a part of the BUNYAN LIBRARY. I regret this necessity. I have done what I could to escape from it; and I now leave it with my readers to judge, after reading the volume, how far I could have avoided this result. I await their decision without alarm. Grateful for the kindness with which the former volume was received, I venture to hope that the present will not be found unworthy of the same favour. Only in one instance have I been censured for failure—not in what I engaged to do, but for not doing more than I promised, and indeed felt that any one could do. My work, says my reviewer, should have been a history, not a sketch. Indeed! The opinion shows the utter incompetency of this gentleman to sit in the critic's chair, and satisfies me that he is profoundly ignorant of the matter on which he writes. I repeat again, what he knows to be true, if he knows anything about it, that the history of the Baptists cannot yet be written. I have read much; I have added here and there a fragment to the labours of my predecessors; but there are masses of still unexplored materials which, when examined, will throw much light on the character and principles of our brethren during the period over which these volumes have carried my readers. The libraries at Lambeth, at Sion College, Red Cross Street, the British Museum, and the State Paper Office, contain hundreds of volumes of MSS. never yet examined for this end. Only at some of them have I glanced, but the mass are yet untouched by us. I advert to this, not for the sake of controverting this dictum of my reviewer—I am not troubled at it; but mainly, if possible, to excite the

attention of my brethren to this course of investigation. Many might easily do what it would take the life of one man to accomplish. A sample of this was given in the Baptist Magazine only a few months ago; and this is only a specimen of the wealth which is yet unexplored by us. If Nonconformists would employ some competent persons to investigate these hidden sources of their history, the church and the nation would be alike benefited by it. I hope to aid in this; and, if spared, to render at some future time this work more worthy of the body to illustrate whose progress it has been professedly devoted.

I have only to add, what indeed justice to myself demands, that it is possible here and there an error may be detected, especially in the notes. I am not aware that it is so; but as most of this volume has been corrected, and no small portion of it written, whilst travelling about the country, far from my books, the probability may be in that direction. I owe no apology for the time at which the volume is published.

B. EVANS.

SCARBOROUGH,

August, 1864.

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EARLY ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

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CHAPTER I.

CHARLES THE FIRST.

THE accession of Charles was viewed by the nation with some degree of hopefulness. "His coming to the crown was very joyous to the well-affected, but to the Papists not very welcome."* There were many features in his character which adapted him for his position, and which were likely to make him popular with the people. "Charles was temperate, chaste, and serious: so that the fools and bawds, mimics and catamites, of the former court grew out of fashion: and the nobility and courtiers who did not quite abandon their debaucheries, had yet that reverence to the king as to retire into corners to practise them: men of learning and ingenuity, in all arts, were in esteem, and received encouragement from the king, who was a most excellent judge and a great lover of paintings, carvings, gravings, and many other ingenuists less offensive than the bawdry and profane abusive wit, which was the only exercise of the other court.†" From the pen of the Puritan matron

* Diary of J. Rouse, p. 1. Camden Society.

† Mrs. Hutchinson, p. 29. "I am aware," says a competent judge, "that he was not the perfect saint as well as martyr which his panegyrists represent him to have been."—Hallam, vol. i., p. 374. "The persons belonging to the new court were required to be strictly moral in their conduct;

this is no common praise. Charles had probably been destined by his father for the highest offices in the church. During his youth no pains had been spared to cultivate his mind. With the theological controversies which were agitating the entire kingdom he was somewhat familiar. His discussion with Henderson discloses no small mental acumen and theological knowledge. The admirers of the monarch attribute Henderson's death to his defeat by the royal theologian. Upon other subjects, of what may be called, even then, polite literature, Charles was by no means deficient.* The death of his brother, Prince Henry, supposed by poison, opened to him the path to the throne.†

But these excellences were impaired by other elements of character of the very worst kind. Macaulay has graphically sketched them:—"He had inherited from his father political theories, and was much more disposed than his father to carry them into practice. He was, like his father, a zealous Episcopalian. He was, moreover, what his father had never

fools and buffoons, whom James loved to have about him, were kept at a distance; able men employed, artists and men of learning encouraged."—Raumer's Political History, vol. i., p. 466. "Perhaps the most bitter political enemy of Charles I. will have the candour to allow that, for a prince of those times, he was truly and eminently accomplished. His knowledge of the arts was considerable: and, as a patron of art, he stands foremost amongst all British sovereigns to this hour," &c.—De Quincey's Works, vol. xv., p. 15 (Note).

* Thompson's Buckingham, vol. i., p. 121. "He is well known to have been a great student in his younger days, that his father would say he must make him a bishop. He had more learning and dexterity in state affairs, undoubtedly, than all the kings in Christendom."—Cook's Speech, intended to have been delivered before the High Court of Justice.—Collection of Tracts. London, 1748, vol. iv., p. 192.

† The baptism of this prince was by immersion. "And incontinent, the prince was put into the font, the officers of arms put on their coats, and all the torches were lighted, and then entered the Earl of Oxenford."—Antiquarian's Repertory, vol. i., p. 353. There is a curious plate of the procession in the same volume. An account of the prince's baptism will be found in a volume of Tracts on Scottish History. Edinburgh, 1836.

been, a zealous Arminian, and, though no Papist, liked a Papist much better than a Puritan. . . . Faithlessness was the chief cause of his disaster, and is the chief stain on his memory. He was, in truth, impelled by an incurable propensity to dark and crooked ways. It may seem strange that his conscience, which, on occasion of better moments, was sufficiently sensitive, should never have reproached him with this vice. But there is reason to believe that he was perfidious, not only from constitution and from habit, but also on principle. He seems to have learned from the theologians whom he most esteemed, that between him and his subjects there could be nothing of mutual contract: that he could not, even if he would, divest himself of his despotic authority; and that in every promise which he made, there was an implied reservation that such promise might be broken in case of necessity, and that of the necessity he was the sole judge.*

The state of parties at this time demands a passing remark, inasmuch as the sufferings of the nation and the death of the monarch may be traced to causes already operating.† We have indicated before that the spirit of liberty had to no inconsiderable extent pervaded the nation. It was born during the Tudor dynasty.‡ Through the reign of the first Stuart it had grown, and now in both Houses of the Legislature it had assumed an attitude at once commanding and imposing. The worthless favourite, Buckingham, had roused the self-respect of the Peers, if not their love of popular freedom. The galling yoke, which this unprincipled

* History, vol. i., p. 83.

† Beaumont, the French ambassador, says:—"I discover so many seeds of disease in England, so much is brooding in silence, and so many events seem inevitable, that I am inclined to affirm, that for a century from this time, this kingdom will hardly abuse its prosperity, except to its ruin."—Raumer's Political History of England, vol. i., p. 458.

‡ Parl. Hist., vol. i., pp. 794-7; Guizot's Hist. E. Revolution; Appendix, pp. 439, 443.

upstart had imposed on them, was awakening their anger and rousing them to effort.* In the Commons a still bolder spirit spoke. The voice was clear, strong, and distinct; respectful, nay, courteous to royalty, but bold and manly for the people. In their first gathering the Commons demanded a redress of grievances. With an avowed and unquestioned readiness to sustain the prerogatives and even the splendour of royalty, there was a calm and dignified assertion of popular rights. In the front they placed this claim. The national cry was loud; they demanded that it should be heard. Its weakness is the peril of the throne; its oppression the death of liberty. First grant us freedom, then the basis and power of the throne will be a nation's affections. So reasoned the representatives of the people. Around the monarch, and crowding every avenue to the court, was a very different but a large and influential class, politicians and churchmen, led by Buckingham and Laud,—men who held the loftiest notions, and proclaimed the monarch as the "Lord's Anointed," the Vicegerent of Heaven, responsible to none, above all law, and to whom a nation's welfare was only subordinate to the gratification of his own supreme desires. Loud and long were the utterances of the clergy on the exalted condition of royalty. From many a pulpit the doctrine of passive obedience was urged.†

* "I have heard it undoubtedly related that a little before the Earl of Pembroke brought Mr. Villiers unto the king's knowledge, he was at a horserace in Cambridgeshire, in an old black suit, broken out in divers places; and at night, much of the company lying at Linton, near which town the race had been, he could not get a room in the inn to lodge in, and was therefore glad to lie in a trundle-bed in a gentleman's chamber, of a mean quality also at that time, from whose own mouth I heard this relation, who was himself an eye-witness of it."—D'Ewes, vol. i., p. 86.

† *The Power of Princes as taught by such men as Hobbes*:—"To make men know that it is their duty to obey all laws whatsoever that shall by the authority of the king be enacted, till, by the same authority, they shall be repealed. That the civil laws are God's laws, as they that make them are appointed by God to make them; and to make men know that the people and the church are one thing, and that no man has title

Dr. Mainwaring, in a sermon before Charles, said, "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the kingdom respecting the rights and privileges of his subjects. Every royal command, for instance, in respect to taxing and laws, binds the consciences of the subjects on pain of eternal damnation. He who resists commits a sin against the law of God and the supreme authority of the king. He is guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion: for the consent of Parliament is not necessary for the imposing of taxes," &c.* This is only a sample of High Church doctrine. Mainwaring was subsequently raised to the Episcopal bench.

In the boldest antagonism to these "High Church principles" was the Puritan element. It had not been repressed, much less annihilated, by the policy of James. The political tendencies of the court, as well as the persecuting spirit of the hierarchy, had only strengthened it. Popular favour was daily gathering around it; and in the Commons House its advocates were increasing. Such, in brief, were some of the elements pervading the Commonwealth at this period of our national history.

Early in the reign of this infatuated monarch, suspicion was excited that his religious opinions were more Popish than Protestant. His Spanish journey, the concessions of his father to Rome in relation to the Spanish match, Charles's subsequent marriage with a daughter of France, and the manifest tendencies of the hierarchy, apparently warranted the suspicion.

"The enthroning of the young king, &c., was marked by circumstances which many regarded as ominous of evil.

to govern under him. That the king owes his crown to God only, and to no man, ecclesiastic, or others," &c. So wrote the great philosopher of Malmesbury.—Behemoth, Maseres. Tr., vol. ii., p. 511.

Moral state of the universities:—"I have often heard the complaint of parents, that their children were debauched there to drunkenness, wantonness, gaming, and other vices consequent to these."—Hobbes, Behemoth, Maseres. Tr., vol. ii., p. 598.

* Raumer, vol. i., p. 492.

From some cause,—some say his wife, others attribute it to the pernicious councils of Laud,—the day of his coronation was linked with the Romish festival, the purification of the Virgin Mary; and, to the astonishment of the multitude, instead of appearing in the Imperial purple, the colour of the dress worn by the English monarchs on these occasions for centuries, the king presented himself clothed in white. The Bishop of Carlisle, too, addressed to the monarch a sermon from a text which might have marked the close, rather than the beginning of his reign,—‘ I will give to thee a crown of life.’ Superstition, by no means feeble at this time, laid hold of these things, and drew conclusions from them by no means favourable to the future. Popular feeling was very mingled, and amidst the joyousness of the occasion there was underlying it one of gloom and fear.”*

The impression was so general, that the king thus adverts to it. “Some malicious men have given out, that I am not so true a keeper and maintainer of the true religion that I profess. I assure you that I may, with St. Paul, say that I was trained up at Gamaliel’s feet; and, although I shall never be so arrogant as to assume unto myself the rest, I shall so far show the end of it, that all the world may see that no man hath been, nor ever shall be, more desirous to maintain the religion I profess, than I shall be.”†

Charles’s tendencies speedily developed themselves, and every encounter with the popular power only strengthened

* *Vide* Heylin’s *Laud*, p. 145. Thomson’s *Buck.*, vol. ii., p. 283.

† King’s Speech to his first Parliament. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 1. “In the beginning of his reign, he married a daughter of France, who was not wanting on her part to press him, upon all occasions, to pursue the design of enlarging his power; not omitting to solicit him also to mould the Church of England to a nearer compliance with the See of Rome: wherein she was but too well seconded by corrupt Ministers of State, of whom some were professed Papists, and an ambitious clergy, whose influence on the king was always greater than could well consist with the peace and happiness of England.”—Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, p. 1. London, 1771.

them. Buckingham, unprincipled, vicious, and reckless of all consequences, sustained the monarch, and laboured in every way to uproot constitutional government, and to establish the unfettered authority of the Crown. Against this minion, the voice of the Commons had been raised during the previous reign. Louder and louder the hall of St. Stephen's echoed with denunciations against him. To his pernicious counsels the oppressions of the people, and the burdens under which the nation were groaning, were attributed. Sheltered for a time by his sovereign from the righteous demands of insulted justice, he bid defiance to his foes; but every year augmented their number, and multiplied their power.

The state of the church was by no means improved.* The hierarchy was at this time presided over by Abbott. In many respects, he was a great contrast to his predecessors. "Bancroft sought to deliver the church from the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Non-conformists. If he had tried, he would quickly have extinguished all that fire which had been kindled at Geneva, or if he had been succeeded by Bishop Andrews, Bishop Overal, or any one who understood and loved the church." Thus writes Clarendon.† Abbott was strongly attached to the dogmas of the Swiss Reformer, and aided in every way the professors of that faith. Under his Episcopal sway the Puritans suffered less. His palace was a sanctuary for many of them, and the shield of his protection interposed between them and their bitter foes. "By him their most pernicious writings were licensed."‡ But with the court his

* "Thus much we can say for divers of our divines, some doctors, parsons, and preachers in the county (Lancaster): they are so ordinary companions of gamesters, sorting and suteing with some of greater and some of meaner place, in carding, dicing, and talking with them, that they seem to make no more conscience of breaking their canons than children do of breaking sticks," &c.—Diary of Assheton, p. 24. Cheetham Society.

† History, vol. i., p. 88.

‡ *Ibid*, vol. 1., p. 89.

influence was feeble. Before James's death it had declined. The cause was obvious. The growing corruptions of the church met in him a firm and consistent opposition. Arminianism, too, was widening the circle of its operations, and increasing its influence.* We have indicated its rise

* Notwithstanding the mildness of Abbott's government, and the general tenderness of his spirit, yet the feeling of the true Churchman could be evoked; and he could hunt a heretic to death, with almost as much zest as the red deer, in the pursuit of which the accident occurred which clouded the remainder of his life with sadness. The following letters have fallen in our way since the first volume of this work was issued. They need no comment. The character of the law and the crime are alike displayed:—

“To the Right Honourable my very good L——, the Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England, gave these.

“My very good Lord,—His Magestie being carefull that justice should proceede against these two blasphemous heretekes, Legate and Whiteman, gave me in charge that before the terme, when the judges drewe towards the towne, I should make his Magesties pleasure knowne unto your Lordship. And that is, that your Lordship should call unto you 3 or 4 of the judges, and take their resolution concerning the force of the law in that behalf, that so with expedition these evil persons may receive the recompence of their pride and impiety. His Magestie did thinke the Judges of the Kinges Benche to bee fittest to be dealt withall in this argument, as unto whom the knowledge of causes capital doth most ordinarily appertaine. And as I conceived, his Highness did not muche desire that the Lord Coke should be called thereunto, least by his singularitie in opinion he should give staye to the business. So hoping shortly to see your Lordship abroade, with remembrances of my best love, I remain,

“Your Lordship's very loveing friend,

“G. CANT. [ABBOTT].”

“Lambich, Januar. 21, 1611.”

(Egerton Papers, p. 447. Camden Society.)

“To the Right Honourable my very good L——, the Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England.

“My very good Lord,—I cannot chuse but well approve your Lordship's choice of the Judges. And if any more should be added, I distrust not but that Justice Crooke would do well. Mr. Justice Williams was with me the other day, who makes no doubt but that the lawe is cleere to burn them. Hee told me also of his utter dislike of all the Lord Coke his courses, and that himself and Baron Altham did once very roundly let the Lord Coke knowe their minds, that he was not such a maister of the lawe as hee did take on him, to deliver what he list for lawe, and to despise all others. I finde the Kinges Attorney and Solicitor to bee thoroughly resolved in this present business. My servant Hart is at this present out of the way, but as soone as hee cometh in hee shall waite upon your Lordship. And so wishing your Lordship ease and health, I remaine,

“Your Lordship's, very ready to do you service,

“G. CANT.

“Lambich, Januar. 22, 1611.”

(Egerton Papers, p. 448. Camden Society.)

already. In the court circle it was popular. Its advocates lauded the prerogatives. Laud, who, during the close of the previous reign, had rapidly advanced, was now wielding an influence the results of which ultimately involved himself and his order. In early life, he had placed himself in antagonism to the Primate and the prevailing theology. "In these, his youthful days," says his last and partial biographer, "he was esteemed, by all who knew him, a very forward, confident, and zealous person."* The head of his college had reproved him for his theology when taking his degree; but this had no influence. The doctrines of the Geneva Reformer, and the simplicity of his ecclesiastical life, were hated with an intensity of feeling which grew with his years, and his energies were ceaselessly employed to annihilate them. Nothing could check the "little doctor." Mistaking the form for the substance, the outer for the inner life of Christian piety, his narrow and little superstitious soul glowed with intense delight, as he saw the Anglican Church approximating nearer to the imperial splendour of Rome.

"His manners appear to have been singularly ungracious and unpopular; and his temper offensively irascible and hot. If we are to trust the representations of him left us either by friend or foe, he must have been one of the most disagreeable persons in the three kingdoms, except to those who were intimately acquainted with his worth. There was nothing affable or engaging in his general behaviour. His very integrity was often made odious, by wearing an aspect of austerity and haughtiness. It would almost seem as if prudence had been struck out of his catalogue of the cardinal virtues." So writes one of his latest apologists.†

* Le Bass, p. 5. *Ibid*, p. 133.

† Le Bass, p. 331.

1634. "Dr. W. Laud, Bishop of London, a little, low, red-faced man, of mean parentage, succeeded him. I shall need say no more of him here, because his own speech, made in the Star Chamber, Wednesday,

Hyde complains of his want of courtesy and condescension in the treatment of persons of rank and distinction, in their intercourse with him. His defence was, that his rank in the Church and State demanded it. The dignity of truth was best sustained by the influence of her professed High Priest: the sweet and attractive grace of piety, by outbursts of temper and holy indignity.

No means were amiss to his lordship. The end justified them abundantly. To Buckingham he could cringe; on Williams, his early patron, he could trample; and luxuriate in the torture of his foes. Nor was he alone in this. Men of kindred spirit filled the high places of the church. Williams,* Niel, and others, were illustrious examples of the time-server. To exalt the royal prerogatives, to oppress the godly, and to gratify the court, was their daily study.† An attached friend to Episcopacy says, "Laud saw the church decaying in power and patrimony; her patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several bishops, in making havoc of their woods to enrich themselves; and, more than so, in filling up their grants and leases to the utmost term, after they had been nominated to other bishopricks, to the great wrong of their successors."‡

"The divines selected for promotion in the church, were those in whose pulpits the prerogative had been preached above the laws, superstitious formalities elevated above

January 14, 1637, at the censure of some godly men, being since printed, sufficiently shows his allowance and practice of the adoring or bowing to and towards the altar, with other tenets, which made me even tremble when I read it."—D'Ewes, vol. ii., pp. 100, 101.

* Raumer attributed the offer of a cardinal's hat to this prelate. More than this, that, when Lord Keeper, he actually tried to be made a cardinal.—*Vide* Blencone's Sydney Papers, pp. 261-3. Note (a). Le Bass's Life of Laud, p. 372.

† "About this time the most profitable preferments in the English Church were given to those of the clergy who were most forward to promote the imposition of new ceremonies and superstitions."—Ludlow, p. 3.

‡ Heylin's Life of Laud, pp. 198, 199. Le Bass, p. 133.

religion, and the property and rights of the subject most divided, and it became quite the fashion to put forth these doctrines in public and solemn sermons before the king." "Ministers in the pulpit," said Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, "have preached it as gospel, and damned the refuser of it."*

Laud became the founder of a new school of theology in the church. He did more, for he claimed for himself and his followers to be the true church. All others "were Schismatics, Genevans, Calvinists,—worse than all, they were Puritans."† The seeds which he scattered so lavishly, speedily ripened to a bloody harvest. The divisions of High and Low Church were laid by him; and now the formalist and the ceremony-monger of the present day, point with gratitude and delight to the doctrinal teaching and the imposing ceremonies of the Laudian Church.‡ The present full-

* Forster's Essays, vol. i., p. 53.

† Marsden's Early Puritans, pp. 364, 365. "Bishop Laud, of London, is also powerful in his way, for he sits at the helm of the Church, and doth more than any of the two Archbishops, or all the rest of his twenty-two brethren besides."—Howell, p. 226.

‡ The author cannot deny himself the pleasure of giving the following graphic sketch from the pen of, perhaps, one of the most eminent Anglo-Saxon scholars of modern times:—"The germ of the Low and High-Church parties, big with future convulsions, had already shown themselves. The successor of Cranmer, and the predecessor of Laud, were already measuring one another's powers for a deadly struggle: and Puritanism, bred in the midst of civil discord, growled and scowled in the distance. The unanimity which had now been attained under the leaden despotism of a church which strained every nerve to repress it, was better likely to result from the studies of a thousand men, of all varying powers,—the sternly logical, the imaginative, the enthusiastic, the savage and persecuting, the refined and instructed. The Bible had, indeed, been proclaimed the sole rule of faith, but then there were differences of translators as to various passages, differences of opinion as to its doctrines, and nearly as many controversies as readers. For the great misfortune of mankind its chapters had been divided into verses, which might be quoted for every purpose, good or bad, without reference to the context. Many still hankered after what their adversaries called the flesh-pots of Egypt; and, even less complimentarily, the abominations of

grown Puseyite is only a reproduction of a choice specimen of the Laudian school.*

We must not overlook the condition of the people. Beyond all doubt, socially and morally, it was very bad. The minions of arbitrary power touched all their interests. Imposition in one form or other affected all the necessaries of life, and increased their cost if they did not limit their supply. The oppression was intolerable. Nothing was safe. No source from which gain could be extracted, was neglected. New modes were devised for infringing on the rights and liberties of the people. Upon the bench the very fountain of justice was corrupt. For money any office was purchased. "Nothing was left to any one which he could safely call his own, except the wrong and the patient endurance of it."† From two independent sources we have glimpses of some phases of the grinding oppressions of the people. Sir J. Culpepper, in his place in Parliament, said, "That these monopolists and projectors were a nest of wasps, or swarm of vermin, and, like the frogs of Egypt, had got possession of our dwellings, scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup (*wine*), dip in our dish (*licence to dress in towns*),

the harlot that sitteth on Seven Hills. In fact, it is not very easy, after an earthquake, to reconstruct, upon the old model, the palaces and houses it has levelled with the ground. So the tradesmen and shopkeepers, and soldiers and peers, and country gentlemen, continued to read the Hebrew and Greek, and the works of the Fathers, and bandied amongst themselves the heavy blows they had unanimously bestowed on the common enemy. The cup of polemical bitterness was full to overflowing."—I. M. Kemble's Introduction to Sir R. Twisden on the Government of England, pp. 9, 10. Camden Society.

* "Two opposite principles of church government were now brought into direct conflict. They were represented in the persons of the two distinguished prelates, Abbott and Laud, who had from an early period been personally opposed to each other, and were now placed in situations of great and rival eminence, the one filling the highest station in the church, and the other enjoying the unbounded confidence of the Sovereign."—Cardwell, vol. ii., p. 165 (Note).

† Forster, vol. i., pp. 42, 43. "People begin to say in town that the judges have destroyed the law, and the bishops the Gospel."

sit by our fire (*coals*), are in the dye-vat, washbowl (*soap*), and powdering tub (*salt*), and share with the butler in his box (*cards and dice*). They have marked and sealed us from head to foot, and will not bate us a pin. We may not buy our own clothes without their brocage.* Denzill Hollis, in a letter to Wentworth, thus describes it:—“Since these wars all trading is dead, our wools lie on our hands, our men are not set on work, our ships lie in our ports unoccupied; land, sheep, cattle, nothing will yield money; not to speak of the soldiers ravishing men’s wives and daughters, killing and carrying away beeves and sheep off the ground (stealing of poultry was not worth the speaking of); killing and robbing of men on the highway (nay, in fairs and towns), for to meet a poor man coming from market with a pair of new shoes, or a basket of eggs or apples, to take them from him was but sport and merriment; and a thousand such petty pranks,” &c.† We only add one other illustration:—“For now, instead of the late favourite, my great officer and Lord of the Council proved a very tyrant; and it appears that not their virtues but the former favourite’s power only restrained them from being so; for that, falling, and thus left to their own arbitrary power, you would, verily, have believed that hell had been broke loose. . . . And in sober sadness, they all might truly have undergone the name of legion, for they were all many devils; and, like true devils, took pleasure in tormenting.”‡

It is difficult to give a correct view of the moral condition of the people in a few sentences. In many of the large towns it was bad, in the rural districts much worse. The pulpit was occupied in many places by vicious and ignorant

* Rushworth, vol. iii., p. 4. Burton’s Diary, vol. iv., p. 93.

† Strafford’s Letters, vol. i., p. 40. Fairfax’s Correspondence, ch. i., vol. i., p. 84.

‡ Sir A. Weldon’s Character of Charles the First. See History, vol. ii., pp. 49, 50.

men. Men of form, but without power; who refuted by their lives the great virtues they professed to teach. Their aim was, as Lord Faulkland says, to establish “an English, though not a Roman Popery: so it seemed their work was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery, and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel without bringing themselves into the danger of being destroyed by the law.”* D’Ewes, whilst showing his intense hatred to Anabaptists, gives us a glimpse of the conduct of others:—“But I see, by daily experience, when divines, scholars, and others are given up to a profane, vicious, and atheistical life, they so far detest and hate such as be godly, as by a just judgment of God they are at length given up to the hatred of the truth itself also, and readily take in their defence and creed, any Popish, Pelagian, or Anabaptistical errors.”† A more competent witness‡ says:—“The clergy of those parts (Salop) were, generally speaking, lazy and vicious. Some, by forging orders, had compassed even from the stage

* Lord Nugent’s *Hampden*, vol. i., p. 191. There is a curious note from Bishop Gibson to Pepys, illustrative of the learning of the clergy in the former reign. “The other day I met with a Catalogue of the Clergy in the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, taken in 1563, with an account of each man’s learning and abilities: in short, observing the strangeness of the characters, I ran over the whole, and as I went along, branched them under different heads, whereby their several abilities in learning are there expressed. It is a fancy I know you will be pleased with, and, therefore, I make bold to give you this short view of the learning of those times:—

Docti Latinè et Græcè . . .	iii.	Latinè per quam ut cunque	
Do. do.	xii.	aliquid, pauca verba, &c.,	
Mediocriter Docti	ii.	intellex	xlii.
Latinè Docti	ix.	Latinè non Docti	xiii.
Do. Mediocriter intell.	xxvi.	Indocti	iv.

If the London clergy were thus ignorant, what must we imagine the county divines were?”—Bishop Gibson to Pepys; *Diary*, vol. v., pp. 229, 230.

† D’Ewes, vol. ii., p. 114.

‡ Calamy’s *Abridgment of Baxter’s Life*, &c., p. 5.

to the pulpit. With amazement be it mentioned, several in that neighbourhood of the sacred ministerial function were more noted for their gaming and drinking, than either their good principles or good living. There were not above three or four competent preachers all round the county; and though all except one were conformable, they were divided by the common people as Puritans, because not so careless as their neighbours. In a word, there was scarce the face almost of religion left. In the village we lived in, not a sermon was heard from year to year. And the service was run over very cursorily and irreverently; and when that was done, the rest of the Lord's day was profanely spent by the whole town in dancing under a Maypole and a great tree."*

In the higher ecclesiastical circles morals were low. Bishop Williams, we are told, could relieve the solemnities of an ordination service by the exhibitions of the theatre. Lord Campbell says:—"He used to have the players down from London to Buckden, when the hall of the Episcopal Palace was converted into a theatre, where comedies were performed, even on a Sunday. Collins, in his 'Annals of the Stage,' asserts that 'The Midsummer Night's Dream' was exhibited there on Sunday the 27th of September, 1631; and others add, that on that very day he had held an Episcopal ordination, so that the play was for the amusement of the young priests."† Judging from the state of the universities,

* *Morals of the People, &c.* "Now because Popery and prophaneness, two sisters in evil, had consented and conspired in this parish (Whalley), as in many other places, to advance their idols against the arke of God, and to celebrate their solemn feasts of their Popish saints, as being *Dii Tutelares*, the special patrons and protectors of their church and parish, by their wakes and vigils, kept in commemoration and honour of these, in all riot and excess of eating and drinking, dalliance and dancing, sporting and gaming, and other abominable impieties and idolation," &c. —*Diary of Assheton*, p. 30 (Note). Cheetham Society.

† *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii., p. 496.

the bishop would find these young successors to the apostles ready for this or any other pleasure.*

The influence of such things told on the morals of the population. The Sabbath and the holy days, precious as the right hand or the right eye to Laud and his followers, were anything but hallowed. They were periods of festivity and vice. Brutal and brutalizing sports were common. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, dancing, interludes, and other kindred sports, entertained the rustic and supplied the citizen with no mean gratifications. These were not alone. Debauchery in every form was rank. The head and the members were tainted by it. Referring to this period, Guizot says:—"On the sacred day of the Sabbath did true Christians desire to perform, in the retirement of their homes, their pious exercises. In every square, in every street, the noise of games and dancing, the riots of drunkenness, insultingly broke in upon their meditations. And the bishops were not satisfied with permitting these profane pastimes: they recommended, nay, almost commanded them, lest the people should acquire a taste for more holy pleasures."†

"There were some places in England," said Sir B. Rudyard, "in the first year of Charles's reign, which were scarce in

* D'Ewes gives us a glimpse of the inner life of one of these famous seats of learning:—"But the main thing which made me weary of the college was, that swearing, drinking, rioting, and hatred of all piety and virtue, under false and adulterate nicknames, did abound there, and generally in all the university. Nay, the very sin of lust began to be known and practised by very boys: so as I was fain to live almost a recluse's life, conversing cheerfully in our own college with some of the honest fellows thereof. But yet no Anabaptistical or Pelagian heresies against God's grace and providence were then stirring, but the truth was in all public sermons and divinity acts asserted and maintained. None then dared to commit idolatry by bowing to or towards or adoring the altar, the communion table, or the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And the power of godliness in respect of the practice of it, was, in a most atheistical and unchristian manner, contemned and scoffed at."—Vol. i., p. 15.

† English Revolution, b. ii., p. 59. The whole section is worth the attention of the reader.

Christendom, where God was little better known than among the Indians. I exampled it in the North, where the prayers of the common people are more like spells and charms than devotions."* Wales was still worse, and Ireland only a little removed from heathenism.†

The representatives of the people were not insensible to this state of things. Against the lofty pretensions of the Crown they assumed a firmer attitude. The first Parliament was marked by a calm and manly statement of grievances, and a request for redress. It touched both elements which were working so disastrously on the best interests of the nation. We have seen that, in the last reign, the Commons had assumed the functions of conservators, not only of liberty, but of Christian doctrine. It was increasingly so now. The tendencies of church principles, as propounded by Laud and his colleagues, filled them with intense alarm. They denounced them as dangerous to true piety, and not less so to civil freedom. Again and again the hall of St. Stephen's echoed with denunciations against the Arminian and Popish tendencies of the courtly divines.‡ Again and again were they

* Collier's E. H., p. 743.

† Bishop Bramhall tells us that in the metropolis of Ireland, churches were converted to all manner of uses. One was a stable for the Lord Deputy; another, a dwelling-house for a noble lord; the choir of a third for a tennis-court. Fearful the grasping spirit of the clergy, those of the higher orders especially. One bishop held twenty-three benefices with cures. This curious document will be found in Collier, p. 579. Referring to Wales, Whitelocke says, "That some of their ministers here are miserably debauched."—*Life of Whitelocke*, p. 11. London, 1860.

‡ "Great also was the zeal of that House during the time the Session of Parliament continued, before the fatal and dismal abortive dissolution of it, for the glory of God in the maintenance of the true religion: that it might not be intermixed with Popish ceremonies or idolatrous actions, nor the pure doctrine of the Church of England be corrupted with the blasphemous tenets of the Anabaptists in derogation of God's grace and providence, which tenets had been broached by Sebastian Castellio, in Latin, and by Anabaptists, in English, about seventy years past," &c.—*D'Ewes*, vol. i., pp. 399, 400. Other allusions to these topics, and the influence of Anabaptistical errors, will be found in pages 405, 406.

denounced as most dangerous to national liberty. More than this. The House not only took religion under its protection, but, what appeared as a necessary consequence, and was doubted by only a few obscure sectaries, assumed to itself the power of judging and punishing error. Before a Committee of the House, Montague, Mainwaring, and Sibthorpe were humbled, notwithstanding the protection of the court.*

But amidst all the decay of piety and the prevalence of formalism and popery, we must not overlook an important conservative power. Puritanism still lived. In defiance of Laud, there were men in the Anglican Church of high moral character, whose ministry and conduct shed the pure light of Heaven on the moral darkness which surrounded them. Their aim was lofty, their zeal was untiring, and their conversation was holy. In the market-place, in the halls of the rich and the noble, and in the churches to which they had been appointed by the affluence of the wealthy, they preached with earnestness and success the Gospel of Christ.† Nor were the Separatists from the church powerless. The rise of the Presbyterians and the Independents we have already stated. Their numbers and their influence had not diminished. As a whole, they were men of more light,

* Mainwaring was, by the decision of the Commons, sentenced to be imprisoned during its pleasure, fined £1,000, suspended for three years from the ministry, and to be disabled for ever from holding any office, or preaching at court.—Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 388. Le Bass's Laud, p. 76. In defiance of this censure, the impolitic monarch speedily raised the delinquent to the Episcopal bench.—*Vide* Rushworth, pp. 593–612; Neal, vol. i., p. 416; Collier, pp. 734, 736, 737, 743, 744.

† As early as 1627 a number of individuals had combined to buy up certain impropriations, in order to employ the money arising from them in the employment of lecturers to preach in various parts of the country. Laud ultimately succeeded in putting down this organization.—Collier, p. 754; Priece, vol. i., p. 58.

“The feoffers that pretended to buy in the impropriations were disabled in the Chequer Court. They were the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the church.”—Laud's Diary, p. 47.

many of them of equal learning, and far more correct views of the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, than the Conformists. Persecutions, imprisonments, and suffering in every form never moved them from their stedfastness. The martyrdom of Greenwood, Barrow, and Penryn,* only made them grasp with more tenacity their great principles. Unabashed by the lofty bearing of their great foe, death had no terrors for them. They counted not their lives dear to them. Truth with them was everything. It was with them a living principle, more precious than a monarch's favour, more dear than life. From the woods and secluded spots, where they were frequently compelled to worship, a power went forth which told upon the masses, the senate, and the hierarchy. Hunted by the spies of the bishops,† driven from place to place, they scattered in their wanderings the seeds of truth, which, in a few years, ripened into a rich and glorious harvest. With many errors, they were noble men, whose worth the moral and intelligent of the future,—

* We have some difficulty in harmonizing the conflicting opinions about this illustrious martyr. Dr. Some, in his reply to Penryn, says, "He hath broached many proud and blasphemous and Anabaptistical fancies. The mask that Mr. Penri levels at is, I fear me, to shake hands with Anabaptistical recusants; some parts of his writings looke shrewdly that way." In another place he calls him "an heretical Catabaptist."—Mr. Some laid open by an Oxford Man, p. 13. No date. *Vide* pp. 4, 7, 16. Still Hanbury affirms that he was not a Baptist; Brook is doubtful; Wood says that he "became a notorious Anabaptist;" and Joshua Thomas, in a MS. History quoted by Brook, says that "he was probably the first since the Reformation who openly and publicly preached the doctrines of adult baptism." In his History of the Welsh Associations, he states this unhesitatingly. If any of our readers are in possession of additional proof, we should be glad to receive it.—Hanbury's Memorials, vol. i., p. 75. Brook's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 67. Wood's Albe. Ax., vol. i., 227. Thomas's History of the Welsh Associations, p. 5. Waddington agrees with Hanbury.

† "Laud, like the illustrious Burleigh, kept by him a catalogue of the principal nobility and gentry in the realm, with a notice of their respective interests and inclinations. And it was observed by him that no man was more perfectly acquainted than he with the joints and flexures of every party in the state."—Le Bass, p. 348.

despite the sneers of the Clarendons, the Humes, and Macaulays, at their fanaticism,—will recognise, and truth, sooner or later, will hail them as large contributors to the stately and unequalled fabric of our national liberty.* This advertence to these topics we feel to be necessary to our readers, in entering on another chapter of the “Early English Baptists.”

The prevalence of Baptist principles, and the moral heroism of many who held them in the past reign, have already been noticed, yet only glimpses of their organization can we gather from the records of those times. Their existence is certain, but beyond this we can scarcely affirm. Crosby supposes them mixed up with other bodies, and their distinct organization as a separate community he finds at a later period. In one view the historian is right, in another, beyond all doubt, he is wrong. The Calvinistic body may date its existence from the period which he and Ivimey indicate: to the Arminian portion of it a much earlier origin must be accorded. In almost every page of contemporary history, the Anabaptists are associated with Arminians, and in certain circles, we have no doubt, their attachment to these dogmas exposed them to scorn and insult.† The reader will find examples of this in the former volume: they could be greatly multiplied. During this reign, however, the light is clearer and the facts become more abundant. From their hiding-places our brethren came, and as the power of spiritual despotism weakens, their principles fill a wider circle, and their power and moral worth are more fully recognised. But we must not anticipate.

The intercourse of the “Early English Baptists” with the

* The reader is referred for fuller information on the character of these men, to the pages of Neal, Fletcher, Marsden, and Price.

† “In your false doctrine of Free Will and falling from grace, you agree with the antient Anabaptists also.”—*Truth’s Victory*, &c. London, 1645. p. 15.

Mennonite Church in Holland has already appeared. Many of the illustrious men whose history we have traced were closely connected with them. In many cases their dogmas, their practices, and their ecclesiastical polity were modified, if they did not entirely originate with them. For some time this union was maintained. Indeed it is difficult to affirm with certainty when it ceased. Evidence exists which makes this manifest, far beyond what has hitherto been known. We see it not in one place only, but in many. Not only in London, where churches existed who sympathised with their views, and held fraternal intercourse with them, but in the Western and Eastern parts of the kingdom. In this relationship they rejoiced; to the brethren they appealed to solve any difficulty which perplexed them, and by their advice they were in most cases guided. Though a little anticipatory as to time in one or two of the documents, yet we think it better to place them at once before our readers. The first of these more particularly belongs rather to the last reign than to the present.* The first is as follows:—

“VERY DEAR FRIENDS,—We inform you that we have received your earnest and gracious answer, which has produced great joy in all our souls, for you have very fitly spoken in it to our hearts; which, properly speaking, is done by God himself, by the light of Christ, according to the Spirit. And as soon as we had received your letter (for we had a timely messenger) we immediately assembled, in order to consider what answer should be sent unto you. In conse-

* The author is indebted to his learned friend Dr. Müller for these valuable documents. The originals are in the archives of the Amsterdam church. A word in the translation is changed here and there, to render the sense more clear. The author must add here a sentence or two from his friend's letter on the relations of the Dutch and English churches. “On the whole I cannot say that, after consulting all the written documents in the archives of our church, sufficient light is thrown on the relations which existed between the English Baptists and the Netherlands Doopsgezinden. This is evident, in my opinion, that these relations have been intimate, at least more intimate than we know or think now-a-days, and that, therefore, the fate of the one church is in many respects connected with the other.”

quence of this we now write you about the matters about which you desire we should explain our opinions.

“1. We perceive that you think that we have failed in the breaking of bread, or the celebrations of the Lord’s Supper with each other, since our excommunication, &c. To which, we answer : 2. We are still of opinion, that a private brother is allowed to minister the sacraments, when the congregation calls him to it, though he be not in possession of the ministerial office : on condition, however, that the church has no minister, for, if it have, we think that a private brother may by no means do it. But also, in this matter, we are very desirous to know whether we are wrong. 3. We do not think it objectionable to fly in time of persecution to other countries, and live there. Many among us now were of opinion that it was. 4. We do not think that the holy and peaceful doctrine of toleration is misused if some remain in our communion (if they are quiet), who know not yet what they should think of Christ’s deity, namely, if they only believe that their salvation is in Christ, and if they are sincere in all things to which they have once consented, as we understand that the deity of Christ reveals itself most clearly in the fruits of this sincerity, which assure us that they are the people of God, though they have not yet appropriated to themselves this mystery by their reason. But if it were that some of them contradicted the general opinions of the congregation in this or other doctrines, or that they discovered an unquiet or ambitious spirit, we surely think that such should not be tolerated, but ought to be avoided for their unquietness, and because they wish to exercise authority over others.

“Further, we inform you, that there is nobody amongst us who denies the deity of Christ; but there are two or three who have a somewhat different opinion than we maintain in general, though, we think that, after all, it comes to the same end. We, in general, think that his deity consists in the endlessness, or the incomprehensible substance of the Godlike nature only; the others think that it should be understood as the natural emanation (just as the light of the sun) out of the eternal substance, and that this emanation takes place also in many other cases, just as we see that one body consists of many members. So also is Christ (1 Cor. xii. 12). It is Godlike strength, wisdom, mercy, justice, &c., &c., that God has sent out to make the world, and to reconcile fallen man. This, in short, is the reason of our difference about the deity of Christ; and shall we condemn each other for these opinions? That be far from us. But if we see that some crucify Christ, or the Godlike nature which they partake of, by the wickedness of sin, then we condemn them, as we surely know that the Word of God has already condemned them. Also, in these

matters, we are desirous to know what God has given in your hearts. We leave it to your discreet consideration.

“5. An oath is not many times demanded from us, and some of us may refuse, without much guilt or disadvantage. But refusing an oath would be guilty or hurtful in our country, as some would think that we refused the oath of allegiance to our king, so that we should be called traitors, and if they should deal with us very severely, they could apply their law to us as though we were traitors; and the holy truth also, which we confess, would be esteemed an ill by some wicked men, and we should be esteemed as ill by some wicked men, and should be considered as dangerous and unquiet people in the country, that will not do what we are sure that we may do in such a particular case as this. We desire to know from you, what you think worse, either to take an oath or to refuse it? and whether we should tolerate with peace those who were compelled by necessity to take one? You should take into consideration, that if we refuse an oath in our country, we could not be made free citizens in our cities; nor could we leave our country, it may be to carry on our affairs and trade, or to fly persecution for conscience sake. However, we will avoid all this and all other things, as much as possible, now and for ever.

“As concerns magistracy and weapons, or the profession of arms, we will by no means either take or assume one of them. Some of us will not do so for conscience sake, others for that of peace, now and for ever.

“Thus we have, with few words, answered according to your desire, while we have no time to write now more about these things, and if we had, we could not, at all events, force you. We hope that you are in or near the fulness of joy, and the point of perfectness in all things, which we believe, but from which we are still far. But we will not cease praying, that He which hath begun a good work may perform it in you and us to the day of Jesus Christ. All of us salute you most heartily in the Lord. Mercy be with you. Amen.

“We pray you also that, if you may receive us in your communion, that it may please you to write a few words to John Morton and his friends, in order to augment peace and welfare. We, from our side, will do as much as we can to bring this matter to an end. Many that are with him are ready to comply with the doctrine of toleration in order to promote peace. There are two (that were at his side) who have paid attention to the personal succession from the time of the apostles, and they wished to know whether some of those which profess to be true constituted churches, can say that they have their origin from the times of the apostles. They are good people, and wish

to please God and to live in a true way; therefore, we hope you will do what is possible to pacify them.—Your friends in and for the holy truth and the heavenly life,*

“ELIAS TOOKEY, and the others.

“Jan. 3, 1624. London.”

This letter, and some which follow, throw light on some points of our history hitherto unknown. Tookey and his friends were members of a church which had, probably, been formed by Helwys, but at this time was under the pastoral care of Morton, his companion in suffering, and who had returned with him to England. The points in dispute, and the cause of their disunion, will become manifest from subsequent letters, if they are not so already from the one before the reader.

Reconciliation was difficult; but efforts were made by both parties to secure the favour of the Dutch brethren. Morton, and his friends in various parts of the country, sent a deputation to Holland to lay their case before the brethren there. The following extract of a letter from Cornelis C. Aresto, minister of the United Waterland and High German church at Amsterdam, to Hans de Ries, eldest minister at Alkmaar, Nov. 13th, 1626, will be read with interest:—

“Dear, and, in God, beloved Father in Christ, Hans de Ries. Peace be with you!

“To-day, two English have visited us as being commissioners of five churches in England, and who had carried with them a certain letter for you, Renier Wybrant, and the other ministers of our church, which letter is translated by one of our English brethren

* “I am lodged in a Frenchman’s house, who is one of the deacons of our English Brownist Church here. I believe in the street where I lodge there be well near as many religions as there be houses; for one neighbour knows not, nor cares not much, which religion the other is of: so that the number of conventicles exceeds the number of churches here.”—Howell’s Familiar Letters, p. 26. London, 1754.

“Here also is a French church (Dort); Arminians, Brownists, Anabaptists, and Mennonites do lurke here and also swarm, but not so much tolerated here as at Rotterdam.”—Brereton’s Travels, 1634, p. 13. Cheetnam Society.

from English into Latin; from which we understand that they have read our Confession, and (as they have written) must carefully have reflected on it, and therefore should be inclined to unite themselves with us, as they are of the same opinion in everything of it, except the article on the oath. 2. That they also think that the Lord's Supper ought to be celebrated every Sunday, unless it be hindered by a reasonable difficulty. 3. That the brethren, without imposition (of hand) or being ordained to it by the bishop (pastor), are allowed and ought to preach and to administer the Sacraments when the bishops are absent. 4. They are of opinion that the offices of the authority or Government may be observed by a Christian, though they cannot be reckoned to belong to the church, but are worldly offices. As a proof of their opinions they use some reasons, the principle of which is, that the office is good in itself, and that they, therefore, take it that the use of it does not keep or put one out of the church, nor hinder that he be a Christian.

“This is, in short, their intention, purpose, and the cause of their coming to us, while we were requested that we should speak with these their two commissioners, and forward them an answer on paper. We have told them, that we should ask for your advice, as the letter was directed especially to you. Therefore, in consequence of this, we request your advice how to do in this affair, whether it suits you to come hither, or that we send them to you; and also, whether we shall give them a written answer to their letter, or that we should send it after them. May it please you to let us know your opinion as soon as possible. We have delayed them, therefore; and meanwhile ordered our English that they should show them our last answer to Elias Tookey, as he has spoken of the same matter, which they have agreed to do: but these have, concerning the oath and the offices of authority, a somewhat different opinion to that of Elias Tookey and his.

“These count a number in England of undoubtedly 150 persons. They have separated from Elias Tookey, and belong to the people of Jan Morton and Thos. Denys.* These two here seem to be clever men, and tolerably excellent in their habits; they have also, as the others write us, suffered very much for the name of Christ, and have been a long time prisoners.”

* “Probably the same Thomas who (June 8, 1620) was ordained to the full service by Renier Wybrant and Peter Andriessen, in order to secure the English part of the United Congregation.”—Dr. Müller, vol. i.

The following is the letter these brethren were commissioned to carry:—

“To our dear friends, Hans de Ries and Renier Wybrant, and their churches, with all the other servants and churches walking in the same way with them, and living in Holland and those neighbourhoods; with the churches of Jesus Christ which are in England, and live in London, Lincoln, Sarum, Coventry, and Tiverton,* all salvation, while they heartily wish that much mercy may be multiplied from God the Father by our Lord Jesus Christ.

“Dear friends, after presenting you our salutations, we heartily wish you a continual welfare and salvation, because you love the Lord Jesus Christ and his blessed truth. It becomes all of us who love the same Lord Jesus Christ and his truth to try for unity in all manners, and to walk with all and every one, as belonging to the same society. And so we thought it an agreeable work to the Lord, a work which is praiseworthy, as it will be to the welfare of the people of God, to help and to confirm them in the truth. Formerly we were very much inclined, very desirous to conclude the peace and unity between us; and though the most principal among us are now dead and rest now with the Lord, we that remain still are full of the same desire to augment the glory of God and the welfare of his people, and therefore we resume the same attempts. For this purpose, we have sent to you these two beloved friends and brethren,—men that are approved among us, and have proved their constancy and faithfulness to the cause of Christ, by continually suffering a long and troublesome captivity almost to their whole ruin. They shall point out to you (as far as it is wanted) our mind and purpose, besides all which is written and revealed in our letter.

“As regards the articles of your faith which you have published before the whole world, that every one may know what you believe (at least with respect to the foundations), and which you formerly have sent to us, we have read them with all diligence and carefully

* The present pastor says:—“*We have no doubt that the Baptist church in Tiverton existed very early in 1600, or even before, but we have no positive evidence. Our second church-book begins with 1678, and at that time the church consisted of 120 members, nearly 60 of them men. The following is the heading of the second church-book:—‘A record or register of the Church of Christ in Tiverton, and of the affairs and proceedings thereof, since, by the mercy and providence of God, we have the enjoyment of liberty and peace, in the year 1687. Our former book, containing matters of this nature, being lost in the late time of trouble.’*”

considered. We have highly praised with a sincere heart the Almighty God and his holy name, that our differences are not greater, and that the principles or foundations of Christ's doctrine so very purely are acknowledged by you; while, at the same time, we have noted the opinions of some things in which we seem to differ from each other. However, if we do not misunderstand each other, and when we have taken all things into consideration, we believe that we do not differ at all. Therefore, we pray you to send us with these our messengers your opinions, and to inform them also about the same opinions with your own words.

"I. We say, then, that we believe, just as you have written and acknowledged that you do, that Christ is God and man in one person, according to your eighth article, though you say that you do not know whether he has assumed his substance from Mary or not. This is not directly against the belief of others who say that he may be admitted, and, therefore, may remain and be suffered, in the society of the true believers, without being excommunicated or condemned.

"II. As regards the oath, we do not see any difference in this matter, as we are informed, and partly know it, that you think it right and allowed to speak the truth before the magistrates, or somebody else, and to take the praiseworthy name of God as a witness in a just affair, as it is proved by the following places in the Scriptures:—Rom. i. 9; 2 Cor. i. 2 and 3; Phil. i. 8. And that we else never may swear, according to the following places:—Matt. v. 34; Jas. v. 12.

"III. We say also, that, when there are important affairs which prevent it, the Lord's Supper may be left away till the things which hinder are taken away. Otherwise, we do not dare to neglect it on every Sabbath when we come together for other godly things of the public service. Herein we have the example of the churches of God which grant us this matter. And as it is also an important part of our spiritual comfort and union with Christ, and mutual unity as well as any other part of the divine service, so we are resolved to continue. We hope you will allow us to do it seven years, if we like it. For why should not also the other parts of the public service, which are of the same nature and weight, be differed?

"IV. We acknowledge that the ministering of the holy sacraments unseparately is united with the ministering of the Word, and that not every member of the body may minister the sacraments. But we say also this, that those also are servants of the body who are not installed in the episcopal office by imposition of hands, but preach, convert, baptize, and build churches and perform other public actions with the consent of the church when the bishops are not present, who

only may perform all public actions, as being the public and common servants of the church.

“V. As regards the fulfilment of an office of magistrature, we understand, first, that your judgment does not extend so far that you do not suffer one of a contrary opinion, but that you admit some who are not quite of the same opinion with you. Indeed, we are informed that you really suffer some offices of magistrature in which the questions, affairs, and quarrels about possession and other worldly things are regulated, if they have nothing to do with blood, war, and weapons. And so it is evident that our difference does not concern the office of magistrature itself, but the manner of execution, namely, not whether the office is without the church, and by no means may exercise its worldly authority in the spiritual kingdom of Christ or of the church; but more this, whether the magistrature may use the sword which is given her by God to the protection of the right of the good subjects of this world against all invasions, wrongs, and similar crimes, and with which she punishes the murderers. This is, according to our opinion, the difference.

“That it may please you to suffer our freely informing you about our opinion in this matter; while we confess that we are very willing to be instructed by you, or anybody else, and in what case it may be, and that we will accept all what will be evident to our conscience by the Word of truth. As regards magistracy itself, we acknowledge with you, according to your 37th article, that our Lord Jesus Christ has not established in his spiritual kingdom or church of the New Testament neither magistracy nor any other part of its power, nor that the church has anything to do with the execution of it; for his kingdom, arms, servants, and all things that belong to it, are spiritual. We should neither make any distinction of persons in this spiritual kingdom, or suffer that there are many masters. But in worldly things the saints ought to respect the magistracy, just as all good subjects do those that are above them, and as children do their parents. In the church there are many masters,—even all of us are masters,—but in all things of the world her believers are servants, and, therefore, they possess an office of magistracy not in ecclesiastical, but in worldly affairs. For the worldly ordinations are from God, and are good; and, therefore, we ask, Can those things which are good be an obstacle that one can be a disciple of Christ, or that he may be a Christian? Or are men hindered by the church to do those things which are good? She may by no means do so. There is nothing which seduces us from God, but only sin, which is not good, but evil. If magistracy impedes us from Christianity, then it must be considered as sin and evil; and then we must desire its ruin

and not pray for it, neither thank God for it as a good ordinance of him. But it is no evil and no sin. We must pray and thank God for it as a good ordinance established by him, as it is in reality; and, therefore, it cannot hinder one to be a Christian. Must we compel a man who desires to become a Christian, to leave anything else but sin? Baptism, for which we resist the world, is a baptism of conversion to the forgiving of sins which all those are to receive who repent for their sins and believe in the doctrine of the Gospel. Shall we make or suspect a sin in their eyes which is a good ordinance of God? This be far from us.

“We could say very much about this; but as you yourselves acknowledge the authority, so we shall only speak of the execution, or the office itself.

“It is evident, that he who has established this good ordinance of God, has given the sword in their hands to revenge on him who commits evil, and to protect him who acts rightly. If you, then, take away the sword, you take away the authority. For what wise man will think that, if the magistrates intend to do justice in order to punish the wicked men, there will be anybody who will esteem their command, if they have not the power to compel one to the things that are right by the sword? The magistrates cannot put an example, if they had not the power of—according to God’s command—shedding the blood of those who shed the blood of men. What, would the murderer ask for magistracy? Or how could he be hindered of shedding continually blood? And so we see of the weapons, that the Lord allows them in the possession of the disciples, but that he does not allow to use them to protect his spiritual kingdom, nor in making one’s self the king of that kingdom, for which reason the Jews sought to kill him. Therefore, arms are good, and the possession of them right among the disciples just as all other worldly things. But they may not use those arms in his kingdom, as the arms of the host of his kingdom are not carnal, but spiritual, and its subjects have only a Spiritual King. Therefore, also, they may not exercise authority, the one over the other, as the princes of the Gentiles do, because his kingdom is not like the kingdoms of this world. Many other things are said to belong to that kingdom, as the spiritual treasures and purses (Luke xii. 33); spiritual building (Ex. ii. 20); spiritual apparel (1 Peter iii. 3); spiritual meat (John vi. 27—Rom. xiv. —). Now then, because all these things, and many others, are said to be found in the Kingdom of Christ, may we, therefore, not use them in the world, namely—treasures, purses, buildings, apparel, and meats? We hope that nobody will deny this.

“Besides, that you write that you think it is not allowed to you to use arms, seems very surprising to us. The magistrates who are sure of the faithfulness of their subjects who are inclined to protect their government, will take much more care in order to promote the peace of these subjects, than for those who could suffer that they and their authority were ruined and the inhabitants were attacked, instead of protecting them against murderers, thieves, and others, who may attack their country. We are sure, at least, that it is so in our country, however it may be in yours, and with your magistrates. And as regards suffering persecution, we see that godly magistrates have often suffered dreadful persecution from their own subjects (Num. xiv. 2—x. 6; 1 Sam. viii. 8; Dan. vi. 2—v. 12; John. vii. 50). These are some of our reasons among so many about our judgment and opinions in this matter. And these are all the differences which we think to exist. The first of your articles we acknowledge freely as well with our hearts as with our mouths, and we shall adhere to them, with the help of God, to our death.

“We pray you, that it may please you to consider earnestly all these differences; and to write us, after that consideration, whether you could suffer us, as we can suffer you in these matters, that we then may be together as members of one body, of which Christ is the head, and that we, walking in one society, may be of good concord, living together in the union and truth of Christ Jesus as brethren. that it may prove whose disciples we be in reality, namely, those of Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, to whom be the praise everlastingly. Amen.

“And thus, dear and very beloved friends, taking leave, we recommend you with all our hearts to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom we most earnestly pray that he may lead you in all truth as well as us, and so will keep us irreproachable to the revelation of His glory.”

[Translated into Dutch from the Latin manuscript, which was translated from the English in which it was originally written, Nov. 18, 1626.]

Whether the deputies were received by Ries, we have no information; but, on receipt of the letter, he drew up a series of questions, and forwarded them to the two brethren. The queer and brief answers to some of them, are as follows:

“List of Questions written by Hans de Ries, and put before the deputies of the five churches in England, followed by some Answers at the foot of the page:—

“Whether the churches which they mention are acquainted and have knowledge of their coming to us?”

“Whether they be ordered by these, with all concord, to come to us?

“Whether they are all, and unanimously, of the same opinion, according to the contents of their letter; especially, whether there be no difference between their doctrine and ours, but only in those articles they mention in their writing?

“As we have here some that are of their nation who are excommunicated by theirs, wherefore do they take them now?

“Whether they think them worthy to be excommunicated that came from England and took up their residence here; and think that they who live here are obliged to live again in England?

“Whether they think it to be right, and would suffer and directly carry on, that every brother, without having an orderly vocation or charge, may serve the sacraments; and also women, if there were no man?

“Whether there are no other forms of words in use in their country with swearing an oath, than—‘God is my witness’?

“Whether they could bear with it when they were in England, that some churches only sometimes in the year take the Lord’s Supper?

“Whether any brother in their church, and living in their place, who did not think it according to the command of God to break bread every Sunday, and who, therefore, did not celebrate the Lord’s Supper on every Sunday, would be tolerated among them?

“Whether they would think to be obliged (as for the promise of being ready to service, promised to the king) to assist the king with weapons, and to protect themselves and their weapons even with their blood?

“According to what law they think that a Christian authority is obliged to punish the evil, to carry on war, and to deal with its enemies?

“Whether a Christian, also in the quarrels of his king and in the resistance against his enemies, may touch the goods of these enemies, may extort them, and take them away; also whether he may possess and keep, as free and own goods, those that are taken away?

[ANSWERS.]

“The five churches have not every one a minister. Those that have no minister wait with the service till one is coming; therefore, it is not possible to break bread every Sunday.

“They do not suffer that somebody teaches the congregation without being acknowledged that he is able to do it.

“They make a difference between one that teaches and serves the sacraments, and one that stands in full service.

“Two different opinions of foreign churches.

“Whether they would receive the English, is doubtful.

“Whether it may be thought necessary by all of them to celebrate the Lord’s Supper* every Sunday,—they do not know that.

“They have neither command nor law to break bread every Sunday; but they do not see any offence in it, if a minister would do so on Sunday.”

To the dissidents under Elias Tookey, the minister of the church at Amsterdam had written in May, 1624. The letter is in the name of the United Church of the Dutch and English.

“Augmentation of divine wisdom and knowledge of the divine truth, we wish with all our hearts our beloved friends who have the foretaste of the heavenly things (sixteen in number), with all those who are near them and are zealous for the truth of God the Father and Jesus Christ our Lord and general Saviour. Amen.

“Very dear friends,—We have recently received your letter, dated March 29, *stilo antiquo*, and have read it with a great joy, while we thanked God for his mercy which he has poured out over you in great abundance, though undeserved and only by his great love and clemency, and which consists herein, that he makes shine in you the evangelical truth in this dark world, that he enlightened the eyes of your mind, and has endued you with the acknowledgment of his will, to his glory and the promotion of your salvation.

“We pray the good God that he will bless the commenced work by the service of Christ, and that he will allow that the sun which begins to rise at the break of day and goes on to the full day, shines in its glory in your hearts; that he will give you, at the same time, heavenly strength and mercy, that you may reveal and promote by a holy life much light among this untoward generation which has its walks in the midst of darkness and sin, to the honour of God and the augmentation of your own salvation, and the conversion and illumination of many. Amen.

“We are most instantly moved to answer you, and to prove you our heartily tender and Christian affection, as well as the joy we have experienced about the commencement of your illumination. Your Christian salutation was very agreeable to us; and though the number of those whom it has pleased the Lord to grace with the knowledge

* The writing is here illegible, but the meaning is clear, as it is expressed here.

of truth is still very small, we were, however, very glad, and believed that God will cause the light of his truth to shine before many. Just as the birth of Christ, according to the flesh, was only informed to few, but afterwards is brought to the knowledge of the whole world, so we are in good hope that the birth and knowledge of Christ, according to the spirit, which has begun in you, will extend more and more to the salvation of many.

“With much desire we have waited for your writing, as we understand also that you were very desirous to receive some lines from us. You write us about the causes of your delay. We accept them with love. Our reason was, that we, after your taking leave of us, have not received any information about the acceptance of our writings and the reasonings which we had with your messengers. We hope it may please you to accept this excuse also. We learn from your letter, that you are excommunicated or excluded from their meetings by John Morton and his friends.* The chief cause of it would be, your opinion about bearing with, and tolerating, the weak or those of little understanding about scriptural matters, who, however, are very conscious in everything they know, and peaceful and quiet in the church. We were, indeed, very sorry to hear this, and it displeased us very much. We wish those who have rejected you more wisdom; and you, that you may bear with patience all the injuries which have befallen you, and which have not been few, and are still continuing; and that you rely on your own pure hearts, on the justice of your cause, and the promises of God. In doing so, you do as it becomes Christians, and, therefore, we were already very glad that we heard you did so. We admonish, pray, and beseech you, remain on that same way; do not reward evil with evil; do not rail on those that injure you, but look for the footsteps of Christ, and follow the example of the patience of the saints, and take care that your love and kindness become known to every one. Let it be a very small thing to you, as it was to St. Paul, to be judged of man’s judgment. Have compassion with such men and their foolishness, and behave yourselves in such storms according to the words of the same apostle (1 Cor. vi.), as servants of God, with great patience and prudence; and let your prayers for those who grieve you rise to God, according to the example of Christ. Remember that you yourselves have been

* “Sir, I perceive you are an Anabaptist, and therefore I shall speedily make good my promise; and, indeed, some thirty years ago, Mr. Morton, a teacher of a church of Anabaptists in Newgate, then his confessions comprehended all the errors of the Arminians, which now of late many that go under your name in and about London, dissent from.”—Truth’s Victory, London, 1645, p. 19.

foolish, and probably have condemned unjustly and in a wrong time. If you behave yourselves thus, you will prove to the world that you know the words of Christ, written in the tables of your heart with the fingers of God; and your wisdom, patience, and kindness will be a light to the foolish, and will serve them to a better understanding.

“That you have used many means to remain in the unity with those that have excommunicated you, makes us very glad; for it is christian to endeavour for peace and unity. The Holy Ghost admonishes to do this. We are very sorry that your efforts were in vain in this matter, and that you are now without any hope to do something that will be fruitful in these praiseworthy matters. However, do not repent of all your endeavours, for they will always contribute to a good conscience, which is to be esteemed above all treasures. But those who have oppressed and contemned you, will suffer affliction and repentance when they shall have obtained better knowledge, which we hope that very soon will happen, before the day is passed for them.

“You wished, as we perceive, that your affair were brought to the judgment of the Dutch and English church here. We also wish to hear your affair in an impartial manner and to decide it, that the quarrels may be finished, and peace may be preserved. But how is it possible to perform this, when your parties will not understand each other? It must be recommended to the care of God, and left to the course of time.

“If John Morton, or somebody of his followers, comes to us with a kind heart and a manageable mind, we shall be very glad to see him. We wished that God allowed that he appeared in such a manner, then there might follow a good consequence out of his coming. If it happened that he came in another manner, you must not think that they will cause here any trouble at all. Our communion has learned by experience, and by taking into consideration the many quarrels caused by the peevish people round us who lack the peace-feeding doctrine of toleranee, how amiable, costly, and good it is that brethren dwell together (Ps. xxxiii.); so that we do not fear any disturbance among ours by the arrival of whomsoever. As regards the letter which we gave to your messengers, and which has been withholden from you as you complain, and which was signed by two of our ministers (Hans de Ries and Renier Wybrant), we affirm in this, that the contents were the general opinion and the doctrine of all in our church, especially in that of toleranee. This article is held among all of us as one which we embrace with all our heart, as it is one of the first causes of peace, and the unity or keeping together of the communion. If John Morton, or somebody of his friends, says otherwise, we must suffer, and christiauly bear with that; but if he

comes to us, it will be evident, after examination, that our opinion is as we have written, and write once again here. Therefore, we have no fear for his or another's arrival, as we cannot think that one in our church will be seduced from our peacefulness by such a means.

“You should not derive from this fact, however, that we push on tolerance out of its due limits, as if we allow a place among us to all errors, how great or of what nature they may be. By no means! but we limit it according to the Scriptures, and consider it with all wisdom.

“We learn that you are very well pleased with the reasons which we have cited for our not having supplicated to our magistrates, according to your desire. We have no objection against this.

“Thus we were also pleased with all that you have written about the first separation, namely, that you see that the separatists are guilty, because they have not joined a real communion, but have formed a new sect according to their arbitrary opinion, and in an irregular manner; also, that they have misused the discipline of Christ, &c. And so we conclude that you are enlightened by the mercy of God, that you can see these mentioned deficiencies; while we pray and admonish you, that you most diligently take care wisely to use your knowledge, and that you, by no means, resemble the unwise doings which you have seen. We have often warned them in the beginning of the separation, and disadvised them such disorder, and admonished them to patience and tolerance; but our reasons have not found a kind ear with them.

“With great pleasure we have read in your writing, that you are not of opinion that it is absolutely necessary to break bread on every first day of the week, but that you give liberty about this to every church, as you yourselves exercise this liberty. By this expression, ‘as you yourselves exercise this,’ we understand that you break among each other the holy bread of the Lord, or celebrate the Lord's Supper with each other. If we understand this in the right way, we cannot see but that you do the same that you rebuke in others, namely, that you, before you have joined another communion, and are taken up by it to the Christian church, establish a new church, by which fact you fall within the judgment of your adversaries. And as we cannot command you, so we can only advise and admonish you, to be quiet in such church matters, that all things among you may be done in good order, and have a scriptural form. Before the beginning of your separation your opinion was, that no private brother, without the calling of the congregation, might distribute the sacraments; and also that it was not allowed in the time of persecution to fly to another country, and to live there. We should be very glad to learn whether there is now another opinion among you, or

whether you still are of the same principles. When your messengers were here, and we spoke with them, we declared then that those who have different opinions about the origin of the human body of Christ are esteemed among us as to be borne with, as they still belong to those who do not deny the humanity of Christ, but confess that he is truly *man*. But if one would extend it so far, that we should esteem it excusable that somebody might deny the deity of Christ, or denied that Christ was really God, he would not understand us well, but very wrongly. And, therefore, we hope that it may please you to explain to us how we should understand these words:—‘We do not compel one to believe of Christ what we do, but bear with each other.’ We desire to know whether this is only said of the origin of Christ’s body, or whether the article of the deity of Christ should be contained within. If you bear also with those who deny the deity of Christ, or do not confess that Christ is truly God in the Father, and with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, we hope you will be so kind as to write your true meaning about this to us. As regards the doctrine of the oath and magistracy, you write that some are with us and others not. That it may please you to write us, whether those who do not agree with us about both the articles will forsake the practising of their opinions for the love of the peace and edification of the church, or whether they, when they are called for it, especially for the use of arms, would persevere in their opinions. We think it necessary to have true knowledge of this.

“That all the other articles which are mentioned in our confession are considered by you as Christian, and that you acknowledge to have received much illumination by them—we thank for this the good God who is the origin and commencer of all good things, and from whom all good and perfect gifts descend. We pray him that he, for his own honour and the welfare of all of you, will give you mercy, force, and good gifts, that you may increase and grow up in the commenced knowledge and truth. Persevere also continually in a holy life with beseeching and praying to the Almighty. Remember that he is faithful who will fulfil his promises in you, and make them yea and amen.

“With much joy and gladness we have learned that it is your holy intention to be admit in our brotherhood, and to be united with our communion also by the outward bonds. We also are inclined to it, and we intend to perform it, with the help of God, in good order, when we have received your answer on this, and have learned that we have such harmony in the knowledge of the truth, that we may trust to live in full peace the one with the other, as it becomes true Christians.

“We have not received any writing or complaint from your adversaries which was offending you. If something will be delivered us after this, we shall act with it, and behave ourselves as it becomes impartial men.

“We suppose that the money which we have delivered to your messengers really has reached you in due time, as we have trusted it to your messengers with perfect confidence.

“Now then, as we have answered your letter, which pleased us so very much, we conclude this, and shall expect your kind answer with much desire. The mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all of you.

“Amsterdam, — May —, Ao. 1624.

“Signed with the consent and allowance of the ministers and servants of the Dutch and English churches of Jesus Christ in that place.”

The reply to this letter lies before us, and we give it entire.

“Letter written by Elias Tookey to Hans de Ries and the elders of the church at Amsterdam. An answer to the letter from Amsterdam, May, 1624 :—

“To the holy and discreet elders, *Hans de Ries* and *Renier Wybrant*, we wish augmentation of all heavenly wisdom and spiritual knowledge (to the use of the Church of Christ, which you defend), from God the Father, by Jesus Christ, as well your Lord as ours, that immortality may be reached by all of us. Amen.

“We inform you, beloved and very reverend fathers, that your being silent such a long time (which we, however, do not take amiss) was almost the cause that we supposed that you had neglected our interests on purpose; though, as soon as your letter reached us, we saw clearly that this was not the case, for which we are, indeed, very glad.

“In this, your kind letter, you admonish us firstly to persevere in holy prayers, godly exercises, and a holy life, which all of us will endeavour to do, with the help of God; and to that end we meet continually, though in a deficient manner. However, we do not minister the sacraments nor the church discipline, as we have promised you in our last letter.

“You are so very sorry, as you say, that we, who are of so small a number, differ among each other in such a considerable manner, while you fear that, if we increase, we shall occasion troubles, discord, and schism, &c. : on which we answer, that it grieves us that you are so very sorry, while we inform you at the same time that, though we at present, or afterwards when we increase, differ in some opinions of our understanding, we, however, continually persevere in holiness of life, and can bear with each other in peace; which Christian tolerance, we think, to be a preservative of the church to pre-

vent the above-mentioned jeopardy, as minute examinations, limitations, censures, and condemnations only for opinions, occasion especially the inconveniences you spoke about. We believe that the Holy Scriptures can prove this.

“In your letter you have mentioned three different matters which you consider as encumbrances which prevent our being received among your brotherhood, namely, the deity of Christ, the oath, and the war. We are of opinion that all troubles about these three matters may be taken away by Christian love, and the above-mentioned tolerance, if a part of the truth of God is not contempered.

“As regards the deity of Christ, and to bear with each other with respect to this doctrine—we are with you of the same opinion, unless you would compel us to believe three different persons in the Deity, which manner of speaking is not found in the Scriptures. But we surely believe that there is but one single God revealed under three distinguished names—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and, in order to answer directly, as you desire it, we do not say only that there is nobody among us who denies that Christ is God, but we undoubtedly believe that Christ, according to the Spirit, is from the same being and substance with the Father, and that God is in the Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, as you affirm it.

“As regards the oath and the war, you direct us to your first propositions, [the unsound opinions?] which are maintained by our adversaries [?] as we told you before. We have, however, most diligently examined your arguments about the two questions, as they are collected by you chiefly out of the words of Christ on the mountain, which are added to the other ones in your memoir, and, after that examination, there were three who were then of the same opinion with you; but the others were not, as they think that, according to the words of Christ, it ought to be as follows:—

“The oath was not a manner of use assumed by men, but used by God himself, and was often exerted by the Jews, and those who were converted to their religion in good and righteous matters; as they before the Gentiles (Jos. ix. 19, xx. 2; 2 Sam. xxi. 2); and the Gentiles before the Jews (Gen. xxvi. 28, xxix. 34). When we consider all this, we are obliged to think that the oath has not only been a mere figure to be annihilated by Christ, as, if this were the case, the holy people would not have used it.

“We do not explain the words of Christ, *Swear not at all*, that Christ has prohibited the oath over good and righteous matters, but misusing the oath, as the Jews did in their usual conversations, and which is also prohibited by him to the Christians. We only think that the meaning of the words *Swear not at all* is, Swear not by

heaven, nor earth, nor Jerusalem, nor by the temple, and similar creatures. Again, *Swear not at all*, in your ordinary conversations, but your word be yea, yea; nay, nay, in all your usual seasons. Do you think that all true words in your ordinary conversations must be affirmed with an oath? or that the Lord demands to please him in such a manner? or that he has ordered an oath over important matters? To such questions we are moved, and the more for this, that St. Paul has written in the same manner—(2 Cor. i. 23; Gal. i. 20; and also the Angel, Apoc. x. 6; and to the Hebrews vi.)—so that we have examples as well of God as of men that an oath was sworn in righteous, good, and important matters. We think also that much good is produced in that way, as well for the body as for the soul of men; so that we truly think that it was really the intention of Christ not only to take away the corrupted misuse of swearing, but also to affirm the right manner of swearing an oath, as he does also in the same chapter with other commandments; for he has not come to annihilate even the least commandment, but to fulfil it. But, in order to inform you clearly what is the opinion of some among us, we mention that we have some oaths in our country which we do not venture to consider as those of the church, or an oath in matters of offices, or by authority, as their tendency is to change the belief and to hurt our neighbours.

“As regards war, some of us are of the same opinion with you, on account of these words of Christ (Matt. v.), *I say unto you, that ye resist not the evil*; which words, you yourselves, as we remember, use to prove your opinion. Now, then, these words *Resist not evil*, which are spoken negatively, have their limits, as other words on other places, as, for instance, *Labour not* (St. John vi. 27); *Owe no man anything* (Rom. xiii. 8); *Love not, hoping from this again* [Dutch version] (Luke vi. xxxv.). All of which words have their limitations, and ought to be considered in connexion with each other, as you yourselves know very well. Not less have these words, *Resist not the evil* [Dutch version], a special meaning, though they are so general by themselves. And we think that the meaning is this: *Do not resist the evil in a wrong or bad way*, with such faults as your enemies do about you, but resist the evil with all good means; firstly, as it can be, by admonishing (Lev. xix. 17); secondly, by praying (Matt. v. 44); thirdly, if these means do not avail very much, and if the Christians can apply to worldly judges who can assist them in righteous matters; also when they are wronged for conscience's sake, they may resist the evil actions which they have suffered by this means. Thus St. Paul has availed himself of the same means (Acts xvi. 37), where the servants of the Emperor are

found guilty, and (Acts xxiii. 12-32) where St. Paul, defending himself against the Jews who intended to kill him, uses worldly power, in which defensive measures, warriors, cavaliers, and weapons were made ready, which he would have used if he had been in want of them; and (according to my opinion) when he demands protection FROM others, he may not do less in a just matter FOR others. Otherwise how could the commandment of Christ be fulfilled when he says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them' (Matt. vii. 12)? and, again, when he says, 'Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council'—if we did not understand by this that Christ confirms the authority which punishes an evil tongue? And to these words (2 Cor. x. 4), *For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal*, we answer that, as we must use spiritual weapons in a spiritual war, it follows simply that it is allowed to Christians to use worldly weapons in a worldly warfare for a righteous matter; for formerly warriors have used both (for instance, Heb. xi. 32, 33, 34). Indeed, we think that it is now not less allowed to Christians to use worldly weapons or arms in a just war, with which they must protect themselves, as it has been before, and even to perform all other exercises, on condition only that they govern their warfare by justice, faith, sufferance, fear, contentment, and all other virtues (virtues like some warriors formerly possessed), and that they keep themselves free from covetousness, revenge, anger, pride, and ambition, and not enter in an unjust cause—which sins particularly must be avoided by the army of God. We are also of opinion that, if the enemies who carry on an unjust war are killed in that war, their blood will be on their heads, while the defenders are innocent. Now, then, this is our opinion about the war, and we think to be able to prove it with many witnesses. But if we err, we pray you once again to help us as much as it is possible in all love. And though our opinion is, as we have explained to you, we, nevertheless, intend to abstain from all warfare and the use of arms, by which our friends, or the church of God, or any member of it whatever, might be offended. However, we cannot change our opinions, which are the voice of our conscience. Therefore, if you can admit us, and you have no objection against that which we have said here, we shall be very glad; but if you cannot admit us, we will wait till God gives us in our hearts what may please him; and we shall expect that he works in us the desire to bear with each other, though we differ in our opinions, it may be, in the above-mentioned affairs, or in others which do not tend to the destruction of the true Christendom.—Your kind and sincere friends, eighteen in number, living in London.

“March 17, 1625 (*Old Style*).”

Beyond this, our information about these parties does not extend. There are before us two other documents, in relation to these matters, which, though anticipating a year or two in our narrative, may be as well introduced here. The first is from the church at Lincoln, one of the five churches referred to in a former letter:—

“I acknowledge, beloved and loving friend, that I have received your letter (from the hands of John Drew, our beloved friend,) which was sent to us, and the others of our brethren among this nation; and as we find in it an evidence of your good opinion towards us as regards our Christian condition, we may not neglect to return you our gratitude for it, while we heartily wish that you and we may come to the unity of the Holy Ghost, and to those bonds of peace which are in the truth. Amen.

“We inform you, however, good friend, that we cannot consider that the affair which you impose on us, and which you wish to be concluded so hastily, is of so little importance as you seem to consider it. As for Matt. xviii., according to which you wish that we should not punish every difference of opinion or action—we know that it is evident that, in everything by which one of the brethren is offended with reason, repentance is required; and that, when this is refused, he who will not repent must be considered as a Gentile and publican. This is also taught by our Saviour, St. Matt. v.—(‘Therefore, if thou bring thy gift to the altar, &c.’) And, that it may not be of too little importance in your opinion, we advise you to consider attentively the words of our Saviour about the beginning of the 18th chapter, where he says: ‘But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea.’

“And when you think that we have more of the spirit of the disciples of Christ than that of our Saviour,—if you mean that spirit when they wished fire from heaven to consume the Samaritans—we may fully say that your opinion is very wrong. For we do not venture to give room to a single thought of corporal oppression or sorrow to our neighbours, either as regards religion or matters of conscience. Before all things, we strive against this with all men. Nor are we (as we hope, at least) governed by a spirit of ambition or authority: on the contrary, we receive very willingly the right opinions of our Saviour. But when you will explain that expression by assuming that the spirit is willing but the flesh weak, we must

acknowledge that it is so with us, though we dare to hope that the Lord will fulfil his promise in accepting our goodwill for the action, and even that it will be found that we have in some measure the spirit of Christ; otherwise, we are none of his. (Rom. viii. 9.)

“ But you say that Christ bore with unbelief, offence, ignorance, and blind zeal in his disciples, and that he only admonished them, &c. Indeed, you might justly rebuke us if we did not act according to that rule. But if we punish, we do so with those who are worthy of punishment, or have given offence, in order that they may convert themselves. Or do you think that Christ could have borne with his disciples if they had resisted his rebuke or had refused his teaching and admonition? Take care that you may not suffer such a thought among you. It may be true that he went not farther than admonishing them; but it is also true that they were always willing to receive his admonition, and to become informed and reformed by it. Every one who reads may take heed that he is teaching us by many opportunities how to act with irregular persons and those who are obstinate. And, then, when you proceed to speak about the abuses or errors in the church of Corinth, and the other churches built by the apostles (just as if you do not think it necessary that one must repent or may be excluded), we pray you to consider how much confusion and misery would arise if we consented in this matter, and suffered that people came to the table of the Lord intoxicated, sleepy, or ungodly in other respects, that they were quarrelling and sowing discord, that they denied the resurrection, that they maintained justification by the law without Christ, and thus fell out of mercy, &c. If such things should be suffered, the church, instead of being a congregation of holy individuals, would grow a company of wicked and ungodly persons. It is true that we do not read of any person who was excluded from the church of Corinth, but only for unchastity; nor do we read that one single sin for which the apostle rebukes the church, was that of some individual in particular, so that the whole communion could deal with him as it was necessary; but the whole church was so generally infected that all of them must correct themselves, or must be rebuked by the apostle; therefore, he calls his third admonition his third witness, while he said that, if he returned to them, he might not spare them: which cannot signify anything else than that he should be obliged to proceed with them to the most extreme punishment, according to the strength the Lord had given him. You should observe also that the church of Ephesus is threatened that her candlestick should be removed out of its place, as she had left her first love. But let us turn to the church of Corinth. The apostle

says that if one calls himself a brother and becomes unchaste, covetous, &c, we should not eat with him. Now, we think that here is meant a *spiritual eating*, and not a usual dinner, for that would be pharisaical; and so you may see that there are still other sins besides unchastity for which one may be excluded: even, we think, all sins for which the church might be slandered, according to the actions of the apostles themselves with Hymeneus and Alexander. Besides, the apostle desires also that they who troubled the church of the Galatians (Gal. v. 10, 12) with false doctrines should be cut off, which, as we hope, you will understand with us, means excommunication, and not corporal death. And, once again, how can they be avoided who occasion quarrels and discords (Rom. 16, 17) but only by excommunication? And how can we separate those who preach against the blessed words of our Lord Jesus Christ but only by excommunication? And do you not see that the Lord threatens to fight against the church of Pergames with the sword of his mouth, because she suffered among her those that hold the doctrine of Balaam? And when you say that the Lord gave to Jesabel a time for repentance, we hope that you will consider that among us the time for repentance is not passed if some are excommunicated or excluded from the church. It is true that all things must be done in love and in the spirit of meekness (and, therefore, if we must be punished for forgetting this, it be far from us that we should not suffer this and give promises of correction); but it is also necessary that we may not leave rebuking those who err, for suffering their abuses would not be an action of love, but of hatred (Levit. xix. and xvii.). Besides, a kingdom is not divided in itself by punishing, chastising, or cutting off the evil-doers; but its peace and rest will rather be established by doing so. We know, beloved brethren, that, as Christ forgives us, we should do so one the other; but we must consider also that Christ did not forgive anybody but him who repented and turned towards him (Acts iii. 19, 20); and, therefore, how shall we venture to do more? Indeed, we desire most sincerely the reconciliation of all: but reconciliation can only be established on the acknowledgment of guilt and the promise of correction, and cannot be united with stubborn resistance or perseverance in sin. And though we were considered as hasty and severe men, we know this, that though not one of us is ever excommunicated, we should certainly receive him again (suppose we were obliged to exclude one for our love of God or the zeal of our religion) if he repented and were inclined to make peace. And now, to come to a conclusion, we acknowledge, with you, that it is a deplorable and pitiful thing to see that the spiritual stones of the Lord's building are thrown to the

ground and scattered; but, alas! how shall we always be able to prevent this? By suffering them in their wickedness? But this would be to make the Lord's house a den of thieves, and most awfully to bring under his eyes, and in his holy temple, uncircumcised persons. So there would be neither a place nor a people where or by whom could be offered him spiritual offerings agreeable unto him by our Lord Jesus Christ. And so we thank you for your love, and we pray the Lord to reward you by keeping you in this true love, and by increasing this and your zeal in the glorious Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We pray him, that you, by him, may enjoy the abundant gifts of his Holy Spirit to your sanctification in this, and the glorification in the life to come. This may the Giver of all good gifts give both you and us, and all who love our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.—With our very kind greetings to you and all friends of the holy truth, we recommend you to the protection and guidance of the Lord, whose peace and blessings be with you eternally (we pray). Amen.—Your most sincere friends in the Lord, the brethren who live there.

“Lincolne, September 5, 1630.”

“Copied May 31, and June *primo*, 1631, by your servant and brother,

“SWITHUNE GRINDALL.”

The last of the letters is from Tiverton. This letter is rather obscure here and there, though it is literally translated:—

“Your kind acceptance of my letter, and the care you took to answer it, afford me now the opportunity to express my gratitude for the kindness you showed me and all others here, who are the friends of the truth which is to be found in Christ Jesus our Lord. All of them can bear witness that I have received your kind letter, dated Sept. 13, 1630, in which you desire, as you say, with a sincere heart, the zeal of God and his truth, which we also earnestly desire with a most sincere heart, and for which we strive continually. However, we must know this, that our zeal must be founded on knowledge, and kindled by the fire of Heaven, otherwise it would be more madness than zeal. * This we see in the sad example of the Jewish people, who possessed, according to the words of the apostle, the zeal of God, but not founded on knowledge, and so they were ignorantly raging in such a manner that they crucified the Messiah himself, whom they expected a long time and very ardently, as they hoped he would deliver Israel (Luke xxiv. 21). And so we acknowledge with you that we can often err by ignorance, that we can be erring

in the fulfilment of all we ought to do according to our knowledge, often performing the things more hastily or more slowly than they ought to be performed. Nevertheless, the Lord shows us in his Word his desire in a clear way about the things which we ought to do and can do, otherwise the guilt be ours. With all this, we hope that God will have mercy upon us, and will not impute to us our weakness and imperfectness, nor what we misdo in consequence of this; while we are striving every day to correct ourselves, and to grow from perfection to perfection; though we must acknowledge also that, if we try to do only our own desire, and if we are contented with the ordinary customs and practices of others whom we love, &c., we may not expect any other revelation of God's will to us, nor any mercy out of his hands.

“Let us now go to the answer on my letter in which you say, that the cause for which you suffer and bear with a brother also after rebuke, who has heard a sermon in England, is that you do not dare to deliver him to the Satan, if he has an understanding to hear, and is able to be edified by hearing one who holds other opinions; and secondly, that the action of hearing itself is not bad or carnal, but that the doctrine or person may be disputable, &c.—in which words of yours there are two reasons. The first is, as you say, that he has a judgment that he may do such, and if doing such, may be edified by a person of other opinions; the second, you say, is that the mere action of hearing is not simply [?] evil or carnal. To the first reason we say that, if you suppose that a usual understanding of a brother, even if he were the most holy one that ever lived on earth, can be a good rule for his own or others' direction in the service of God without any assurance out of God's Word, we surely think that it is untenable; for that would be to make a private judgment of a mortal man of the same value with the Holy Scriptures, which assertion would not be better than blasphemy. What wickedness, soever, is there, which would not be suffered and excused, or which would not assume an appearance of good, if a man's private judgment were a rule? just as you say about hearing a false prophet (for so you judge of them, or wherefore do you call him an adversary?) to be edified. We have here some among us who think it allowed to hear a false prophet, but not in order to give God honour or praise, or to use that opportunity to do good to man. To go on such or similar purpose is wickedness, as it is emphatically said. But you and yours think it to be allowable to hear for edification. Can a fountain (says St. James) give drinkable water and bitter ‘at the same time’? Just so is it impossible (we may freely say this) that a false prophet can edify or teach Christ's church, or any member of it. For, as the

true prophets of Christ edify and augment the church of Christ, so the false prophets do the kingdom of the Antichrist. These two works cannot be united in the service of the Lord, nor tend to the completement of the church of Christ—no more, and even less, than the union of the Gentiles and the Jews to the accomplishment of the material temple. (Ezra iv.) Only the people of God, the Jews, must build the material temple, and so the Lord's prophets, or people only who are sent by him, have the calling from their Master Christ to build his spiritual temple. Neither Simon Magus, nor any other false prophet whosoever, has a part in this work. We are admonished by St. Jude to build up ourselves in the holy faith; and, therefore, if we went to our adversaries in order to ask their assistance, we might incur the punishment of the Lord, as he says to the Jews that they had forsaken the fountains of the living waters, and had made them wells which cannot keep water. The whole Scripture is against such Balaamitic and wavering transactions. If the religion which you confess to be true, is the true one, that of your adversaries must be false.

“Now we pass to the second part of your reasoning, namely, that the action of hearing is not directly evil or carnal, &c. To this we answer, that, if you mean the action of hearing a false prophet or prophets, preaching or praying in consequence of their spiritual vocation, as it seems that you do—and we are of opinion that you will not deny that one can sin by hearing, as well as by seeing, speaking, &c.—we think that all such hearing is evil and carnal beyond any doubt, and not a work of the Spirit of God, nor affirmed by his Word, as these places of the Scripture may prove:—Jer. xxiii. 16, where the Lord advises his people, saying, ‘Hear not the words of the prophets who teach and prophesy you vanity;’ Hos. iv. 15, ‘Come not to Gilgal nor go to Beth-haven;’—in the former place they are forbidden to hear with the corporal ear, and in the latter even to come to the place of the false religion in order to hear or to see it. And the voice from the Heavens said (Matt. xvii. 5), ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear ye him;’ and John x., ‘My sheep hear my voice, but a stranger they will not follow;’ and again, Jesus said of those whom he sent out: ‘He who hears you, hears me;’ but he never says this of his adversaries. Therefore, we conclude that, if it is forbidden the people of God to hear the sermons, prayers, or commandments of the false prophets, as it is proved by all the above-cited words of the Scriptures,—then, we say, is it by no means allowed to the sheep of Christ to listen to the voice of the foreigners, especially at the time and place appointed to the meetings of those who are meeting in the name of Christ. But you say that

one does it out of the faith in himself [?]. Oh, do not shut your eyes, we pray you. What faith can he have, when there is no word in the whole of the Book of the Lord in favour of such an exercise? The Holy Ghost says that faith comes from hearing, and hearing from the word of the Lord; and he has no word of God for this his faith, and, therefore, he cannot have a belief in it. And all what is not from the faith is sin, especially when one perseveres in the exercise of evil—for you yourselves think it, otherwise why do you advise him not to attend it? Will you admonish one for something else but sin? and, therefore, when this hearing has taken place once, it becomes a sin, as we have proved. And if he does not repent when he is admonished the first, second, and third time, and according to the established rule of our Master Christ Jesus, the only legislator of his church, let him be to you as the Gentile and publican, &c.; but if he do repent, forgive him, not otherwise. This is the law of Christ, and those who will not obey it are not worthy the name of Christians; for nobody is a Christian but only those who are obedient and subjected to his laws and commandments, just as nobody can be called the king's subject who will not obey his just laws—so in Christ's spiritual kingdom, as all his laws are decidedly just, he who does not obey him cannot be his; and if he be not his, he cannot possess the spirit of Christ; and if he have not the spirit of Christ, it is beyond all question that he or she and all their doctrines are evil and carnal—both the prophets and the people who listen to them, and whosoever they may be who belong to the adversaries of the Christian faith. But you think it fit to bear with him in meekness, &c., and even to pray the Lord for his enlightening, &c., as it is said in the letter of your German brethren. We agree with you, that we should deal with such an one as with a brother, and not esteem him as an enemy during the whole of the time that he is admonished; but it is just this which we would pray you to point out in your letters, how long we must bear with a brother in his sin; whether it must be always, or only during the time that he is kindly admonished the first, second, and third time, or during a period which God gives men for repenting, as he did Jezebel? In this case, we must consider that God gives sometimes men a very long time for repenting,—sometimes sixty or eighty years, and even the whole time of their life; while he has limited his church with three admonitions, and if he does not repent, then he must be as the Gentile and publican. Now it is true that he, after that moment, is not yet deprived of all means of repentance, but this is the last remedy which is in the power of the church to use with him and to bring him to repentance, when all admonition does not avail; so that you may see that Christ has

pointed out a time to his church which that church may never pass. I would pray you, at the same time, to show us where the apostles have suffered (and very long, as you say) great sins. I cannot remember to have ever read that the apostles, or any one of the first church, have suffered a brother above the time appointed by our Saviour, as it is said before. And when you say in your letter, that the words of the Scripture which I cited (those to the church of Ephesus, Apoc. ii. 2) do not serve me, then I must say again that they do serve me without doubt; for how can you restrain the signification only to evil teachers [ministers] when the words are general:—‘And thou canst not bear them which are evil; and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars;’ which last words you take and explain as the *evil* formerly mentioned, though they are taken together [the evil?], and denominated with a word which expresses a general quality, so that all evils are meant in general, and then pointed out with a name:—‘Them which say they are apostles, and are not,’ &c. Now then, to follow the rule of God’s Word is the best and safest way to walk to the reformation both of little and great sins; if this is our purpose, we shall, undoubtedly, not act in the wrong way. And though we might take other ways in human government, yet government which is human may not take place in Christ’s church. If we are desirous to seek for reformation, then we must do it according to his Word; and then, also, we may be sure that, in reforming little sins, we may prevent the greater ones, and, at the same time, build up the church of Christ in love. And how shall we show more love to our brother but by drawing him out of his sin, and especially to do this by the means which Christ himself has proposed and ordered? If a worldly friend had some disease, so that one of his members must be cut off, unless all his body linger away, would it not be a much greater love showed him to cut off the whole member, than to cause, by too great tenderness, that all his body is left in jeopardy? And of the same nature is sin if it is left, and if we suffer it in the church; it will go through all the dough, while it draws over the whole of the church the anger of God, as you may see in the church of Corinth, because they suffered the unchaste among them, more than fitted them (1 Cor. v.); and, as it seems, they exercised the same doctrine of tolerance as you do, for which they were sharply rebuked by the apostle.

“As regards the fusion or union, you say that the fault is at our side, because some of us keep and use the material sword, which, as you say, neither Christ nor the apostles ever did,—an assertion of which we do not understand how you contrive it, as the Scriptures prove that even among the disciples of Christ who always accom-

panied him, swords were used. This is evident from the fact, that our Saviour, a short time before his suffering or apprehension in the garden, gave them direction and taught them their duty, saying:—‘When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, lacked ye anything? And he that has no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one. And they said, Lord, behold here are two swords.’ And Peter had a sword, which he misused as he cut off the ear of Malchus; but this is a fact, before he misused it, he was never rebuked for having it. So it is beyond all doubt that he used it formerly in some lawful manner, which he may have done also afterwards, and should have done at that moment; for how was it possible that they otherwise could be ordered to have one, and even that they must sell their garments and buy swords? So that we conclude that they might use it in some cases and for some purposes. And when the soldiers came to John the Baptist, they asked him what they must do, and he answered them, that they should not trouble anybody: so that he taught them how to act as Christians, and nevertheless to keep their office as soldiers. If you still would say that neither Christ nor the apostles ever used the material sword, then we pray you to explain in your next letter what, according to your judgment, they did with the swords above-mentioned. If they by no means might use them, we acknowledge with you that, according to the words of the Scriptures cited by you, and many other places mentioned in your letter, and which prove your assertion—the material sword ought not to be found in the kingdom of Christ. Just so neither purse, scrip, nor shoes, &c., nor many other things of the same nature—though we, as we are flesh or men of this world, may lawfully use them for the maintenance of our natural life, which we are obliged to keep and to preserve; just as even our Saviour did when he parted from this world. He says, if one has a purse, let him take it, &c.—among which things the material sword was found also. However, we see that they might not use it in the protection of their Christian profession, or that of their Master and Lord Christ, as he said, when he punished Peter, ‘Put your sword in the sheath,’ &c.; and so we do not think it is allowed to use it in the defence of our own life, as we are confessors of the Gospel for which we are suffering and ought to suffer persecution, nor to obtain any worldly crown or worldly dignity which we long for. But, according to our duty to the king and to the country in which we live, and in all civil things which are lawful; and, if we are worldly subjects in a kingdom of this world, in the defence of our king, his dignity and empire, we use the material sword. It is our conviction that it is allowed to use it in such a manner. Nevertheless, we say also and we judge that,

if there were never an occasion to use the sword, it were much better. We also do not condemn you or any other person who refuses to use it any way; but we are sure, as we believe, that, if we use it in some occasions, we do not sin at all. You, however, are now of opinion that we are unworthy of some union or community in Christ's church, on account of this our use and opinion, though you see clearly that we can prove it with the Word of God. Nor will you allow us to have any community with you, unless we forsake all offices of government or authority and the use of the material sword. The office of authority is, as the Holy Ghost teaches us, a good ordination of God; and should we, or any other person who wishes to become a member of the church of Christ, forsake then what is good, or otherwise deny him? That be far from us. Only sin can make one unfit to become a Christian. And for every sin, how little it may be, one must repent; for if it be sin, it is a transgression of the law, and every transgression of it will receive its just reward if no repentance follows, namely, the anger of God. But to hear a false prophet, if it does not offend the brethren, or to avoid persecution, &c.—which, however, is public evil, as we have already pointed out,—you do not think this of sufficient importance to excommunicate one, though he does not repent for having done this. You think it better to bear with such (though they are evil), and thus to bear with those that are evil, for which fact we think that you are guilty, and that the cause comes from your side that there be no unity between us. If we had known that you had such opinions when we asked for union with you, we should first have worked at your reformation. Therefore, we pray you to consider all what is written here, and also what is written by our friends and beloved brethren of Lincoln, as an answer on your letter, and afterwards to send us your understanding or opinion about these matters, that we—just as we try and contend for one thing, namely, the sincerity in the profession of the Gospel—may be one and of the same mind as those who are from the family of faith, founded and established on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and of which Jesus Christ is the chief corner-stone, and that we so may grow up to life everlasting. As regards the oath, the matter stood as follows, if I recollect, when we were with you last time, namely, that there was no difference in our practice, though we called an oath what you did not call so; for you also will give witness of a thing before the authority by uttering the great name of God, and this we esteem allowed if we are called for it, but not otherwise. We offer you our kind and sincere greeting, also your wife and the other beloved friends living with you, namely, Alexander Hodgkin, John Drew, with their wives, and all others—not forgetting

the four elders, whom you should inform, as we pray you, the contents of this letter, and that of the other written by our beloved friends at Lincoln. The Lord lead you always in the truth. Amen.

“Written from Tiverton.

“Your sincere and faithful friends in the Lord,

“JAMES JOPPE, and ISABEL, his Wife.”

“Translated from the English language, June 5, 1631.

“Your brother,

SWITHUNE GRYNDALL.”

The value of these documents needs no comment. They give us interesting glimpses of the theological dogmas and teachings of the Netherland Baptists and their brethren in England. Many of their opinions are now obsolete; still their anxiety to know the truth, their forbearance, their zeal, and their sufferings, will clothe their memory with undying interest. Nor is this all: from these documents, Crosby's statement that, up to the formation of the first Particular Baptist church, our brethren were mingled with other Christian societies, may be estimated at its true value. In one sense it may be true, but in the sense in which he uses it, it is a mistake. That many Baptists were mingled with other Christian organizations is more than probable, but their existence as separate churches is now beyond all doubt. Other evidences of this fact will presently be laid before our readers.

Before dismissing this matter, another subject may claim our attention;—the mode of baptism practised by these sufferers for the truth. We have to deal with it in the spirit of history, not of controversy. Only as an historic fact do we touch it. Again and again it has been asserted that at this period immersion was not the mode adopted by these heroic confessors. The question is only of moment in the light of history. Beyond this its interest and value do not go. Truth is more important to us than theory. In this spirit we shall enter on the inquiry.

In a letter of G. W. Altute, a Genevan author, on the religious state of Great Britain, he says, “Till the beginning

of the 17th century, the Baptists in England only rejected the baptism of infants, and they insisted not on immersion; but immersion was introduced among them by I. Smith. From that time immersion is practised and considered necessary.”*

The editor of Robinson's Works has expressed the same opinion. “Nothing,” says he, referring to Smith and Helwys, “appears in these controversial writings to warrant the supposition that they regarded immersion as the proper and only mode of administering the ordinance,” &c.† In this opinion, Dr. Müller fully agrees. But was it so? We cannot pronounce positively, but are bound to confess that the probabilities are greatly in its favour. The harmony of opinion, and the anxiety for agreement, which their Dutch brethren manifested in the documents laid before our readers, would more than warrant this conclusion. Add to this the fact stated by Ivimey, that, on the formation of the first Particular Baptist church in England, an individual was sent over to Holland to be immersed. Now, this could not arise from there being no Baptists in the country. We have seen that the very opposite was the fact. Other churches, too, as will be seen presently, existed in this country. Only from one of two causes could this conduct arise: dislike to the Arminian doctrines, or dissatisfaction with the mode of baptism. Which of these operated, it is difficult to say. Probably both had an influence in determining their course. Later still, there is positive proof, if credit is to be given to the testimony of men living at the period, that there were communities in existence then who conformed entirely to the mode adopted by our Dutch brethren. The reference is to Chelmsford. “But since this magnified Reformation was set on foot, this town (as, indeed, most corporations, as we find by experience, are nurseries of faction and rebellion) is so filled with sectaries, especially Brownists and Anabaptists,

* Vol. iv., p. 900.

† *Vide* note, Early English Baptists, vol. i., p. 203.

that a third part of the people refuse to communicate in the Church Liturgy, and half refuse to receive the communion of the blessed sacrament, unless they may receive it in what position they please to take it. They have amongst them two sorts of Anabaptists: the one they call the Old Men, or *Aspersi*, because they were but sprinkled; the other they call the New Men, or *The Immersi*, because they were overwhelmed in their rebaptization.*

This fact is important on more accounts than one; whilst it can leave no doubt upon the mind of the reader that, at this time, both modes were practised. Judging from the following account of the method of baptizing in Holland about this time, their manner was different from the modern method of squeezing a few drops of water on the face of the infant. Sir W. Brereton says, "The minister here (in Amsterdam) baptized after sermon fourteen children; the water not sprinkled upon their faces, but the predicant doth pull back the cloth and dressing on the head, so that all the skull of the child's head is bare, and holding the face downwards, he is sufficiently prodigal of water, pouring divers handfulls upon the child's head, and holding his hand on the child's head, rubbing the same during all the time that he is pronouncing the words of baptism, which, as I conceived, were equivalent to those of ours:—'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son,' &c, using as long a speech whilst he held the child in his arms, as our ministers do. I observed diligently, and he used not the sign of the cross, which all the Dutch churches reject. Here were no god-fathers; those that brought and carried the children gave the name unto the predicant, and all those were women that held and brought the children."†

* Mercurius Rusticus, pp. 25, 26.

† Travels, by Sir W. Brereton, in Holland, &c., 1634 to 1635, p. 61. Cheetham Society. The same writer gives us an account of a baptism in Edinbro' in 1635:—"Here I saw the sacrament of baptism (in the College Kirk) administered in this manner:—The preacher standing in the pulpit,

Of the existence of other Baptist churches during this period there is no doubt. The limits of this work forbid the notice of them individually; yet the following may be regarded, in its main features, as a sample. The church at Stoney Stratford is one of the earliest of them. The following narrative is condensed from an old church-book, now unfortunately lost. "The Baptist church at Stoney Stratford dates its origin as early as 1625. At that time, there were a few Puritans living at Stratford, who united together to uphold the principles of the Gospel, in doing which they were often placed in circumstances of great difficulty, and

and there being placed and fastened into the same a frame of iron, shaped and proportioned to a basin, wherein there stands a silver basin and ewer; here the minister useth an exhortation of gratitude for God's goodness, in admitting them to this privilege, &c., demanding from the witnesses (which are many—sometimes 12, sometimes 20), according to a printed form of baptism, the parent receives the child from the midwife, presents the same unto the preacher, who doth baptize it without any manner of ceremony, giving a strict care of Christian and religious education, first unto the parent, then to the witness."—*Ibid.*, p. 110. Cheetham Society. It may not be uninteresting to the reader to have an allusion to one of an earlier date, in another part of the Netherlands. During the persecutions of Mary, a granddaughter of Sir W. Lock fled with her husband to Antwerp, and the following is her description of the baptism of her daughter:—"The fashion was to hang a piece of lawn out at the window when the child was to be baptized; and her house having two doors into two streets, she hung lawn out at each door, so the neighbours of each side, thinking the child was carried out at one door, inquired no farther. The hazard she run was great, for she says that the hatred which was borne by the townsmen to the Anabaptists, the magistrates used to come at midnight into houses where any children were suspected to be kept unbaptized, and if they found any such, they used to put them into a sack, and throw them into the sea and drown them: which cruelty to avoid, she did, as is before said, hang out the lawn, and there being a secret congregation of Protestants in the town, she procured her child to be carried there, when it was baptized," &c. She stayed at Antwerp till Mary died.—Sir John Bramston's *Autobiography*, p. 11. Camden Society. The notorious Wren, Bishop of Norwich, in 1636, issued injunctions to his deacons, which give us singular glimpses of ecclesiastical manners. In the XIV., he orders that "the founts at baptism be filled with clean water, and no *dishes*, *pails*, nor *basins* be used in it, or instead of it."—Cardwell, vol. ii., p. 204.

sometimes even of imminent danger; in order to escape which they were obliged to meet, sometimes in the neighbouring forest, at other times under the trees and hedges in the adjoining fields, or in private houses about Stoney Stratford. It appears that so formidable was the opposition raised against them at one time, that they were pursued by a body of armed men, who followed them on the road to Newport Pagnall; but, being met by Sir Henry —, who was secretly the friend of the Nonconformists, he succeeded in bringing their pursuers back to Stratford, and detained them, by giving them ale, till the persecuted little flock had effected their escape. They were, however, not always so successful, and some of them are said to have been sent to prison for their nonconformity. After some time, they were able to obtain a piece of ground, and soon afterwards a small chapel, capable of holding about a hundred people, was erected; but such was the spirit of the times, that they could not always hold their meetings in it. They do not appear to have had any settled minister at first, nor, indeed, for a long time after they were formed into a congregation. The affairs of the church were superintended by deacons, of whom, in consequence of the advanced age at which they were chosen, they had a very quick succession. Whenever deacons were to be ordained, or set apart, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed: and the abstinence of those days forms a striking contrast to the feasting and toast-drinking of some modern ordinations.* From a wide district, the members of this church, like many others, were gathered. We have seen that, in early times, Kent was distinguished by the large supply of consecrated sufferers for Christ. It was not destitute, at this time, of noble-minded men. As early as 1626, Thomas Brewer, “a zealous minister of the Baptist persuasion,” was arrested in his work by the emissaries of Laud. Brook gives us the following information about

* Kindly supplied by the Rev. E. L. Forster.

him. "The first account of him we meet with, is that, in the year 1626, he was a preacher among the Separatists in and about Ashford, in Kent. In that year, through the instigation of Laud, he was persecuted and censured in the High Commission Court, and committed to prison, where he remained no less than fourteen years. The Archbishop, speaking of the mischief done by the nonconformity of Mr. Brewer and Mr. Turner, says, 'The hurt which they have done is so deeply rooted, that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden; but I must crave time to work it off by little and little.' His Grace, however, certainly fixed on the most direct and effectual method of doing this. For, in his account of his province, addressed to the king, in 1637, he says: 'I must give your Majesty to understand, that at and about Ashford, in Kent, the Separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been disclosed. Two or three of their principal ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have been long kept in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by the statute of abjuration. Not long since, Brewer slipt out of prison, and went to Rochester and other parts of Kent, and held conventicles, and put a great many people into great distemper about the church. He is taken again, and was called before the High Commissioner, when he stood silent, but in such a jeering, scornful manner, as I scarcely ever saw the like. So in prison he remains.'"* In 1640, Brewer was liberated from his

* Brook's Puritans, vol. ii., p. 444. Collier's account of the latter part is somewhat varied from Brook's. In the Archbishop's account of his province this year, he acquaints the king, that "in his diocese near Ashford, several Anabaptists, and other Separatists, stood out so obstinately against the customs of the church, that there was no other way of dealing with them but having recourse to the Statute of Abjuration, or applying some other way to the assistance of the Temporal Courts. But whether this remedy was proper or not, at this disturbed juncture, is referred to his Majesty."—Vol. ii., p. 791. Charles wrote against this report:—"Keep these particular persons fast, until you think what to do with the

confinement by order of the House of Commons. We have no evidence, or if there is any it is scant, which shall enable us to determine to which section of the body these men belonged. It is enough for us to know, that with them religion was a living power, and that for propagating these views of its renewing and sanctifying influence, they encountered the hostility of the High-Priest of formalism,* to embalm them in our memory, and to give them a place in these pages.

Our work is not the history of the nation, but we cannot avoid an allusion to some of the events which marked the early period of Charles's reign. We have already indicated the existence of opposing elements in the empire. The aggressions of royalty soon brought them into collision. It was well known that the king's notions of his prerogative and power were of the loftiest order. His ministers nourished them. Buckingham and his satellites everywhere inculcated them. Side by side was growing up with this, more enlightened views of religion and constitutional freedom. The wealth, the intelligence, and commercial power of the nation were probably with the latter.† The national mind was roused. Hope and fear agitated it. Into every circle these antagonistic influences entered. In the seats of industry, by the sturdy yeomen of the country, in the home

rest." "If I hate any," said a courtier of those times, "it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." This was the utterance of a man who fasted and prayed according to the Laudian teaching.—Howell's Letters, p. 270.

* "His little Grace did also foment and maintain an opinion, that the Pope was the metropolitan bishop of the world, and that there could be no true church with bishops."—A Perfect Diurnal, No. 5, p. 404. "The great design of the High Church party," said Rudyard, "their great design, their masterpiece, now is to make all those of the true religion to be the suspected party in the kingdom."—Foster, vol. i., p. 55.

† "Puritans in the better ranks, and in every rank, abounded. Already, either in conscious act, or in clear tendency, the far greater serious thought and manhood of England had declared itself Puritan."—Carlyle's Cromwell, vol. i., p. 41.

of the artizan, and in the mansion of the wealthy, these political aspects of the times were examined, and their tendencies discussed.* But the great theatre of conflict was in the chamber of St. Stephen's.

No sooner had the Commons assembled, than two things claimed their attention,—the grievances under which the nation laboured, and the state of religion. The representatives of the court demanded money. The necessities of the king were urgent; the nation was on the eve of a war. By the patriots his claim was recognised; but the crying evils demanded removal. The two are inseparable, said they. Remove the one, and we will grant the other. Upon this ground they took their stand, and no threatening could move them. The Lord-Keeper indeed uttered high-sounding words, the monarch frowned, and the imperious favourite and minister threatened: but in vain. The men were unmoved. Like some vast rock against which the wild wave breaks, they stood unmoved by the tempest.

The pulpit was made to pander to the Royal passions, and to subvert the liberty of the people. The clerical circle was crowded with this class of men. Amongst these time-servers, ignorant alike of the teaching of their master and the origin of civil power, was Dr. Mainwaring. He taught “that the king’s royal command, imposing taxes and loans without the consent of Parliament, did so far bind the conscience of the subjects of the kingdom, that they could not refuse the payment without peril of damnation.” Still more, “that the authority of the Parliament was not necessary to the raising of aids and subsidies.”†

* “The nobility and gentry of England were then a strange body of men. The English squire of the seventeenth century clearly appears to have believed in God—not as a figure of speech, but as a very fact, very awful to the heart of the English squire. ‘He wore his Bible doctrines round him,’ says one, ‘as our squire wears his shot belt: went about with it, nothing doubting.’”—Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, p. 45. Marsden’s *Later Puritans*, p. 5.

† *Parl. History*, vol. ii., p. 379. *Vide Pym’s Speech* on this subject.

The Commons fell into an error, by no means uncommon, and which can scarcely excite our wonder,—mischievous then, and fraught still with danger to the interests of truth,—they regarded themselves as the great conservators of religion. Nor did they fail in exercising the authority with which they supposed God had invested them. Before them the divine was called. A fine of £1000 was imposed on him; he was to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the House; suspended for three years; disabled from preaching at court, and from holding any ecclesiastical or civil office; and his book was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.* Popery and Arminianism were alike denounced. Against them both the voice of the Legislature was raised. “About this time,” says the authority last quoted, “the Commons voted that Dr. Neal, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, be named to be those near about the king who are suspected to be Arminians, and that they are justly reputed to be unsound in their opinions that way.”† Alarmed at these proceedings, at the risk of losing what

Ibid, 390, 401. “To counteract these proceedings, hath it not been preached (or rather prated) in our pulpits, that all we have is the king’s, *jure divino*, say these time-servers; they forsake their own functions, and turn ignorant statesmen; we see how willingly they will be to change a good conscience for a bishoprick.”—Sir F. Seymour. Rushworth, p. 495. “The pulpit,” says Disraeli, “was resounding the most slavish tenets, and proclaiming as rebellious those who refused their aid to Government. One of these had dared to avow, in his Lent sermon, that ‘*all we have is the king’s, by Divine right!*’ During James’s time, the clergy were characterised as spaniels to the court, and wolves to the people.”—Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 84.

* Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 415.

† *Ibid*, p. 420. “So are the hearts of your good subjects no less perplexed, when with sorrow they behold a daily growth and spread of the factious Arminians; that being, as your Majesty well knows, but a cunning way to bring in Popery,” &c.—Remonstrance of the Commons against the Duke of Buckingham, 1628. Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 422. “Arminianism and Pelagianism do much spread in divers parts of this realm, and many bishops infected therewith.”—Diary of W. Yonge, p. 93. Camden Society.

was now an urgent necessity—the subsidies which had been provided—Charles dissolved the Parliament.*

Freed for a season from the hated control of the Commons, the monarch entered on a course which only aggravated his difficulties, and increased the power of his opponents. The leading Protestants were made to feel his wrath. Elliot, Digges, and others, were, in violation of all law, imprisoned in the Tower. It only weakened the influence of the monarch, and clothed their cause with an increased popular interest. He was adding another buttress to the stronghold into which liberty had retired. His threats were powerless, and the struggle between those conflicting elements was beginning. Failures marked the despotic course of Charles.

The necessities of the monarch soon compelled him to call together the representatives of the people. With here and there an exception, the same men were returned. They came with deeper convictions that all they held dear was in peril. Their aims were loftier, and their purpose was fixed. The conduct of the king and his ministers, during the recess, had done this. The morning of the opening of the session in St. Stephen's was one full of significancy. Both parties felt it. Both had taken their stand on great, but opposite, principles. "Divine rights," and "popular freedom," were to be the watchwords. Calm and silent stood the select band, whilst Charles, by his Ministers, bullied them, and the voice of the Lord-Keeper had scarcely died away, before the old topic was resumed. Redress of grievances and subsidies were again united. The granting of the one depended on the removal of the other. This was the basis on which they took their stand. Experience justified, nay, compelled them. Confidence in the monarch was giving

* To the charge of the Commons against Laud and Neal, Charles replied, in dissolving the Parliament of 1659, "that great wrong was done to two eminent prelates that attend our person," &c.—Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 2.

way. Buckingham had long forfeited it.* All respect for law had long retired from his mind. He could tolerate nothing which interfered with his imperial pride, or the gratification of his lust of dominion. If his power had been equal to his will, the throne of the monarch would have been based on the ruins of the constitution, and the liberties of the nation would have been sacrificed to despotic authority. All doubt had vanished. Against this proud minion the voice of the country had been heard, like the sound of distant thunder. Noblemen in the senate had again and again denounced him as the enemy of his country, and the source of danger to the throne. During the recess, the flagrancy of his conduct had increased. Patience was exhausted; and the monarch and his master were alarmed by the patriots sending up to the Upper House a messenger, impeaching George Duke of Buckingham of high treason. The blow was well directed. It told with fearful power. The court circle staggered under it, and Charles could only save the guilty one by an exercise of his prerogative, disastrous alike to himself and confirmatory of the guilt of the accused. Against the wishes of the best friends of the monarch, the Parliament was dissolved.†

* "The Marquis of Buckingham continued still in the fulness of grace and favour; the Countess, his mother, sways also much at court. She brought Sir Henry Montague from delivering law on the King's Bench, to look to his bags in the Exchequer, for she made him Lord High Treasurer of England; but he parted with his *white staff* before the year's end, though his purse had bled deeply for it (above £20,000).—Howell's Letters, p. 116. "The Duke's power with the king for certain is very great; and who he will advance shall be advanced, and who he doth frown upon must be thrown down. All the great officers of the kingdom be now his creation, and at his command."—Strafford's Letters, p. 28.

† "In 1614, we see him at Cambridge races, in ragged clothes, subsisting on £50 per annum. A few years afterwards at court, with £300,000 worth of diamonds. The king compared his appearance to that of Stephen, 'whose face was as the face of an angel.' Hence the name of 'Steenie,'" &c.—Warburton's Prince Rupert, vol. i., p. 146.

† "Infinite almost was the sadness of each man's heart, and the dejection of his countenance, that truly loved the church and common-

In 1628 the council of the nation again met. It was the third Parliament since the beginning of the reign.* The necessities of the court compelled the meeting. Despotism had been defeated in all its illegal attempts to carry on the Government. Disaster had marked its foreign policy, and want, with rapid strides, was pressing on the Exchequer, so that Charles had no alternative. Both parties had put forth vigorous efforts at the poll-booths, for both felt that a crisis had come. The nation was waking up and rousing itself for action. Men of the right stamp were again returned. They were loyal, but patriotic: with deep sympathy with monarchy, but intensely hating the lofty pretensions of Charles's claim to reign by Divine right; regarding Episcopacy and a State Church as in fullest harmony with God's Word, but dissenting from the tyranny of the bishops and their Popish and Arminian tendencies. With aims very limited, but clear and definite conceptions of the wants of the people, they entered on their mission. Charles opened the session in person. His tone was offensive to the manly independence of his hearers. More significant still was the utterance of the Lord-Keeper. "This way of Parliamentary supplies," said the official, "as his Majesty told you, he hath chosen, not as the only way, but as the fittest,—not because he is destitute of others,

wealth, at the sudden and abortive breach of the present Parliament. All men that truly loved God, their king and country, had just cause to lament so dismal and sad an accident."—D'Ewes, vol. i., p. 301.

* "The wealthiest men in the country now composed the House of Commons. The aristocracy of wealth had already begun to form a new class in the community, influenced by new interests, new principles, and a new spirit of independence."—Disraeli, vol. ii., p. 86, 87. "Previously to its assembling [Parliament], he released a considerable number of gentlemen and others who had been committed for their refusal of the loan. These were, in many cases, elected to the new Parliament: coming thither with just indignation at their country's wrongs, and unpardonable resentment at their own. No year, indeed, within the memory of any one living, had witnessed such violations of public liberty as 1627. Charles seemed born to carry into daily practice those theories of absolute power which had been promulgated from his father's lips."—Hallam, vol. i., p. 387.

but because it is most agreeable to the goodness of his own most gracious disposition, and to the desire and weal of his people. If this be deferred, necessity and the sword make for others. Remember his Majesty's admonition! I say, remember it!" Never was a mistake more signal. Upon the ears of the noble band it fell powerless. No cheek blanched, no spirit quailed before the imperial frown. The cost had been counted, and with clean hands and bold hearts they entered on their work. No impartial mind can reflect on the conduct of the House but with approval. The wants of the monarch were at once admitted, but the necessities of the people were urged. Upon this rock the Commons took their stand. Money, without redress of grievances, would only have bound the yoke closer, and made its weight more difficult to bear. Day by day this position was occupied. Wentworth, Elliot,* Pym, and others, whilst expressing their profoundest devotedness to the king, vindicated the claims of the people with an eloquence and power which has placed them in the highest rank of British statesmen. Their progress was slow, but safe. From the reluctant monarch concessions were wrung. To detail these is all but impossible. The commonest of our histories records them. "*The Petition of Right*" was the most important. By this document the freedom of the people was secured.† It provided "that no

* "One of the most illustrious confessors in the cause of liberty whom that time produced."—Hallam, vol. i., p. 379.

† The following petition gives us a glimpse of the oppressions complained of:—"The rents and revenues of your country greatly and generally diminished; farmers, to secure themselves from the soldiers' insolence, being by the clamour of the solicitations of their fearful and injured wives and children, enforced to give up their wonted dwellings, and to retire themselves into places of more secure habitation. Husbandmen, that are, as it were, the hands of the country, corrupted by the ill examples of the soldiers, and encouraged to idle life, give over work, and rather seek to live idly at another man's charges than by their own labour. Tradesmen and artificers almost discouraged, and being enforced to leave their trades, and to employ their time in preserving themselves and their families from cruelty. Markets unfrequented, and our ways grown so dangerous that

man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by Act of Parliament; and that none be called to answer or take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof: and that no freeman, in any such manner as before-mentioned, be imprisoned or detained: and that your Majesty will be pleased to remove the said soldiers and marines, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come: and that the aforesaid commission, for proceeding by martial law, may be revoked and annulled: and that hereafter no commission of the like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatever, to be executed as aforesaid, lest by colour of them any of your Majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchises of the land."* Such was the result of the conflict. The "Petition of Right" only sought to enforce existing laws, but which had been long violated by the monarch and his minions. Charles laboured in every possible way to defeat this. To means, discreditable to him as a man, and still more so as a sovereign, he had recourse. Want, not a sense of justice—the necessities of his Government, not the people's benefit, compelled his reluctant consent. No unseemly exultation marked the assembly; but at once they voted him £350,000. Their existence was but short, for they were speedily dismissed to their homes, to diffuse amongst their countrymen their fears and their aspirations for the future. In this department their labours

the people dare not pass to and fro upon their usual occasion. Frequent robberies, assaults, batteries, burglaries, rapes, rapiers, murders, barbarous cruelties, and other most abominable vices and outrages, are generally complained of from all parts where these companies have been and had their abode,—few of which insolences have been so much as questioned, and fewer, according to their demerit, punished."—Petition from the Commons to the King. Rushworth, p. 548, 549; also vol. i., pp. 420, 477.

* Hallam, vol. i., p. 391, 392. See the whole statute in Hume.

were not in vain. The seed sown rewarded them with an abundant and mature crop.

Other events now claim a brief attention. The power of Laud continued to increase. Upon him fresh honours were showered. Raised to the metropolitan see, he prosecuted his designs with sleepless activity. With the infatuated monarch his influence was unbounded. Politics and religion were alike moulded by his will.* The remonstrances or the complaints of the Commons were met by his ready pen. The death of Buckingham augmented his influence.† “The king seemed to take none to favour so much as Dr. Laud, Bishop of London, to whom he sent many gracious messages, and also writ him with his own hand, the which contained much grace and favour, and immediately afterwards none became so intimate with his Majesty as the said bishop. In the University of Oxford, Bishop Laud bore the sway. The Lord Chancellor (William, Lord Pembroke) committing his power into his hands.”‡

The death of Abbott now placed within his reach the goal of his ambition. There was no one to compete with him. On his first appearance at court after the death of his rival, Charles signified his decision in the following terms:—“My Lord Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome.”|| In the month of September, his enthronement was completed, and a splendid banquet closed the imposing ceremonial of this successor of the apostles. His pathway was now clear. The whole power of the church was in his hands; the court

* The State Papers of Clarendon not only prove the attention of Laud to all political matters, but his all but boundless influence with his infatuated master, and at the council table.—*Vide* vol. ii. “The news here is, that Lambeth House bears all the sway, and that the Lord Deputy kings it notably in Ireland. Some that love them best could wish them a little more moderate.”—Howell, p. 337.

† “All the kingdom, except the Duke’s own dependents and kindred, rejoiced in the death of this Duke.”—Mrs. Hutchinson, p. 29.

‡ Rushworth, p. 649.

|| Le Bass, pp. 168, 169.

would support him, and his enemies should conform, or the whole weight of Episcopal vengeance would fall upon them. It was well known that the primate had long entertained the notion that the very best way to consolidate the power and influence of the church, was to fill its highest offices with churchmen.* "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon" had done wonders before. He would restore the good old practice of the past. For this he could plead, moreover, the example of his own age. The Bishop of Lincoln, his early patron, though afterwards the victim of his hostility, had filled the office of Lord-Keeper.† The thought was worthy of the man and of the system. Truth could not act alone. Moral power could give but little support. The State should shield the creators of its power; and under its ample shadow no weapon formed against it could prosper, and every tongue that rose up against it the church could condemn.

This policy had already guided him, as opportunity offered. No doubt at his suggestion, the same course was adopted in Scotland. The Archbishop of St. Andrews was made Chancellor of that kingdom, and others of the hierarchy were made Lords of Session or Privy Councillors, and their moral and political support was secured in favour of those measures which were so disastrous to Laud, and finally to his

* "Laud did really believe that nothing more contributed to the benefit and advancement of the church, than the promotion of churchmen to places of the greatest honour, and offices of the greatest trust. This opinion, and the prosecution of it, was the unhappy foundation of his own ruin, and the prejudice toward, malice against, and almost destruction of, the church."—Napier's *Life of Montrose*, p. 37 (Note).

† "Williams, when Lord-Keeper, was famous for having a large number of spies about him. He had petitioned Buckingham for the metropolitan see, but failed. He had nine livings at the same time, and asks that he may retain one or two of them in commendum."—Cabala, p. 374. A curious, though disgraceful, illustration of the meanness to which the Bishop could descend, is given by Lord Campbell.—*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. ii., pp. 467, 468.

master. Juxon,^{*} his friend and tool, was raised to the see of London, with the full expectation that it would contribute beyond anything else to the consummation of his own plans. In the same feeble hands the Lord Treasurer's staff was soon after placed.† Everything was favourable to his views. The law of action of the new primate was the reverse of that of his predecessor, as the religion and teaching of the one stood in the boldest contrast to the other. Still they were characteristic of the two men, and embodied their spirit. The one was yielding, the other despotic: the one would sacrifice form to the living spirit, the other would tolerate no moral worth if it violated an outward and visible sign: the one could see the highest forms of religious life and unity in harmony with variety, the other had no con-

* From the Diary of Laud, it appears that Juxon was sworn Clerk of the Court at his special request, "that he might have one that he could trust near his Majesty." And how much he gloried in procuring for his friend the Treasurer's Staff, will best appear from the following memorandum:—"1635. March 6th, Sunday.—William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time. I pray God bless him to carry it, so that the Church may have honour, and the State service and contentment by it. And now, if the church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more." Notwithstanding this high strain of self-congratulation upon a step which he concluded so beneficial for the church, Laud's policy, in filling up so high an office in such a manner, will appear suspicious, when the importance of the situation, and the expectations of the powerful nobles, who looked upon it as their birthright, are fully considered. Clarendon informs us that Juxon's promotion "did not only increase the general envy and malice against Laud, but did even, although unjustly, indispose many towards the church itself, which they looked upon as a gulph ready to swallow up all the great offices of State."—Memoirs of Sir P. Warwick, p. 101.

† "Laud's first care was, that the place he was removed from (London) might be supplied by a man who would be vigilant to pull up those weeds which the London soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old friend and companion, Dr. Juxon, as near to him as he could; when, on a sudden, the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom."—Clarendon, vol. i., pp. 91, 99. Juxon was distinguished as a hunter. He kept the best hounds in the country.—Whitelocke, vol. i., p. 69.

ception of religious liberty, separate from a cold and powerless uniformity. Abbott's favourite maxim was, "Yield, and they will be pleased at last." The other said, "Resolve, for there is no end of yielding."

Aided by members of the Episcopate, Laud now sought the full development of his policy. Intense in his hate to Puritanism in every form, he sought to root it out, and to conform the teaching of the English church, in its dogmas and ceremonial, to the church from which she had descended.* No higher model could he conceive. Externally, the differences between the two churches constantly diminished, whilst in many of the rural as well as in the higher circles of the church, the errors of Rome were the spiritual food of the people. "The celebration of mass, though illegal, was openly connived at; but woe to the Protestant who declined attending at his parish church, because he would not bow down at the altar! He was punished first by fine, and, on a repetition of his refusal, to transportation."† Romanists enjoyed all encouragement, both from the court and

* "The system pursued by Bancroft and his imitators, Niel and Laud, with the approbation of the king, far opposed to the healing counsels of Burghley and Bacon, was just such as low-born and little-minded men, raised to power by fortune's caprice, are ever found to pursue. They studiously aggravated every difference, and created every wound," &c.—Hallam, vol. i., p. 395.

† Forster's Essays, vol. i., p. 59. "The bishops and the rest of the Pontifical, or rotten-headed clergy and Arminian factions, under a pretence (forsooth) of peace, uniformity, and conformity, have, like so many fiery Cæsars, triumphed in the chariots of their spiritual courts, by their suspensions, excommunications, deprecations, and degradations of divers painful, learned and pious pastors of our church, and in the vexations and grievous grinding oppressions of great number of his Majesty's good subjects." "The most public and solemn sermons at court before the king were nothing else, for the most part, but either to advance the king's prerogative above the laws, and to beat down the subjects' just propriety in their estate and goods, or full of such like kind of frothy invective." * * * "And then also labouring to make those men odious to the king and state who conscientiously sought to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom," &c.—Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*, pp. 10, 11. London, 1644.

many of the bishops. Nor was this all. From the pulpits and the press, the dogmas of that anti-christian community were inculcated. It was more dangerous to teach the doctrine of the *Évangél*, as expounded by Calvin, than to teach the creed of Pius VII. "Lord Falkland," one of the noblest men of his time, "distinctly charged the bishops with having destroyed unity under pretence of uniformity; with having brought in superstition and scandal, under the letter of reverence and decency; with having defiled the church, by adorning the church, and destroyed the Gospel as much as they could without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by the law." "The design has been to bring in an English, though not a Roman, Popery. I mean not only the outside and dress of it, but an absolute and blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy on themselves."* Even Lingard himself confesses, what indeed no one can well deny, that many of the bishops under Laud were anxious for a reunion with the church of Rome. Goodman, of Gloucester, Montague, of Chichester, were prominent, if not enthusiastic, in this matter.† With such intensesness was this movement watched at Rome, with such satisfaction was it marked, that the highest dignity next to the tiara was offered to the primate, and the ecclesiastical head of the Anglican church might have been raised to the cardinalate in the sister communion.‡ "Under the influence of the Laudian school," says a candid Episcopalian, "change was rapid and comprehensive. Efforts were made, and with uncommon vigour, too, to soften down the

* Forster, vol. i., pp. 32, 39.

† History, vol. x., p. 7.

‡ "The affair unquestionably has, at first sight, a very strange appearance, and to our apprehension, the mystery is not cleared up by the language and demeanour of the archbishop on the occasion," &c.—Le Bass, p. 371. "Dr. Price, one of the king's chaplains, died two nights ago, as reported by the Bishop of Lincoln, a Papist. Hopes it will prove a fable."—Letter of William Murray to Sir H. Vane, Dec. 18, 1631. *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. Ch. i., p. 205.*

points of difference between the two churches, whilst the points of agreement were set forth in the most commanding light. Rome ceased to be Babylon—the man of sin, the son of perdition, the antichrist, in their language. Nor was this all. Sacramental efficacy was unblushingly affirmed. The Supper of the Lord, the simple commemorative act of the New Testament, was now a sacrifice, and a sacrifice was inseparable from an altar; and there followed, as a necessary consequence, the inference of the real presence. Baptism, we are told, was regarded, in opposition to the doctrine of the Reformers, as conferring the grace of regeneration upon all who received it alike;—that is, they affirmed that all baptized persons were introduced in baptism into a state of grace and acceptance.”*

Conformity was the idol of Laud's intensest worship. Deviations from the external unity of the church was a sin of no ordinary magnitude. The want of moral principle in the officiating priesthood could be tolerated; but not the absence of a vestment or a genuflexion at the altar. The weightier matters of the law might be ignored, but not the mint and cummin of the church.† With this devout attachment to

* Marsden, p. 354. No doubt of this. It was, and is, the logical consequence of infant baptism. From Austin till now, it is the same. “It introduces them,” says a modern writer, “into the covenant of grace, the everlasting covenant, including all that God can give, and that man can receive.”—*Vide* Dr. F. Burder on Infant Baptism.

† Lord Falkland thus refers to them:—“We shall find them to have tithed mint and anise, and to have left undone the weightier matters of the law; to have been less eager against those who *damn* our church, than against those who, upon weak conscience, and perhaps as weak reason (the dislike of some commanded garment or some uncommanded posture), only *abstained* from our church. The conforming to ceremonies has been more insisted on than the conforming to Christianity. The most frequent subjects of their preaching being the *jus divinum* of bishops and tithes, the sacredness of tithes, the building of the prerogative, the introduction of such doctrine as (admitting them true) the truth would not recompense the scandal. And some have evidently laboured to bring in an English, though not a Roman, Popery; nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the

the sensuous and formal, the archbishop had imbibed the spirit of the olden church. There were two courts through which Laud could wield his power to crush the Puritan factions. These were the *High Commission Court*, and that of the *Star Chamber*. He found them ready to his hands—engines by which he could carry out his plans without let. The Royal pedant of the former reign thus refers to it:—

“*The Starre Chamber*.—It hath a name from heaven; a starre placed in it; and a starre is a glorious creature, and seated in a glorious place, next unto the angels. The Starre Chamber is also glorious in substance; for in the composition, it is of foure sorts of persons. The first two are privy councillors and judges,—the one by wisdom in matters of State; the other, by learning in matters of law: to direct and order all things both according to law and State. The other two sorts are bishops, and peers of the realm and bishops: the peers are there, by reason of their greatness, to give authority to that court; the bishops, because of their learning in divinity.”*

“It took cognizance, principally,” says Lord Bacon, “of four kinds of causes—forces, frauds, crimes, various of stellionate, and the indication or middle acts towards crimes, capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated,

opinions of Rome with the preferment of England, being yet so cordially Papist, that it is all £1500 a year can do to prevent them from confessing it. They appeared ever forward for monopolies and ship-money, and if any were backward to comply, they blasted both them and their preferment with the utmost expression of their hatred—the title of Puritan. They had done us far more mischief, if, by the grace of God, their share had not been as small in the subtilty of serpents as in the innocency of doves.”—*Vide* his Speech against Episcopacy. “We well know,” said the patriotic Rudyard, “how the whole church has been troubled how to place an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives and families, undone against law, against conscience, against all bowels of compassion, for not dancing on a Sunday,” &c.—*Vide* Lathorp’s *E. Eps.*, p. 114.

* James’s Works, p. 559.

scandalous reports of persons in power, seditious news," &c.*

The High Commission Court, of a later date than the Star Chamber, was instituted "to correct and amend all heresies, schisms, abuses, and offences whatever, which fall under the cognizance, and are subject to the correction, of spiritual authority."† From this agency, it was difficult for any man to flee. It could be made to meet him at all points; and, when worked by a man of Laud's spirit, there was no escape from the meshes of these infernal machines. Besides, we should form but an imperfect conception of the power of these courts, if we did not state another fact—we mean the *oath ex-officio*. "It was one whereby any person might be obliged to make any presentment of any crime or offence, or confess or accuse himself of any criminal matter or thing, whereby he might be liable to any censure, penalty, or punishment whatsoever." Whitegift regarded it as "medicine," tending to the reformation of the delinquents and the satisfaction of the church. Charles issued a letter to the High Commissioners, urging them to proceed against all who refused to take the oath (1637), and to treat them "as though they had confessed and been legally convicted of all the articles and matters to which he so refuseth to be sworn."‡ From another source we have a glimpse at the evils of the *ex-officio* oath:—"The exercising of *ex-officio* oaths and proceedings, by way of inquisition, reaching even to men's thoughts; the apprehending and detaining of men by pursuivants; the frequent suspending and depriving of ministers; the fining and imprisoning of all sorts of people, breaking up of men's houses and studies, and taking away their books, letters, and other writings; serving upon their estates, removing them from their callings, separating between them and their wives, against both their wills; the rejecting of prohibitions and threatenings; and the doing of

* Bacon's Works, vol. ii., p. 290. *Apud* Hallam, vol. i., p. 54.

† Hallam, vol. i., pp. 200, 201. ‡ Cardwell, vol. i., pp. 217, 220.

many other outrages, to the utter infringing of the laws, the subjects' liberties, and ruining of them and their families. And, of later times, the judges of the land are so awed with the power and greatness of the prelates, or otherwise perverted, that neither prohibitions, nor *habeas corpus*, nor any other careful remedy, can be had or take place for the distressed subjects in most cases; only Papists, Jesuits, priests, and such others as propagate Popery or Arminianism, are countenanced, spared, and have much liberty.* Such was the tremendous power now in the hands of Laud. He used it well. Nothing could escape the eagle eye of the "little Doctor." Page after page might be filled with examples of the sleepless vigilance of his Grace. For the most trifling matters, the vengeance of these inquisitors fell upon the people. Not for crime—not for immorality—but for the violation of some senseless form, which, in the primate's judgment, made a part (perhaps an essential part) of the beauty of holiness. An example or two may be given. We select them from a mass lying before us.

Mr. Chancey, minister of Ware, was called before the Court for such expressions as the following:—"That idolatry was admitted into the church; that the preaching of the Gospel would be suppressed; that there is much Atheism, Popery, Arminianism, and heresy, crept into the church."† Others, for using expressions against Arminianism, were banished the University of Oxford. Rushworth abounds with many like examples of the cruel spirit which animated Laud at this time.

"The last week, one Bowyer was sentenced to the pillory, and perpetual imprisonment in Bridewell, for uttering at Reading (where my Lord Grace of Canterbury was born) divers scandalous reports of his Grace; as that he was an Arminian; that he had written to the Pope, promising his

* Proceedings in Kent, p. 37. Camden Society.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., pp. 34, 110, 111, 283.

assistance for the propagation of the Romish faith here," &c.* "I have had very ungrateful dealings from the Lambeth patriarch, by whom I have been deprived of my ministry and all the profits of my living three years and seven months, having myself, my wife, and seven children to provide for; such is the prelates' will, for not consenting to morris-dancing on the Lord's day."† "Complaints were actually lodged against individuals who did not stand up at the creed, did not bow to *the altar*, nor at the name of Jesus, nor receive the sacrament on their knees."‡

Sir A. Haslerig thus states the effect of these proceedings:—"The Council table bit like a serpent, the Star Chamber like a scorpion. Our souls, our consciences, were put on a rack by the archbishop. We might not speake of Scripture, or repeate a sermon at our table." Even Clarendon is compelled to utter strong things. "When I cast my eyes upon the High Commission, and other ecclesiastical courts, my soul hath bled for the wrongs and pressure which I have observed to have been done and committed in these courts against the king's good people." The maledictions of these infamous courts fell daily on the learned and the holy. Their victims were the men of zeal, of lofty principle, and holy lives. The drunkard, the sycophant, the men of no principle, lived and rejoiced in their debaucheries, untouched by them. In the country, the bishops modelled these courts after the fashion of their metropolitans. The genius of Laud pervaded the

* Fairfax's Correspondence, vol. i., pp. 77, 78. "Amongst his human frailties, choler and passion most discord itself. In the Star Chamber (where, if the crime be not extraordinary, it was fine enough for one to be sued in so chargeable a court), he was observed always to concur with the Jesuit side, and to infuse more vinegar than oil into all his censures; and also was much blamed for his severity to his predecessor, easing him against his will, and before his time of his jurisdiction."—Fuller, C. H., p. 217.

† Letter from Richard Culmer to Sir E. Daring, Jan. 8, 1640. Proceedings in Kent, p. 120.

‡ Life of Whitelocke, p. 115.

nation. The mainspring of all ecclesiastical machinery was touched by him. He thus reached all classes. The lowest tradesman, the humblest artificer, as well those of the higher circles of life, were touched by these agencies. The wealth of thousands was absorbed by them.* The measures adopted by him for extending the power of the ecclesiastical courts at the expense of all other courts, had called forth the hostility of the bar to the church. Men of influence in the profession "took all opportunities," Clarendon informs us, "uncharitably to impute mistakes unto crime, and unreasonably to transfer and impute the follies and faults of particular men to the malignity of their own functions; and so to whet and sharpen the edge of the law to wound the church in its jurisdiction, and at last to cut it up by the roots, and demolish its foundations."† On the conduct of this British Inquisitor-General, we shall afterwards remark. In the meanwhile, another topic, though anticipating a little, demands attention.

Hitherto only occasional glimpses of Baptist movements, and scattered fragments of their history, have passed under review; we have now reached a period when light and certainty will guide us. Respecting one section of the body we have supplied much important matter; and in relation to the other, the material will now increase with rapidity. Up to this period we have no clear and decisive proof of the existence of a Particular Baptist Church. Certainly under our notice the evidence has not come. Crosby's conjecture, that many Baptists were mingled with other churches, is highly probable. With him, it was apparently

* "It took under its care the consideration due to the nobility. A want of respect, an inadvertency, a joke, the least action which seemed not to keep in just recognition the superiority of their rank and of their rights, was punished with extreme rigour, and always by enormous fines for the benefit of the king and the offended party."—*Vide* Note. Guizot. B. I., p. 48.

† *Vide* Hist., vol. i., p. 400.

only conjecture; but many incidental allusions in works of this period would justify us in affirming it as fact. But waiving this, as a matter in which our readers can have but little interest, we shall narrate the origin of the English Particular Baptist body.

One never gazes on the small bubbling spring, hidden in its mossy bed in some secluded dell, then to trace its onward flow till it sweeps past the marts of commerce, and bears on its bosom the navy of a mighty empire or the riches of a nation, but with intense delight. So with the history of a nation. The early struggle of the first Pilgrim Fathers; the conflict of barbarism with civilizing influences which are surrounding them; their gradual rise in the arts of social and commercial importance; their constant subordination of the untoward and the favourable to the development of those resources which constitute the greatness and moral worth of a community, till they stand before you on a pedestal as commanding as any of the past. The power of thought can never be fully estimated. The results of some new aspects of Christian truth, or an organization for its diffusion, can never be told. The thought, that it was the duty of Christians to seek the conversion of the heathen, which had been growing up in the mind of Carey for years, when embodied in practice changed the moral aspect of the whole church. The origin of the Particular Baptists was small, but its influence has told, and will yet tell with augmented power, on the church and the world.

From the pen of one of the actors in this movement, we have the following sketch:—"There was a congregation of Protestant dissenters of the Independent persuasion in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor; and after him succeeded Mr. John Lathorp, who was their minister in 1633. In this society several persons, finding that the society kept not to its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to

such as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from that communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments. The church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than in those times of persecution could conveniently meet together, and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church; which was performed Sept. 13, 1633. And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism they had received at that age as invalid, whereupon most of them received a new baptism. Their minister was Mr. John Spilsbury. What number they were is uncertain, because in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added, divers others. In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thos. Wilson, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request dismissed to the said Mr. Spilsbury's congregation. In the year 1639, another congregation of Baptists was formed, whose place of worship was Crutched Friars; the chief promoters of which were Mr. Grew, Mr. Paul Hobson, and Captain Spencer.*

It may interest our readers to know the grounds on which this eminent man (Mr. Kiffin) separated from brethren with whom he had long associated. He had become a Nonconformist after much prayer and inquiry; and the same course led to his adoption of those views which he held through life. "I used all endeavours," he says, "by converse with all such as were able, and also by diligently searching the Scriptures, with earnest desires to God that I might be directed in a right way of worship; and after some time concluded that the safest way was to follow the footsteps of the flock, namely, that order laid down by Christ and his apostles,

* Crosby, vol. i., pp. 148, 149.

and practised by the primitive Christians in their time; which I found to be, that after conversion they were baptized, added to the church, and continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread and prayers, according to which I bound myself to be conformable."* Upon these high and scriptural principles, Mr. Kiffin acted. They moulded his character, and regulated his future life.

A difficulty presented itself to the minds of these men, and, whilst it shows the strength of their conscientiousness, makes it manifest that they were yet not fully enlightened in the nature of Christ's kingdom. Beyond their fellows in the clearness of their views of the absolute spirituality of it, they had not yet attained to the full liberty of the children of God. But we will present the matter in the words of one intimate with some of this class. "That they often met together to pray and confer about this matter, and consult what methods they should take to enjoy this ordinance in its primitive purity. That they could not be satisfied about any administration in England to begin this practice; *because though some in this nation rejected the baptism of infants, yet they had not, as they knew of, revived the ancient custom of immersion.* But hearing that some in the Netherlands practised it, they agreed to send one Mr. Richard Blount, who understood the Dutch language, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and Mr. John Butte, their teacher; that on his return he baptized Mr. Samuel Blacklock, a minister, and these two baptized the rest of this company, whose names are in the MS. to the number of fifty-three." This statement is vague. We have no date, and cannot tell whether the fact refers to the Separatists under Mr. Spilsbury, or to others. Edwards mentions two other ministers with Blount, and calls the church "one of the first and prime

* Ivimey's Life of Kiffin, p. 17.

churches of the Anabaptists now in these latter times." Upon the cause of the deputation to Holland we have commented already. Most will now see that the practice of the Mennonite brethren was common in this country. These "new men" soon cast them into the shade, and their practice speedily become obsolete. Immersion, as the mode of baptism, became the rule with both sections of the Baptist community. Indeed from this time, beyond the fact already given, we know not a solitary exception.

The long connexion, and the vast and varied influence of Mr. Kiffin on the infant cause, will hereafter be detailed. His social position became high—his commercial influence very great—whilst his devotedness to the church of Christ, in connexion with our body, places him in the first rank of those who should be held by us in everlasting remembrance.

The retirement of these men excited no ordinary amount of attention. It could not be otherwise. Their integrity, their consistency and earnest piety, were not hidden. The grounds of their separation had been distinctly stated, and their appeal to the law and the testimony was not in vain. It is probable that for some time others continued to secede on the same ground, as "an ancient member of that long-ago-gathered congregation, whereof Mr. Henry Jacob was an instrument of gathering in, and the pastor worthy of double honour, Mr. John Lathroppe," sought to stay the evil by issuing "*Sion's Virgins; or, a Short Form of Catechism of the Doctrine of Baptism.*"* Other members followed. Their influence was not injurious. They excited thought, prompted inquiry, and speedily augmented the number of our brethren.

As in times long anterior to these, "a pool, a river, a lake," were selected as places for the administration of the ordinance; so now, the brethren about London had no baptistery, and the flowing stream was chosen for this purpose.

* London, 1644.

Incidentally, this fact is stated by one of the journalists of the time. "And the river Lee, which runs by Bow, wherein the new elect rebaptize themselves, and call it by the name of Jordan."*

To other events the attention of the reader must now be called. We have anticipated a little in our narrative. The death of Buckingham increased the power of Laud. To the councils of the Sovereign a man of commanding and subtle genius had been called. Wentworth had been a leading patriot for years. His voice had been one of the loudest in condemnation of the extravagance and tyranny of the court. The cause of Charles now absorbed him.† Into it he threw the whole of his great and restless mind, and, finally, by his unprincipled support of it, brought himself to the block.‡ To trace the career of the primate and the civilian in detail is impossible. Only a very brief outline can be given of the former.

Sustained by the king, and all-powerful at the Council Board, nothing appeared to check his course. Opposition to his wish was powerless. Higher and higher rose his love of form and ceremony, whilst every step led to a closer conformity to Rome. The want of power, not will, on his part, prevented a closer union.||

To show his contempt for the strictness of the Puritans, and probably to gain favour with the multitude, he induced Charles to republish the *Book of Sports*. Complaints against

* Mercurius Aulicus. March, 1643, is the date.

† "But there were two above all the rest who led the van of the king's councils: and these were Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, a fellow of mean extraction and arrogant pride, and the Earl of Strafford, who as much outstripped all the rest in favour as he did in abilities—being a man of deep policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeal, to keep up the glory of his own greatness," &c.—Mrs. Hutchinson, p. 29.

‡ Wentworth (Strafford), after joining the Royal party, appears to have lost all self-respect. The abject flattery with which he addressed the favourite Buckingham, when soliciting the Presidency of the North, awakens but one feeling in the well-regulated mind.—*Vide* Mrs. Thomson's Buckingham, p. 83.

|| A cardinal's hat had been offered to Laud.—*Vide* Diary.

the various Sunday revels, in the form of wakes, church ales, clerk ales, had been made to some of the judicial bench, and efforts had been made to suppress them. Laud reproved the judges, and threw the whole weight of his influence around these holy scenes.* The enjoyment of this practice of piety was confined exclusively to the church-going people. "We lack from the benefit and liberty," said the spiritually-minded head of the church, "all such known recusants, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to church and serve God."† The moral sense of the community was shocked, and it operated subsequently with great power against the primate.

The Star Chamber, or the High Commission Court, was ever at command to silence hostility, or to crush a foe.

* Elizabeth had set an example of this kind of Sunday devotion. In April, 1569, she issued the following licence:—"Whereas, we are informed that one John Seconton Poulter, dwelling within the parish of St. Clement Danes, being a poor man, having four small children, and fallen into decay, is licensed to have and to use some plays and games at or upon nine several Sundays, for his better relief, comfort, sustentation, within the county of Middlesex, to commence and begin at and from the 22nd day of May next coming after the date hereof, and not to remain in one place above three several Sundays; and in considering that great crowds of people is like to come thereunto, we will and require you, as well for good order as also for the preservation of the Queen Majesty's peace, that you take with you four or five of the discrete and substantial men within your office and liberties, when the game shall be put in practice, there and then to foresee and do your endeavour to your best in that behalf during the continuance of the games or plays, which games are *severally mentioned hereafter*; that is to say, the shooting with the standard, the shooting with the broad arrow, the shooting at the twelve score prick, the shooting at the Turk, the leaping for men, the running for men, the wrestling, the throwing of the sledge, and the pitching of the bar, with all such other games as have at any time heretofore, or now be licensed, used, or played. Given the 26th day of April, in the 11th year of the Queen Majesty's reign."—Cardwell, vol. i., pp. 311, 312.

† "This measure excited more prejudice against the king and the archbishop than almost any other action of the period; indeed, any act of the court seemed calculated to hasten on that ruin which eventually followed."—Lathbury's *E. Episcopacy*, p. 87.

Hundreds, of whose names there is no record, felt the power of this English Inquisition.* The case of Dr. Leighton has been noticed.† Another now demands a passing remark. Prynne, a barrister, Burton, a minister of holy life, and Bastwick, a doctor of medicine, had, in various ways, given offence to the "little Doctor" at Lambeth. The incidents of their trials we cannot narrate. Their punishment only claims our attention. The sentence was, "That Mr. Burton be deprived of his living, and degraded from his ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had been from their professions of law and physic; that each of them be fined £5,000; that they stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Mr. Prynne had already lost his ears by sentence of the court, 1633, it was ordered that the remainder of his stumps should be cut off, and that he should be stigmatized on both cheeks with the letters S. L.; ‡ and then all three were to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest prisons of the kingdom."|| These are only samples of the

* "The oppressions then of the bishops, on men's souls, bodies, and goods, is so pitiful, that it is marvelled if God come not down to plead the cause of the poor innocents."—Baillie, vol. i., p. 67.

† "Laud, who as a bishop should have known himself precluded by the canons of the church from being a judge in any cause which could lead to penalties involving death or mutilations, took off his cap in the court and returned thanks to God when the sentence was pronounced."—Kemble, note, p. lxxviii. Leighton was afterwards made Master of Lambeth House.

‡ Whitelocke positively affirms that Laud procured a sharp sentence to be passed on Prynne.—Vol. i., p. 62.

|| Neal. On the first trial of Prynne, the bench was degraded by Lord Dorset, who displayed both his low wit and his inhumanity, in pronouncing sentence. Take the following as confirmatory of this:—"Mr. Prynne I do declare to be a schism maker in the church, a seditious source to the commonwealth, a wolf in sheep's clothing,—in a word, *omnium malorum nequissimus*. I shall fine him £5,000, which is more than he is worth, yet less than he deserveth. I will not set him at liberty, no more than a plagued man, or mad dog, who though he cannot bite, he will foam; he is so far from being a sociable soul, that he is not a rational soul; he is fit to live in dens with such beasts of prey as wolves and tigers like himself. Therefore, I do condemn him to perpetual

eruelty of this infamous court. The sufferers triumphed over the prelate in the execution of the sentence. Their moral heroism won the admiration of the multitude, whilst the indignation against this ruthless persecution deepened in intensity.*

Closer and closer the influence of Laud and his satellites was drawing around the Separatists. Their home was hopeless of comfort or peace. To other lands they began to look. The wild and boundless prairies of the new world had sheltered the Pilgrim Fathers. There was still room for others of the persecuted. Liberty there could be enjoyed, and conscience would be unfettered. Thousands sought the shelter which the New England colonies then offered. The emigrants were men of piety, influence, energy, and moral worth. They carried with them the elements of new and prosperous empires, and greatly aided in developing the resources of the then infant colonies. Others fled to Holland, and sought freedom under the Republican Governments.† Wrong is never powerless. Violators of rights ultimately suffer. The unprincipled monarch, and his ecclesiastical adviser, inflicted on the country immense damages. Not less than half-a-million of capital—a very

imprisonment, as those monsters that are no longer fit to live amongst men, nor to see the light. I should burn him in the forehead, and slit him in the nose, for I find that it is confessed of all, that Dr. Leighton's offence was less than Mr. Prynne's; then why should Mr. Prynne suffer less?" &c. The sentence was inhuman in the extreme, and was executed with ruthless barbarity. He was expelled from Oxford and the bar; a fine of £5,000 was inflicted, his ears were cut off, and his work was burnt before his face by the common hangman.

* "Whilst punishing Bastwick for writing against the Papacy, he tolerated a fierce priest of the name of Choroney, who had written in favour of the Pope, and dedicated his work to Laud."—*Life of Whitelocke*, p. 112. London, 1860.

† "The Anabaptists have three meeting-places which are connived at; these resembling barns, so they term them. Amongst these Anabaptists, some Arians, some Socinians. Of these Anabaptists 'tis said there are thirty-three sorts."—*Brereton's Travels*, p. 68. Cheetham Society.

large sum at that time—was abstracted from the resources of the nation; and had not the popular power paralyzed this cruel policy, it is supposed that a fourth part of the movable property of England would have been carried to America. Cromwell, Hampden, Haslerig, and others, were ready to transfer their persons and their wealth to the same country; but the monarch, as though smitten with judicial blindness, forbade their departure. It was well.* This country could not spare them. Providence, in its hidden but effectual workings, was preparing them for the consummation of those plans which their splendid genius, their lofty principles, and their sleepless vigilance finally achieved.

The country was covered, as it were, with a network of spies. In the smallest hamlet, as well as in the marts of commerce, these moral pests were found. With full power they were armed. Wren and others of the Episcopate, with the full concurrence of the primate, had issued the most stringent orders to their miserable dependents. We give, as a sample, the following articles of inquiry issued by the former. They are selected from a copy in the British Museum:—

“3. Is there in your parish any that have been, or is vehemently suspected to have been present at any unlawful assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion? or do any affirm and maintain such meetings to be lawful?

“4. Be there any abiding in, or resorting to, your parish, . . . factious Separatists, refusing to repair to the church to hear divine service, &c.? Or that have, or do publish, sell, or dispense any superstitious, seditious, or schismatical books, &c., touching the

* “An Order in Council was passed, that the Lord Treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, now in the river of Thames, prepared to go for New England; and should likewise give orders for the putting on land all the passengers and provisions therein intended for the voyage. In these ships were Sir W. Boynton, Sir W. Constable, Sir A. Haslerig, John Hampden, and O. Cromwell.”—Neal. *Vide* Robertson’s America, lib. x. Burton’s Diary, vol. ii., p. 325. D’Ewes, vol. ii., p. 117.

religion, state, or ecclesiastical government of this kingdom? Present their names, qualities, and conditions, if you know or have heard of any."

These were renewed two years after, on Wren's removal to Ely.

To another event the reader's attention must now be called, because it was disastrous to the monarch and perilous to his throne. The bald Presbyterianism of the North had long been distasteful to Laud. It stood in the boldest contrast to the imposing splendour of his own church. Already to some extent he had forced an Episcopate on the Northern kingdom. Upon the church he again operated. A liturgy more conformed to the English one was designed. The infatuated monarch ordered one to be prepared, as well as to enforce with more rigour the new order of bishops on the unwilling people. Others prepared it, but it was pervaded by the spirit of Laud. Its tendency was undisguised. Some of the unmistakable dogmas of Popery were in it.* The friends of the court saw the danger of enforcing it, and urged delay. Remonstrance was in vain. The proud prelate stormed and threatened to remove the bishops from their sees, if they hesitated. No means were neglected in securing the establishment of the detested hierarchy. Laud had no scruples. Judges were bribed—unprincipled men were invested with power. Known individuals were chosen, already committed to a certain course, to preside at the decision of certain matters, when the most unbiassed judgment should have been exercised.† "Your book of canons, which, perchance, at first, will make more noise than all the cannons of Edinburgh Castle; but when men's ears have been used awhile to the sound of them, they will not startle so much at it, as now at the first."‡

* Neal. Baillie, vol. i., lett. i., pp. 1, 2.

† Dalrymple's second volume presents abundant evidence from the letters of Laud of the utter unprincipledness of this worthless churchman.

‡ Bishop Juxon. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 18. Letter to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. 1635.

The Sunday after Easter, 1637, was the day appointed for the introduction of the new form. The High Church in Edinburgh was selected for the occasion. Prelates in their robes and mitres, barons in their robes of state, and the representatives of the court, crowded to the church, to support by their presence the plans of Laud. But there was another element at work. The people in masses assembled also. The Bishop of Edinburgh and the Dean were to officiate. For some time the service proceeded with moderate calmness, when up rose a sturdy Scotch matron, imbued alike with the doctrine and spirit of Knox, and seizing the stool on which she had been sitting, flung it at the head of the minister. It was the signal for an outbreak. The assembly was in an uproar. "The serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation." "A similar scene," says Napier, "occurred in Glasgow. At the outgoing of the church, about thirty or forty of our honestest women, in one voice, before the bishop and magistrates, fell a railing, cursing, scolding, with clamour on Mr. W. Annan; and when this clergyman was proceeding after supper to visit the Archbishop of Glasgow, he is no sooner in the street, at nine o'clock on a dark night, with three or four ministers with him, but some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, are about him with neaves, staves, and peats, but no stones. They beat him sore; his cloak, ruff, and hat were rent; however, upon his cries, and candles sent out from many windows, he escaped all bloody wounds; yet he was in great danger even of killing."*

* Napier's Montrose, p. 43. Baillie, vol. i., p. 8. "No sooner were the books opened by the Dean of Edinburgh, but a number of the vulgar (most of them women), with clapping of their hands, cursing, and outcries, raised such a barbarous hubbub in the place that none could hear or be heard. The Bishop of Edinburgh, who was to preach, stept into the pulpit, &c.; but then the rabble grew so enraged and mad, that if a stool, aimed to be thrown at him, had not been providentially diverted by the hand of one present, the life of the prelate had been endangered, if not lost."—Heath's Chronicles, p. 5. London, 1676. "No man may speak

No one familiar with the past will wonder at this. The younger bishops, prompted by the primate, had led their party into the most violent courses. Imagining that they had subdued their opponents, or awed them to silence, no bounds were set to their pride and ambition. Daily it grew, till it became unbearable. Ministers and nobles alike felt it, and the latter saw that there was danger to their very estates from the encroachment of these ecclesiastics.*

The events in Edinburgh and Glasgow were only the beginning of the conflicts. The spirit of the North was roused. Alarm and consternation prevailed. "There is nothing expected here," said David Mitchel, "but civil war. There is no meeting of Council; the chancellor may not with any safety attend it, nor any bishops; the very name is more odious among old and young than the devil's."† Preparations for war followed. The nation entered into it with spirit. The nobles, the burghers, and the ministers proposed the "Solemn League and Covenant." Around it the popular sympathy gathered. Intense was the feeling it excited. "In the west country, they will give no passenger," says Dalrymple, "either meat, or drink, or lodging for his money, until he first give them assurance that he is a member of this unchristian Covenant."‡ Vainly did the monarch strive against the

anything in public for the king's party, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed some day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above anything that I could have ever imagined though the mass in Latin had been presented."—Baillie, vol. i., p. 10.

* Wright's History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 519. "The same error," says Bishop Russell, "which rendered unpopular the introduction of the canons, was committed in imposing the use of the liturgy. The clergy was not consulted; the nation, in general, was kept in ignorance till the Royal mandate was issued; and no means were employed to prepare the feelings of the common people for a change to which, had it proceeded from their own pastors, they would, it is probable, have readily submitted."—History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 129. Napier. Montrose, p. 34. Edinburgh, 1840.

† Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 37.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 26. "I hear some mutter at Bishop Laud's carriage there (Scotland), that it was too haughty and pontifical."—Howell, p. 261.

rising tide. His armies failed him, and his unwise course laid the foundation of future trouble, whilst it had no feeble influence on the fate of Laud and Wentworth, his leading counsellors in this mischievous affair. Fully to appreciate the circumstances of our brethren, and the adverse influences which surrounded them, we felt that these somewhat lengthy details were necessary.

Mystery, to a considerable extent, shrouds the movements of our brethren at this period; yet we know from subsequent facts, not only of their existence, but of their progress in various places. From the grasp of the hierarchy they could not escape. Detested above all other separatists by the ecclesiastics, as opposed to the State-churchism, and hated by the sects from the hostility to the Genevan doctrine, caution became them in all their movements. In houses in secluded places, or in some retired spot distant from the busy haunts of men, they were forced to worship. Only from the utterances of their adversaries, in some cases, do we catch a glimpse of their movements, or from the reports of bishops the reality of their existence.

About this time, it is more than probable that their principles in modern times were first propagated in the Principality. Dense was the darkness which rested on the inhabitants. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to realise it. Ignorance and immorality marked the conduct of the religious teacher, while vice, in almost every form, grew luxuriantly amongst the people. "It is supposed, from circumstances, that a small Baptist church was formed at Olchon in 1633. If there ever were any written accounts of its regular constitution," it seems they are irrecoverably lost, like many more valuable papers of that time. Mr. Howell Vaughan was the minister there; it is probable that he preached mostly among his own small congregation, and not much abroad."*

* Thomas's History of the Baptist Associations in Wales, p. 3. "It is

crated spot. Around it recollections of the past clustered, of no common interest. About the middle of the fourteenth century, the pure Word of the Lord sounded from it. Walter Brute, a disciple of Wickliffe, resided here. He was a gentleman of fortune and education. To proclaim the truth was the sole object of his life; for he gives us an interesting sketch of his labours. It is too long for our pages. He gathered separate congregations, and we are told by the author of the *History of the Welsh Baptists*, that he taught "that faith should precede baptism, and that baptism was not essential to salvation; yet still admitted that the faith of godly parents was sufficient for their children." Near to this spot, also, resided the celebrated Lord Cobham. Oldcastle is only a short distance from Olehon. Hunted by his fierce persecutors from court on the charge of heresy, he fled to his paternal home. For four years he eluded the vigilance of his foes, and spent this time in inculcating the "true evangel" on the minds of the people. His efforts were not in vain. The conjecture is not improbable, that the flame kindled by Brute and his disciples, and then sustained by the labours of Oldcastle, though often feeble in after ages, still lingered, till it manifested itself in the first Separatist church in the Principality.* The fact is one of singular interest.

In the writings of some leading men of this period, there are occasional allusions to the Anabaptists. Mostly they are based in error. No one need wonder at this. It answered an important end to misrepresent. Above all others, they were dreaded as moral pests. Strype thus refers to some in Essex: "Would to God the honourable Council saw the face of Essex as we do see. We have such

indeed uncertain when this church was constituted; but, by circumstances, it is supposed to have been about 1633. It is considerably the oldest society of Nonconformists in the Principality," &c.—Rippon's Register, from 1794 to 1797, p. 21.

* Fox. *Thomas's Welsh Baptists*. Ivimey, vol. i., pp. 73-79.

obstinate heretics, Anabaptists, and other unruly persons here, as never were heard of.”*

Fuller, in a sermon on the Indwelling of the Spirit, thus betrays his ignorance of the views of the brethren at that period:—“And what if some practical Anabaptists by usurpation have entitled their brain-sick fancies to be so many illuminations of the Spirit, must we presently turn Sadducees in this point, and deny that there is any Spirit at all? God forbid.”†

About the same year, D'Ewes, depicting, with sincere indignation, the growth of superstition under the influence of Laud, refers with no approving pen to our brethren. It is only the former portion of this statement which can be applied with any truthfulness to them. Their whole history would be an overwhelming refutation of the truth of the latter statement.

“At home, many wicked Anabaptistical or Popishly-affected divines and scholars, in both universities and elsewhere, maintained in the schools and pulpits justification by works, freewill, Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and a world of other corrupt and noisome tenets, which made my soul to fetch deep sighs, and my tongue to pray daily that God would preserve his Gospel and truth amongst us. One Dr. Beale (being made master of St. John's College, Cambridge) caused such a general adoration to and towards the altar and sacrament to be practised, that many godly fellows and scholars of the house left their places to avoid the abominations.”‡

To other events, the attention of the reader will be called in another chapter.

* Strype's E. Mem., vol. iii. David's E. Noncon. in Essex, p. 54.

† Memorials of T. Fuller, D.D., p. 59.

‡ D'Ewes, vol. ii., pp. 111, 112.

CHAPTER II.

THE CIVIL WAR.

WE are now approaching a period in our national history to which events had long been tending, and which shook the political and social state of the people to its very centre. Prejudice or ignorance has so abused the leading actors in this crisis, that we feel it a duty, most solemnly binding, to present an accurate view of their character and motives to our readers. The sketch cannot be full length—only in miniature. We have our own opinions, but, for obvious reasons, those of others who differ from us on many ecclesiastical matters may be invoked to vindicate the memory of the great and patriotic of that exciting era. Time is doing its work. From the mists which have shrouded them for generations, they are standing out before us with a majesty and unsurpassed dignity, commanding our admiration and love. Royalty had not more devoted admirers, liberty not warmer friends, and their interest in the woe or weal of the nation was supreme. They were not Nonconformists, but Churchmen, not Anabaptists, but Episcopalians, in the senate, who led the van against the crushing despotism of Whitehall and Lambeth. All facts justify the opinion of the author of the history of the English Episcopacy when he says:—

“The great majority of the members were decided friends to Episcopacy, whatever may have been their views of Land and some of the bishops. They were, however, divided into two parties—rigid and moderate Episcopalians. The latter venerated Episcopacy as that form of Government which had prevailed in the church from the apostolic age; the former assumed a higher ground, and maintained the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy. . . . Both were decided friends

to the Church of England, and, together, they formed a large majority in the two Houses.”*

“At the opening of Parliament, England had neither desired nor even thought of a revolution; the dissenters merely meditated one in the church; the return of legal orders, the re-establishment of ancient liberties, the reform of actual and pressing abuses,—such had been, or at least so it was thought, the sole wish and hopes of the nation. The leaders themselves, bolder and more enlightened, scarcely formed any more extended projects; the energy of their will surpassed the ambition of their thoughts; and they had gone on from day to day without any ultimate aims, without system, carried forward simply by the progressive developments of their situation, and to satisfy urgent necessities. When the moment arrived for drawing the sword, all were aghast; not that their hearts were timid, nor that civil war in the abstract had either in the eyes of Parliament or the people anything strange or criminal about it; on the contrary, they read it with pride in the great charter, in the history of their countrymen.”†

Probably the history of Parliaments would show us no period when the feelings of the people were higher, and their discontent more strongly expressed. The causes of this were many. No one felt secure. Their dearest rights were in jeopardy every moment. The recklessness of Laud and his colleagues made them fear the spread of Popery. The conduct of the civil courts, the business of ship-money, the violation of law, the oppressions of the Star Chamber, and other matters, had filled the nation with gloom, and inspired the public mind with the very worst fears.‡ The conduct of

* Latherby, E. Epis., p. 110. *Vide* p. 139.

† Guizot, b. iii., p. 146. Even Clarendon says: “It could never be hoped, that more sober and dispassionate men would meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them: nor could any man imagine what offence they had given to put the king to that resolution (*viz.*, to dissolve it).”—*Hist.*, b. ii., p. 56.

‡ Lord North’s Narrative. Somer’s Tracts, vol. i., p. 4. “Their very

the House was now the only hope of the people. In the hands of the members of that celebrated assembly, the future liberties of the people were placed. Anxiety filled every mind; for the struggle was one of an unparalleled character.

At the opening of the session, there was no mistake as to the attitude the Commons would take. The speech from the throne was heard with attention, if not with entire satisfaction. Eleven years had passed away since in anger they had been sent to their homes. Law and liberty had been violated; the word and honour of the monarch had been proclaimed as things of naught; whilst the most despotic power had been wielded during that period. The crisis was now at hand. From it the patriots shrank not. No heart quailed, no hand was feeble. We have seen them already acting as the conservators of religion. With the Church as subordinate to the State, they had a right to interfere. It was the creation of the State, and could be moulded according to their will. Popery and Arminianism were dreaded by them. They were twins, or, rather, they thought one was the product of the other. Episcopalian tendencies were wholly in this direction. Laud favoured the latter, while the court in every way appeared to foster both. A Committee was at once appointed to guard the sacred ark. Its power was great. All matters connected with doctrine, with ceremonies and morals, were placed under its supervision. Right heartily did it enter on its task. From no inquiry did it shrink—no person was placed above its examinations. The urgency was imperative. "It is well known," said the high-minded Rudyard, "what disturbances have been brought unto the church for vain and

enemies of this Parliament confess that they met in November, 1640, with almost unmingled zeal for the public good, and with loyal attachment to the crown. Not the demagogue or adventurer of transient popularity, but men well-born and wealthy, than whom there could, perhaps, never be assembled 500 more adequate to redress the grievances or fix the laws of a great nation."—Hallam, vol. i., pp. 521, 522. Baxter says there was only one Presbyterian in the House when the war began.—Hist. of Councils, p. 80, 81. 4to. 1682.

petty trifles; the whole church, the whole kingdom, troubled about where to place a metaphor or an altar. We have seen ministers, their wives, children, and families, undone against law, against conscience, against all compassions, about dancing on Sundays. These inventions were but sieves made to winnow the best men, and that is the devil's occupation. I never heard of any but diligent preachers that were vexed with them and the like devices."*

Lord Andover, on the 5th of March, 1641, in the House of Lords, moved for the abolition of that engine of regal and Episcopal tyranny, the Star Chamber. The High Commission Court soon followed. John Catton thus alludes to the mighty oppressions of the former, and the latter was not behind its twin brother in the magnitude of its crime against the liberties of the nation:—"The ecclesiastical courts are like the courts of the High Priests and Pharisees, which Solomon, by a spirit of prophecy, styleth *dens of lions, and mountains of leopards*. Those only who have had to do with them have found them to be markets of the sins of the people, the cages of uncleanness, the forgers of extortions, the tabernacles of bribery, and contrary to the ends of civil government," &c.† Laud, Wren, and their aids, could tolerate anything but true godliness. Indolence, ignorance, drunkenness, and adultery, could pass unrebuked; but the absence of the cross in baptism, refusing to bow at the name of Jesus, the refusal to read the *Book of Sports*, or objections to white and black linen in the performance of divine wor-

* "What is, or who are, the cause of most schisms amongst us? The Bishop's mad outrage in all the three kingdoms of late, hath so incensed the common people, that in all men's eyes they are become more vile; and while all men reflect on their constant trade of mischievous practices, the wisest begin to 'conclude the very calling hurts the men as much as *these* disgrace the calling!' Thus we have by too, too long, great, and sad experience, found it true, that our prelates have been so far from preventing divisions, that they have been the parents and patrons of most errors, heresies, sects, and schisms that now disturb this Church and State."—Lord Brook on Episcopacy. Hanbury, vol. ii., p. 129.

† Brook, vol. iii., p. 155.

ship, excited the Episcopal wrath to the utmost, and subjected the offenders to pains and penalties of no ordinary kind. There was no escape from these infernal powers. An hasty sentence, an objection, however conscientious, sometimes a word, reported by the spies of the prelates, would bring the victim to a cruel fate.* It will be obvious that Puritan tendencies, or, still worse, nonconformity to the orders of the proud prelates, would be unpardonable crimes. "Had he been guilty of drunkenness, or uncleanness," said the Earl Dorset, to an applicant threatened by these men of blood, "or any such lesser crime, he could obtain his pardon; but as he was guilty of nonconformity and Puritanism, his crime was unpardonable."† The abolition of these dens of iniquity was hailed with unmixed joy.

The representatives of the people did not allow religion only to absorb them. Matters affecting the civil liberties of an oppressed nation demanded their attention. Their task was onerous and delicate. To pursue it without hindrance, they proclaimed their right to sit till their work was done. Many oppressive laws were repealed; many crying evils were annihilated.‡ Steadily the patriots advanced in their healthy and judicious reforms. But many felt that

* In the rigour with which Laud urged conformity, he caused a minister to be censured by the High Commission Court "for this expression in a sermon, 'That it was suspicious that now the night did approach, because the shadows were so much longer than the body, and ceremonies more in force than the power of godliness.'"—Fuller's C. H., p. 150.

† Mather's History, b. iii., p. 19. "Not the meddling of the Commons with Episcopacy, but the idolatry and Popish ceremonies introduced into the church, by command of the bishops themselves, were the causes why sectaries and conventicles abounded in England, and why Englishmen seeking liberty of worship were driven into exile."—Forster, vol. i., p. 31.

‡ "The wrath of the House was directed against evil councillors, monopolists, judges, and bishops. It was the time of the Achitophels, the Hamans, the Walseys, the Empsons, the Dudleys, Tressilians, vipers and monsters of all sorts." That the judges had violated and overthrown all law, and the bishops destroyed the Gospel, was the common talk in the city and the country. Defence was useless. The enormity of the criminals was patent to all.—*Vide* M'Intosh's Hist., vol. v., chap. vi.

there was no safety without higher results. Laws had been violated before; they had no security for the future. The word of the monarch had been pledged before; the past had proved it of no value. To the councillors of Charles, many of the unconstitutional acts which have disgraced his reign might be traced. Bewitched by their influence, there was no safety whilst they surrounded him. Laud and Strafford were, in point of fact, the rulers of the kingdom. Upon these great criminals the Commons now fixed their eyes. With closed doors their conduct was discussed. At the close of the debate, Pym, followed by a large number of the members, proceeded to the Lords, and there, in the name of the Commons of England, accused Thomas Earl of Strafford of high treason. To the Tower the great apostate was at once committed. His crimes were enormous. English liberty would have been immolated on the altar of despotism had his power been equal to his will. No effort on his part was wanting to raise the monarch to an equality to continental despots, and to base the throne on the ruins of the constitution.* To detail the progress of this trial—one of the most sublime and imposing, perhaps, in the annals of our jurisprudence—is impossible in a work like the present. It is enough to say, that the Earl's career of crime and cruelty was terminated on the scaffold, after his master had promised, but finally violated his promise, that he would not sign the warrant for his execution.† The nation breathed more freely when the great apostate expired.

* "Under such auspices (Laud and Strafford), and with such appliances, was pursued a system of comprehensive and manifold oppressions, menacing all persons, sapping all rights, breaking promises deemed inviolable, a tyranny of spies and taxgatherers carrying its vexation into every household, and poisoning the daily comforts of the people, thwarting their occupations, despoiling their property, meddling with their trade: yet because this tyranny was not sanguinary,—because it fined, maimed, imprisoned, but did not kill—we are told to wonder that the people should rebel!"—*Lister's Life of Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 47.

† "Charles had bound himself by the most solemn vow to do public

The tide of popular feeling against Laud had now risen to an alarming height. Other weapons than the spiritual were necessary for his protection. In his Diary he says:—"Monday, May the 11th, my house at Lambeth was beset by five hundred of the rascal riotous multitude. I had notice, and strengthened my house as well as I could; and, God be praised, I had no harm. Since, I have got cannon, and fortified my house as well as I can, and I hope all will be safe; yet libels are continually set up in places of note in the city."* His committal to the Tower followed. It was in December he entered the gloomy fortress. London was in raptures, and the country echoed back the joy. One of his partial biographers says:—"Every street rang with ballads, every wall was covered with lampoons, of which the Archbishop was the subject. Rare pictures were made, in which he was represented as confined in a cage, or fastened to a post, with a chain round his neck. The taverns and ale-houses echoed with the ribald merriment of revellers, who were as drunk with malice as with liquor, and who had been taught to hate him as a common enemy. But the outcry was not confined to the rabble of London. It was taken up

penance for the injustice, of which he supposed himself guilty, in consenting to the death of Strafford. Later still, at Oxford, April 13, 1646, he solemnly vowed to give back to the church all the impropriations which were held by the Crown; and what lands had been taken from any church or religious houses, and in the future to hold them for the church, and to pay rent for them." Jesse gives the documents. *Vide* *Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts*, vol. ii., pp. 61, 62. (London, Bentley.) Rushworth gives a full account of Strafford's trial.

* Fairfax's *Corres.*, chap. i., p. 4. "On the 9th of May (1640), placards were posted up inviting the people to plunder the palace of the archbishop. The attack was, however, repulsed: many who had been made prisoners were rescued by their companions, and only one of the ring-leaders was hanged to deter others."—*Collier*, p. 722, &c. *Raumer*, vol. ii., p. 76, note 29. "The women, the apprentices, and even the very porters of London, petitioned against the bishops. The latter, adds T. Fuller, felt it as a burden too heavy for their shoulders."—*Vide* *Lathorp*, p. 132.

by the townsmen of Oxford," &c.* Before dismissing this great criminal from our pages, we may just add, that after lingering about four years in the Tower, insulted justice overtook him on the scaffold. We have no tears to spare for his memory. Nature had eminently fitted him for his work, and endowed him with all the attributes for an inquisitor above all the men of his age. Fierce, superstitious, unrelenting, void of mercy and compassion, he always appears to grudge those whom his rage and despotic power had reduced to very great distress, even the tenderness and relief of their friends.† He was the embodiment of some of the very worst elements of our nature, combined with the hideous pretension to great devotedness to the cause of truth and righteousness. Hated by his contemporaries, his death was only a miserable atonement for the untold sorrow he had inflicted upon thousands of individuals better and holier than himself; and though some modern writers have tried to redeem his character, and to excite sympathy for his fate, truth will hold him up to future times as one of the most cruel and infamous of his class. The crimes of a Bonner are mild and limited, compared with the refined cruelty of this little-minded man.‡ Other great criminals escaped. Windebanke, the Secretary of State, and one of Laud's chief friends, and the ready instrument of Charles in dealing with the Catholics, and in his oppression of the people, fled to France.|| Finch, the infamous Lord-Keeper, who,

* Le Bass's *Life of Laud*, p. 294.

† Harris's *Life of Charles I.*, p. 231. Smectymns supplies a fearful accusation against this prelate.—Pp. 77, 78.

‡ Laud, when urged to go into Holland, said:—"I should expose myself to the insults of those Sectaries there, to whom my character is odious; and have every Anabaptist come and pluck me by the beard."—Le Bass, p. 290.

|| "He tells everybody * * * that he never did anything for concerning the Papists, that he had not either the immediate order from the king, or has not his hand to show for it."—Clarendon, *S. Papers*, vol. ii., p. 134. The reader may consult Prynne's *The Popish Royal Favourite*. The influence of the Queen is manifest. Le Maisters, a French priest, thus

to gratify the monarch, polluted the very fountain of justice, and descended to the most abject means to avert the penalties to which his notorious crimes exposed him, at last fled to Holland.

The spirit of the Commons displayed itself in another manner. The victims of the hierarchy were relieved from their oppression, and others from bondage; ministers from sequestration; and Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were recalled from their prison-house. The progress of these men to their homes was quite an ovation. The people in all the towns through which they passed greeted them with the warmest demonstrations of joy. London was in raptures. An eye-witness says—"He saw Mr. Prine and Mr. Bourton come into Loundoun: they weare meet by 2,000 hoors and 150 schochess; and the men wore rosemary that meet them."^{*}

Even the Anabaptists found sympathy. With others, they had suffered in common. The most hated of all the sects, it indicated the extraordinary growth of liberal opinions, that members of this sect, when detected in their unlawful assemblies, should find mercy. But so it was.

In January, 1640, "Edmond Chillendon, Nicholas Tynce, John Webb, Richard Sturges, Thomas Gunn, John Ellis, with at least 60 persons more, were all taken, on Sunday last, in the afternoon, in the time of Divine service, by the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour, in the house of Richard Sturges, where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ. They being brought before Sir John Lenthal, he demanded why they did not go and resort to their parish church, according to the law of the 35th Elizabeth?"

speaks of her: "In England the heart of persecution hath ceased, through the dignity of a magnanimous king and most invincible prince, by the Bourbonian star, which hangs over these countries in a most dear wife; by which stars the tempest of persecution will, peradventure, in time be appeased."—Rushworth, vol. ii., pp. 15, 25, 26, 28, 20, 24.

* Lady Harley's Letters, p. 104. Camden Society.

“They answered: 1. That the law of the 35th of Queen Elizabeth was not a true law, for that it was made by the bishops, and they would not obey it. 2. That they would not go unto their parish churches, for that those churches were not true churches; that there was no true church but where the faithful met. 3. That the king could not make a perfect law, for that he was not a perfect man. 4. That they ought not to obey him, but in civil things. 5. That some of them threatened the churchwardens and constables, that they had not yet answered for this work.

“This is subscribed by the knight and the churchwardens.

“Sir John was ordered to take care of them, and bring them to the House, with all that could witness against them.

“According to order, the Anabaptists were brought to the House, and being severally called in, all of these faithful to our church did, like Howard and Pool, deny the most material things which they were charged with; whereupon Sir John Lenthal and the other witnesses were sworn, and did justify what they had subscribed on oath. Upon which the House did order, *‘That these Sectaries should receive for this time an admonition from this House, and be enjoined hereafter to repair to their several parish churches to hear Divine service, and give obedience thereto, according to the Act of Parliament of this Realm: To that purpose, the order was read to them of this House, 16th Jan.’* And they were told, *‘That if hereafter they should not observe these commands, they should be severely punished, according to law; and so they were dismissed.’*”*

In the Journals of the Lords, we find that the House,

* Nalson’s Collection, vol. i., pp. 727, 728. The same fact is thus noticed by Fuller: “This day, January 18, 1640, happened the first-fruits of Anabaptistical insolence, when 80 of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour’s, Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of the Common Prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops. That the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate. That he was only to be obeyed in civil

on the first appearance of the prisoners, thought fit and ordered that this following should be read publicly in all the parish churches of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and the liberties and subjects of them:—"That the Divine service be performed as it is appointed by the Acts of Parliament of this Realm; and that all such as shall disturbe that wholesome order, shall be severely punished, according to law; and that the parsons, vicars, curates, in the several parishes, shall forbear to introduce any rites or ceremonies that may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by the laws of the land." Crosby says that these men belonged to an Independent church. More probably, it was a mixed one. Baptist pastors had presided over it. Samuel How was one; and Mr. Stovel has shown, we think satisfactorily, that John Canne was of the number.* The following, from the same source, will give our readers a glimpse of the annoyances to which our brethren at this period were frequently exposed. "The day following, a petition was read in the House, from divers persons in the New Prison. It states, 'That they were on a Sunday assembled together in a peaceable manner in prayer, and were violently assailed by divers deboists and rude persons, who, by the command of Justice Gibbs, in Whitechapple, furiously beat and broke in pieces the door upon them, contrary to the laws and statutes of this land, not showing them any warrant for so doing, though the petitioners demanded it of them; and with swords, halberts, and clubs, violently entered the house, encouraging thereby many scores of persons to beat down the windows with stones, to the wounding of a young child, to the effusion of much blood, &c. Also one Reynolds threatened one of the prisoners to cut his throat, &c. Further, the prisoners

matters. Being brought before the Lords they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted on them."—Fuller's C. Hist., p. 172.

* Crosby, vol. i. Ivimey, vol. i. Stovel's Introduction to Canne's Necessity of Separation.

set forth, That hereupon they are imprisoned, indicted, and proceeded against, contrary to law or justice, as they conceive; for redress whereof, they desire that the equity of their cause may be examined, and receive a speedy deliverance, and repairs from their wrongful and vexatious troubles,' &c. Hereupon it was ordered, 'That the said Mr. Justice Gibbs, and the prisoners mentioned in the petition, shall appear here to-morrow morning at eight of the clock, and the prisoners to be released on bail to attend their cause; for which purpose they are to attend the Lords' Committee this afternoon, and the Lords will consider what bail is fit to be taken therein.'"

According to an order of the 19th of this month, Mr. Justice Gibbs and the prisoners of the New Prison did attend the House; and the petition being read, Mr. Gibbs gave this answer to it:—"That there being a great uproar in the street, and a great concourse of people gathered, who set upon the constables and officers with clubs, knives, and other weapons, to the wounding and hurting of some people; the constables and churchwardens coming unto him (being the next Justice of the Peace), and acquainted him therewith, he came in person, as he conceived himself bound to do; and upon view of the multitude of people, he wished them to depart; and for the preservation of the house wherein they (the petitioners) were, he caused his own men (the constables and churchwardens) to go into the house; and after the concourse of people were dispersed, upon search in the said house, he found divers persons gathered together; and he being informed they were Sectaries, did examine them when they did receive the communion in the parish church. They said they had not a long time, neither would they. After this, for the present, he committed them to prison; and sessions immediately following, he acquainted the justices what he had done, which the justices approving of, gave orders for their indictments according to law." Hereupon the House ordered, "That the prisoners be left to

the ordinary proceedings of the justices, according to the course of law." What that was, we have not been able, as yet, to ascertain.

But other subjects claimed the attention of the Senate. The conduct of the bishops had excited greater indignation than even the tyranny and deceitfulness of the monarch. The conviction was growing in the public mind, that their existence was inimical to constitutional liberty. The anger of the nation had been restrained—at least there was no medium through which it could manifest itself. Deep and frequent were the murmurs of the people. The Commons felt that the pride of the bishops must be humbled, and their power lessened. The measure of their crime was now pretty nigh full. In Convocation, at this crisis, they had passed canons of the most outrageous kind. One affirmed, "That for subjects to bear arms against their king, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God; and though they do not invade but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly, *'They shall receive to themselves damnation.'*" Another bound all officials in the church, with all who practised either law or physic, by a solemn oath, not to seek any alteration in the constitution of the church as it then existed; and another was against all Sectaries, Anabaptists, Brownists, &c., and depravers of the Liturgy; and against their books, the printers and publishers of them.* "The bishops," says Meade, "were fallen into much neglect and scorn in the city, as those who had disclaimed their christendom. I am sorry to hear that they are so habituated to flattery, that they seem not to know of any other duty that belongs unto, or beseems them. But all are not guilty,

* Collier, vol. ii., p. 793. Fuller's Memorials, p. 73. Once a quarter the clergy were ordered to teach this doctrine. "Five hundred of the mob," says Collier, "had lately made a midnight march to Lambeth, and had attacked the archbishop's palace for two hours."—Vol. x., p. 89.

though the people lay the imputation general.”* Petitions from all parts were poured into the House, asking for their removal. Thousands of names were attached to these memorials. One from the city of London, backed by 15,000 signatures, demanded the entire abolition of Episcopacy. Nearly at the same moment, 700 ecclesiastics limited themselves to requiring the reform of the temporal powers of the bishops, of their despotism in the church, of the administration of its revenues; and soon after, there arrived from various counties nineteen petitions, signed, it is said, by more than 100,000 persons, recommending the maintenance of the Episcopal government,” &c.† Sir E. Deering, who moved in this matter, in presenting a petition from Kent, said, “The same grievances under which the city groans are provincial unto us, and I much fear they are national amongst us all. The pride, the avarice, the ambition, and oppression, by the over ill-ruling clergy, is epidemical; it hath affected us all.” About 2,000 signed this petition.‡ In both Houses the matter was debated. Many were in favour of a moderate Episcopacy. They would keep the name, but weaken if not destroy the power. Ultimately a bill was passed relieving the prelates of their onerous duties as spiritual peers. The nation hailed it with rapture. “The honest-hearted citizens of London that same night (as they had a great and good cause) manifested their heart’s great joy and thankfulness by making bonfires and ringing of bells all over the city,” &c.||

Success is always animating. With fresh vigour, the Commons entered upon other labours. Corruption had impressed its hideous image on everything. The hangers-on

* Meade to Stutiville. The Court and Times of Ch. I., vol. i., p. 107.

† Guizot, b. 10, p. 95. Lingard says 18,000, vol. x., p. 114.

‡ Proceedings in Kent, p. 26. Camden Society.

|| Vicar’s Jehovah Jireh, p. 150. “I much rejoice that there is hope of passing the bill against the bishops: the Lord say Amen to it: we do not deserve to see such a mercy.”—Lady Harley’s Letters, p. 141.

at court were fattening on the miseries of the people. In the Church as well as in the State, pride, avarice, and every form of selfishness prevailed. The evils which years of misrule had accumulated, could not be uprooted in a day. Patiently were the causes investigated, and the sores of the body politic probed to the very core. Calmly and dispassionately the patriots prosecuted their task. The strength of Hercules was needed to cleanse the Augean stables. Committee after committee sat, and the result of their labours was embodied in a "Remonstrance," which they presented to Charles. It is a noble monument of profound thought, a careful and accurate examination of the cause of those oppressions under which the commonwealth groaned, and a lofty vindication of the rights of the nation. In words which admit of no mistake, they pourtray the past. Under the keen and searching eyes of the reformers, all the acts of the monarch during his reign are made to pass. There was no shrinking from the task.* The aim of these men was clear and definite, and their ability was equal to the crisis. By a small majority of 159 to 148 this "Remonstrance" was carried, Nov. 22, 1641. Accompanied by a petition breathing the warmest professions of loyalty, it was laid at the foot of the throne. The king could do no wrong. It was against his wicked advisers the indignation of his faithful Commons was directed. Charles tried to avert this course. Threats, promises, and every influence which a corrupt court could employ, were used, but without effect.† Onward rolled the tide

* Forster's Grand Remonstrance. "Whoever wants to see the cause which produced, the evils which led to, and the motives which animated, the lofty and stern indignation which marked the men of the Revolution, let him read the Grand Remonstrance and the debates upon it." Warburton, somewhere, calls the men of this Parliament a band of the greatest geniuses for government that the world has ever seen leagued together in one common cause.

† "Therefore his Majesty forbids all his subjects the keeping of the same Remonstrance, charging them immediately upon sight of it to burn it; otherwise if it be found with any, that they expect his displeasure according to the quality of this fact," &c. — Rowe, p. 4.

of popular freedom, threatening to sweep away in its course the last fragments of political and spiritual oppression.

Betraying his irritation and weakness at the same time, Charles made an attempt to coerce, if not to crush, the representatives of the people. It was the crisis of the nation's liberties. Prompted by his wife, accompanied by an armed force he entered the Commons House, by his own hand to arrest five of the members.* Excited, but calm, the assembly rose and received the infatuated prince with profound silence. Only the sound of his own footsteps was heard as he advanced towards the Speaker's chair. Asking if the accused were in the House, the Speaker, bending his knees before him, said, "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am." "*I see all the birds are flown,*" said Charles, as, baffled and mortified, he, amidst the cry of "Privilege! privilege!" retired from the presence of the insulted representatives of the nation. The shock was not limited to the walls of St. Stephen's. The city felt it. The population was moved to its lowest depths.† The impeached members, who had been warned, and had retired, on going to the House the next morning were accompanied by the sheriffs and an immense number of armed men. Every boat on the Thames was full, the banks of the river were crowded, whilst the streets leading to Westminster were filled with citizens. Everywhere vows of adhesion to the Commons were uttered, and the tide of loyalty, which had begun to flow, was rolled back with accumulated force. The mistake of the court was irreparable. Even Clarendon admits this. Referring to the opponents of the court, he says: "All that they had formerly said of plots and conspiracies against the Parliament, which had before been laughed at, was now thought true and real; and

* These were Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode.

† *Vide* Disraeli's Charles I., vol. iv., p. 145. Lilly's Life, &c., p. 234.

all their fears and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great wisdom and forethought. All that had been whispered of Ireland was now talked aloud and printed, as all other seditious pamphlets and libels were. The shops of the city generally were shut up, as if an enemy were at their gates to enter and to plunder them; and the people in all places at a gaze, as if they looked only for directions, and were then disposed for any undertaking. On the other side, they who had, with the greatest courage and alacrity, opposed all their seditious practices, between grief and anger were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was like to follow.”*

Reconciliation was now impossible. Charles and his court hated with intense hatred the popular leaders, whilst they had lost all confidence in the king. Their own safety, that of the nation, and their hard-won victories, prompted the Commons to demand other securities. The monarch had learnt no wisdom by defeats. His thirst for arbitrary power was quenchless, and an appeal to arms was inevitable. On both sides preparations were made for this terrible calamity; and ultimately the monarch, amidst signs which excited a rather depressing influence, unfurled the Royal Standard at Nottingham.†

Whilst these conflicts were raging, the Baptists were not idle. From many incidental allusions, we find that their churches multiplied and their numbers increased. To notice the formation of every individual church, or to give prominence to individual actions, will be impossible. Our range must be confined to a narrower circle. Yet a notice of one or two here may not be out of place. John Canne, the author of the marginal references to the Bible, is supposed to have been pastor of the church in Deadman's Place, before he was compelled to flee

* History, vol. ii., p. 159. Warwick's Mem., p. 225. Vide Forster's masterly work on "The Arrest of the Five Members." In this admirable volume the subject is exhausted.

† Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 172. Rushworth, Mrs. Hutchinson, &c.

to Holland, where he was pastor of the "*Ancient English Church at Amsterdam.*"* Whilst there, he published several of his works. For some of them he was called before one of the city tribunals, and heavily fined. This document has never before been published. It is as follows:—"The Lord Commissary against John Canne, English minister. Appeared. Answered as follows:—He had since four years to give no reply; that consequently from that time he had let a work be printed and edited (published), entitled, *A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England*, &c. That, he said, appeared some time ago. He had reprinted a work entitled, 'A Brief Relation of Certain Special and most Natural Passages, as it Respects the State Chamber at the' And that he also printed the 'Covenant Named,' . . . 'Van Scotland,' and even a part of the book named, 'A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies Obtruded upon the Church of Scotland.' And that all these works and pamphlets being condemned infamous and scandalous, and against all dignity or intent of his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and even in opposition to the prescription of the Right Honourable Lords of the General Estates of the Netherlands, dated 16th of January, 1621. Of all this, it is concluded that the said works are punishable, as likely to promote disorder against the Majesty of Great Britain and his allies; and so the Commissary conclude that the appearon (printer) of said seditious and scandalous books is condemned to the confiscation of all the printed editions (which shall be burnt), and to pay the sum of £300 of 40 groots to the pound; and also to an . . .

* *Vide* Stovel's Introduction to Canne's Necessity of Separation. Hans. Knollys Society. "And the Anabaptists, whereof, it is said, are above thirty several sects, have their churches; the Brownists, divided, and differing amongst themselves, Mr. Canne being the pastor of one company, and Mr. Greenwood, an old man, a tradesman, who sells stockings in the Exchange. I saw him there; he is the leader of another company."—Brereton's Travels, p. 65.

conviction.”* This document bears date 1638. The cause of Canne's return to his native land may be found here. His freedom of action, even in business, was affected, and a heavy fine imposed for the liberty of printing. He laboured with success in the city. Availing himself of the measure of liberty which now prevailed, he visited other portions of the kingdom. In 1641, we find him in Bristol, sometimes preaching in the “public places,” and at others in the open air; and founding a church there.† We know not when he became a Baptist, but know he was “*a baptized man.*” Through the stirring period which followed, he was active and laborious. His name will be before us again.‡

The efforts and success of our brethren awakened attention in other circles, and called forth many an outburst of holy indignation. Pamphlets surcharged with every element of fury came bounding from the press. Caricatures, not

* There is another State Paper, of a later date, and though not bearing on the case of Canne, it may not be uninteresting to the reader. It refers to the state of the English and other churches in the Netherlands. “In consequence of the State Council of the Netherlands being informed of many disorders arising in this country amongst Scottish and English preachers: the said disorders consisting bothe in Divine worship and the citations made by them, and all this being to provoke disorders and trouble amongst the people, and prejudicial to the Government; the said State Council ordered that the instructions given in the year 1621 of the 27th of December, be punctually observed by the said ministers; consequently, that the classic order followed by the Walloon churches must be kept in good attention, and followed by the English and Scottish preachers; and that great attention must be paid to the quality, capacity, education, instruction, sentiment, knowledge, and perfect understanding of those who are accepted as preachers. And should it occur that some one should create opposition to the aforesaid orders, the said preachers are to give immediate notice of it to the State Council, to act in that case as may be necessary.” This is dated the 20th of February, 1633. Signed by order of the State Council.—M. Huggins. Both these MSS. are in Dutch. We are indebted to a friend for the translation. Originally they belonged to Mr. Brandt, the author of the *Reformation*. They are now in the possession of the author.

† Broadmead Records, vol. i. Hans. Knollys Society.

‡ It is certain that he was in Amsterdam in 1644.—*Vide* Early English Baptists, vol. i., p. 4.

facts; slander, not truth, marked them. Whatever harm they did then, they have some value now. From their pages we can frequently gather information which scarcely any other source would supply. "*New Preachers! NEW!*" gives us a brief touch in memory of the fiery zeal of Mr. Barebones, "a reverend unlearned leather-seller, who with Mr. Green, the felt-maker, were both taken preaching, or prating, in a conventicle of 100 persons, on Sunday, the 19th of December last, 1641." The following extract will show the spirit of this godly teacher, and at the same time the annoyances to which our brethren were exposed:—"I have made bold to relate briefly your last Sunday afternoon's work, lest in time your meritorious painstaking should be forgotten (for the which you and your associate, Mr. Green, do well deserve to have your heads in the custody of young Gregory, to make buttons for hemp holes); you two having the spirit so full, that you must either vent or burst, did, on the Sabbath aforesaid, at your house near Fetter Lane End, Fleet Street, at the sign of the 'Lock and Key,' there and then did you and your consort (by turns) unlock most delicate, strange doctrine, where were about thousands of people, of which number the most ignorant applauded your preaching, and those who knew anything derided your ignorant prating. But after four hours' long and tedious tattling, the house where you were was beleaguered with multitudes, that thought fit to rouse you out of your blind devotions, so that your walls were battered, your windows all fractions, torn into rattling shires; and worse the hurly-burly might have been, but that sundry constables came in with strong guards of men, to keep the peace, in which conflict your sign was broken down and unchanged, to make room for the owner to supply the place; all which shows had never been, had Mr. Green and Mr. Barebones been content (as they should have done) to have gone to their own parish churches," &c. From Crosby we learn that the church over which Canne presided in Deadman's Place, divided in the spirit of fraternal affection,

and that a part went with this celebrated man, who subsequently gave his name to one of Oliver's Parliaments, and the other united under the pastoral care of Mr. Jeffrey.* It is more than probable that this church was one of mixed membership.

Another of these fiery spirits now enters "The Brownists' synagogue," and makes a "discovery of their conventicles, assemblies, and places of meeting;" where they preach, and the manner of their praying and preaching, with a relation of the name, place, and doctrine of those which do commonly preach. The chief of which are these:—"Green, the felt-maker; Maeler, the button-maker; Spence, the coachman; Rogers, the glover; which sect is much increased of late in the city." We quote an extract, as it is honourable to the men on whom this surpliced libeller pours the vials of his scorn:—"In the house where they meet, there is one appointed to keep the door, for the intent to give notice, if there should be any insurrection, warning should be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company; and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the room, and his audience gather around him. The man prayeth about the space of half an hour; and part of his prayer is, that those who come there to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts: by which means they think to escape undiscovered. His sermon is about the space of an hour, and then doth another stand up to make the text more plain; and at the latter end he entreats them all to go home severally, lest the next meeting they should be interrupted by those which are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions, and say, that rather than turn they will burn."† Noble men! Truth was pre-

* Crosby, vol. iii., p. 42.

† Ivimey, vol. i., p. 162. Bishop Hall probably alludes to these when he says:—"Alas! my Lords, I beseech you to consider what it is that there should be in London, and the suburbs and liberties, no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries, as I have been too credibly informed, instructed by guides fit for them (cobblers, taylors, felt-makers,

cious to them, and life was a trifle in comparison with its unutterable worth!

The age was one of excitement and conflict. Mind was liberated from its bondage, and inquiry was pushed into every circle. To its very depths the nation was agitated. The past had lost its power. The compulsory and senseless ceremonies of a polluted form of religion were losing their influence, and appeals were made, to a great extent, to the Divine Word. By some this was recognised as the only standard to which conscience should bow. All this was favourable to our brethren. Fearlessly they could appeal to it, beyond any religionist of the day. Only for the truth, for Christ's supremacy in his church, for man's individual responsibility to God alone, and for the purity and spirituality of his church, did they plead. Their distinctive principles involved all this, and they shrank not from their avowal. The power of the press was now employed. Two works were issued about this period. One by Mr. Barber, the minister of a congregation in Bishopsgate Street, entitled, "A Treatise on Baptism, or Dipping," &c; the other, "The Vanity of Childish Baptism; wherein is proved that Baptism is Dipping, and Dipping Baptism. By A. R." A reply was speedily given to the former, such as power often gives to the weak, and error to truth, by incarcerating the author for eleven months in gaol. With these weapons of defence, the ruling power in Church and State had long been familiar.

Early in 1641, Wales attracts attention in connexion with Baptist principles. Its moral state is thus described by Vava-seur Powell:—"That the professors of religion were very few in Wales, except in the corners of two or three counties; and that about that time a petition was sent to the king and Parliament; that upon diligent search there was scarcely to be found as many conscientious, diligent preachers, as there

and such like trash), which all are taught to spit in the face of their mother, the Church of England, and to defy and revile her Government."—Bishop Hall in the House of Lords. Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 990.

were counties in Wales; and that the few who were there were either silenced or much persecuted."

This eminent man, in connexion with Mr. Cradock and others, was successful in preaching the Gospel. Originally a member of the Established Church, and educated at Oxford, his conversion to the truth was singularly interesting. Much of the deep and intense soul struggle which marked the early religious life of Bunyan, will be found in Powell. To the evangelising of the Principality he devoted his whole energies. Persecution everywhere awaited him. Bishops threatened and magistrates punished; but in vain. If opposed in one town, he would go to another. Our pages might be enriched with much from his Life and Works, if our space would allow. With his companions in labour and tribulation, he succeeded in forming churches. No doubt they were of mixed membership. They were the first to separate from the corrupt national church, with the exception to which we have before referred, and laid the foundation of Nonconformity, the power of which is now so great in the Principality. On another stage we shall again see him.

Southwark witnessed another scene. Dr. Feately, a churchman of some note, now happily deprived of other means, condescended to use his tongue against the Baptists. With four of these heretics he expressed his willingness to dispute. The challenge was accepted. Sir J. Lenthal, and various other persons of note, attended the discussion. History has left no record of the names of the champions. A brewer's clerk is one; probably Mr. Kiffin. The Doctor published his report of the discussions some time after, and, of course, claimed the victory. In "The Dipper Dipt," &c., the reader may find his version of the wordy discussions. A single extract may interest our readers.* "Since the

* H. Denne wrote "Antichrist Unmasked," in two treatises. The first in answer to two Pædobaptists, Dr. Feately and S. Marshall, B.D., "The Argument for Childish Baptism Opened, and Answered;" "The Man of

unhappy distraction which our sins have brought upon us, the temporal sword being otherwise employed, and the spiritual being locked up in the scabbard, this sect amongst others hath so far presumed upon the patience of the State, that it hath held weekly conventicles, rebaptized hundreds of men and women in the twilight, in rivers and some arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in defence of their heresy; yea, and challenged some of our preachers to disputation." "This venomous serpent (*vere solifuga*), flying from and shunning the light of God's Word, is the Anabaptist, who in these latter times first showed his shining head and speckled skin, and thrust out his sting near the place of my residence, for more than twenty years."

The statements of the Doctor as to their increase, are abundantly sustained by other witnesses. Charles, whilst admitting their influence, thus slanders them:—"How many of the gravest and most substantial citizens of London, by whom the government and discipline of that city was preserved, are disgraced, robbed, and imprisoned, without any process of law or colour of accusation, but of obedience to the law and government of the kingdom; whilst Anabaptists and Brownists, with the assistance of vicious and debauched persons of desperate fortune, take upon them to break up and rifle houses, as public and avowed ministers of a new-invented authority."† "These are the men who, joining with the Anabaptists and Brownists of London, first changed the government and discipline of that city; and now, by the pride and power of that city, would undo the kingdom; whilst their Lord Mayor (a person accused and known to be

Sin Discovered in Doctrine: the Root and Foundation of Antichrist Laid Open. By H. Denne. Printed for the edification of the Church and information of the world. 1645." His "Address to the Reader" is dated from Prison in Lord Petre's House, February 23, 1644.

† Charles's Answer to an Ordinance of Parliament. Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 31.

guilty of high treason), by a new legislative process of his own, suppresses and reviles the 'Book of Common Prayer,' robs and imprisons whom he thinks fit, and, with the rabble of his faction, gives law to both Houses of Parliament."* Referring to the Baptists' hostility to the Book of Common Prayer, Charles says:—"So he desires that a good bill may be framed for the better preserving the Book of Common Prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, with such clauses for the ease of tender consciences as his Majesty hath formerly afforded."†

Pym, in a speech to the citizens of London, denies this. "To this I am commanded to say, that hereof there is no proof; it doth not appear that they give any such countenance to sectaries of any kind whatsoever; and if it did, his Majesty hath little reason to object it, while, notwithstanding the profession he hath after made, that he will maintain the Protestant reformed religion, he doth, in the meantime, raise an army of Papists," &c. &c. Pym gives a positive denial to all the charges made by the king.‡

A little later on, Charles, in a proclamation forbidding obedience to the Parliament, thus refers to them:—"Some seditious persons assume to themselves (with the assistance of those rebellious armies, and of divers mutinous and desperate Brownists, Anabaptists, and other ill-affected persons in our city of London, by whose means they awe such members of both Houses who yet continue amongst them) a power to do things absolutely contrary to the laws of the land," &c. "That the Common Council of London,

* Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 33.

† Reply to propositions submitted to him, Feb., 1642. Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 73.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 59. In reply to a Petition from the Aldermen and Commons of London, Charles asks, "if the discountenancing and imprisoning godly, learned, and painful preachers, and the cherishing and countenancing of Brownists, Anabaptists, and all manner of sectaries, be the way to defend and maintain the true Reformed Religion?"—Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 54.

many of them being factiously chosen out of Brownists, Anabaptists, and such who oppose the regular wholesome government of the city," &c.*

Let us add another extract from one who appears to have hated them with intense hatred. "They have been," says Edwards, "and are, polupragmatical, indefatigably active, striving, not less night and day, in city, county, in all places, having their agents to do their work and promote their cause; their eyes are intent on everything that may make for them or against them, and they have a hand in everything; they are men of a hundred eyes and hands, out-acting and out-working all the Presbyterians; they deal with this man to take them off, and work with another man to qualify him; they have got most of the weekly writers of news to plead their cause, commend their persons, cry up their actions; they have sent their emissaries into several counties to preach, carry letters, deal with persons for choosing burgesses in Parliament for their way, as Mr. Peters and others; they observe all men's tempers, humours, and accordingly deal with them all,—some with offices and places, some by holding out principles suited to their lusts."†

The unfurling of the Royal Standard was the signal for actual conflict. Lord Macaulay has given a graphic view of the elements of which both parties were composed. One equally graphic, and more minute, has been given by one who lived in these exciting times. "In this contest between king and Parliament, the generality of the nobility were on the king's side. After Edgehill fight, when the king was at Oxford, a great part of the Lords, and many of the Commons, went over to him. A great part of the knights and gentlemen of England adhered to him, except in Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, where the king never came with his army. Most of their tenants followed them,

* Proclamation of Charles, June 26, 1643. Parliamentary History, vol. iii., pp. 134, 135.

† Edwards's *Gangreana*, pp. 69, 70.

and most of the poorer sort of people throughout the nation. On the Parliament's side were the smaller part of the gentry in most counties, and the greatest part of the tradesmen and freeholders, and the middle sort of men, especially in those corporations and counties which depend on clothing and such manufactures. To them also adhered the far greater part of those through the nation who were friends to a religious strictness, and enemies to formality and profaneness, superstition and immorality.* It was not indeed properly *Bellum Episcopale* (the Bishop's War), though by many so styled.† For thousands that wished for good bishops were on the Parliament's side; but the generality of those who were called Puritans and Precisians, and were for serious godliness, both ministers and people, adhered to the Parliament. On the other side, they who were for looseness, swearing, gaming, and drinking—the ministers and people who were against the strict observation of the Lord's

* Lord Macaulay thus refers to the same classes:—"In the great struggle into which the nation was now plunging, men arrayed themselves—some from principle, and others from interest. Around the monarch, partly from sympathies with his despotic tendencies, and partly from a chivalrous spirit of loyalty, most of the noble and wealthy gathered. The bishops and the clergy, and all dependent in any way on, or expectant from, the church and its patrons, adhered to him. Into his position he had been forced in the main by the hierarchy. Following in the wake of them we must class a larger class of persons, whose living depended on their ability and willingness to gratify the pride and luxury, or to minister to the vices and vitiated tastes, of this class. To these must be added the whole of the Romanist portion of the community. But though less imposing, yet the champions of liberty had more of the elements of the real power of the nation. The sturdy yeomen of the kingdom, the merchants and tradesmen—the whole of the Puritan, or perhaps we should say Nonconforming, body of the realm, headed by some few leading noblemen. These were men. Men trained to think, and to act with vigour, when action was required. Men to whom liberty was proportionably sweet, from the grinding oppressions they had suffered," &c.—*Vide* Macaulay's Eng., vol. i., pp. 102, 103.

† "Good Lord, what fiery clashings we have had lately for a *cap* and a surplice! What oceans of human blood was spilt for ceremonies only, and outward formalities, for the base position of a table!"—Howell's Letters, p. 486. "When they saw the honourable the high Court of

day, and fond of dancing and recreations at those sacred seasons, that placed all their religion in going to church and hearing Common Prayer, that were against serious preaching, and for running down all those who were stricter than themselves—these adhered all along to the king; which one consideration was the thing that determined many sober and honest persons which side to take.”*

As the conflicts progress, the difference between the classes becomes more apparent. Fiction invested, for a time, the cavaliers with all that was chivalrous and noble; but history has removed the mask, and exhibited them in their true colours. That many gathered around the misguided sovereign from the purest motives, and whose principles and conduct would have shed lustre on any cause, it would be worse than ignorance to doubt. But truth has its obligations. From these the pen of history must not shrink. Lord Goring, one of Charles’s dashing generals, was “the most infamous person that ever disgraced, whilst permitted to retain, the

Parliament begin to look into their enormities and abuses, beholding how they united religion like a waxen nose, to the furtherance of their ambitious purposes, then Troy was taken in; then they began to despair of holding any longer their usurped authority; and, therefore, as much as in them lay, both by public declarations and private councils, they laboured to foment the civil difference between his Majesty and his Parliament, abetting the proceedings of the malignants with large supplies of men and money, and stirring up the people to tumults by their seditious sermons.”—Declaration and Defence of J. Pym. Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 376. Guizot’s *E. R.*, *append.* x., p. 452. Clarendon, vol. i., p. 355. Burton, vol. ii., p. 328.

* “And truly I may almost say, that that corrupt Common Prayer Book was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and wars that since have happened in both nations. Had his Majesty first endeavoured the inspiration of that lame book upon the English, most men do believe we had swallowed it, and then the Scots must have done it afterwards; for the clergy, at that time, generally, were such idle, lazy lubbers, and so pampered with court preferments, and places temporal in every shire in England, and such flattering sycophants, that doubtless the great hand of God was in it, that those rude Scots first broke the ice, and taught us the way to expel an insulting priesthood and to resist the king, he endeavouring, by unwarrantable means, to intrude things contrary to the Divine laws of Almighty God upon our consciences.”—W. Lilly’s *Life and Death of Charles I.*, pp. 207, 208.

name of gentleman.”* Of his troops, Baxter says:—“As they marched along the country, they were everywhere entertained with strange relations of the horrid impiety and outrages of Lord Goring’s soldiers. A John Guillam he quartered with, at South Pederton, in Somersetshire, averred to him, ‘That with him a company of them pricked their fingers, letting the blood run into a cup, in which they drank a health to the devil.’”† “The common soldiery, imitating the brutal indifference of their master to human suffering, were ravaging the whole country with ruthless pillage, and every sort of licentiousness—all but the true, the brave, the invincible soldiers of Cromwell.”‡ No principle, no virtue, restrained these men. Deep and intense was their hatred to all that was dignified and moral, and they luxuriated in vice, and delighted in cruelty and blood.

Old Adam Martindale gives us a sample of this in the case of his father:—“My poor father sped much worse, for they took the old man prisoner, and used him most barbarously, forcing him to march in his stockings, without shoes, and snapping his ears with their firelock pistols. His house they plundered of everything they thought worth carrying away, in carts which they brought to his door for that purpose; and were sore troubled (good men) that, the walls being stone, and the roof being well shot over within, they could fasten no fire upon the house, though they several times essayed so to do. His stock of cattle they wholly drove away, and he never had an hoofe again.”|| The officers of

* Warburton’s *P. Rupert, &c.*, vol. i., p. 195.

† Baxter’s *Life*, p. 91. Vicar states a similar fact,—“That on March 10, 1644, some of them proposed to drink the health of the devil, and one doubting his existence, wished he might appear, &c. The request was complied with,” &c.—*Looking-Glass for Malignants*. 2 Parl. Parsig., p. 17.

‡ *Life of Whitelocke*, p. 209. “During the siege (of Brampton Castle), the cook was shot by a poisoned bullet, and a running stream that furnished the village with water was poisoned.”—*Lady B. Harley’s Letters*. Intro., p. xix. Camden Society.

|| *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 39. Cheetham Society. “In Shropshire,” says Baxter, “where his father dwelt, both he and all his neigh-

Charles forced the population, on pain of death, into their ranks, "and armed them with such weapons as they had, if they were but pitchforks; the rear being brought up with troopers that had commission to shoot such as lagged behind, so as the poor countrymen seemed to be in a dilemma of death, either by the troopers, if they went not on, or by the great and small shots out of the town (Bolton), if they did."* Like the locusts, everything was fair and lovely before them, desolation and misery behind them. History more than justifies this accusation.

The soldiers of liberty were very different men. We speak not now of a single period, but of the whole. "When I put my hand to the Lord's work, in 1642, I did it not rashly, but had many an hour and night to seek God, to know my way; it being a time the nation was filled with rumours and fears of some bustling betwixt the king and his great Council, the Parliament, that was called before the rebellion in Ireland," &c.†

History fully warrants the following sketch of these heroes by the pen of an Episcopalian. However mistaken their motives, however diverse the opinions which men may form of their aims, none will venture to question the accuracy of this statement:—"The army of the Parliament presented an appearance altogether unlike that of armies in general; they

hours, that were noted for praying and hearing sermons, were plundered by the king's soldiers, so that some of them had nothing almost but lumber left in their houses; though his father meddled on neither side, but followed his own business, and held no correspondence at all with his son."—Life of Baxter, p. 79.

* Life of Martindale, p. 32. *Vide* Whitlocke, p. 188. Warburton's P. Rupert, vol. ii., p. 103 (Note). Lady Harley's Letters, &c., p. 167. Memoirs of Sir H. Slingsby, p. 58. Edinbro', 1806. Prynne gives accounts we could not print. Power of Parliament, part i., p. 112.

† Autobiography of Capt. J. Hodgson, p. 89. "These men were animated with an enthusiasm of which, at the present day, we can form no adequate conception. They divided their time between military duties and prayer; they sung psalms as they advanced to the charges; they called on the name of the Lord while they were slaying their enemies."—Lingard, vol. x., p. 305.

were orderly and sober; the singing of psalms occupied the place of songs; instead of spending their leisure hours in frivolous conversation or amusements, they occupied themselves in praying, reading the Scriptures, and discussing the most abstruse points of divinity. In the camp, they were tractable; in the field, terrible; and at the sight of what were deemed objects of superstition, their fury was ungovernable.* It was so with the privates, the officers, and the generals. Religion gave a character to everything they did. At the Council Board, God was acknowledged; and frequently in the battle-field the war cry was, "The Lord is with us," or, "The sword of the Lord and Gideon."

Whitelocke, conversing with the Queen of Sweden, thus describes the Parliamentary forces:—"When their enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers and soldiers of the Parliamentary army use to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the Word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing, who has shown his approbation of this military preaching by the success he has given them." The Queen: "Do your generals and other great officers do so?" Whitelocke: "Yes, Madam, very often, and very well. Nevertheless, they maintain chaplains and ministers in their houses and regiments. Such as are godly and worthy ministers have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as in any place in christendom."†

How far the General Baptists had modified, or renounced, the opinions which had been held by the earlier members of

* Lathorp's E. Episcopacy, p. 201. Illustrations of the same discipline could be multiplied. The following are selected as examples of Cromwell:—"The General cashiered Colonel Wren, and several of his officers in the head of the army, for plundering with their soldiers. It gave a great deal of encouragement to the honest part of the army, to cashier such time-serving fellows."—Autobiography of Captain Hodgson, p. 123. Rushworth has given Cromwell's Proclamation, vol. vii., p. 1274. "Two troopers were hanged in the view of our army for plundering" at Perth.—*Ibid*, pp. 151, 152. *Vide* Relation of the Fight at Perth. Original Memorials of the Civil War, pp. 209, 253.

† Life of Whitelocke, pp. 339, 340.

that body on oaths, war, &c., we are not prepared to say. It may be affirmed, we think, with confidence, that to some extent they did retain them, and that few of them mingled in the bloody conflict.* Not so the other section of the body. Into the struggle they threw themselves with ardour, which sprung not merely from their intense love of liberty, but from one of mightier power. With them it was a holy war—a struggle for Christ and his church. Soul freedom was the end; liberty for truth and righteousness—not for themselves, but for all men. Theirs was not an uprising against Laud and the hierarchy, but against every yoke forged at Lambeth or in the Westminster Assembly. We only indicate the facts. We know no plea for war, much less a religious one. But they felt intensely, conscientiously felt, that the means and the end were both right. W. Dell, in a noble passage, thus writes:—"To conclude, honourable and worthy, we will be willingly contented to do and suffer all things with you: we will cheerfully run through honour and dishonour with you: fame and infamacy, gain and loss, trouble and quietness, war and peace, life and death: and do desire to reserve nothing to ourselves, *Nisi unicum verbum Domini*, 'but only the Word of God,' in its own purity, and liberty to preach it, and to profess it, and to practise it, for the glory of God and his only begotten Son, and for the good of his kingdom, and this kingdom."† Others might be, and doubtless were, animated by this spirit, but only from the lips of Dell did the representatives of the people hear these noble and truthful utterances. Religious freedom was unknown. It was freedom for a sect, not for man—for certain dogmas, not for free thought and the fearless utterance of individual convictions. Our subsequent narrative will place this beyond all doubt.

* Prynne says, "It is confessed by all men, yea by those who are most intoxicated with an Anabaptistical spirit, condemning all kinds of war, refusing to carry arms against any enemies, thieves, pirates, &c."—Sovereign Power, &c., part iii., pp. 56, 103.

† Right Reformation, p. 61.

The historian of the General Baptist brethren gives us but little information about the proceedings of that body. Nor have we gathered much beyond what appears in the earlier part of this volume. Into more promineney they now rise. Mr. Taylor tells us, that, "previous to the commencement of the civil war, a Baptist church had been formed under the care of Mr. Thomas Lamb, which usually met in Bell Alley, Coleman Street, and joined the Particular Baptists, and zealously exerted himself in promoting the spread of their doctrine when Archbishop Laud presided over the affairs of the church. At the instigation of this tyrannical prelate, he was seized at Colchester, his native city, and dragged in chains to London, for dissenting from the national church, and preaching to a separate congregation. He was arraigned before the Star Chamber, and required to confess that he had administered the Lord's Supper, the penalty for which was banishment. Mr. Lamb, however, pleading the rights of an Englishman, refused to criminate himself, and was remanded to prison. His wife solicited the Archbishop to take pity on a mother and eight children, and to release the husband and father; but the unfeeling priest was untouched by her affliction, and roughly ordered the servants to take away that troublesome woman. After some time he obtained his liberty, and resumed his favourite employment of preaching the Gospel. This brought him into new troubles; from which he was no sooner delivered than he entered to his sacred work. Thus he pursued the path of duty, till he had been confined in almost every prison in London and its vicinity. He frequently observed, that that man was not fit to preach, who would not preach for God's sake, though he was sure to die for it as soon as he had done."* Mr. Lamb

* Taylor's History, vol. i., p. 99. Crosby, vol. iii., p. 54; from whom Mr. T. takes the account. A singular note is given by Warburton:—"To reckon up the slain (at Chalgrove) by the number of Christian burials, is no sure way of coming at the truth, for divers Anabaptists and Brownists refuse to bury their soldiers otherwise than they do their horses. A beating up," &c. &c.—Rupert, &c., vol. ii., p. 210 (Note).

was very useful, and had gathered at this time a large and zealous church. By this spirit our brethren were animated. To buy the truth, to make it known, and if needs be to die for it, was the absorbing end of their life.

The period over which our narrative extends was fruitful in sects. Most of the leading ecclesiastical bodies of the present began to multiply and make themselves a power in the commonwealth. Laud, with all his vast power and multiplied appliances, could not crush them. Freedom from his hateful yoke liberated their energies and kindled their zeal. The spirit of inquiry had been excited. The genius of Milton had spoken in strains which had already thrilled the nation. The attitude of the patriots, and the power of the press; above all, the Book of God was free, and under its influence authority gave place to conviction. Religious men and religious teachers had much to learn; and what is often harder, much to unlearn. Guizot has said:—"Notwithstanding the active inquisition of Laud, sects of all descriptions assembled, in towns, in some cellars; in the country, under the roof of a barn, or in the midst of a wood. The dismal character of the locality, their perils and difficulties in meeting, all excited the imagination of preachers and hearers; they passed together long hours, often whole nights, praying, singing hymns, seeking the Lord, and cursing their enemies," &c.* The former part of this statement is true; the last sentence is not so. Guizot could group facts and master principles; but he had no sympathy with, for he did not understand, the pure and lofty motives of the men who asked for no State patronage, and had no worldly honour to gain by the triumph of their principles.

In wealth, in numbers, in social and political influence, the Presbyterians stood high. Causes too numerous for us to detail, had contributed to this. Hobbes says, that "in the beginning of the late war, the power of the Presbyterians was

* English Rev., b. ii., p. 61.

so very great, that not only the citizens of London were, almost all of them, at their devotions, but also all the greatest part of all other cities and market towns of England.* Scotland aided this. Hostility to Episcopacy was favourable to the views of the patriots. Without their sympathy, despotism would probably triumph. So early as 1639, their commissioners who visited the king won over many of the leading actors in the great drama. "Not one Presbyterian," says Baxter, "was to be seen in the House, when it met. Now, these men had great resort to them, and many secret councils were held with them by the discontented English—chiefly those who favour Presbyteries, and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censure in the Star Chamber, Exchequer, High Commission, and other judicators. Those who inclined to a republic had much correspondence with them; and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The Earls of Essex, Bedford, Holland, the Lord Say, Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality, were deep in with them."† This overthrow of Episcopacy, moreover, had augmented their power, and many now filled places which had been declared vacant by the various committees on religion. Many of the clergy had been ejected from the churches—not for attachment, so much, to Episcopacy, as for immorality and crying unfitness for the work. With every allowance for exaggeration and improper motives, the reports submitted to the House reveal an affecting, not to say appalling, picture of the state of the church under Laud and his Popish colleagues."‡

* Behemoth, Maseres Tracts, vol. ii., p. 477.

† Peck's Life of Milton, p. 400. Whitelocke, p. 32.

‡ Referring to this, Vicar says:—"O what a most rare, blessed, and strange change is already wrought in the city of London! O what a company of stinking snuffs are put out, and what rare and radiant tapers, and purely burning and shining lamps, are set up in (almost) all our city con-

To remedy existing evils, the Senate decided to call an assembly of learned men, to whom all questions relating to religion should be referred. The design of the Assembly is thus defined in the ordinance which convoked it on the 14th of June, 1643:—"Whereas no blessing is more dear than the purity of religion, and many things remain in the liturgy and discipline of the church requiring a further reformation; and the present Parliament has resolved that the present government by archbishops, &c., is evil and burdensome, an impediment to reformation, and to be taken away; that such a church government be settled as is most agreeable to God's Word, and apt to preserve the peace of the church at home, and a nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad; for the better effecting hereof, and vindicating the Church of England from all calumnies and aspersions, it is thought necessary to call an assembly of learned and judicious divines hereupon, as shall be proposed by either, or both, Houses of Parliament." "The said persons, moreover, are authorised to confer of such matters concerning the liturgy and discipline of the church, or the vindicating its doctrine from false construction, as shall be proposed by both, or either, Houses of Parliament, and no others."* No ecclesiastical jurisdiction was given to them. Beyond the objects thus defined, they had no power to go. The Assembly was to be composed of representatives of various bodies, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Independents. No Baptist was admitted. To keep their fiery spirits in check, certain members of Parliament were nominated.† After

gregations; and how piously and preciously does the work begin now to go on, and increase in the county also, where, with what safety to their persons, godly ministers may comfortably reside with the people, to the glory of God and inexpressible joy of the souls of the saints," &c.—Vicar's *Jehovah Jireh*, p. 326. *David's Congregationalism in Essex*.

* Collier, vol. ii. Lathorp's *E. Epis.*, p. 150.

† Whitelocke gives an amusing example of their influence:—"Divers members of both Houses were members of the Assembly of Divines, and

the usual formalities, the Westminster Assembly was inaugurated, with all the imposing ceremony which could well be thrown around such an august gathering of the learning and religion of the State. To other sources we must refer our readers for details of its proceedings. Only upon one or two matters can we touch. After long and conflicting debates, the Council produced, in the place of the Common Prayer, a Directory for public worship, and sought to impose on the country the Solemn League and Covenant, as the badge of its subjection to the Presbyterian power.* With great solemnity and display this latter test was taken by the members of the Legislature in 1643. Mr. White, one of the Assembly, "prayed an hour, to prepare them for the taking of the Covenant; then Mr. Nye, in the pulpit, made some observations touching the Covenant, shewing the warrant from Scripture, the example of it since the creation, and the benefit to the church. Mr. Henderson, one of the Scots Commissioners, concluded in a declaration of what the Scots had done, and the good they had received by such covenants; and then he shewed the prevalency of evil councils about the king, and the resolution of the States of Scotland to assist the Parliament of England. Next Mr. Nye, in the pulpit, read the Covenant, and all present held up their

had the same liberty with the Divines to sit and debate, and give their votes in any matters which was in consideration amongst them; in which debates Mr. Selden spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes, when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves (which they would often pull out and read), the translation may be thus, but the Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;' and so would totally silence them."—Vol. i., p. 209.

* The year before, the General Assembly, untaught by their own and the nation's sufferings by the policy of Laud, had requested 'that in all his Majesty's dominions there might be one Confession of Faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of church government. That the name of heresies, and sects, Puritans and Conformists, Separatists, Anabaptists, &c., which do rend the bowels both of kirk and kingdom, might be suppressed,'" &c.—Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 387. Price, vol. i., p. 239.

hands in testimony of their assent to it. The divines of the Assembly and the Scots Commissioners subscribed it; and then Dr. Yonge, in the pulpit, prayed for a blessing upon it. Afterwards the members of Parliament, in their respective Houses, subscribed their names in a parchment roll when the Covenant was written.”*

The influence of these proceedings on our brethren must not be overlooked. In many ways it contributed to their prosperity. Their discussion on various dogmas, the pride and insolence of the Presbyterians, and their attempts to put down free thought and to fetter religious freedom, their frequent appeals to the civil power, their dogmas on other minds, only awakened attention to the claims of our brethren. “Presbyterian zeal,” says Guizot, “sometimes obtained from the Houses menacing declarations against the new sectaries; sometimes the fears and hatred of the political reformers, coinciding with those of their devout allies, they employed in concerting measures of rigour against their adversaries. An ordinance, destined, according to the preamble, ‘to put down the slanderous papers, books, and pamphlets, by which religion and government had for some time been defamed,’ abolished the liberty of the press, hitherto tolerated, and subjected to a strict censorship all publications whatever” (June 11, 1643).†

Though the liberty of unlicensed printing was not enjoyed, yet the press was comparatively free.‡ A stream of deep,

* Parliamentary Hist., vol. iii., p. 173. Whitelocke and Clarendon supply ample details. “The next day, Scottish Commissioners set out for London, where both Houses, after having consulted the Assembly of Divines, also sanctioned the Covenant (Sept. 14); and a week after (Sept. 25), in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, all the members of Parliament, standing uncovered, with hands raised to heaven, took the oaths of adhesion to it verbally, and then in writing,” &c.—Guizot, b. iv., p. 205. Neal, vol. iii., p. 62, &c.

† Guizot, b. v., p. 214.

‡ Though far from free, yet the press poured forth a succession of pamphlets. In every form they appeared, from the grave and erudite production of the divine, to the light and sarcastic pasquinade of the poet.

bitter, malignant calumny flowed from this source. Nothing was spared, no means were neglected, which could blacken the character or caricature the principles of our brethren. Samples of these abuses have already passed under notice. Edwards had published his work, in which the spirit of Bonner and Laud were incarnate, without any of the redeeming qualities which distinguished the latter. He had distilled his own gall, and stained every page with its pollution. Persuaded of the strength of his own cause, and his ability to defend it, he says, "I could wish with all my heart there were a public disputation, even on the point of Pædobaptism and dipping, between some of the Anabaptists and our ministers. But if, upon disputation and debate, the Anabaptists should be found in error (as I am confident they would), that then the Parliament should forbid all dipping, and take some sure course with all dippers, as the Senate of Zurich did."* How would the shrivelled heart of this religious teacher have bounded at the sight of the fires of Smithfield, or at witnessing female Anabaptists sewn up in sacks and thrown into the Thames! This is only a sample of a class. Most of the rigid Presbyterians entertained similar notions, though they clothed their utterance in a milder form. †

Nothing was spared. Examples might be multiplied. We only select one:—

"Where be our proud prelates that straddle so wide,
As if they did meane the worlde to bestride;
To tread on the nobles, to trample them down,
To set up the mitre above the king's crown?
That ere he was clerke the priest hath forgot,
But pride will come down, God a' mercy, good Scot.

"With Scripture divines doe play fast and loose,
And turn Holy Writ to capons and goose;
Their gut is their god, religion they mocke,
To pamper their flesh they famish their flocke.
To preach and to pray they all have forgot,
And now they'll be taught, God a' mercy, good Scot."

—Rouse, p. 3. Others occur in the same volume.

* Gangreana, p. 177. Our readers will find the proceedings of the Senate in the "Martyrology," published by the Hans. Knollys Society.

† Examples of these may be seen in Price, Crosby, and Ivimey.

But the tone of others was very different. Light had been dawning on Episcopal minds, notwithstanding the efforts of Laud. The "Ecclesiastical Polity" of Hooker all but ignores the grounds of Jewel. Chillingworth, in 1639, advanced still further. The great principles for which our forefathers have ever contended was fully recognised by him. "The Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants." Not as explained by fathers, or affirmed by councils, but as the right of every man to investigate for himself. "In his great work, all authority in matters of religion is openly set at defiance." "He would admit of no reservation which tended to limit the sacred rights of private judgment."* Later still, Lord Brook had published his work on Episcopacy, in which he expresses doubts as to the stability of the ground on which infant baptism rested, and throws the shield of his protection over our brethren.† But as indicative of the change of feeling in the Episcopal mind, Bishop Taylor's work on the "Liberty of Prophesying," is the most important. It was issued about this time. One section of this work was devoted to the case of the Anabaptists. It is put with uncommon fairness, and with great force. The sensation it produced was deep and extensive. One of his opponents says, "It is the most diligent collection, and the most exact scheme of the arguments against infant baptism, that he had ever met with; and that he has therein in such manner represented the arguments for and against it, that the latter have seemed to many to be successful and victorious."‡ The work was felt by the Presbyterians as an aggression, and severely animadverted upon by

* Buckle, vol. i., pp. 320, 323.

† Episcopacy, p. 96. Crosby, vol. i., pp. 165, 167.

‡ Dr. Hammond's Six Queries on Infant Baptism, sect. 49. Wall's Hist. Inf. Bap., p. 271. "Some writers ascribe great merit to J. Taylor for his advocacy of toleration (Heylin's Life, p. 27, and Parr's Works, vol. iv., p. 417); but the truth is, that when he wrote the then famous 'Liberty of Prophesying,' his enemies were in power; so that he was pleading for his own interest. When, however, the Church of Eng-

the Rev. S. Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrew's, in his "Free Disputations concerning Pretended Liberty of Conscience."* Dr. Hammond was the bishop's principal antagonist; and so high did the feeling run in his own circle, that Dr. Taylor was actually obliged to reply to his own work.† In some circles, men's views of right and wrong depend very much on the circumstances in which they are placed.‡ For the influence of Milton's magic pen, the reader is referred to another section.

Then there was another element of power which must not be overlooked. Men of standing and high moral character in the church openly espoused the cause of the Anabaptists. Cornwall, Blackwood, Denne, Knollys, and others, gave up their preferments, and united with their churches. All of them had not only received Episcopal ordination, but passed through the Universities. They were men of culture and erudition. Knollys, some years before, had fled from the fierce anger of the hierarchy to the wilds of the new world, but had now returned. If not distinguished by the highest scholarship, yet his attainments in sacred literature were considerable, whilst his piety and preaching invested him with an influence which was ever used for Christ and his cause. The conversions of the others were singularly inte-

land again obtained the upper hand, Taylor withdrew the concession which he had made in his adversity."—Buckle, vol. i., pp. 330, 331.

* Warwick's Mem., p. 337.

† Wall more than warrants Coleridge's very severe remarks on the Bishop.—Lit. Rem., vol. iii., p. 250.

‡ Baxter says that many were influenced by the bishop's work. "But it would appear, that after Taylor's position towards the Government was altered, and ecclesiastical honours had begun to flow upon him, his opinions on the subject of toleration must have become very materially modified, or he could never have consented to sit as a member of that Privy Council from which those most intolerant edicts emanated, by which 2,000 of the best men the Church of England ever contained were ejected from their pastoral cures, and in many cases imprisoned and treated with harshness that embittered and shortened the remainder of their days."—Cunningham's Lives of Illustrious Englishmen, vol. iii., pt. i., p. 145.

resting. A brief detail of the two first may gratify the reader. Mr. Cornwall was minister of Marden, in Kent, and being dissatisfied with many things in the church, was imprisoned in Maidstone gaol. In this part of the county Baptist principles were rather prevalent, and their propagation excited doubt and much inquiry in the minds of many. A woman, in some perplexity about this matter, applied to Mr. Cornwall for relief in her difficulties. His efforts failed. His own attention was now awakened, he thoroughly investigated the subject, and the result was natural: infant baptism was renounced by him. Liberated afterwards from prison, and called upon to preach at the visitation held at Cransbroke, in 1644, in the presence of the Assembly he openly denounced infant baptism. His text was, "*In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men.*" Unexpected by the audience, the shock was very great; and more than one of the ministers was anxious to dispute the matter with him. To a General Baptist minister present, Mr. Jeffrey, he referred them, as an antagonist worthy of their power. After some discussion, Mr. Blackwood, who had taken note of the sermon, promised that at their next meeting he would reply to Mr. Cornwall. Upon the inquiry he entered. In all its relationships he examined it, and found, as the result of his prayerful investigation, that his defence was hopeless. At the next meeting he produced, not a refutation, but a vindication, of Mr. Cornwall's doctrine.* These men gave

* His paper was published under the title of "The Storming of Antichrist." *Vide* Taylor, Crosby, Ivimey, &c. Thomas Blake replied to it in "Infant Baptism Freed from Antichristianism," &c. London, 1645. "We humbly make bold to mention Mr. Francis Cornwall, a painful preacher of good report," &c.—Petition from the Parish of Yalding, Jan. 28, 1640. Proceedings in Kent, p. 148. Denne was curate of Pyrton, in Herts, in 1641. He printed a sermon in that year preached at a visitation at Baldoc. Thomas Rotherham, rector of St. John Zacharies, London, replied to it, under the title of "A Den of Thieves Discovered." There is a singular allusion to Denne, in "The Axe Laid

themselves to the work with right-heartedness, and widely enlarged the circle of Baptist influence. Denne, who had been minister of Pyrton, in 1643, now united with Mr. Lamb's church in Coleman Street. Over a wide extent of country he travelled. Bedford, Cambridge, and the adjoining counties, were the spheres in which he laboured. Success marked his efforts, but his career of usefulness was impeded by a committee at Cambridge, and by their orders he was cast into prison; but, by an appeal to Parliament, he was removed to London. It was whilst there confined he met with the redoubted Dr. Feately and his book, and wrote his reply to it. Nor must we overlook another cause. The progress of Congregational principles contributed in no small measure to this. The Independents repudiated all external authority in the worship of God. Nothing should be received but what had the signet of the Lord upon it. Logically, their utterance justified the teaching and practice of our brethren. Many felt this. We have seen how this operated with many already. How it struck others, may be gathered from the following:—"Brown's church at Middleboro', abundance turned Anabaptists, which discontented him. Smith himself, the great leader in this way, turned Anabaptist; so did Canne at last, as I have heard say. Johnson and Ainsworth's church at Amsterdam, abundance of them turned Anabaptists, and were therefore excommunicated. So also hath it fallen out in England; the churches that came from Holland, many of the members fell to Anabaptism, both of Sydrack Sympson and Thomas Goodwin, and some separated upon it into distinct congregations. The same may be said of the churches that began in Independency among ourselves here in England, as Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. J. Simpson, and others. The reason is plain, for no man can be true to the principles

to the Root of the Tree; or the Anabaptist Mission and Ministry," &c. "This is Mr. H. Denne, the Anabaptist, chaplain and apothecary, farmer and minister, and an apologist for the Society of Jesus," p. 51. Other allusions, pp. 49, 50, 52.

of the Independents and Brownists, but they must turn Anabaptists, for the reasons aforesaid." "This is the reasoning of divers eminent men," the same writer says in another place, "that began at Independency, and upon this ground, amongst others, slipt into Anabaptism; as Mr. Laurance, Mr. Blackwood, Mr. Allen, and many others."* A little before the fight at Edge Hill, Mr. Baxter tells us that he came in contact, for the first time, with the Anabaptists. It was at Gloucester, to which city he had gone for retirement. "About a dozen young men, or more, of considerable parts, had received the opinion against infant baptism, and had been rebaptized, and laboured to draw others after them, not far from Gloucester. The minister of the place, Mr. Winnel, being hot and impatient with them, it was thought hardened them the more. He wrote a considerable book at that time against them; but the nation then having no great experience of the tendency of their principles, the people who were not of their opinions did but pity them, and think it was a conceit that had no great harm in it, and blamed Mr. Winnel for his asperity towards them," &c.†

The time was now come when on matters of belief they should speak for themselves. Patiently they had waited. All kinds of obloquy had been mercilessly poured out upon them. The atrocities of Munster, heresies of every kind, had been laid to their charge. The civil power had been invoked to crush them, and the Government was blamed for not framing new laws, or enforcing old ones, for their banishment from the kingdom. Of these things our brethren were not ignorant. They issued, therefore, in 1644, a Confession of Faith. The title of this document runs thus:—"The Confession of Faith of those Churches which are commonly (though falsely) called Anabaptist. Presented to the view of all that fear God, to examine by the touchstone of the Word of Truth; as likewise for the taking off those asper-

* Fresh Suit against Independency, pp. 36-7.

† Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. i., p. 76.

sions which are frequently, both in the pulpit and print (although unjustly), cast upon them." The following Scriptures, in full, follow:—"Acts iv. 20; Isa. viii. 20; 2 Corin. i. 9, 10." "London: printed in the year of our Lord 1644." This document is signed by representatives of seven churches in London. Their adversaries had represented them as holding free will; falling from grace; denying original sin; disclaiming of magistracy,—denying to assist them, either in person or purse, in any of their lawful commands; doing acts unseemly in the dispensing the ordinance of baptism, not to be named amongst Christians. "All of which charges we disclaim as notoriously untrue, though by reason of these calumnies cast upon us, many that fear God are discouraged and forestalled in harbouring a good thought, either of us or of what we profess; and many that know not God [are] encouraged, if they can find the place of our meeting, to gather together in clusters to stone us, looking upon us as a people holding such things as that we are not worthy to live."* The Confession is calm, clear, and evangelical, embodying those views of Christian doctrine which are termed Calvinistic; yet it excited the virulence of Dr. Feately, and that perfect development of Presbyterian bitterness and arrogance, Principal Baillie.†

The seizure of Sir J. Hotham at Hull, in 1643, was mainly, as we gather from various allusions, the work of our brethren. In one of the journals of that year, it is thus noticed:—"For being they would trust neither of them, it did concerne them very highly to make sure of

* Preface, p. 16. Confessions of Faith. Hans. Knollys Society. "The Anabaptists would have no government at all in the church, neither would they have any baptized but such as are of age; and they pray more for such a church than for grace or faith."—Religious Lotteries. London, Printed by T. F., July 20, 1642. "A Declaration against the Anabaptists" was published in London, 1644.—Feately's Description of the Several Sorts of Anabaptists, p. 71.

† Dipper Dipt, pp. 177-186. Baillie's Anabaptism the True Fountain of Error.

both: and to that end they sent down a commission to Sir Matthew Boynton, a declared Anabaptist (and, therefore, more serviceable to their ends), to seize on Hotham, and take possession of the town; who coming thither unsuspected, as being Hotham's brother-in-law, and one in whom he much confided, made himself master of the magazine, and brought over all the soldiers to him before Hotham had any notice of the practice. But finding his danger, though too late, he made haste to Beverley, where he was set upon by his own soldiers, whom Boynton had before corrupted, by whom he was pursued back again to Hull; and at the gate called Beverley Gate (being the very gate at which he had most impudently denied his Majesty entrance into the town), was beaten off his horse." To the same fact the prisoner refers in a letter to the Speaker:—"Lieutenant-General Hotham is seized upon by thirty or forty rogues and Anabaptists. If by your orders, I require reparation," &c.*

The activity and increase of the body are indicated by various allusions in the writings of their opponents. Spelman, commenting on the Kentish petitions on tithes, about this time, says:—"If there were no purpose to put down tithes by such as are in authority, how cometh it to pass that the Anabaptists are more bold in London to take up a public contestation against them, than the Presbyterians to make apology for them? For did not one Mr. B. C., an Anabaptist, manage a dispute against Mr. W. J., of Chr., and after that undertake another upon the same arguments against Mr. J. Cr., and offered to proceede in it against all opposition, which Mr. C. durst not do, upon pretence of a prohibition from authority?" "Although they may have cause to suspect that some parts of Kent, for the present, are not so reformed as they should be; Anabaptists and other

* Hotham to the Speaker, July 10, 1643. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 413. "Sir J. Hotham, or his son, complains, in his letter to the Parliament, that he had been apprehended by a company of Brownists, Anabaptist factions," &c.—Vicar's Jehovah Jireh, p. 367.

sectaries having misled many into adverse principles, not only on tithes, but to other matters," &c.* "John Stalham, a man of strict Congregational principles, in the year 1643 held a public disputation with Timothy Butt, physician, and Thomas Lambe, soap-boiler, at Tuting, on the subject of infant baptism; on which occasion he was assisted by his neighbour, John Newton, of Little Badden, and Enoch Gray, of Wickham."†

Attempts were made by our brethren to secure a larger measure of religious freedom. For unlimited toleration they pleaded, but in vain. "Some of the Anabaptists," says Baillie, "came to the Assembly's scribe with a letter, inveighing against our Covenant, and carrying with them a printed sheet of admonition to the Assembly from an old English Anabaptist at Amsterdam, to give full liberty of conscience to all sects, and to beware of keeping any Sabbath, and such like. The scribe offered to read all in the Assembly. Here rose a quick debate enough. Goodwin, Nye, and their party, pressing the neglect, contempt, and suppressing all such fantastic papers; others were as vehement for the taking notice of them, that the Parliament might be acquainted therewith, to see the remedy of their dangerous sects."‡ Episcopalians as well as sectaries felt the Presbyterian yoke to be insupportable.|| No means were neglected which were likely to secure their supremacy.

* English Works, pp. 159, 167.

† Davids' Congre. in Essex, p. 487.

‡ Vol. i., p. 412. "The college lands (Manchester) had been sold, and the college itself, to Mr. Wigan, who now being turned Anti-Pædobaptist, and I know not what more, made a barn there into a chapel, where he and many of his persuasion preach doctrine diametrically opposite to the minister's persuasion under their very nose."—Life of Martindale, p. 75. Cheetham Society.

|| "Ogle, for the king, wrote to Mr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Nye, of the Independent judgment, to make great promises to them, if they would oppose the Presbyterian Government intended by the Scots to be imposed on England; and much to that purpose."—Whitelocke, vol. i., p. 236.

Guizot gives a rapid and lucid sketch of their policy from this year to 1645. Multiplied proof could be brought to place beyond all doubt the perfect accuracy of his statement. "Every day it was obliged to tread in different paths, to attempt incongruous efforts. What it sought in the Church it rejected in the State; it was fain, constantly shifting its ground and its language, to invoke in turn democratic principles and passions against the bishops, monarchical and aristocratical maxims and influences against rising republicanism. It was a strange sight to see the same men demolishing with one hand and destroying with the other—now preaching up innovations, now cursing the innovations; alternately daring and timid, at once rebels and despots; persecuting the bishops in the name of liberty, the Independents in the name of power; arrogating to themselves, in a word, the privileges of insurrection and of tyranny, while daily declaiming against tyranny and insurrection."*

Whitelocke tells us that "the plan had been formed by some of the leading Presbyterians to carry their plans in a very thin House. Their scheme was securely planned. A deputation from the Westminster Divines appeared, as soon as the Commons had assembled, and presented them with the Assembly's advice and opinion for the Presbyterian Government to be settled," &c. "Glyne and I were in the House," he says, "and few others but who concurred in judgment with the Assembly, and had notice to be there early, thinking to pass this business before the House should

* Guizot's Eng. Rev., b. v., p. 211. "On its first appearance, the principle of liberty of conscience, then proclaimed by obscure sectaries amidst the errors of a blind enthusiasm, was treated as a crime or as madness. . . . Episcopalians and Presbyterians, preachers and magistrates, all alike persecuted it; the question how and by whom the church of Christ was to be governed, continued to be almost the only point discussed; all thought they had simply to 'choose between the absolute power of the Pope, the aristocracy of the bishops, and the democracy of the Presbyterian clergy; it was not asked whether these governments were legitimate in their origin, whatever their form or appellation.'"—Guizot, b. v., p. 213.

be full. Both of them spoke against time, till their friends arrived, and finally defeated the attempt.”*

Under these oppressions our brethren suffered not a little. With a bitter hatred they pursued them, and it was only want of power that saved them from exile or death. Everybody, in reading the letters of Baillie, must smile at the almost frantic earnestness with which he invokes, nay implores, in the most piteous accents, the aid of his learned correspondents on the continent to wield their mighty pens against them. If the existence of his idol depended on their extinction, his earnestness could not have been more intense. Logically he was right. Grant the truth of the cardinal verities held by the Baptists, and Presbytery must perish. He acknowledges that if conversion was made a requisite to church-fellowship, forty for one would be excluded from the lists of the Reformed churches.† It may amuse the reader to have a specimen or two of this class:—“If Spanheim’s book were come out, I wish he were entreated to go on with his Anabaptists. Vossius said to me he had a large treatise against them, and would push it out. It is the prevailing sect here. I have written to D. Stewart, to put Spanheim and Vossius on the Anabaptists.”‡ “You will do well to set Dr. Forbes on a supplement, wherein he may handle Anabaptism, Antinomianism, &c. Will you entreat him to press his friend Vossius to print that he told me he had ready against the Anabaptists,—the greatest and most prevalent sect here? In tumultuous ways they provoke our ministers to public disputations on Pædobaptism.”|| Again he says—“I wish you might put Forbes to go on with his History, especially of the Anabaptists, Libertines, and such as personally vex us. I wrote to you to cause some press (Vossius’) to print what he told me he had beside him against the Anabaptists. When Spanheim is free of Amivant, I wish he went on with his *Collegium Anabaptisticum*. These

* Vol. i., p. 327.

† Orme’s Life of Owen, pp. 80, 97.

‡ Letters, vol. ii., p. 154.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 170.

are the sectaries who most increase amongst us. Tombes, a minister of London, has printed a large book for them, wherein he dares us all.* We could fill a page with these invocations. To some we have referred below.

The sturdy Principal was not alone. Following in his wake came another mighty hunter of heretics. The doughty old divinity professor, Rutherford, presents his athletic form with the keys dangling at his girdle, and grasping in his hands the sword of Church power, accompanied by a host of Greek and Latin Fathers, and frowning defiance on Cotton, Robinson, and others, and threatening the Anabaptists as beyond the pale of his compassion.† He often seeks to alarm his adversary, by declaring that his opinions are Anabaptistical, and is satisfied to refute an argument, or to show the danger of a position, by stating that it necessarily leads to Anabaptism. The wrath of this devout, but singularly prejudiced man, was poured out upon the Baptists for their teaching that conversion was necessary to union with the church, and that its purity should be maintained by discipline. "Pastors are to be blamed," said Mr. Cotton, "that there be scandalous persons in the visible church." "This doth but strengthen Anabaptists who objected the same." "All which is very Anabaptism, that there is no visible church on earth, but a company of truly, and (*in foro Dei*) regenerated and converted persons, and the only redeemed of God."‡ With arguments of this kind he would terrify his opponents.

Both Crosby and Taylor give an account of the early

* Letters, vol. ii., pp. 170, 171, 201. "He testifies everywhere to their rapid increase."—Vol. i., p. 402. "The Independent party grows; but the Anabaptists more; and the Antinomians most."—Vol. i., pp. 402, 408, 431, 437; vol. ii., pp. 3, 4, 14, 24. In these pages the reader will find notices of our brethren. In one passage he says:—"In the greatest parish in London, scarce one child in a year was brought to the church for baptism."—*Ibid*, pp. 37, 43, 46, 49, 59.

† The Due Right of Presbyterians, &c.; by Sam. Rutherford, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's. London, 1644.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 262, 263, 245. See also pp. 253, 261. The work is full of similar allusions.

planting of a church in Coventry. The former says, "That Mr. Cox, the son of a bishop, was imprisoned in the gaol in that city, for preaching against the baptism of infants. By some means, various persons had embraced Baptist principles; and wishing to form themselves into a church, invited Mr. Cox, from Bedford, to undertake that work. Baxter, with other Presbyterian ministers, were in the city as refugees. Alarm seized them. Against the intruders the pulpits thundered, and the errors of Cox and his brethren were denounced. More than this: Baxter challenged him to a public dispute on the points of difference. The meeting was held, and the issue was an order from the committee commanding the Baptists to depart the city, and to promise not to enter it again. Refusal on the part of Cox was followed by his immediate loss of liberty."* Baxter's own account is fuller:—"The garrison and city of Coventry (where I lived next) was almost free from them when I first came thither, and a good while after. But while we slept, the envious man sowed these tares; and our tenderness of them, as godly people, caused us at first the more remissly to gainsay them, and so their number to increase: till at last they got a separated society, and despised the ministers, and got themselves a troop of teachers, some of which we before esteemed godly men, but knew to be silly men to become teachers. All this while I had no contest with them, much less any falling out: for few of the soldiers had taken the infection, they being many of them the most sober staid men that I ever met with in any garrison, and had a reverend esteem of the counsel of their teachers (which being returned home, they do yet continue). But it was some younger people of the city that were then infected most. At last one Mr. Coxe (an ancient minister, of competent learning and parts) was sent from London to confirm them, which when he had done awhile, he was desired to depart. After

* Crosby, vol. i., p. 220. Taylor, vol. i.

that he came down a second time, and because he would not promise to leave the city and come no more, the committee did imprison him, which some of his party gave out to be procured by me: when I can truly say that I never spoke word to put him in prison, but (at the motion of Mr. Pinson) did speak to get him out. In this time I desired that Mr. Coxe would entertain some dispute about our differences, which was consented to, and begun by words, and afterwards we agreed to follow it by writing; but to my first paper I could never have answer (save to the extemporate writing before at our meeting), and so that labour ended. In which dispute my zeal for unity and peace was so much greater than my zeal for rebaptizing, that I resolved to dispute the case of separation first, and baptism next; professing that if they did not hinder the Gospel, and sin against the Divine Word by divisions, I should easily bear with any that differed from me in the point of baptism. For Mr. Coxe taught them (and it was presently swallowed) that our ministers, being unbaptized, were indeed no ministers of Christ, and it was unlawful to hear them, or to joyn with our people (though never so godly), because they were all unbaptized persons: which doctrine began to make men to look at others as Pagans, and to break all to pieces; so that the rebaptized husband would not pray with his (supposedly) unbaptized wife.** For the same offence, Mr. Hobson was imprisoned by the Governor of Newport Pagnal. Hanserd Knollys also was taken up for preaching against infant baptism in Bow Church. This eminent individual suffered much from the malignant interference of little men in power. Forbidden to preach in the churches, Mr. Knollys established a church in Great St. Helen's, in the city. Multitudes, it is said, flocked to hear him. This gave great offence. Before the committee he was called as a transgressor of the ordinances. To their command, forbidding

* Infant Church Membership.

him to preach again, he replied, that he would make known the Gospel from house to house.

The prevalence and strength of our brethren at this period may be gathered from various sources. Some we have already indicated; another must not be overlooked. The hostility of the Royalists was bitter and undisguised. Charles himself breathed it on every occasion. In every form in which it could be uttered we find it. In addresses to the Parliament, his army, or when he sought to win his Scottish subjects to his standard, they are held up as the worst of men. There is nothing to excite surprise in this. As some of them said at a later period, "They did not look on themselves as a band of Janizaries, hired and entertained only to fight their battles, but that they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation," &c. Their hatred of despotism was inferior in intenseness only to their love of truth. We may group in this place a few utterances of the monarch. In reply to a petition, he says:—"And his Majesty would know whether the petitioners believe that the resisting and suppressing of the 'Book of Common Prayer,' . . . and the cherishing and countenance of Brownists, Anabaptists, and all manner of sectaries," &c.* In his address to the Scots, he describes the army as abounding in Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries.† "You shall meet with no enemies but traitors," he said, when appealing to his army, "most of them Brownists, Anabaptists, and Atheists; such who desire to betray both the Church and the State, and who have already condemned you to ruin for being loyal to me."‡

* Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 112.

† *Ibid.*, p. 187. Vol. iv., p. 747.

‡ Clarendon, p. 7. On the other side, we select the following of the same date:—"I first observed that there is no such hating nor traducing of the king, as I was told before; they pray for him in their pulpits for the turning of his heart, and the return of his Royal power; only their pamphlets do justly whip their court vices, the supreme sins, whilst ours do call them virtues. I observe their religion is to pray, preach, and practise only the Word of God, and to have no dealings with Popery, or

During the close of 1645, some of our brethren had agreed to hold a disputation with Mr. Calamy, and others in the city. The interposition of the mayor prevented this. The document is singular, and may interest our readers. It is as follows:—

“Whereas, at the entreaty of Mr. Calamy, and other ministers, as it was represented to me by certain citizens, I did lately give an allowance to them to meet and dispute with certain Anabaptists: and whereas, I understand that in pursuance of that allowance, there is a public disputation intended on Wednesday next, December 3, in the church at Aldermanbury, and that there is likely to be an extraordinary concourse of people from all parts of the city, and from other places; and that in these times of distraction there may be hazard of the disturbance of the public peace; I have therefore thought fit, upon serious consideration, for preventing the inconveniences that may happen therefrom, to forbid the said meeting on Wednesday next, or at any other time, in a public way, before I shall receive the pleasure of the Honourable House of Parliament touching the same, which with all conveniency I shall endeavour to know.

“THOMAS ADAM, Mayor.

“This first of Decr., 1645.”*

Though increasing in numbers, the progress of our brethren was marked by much suffering. The old leaven of persecution still existed in the Senate. Guardians of the truth, as they imagined, they were anxious for a uniformity in faith and practice; whilst the Presbyterian faction, now very strong, inflamed that spirit, and excited it to vengeance on all opposed to them. The Baptists felt it. Everywhere they were in danger. Only on two examples can we touch at present. Liberated from prison, Henry Denne was untiring

anything like it; and if we call them Independents, Anabaptists, and Brownists for this, let be all those, and call me worse if you can.”—Testimony of a Royalist. *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. xlix., Sept., 1644. “For though all Sir W. Waller’s Anabaptists and Brownists, horses and foot, were there (near Oxford), and not so many absent as to make up one conventicle, yet durst they not adventure on 500 of his Majesty’s forces.”—*Mercurius Aulicus*, August, 1644, pp. 1112, 1116. *Mercurius Britannicus*, Sept., 1644, p. 387.

* *Vide Perfect Passages, &c.*, p. 464.

in his efforts to diffuse the truth. Over various parts of Lincolnshire and Huntingdon he travelled, preaching the Gospel and planting churches. His success was considerable. To the records of the churches at Warboys and Fenstanton, the reader is referred for ample details of his successful mission.* In 1646 he visited Spalding, and finding his ministry blessed, several persons expressed a desire to profess Christ by baptism. Fearing the multitude, night was chosen as the safest time for the baptism. Two men and two women then followed their Lord about midnight. The fact was noised abroad in a day or two. Denne was called before the magistrate. It was on Sunday when the warrant was executed, and Mr. Denne was dragged to prison and prevented preaching. Before this "unpaid one" he was strictly examined. He confessed that he had often preached, but declined admitting anything about baptism. Before the same awful tribunal a young woman was called, the companion or rather an attendant on the females on the occasion of their baptism. Threatening to commit him to Lincoln, Mr. Denne boldly replied that he cared not for himself, he only dreaded the hindrance it would be to his great work. Mr. Samuel Oates, in connexion with Mr. Lambe, had carried on evangelistic efforts in many parts of Essex, Kent, &c. Many were converted and baptized by them. The popularity of Oates was great. If we are to believe Edwards, "no magistrates in the county do meddle with him."† A young woman, baptized by this minister, died some weeks after. His enemies raised the cry that her death was the result of the baptism. By order of the magistrates, he was thrown into prison, heavily ironed, and treated as a murderer. The trial was conducted at Chelmsford. Every effort was made by his enemies to secure his conviction, but failure marked them. The mother of the girl gave evidence that

* Records of the Church of Christ, &c. Hans. Knollys Society.

† Gangreana, p. 2.

her daughter was in better health after her baptism than before. The case broke down in court, and the jury, to the mortification of his enemies, acquitted Mr. Oates.

The profoundest reverence for the Divine Word does not secure us at all times from danger. Under it the spirit of truth may be violated, whilst the letter may have the fullest adherence. Instances of this might be multiplied from the teaching of this period. Our brethren were not exceptions. Holding and teaching with a clearness and power the great verities of the Gospel above many, yet some were led by name and form to adopt practices which modern times have repudiated, and which only few then adopted. The laying on of the hands of the elder or pastor of the church on the baptized, was now introduced. It appears to have been first practised amongst the English Baptists, in the General Baptist church over which Mr. Barber presided. Mr. Danvers gives us the following account of its rise:—"About the year 1646, some twenty-seven years ago, one Mr. Cornwall, heretofore a public preacher, then a member and minister of a baptized congregation in Kent, was a great assister of this principle and practice; who coming about that time into that baptized congregation then meeting in Bishopsgate Street, London, did, from Hebrews v. 12, 13, and vi. 1, 2, preach the necessity of laying on of hands, inferring from thence that those that were not under laying on of hands were not babes in Christ Jesus, had not God, nor communion with God. Whereupon several of that congregation were persuaded to come under that practice; and which, notwithstanding, the church in tenderness indulged to them, upon their promise of a peaceable demeanour in the church. Notwithstanding which promise, they did afterwards not only press their said persuasions uncharitably, as they had been taught by their aforesaid teacher, viz., that none were babes in Christ, nor had communion with God without it, therefore not to be communicated with in church ordinances (and as after was published in print, by a leading brother amongst them, in a book

called 'God's Oracles and Christ's Doctrine'), but made a rent and a separation for the same, and from that very schism propagated the same principles and practices amongst many others in the nation ever since, who have kept that distance from their brethren (not owning the same), as not esteeming or communicating with them as the true church of God, because defective in one of the requiring principles or foundations of the Christian religion."*

Probably these proceedings, and others which our space does not allow us to detail, may be traced to Presbyterian influence. "About this time (1646), the 'Directory' became the established form of public worship, instead of the 'Common Prayer,' &c. As the hierarchy of bishops was abolished, the Presbyterian government in every congregation subordinate to classical, provincial, and national assemblies and elders, chosen according to certain regulations, became the ecclesiastical order of the country, to the exclusion of other religious distinctions. Thus the Presbyterian party in the Commons restored, in effect, the Act of Uniformity, but to their own advantage. This was substituting one tyranny for another, and it must have appeared a very strange proceeding on the parts of those who, under the Episcopalian rule, had cried out so much for liberty."† During this year, Whitelocke tells us that "a remonstrance from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London was presented to both Houses, desiring a strict course for suppressing all private and separate congregations. That all Anabaptists, heretics, &c., as conformed not to the public discipline, may be declared and proceeded against," &c.‡

Not only did some of their ministers fill very high places

* Laying on of Hands, &c.; by H. Danvers, p. 58.

† D'Aubigné's Protectorate, p. 63.

‡ Memorials, vol. ii., p. 25. About the same time, the Parliament of Scotland asked "that all Anabaptists, Independents, and Separatists may be suppressed, and no toleration of any of them."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 307.

in the army, as commanding troops, filling chaplaincies, and the like, but men of eminence and rank united with them. Selection only can be adopted.* John Tombes was a man of profound scholarship; not only familiar with theology in the widest sense, but, as all conversant with his works will admit, not less so with classical literature. Wood's testimony is that of one detesting his principles, and may be, therefore, accepted without any discount:—"He showed himself a most excellent disputant, a person of incomparable parts, well versed in the Hebrew and Greek languages." Referring to Baxter, he says:—"They preached against one another's doctrines, Tombes being then a preacher at Bewdley, which he kept with Lemster," &c. "Tombes was the Coryphæus of the Anabaptists, and Baxter of the Presbyterians. Both had a very great company of auditors, who came many miles on foot round about to admire them. Once, I think oftener, they disputed face to face, and their followers were like two armies; and at last it came so to pass that they fell together by the ears, whereby hurt was done, and the civil magistrate had much to do to quiet them. All scholars there and then present, who knew the way of disputing and managing arguments, did conclude that Tombes got the better of Baxter by far. His body was little and neatly limbed, he had a quick and searching eye, and was so exceedingly apprehensive that he would find out the end upon the first entry of the dispute."† Doubts appear to have been excited in his mind, from some cause, as to the truth of infant baptism. These doubts he first laid before the London ministers, but without satisfaction. To the chairman of the committee of the Westminster Assembly, in 1643 and 1644, he presented certain papers on this subject. Referring to it in his "*Examen*," he

* "Dell and others were chaplains. Mr. Dell, the General's chaplain, brought letters and the articles from Oxford to the Parliament, 1646."—Whitlocke, vol. ii., p. 42.

† Wood's *Athe.* Oxford, vol. ii., p. 553.

says:—"It is now full nine months since, that being informed by one of the members of the Assembly, of which you are one, that there was a committee chosen out of the members of the Assembly to give satisfaction in the point of Pædobaptism; and advised by the same person, out of his tender love to me,* to present the reason of my doubts about Pædobaptism to that committee, I drew them up in Latin in nine arguments, in a scholastic way, and they were delivered unto Mr. Whitaker, the chairman of the committee, about nine months since; to which I added after an addition of three more reasons of doubting, with a supplement of some other things wanting, which was delivered to Mr. Tuckney, and joined by him to the former papers. My aim therein was, either to find better ground than I had then found to practise the baptizing of infants, from that Assembly of learned and holy men, whom I supposed able and willing to resolve their brother in the ministry. . . . The success was such as I little expected; to this day I have heard nothing from the committee by way of answer to these doubts, but I have met with many sermons tending to make the questioning of that point odious to the people and the magistracy."† These "learned and holy men" not only refused to solve his doubts, but rested not till they had removed him as preacher at the Temple.‡

Another, if less learned than Tombes, was on other grounds of equal eminence,—we mean Henry Jessey. He had been pastor of a church, according to Ivimey, of mixed membership, since 1637. By various members of known piety and intelligence embracing Baptist views, doubts were excited in his mind. For some time he prosecuted his investigations, and then renounced the former mode of baptism as a modern

* Probably his father-in-law, the author of the "Christian in Complete Armour."

† Anti-Pædobaptism, part iii., p. 8. *Ecumen*, pp. 1, 2.

‡ We have mislaid the reference, but allusion to it will be found in his Anti-Pædobaptism, as well as to other annoyances to which he was exposed as a Baptist.—Part iii., pp. 8, 9. Ivimey, vol. i., pp. 181, 182.

innovation; and told the church, in 1642, that henceforth immersion would be the mode in which he would administer it. For two or three years his practice was to baptize children by dipping them in water.* The growth of Baptist principles, and the discussion to which it led, told on the mind of Mr. Jessey. The consequences were natural. Doubts about infants presented themselves. Dissatisfied, after his own investigations, he submitted his case to some of the most eminent of his brethren. The opinions of Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, and others, failed to give him the satisfaction he desired, and in 1645 he was baptized by Mr. Knollys.† The effects of this on the church under his care we know not; but one thing is certain, that the spirit of controversy now rose in all its power. Rapid and fearful were the assaults on the Baptists,—less from Independents than from Presbyterians. The latter appear to have hated them with perfect hatred. Clarendon tells us, that they entered into a covenant with Charles, in which he agrees to put down Anabaptism, &c.‡ Black prelacy was not more hideous to these men than the Anabaptists. Pre-eminent amongst these was the author of “The Saint’s Rest.” The spirit of Christ was largely participated by Baxter, and the spirit of anger, wrath, and malice. Singular elements are mixed up in his character. Extremes meet in him. Anabaptism would rouse his ire, even if wrapt in meditation on “The Saint’s Everlasting Rest.” Nothing can justify his language. By what law can we palliate the following!—“That which is a plain breach of the Sixth Commandment, *Thou shalt not kill*, is no ordinance of God, but a most

* “The mode of baptism underwent a great change at this time. Sprinkling was only allowed in certain cases. When discussed in the Assembly, the opposition was so strong against sprinkling, that it was only carried by a majority of one; and he an Erastian.”—Robinson’s Hist. of Baptism, p. 450.

† Bunyan calls him “honest and holy Mr. Jessey.”—Works, vol. ii., p. 654.

‡ History, vol. v., pp. 104, 145, 215.

heinous sin. But the ordinary practice of baptizing over head in cold water, as necessary, is a plain breach of the Sixth Commandment; therefore it is no ordinance of God, but a heinous sin. That this is *flat murder*, and no better, being ordinarily and generally used, is undeniable to any understanding man; and I know not what trick a covetous landlord can find out to get his tenants to die apace, that he may have new fines and heriots; likewise to encourage such preachers, that he may get them all to turn Anabaptists." We cannot find space for his filthy allusions, in attributing to immersion all the diseases which may afflict humanity, at the close of which list he says—"In a word, it is good for nothing but to despatch men out of this world that are burdensome, and to ranken churchyards." "I conclude, if murder be a sin, then dipping ordinarily over head in England is a sin; and if those who would make it mere religion to murder themselves, and urge it upon their consciences as their duty, are not to be suffered in a commonwealth any more than highway robbers, then judge how these Anabaptists that teach the necessity of such dipping are to be suffered."* Pretty well this, for the saintly Baxter!

We have a glimpse of this spirit, and of some of the difficulties encountered by others in the adoption of Baptist principles at this time, in Mrs. Hutchinson's memoirs. She says: "When formerly the Presbyterian ministers had forced him (Col. H.), for quietness' sake, to go and break up a private meeting in the Commoners' Chamber, there were found some notes concerning Pædobaptism, which, being brought into the governor's lodgings, his wife, having then more leisure to read than he, having perused them and compared them with the Scriptures, found not what to say against the truths they asserted concerning the misapplication of that ordinance to infants; but being then young and modest, she thought it

* Infant Ch. Memb., pp. 134, 135. Much more of this sort will be found in Plain Scripture Proofs, &c., pp. 134-137.

a kind of virtue to submit to the judgment and practice of most churches, rather than to defend a singular opinion of her own, she not being then enlightened in that great mistake of the national churches: but in this year, she happening to be with child, communicated her doubts to her husband, and desired him to endeavour her satisfaction, which, while he did, he became himself as unsatisfied, or rather satisfied, against it. First, therefore, he diligently searched the Scriptures alone, and could find in them no ground alone for such practice; then he bought and read all the eminent treatises on both sides, which at that time came thick from the presses, and still was cleared in the error of the Pædobaptists. After this, his wife being brought to bed, that he might, if possible, give the religious party no offence, he invited all the ministers to dinner, and propounded his doubt and the ground thereof to them. None of them could defend their practice with any satisfactory reason, but the tradition of the church from the primitive times, and their main buckler of panal holiness, which Tombes and Denne had excellently overthrown. He and his wife, then, professing themselves unsatisfied in the practice, desired their opinions what they ought to do. Most answered, to conform to the general practice of other Christians, how dark soever it were to themselves; but Mr. Foxcraft, one of the Assembly, said that except they were convinced of the warrant of that practice from the Word, they sinned in doing it: whereupon that infant was not baptized. And now the governor and his wife, notwithstanding that they forsook not their assemblies, nor retracted their benevolences and civilities from them, yet were they reviled by them, called fanatics and Anabaptists, and often glanced at in their public sermons. And not only the ministers, but all their zealous sectaries, conceived implacable malice against them upon this account; which was carried on with a spirit of envy and persecution to the last; though he, on his side, might well have said to them, as his Master to the old

Pharisees, 'Many good works have I done among you, for which of these do you hate me?'"*

To check the progress of sects, no doubt, the Legislature, as the great conservators of religion, issued an ordinance on the 26th of April, 1645, forbidding any person to preach "who is not ordained a minister either in this or some other Reformed church, except such as, intending the ministry, shall be allowed for the trial of their gifts, by those who shall be appointed thereunto by both Houses of Parliament." This precious document was ordered to be sent to Fairfax, with strict orders to enforce it, and to report all delinquents. This exercise of ecclesiastical despotism failing, another, more stringent still, was issued December 26, 1646. This threatened with the high displeasure of the Commons of England, any unordained person who should preach, or even expound the Scriptures, in any church or chapel, or any other public place. Wider still the authority was stretched against all such ministers or others as "shall publish or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or in any other way, anything against, or in degradation of, Church government, which is now established by authority of both Houses of Parliament; and all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, &c., &c., and all officers of the army, are commanded to enforce this, and report the offenders." But those dupes of Presbyterian power had to deal with men, not slaves;—men of mould quite as strong as theirs, with higher principles of action, with a deeper sense of the value and grandeur of religious truth, and with more enlarged and intelligent conceptions of the will of God. Men who had struggled and suffered, who had dared the monarch and his hosts, who had snapt asunder the prelate's yoke, who had looked with calmness on the pillory, and never shrank from the prison, were not to be driven from their steadfastness by these threats. Such men formed the ranks of our brethren. The vanguard

* Memoirs, p. 89.

of liberty, the vindictive threats of Presbyterian power awed them not.

But if they could not arrest the flowing tide of thought and liberty, they could punish. Instruments were always at command for this work. The spirit of Moses was more rife than that of Christ. Upon the Baptists their indignation fell with no light pressure. Instances of suffering have already been given. Others demand attention.

Onward the tide of war had been rolling during the period over which this narrative has extended. From every battlefield the infatuated monarch had been driven. London and other great towns had placed their wealth at the command of the Parliament.* Effort after effort had been made by the patriotic leaders to heal the breach, which Charles's duplicity defeated.† The chivalrous spirit of his first ministers had vanished. His army had undergone as great changes. The leaders, as Goring and Greenville, were men

* The wealth of London was immense. The household plate and valuable trinkets were dedicated voluntarily to their support. "And I think I may truly say that there were few good cobblers in London but had a silver beaker,—so rife were silver vessels among all conditions."—Sir P. Warwick, p. 63.

† "With anything like sincerity on the part of the king, means would easily have been discovered of settling such disputes as these. But he had no desire that the points in dispute should be settled except on terms of submission to himself. He believed that the machine of Government could not act without him; that if he could only keep public affairs long enough in the condition of dead lock to which they were now reduced, his enemies would be ruined, or would be forced by the people into yielding to his terms. His mind was as full as ever of the most exalted notions of the sacred and indefeasible character of his Royal authority. All who opposed him were, in his estimation, wicked rebels whom God would judge. It was his place to govern, and that of his people to submit. His sins of misgovernment never occurred to him. Regret that for many years his course of action had been totally wanting in the kingly virtues of justice and fair dealing, never entered his mind. It never troubled him that he sought to govern in defiance of his own concession, in opposition to the even then acknowledged principles of the Constitution, and in breach of his coronation oath," &c.—Charles I. in 1646. Camden Society. Intro., pp. viii., ix.

of another stamp to the early leaders. The former was a debauched, reckless villain; the other, the most rapacious of his crew. Affection to the Royal cause never swayed them; their governing principle was the gratification of passion and the love of plunder. Under their guidance the inferior officers and men were moulded. The chivalry of the past was gone. "It was a rabble of vagabonds, utterly indifferent to the cause, committing day and night the most intolerable excesses, and disgusting by their vices a country ruined by their extortions." "Fellows," says Clarendon, "whom only their friends feared and their enemies laughed at, being only terrible in plunder and resolute in running away."*

With every sect he had tried, except the Baptists. His stratagems had all failed. The leading sects had not been blinded by his duplicity. Foreign aid was hopeless, though he had implored it from France. Ireland had failed; his Holiness had failed; and now his last retreat was encircled by men whose name was a terror to the monarch as well as his troops. What should he do? It was the alternative of captivity, or liberty in another land. The pathway was narrow; the danger was gathering. "I intend to get peaceably to Lynn, when I will try if it be possible to make such strength as to procure honourable and safer conditions from the rebels; if not, then I resolve to go by sea to Scotland, in case I shall understand that Montrose be in a condition fit to receive me; otherwise I mean to make for Ireland, France, or Denmark." Leaving Oxford, he wandered about for eight days, and finally joined the camp of the Scots under Lesly, &c.

We must pass over the subsequent events which marked the infatuated monarch's life. His attempted escape—his

* Guizot, b. vi., p. 279. Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 1089. "Good men are so scandalized at the horrid impiety of our armies, that they will not believe that God can bless any such cause in such hands."—Culpepper to Lord Digby. Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii., p. 189.

unmeaning negotiations—his deceitful attempts on the popular leaders—his trial and subsequent execution, would lead us too far from the objects of this volume. Independents are charged with the murder of the Royal martyr, as he is called. We are not careful to defend them from this charge. History will do its work in time. People are not for kings, but, if at all, kings for the people. So-called royalty has no more right to trample on the majesty of law than the lowliest peasant. "If a king," says Walpole, "deserve to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death. If he reduces his servants to that extremity, the blood spilt in the quarrel lies on him; the executing him afterwards is a mere formality."*

The character of this monarch has called forth opinions of the most opposite nature. On the one hand, the senseless and absurd eulogies of his advisers have approached to blasphemy. Flattery has exhausted herself, and fancy has put forth her loftiest power, in clothing him with all but super-human virtues. In the pages of something called history, he is pourtrayed as faultless. In the wildness of their delirium, the Cavaliers, after the Restoration, proclaimed him as a martyr, and the folly of the Legislature was seen in the setting apart of a day for bewailing the crime. Upon his opponents the vials of holy indignation were poured. No terms were too severe to designate the murderers of the

* Noble Authors, vol. ii., p. 69. Burton's Diary, vol. ii., p. 320. "I have heard it from the mouths of many worthy gentlemen, whose hap it was to serve him in the late wars, that they did believe had he, viz., the king, by armies conquered the Parliament, he would have proved the greatest tyrant the English nation ever had to rule over them; and, therefore, they did still pray for a reconciliation betwixt Parliament and them, but could never endure to hear he should conquer their armies, &c. And so much, in a manner, dropt out from the mouth of Rupert, who giving command for executing something contrary to the laws, and being acquainted with his mistake, 'Tush,' quoth he, 'we will have no more law in England henceforward, but the sword.'"—Lilly's *Life and Death of Charles I.*, p. 141. Hyde utters the same opinion.—Letter to Culpepper. Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 411.

Lord's anointed. The measure of loyalty was often estimated by the intense hatred with which these men, and those who sympathised with them, were hated. The day of the "Royal Martyr's" death was hailed as the appropriate occasion, when the wailing of the unprincipled, and the roar of the sycophant, against the Nonconformist, was heard the loudest and the longest. From the Episcopal throne to the humblest rural church, the glories of the martyred sovereign were the annual theme upon which genius displayed its invective power, erudition its stores of literary lore, and impassioned hatred its distilled violence. It was the time of the nation's sorrow; the period of her profound humiliation for the enormous guilt which had been contracted. We could multiply pages of this nonsense. A sample or two must suffice. These bishops and dignitaries speak:—"When the crown of our head was fallen, then also the joy of our heart was ceased, and our dance was turned into mourning: for this our heart was faint, for these things our eyes were dim, as the prophet Jeremiah complains" (Lam. v. 8). "When the breath of our nostrils was expired, all faces were turned into paleness, as the same prophet complains: when the Father of our country, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, we were as orphans, and fatherless" (Lam. v. 3). "The beauty of Israel is slain! How are the mighty fallen!"* Thus Sancroft raved:—"Those papers, I mean that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles the pious and the glorious, with whom fell the Church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all the piety and honesty which the nation could hope for in this world. And now the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all."† But enough of this rant.

* Worthington's Diary, vol. i., p. 31. Camden Society.

† Life, vol. i., p. 44.

From some men of his time—men who had felt the iron hand of oppression, whose liberties had been invaded, and who had struggled with him in the Senate and in the tented field—the estimate is widely different. They paint him as a tyrant whom no law could bind, in whose promise no confidence could be placed, and as a monarch destitute of all those principles which are demanded by a constitutional Government. His death, they declare, was necessary to the liberties of the nation, and to the life of the noblest and the most patriotic of her sons. The contrast is striking, and the portraits are very unlike. Which is the accurate one? History should know no party. Her aim should be truth, and only truth. Happily, in our day, she is aiming at this. Steadily and increasingly she is throwing her purest light on the past. The mists of ignorance and prejudice are retiring, and things are appearing as they are, unveiled, before us. Our readers will bear with us, if before closing this chapter we offer a remark or two on the character of this misguided and unfortunate man.

National degradation—the overthrow of dynasties, the prostration of the illustrious, are not sudden. They are generally the effects of causes which have long been operating; the crisis of some steady but certain revolution. It was so with Charles. His father's detestable policy laid the foundation of his ruin. Nurtured from infancy in the loftiest notions of kingly prerogative, it grew with his growth and augmented with his years. He was full of haughty pretensions, and regarded every opposition to his will as fraught with the seeds of rebellion. These notions were sustained by his favourite and unprincipled ministers, whilst many of the clergy laboured with sleepless zeal to uphold the Divine right of kings.* It was the evil star of

* "When one talented, but as a common person, yet by the favour of his prince hath gotten that interest, that, in a sort, all the keys of England hang at his girdle. The Duke of Buckingham had the managing of these things, as it were generally conceived; for what was he not fit to

his reign. In his deepest distress it ruled him; in his intercourse with his opponents it defeated every offer of peace. The nation lived for him, and not he for the nation. "The anointed of the Lord," the representative of the Deity, he was above all law, and could rule the nation according to his own will.*

Charles's marriage with the daughter of France was productive of untold misery. Not only did it involve him with Philip of Spain, but her influence over him was extreme. To her he yielded when he should have been firm, and allowed affection for her to operate when his own judgment should have been exercised. His love for her was pure and ardent. To the last it was so. Judging from the statements of men of her time, she had much in her appearance to charm and hold captive a man of Charles's character. "We have now a most noble new Queen of England, who in true beauty is beyond the long-wooded Infanta; for she was of a fading flaxen hair, big lipped, and somewhat heavy eyed; but this daughter of France, this youngest branch of Bourbon (being but in her cradle when the great Henry, her father, was put out of the world), is of a more lovely and lasting complexion—a dark brown. She hath eyes that sparkle like stars; and for her physiognomy, she may be said to be a mirror of perfection," &c.†

Intensely Romanist, she was ever surrounded by individuals of that faith, who too frequently used her influence over Charles to their advantage.‡ Self-willed, impulsive,

determine in Church or commonwealth—in court or Council—in peace or war—at land or at sea—at home or abroad?"—Archbishop Abbott's Narrative. Rushworth, p. 457.

* "Fifteen years had he reigned when this Parliament was called (1640). So long had the laws been violated (more than any king), the liberties of the people invaded, and the authority of Parliament, by which laws and liberties are supported, trodden under foot," &c.—May's Review of the History of the Parliament of England, &c., p. 3. Mascer's Tracts, vol. i.

† Howell's Letters, p. 190.

‡ Her confessor not only made her walk from St. James's to Tyburn,

and full of passion, the domestic circle was at times not of the calmest order. "The queen," says Meade, "howsoever little of stature, is of spirit and vigour, and seems of a more than ordinary resolution. With one frown, divers of us being at Whitehall to see her being at dinner, and the room somewhat heated with the fire and company, she drove us all out of the chamber. I suppose none but a queen could have cast such a scowl."* "When compelled to dismiss some of her French attendants, her anger was imperial. She stamped with her foot, tore her hair, and with her delicate hands broke the glass in the windows, and various articles around her. The king's affection for her, we are told, was a composition of conscience and love, and generosity and gratitude; insomuch that he saw with her eyes and determined with her judgment; she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs, and thought that she could dispose of all favours as Buckingham had done. And she did not more desire to be possessed of this power, than that all mankind should take notice that she was possessed of it," &c.†

"but had made her to dabble in the dirt, in a foul morning, from Somerset House to St. James's, her luciferious confessor riding along by her in his coach. Ye have made her to go barefoot, to spin, to cut her meat out of dishes, to wait at the tables, to serve her servants," &c.—Pory to Meade, 1626. *Court and Times of Charles I.*, vol. i., p. 119.

* Letter to Sir M. Stuteville. *The Times and Court of Charles I.* (London, Colburn.) In the same volume we have a curious domestic scene:—"The king and queen dining together in the presence, Hacket being there to say grace, the confessor would have prevented him, but that Hacket shoved him away. Whereupon the confessor went to the queen's side, and was about to say grace again, but that the king, pulling the dishes unto him, and the carvers falling to their business, hindered. When the dinner was done, he thought, standing by the queen, to have been before Mr. Hacket, but Mr. Hacket got the start again. The confessor, nevertheless, began his grace as loud as Mr. Hacket, with such confusion that the king, in a great passion, instantly rose from the table, and taking the queen by the hand, retired into the bedchamber."—*The Court and Times of Charles I.*, vol. i., p. 52.

† *Life of Clarendon*, vol. i., p. 155. Warburton's *Rupert and the Cavaliers*, p. 139 (Note).

To her influence may be traced the flood tide of evil which finally engulfed Charles. The attempt to seize the five members in the Commons House, so degrading to his own dignity, so insulting to the majesty of the law, and so destructive of all confidence in him, was no doubt her prompting.* As the difficulties of the monarch augmented, her interferences multiplied. In matters of the highest moment she must be consulted. She extorted from him the promise to receive no person into favour who had discarded him, and not to make peace without her mediation.† As one has said, with justice, “Born to be his ruin, she decidedly objected to his concessions. Although she had herself urged his absolute submission to the Presbyterian government, she disliked his partial surrender. She taunted him with having yielded his ground of conscience, and abandoned his principles of divine right, by his concession of three years—an argument which touched the king to the quick.” His letters exemplify the fatal influence she exerted over him, and probably no one individual contributed more largely to his ruin than this imperious woman. Un-English in her tastes and notions, separated from the people by her religion, and never able to form the slightest idea of the depth and fervour of their opinions, it is clear, from the letters before us, that the future of England was laid at the feet of this unprincipled lady.‡

Finally, her influence, instead of healing, widened the breach between her husband and the Parliament. At all times jealous of her power, she laid claim to unbounded authority on her arrival from the continent with supplies to the distressed monarch. Around her she gathered her

* Forster's Arrest of the Five Members.

† Life of Clarendon, vol. i., pp. 179, 186.

‡ Charles I. in 1646. Intro., p. 26. “The fatal destiny of the king raised up an enemy in his own consort. His escape to France was denounced by her, to whom alone he was sincere; her word had ever been his law; she was now, as she had ever been, the instrument of his ruin.” —Warburton's Prince Rupert, vol. iii., p. 395.

creatures, and threatened the councils of the few wise and principled men who adhered to Charles.*

Nor must we overlook another feature in the character of the man whom bishops and dignitaries have proclaimed to the world as the model of Christian piety, and as a martyr to the faith. None could trust him. On his word no reliance could be placed. From his youth he manifested this dissimulation. No man living was a greater master in this art, says Lilly.† The weight of his father's example had created and sustained it. It marked all his intercourse at home, and not less his dealings with other nations. May gives us an example. "He openly protested before God, with horrid imprecations, that he endeavoured nothing so much as the preservation of the Protestant religion and rooting out of Popery. Yet, in the meantime, underhand, he promised to the Irish rebels an abrogation of the laws against them, which was contrary to his late expressed promises, in these words: *I will never abrogate the laws against the Papists.* And again he said, *I abhor to think of bringing foreign soldiers into the kingdom;* and yet he solicited the Duke of Lorraine, the French, the Danes, and the very Irish, for assistance."‡

This vice was incurable; for he held himself bound by no engagement with rebellious subjects, and he meditated their ruin whilst he implored their aid.|| Event after event, during the progress of the civil war, augmented the distrust

* Warburton, vol. ii., p. 300. "I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit), that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England, as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great favour, and enable me to do it."—Charles to his Wife, March, 1645. Ludlow, p. 487. Similar to Ormond in relation to the Irish.—*Ibid*, p. 497. December 15, 1644.

† Life of Charles. Maseres Tracts, vol. i.

‡ May, p. 78. Maseres Tracts, vol. i.

|| Guizot, vol. ii., p. 97. Macaulay's Essays, vol. i., pp. 35, 43, 177. D'Aubigné's Protectorate, pp. 160, 161. The most noble-minded had difficulties in joining him. "If they fled to Oxford," says Kemble, "they were terrified with the systematic falsehood that characterised every word

of the patriots. The letters of the king seized on the battle-field revealed the hypocrisy which governed him. Guizot is truthful when he says: "It was clear that he had never desired peace; that in his eyes no concession was definitive, no promise obligatory; that, in reality, he relied only on force, and still aimed at absolute power: finally, that, despite protestations a thousand times repeated, he was negotiating with the King of France, the Duke of Lorraine, with all the princes of the continent, to have foreign soldiers sent into England for his purposes. Even the name of Parliament, which just before, to obtain the conference at Uxbridge, he had seemed to give the houses at Westminster, was but a deception on his part, for in giving it he had privately protested against his official proceeding, and caused his protest to be inscribed on the minutes of the council at Oxford."*

Upon all parties he tried this unmanly, not to say unkingly course. "I am not without hope that I shall be able to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating the one or the other; that I shall really be king again."† Even his commissioners, employed to treat with the agents of the Parliament, he commanded to insinuate, in their private intercourse, that the actors in the great conflict were "arrant rebels, and that their end must

of their faithless master, and oppressed with the miserable conviction that the triumph of the cause in which they fought would be the downfall of the liberties of their country."—*Ibid*, pp. xxi., xxii.

* English Rev., b. vi., p. 277. Evelyn's Mem., app. ii., p. 90. "There were 9,000 foreigners, men of all nations, levied by the Duke of Lorraine and the Prince of Orange, and put into the Isle of Burcombe, to be thence transported for the service of the King of England. The first design was, that these men, with some additional numbers, under the conduct of Lord Goring, should endeavour the surprisal of the Isle of Wight, and thereby release the king."—Hyde to Lord Jermyn. Clarendon, vol. ii., pp. 455, 456.

† Cartes Ormond, vol. iii., p. 452. Lingard, vol. x., p. 327. "I hope I need not remember you to cajole well the Independents and the Scots."—Charles to the Duke of Richmond. Ludlow, p. 501.

be damnation, ruin, and infamy, except they repent, and found some way to free themselves from the damnable way they were in."*

Whilst he was negotiating with Cromwell and his companions in arms for his restoration to supreme power, an intercepted letter to the queen disclosed to them the hypocrisy of the monarch, and the precipice on which they stood. Checking her for her finding fault with his promise to them, he says: "She might be easy, for he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord." From that moment hope was gone. Their own safety was not compatible with the life of the truthless monarch.†

Infamous as this vice was,—for no social or political elevation can render the individual who practises it free from the profoundest contempt and scorn of upright minds,—against the nation and its highest social and political rights he had perpetrated a crime which showed him guilty of treason against the Commonwealth. Before the standard of civil strife had been unfurled, he sought to sustain his rule, and to crush the rising liberties of the people, by armed troops from the continent. The majesty of law was to give way to the glittering spear, and the liberty to oppress was to be maintained by the hired ruffians of some continental despot. Deeper and deeper he plunged into this crime, as the prowess of Fairfax and Cromwell showed the hopelessness of his reckless enterprise. The damning facts are multitudinous. One or two will suffice for our present purpose. So early as 1638 he sought "to draw an army of 10,000

* Charles I. in 1646 (Note). Evelyn's Diary, vol. iv., p. 137.

† Memoirs of Sir J. Berkeley. Maseres Tracts, vol. i., pp. 386, 387. In a letter addressed to the queen, which Cromwell and Ireton intercepted at the Blue Boar, in Holborn, Charles said: "For the rest, I alone understand my position. Be quite easy as to the concessions which I may grant. When the time comes I shall very well know how to treat these rogues, and instead of a silken garter, I will fit them with a hempen cord."—*Vide* Guizot's English Rev., b. vi., p. 354.

men from Flanders, with such cautionary conditions as his Majesty need not fear, and yet his ill-affected subjects should not dare to budge. Nor would a far greater army of our own men awe the subjects half so much as a few foreign forces. And one main caution to his Majesty was to have some subjects of his own in joint commission with the head commander of these foreign forces," &c.

"Three weeks since I sent you word of my resolution to taste (*sic*) the Spaniards about their siding with his Majesty, if the Scotch and English Puritans should attempt at home, and their brother Hollanders and French foment their attempts," &c.*

On the same mission Colonel Gage was sent to the Cardinal Governor of the Netherlands. His instructions were definite. So they run: "You shall represent to him that the number which we desire for the present service is 6,000 foot and 400 horse. Take special care that the men be able, and their arms complete and serviceable, and the like for the horse. You must use great secrecy, dexterity, and expedition in this business; and take care that it be not divulged, seeing, if the party in Scotland should come to the knowledge of it, it would be utterly overthrown."†

Later on, in a letter to his wife, Charles says: "I must again tell thee that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the Duke of Lorraine's army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing there, upon the western coast, besides the ports under my obedience," &c.‡ In another letter to his wife, he wishes her to invite the

* Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii., pp. 19, 21.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 24. Other instances, pp. 31, 50, 51.

‡ Dated March 30th, 1641. Ludlow, p. 482, App. The queen says in reply that the duke had promised to bring 10,000 men.—*Ibid.*, p. 507. Whilst thus seeking the overthrow of his adversaries by a foreign power, Charles, in a declaration from Newark, March 9th, 1641, said to the Parliament: "Whatever you are advertised from Rome, Venice, Paris, of the Pope's nuncio, soliciting France, Spain, &c., for foreign aid, we are confident no sober honest man in our kingdom can believe that we are so

Pope, and the Roman Catholics of England, to help him in the restoration of Episcopacy in England, on condition of his giving them full liberty of conscience.* The history of this period is full of proof of the treason of the monarch against the State.

We have only to add, that in forming a true estimate of the character of Charles, the religious element of the time should not be overlooked. His devotion to the hierarchy was intense. That he was swayed by the narrow and superstitious-minded Laud admits of no doubt. The semi-Papist had all power. Against the sternest principle which ever swayed the mind of man, Charles was precipitated by his spiritual guide. The attempt was disastrous. The Puritan principle was interwoven with the religious life of England. The Laudian school violated its most deeply cherished sympathies. The leaders of the nation were devout religious men, who claimed free exercise for their religion; but, inseparable from the Protestant Reformation and its overthrow of Roman Catholic bondage, to whose immediate inspiration they owed their greatness, was the passion for civil freedom not less than for religious freedom.† The violence of Laud only facilitated the destruction of the throne and the church. Charles was professedly intensely attached to the Episcopal platform, though of the full extent of this there is reason to suspect.‡ In a letter to the queen he says, referring to his willingness in 1646 to give up the militia, "The retaining of it is not of so much consequence (I am far from saying none) as is thought, with-

desperate or so senseless to entertain such designs as would not only bring this our kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy."—Ludlow. *Collections of Letters*, p. 518. Letter to Lord Digby from Lord Jermyn, pp. 543, 545.

* *Letters of Charles*. Camden Society. Forster's *Essays*, vol. i., p. 76.

† Forster, vol. i., p. 174.

‡ "Though he (Charles) should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience."—Baillie to Henderson. 1646. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 165.

out the concurrence of other things. If the pulpit teach not obedience (which will never be if Presbyterian government is absolutely settled) the Crown will have little comfort in the militia."* Pepys gives us the following, on the authority of Mr. Blackburne: "He told me that to his knowledge (being present at every meeting at the treaty in the Isle of Wight) that the old king did confess himself overruled and convinced in his judgment against the bishops, and would have suffered, and did agree to exclude the service out of the churches, nay, his own chapel. He did always say, that this he did, not by force, for he would not abate one inch by any violence, but what he did was out of his reason and judgment."†

Nor was this all. The majority of the Legislature, and probably of the nation, were intense haters of Popery. The manifest tendency of Laud and many of the bishops in this direction, sharpened their hostility to Episcopacy. Again and again it was denounced in the Senate. Law after law was passed for its repression. Its existence and growth stood in the front of every list of grievances. The recollection of the past augmented this. It haunted these men of principle at all times. The sympathy of the court with it was unmistakable. The queen and her household were only tools in the hands of the priesthood.‡ Through her the monarch was influenced. We have seen the effects of this already in the household of Charles. Later on, he looked to the Catholics as the mainstay of his power against the Parliament. Hordes of savage Irish were imported to desolate the

* Clarendon, State Papers, vol. ii., p. 296.

† Diary, vol. ii., pp. 117, 118.

‡ The numbers and the influence of the Catholics in the early part of the reign were considerable. "It was a less crime," says one, "to violate a maid upon an altar, than to settle amongst us the belief of the Pope's infallibility." In the course of his reign, it is said Charles liberated 11,000 priests.—Disraeli's Com. Charles I., pp. 36, 172, 175, 178. W. Prynne, with his usual industry, has gathered a mass of information on this subject. He states them at 4000.—Fuller, p. 101.

country, whilst from foreign nations their presence was invoked to secure his triumph. Everything deepened the conviction upon the minds of the leaders of the nation, that Popery would not only be tolerated, but invested with power. A calamity more awful and disastrous to the highest interests of the nation could not be felt; a severer proof of the Divine displeasure against a people could not be seen: so they felt, and under its impulse they acted for the liberty of body and mind.

No one can rightly estimate the conduct of these men, without taking them, and other matters our space does not even suffer us to indicate, into full consideration. Their circumstances admitted of no alternative. One party must suffer. Either they were traitors, and would suffer the annihilating weight of Royal vengeance,—and they well knew that it would be so, if victory crowned the efforts of the rebel king,*—or, as a traitor against the constitution he had sworn to protect, he must bear the punishment which the violated majesty of the law would inflict. We repeat that there was no alternative. Self interest, the liberty of the nation, the power of law,—all that was dear to men, all that was elevating to the nation, demanded as with one voice the death of the tyrant. Posterity has at last justified their decision.†

* “Never had the people of England, in so advanced a state of civilization, been subject to an oppression so general, so odious, so little redeemed by aught that could either flatter the nation, or even conciliate a particular class.”—*Life of Clarendon*, vol. i., pp. 44-5. Charles “bullied his Parliament, as a tyrant his refractory slave.” He granted nothing which he did not hope secretly to regain.—*Forster*, vol. i., p. 10. “It has been his (Charles’s) constant unhappiness to give nothing in time; all things have been given at last, but he has even lost the thanks, and his gifts have been coveted, constrained, and extorted.”—*Baillie to Henderson*. *Dalrymple*, vol. ii., p. 167.

† “To speak my own thoughts, I could never see any place of the New Testament (which is most insisted on) did, to my understanding, necessarily infer defensive arms in subjects to be always, upon all occasions, absolutely unlawful; and, indeed, when I consider it, I cannot apprehend

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.

REPUBLICAN principles had rapidly increased during the war. Many of the leaders in the Parliamentary army had imbibed them, and, in the mixed hosts which followed, these democratic views prevailed. Cromwell, Lambert, Fleetwood, Harrison, Ireton, and other men of rank, were all avowedly in favour of a Commonwealth. They declared that all power was in the people, and that Government existed only for their benefit. Probably their position invested this form of government with commanding interest, not only as affording security to themselves, but as best adapted, in the circumstances in which they were placed, to secure the peace and prosperity of the nation. The restoration of the monarchy in the family of the Stuarts would appear to them impossible. The question of investing the Royal authority in the person of the Duke of Gloucester had been discussed before the death of his father, but for various reasons had been rejected. Now the difficulties were augmented. The men in power, who had been the chief actors in the fearful tragedy, though confessedly a minority, would feel that in calling the first-born to the throne, their own heads would be demanded as a sacrifice for the past.

how it can be otherwise; for if the manner of government, the qualifications of, be human (as I think all affirm), how shall we draw necessary consequences out of divinity for that structure, whose foundation is not otherwise divine than as it is settled by man? I do confess, therefore, there are other arguments do with me more dissuade the taking of arms in a well settled Commonwealth, be it regal or popular, than anything in Holy Writ," &c.—Sir R. Twisden on the Government of England, pp. 98-9. Camden Society.

But though no alternative could present itself, the establishment of a Commonwealth was a work which would task the extraordinary powers with which these men were endowed. The Royalists, though defeated, and many of their leaders in exile, were not insignificant either in numbers or wealth. Their loyalty—though in many cases, as we have seen, springing less from attachment to the person of Charles—was intense to “the Lord’s anointed.” Monarchy was an integral part of the constitution. For six hundred years kings had governed. Under it, England had reached an extraordinary degree of power. All that conferred true dignity on a nation it had realised. In commerce, in literature, in art, and war, it could compete with any other. Many even of the Royalists might admit that the former part of Charles’s reign had violated all law, and trampled out the nation’s liberty; yet these evils might be checked. They were less the effect of the constitution than of the evil counsels to which the king had listened. The one might be so fenced as that its working might justly and at all times contribute to the prosperity of the people. Their activity in availing themselves of every incident to deepen the popular sympathies with the cause, is manifest from another fact. “On the day of the king’s execution, and even below the scaffold, had been sold the earliest copies of a work admirably fitted to shake the new Government. Fifty thousand copies, it is asserted, were sold within one year; and posthumous power was thus given to the king’s name by one little book, which exceeds in alarm to his enemies all that his armies could accomplish in his lifetime.”* We will only add, that the Episcopal party, smarting under their deep humiliation, lauded the monarch, and elevated him to the rank of the martyrs.

* De Quincey’s Works, vol. x., p. 89. The reader who wishes to investigate the authorship of “Eikon Basilike,” may consult the works of Wordsworth and Todd. The latter writer, we think, has shown, beyond all doubt, that the work was from the pen of Dr. Gauden.

Greater in power and influence, if not in numbers, than the Episcopalians, were the Presbyterians. In England they had ruled with an iron hand, and the forces of Scotland had sustained them. They had moulded the ecclesiastical platform of the nation. They had secured the vacant churches and the revenues of the ejected clergy. Their hatred to Episcopacy was intense.* They had used every means to crush the various sects, and the Solemn League and Covenant they had forced upon the nation. Though the leaders, at first, if not the chief instigators of the war, they had opposed the execution of Charles.† Love to Charles had only a modicum of influence in their councils. They had higher aims. Crushed politically by men of opposite religious views, they would have gained their lost supremacy by making terms with the sovereign. Again and again they tried the experiment. Their projects were defeated. Under a Commonwealth their power would never recover, and their hatred and hostility to it was soon manifested in their proclamation of the second Charles, who subscribed "the Solemn League and Covenant without a scruple."

* "It appears to me, and to many wiser than I am, that the heat of the people is not cooled by all the pain and charges for so long a time; and at this hour they are more animated against the service book, and against the prelates and their adherents, than at the first hour and time since. If the king's Majesty will land bishops here, he must either root out all the generations of people, which will be a hard task, since now they be resolved and so armed, and are assured that the English will not trouble them for the point of religion, or kirk government by bishops," &c.—Letter from a supposed minister in S——. June, 1639. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 68.

† Baxter and others protested against the execution of Charles. "The London Presbyterian ministers would not officiate neither at their fasts nor thanksgiving (the new Lords), for which contempt several of them were brought before their committees, and after some reprehension and warning dismissed, as namely, Master Love, Master Jenkins, and Master Ashe."—Heath, p. 255. "How the angry Presbyterians spit fire out of their pulpits, and endeavoured to blow up the people against the Parliament; how they entered into a treasonable conspiracy with Scotland, who had now received and crowned the son of the late kingdom, who led them in hither in a great army, which the Lord of Hosts discomfited."—Hutchinson, p. 99.

Difficult as the path of the people was, no retreat was open for them. The leaders met and consulted. Kingly power was abolished, and to proclaim a monarch without authority of Parliament was declared to be treason. The abolition of the House of Lords followed, though the members of that august assembly were allowed to retain their titles. On the 17th of February, 1649, a Council of State, consisting of forty-one members, was inaugurated, as the executors of the Commonwealth of England. From principle, as well as from the well-grounded expectation of greater liberty to make known their own religious convictions, the leading Baptists gave in at first their adhesion to the new Government.

Severity marked the very early proceedings of the Council. Orders were issued to the proper officers to try some of the leading agents of the late monarch. The Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich, and others, had subjected themselves to the charge of high treason against the State. Their guilt was unquestioned, and their doom soon followed. Irregular in the form of proceeding, still, necessity apparently justified the punishment. Vigour in the administration of the law was demanded, for the spirit of rebellion was now rife.

Ireland had for some time fixed the attention of the Parliament. From the Emerald Isle, troops of semi-barbarians had flocked to the aid of Charles. Ignorant, imbued with the fiercest spirit of religious fanaticism, and marking their progress in England by the most savage cruelty, these unhappy men had exposed themselves to the vengeance of the Government. The recollection of the Irish massacre, that monument of Popish cruelty, was still fresh in the memory of the people. Unsettled, restless, and some of its chief cities and towns held for the second Charles, to carry the war into that unhappy country became a matter of necessity.* To the

* This outbreak of the Romanists in Ireland has perhaps no parallel in the history of civilised nations for the intenseness of the cruelty which marked it. Heath in his "Chronicles" gives the number butchered at 150,000. Vicar states it at 200,000.

genius of Cromwell the command was entrusted. He had just, in connexion with Fairfax, his nominal chief, arrested the disorders of the army, and punished the levellers and agitators in its ranks.* His preparations for his enterprise were speedily accomplished. We cannot trace his progress, or mark the terrible proofs of his vengeance. His success was complete. He might have said, in the language of Cæsar, "I came, I saw, I conquered." In Wexford, in Drogheda, in Waterford, and other places, his name is still detested.

To another laud the conqueror was speedily called. The Scots, in the madness of their disappointment, had proclaimed the eldest son of Charles as king. The solemn farce was enacted in the ancient palace of their monarchs. The traditions of centuries were gathered there; and all the pomp which the Kirk and the State could command was thrown around it. The hypocrisy of the father was unfolded in the son. The Covenant was taken by him without scruple,

* "Mrs. Hutchinson speaks of them, in 1647, as declaring against the factions of the Presbyterians and Independents, and the ambitious views of their leaders. She says that they were men of just and sober principles, of honest and religious ends, and were, therefore, hated by all the designing self-interested men of both factions. Colonel H. had great intimacy with many of them." So early as 1647, a "Remonstrance from the Army to the Parliament" was presented. The warriors say:—"So this generation of men, in the application of the Parliament's powers (succeeding the former in the exercises of the king's), have made use of the odious names of Brownists, Anabaptists, Independents, &c., to blast such men in whom the truth and power of religion, or a just sense of the common interests of the kingdom, hath appeared," &c.—Remonstrance of the Army to the Parliament. Hist., vol. iii., p. 759. Of the Westminster Divines, a member of the Commons said:—"More shame it is for the Synod, that they being the men which condemned and cried out against the pluralities of the Episcopal clergy, they should enjoy far more than the corruptest of the bishops and their chaplains did ever allow of; divers of them at this time possessing two, three, yea, and four livings apiece, which they come not at once in a twelvemonth; besides them which are not visible, wherein they have placed their deputies, and share with them the profits," &c.—Speech of a Member in the Commons. Parl. History, vol. iii., p. 1039. Bastwick, in his *Utter Routing of the Independents*, says:—"You shall find them the only gallants in the world, so that one who should meet them would take them for roarers

though it was in his heart detested; the sins of his father and the weakness of his power he was forced to acknowledge, and to the care of the nation whose religion he hated, and whose forms of godliness he ridiculed, he committed his fortunes. Unwillingly Cromwell entered on this enterprise. By every motive which can sway the soldier he urged his chief to conduct the campaign, avowing that it would be to him a source of delight if permitted to serve under him. The wife of Fairfax was a Presbyterian. She was imbued with the essence of their bitterness, and was under the control of her chaplain. To her imperious spirit the general submitted, and retired from the theatre on which he had performed for years so distinguished a part.* Cromwell had now no alternative. To the North he advanced, and by a rapid succession of victories the power of the Scotch was soon broken, and the authority of the Commonwealth was acknowledged throughout the empire.

Not only was victory found amidst the mountains of Caledonia, but Cromwell rested not till the power of Charles was annihilated. Into England, where Charles had gone with considerable force, the general now advanced. From post to post the young monarch was driven. Before the invincible arms of the military chief the Scots army was forced. At Worcester their forces were concentrated. It was their last refuge. Hope hovered here for a moment or two. Despair prompted the Northern army to prodigies of valour. Vain were their efforts. The veteran

and ruffians rather than saints. You shall find them with cuffs (and those great ones) at their heels, and more silver and gold on their clothes than many great persons have in their purses."—*Vide* also *British Quarterly*, April, 1862, pp. 306-7. Hollis, and Walker also, in his "Secrets of Presbyterians and Independents," charges the leading men with large appropriations of public money.

* "But this great man was then as unmovable by his friends as pertinacious in obeying his wife, whereby he then died to all his former glory, and became the monument of his own name, which every day wore out."—Hutchinson, p. 101. Many instances of the fanaticism of this lady occur in this volume.

troops of the great general never quailed. Defence after defence was beaten down. Over the bodies of their fallen comrades they marched. The issues were not doubtful. Charles fled from the lost battle-field, and ultimately, after the most wondrous escapes, reached the continent in safety.* In these conflicts many of the leading Baptists were engaged, and Ireland and Scotland witnessed the zeal with which their opinions were propagated. In a subsequent page we may more particularly refer to them.

Five days after the inauguration of the Commonwealth, the Parliament, in its character as the conservator of religion, passed an ordinance for the better propagation of religion in Wales, and for the ejection of scandalous ministers and school-masters. To carry this out, commissioners were appointed. One of these was Vavasour Powell. On the moral state of Wales about this time we have already remarked. The highest testimony is borne to the success of this experiment. Powell loved his country. His whole energies were absorbed in efforts for her welfare. "The Parliament ordered him £100 per annum out of a *sine cura*, whereof he received about £60 for seven or eight years. Many considerable gifts he refused. And never did he get anything by the act for the propagation of the Gospel in Wales, as was slanderously laid to his charge, for which his vindications in print, to this day unanswered,† may stop the mouth of envy itself."‡ The

* The reader may consult the Boscobel Tracts for a narrative of his adventures. We have graphic sketches of the ravages of the Scots in 1648, in Lancashire:—"In divers places, some whole families have not left them wherewith to subsist a day, but are glad to come here for mere subsistence. They have taken forth of divers families all,—the very racken-crocks and pot-hooks; they have driven away all the beasts, sheep, and horses, in divers townships, all without redemption save some poor milch kine. They tell the people they must have their houses too. Duke Hamilton hath told them it should be so. Their usage of some women is extremely abominable, and of men very barbarous," &c.—Cheetham Society, vol. ii., p. 254. Lancashire Valley of Action.

† *Vide Examen et Purgament Vavasorics*. Life of Powell, p. 132.

‡ Life of Powell, p. 112. "In the interim, believe not their libels, for I know them to be false: primary things, particularly in the accusations

life of this zealous man, frequently designated the Apostle of Wales, is full of the most wonderful incidents and interpositions of Providence.

In the same year we find a "humble petition and representation of several churches of God in London, commonly, though falsely, called Anabaptists." The petitioners acknowledge the goodness of God to the Parliament and kingdom; disown in many terms their knowledge or consent to the writing of the book called "The Second Part of England's New Chain Discovered;" justify their own principles and obedience to authority; and pray the Parliament to make good laws for the punishment of wickedness. "The House," we are told, "was satisfied with the disowning of the book, and their expression to live peaceably and in submission to the civil magistrate, which the Speaker told them by the direction of the House." The book had been denounced in very severe terms by the Parliament, and the authors proclaimed guilty of high treason against the State.*

Many circumstances, under the new Government, were favourable to the Baptists. Cromwell, though far from having perfect views of religious liberty, yet was an avowed enemy to persecution. He had no sympathy with the doctrine of the Presbyterians on this subject. Either, therefore, from policy or conviction, on his departure for Ireland, he addressed letters to the Parliament, advising the removal of the penal laws relating to religion. Fairfax and his council of officers sustained this in a petition which they presented to the House. The army was full of sectaries. Upon these the hopes of the general rested. Without their aid defeat awaited him. The appeal to the House was successful. A

and aspersions cast upon those good and painful instruments, Mr. Cradock, Mr. V. Powell, Mr. Jones, and several others, whose doctrines and lives thousands know so well," &c.—Perfect Diurnal, No. 144, Sept. 13th, 1652, p. 2156.

* Whitelocke, vol. iii., pp. 3, 7.

committee was appointed, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in, by which commissions were to be appointed for every county for the approbation of able and well-qualified men to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for the ordination of ministers.* This measure removed many impediments from the path of those who had refused ordination from men who had persecuted them.

Nor was this all. The abolition of kingly power, and the establishment of a Commonwealth, involved the abolition of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and in their place a new form was appointed, called the *Engagement*, which simply required the individual to be faithful to the Government in its new form. The Baptists had no difficulty in this. Their political leaders had no small share in the establishment of the constitution, and there was nothing in it to encroach in any way on their religious principles. Exceptions, doubtless, there were. Opposition to all oaths and the use of arms was still cherished by some, but there was none to magistracy.†

* Neal, vol. ii., p. 319.

† "But either to procure or maintain our own or other liberties by force of arms, or the least violence, we can find no warrant from the Scriptures of truth, in the least, which is that only and above rule that we walk by," &c.—Declarations, &c., p. 54. "And we further declare, that as we are a peaceable people upon the accounts of action, so we look upon it to be our duty to keep ourselves from oaths, engagements, and covenants, either for or against this or that person whatsoever. 'For because of swearing the land mourneth.' . . . And we further declare, as in the presence of God, who is the searcher of all hearts, that as it hath been a source of our great trouble for a long time to see some of those that are of the same faith and order with us so acting: so it is now become an overwhelming burden upon our souls, to see them generally running such a precipitant course: by which actings of theirs, the mouths of all men are opened against them, and the truth they profess most ignominiously branded and reproached."—Declaration of a Small Society of Baptized Believers, undergoing the name of Freewillers, pp. 57, 58. "His zeal is to be limited (for matters of God's worship and spiritual service) unto the rule of the Gospel as well as other men; for he is a fellow-subject unto Christ's kingdom, and hath but his measure of grace as other brethren; and is as subject to seducement, and as prepos-

The Engagement was now enforced. All ministers, all members of the universities and the great schools, with all civil and military servants of the Government, on pain of leaving their situations, were ordered to take it. No minister was to be admitted to a living, or sit in the assembly, or be capable of retaining any emoluments in the Church, unless within six months he qualified himself by taking the Engagement in the presence of the congregation. The test was a heavy trial to most of the Presbyterian body. Many of them refused it. Baxter preached and wrote against it. In many of the large towns the excitement was great. They declined the fasts, and some of them closed their churches on the day of the national thanksgiving for the Irish victories.* But their hostility was in vain. The vacant churches were soon filled, if not by men their equals in learning, yet their superiors in correct and enlarged views of Christian doctrine and policy, and with more of the loving spirit of their common Lord. The Presbyterian policy was still recognised as the national form. Obvious reasons would, probably, justify the Parliament in this course.

The two universities demanded now a vigorous reform. During the civil conflict Cambridge had undergone a great change. Episcopacy, to a great extent, had given place to Presbyterian teaching. Many of the leading divines of this sect had seats in the halls of learning. Oxford had been the stronghold of Charles for nearly four years. "The principal officers and heads of houses, together with the herd of dissipated scholars who formed their bodyguard, were not only devoted to the hierarchy, with all its magnificence of revenue and amplitude of power, but also, as an inseparable

terous in his zeal as others are; and must give his account before, and unto the Lord Jesus, of all his doings in the flesh, whether good or evil; before an impartial judge, who is no respecter of persons."—Tuthill's *Mysterious Kingdom*, p. 48.

* Neal, vol. ii., p. 320.

member of the same establishment, to the prerogatives of the king in their largest sense, and to the doctrine of passive obedience."* Their loyalty was most exuberant. Their plate had been melted down for the use of Charles. Their halls had echoed with the tread of the warriors, and rung with the boisterous mirth of the troops; and their schools had been converted into granaries and depôts for the material of war.† This stronghold of despotic teaching, as well as that seated on the Cam, was now to be visited. The spirit of reform which entered them was lasting and firm. Other minds must pour instruction into the rising manhood of England, and other doctrines must be taught within their classic walls. Liberty must flourish where despotism had reigned, and religion be taught where form and empty ceremony had prevailed. Cromwell had, during his expedition to Scotland, been made Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Both these celebrated schools now underwent some change. Presbyterians gave place to others. Owen, who had accepted the deanery of Christ Church, was now made Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Goodwin was raised to the Presidency of Magdalen, whilst Charnock, Gale, Howe, and others, filled subordinate situations. Only one Baptist do we find raised to distinction. Dell, the chaplain of Fairfax, was made Master of Caius College, Cambridge.‡ The influence of

* Goodwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 85.

† *Ibid*, vol. iii., p. 84.

‡ Dell thus justifies his connexion with the university, though he had spoken in very strong language against many of its practices: "But as by the providence of God alone, I have been brought to that relation in which I now stand, and continue in it, against the wiles and workings of many, so, through his good pleasure, I will remain till he shall otherwise dispose of me; and during my sojourn with them I will not fail to testify against their evil, and endeavour to win all those whom God shall persuade to receive his truth, from heathenism to the Gospel, and from Antichrist to Christ."—Works, vol. ii., p. 115. It is difficult to know with what class of theologians to associate Dell. Rutherford treats him as an Antinomian, Familist, &c., &c. "H. Denne, an high-altar man,

these appointments was felt. Presbyterians viewed the change with great dislike. The morality and character of these institutions rose with rapidity. Science and the arts, literature and religion, found within their walls a safe and genial retreat. Men of the highest rank shed the splendour of their genius around these time-honoured schools, whilst they sent forth to the world a race of men of the very highest eminence. No one can impartially trace the history of these establishments during the period over which this sketch extends, without admitting all this.*

This altered policy of the Government soon told on the Baptists. Wales now felt their influence. Powell, Cradock, and their brethren, had succeeded in establishing many churches, but of a mixed character.† Under the operations of the commissions referred to above, many a wide and effectual door had been opened for the preaching of the

a bower at the syllables of the name Jesus, and conformed to all the abominable late narrations introduced by Canterbury, who also opposed the Remonstrance and Petition of the well-affected, pleading for a riddance from Episcopacy, ceremonies, and other corruptions, and is now a rigid Arminian, and an enemy to free grace, an Anabaptist, an Antinomian. To these join Paul Hobson, who speaks more warily than the sects. . . . To these add Mr. Dell, in his sermon before the House of Commons, whose noble ancestors could not have endured Familism, Socinianism, or the like preached in their ears.”—Rutherford’s Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, p. 193. “Denne and Moore, who were both Arminians and Antinomians.”—Rutherford’s Survey, part ii., p. 16. Many of his notions approximate closely to the religious dogmas of the Friends.

* Clarendon’s testimony may be accepted on this matter. Referring to Oxford, he says: “It yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge, in all parts of learning: and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of learning and the practices of virtue. So that when it pleased God to bring King Charles back to his throne, he found that university abounding in excellent learning, and little inferior to what it was before the desolation.”—History of Reb., vol. iii.

† Powell’s views on baptism are thus expressed: “Water baptism is a solemn significant dipping into, or washing with water the body in (or into) the name of the Father, &c. (Matt. xxviii. 19). It signifies the death, the burial, and resurrection of Christ, also the spiritual cleansing

Gospel.* Baptist churches, separate from these, were now formed. Ilston, near Swansea, appears to claim the honour of the first-born of a class which have multiplied with almost unparalleled rapidity since that time. It was founded about 1649. This is the earliest notice of it. Mr. Myles, the pastor, was a person of great zeal and success in the ministry. Other churches were soon gathered. Persecution compelled this excellent man to flee to the American continent. Branch churches were formed at various out-stations. From a fragment of the Church-book of this mother church we find "that members of the two churches of the Hay and Llanafran assembled at Ilston, the 6th and 7th days of the 9th month, 1650, who were sent there by the said churches to the brethren at Ilston, to consult concerning such business as was then, by God's assistance, determined, and expressed as follows: The brethren, previously weighing the great scarcity of ministers that will soundly hold forth the word of truth in Carmarthenshire, and the seasonable oppor-

and washing of justification and regeneration (or sanctification), together with the baptism or pouring forth of the gifts of the Holy Spirit (Rom. vi. 3, 4, 5; Col. ii. 12; Heb. x. 22). Though baptism be not absolutely necessary to salvation, yet, being commanded by Christ, it is the duty of all professing and visible believers and penitent persons, men and women, to be baptized once, and that upon their first believing and conversion, and before they enter into a visible church or partake of the Lord's Supper (Acts ii. 41, 42). Yet it is not baptism, but an interest in Christ, that gives a man a right to either. Neither is it the proper work of baptism to confer or work grace, but to seal, confirm, and increase it (1 Pet. iii. 21). Much less are all those that are baptized true believers, and saved (John iii. 3, 7; Acts viii. 13, 23). But in this of baptism, as in many other cases, difference of persuasion and practice may well consist with brotherly love and Christian communion (Phil. iii. 15; Rom. xiv., &c.)." Mr. Powell also held the laying on of hands on the baptized, and the anointing the sick with oil, as ordinances of the Gospel (Jas. v. 14, 15. Life, pp. 35, 36, 41).

* "The scandalous and ignorant ministers were ejected. Instead of these, 150 good preachers were planted in Wales, most of whom preached three or four times a week. Six preachers were appointed to intinerate in each of the six Welsh counties. These men laboured with great zeal in their work, and great changes marked the character of the population." —Orme's Life of Owen, p. 124.

tunity now afforded by the providence of God for the propagation of the truth in those parts, do judge that brother David Davis shall henceforth endeavour to preach two first days of every month in Carmarthen town, or thereabout; and that brother Myles shall preach that way one first day in every two months; and that brother Prosser shall preach there one first day in every two months; and these brethren are desired to consult and agree among themselves when it may be most convenient for every one of them to be there. And upon the like serious considerations of the present condition of our brethren at Llanafan, it is, by the brethren here, judged convenient that a constant meeting be there kept by the churches until the Lord shall raise up more able men among themselves, and that brother David Davis be desired to be there present as often as he possibly can; but when he is necessitated to be at Carmarthen, that our brethren of the Hay are desired to take care to send either brother Prosser or brother Thomas Watkins, or some other whom they shall judge convenient." More than this. These brethren agreed, "That these ministers should be assisted by the churches, and contributions made for that purpose." For that year, it was settled that each of the three churches should collect £10 among themselves, in the whole, £30, and a brother in each church was then named to take care of the contributions. "The first collection to be made as soon as convenient after that agreement, without burdening any of the brethren." Such were the decisions of the first Baptist Convention in the Principality. They were worthy of the purest age of Christianity. David Davis had been a minister of a church, on the election of the parishioners, in 1645. He appears to have united with the church at Ilston about the close of 1649 or 1650.

About the same time we may date the origin of the Associations in the Principality, which form so distinguished a feature in the ecclesiastical polity of our Welsh brethren. Nothing of the kind as yet existed amongst the English

Baptists. In this dawn of fraternal intercourse between separate churches, we not only ascertain the fact, but the useful objects they were intended to accomplish. The doctrine of laying on of hands and singing had already reached these brethren. Powell taught both. The record from which we draw our information tells us that "the four churches of Ilston, Hay, Llanafra, and Carmarthen, met at Carmarthen the 19th of first month, 1651, and appointed some meetings to be at Galligan. Questions concerning singing of psalms and laying on of hands were proposed to be considered by the churches." During this year, a friendly intercourse was opened with some of the London brethren. In a letter to the church in Broad Street, they give information of their present state, and ask the advice of the brethren on various points relating to their future movements. The brethren say in reply:—"Regarding the distance of your habitations, we advise, if God hath endowed you with gifts whereby you may edify one another, and keep up the order and ministry of the church of Christ, you may divide into more particular congregations, but with mutual consent; and if there be among you those who can, in some measure, take the oversight of you in the Lord, but not else."* Following this advice, the churches multiplied, and throughout the Principality Baptist principles have spread much more rapidly than in any other part of the empire.

From the magnificent mountain scenery of the Principality, and the apostolic simplicity of these brethren, the reader must now turn to a border county. Not far from the northern portions of the county were the towns of Bewdley and Kidderminster. At this time the pulpits were occupied,—the former by J. Tombes,† the latter by R. Baxter. Their intercourse was frequent and fraternal. They expressed the

* Thomas's History of the Baptist Associations in Wales, pp. 6-8.

† Tombes was a pluralist. "To be parson of Ross, and vicar of Lemster, and preacher of Bewdley, and master of the hospital at Ledbury," &c.—Baxter's Infant Church Membership, p. 203. London, 1656.

warmest affection for each other, not only as men, but as ministers of Christ. "For my reverend and much-honoured brother, Mr. Richard Baxter," was the address of Mr. Tombes; whilst the great Presbyterian responded to his "reverend and much-honoured brother, Mr. Tombes, preacher of the Gospel at Bewdley." The convictions of the former on the subject of baptism were strong. He had suffered for them. Those of the latter were very loose and undefined. The former felt it his duty to urge obedience to Christ's command on the attention of his hearers; the latter had hesitated to sprinkle an infant.* Mr. Tombes had preached on the subject in a series of sermons. Some of the friends of Mr. Baxter travelled to Bewdley to take notes of the sermons, and report them to him. Letters between the chiefs followed, but they only augmented the difficulty. The magistrates of the town, and some of the ministers there and in the locality, urged their chief to encounter the Baptist. The challenge was given. On the 1st of January, 1650, the wordy conflict was to begin. Tombes was strong and vigorous. His mind was replenished with all the learning of the schools, and he was not unused to controversy. Baxter was the Don Quixote of his age. "A lover of peace and concord," yet always in strife. "A friend of unity in the Church," yet full of domination and bitterness in the extreme. Modest almost to excess, yet always disputing with his brethren. Upon the verge of the grave, he was meditating on and composing the "Saint's Everlasting Rest." His own pen shall present him to our readers at the present time: "I had importuned God in my prayers, as I was able, long before, that if I were mistaken he would show me my error; and if Mr. Tombes had the truth on his side, that he would not suffer me to resist it, or speake a word against it. And the more I prayed, the more I was animated to the work. I had

* "For my part, I may say with Mr. Blake, that I never saw a child sprinkled; but all that I have seen baptised had water poured on them, and so were washed."—*Infant Church Membership*, p. 134.

been so weak and pained long before, that I was scarce able to rise and walk about the very day before, yet did I resolve to go, if I were able to ride and speake; and when the time came I was eased much of all my pains; and whereas I can hardly on any Lord's day speake above an hour without the prostration of my strength and extreme languishing of my body, nor could scarcely take the air without taking a dangerous cold, it pleased God then, in the midst of winter, to enable me to continue the dispute in the open church, and that fasting, from before ten of the clock in the morning till between four and five, without any of my usual infirmities, and had more ease from them a fortnight after than of many months: which those that know me do confidently believe was from the direct encouraging hand of God." In the midst of some excitement and interruption, the discussion continued seven or eight hours. As most verbal disputes terminate, each party claimed the victory. Mr. Baxter printed the substance of his arguments, at the request of many. His book now lies before us. It is a fair specimen of his power. His ingenuity was almost unparalleled. A few sentences will show the spirit of the man, and the mode of his proceeding. His arguments are as singular as his slanders are unmerited. "Argt. 1. All that are Christ's disciples ordinarily ought to be baptized; but some infants are Christ's disciples: therefore some infants ordinarily ought to be baptized." "Argt. 21. That doctrine which maketh all infants to be members of the visible kingdom of the devil is false doctrine: but that doctrine which denieth any infant to be a member of the visible church doth make them all members of the visible kingdom of the devil: therefore it is false." Only one other. "Argt. 23. If an infant were head of the visible church, then infants may be members; but Christ, an infant, was head of the church: therefore infants may be members." But from his arguments let us look at his slanders. Mr. Baxter not only throws the Munster fanatics at his adversary, but reiterates, what the largest

charity can scarcely suppose him ignorant of, the calumny of candidates being baptized naked. "My seventh argument is also against another wickedness in their manner of baptizing, which is, their dipping persons naked, as is very usual with many of them; or next to naked, as is usual with the modestest of them, as I have heard. Against which I argue thus: If it be a breach of the Seventh Commandment, *Thou shalt not commit adultery*, ordinarily to baptize the naked, then it is intolerable wickedness, and not God's commandment; but it is a breach of the Seventh Commandment ordinarily to baptize naked: therefore it is intolerable wickedness, and not God's commandment." This saintly man thus dwells on it. He was meditating on the "Saint's Rest" about this time. "If Mr. Tombes could baptize naked all the maids in Bewdley, and think it no immodesty, he hath lost his common ingenuity and modesty with the truth." "Would it be no snare or temptation to Mr. Tombes to be frequently employed in baptizing maids naked? Let him search and judge." "Would not vain young men come to a baptizing to see the nakedness of maids, and make a mere jest and sport of it?" In another part he says: "If you would be ruled by me, you should not endeavour to introduce into the church a custom for any young minister or neighbour so much as to look on a bathing Bathsheba or Susannah, but to those without the name of a church and a stew, and Presbyter and Panderer, a Christian and a fornicator, to pure Simonians."*

Mr. Tombes had urged that the water need not be cold. Baxter replied: "But then, he forsaketh the generality of his partners in this opinion, who, so far as we can learn, usually baptize in rivers and ponds. And if they can no better agree among themselves, we have no reason to be hasty in believing them." Richer still is the following: "And his warm bath would be dangerous to many persons. And where shall this bath be prepared? If in private, it

* Infant Church Membership, pp. 136, 137, 245.

will scarcely be a solemn engaging act. If in the meeting place of the church, then it will take up no small room, and require no small stir to have a bathing place and water wherein to dip people overhead. 2. If they do not run home quickly, before they are well engaged, the hot bath will be turned into a cold one to them, and make them repent this badge of repentance, except they will have all things ready, and be brought to bed also in the church before the people.”*

This is a fair sample of the way in which the doctrine and practices of our brethren were treated. God’s judgment had fallen on them. Hated of men, the indignation of heaven was not less clear, says Baxter.†

In 1652, various parties in Leicestershire presented a petition to the House, asking for liberty of conscience: and on the 2nd of April following a similar one was presented, entitled, “The humble petition and representation of several churches of God in London, commonly, though falsely, called Anabaptists,” which was graciously accepted.‡

Cromwell always entered on his engagements in the spirit of enlightened piety. Every enterprise was sanctified by devotion. His dependence on God was always recognised. Before entering on his arduous work in Ireland, such a scene was witnessed as seldom sanctifies the palace of the great or the council chamber of the warrior. Before embarking at Milford, a day of fasting and prayer was observed. These solemn occasions were now frequent. Their influence was benignant and elevating. The form of dependence on God, if not its vital power, met you everywhere in the camp and in the field.|| On this occasion three ministers led the devo-

* Infant Church Membership, p. 135.

† The reader will find Baxter’s proofs of this, as he thinks, on p. 147.

‡ *Vide* Christian Moderator; or, Persecution for Religion Condemned. By William Birekley. Part ii., p. 4. 1652.

|| “No man swears but he pays his 12*d.* If he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse. If one calls the other Roundhead, he is cashiered, inasmuch that the counties whence they come leap for joy of them, and

tions of the assembly. Then the mighty chief expounded some portions of the Divine Word suitable to the occasion, and then Colonels Gough and Harrison followed in the same strain.* Interested in the spiritual welfare of the troops, and aiming at the diffusion of right views of religion, wherever he went his chaplain always attended him, and sometimes he selected as his companions men of the highest moral worth and distinguished talents. The policy of this will be evident to every thoughtful reader. Dr. Owen was honoured, by command of the Parliament, to attend the general. In the same train, probably as chaplain to one of the colonels or regiments, was Thomas Patient, the co-pastor of William Kiffin. It is probable that, in that fiercely Romish country, the doctrines held by Patient and his brethren were unknown. He was a man of zeal and great moral worth. Fixing on Dublin as the seat of his operations, he soon gathered a church in that city, and by the aid of other brethren, in a comparatively short time other cities were blessed with churches of our faith. C. Blackwood was in Ireland about this period, and laboured with some success at Wexford. In 1653, churches existed in Dublin, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick, Wexford, Carrick-

come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined!"—D'Aubigné's Protectorate, p. 65.

"*Penalties for Public Swearing.*—A lord of any degree to be fined 30s.; a baronet or knight, 20s.; an esquire, 10s.; a gentleman, 6s. 8d.; and all inferiors, 3s. 4d. Double for the second, and so on to the ninth, and for the tenth, to be bound for their good behaviour. On women the like penalties. A wife or widow, to pay according to the quality of her husband; a maiden, that of her father. Penalties recoverable by distress and sale of goods, and in default thereof, the party, if above twelve years of age, to be set in the stocks; if under, to be publicly whipt."—1650. Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 1351.

* We have given evidence already of the devout spirit of these hardy warriors, but we cannot forbear adding the testimony of the great Chillingworth here: "I observe," he says, "a great deal of piety in the commanders and soldiers of the Parliament army. I confess their discourse and behaviour do speak them Christians. But I can see little of God or godliness in our men."—Life, p. 331.

fergus, and Kerry. Most of these places were strongholds of Rome, and the members composing these congregations were probably drawn from the troops of the Commonwealth. Ivimey has given some correspondence from these churches to the churches in London.* Patient and his brethren will come under our notice in a subsequent page.

There are allusions in this correspondence to churches in Scotland as well as Wales. The origin of the former cannot, in modern times, be traced to an earlier period than Cromwell's campaign in these northern regions. True it is, there were churches already existing in the north of England. Broughton, Hexham, if not Newcastle, had congregations of Baptists. But of their influence beyond their own circle we know nothing.† "The principal officers," says a writer of this time, "in different regiments of horse and foot, became Baptists, particularly in Oliver Cromwell's own regiment, when he was General of all the Parliament forces, and in the Duke of Albemarle's (Geo. Monk), when he was General of all the English forces in Scotland." Religion in Scotland at this time was very low. The form existed, but the life was going. There were splendid sepulchres in which truth was entombed. From a multitude of proofs lying before us, our space allows us only to select one. It shall be that of H. Binning, a man of saintly character: "Set aside your public services," says he, "and professions; and is there anything behind, in your conversations, but drunkenness, lying, swearing, contention, envy, wrath, covetousness, and such like? Have not the multitude been as evil, and carried themselves as blamelessly, as the throng of our visible church? What have ye more than they? What, then, are the most part of you? Ye neither bow the knee in secret nor in your families."‡ The condition of such a people

* History, vol. i., pp. 240, 252.

† Douglas's History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England, chap. i., p. 3, &c., &c.

‡ Works, p. 546. *Vide* Rutherford's Testimony. Kirton's Hist. of the

would excite the sympathy and call forth the efforts of our brethren. Upon them the spirit of the great Master rested. Both the officers and men in the humbler ranks felt for them, and, as opportunity presented itself, when free from their warlike duties, they preached the Gospel to them, and sought to give their Presbyterian countrymen clearer notions of the nature of Christ's kingdom, and the individuality of religion. Cromwell's dealings with the Scotch place this beyond all doubt. There is a singularly interesting testimony by Burnet to the conduct of our brethren: "I remember well of three regiments coming to Aberdeen. There was an order and discipline, and a face of gravity and piety among them, that amazed all people. Most of them were Independents and Anabaptists. They were all gifted men, and preached as they were moved."* The efforts of these brethren were successful. Converts were won to the faith, and at an early period of the war a church was formed at Leith, which had fraternal intercourse with the one at Hexham. In other parts of the country, as it was brought under the authority of the Commonwealth, they acted with the same zeal. An example is before us which we quote from one of the News Letters of that period: "There was a dispute begun at Cupar in Fife, on Tuesday last, between one Mr. Brown, chaplain to Colonel Fairfax's regiment, and one James Wood, a Scotch minister. Many people were present, but the discourse referred till Thursday following, upon these three heads, viz.: 1st. Whether Adam, by his sin, contracted in mankind a temporal death only or a spiritual and eternal death. 2nd. Whether infant baptism be grounded on the Word of God or no. 3rd. Con-

Church of Scotland, p. 54. A short time before, "the clergy of Scotland had procured strict orders from the Commissioners of the State for the persecuting of the sectaries, and have a great arbitrary power against them; and they are purged out of the army as well as the malignants."—Whitelocke. *Apud*, 1650.

* *Own Times*, vol. i., p. 58.

cerning the redemption," &c.* "Their zeal," says Mr. Douglas, "was increased when Monk left the army to command the fleet against the Dutch, in the beginning of 1653, leaving Major-General Robert Lilburne in command of the troops in Scotland. General Lilburne himself was a Baptist, and gave to the Baptists every facility to promote their peculiar views of Divine truth, and any Baptist minister from England who visited Scotland met with his warm regard and especial protection." Mr. Douglas gives examples of this. Lilburne was anxious to employ gifted brethren as chaplains. For his own family he wanted one, whilst "there were divers honest Scotch people that longed to be gathered into the same Gospel order as with themselves, but they wanted a faithful pastor."† These movements we must leave for the present. In a subsequent page we shall have more to say about them.

The Constitution had undergone various changes during this period. Circumstances demanded, and, perhaps, fully justified them. The Long Parliament had been dismissed. In 1653 another Parliament was called. The summons was by order of the Lord General. Only 150 persons were requested to attend the Council Chamber at Whitehall. Amongst the individuals was Mr. Praise God Barebones, by whose name this Parliament has been designated. He was pastor, as we have seen, of one of the London churches. The Assembly, though only short-lived, passed some important measures, alike tending to the social and religious improvement of the nation. We can only indicate one or two as bearing somewhat on the design of this work. An Act was passed, August 24th, 1653, and which continued in force till the Restoration. It recognised marriage as a mere civil con-

* A Perfect Diurnal, No. 150, October 25, 1652.

† Douglas, pp. 33, 34. "The fact was, the army in Scotland had been already filled with these people by Lilburne, a fanatic Anabaptist, who had been left in command there."—Life of Monk, by Guizot, p. 76. Note by the translator, J. S. Wortley.

tract, and provided that the "age for a man to consent unto marriage shall be sixteen years, and the age of a woman fourteen years, and not before." It required proof of the consent of the parents or guardians if either party were under the age of twenty-one. The following is the form, without a ring: "The man to be married, taking the woman to be married by the hand, shall plainly and distinctly pronounce these words: I, A B, do here, in the presence of God, the Searcher of all hearts, take thee, C D, to be my wedded wife; and do also, in the presence of God, and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband." The same form is used by the woman, except her promise to be an obedient wife. No other marriage, from the 29th day of September, 1653, was to be held as a legal one.* Measures were also taken for improving the Chancery Courts. Tithes were discussed; and the right of presentation to Church livings was taken away. But the intelligence and clear-sightedness of the House was manifested especially in its attempts to form the vast and varied acts of the Legislature into a simple and consistent code. The project was a noble one. To a committee the whole question was referred. Upon their task the members entered, and had proceeded with zeal and success in their great enterprise, when their labours and existence were closed by the hand which had called them into being. The little Parliament was dissolved. There was much of public virtue in this Assembly. They possessed no common portion of that wisdom and penetra-

* Burton's Diary, vol. ii., pp. 38, 39. The chairman of the committee on this bill, Mr. Nichols, was a Baptist. "Three several Lord's days then next following, at the close of the morning service in the public meeting place, commonly called the church or chapel, or (if the parties to be married shall desire it) in the market-place, on three market days next following."—Burton, vol. ii., p. 44. "They went through the old ceremony of hand-fasting or espousing. This was done in Mr. Angier's study a month before the day appointed for their marriage. The entire day was spent in prayer, except that there was a sermon preached by Mr. Nathaniel Ruthband. At the close of it, the parties were contracted."—Notice of Heywood's Marriage. Hunter's Life of O. Heywood, p. 91.

tion into the spirit and consequence of social institutions which might seem to qualify them to secure essential benefits to that age, and to ages which should succeed. But they had no solid foundation to repose upon. Their courage was too great for their strength.* The fact is, the will of the General was their law: beyond that they had no power.

Cromwell had for some time wielded the supreme power of the State. It now suited his policy, and probably the best interests of the nation, that he should more formally assume it. With a magnificence scarcely inferior to royal coronations, he was, on the 16th of December, 1653, in the presence of the Council, the mayor and aldermen of the city, and the judicial and civil officers of the State, installed into his high office, as "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging." The city, at least, if not the nation at large, had been prepared for this by a document issued by the Council some time before. This State paper contains some forty-two articles. It is too long for insertion in these pages. Only two can we give as bearing on the subject of our narrative. The 36th declares, "That none be compelled to conform to the public religion, by penalties or otherwise; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine and the example of a good conversation." The 37th, "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their part; provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to such, under a profession of Christ, as hold forth and practise licentiousness." Another article provides that all the

* Goodwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., chapters 30 and 34.

penal laws contrary to this liberty shall be null and void. Greatly as these concessions were in advance of former governments, they fall far short of the full liberty of conscience for which the Baptists had long pleaded. Romanists and Episcopalians were still under the ban of the State, while the Presbyterian platform was fully recognised as the religion of the nation.*

The difficulties of the Lord Protector were rather increased by his assumption of this high office. It not only did not weaken the hatred which in many quarters had long rankled in the breasts of many, but it greatly diminished the number of his warmest friends. The Royalists and Episcopalians saw their sanguine hopes for a restoration of the Stuarts and their return to spiritual power, dispelled, with little or no prospect of their speedy return. The Presby-

* Look at these. The former is from Nye, the assumed assessor of religious liberty in the assembly of divines; the latter is from the pen of a persecuted Anabaptist. "For persons and causes, spiritual or ecclesiastical, that are properly and indeed such, as first-table duties, which contain matters of faith and holiness, and what conduceth to the eternal welfare of men's souls, an interest and duty there is in the civil magistrate, *more suo*, to give commands, and exercise baneful jurisdiction about things of that nature. And for persons, there is no man for his grace so spiritual, or, in respect of his gifts and office, so eminent, but he is under the government of the civil powers in the place where he lives, as much, in all respects, as any other subject."—Quoted by Tombes, *Theodulia*, p. 181. "But I demand why sects should not be tolerated? Thou wilt, haply, answer, Because they hold and teach errors, whereby people are seduced. Well, and can we think that there is any church in the world (at this day) that doth not so in some measure? Else what need were there of further reformation, which yet all churches almost confess they stand in need of? . . . Yea, I desire you to consider this, that there are not two men to be found in the world, how learned or godly soever, that in all things concerning God's word and worship are of one and the same judgment, but vary in their opinions more or less, as may easily be proved upon occasion."—Tuthill, pp. 10, 11. "I judge it his duty to suffer no man (that otherwise liveth an honest sober life) to be molested, much less persecuted, for his conscience sake; but to be a nursing father unto all Christians and Jews, causing that, under him, they may live in peace, in godliness, and honesty, according to their own consciences, and that he be found a terror only to those that do evil, and that he subject,

terians detested the toleration of the sects, and denounced, from the pulpit and the press, the liberty conceded by the Articles above-mentioned. But the most formidable of all were the Republicans. They were numerous in the army and in the nation, and they beheld, with unmingled anger, the destruction of their long-cherished political organization by the man whom they had aided in his extraordinary advance to power. Amongst them we shall find many of our brethren taking an active part. But the genius of the Protector triumphed. By his skill and management he not only defeated every plot against him, and they were many, but raised the nation to an unparalleled degree of glory. Nothing in the past can compare with the prowess of his fleets and the skill of his diplomacy. In all his undertakings success awaited him. The continent feared him; the persecuted found in him a shield from their adversaries; the commerce of England found, under his guidance, new fields for enterprise and gain; whilst religion, literature, and science at home flourished under his patronage. To other sources our readers must turn for the history of his reign.

The right of the Government to interfere in matters of religion was always admitted by the mass of the nation. All sects conceded this, with the exception of our brethren. The evidence is overwhelming. The most enlightened of Non-conformists pleaded for toleration for themselves, but not for all. Hence the legislators had been allowed to deal with purely religious questions;—to settle disputes between conflicting

(in his dominions), the foresaid *Mysterious Kingdom*, and reduce the Church ministry unto the simplicity of the Gospel, allowing them only God's allowance, viz., the authority of pastors in their own congregations unto which they minister, but no other, either in Church or Commonwealth, more than other common men have. If it should be put to all of them (learned Christians) by the poll, to resolve this question, Will you be content that the magistrates should leave religion free, so as any one might freely exercise the worship of God according to the light lit up in his own conscience, as they have in Holland? I fear greatly that there would scarce be found one in a thousand affirmative votes to this question."—Tutill's *Mysterious Kingdom*, p. 9.

creeds, and to sequester ministers of immoral and doubtful character, and to fill up the vacancies by thoroughly orthodox men. One of the early acts of the Protector and his Council was to transfer this power, in part, if not entirely, to a number of leading divines of various sections of the church. Their business was to investigate the claims of candidates for the ministry,—not only their mental, but their moral fitness for the work,—to inquire “into the grace of God in the candidate, his holy and unblameable conversation; also into his knowledge, and utterance, and fitness to preach the Gospel.” This Board of Examiners, “Tryers,” as they were called, consisted of thirty-eight men, selected from the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist bodies. Of the latter there were three—John Tombes, D. Dyke, and H. Jessey. Acceptance of such an office would excite surprise in the present day. It appears to us to violate many of our cherished principles. Still reasons might be urged, of no small weight, to justify their conduct. The mere examination of men, as to their religious character, might not have appeared to them inconsistent with their own teaching. The labours of these men were most onerous. Into the vacant churches they introduced men of piety and zeal, and perhaps at no period—certainly not during the time of the church’s unchecked magnificence and power—was the moral state of the nation so elevated. It is useless to talk of the formality and hypocrisy of the people, of the cropped hair and nasal twang of the men. The days of Heylin and Hudibras are past. Under the outward form there was a substratum of earnest piety which dignified human nature, and which stands in the boldest contrast to the awful impiety of the succeeding reign.* Baxter had not much sympathy with the men. The presence of Anabaptists would give him an un-

* “It is related of Wilson, the Puritan reformer of Maidstone, a member of the Assembly of Divines, that he brought the parish to that state, that not a rose or flower was suffered to be gathered on the Lord’s day.”—Life of O. Heywood by Hunter, p. 11.

mixed dislike to the board. Still he says* :—“They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers—that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to say a sermon as readers say their Common Prayers on Sundays, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the alehouse, and harden them in sin; and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men who were never acquainted with it. These they usually rejected, and in their stead admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinions soever they were; so that though many of them were a little partial for the Independents, Separatists, fifth monarchy men, and Anabaptists, and against the Prelatists and Arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the Prelatists afterwards cast out.”†

Another ordinance followed, appointing a lay commission for every county, with ten or more of the gravest and most noted ministers as their assistants, for rejecting scandalous, ignorant, and inefficient ministers. Any five of these had power to call before them any minister or schoolmaster who “is, or shall be, reported of this character.” Their labours were arduous, and were discharged with much fidelity. “They

* “Yet, as the world goes, it is not safe to speak all or half the wickedness of the Anabaptists now living, which the history of the age will speak to posterity.”—Baxter’s *Infant Church Membership*, p. 201.

† The candidate “was called to expound before the Presbytery some given text. If the Presbytery were satisfied, an intimation was forwarded to the parish to which the candidate was appointed, and a notice affixed to the church doors, to the effect that a certain number of the parishioners should appear before the Presbytery to signify their consent, or otherwise to forward their exception. If no exception was taken, the candidate was ordained in the church in which he was to serve. The ceremony consisted of preaching, prayer, a declaration of faith on the part of the candidate, and the imposition of hands,” &c.—Lathorp’s *English Episcopacy*, p. 204.

were a greater terror," says Neal, "to the fanatics and visionaries of those times, than to the regular clergy of any denomination." Many hard drinkers and scandalous hypocrites were removed from the church, in many districts of the country, by the labours of these men. The commission was continued till some time after the Protector's death. Wales was blest with one also, the influence of which was soon seen in the improved morals and religious state of the then wildish mountaineers. To other topics we must now turn.

The Baptists, as a body, appear to have had no sympathy with the Tryers. Against their appointment and their work, many of them from various parts of the country protested. In the metropolis a very large assembly met, and protested against their proceedings. Their sentiments were made known in a publication issued in 1654, in which they condemn the Tryers, and say, "Is not the new Court of Tryers at Whitehall for ministers of like make with the High Commission Court? The grave image of the worldly powers creating a worldly clergy for worldly ends; highly scandalous; against the rule of the Gospel and the faith of Christ; and as much to be exploded as the Pope and the prelates."* This protest was signed by the following, selected from a mass of names in the city and country, and especially Kent:—"Ten from the church that walks with Mr. Feake, now a close prisoner for the cause of Christ in Windsor Castle; seven in the name of the church that walks with Dr. Chamberlin; twenty-five in the name of the whole body that walks with Mr. Rogers, now a prisoner for this cause in Lambeth; thirteen of the church that walks with Mr. Raworth; fourteen with Mr. Knollys; nine of the church that walks with Mr. Simpson; twelve of the church that walks with Mr. Jessey; twenty-two of the church that

* A Declaration of certain Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the City of London, concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ, and the Patient Sufferings of His Cause and Saints in England.

walks with Mr. Barebones; eighteen of the church that walks with Lieutenant-Colonel Fenton; and thirteen of the church that walks with Justice Highland.*

That Cromwell was favourable to the Baptists admits of no doubt. Their aid he had received, and on them he could generally rely. In his own family circle they were found;† in his most secret councils they had participated; and some of his most trusted generals belonged to this body.‡ Against them his anger was now excited, and vigorous efforts were made to crush their growing power. Both these facts are clearly stated by Baxter:—"The Sectarian party in his army, and elsewhere, he chiefly trusted to, and pleased, till by the people's submission and quietness he thought himself well settled: and then he began to undermine them, and by degrees to work them out. And though he had so often spoken for the *Anabaptists*, he now finds them so heady, and so much against any settled Government, and so set upon the promoting of their way and party, that he doth not only begin to blame their unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the people's favour by suppressing them. In

* A Declaration of certain Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the City of London, concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ, and the Patient Sufferings of His Cause and Saints in England, p. 21.

† Charles Fleetwood, Colonel and Lord-Deputy of Ireland. "This pitiful Anabaptist was Oliver's son-in-law, and, upon that score, advanced to be Lieutenant-General of the army; for merit he never had any."—Mystery of the good Old Cause briefly unfolded.—*Vide* Parl. Hist., vol. iii., p. 1597 (Appendix). The Desboroughs were also closely connected with them.

‡ Baxter attributes much to their influence. In the Parliament, in the treatment of the king, in the Scottish wars, in the purging of the universities, in the ejecting of improper ministers, "the Anabaptists were the forwardest in this work." All this occurs as an apology for the abuse which the good man had heaped on them.—*Vide* More Proofs of Infant Church Membership, p. 216. "It nearly concerned him (Cromwell) to make much of the Anabaptists and Sectaries, which now succeeded Independency as the religion maintained and favoured above all others; and Kitfin, a great leader and teacher, was now in great request at the court in Whitehall."—Heath's Chronicles, p. 355.

Ireland they were grown so high, that the soldiers were many of them re-baptized as the way to preferment; and they who opposed them were crushed with uncharitable fierceness. He sent his son Henry Cromwell into Ireland, who mightily suppress them, and carried it so obligingly to all that he was generally beloved; so that Major-General Ludlow, who headed the Anabaptists in Ireland, was forced to submit. And though he long connived at his old friend Harrison, the head of the Anabaptists here, yet finding it would be an acceptable thing to the nation to suppress him, he doth it in a trice, and makes him contemptible who but yesterday thought himself not much below him;—as easily also to the full doth he lay by Lambert: which were very pleasing actions.”*

Many of these were dissatisfied with the Government. They were republican from principle. They had risked their lives and shed their blood for the Commonwealth. Their favourite Constitution had crumbled before their eyes. The labours and risks of years had vanished from before them; and they dreaded the restoration of a monarchy in the person of the Lord Protector, as fraught with great evils to religion and the State. Their numbers, their influence, their talents, were not despicable. Hence the policy and the conduct of the Protector towards them. In a letter addressed to his Highness in 1654, we have some glimpses of these facts. The writer says:—“The way you intend to take to bring about this design (the reform of the church) is twofold. 1. To purge the army of the Anabaptists. 2. To do it by degrees. But oh! Oliver, is this thy design? And is this the way to be rid of the Anabaptists? And is this the reason, because they hinder the reforming the things amiss in the church? I confess they have been enemies to the Presbyterian church; and so were you when at Dunbar, in Scotland, or at least you seemed to be so by your words and

* Baxter's Life, pp. 69, 70.

actions; for you speake as pure Independency as any of us all then, and made this an argument why we should fight stoutly, because we had the prayers of the Independent and baptized churches. So highly did you seem to love the Anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the army, but entertain them in your families; but it seems the case is altered. But do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the Anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birthrights as freeborn people of England. And have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies, except that which went to the West Indies, which prosper so well? Your court, your very Council is not free; only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in. So that I believe it will be a hard thing to root them out, although you tell the Scottish lord you will do it by degrees, as he reports.”* The writer then asks:—“1. Whether you had come to that height you are now in, if the Anabaptists had been as much your enemies as they were your friends? 2. Whether the Anabaptists were ever unfaithful either to the Commonwealth, &c., in general, or to your Highness in particular? And if not, then what is the reason of your intended dismissal? 3. Whether the Anabaptists are not to be commended for their integrity, which had rather keep faith and a good conscience, although it may lose them their employment, than to keep their employment with the loss of both? 4. Whether the Anabaptists did not come more justly by their employment in the army, than you came into the seat of Government? 5. Whether, if the Anabaptists had the power in their hands, and were as able to cast you out as you were them, and they did intend it to you, as you do to them, whether your Highness would not say they were all knaves? 6. Whether an 100 of the old Anabaptists, such as marched

* Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 150.

under your command in '48-9-50, &c., be not as good as 200 of your new courtiers, if you were in such a condition as you were at Dunbar? 7. Whether your Highness's court is not a greater charge to this nation than the Anabaptists in the army? and, if so, whether this be the care you promised the people? 8. Whether the moneys laid out in the making of new rivers and ponds at Hampton Court, might not have been better bestowed in paying the public faith, or the Anabaptists' arrears before their dismissal, &c."*

Major-General Harrison was not only a leading man, but probably the chief in this enterprise. "As he was the head of the Anabaptists," says Noble, "it gave him the greatest respect in the world to gain this, who wanted to pull down the ministry and the law." "Cromwell and he had been the great apostles of the Independents; he now spurned that sect as not sufficiently spiritualized, and went over to the Anabaptists, who were then a furious and ungovernable sect of men, and he submitted to a submersion from them; having then washed off all his religious as well as political impurities, he became quite a regenerated creature."†

Probably before Harrison had assumed the attitude indicated by Noble, various ministers, animated by the spirit of the times, had loudly denounced the Protectorate. There are so-called allusions to Feake, Rogers, Canne, Powell, and others, in the State papers of the time. We place some of them before our readers:—"The Parliament," says Heath, "was but a sub-committee that truckled under the Council of State and Oliver for their occasion, and Feake's (a great fifth monarchy preacher) congregation held at Blackfriars (this H—— of the Commonwealth being between Scylla

* Thurloe, vol. iii., pp. 150, 151.

† Noble's *Regicides*, vol. i., pp. 319, 320. "Harrison, who was the head of the Anabaptists, gave him the greatest respect in the world to gain the great countenance to his party, by which the proud fools grew high; so did his party."—Intercepted letter, without date. Burton, vol. i., p. 754. "Cromwell and Harrison had lived in cordial friendship."—Goodwin, vol. iv., p. 58.

and Charybdis), who cuts out every day's work for the House."* In a letter to Dan Lloyd, at Wexham, Dec. 22, 1653, occurs the following:—"Mr. Powell and Mr. Feake having spoken somewhat largely their thoughts of this present change were yesterday taken into custody. Mr. Powell last night was called before the Council, and both he and Mr. Feake were with them a long time this day; but have received no further judgment as yet, but do stand committed to the sergeant-at-arms. To-morrow, again they are to appear. How far they shall proceed is not yet clear to us. Major-G. Harrison being treated with, to know if he could own and act under the present power, and declaring that he could not, had his commission taken from him."† From the same volume we gather additional information. "I know not whether you have formerly heard of the Monday's Lectures at Blackfriars, where three or four Anabaptistical ministers preach constantly with very great bitterness against the present Government, but especially against his Excellency, calling him the man of sin, the old dragon, and many other scriptural names; the chief of them is one

* Chron., p. 353.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i., p. 461. There is a notice of this in a letter from the Dutch Ambassador which refers to this matter:—"I am informed by a very good hand, that the Lord Protector doth take a great deal of pains, and hath spent much time, about the affairs of the Church of England, to bring the same, by some toleration and connivance, into a considerable and peaceable condition, to the content of all differing parties; and the business is already so far advanced, that a meeting is upon certain conditions agreed on—not under the name of a Synod, but of a loving and Christian-like reception—where any one may propound for a mutual toleration. It is also finally agreed on, that to that end the bishop and Anabaptists shall be admitted into it, as well as the Independents and Presbyterians; but yet with this proviso, that they shall not dispute one another's principles, but labour to agree in union: and it is believed that the effect thereof will be seen in a short time. His Highness has caused Feake and Simson to be apprehended and imprisoned: two of the chiefest captains of the Anabaptists, who did preach most scornfully against the present Government."—Dutch Ambassador, Feb., 1653. Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 67.

Feake, a bold and crafty orator, and of high reputation amongst them. It has been wondered the general has so patiently permitted them; but yesterday I heard the true reason of it, which is, that he cannot help it, for they preach by an Act of the late Parliament, which the Council of State cannot overrule, and this Parliament will not abolish it; but on Tuesday last, as I take it, they were called before a private committee, when the general was present, who told them that the ill odour they had cast upon the Government has given confidence to our enemies abroad and at home, and would bring the Parliament into contempt; and that whatsoever ill effects followed, they must be accountable for it. Feake replied, that he desired that what the general said, and what he answered, might be registered in heaven; and that it was his tampering with the king, and his assuming an exorbitant power, which made these disorders: and so held forth the fifth monarchy. The general answered, that when he heard him begin with a record in heaven, he did not expect that he would have told such a lie upon the earth; but assured him, that whensoever he should be harder pressed by the enemy than they yet had been, it would be necessary to begin first with them; and so dismissed them. I forgot to tell you that the general had brought Sterry and two or three more of his ministers to oppose spirit to spirit, and to advise Feake and the rest to obedience, as the most necessary way to bring in the kingdom. But it is believed we shall have very much trouble from the Anabaptists; yet it is thought their power is nothing so great in the army as in the House, they having none above a captain of their party besides Harrison, who, it is thought, will betray all the rest; but whether the general will ease himself of those in the House by the old way of purging, or the new one of dissolving, rests in his own and the officers' breasts.* Some

* Thurloe, State Papers, vol. i., p. 621. "Many of the officers of the army wished to nominate Harrison as one of the Council of War. The

of the facts are stated in another of the papers:—"The Anabaptists are highly enraged against the Protector, inso-much that Vavaseur Powell, on Monday last, in Christ's church, publicly called him the dissemblingest perjured villain in the world; and desired that if any of his friends were 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." From an intercepted letter to Paris, under date of Dec. 14th, 1653, from no friendly pen, we gather a little more information.* The writer says:—"Harrison is now out of doors, having all along joined with the Anabaptists. The Anabaptists, though no good could be expected from them, or from Harrison, yet they will be able to do harm, and dislocate us in our councils and institutions, in casting aspersions on us in all parts and on all occasions. They are restless, although not considerable, yet they will receive what encouragement there can be in a private way to make them in their own judgment more considerable than they are really; and truly it were ill with most men, if they had power. It is also vented abroad, to deceive the vulgar, that Cromwell intends to call home the Scots king; and that there is no hurt intended the honest party of the Anabaptists, but to suppress the ill-disposed of them, and who are guided by a Jesuit party, who had the power over them. These things will satisfy some, but not all. I have formerly acquainted you how the Royalists, the Presbyterians, the Papists, and

Parliament, before its dissolution, had declared him incapable of any employment in the State."—French Anab., Guizot, vol. ii., p. 275.

* Thurloe, State Papers, vol. i., p. 633. In 1654 a mandate was issued ordering Harrison to return to his native county of Stafford.—Goodwin, vol. iv., p. 60. In Thurloe, the following occurs in relation to this:—"I am just now assured, and from that you may believe, that Harrison, V. Powell, and Mr. Feake, have been this day before his Highness and the Council, and that Powell and Feake are this evening sent to prison, and Harrison hath his commission taken from him."—Vol. i., p. 641.

the Independents have been abused; and now the Anabaptists, with all other sectaries, are much more abused than those," &c.

In 1654, Rogers was still imprisoned with Feake. He was brought before the Council, when he and the Protector debated various matters. The only charge against the former was dissatisfaction with Oliver's Government. After this, Major-General Harrison, Col. Rich, and some others, urged his Highness to release the prisoners and others who were deprived of their liberty, or else to try them. Cromwell's reply was characteristic. "It was through mercy this was deferred, because if the law had its due course, their lives would be forfeited." They were removed to Windsor Castle, probably as a place of greater safety, the next month.* On other parts of the country, the Government kept a watchful eye. Its spies were everywhere. Thurloe was indefatigable in his inquiries. His volumes are full of correspondence on all subjects affecting the Government. One John Gunter, of Brecon, writes to tell him:—"I am further to acquaint you, that the Anabaptists do daily rendezvous and list themselves in these parts, under pretence to act for the Lord Protector; but the county do not understand of any commissions they have from his Highness: and the persons listed do declare their design is to release Harrison, &c. All which may be well worthy of consideration."†

Two or three allusions to Mr. Powell's complexity in this design, whatever it may be, are now before us. Referring to a meeting, probably at Blackfriars, the writer says:—"Rogers read a letter openly to his auditors, which he said came from Mr. Powell, from Wales, who did assure him of 20,000 saints then ready to hazard their blood in defence of their cause."‡ The other we gather from the weekly press

* Several Proceedings of State Affairs, No. 280, Feb., 1654. Perfect Proceedings of State Affairs, 1655.

† Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 291.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 137.

of that period:—"The Major-General (Berry, at Worcester) sent for Vavaseur Powell, and acquainted him that it was informed that they were about some design to put things in distraction; who answered, it was far from him or any of his friends to design any such matter; upon which subject they had many words and much discourse: but at length the Major-General dismissed him and sent him home, upon promise to come whensoever he should send for him."*

The only allusion to Canne, and others, we find in the following, addressed to the Secretary:—"There hath been an eye on Dr. Newton since your visit to me; he hath gone very little out of the town this winter: he accompanies with disaffected persons, and was an old companion of Paul Hobson. He was one of Paul Hobson's great associates, and also a companion of old cavaliers. This day, some of the rebaptized judgment met at Newcastle about Paul Hobson's eight diabolical reasons, censuring all that signed the address to his Highness," &c.† "There are but few that are dissatisfied with the present Government in that place (Hull): the chief is Mr. Canne, whose removal, I humbly conceive, and hinted as much to your Highness, would be very necessary; he doth disputise amongst the soldiery, his

* *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 285. Nov., 1655. "He had some confidence placed in him by the Protector, in being appointed Major-General of Wales; but his conduct was such that it greatly injured the Government, for taking to his bosom Vavaseur Powell, a most obnoxious Anabaptist, who was so far gone in fanatical madness that he threw all Wales in flames; and as Harrison had taken every method of putting the gentry out of all commissions, and in their room placing the converts of his own party, it made both him and the Protector odious; but this was rectified. Powell, after various fruitless admonitions, was sent to prison."—Noble, vol. i., p. 321.

† Letter from J. Topping to Thurloe. Tynemouth, Feb. 5, 1654. *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 138. Hobson appears to have resided at Newcastle at this time. His name appears as a witness to a marriage certificate at Hexham. He is called a major in some existing documents, and was charged by the Hexham minister with some acts inconsistent with Christian principles, but which, it was said, referred only to his unconverted state.—Douglas, pp. 53, 60.

spirit not agreeing with the Government.”* From an authority already quoted—whose facts may be received, though his deductions from them may frequently be repudiated without loss—we learn that “Harrison, with Messrs. Pheke (Feake), Canne, and Rogers, met at the House of Mr. Daforma, in Bartholomew Lane, over the Royal Exchange, where they held their various consultations about an insurrection.”† The alarm extended to Ireland. From that country we have, happily, a condensed statement, which we place before our readers. On many accounts this document is of considerable interest. It throws light on the condition of our body at this time in the sister isle:—

“*Mr. Thomas Harrison to Secretary Thurloe.*

“HONOURED SIR,—I know by experience that he who adventures to be faithfull in discovering the miscarriages even of good men, when dangerous to the *publique*, runs the hazard of being suspected and judged by men, and also of being judged by the Lord, unlesse his actings spring from a roote of faithfullnesse, and aime sincerely at the service and safety both of the publique and of the very persons themselves, who are laid so open. With the awe and dread upon my heart of that day of Jesus Christ wherein the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, I shall proceed (according to your encouragement) to manifest the spirit of that way, the principles and practices of those persons, who have soe farre prevailed in this poore country. Being at Kilkenny with my lord the 18th of last month, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Wood, Mr. Wells, and my selfe, went solemnly to Mr. Blackwood (the oracle of the Anabaptists in Ireland), complaining of their totall withdrawings from us in publique worship.

“He alleadged the cause thereof to be our not observing the order of the apostles by baptism. Nevertheles they could most of them sometimes joyne with us, provided, 1st, That in a day of prayer they may speake last, that if any thing be spoken against God or Christ or the truth, they might have an opportunity to bear wisse

* Letter from J. Topping to Thurloe. Tynemouth, February 5, 1654. State Papers, vol. iii., p. 240.

† Noble, vol. i., p. 322. Colonel Overton was a party to a project for a new Constitution. The outlines may be seen in Whitelocke, vol. iii., p. 26. Goodwin discusses the whole question; vol. iv., ch. xii. Noble is seldom to be trusted, especially when a sectary is before him. His “Lives of the Regicides” is nothing less than a succession of blunders.

against it, and the like liberty they desired at lectures, &c.; 2ndly, That singing of Psalms be wholly forborne; and 3rdly, All bitterness and termes of reflexion; 4thly, That we forbear to give magnifying titles even to men, or to be large in commendation of their graces, when (said he) we know no such thing by them, but rather hear the contrary; 5thly, That we should not hinder godly men from places of authority and power, because of their judgements, &c.

“This man is now fixed with the congregation at Dublin, and Mr. Patient appointed as an evangelist to preach up and downe the country. The last named being at the Naes, with Col. Axtell, when newes of his Highness’s danger by the fall came unto them, they laughed heartily at it, as a minister maintained by the State in those parts hath assured me. At Dublin, they solemnly by excommunication delivered up to Satan a godly man, for falling off, as they said, from the truthes of Christ to anti-christian errors, in joining with Mr. Winter, &c.; and for no other eause in the world. The man sat next me the last Lord’s day in breaking of bread with that society, who forthwith received him upon due enquiry after their ejection of him. And yet, alas! how is this land shared out amongst persons of his persuasion; governours of towns and citties, 12 at least, colonells 10, lieut.-colonels 3 or 4, majors 10, eaptains 19 or 20, preachers in salary 2, officers in the civill list 23; and many of whome I never heard. The enclosed is a true map of Ireland, drawn by the pen of as judicious, as industrious, as precious a plain-hearted minister of the gospell as any I know in Ireland. Sir, I assure you that my lord never saw a line that I writ you or to his highnesse. I am not unacquainted with the snares and temptations whereby my lord hath been formerly indangered, and whereof I suppose his highnes may be still fearfull and jealous; but, sir, I cau assure you, to the praise of rich and glorious grace, the good hand of the Lord hath wonderfully broken them, to the admiration of all, both friends and enemies, who formerly knew my lord. Sir, I dare adde no further to your trouble at present, but begge you would pardon,

“Sir, your faithfull Servant in the Lord,

“T. HARRISON.

“Dublin, 8ber 17, 1655.”*

The anxiety of the Government, and the extent and influence of our brethren in this country, may be accounted for by several facts. Goodwin assures us that the majority of new

* Vol. xxxi., p. 207.

settlers planted in Ireland by Cromwell and his officers were Baptists, that the leading officers of the victorious troops belonged to that community, and that, by the influence of Fleetwood, a Baptist was made Lord Chancellor and a Privy Councillor. On the retirement of Fleetwood, the second son of the Protector was made Lord-Deputy. From his pen we have an expression of the hopes and fears of the Government. We arrange them in the order in which they occur. Lord Henry thus writes:—"Here, about the headquarters, as also those in other parts of the nation, are abundantly satisfied and well pleased with the present Government in England; unless it be some few inconsiderable persons of the Anabaptist judgment, who are also quite, though not very well contented; but I believe they will receive much satisfaction from a letter lately come into their hands from Mr. Kiffin and Spilsbury, in which they have dealt very homely and plainly with those of that judgment here. But I must say this, that if they had been inclinable to have made disturbance, they had sufficient encouragement from those in chief places here, who have managed business of late with much peevishness and forwardness, endeavouring to render the Government as unacceptable as possibly they could, especially Ludlow and Jones."* From another pen Thurloe is informed:—"Upon the first knowledge of this great alteration, the A(nabaptists) were much troubled, many of their objections being against the title of 'Highness' and 'Protector,' which they conceive are to be attributed to God alone. Some were also grounded upon his reports of my lord's sitting at table alone, and being served on the knees. But that which I find to lie at the bottom is this, that the late Parliament did countenance their way more than any others; and that his Highness was privy to, if not instrumental to their breaking up, and that at a time when

* H. Cromwell to Thurloe, 8th March, 1653. State Papers, vol. ii., p. 149.

they were passing a glorious reforming Act, the taking away tithes, the maintenance of the rotten clergy. Their invectives and derisive expressions were many and frequent, and used by the chief of them." Allusion also to Kiffin and Spilsbury's letter occurs in this letter, and to other matters.* "Sir, as to your grand affairs of Ireland, especially as to the Anabaptist party, I am confident they are much conceived in England. Truly, I am apt to believe that on the change of affairs here was discontent enough, but very little animosity: for certainly never yet any faction, so well fortified by all the officers, civil and military, almost in the whole nation, did quit their interests with more silence. Some two or three were at the first imprisoned for plots and libels, which caused such a general compliance, that should a stranger arrive here now, he would never believe that there had been any difference, unless upon the Sabbath a congregation may be discovered of which Mr. Patient is pastor, from whose church those in profitable employment daily do declaim."† "I hear of some strange passages of your Anabaptists of Dublin, to the grief and offence of Lord Henry Cromwell. I do marvel what that people would have. My lord's demeanour hath been such everywhere since his coming, that godly people generally speak well of him, and are much satisfied with him. But the Anabaptists, I hear (especially those of Dublin, for I heard our Governor, Col. Leigh, much commend him), are not pleased. Surely the pride and uncharitableness of that people shall ere long bring them low. I hope that the horrid schism of the Anabaptists, the madness of the Quakers, &c. &c., should all ply that petition more, 'Thy kingdom come,' &c.‡ "Can his Highness believe that the Anabaptists were, especially those

* Letter of J. Lloyd to Thurloe. Dublin, March 13, 1653. Vol. ii., pp. 163, 164.

† R. Jennings to W. Howard. Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 213.

‡ Edward Wales to Dr. Harrison. Dublin, 14th of 10th month, 1655. Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 314.

here, to be his best and most faithful friends; and that when others will desert him they will stand by him, as Colonel Harrison says? But let the sober, good people throughout Ireland be asked their knowledge, they will be able to tell you, that when they appeared for the owning of his Highness, these men did openly deny him; and not only so, but reproached and reviled those who did own him, and I am confident have marked him out for revenge, if ever the scale should turn. Let us not be deceived. You wrote me word in your last of Day's and Sympton's carriage. Dare they be so bold if they had not good backs? How long have the Anabaptists and they been at odds? From whence comes John Sympton? We have cause to bless the Lord that he had not left us to such a spirit. It is good to use tenderness towards them. I have done it, and shall still do it; but shall withal be careful to keep them from power who, if they had power, would express little tenderness towards those that would not submit to their way."* "I have since my return been more courted by the Anabaptists than formerly. Mr. Patient and some others, who had not been with me of a long time before, came to visit me, and expressed much as to their satisfaction with my management of things here, and that their people had as much liberty as they could desire; and much to the same purpose. What this means, I must of a sudden imagine. I shall, as formerly, carry it with all moderation towards them."† The only other allusions we shall give for the present are the following:—"I am glad the ministers parted so well satisfied; only it is said, that not only those inclined to Anabaptism disliked the proceedings, but that the soberest Independents were and are dissenters to most of the things agreed on," &c.‡

* H. Cromwell to Thurloe. Dublin, Dec. 22, 1655. Thurloe, vol. iv., p. 348.

† Letter from H. Cromwell. Dublin, 22d Oct., 1656. Thurloe, vol. i., p. 731.

‡ Thurloe to H. Cromwell. Whitehall, June 4, 1658. Vol. vii., p. 153.

“The Anabaptists seem, for the major party here, to be neither *pro* nor *con*: they neither rejoice with those that rejoice, nor mourn with those that mourn, as to the present; but they still look like a Commonwealth of their own,” &c.* “He (Fleetwood) then began to tell me of dissatisfaction amongst the Anabaptists, Independents, and others professing godliness; offered his help and assurance to write and compose, and to that end he would bring the most discontented of all parties to set meetings. You know I have had my share of trouble by the Anabaptists. And now things were reduced to that calm state that I have not since that time heard the least stir or complaint from them, but at that time many professions of abundant satisfaction from the chief amongst them. The Independents were thus above measure pleased; and the fresh joy of being delivered from the reign of the Anabaptists gave him no time to think of setting up for himself.”†

Many of these had embraced the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ. In history they are classed with the fifth monarchy men of this period. The doctrine was not confined to our brethren. Men of distinction in other communities held it. The opinion was probably not more common then than now. They not only taught this, but apparently regarded the saints as the only fit persons for rulers. The fact is not very clear. Warwick charges them with this, but his competency to judge, or his honesty in describing, may often be questioned:—“For by this time the officers of the army, especially Harrison and his fifth monarchy men, pretended Christ was only to reign and his government to be exercised by the saints, new distinctions are raised betwixt the people of the land (who were not promiscuously to be trusted with the choice of their own representatives) and the people of God, who were both to choose and fill up the vacant places; and

* Letter to Thurloe. Leith, June 22, 1658. Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 194.

† H. Cromwell to Monk. June 23, 1658. Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 199.

in such persons it was fit only to lodge the supreme authority, men fearing God and of approved sincerity.*

These attempts, like most others against the Protector's Government, were abortive. His genius penetrated every plot, and at the most fitting time defeated it. It was so in this case. An order was issued about Feb. 19, 1655, by which Major-General Harrison, Colonel Rich, and others, were placed under arrest.† How soon after the general was liberated we know not, but his zeal was not exhausted. We find him at large again, and with his friends pursuing the same course. Two years later than his first imprisonment (Feb., 1657), Cromwell issued his commands to one of his officers in these words:—"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."‡ Regaining their liberty, they, with other republicans, made an attempt the year after, but were seized, and Harrison, Lawson, Rich, and Col. Danvers, with some of their accomplices, were confined in the Gate House till the death of the Protector.§ We have entered into these details, as tending to illustrate some important movements in our body during this period of our history. Other matters will now claim the reader's attention.

During Monk's absence from Scotland, Colonel Lilburne encouraged his brethren in their work of faith and labour of

* Memoirs of Sir P. Warwick, p. 406.

† Perfect Diurnal, 1655, p. 272.

‡ A True and Impartial Narrative, &c., by Kingsley Bethel. Maseres Tracts, vol. iv., p. 527.

§ Public Intelligence, April 13, 1657. A manifesto was issued, called "A Standard Set up, whereunto the true Seed and Saints of the Most High may be gathered together for the Lamb, against the Beast and the False Prophet; or the principles and declarations of the Remnant who have waited for the blessed appearance and hope." Harrison, Admiral Lawson, Colonel Oakey, Portman, and others, had been consulted, but there is no proof that they united in the foolish enterprise.—*Vide* Goodwin, vol. iv., chap. 24.

love. His troops contained many Baptists. In all their stations they held their meetings. Aid from the churches in the North was sent at the Colonel's request, especially from the church at Hexham. Their success was considerable. Monk's return in 1654 checked this. He had no sympathy with them. His deep, designing spirit, must often have been crossed by their manly uprightness and Christian simplicity. With the Presbyterians there was more of harmony. Their hatred to our brethren was intense. The Parliament of the nation, in 1652, had issued a declaration against the new Scotch dippers.* A memorial was presented to him from the Baptist churches in 1655, and another in 1659, by the Baptists in and around Edinburgh, in which they asked for a toleration to all sects except Papists and Prelatists.† The reply of Monk, as he was departing on his treacherous enterprise, was worthy of the deep-laid hypocrisy of the man. The following, presented to Monk in 1654, may be taken as a specimen of these memorials. It probably refers to charges of attempts to overthrow the Government:—

“Presented January 24, 1654.

“To the Right Honourable General Monk, Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces in Scotland.

“The humble address of the baptized churches, consisting of officers, soldiers, and others, walking together in Gospel order, at St. Johnston's, Leith and Edinburgh.

“May it please your honour, that good hand of Providence which called many of us into the armies, from the beginning of the late intestine troubles, hath also (to our comfort) kept us hitherto free from those works of darkness which tend to division and confusion both in State and army. Therefore we desire, by this our humble address, to vindicate our integrity before men and angels from those calumnies lately cast upon us, making us the authors of dissention and disturbance to the publique; when, on the contrary, our conscience bears us witness, that our weak endeavours have been to promote the publique

* Whitelocke, vol. iii., p. 480.

† The former may be found in the Perfect Diurnal, No. 270, Feb., 1655; the latter fact in Douglas's Hist., p. 43. Johnston's Circular Letter of the Baptist Union of Scotland will supply more details.

interest in the greatest danger and hardship; for which also we have improved our portion in heaven, by prayers and tears to Him that was able to save. And seeing now at length we are so saved that we are brought (by a continued series of providences, through all the visible difficulties of twelve years' warr) unto a blessed hope and expectation of reaping a harvest of rest and peace, we are grieved, and cannot but mourn to see that raging spirit of enmity lie in the hearts of men bent to destroy their brethren; some, like Core and his companies, labouring to turn the people from obedience to their leaders; others by false surmisings and open reproaching, endeavouring to exasperate the spirit of superiors against their people: so that if there be any enchantment against Jacob or divination against Israel, if men would have cursed where God hath blessed, they had, ere this, involved the nation into blood again; and as no age since Israel's coming out of Egypt can parallel the great and weighty works of God for a poor despised people, with this we live in, even so we are persuaded that there was never more subtilties of Sathan, under specious pretences of religion and conscience, both in ecclesiasticks and politicks, than this age hath produced.

“Therefore we have cause to judge, that these late devices of some men are but new tricks of the old deceiver to subvert the foundations of good government, and hinder an established liberty to God's people, that in the midst of our divisions he might more easily strengthen his own kingdom, and in time bring a yোক again upon the necks of saints. But that which is our greatest trouble in the midst of these stirrs, is to see that any who have professed godliness, or any member of our body, should give the least occasion to be suspected to joyn hands with the workers of iniquity. By which miscarriage, the honor of Christ, religion, and ourselves, lie obnoxious to the calumnies of such as delight to render our profession odious, and wait for occasion to say of us, as sometimes it was said of our betters, ‘These are they that turn the world upside down; charging us with despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities, as if our designs were to pull down others, that we might set up ourselves.’ Now, lest our silence in this day of slander should seem to plead us guilty, we are prest in our consciences, first, in the deep sense of the honour of Christ that lies at stake. Secondly, out of duty to his Highness, your Honor, and all good men, to present this our humble address, to clear our innocency from those unjust aspersions we are charged with, through the defect of one, we knowing none more under suspicion of guilt in this matter of our society.

“We do, therefore, as in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, declare,—

“1. That we are altogether innocent and ignorant of any plotting and contriving with any person whatsoever in this design spoken of, or in any other tending to division in State or army.

“2. We doe disown all such (though our brethren) that were or may be found contrivers or fomentors of any of the aforesaid wicked devices, and bear our testimonies against such as great sinners, and as enemies to the publike peace and welfare of the nation.

“3. We doe declare, hereby, freedom in owning the present magistracy and authority, by the providence of God set over us, in the hands of our present governours, and governour-in-chief, to whom we owe not only our civil subjection, for conscience sake, but also our prayers and supplications for a blessing upon their righteous endeavours; and that at the end of their work they may receive that immortal crown of righteousness, as a reward for all that hath or shall be done by them for God and his poor people.

“4. Seeing it is the design of our enemies to brand us, as those that would throw down others to set up ourselves and interest, we doe humbly manifest as unto your Honor, so to all the world, that it is neither our opinion or desire that men of our judgment, or any other particular interest or faction of men so called, should be set up to lord it over their differing brethren; but count it mercy that there is a curbe upon each interest, and yet all have their liberty. As for our parts, we lay no other claim to State affairs, or great places, than our national birthright, in a peaceable subjection to the powers set over us. Our greatest expected freedom being quietly to worship God: which freedom we conceive is a fruit of the purchase of our dear Redeemer, an answer to prayers of many generations and a nine years' contest with tears and blood. And in this we are confident to have the favourable aspect of his Highness the Lord Protector, your Honor, and all unbyassed Christians; and as for those other expected good things for the nation, and ourselves as part, we are taught by the husbandman that laboureth, to wait with patience till the Lord cause the early and latter rain of heaven to water the hearts of governors and govern'd, that the fruits of righteousness, love, and meekness, may more abundantly appear in a wise and holy conversation; then will magistrates be more apt to rule, and people more ready to obey, and the nations more fit to receive the mercies, which we fear their unworthyness hinders.

“And now having freely opened our hearts, as in the presence of the Almighty, we dare appeal from heaven to earth, and let our enemies be our judges; yea, if wee have done this, if iniquity be in our hands, let the enemy tread down our lives upon the earth, and lay down our honor in the dust; but our defense is of God, as con-

sidered this our humble address (wherein we mind onely plainness and truth, measuring our words with the upright meanings of our hearts), we may expect the continuance of your Honor's good affections, which we shall always endeavour to answer in all humble submission to your just commands, with earnest desire for a portion of that heavenly wisdom to direct you in going in and out before so great a people. If any think we plead too freely in our own cause, let them consider it's matter of fact we are charged with, and they will say it's lawful for us to plead not guilty; and we desire the necessity of union amongst good men in this day, when division is our enemies' greatest strength, may make our apology for this trouble, there being nothing that will more rejoice our hearts than to see the Lord's people in the nations and army to joyn hearts and hands with their leaders, to advance the great work of God begun in our days; wherefore we hope we shall not cease night and day beseeching the great Shepherd of Israel to give unto his people (scattered flock) one heart to fear him, that they may stand fast with one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, that the beloved of his soul may be but one protector, Parliament; and people, one general, commander, superior and inferior, fearing God; to be all one in and for Christ, and the promotion of his kingdom in this world. Then might we assuredly expect that the Lord would go forth with our armies, that his glory would dwell in our camps, and that he would delight in us to do us good, and still use us as his poor instruments in the rest of his work, and at length cause righteousness, truth, peace, meekness, and sweetness to flow forth from rulers to people, from people to rulers: so shall all of us have occasion to bless God for such magistrates, and they to bless God for such people; and both rulers and people, with joynt consent, will have abundant cause to praise the Lord for his unspeakable mercy."

Heath tells us, that "on arriving at Leith, October 19th, 1659, he turned all the Anabaptistical officers out of his regiments, and secured them in Timplallan Castle. His own lieutenant, Colonel Holmes, was an Anabaptist. They were afterwards removed to the Basse (the Bass Rock) Island, out of the way of all communication."‡ The reason is obvious, from another fact which we select from the same Chronicle. Lambert, who had been ordered to check the progress of the suspected general, had many Baptists in his army.

* Chron., pp. 430, 432.

“Relying on the army interest, and the Anabaptist party (now very numerous, and at this time the uppermost), for that had its turn, too, as well as the Presbyterians and Independents, but swayed not so long (all the other sects centring here); for now was the time of the fulness and visible power of Zion, as it was concluded by this people.”*

It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the total number of Baptist churches at this time; but one thing is certain, the rapidity of their increase. In the metropolis, in Kent, in the Midland counties, and in the northern parts of the island, they had multiplied greatly.† Better still, their order and discipline was assuming the form and consistency which now marks them. The facilities for personal intercourse with each other were exceedingly few. Travelling was not only difficult, but dangerous. Yet a deep fraternal interest in each other's spiritual welfare was cherished. They looked on each (though separate and independent communities) as forming one common brotherhood. They were the depositories of precious truth, unknown and rejected by other devout men. The purity of Christ's church—the individuality of religion—the freedom of conscience, were held by them with a clearness found in no other community. To cherish and expand them, two plans were adopted by our brethren. One was, intercourse by

* Chron., p. 431.

† One or two items of information we have gleaned since the above was written. In 1653, H. Jessey says: “That in the church meeting in Great All-Hallows, London, 200 have been baptized within these three years.” That a messenger from his own church, and another from the one above, had been sent to visit churches in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and to understand their way and orders, and to further love amongst them all that love our Lord Christ in sincerity and communion with theirs. . . . They were received in the Lord by several churches—about ten in Essex, as many in Suffolk, and as many in Norfolk—sound in the faith and holy in life; though differing with some about the subject and manner of the ordinances of baptism, or some about such as laying on of hands, or blessing of children, or singing psalms or hymns or spiritual songs, as they were advised by those messengers.—Letter to the Church at Hexham, from the Church under H. Jessey's care. Douglas, p. 51.

letter with distant churches; the other, the fraternal and voluntary union of churches in a given district for mutual Christian intercourse and prayer. In the former, the London churches took the lead. "It hath pleased the Lord, we hope, to put into the churches in London, that there might be more knowledge taken of all the churches of Christ in the nation, whereby they may the better know how to own them, and demean themselves to each other upon all occasions, confirming their love to each other, that they may serve one another in love, as becometh saints; and, therefore, it would much sadden our spirits if there should be any occasion, given or taken, amongst you, that you might not be upon the hearts of the churches, in owning you as other churches." These letters were frequently sent also in cases of difficulty, arising from disputes on doctrine or discipline. At times they were the expressions of various churches, and not unfrequently conveyed by some brother possessing the confidence of the brethren, as well fitted to discharge the onerous duties of his mission. There was no authority assumed. The intercourse was of a purely fraternal kind. The following is a sample of these epistles:—

"To the Church of Christ at Hexham.—1653.

"DEARLY-BELOVED BRETHREN IN OUR LORD CHRIST,—We salute you in the Lord, praying for the multiplying of grace and peace upon you, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"The report of the work of God in you and for you, in persuading your hearts to obey his will in being baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, whilst so many in all places endeavour to deter people from embracing the plain precepts of Christ, and by all sorts of arts seem to darken the truth, and to continue the profane abuse of infant sprinkling on superstitious and Judaizing grounds, by which the reformation of the churches is hindered; and not only so, but that he hath kept you from those errors of universal grace—proficient, but becoming effectual by the motion of man's will not determined by God, such other errors that corrupt other baptized people; and that he timely discovered that counterfeit Jew, who was likely either to have corrupted you, or brought you into obloquy; and the keeping you, as we hope, unspotted of the world;—hath filled our hearts with joy, and enlarged our hearts with thanksgiving to God; and so much

the rather because we hope that from you the truth of God may sound farther, and your holy conversation provoke those that yet are averse from the right ways of the Lord in which you walk, to consider their ways, and inquire after the mind of the Lord more earnestly; for all which reasons, and that there might be a holy correspondence held between us and you, as those that are members of one body, have one spirit, and called in one hope of our calling—have one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father, who is above all, and through all, and in you all—we have judged it our duty to write unto you, that we might congratulate with you for the mercy and the grace of God vouchsafed to you, and assure you of our readiness to assist you in anything that may tend to your edification; and to concur with you in any work of the Lord, whereby the kingdom of Christ may be advanced, and the opposite dominion, of what sort soever, depressed. As for yourselves, though we are confident that he who hath begun the good work in you will perfect it to the day of Jesus Christ, yet being sensible that you have potent adversaries, who will endeavour with all cunning and violence to cast you down to the earth, that you may lose your crown; we think it safe for you that you be exhorted by us to look to your garments that they be kept clean, and that you may be as ‘the sons of God without rebuke, in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, amongst whom ye shine as lights in the world;’ and because your steadfastness will rest much upon your order and unity, we beseech you that ye mark them that cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine you have received, and avoid them; and that you obey them that are over you in the Lord, who watch for your souls as them that must give account to God, that they may do it with joy and not with grief. Whatever differences may arise, labour to compose them among yourselves, and to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; let nothing be done through strife or vain glory, but in lowliness of mind let each esteem others before themselves; love humility, it will help much to unity; take heed of lightness and inconstancy. If any have private opinions, let them not be divulged; each one seek privately information of their teachers, or such as are most able, and not zealously promote them without regard to the church’s peace. Let every one study to be quiet, and to do his own business, remembering that as in the body all members have not the same office, so it is in the church; and, therefore, each member is to keep his own place, and therein abide with God.

“Brethren, if it had seemed good to the Lord, we should have been glad if our dwelling had been nearer, that we might have visited you in person; but the Lord otherwise ordering it, we have contented

ourselves only at this time to signify our mind to you by writing, hoping to hear from you of the grace of God to you, in preserving and increasing you in the knowledge of Christ, and the love of God unto eternal life. We farther signify to you our longing to have with you, and all the baptized churches that hold the faith purely, such communion as that we may, by letters or messengers, in some meeting or meetings, communicate to each other our knowledge for the testifying of each other, and obtaining of consent of doctrine among the churches; and we further desire that there may be some certain way of approving and sending teachers from the churches, and of signifying to all churches of our communion who are approved or disallowed as teachers, or in case of removal as brethren, that the churches of God may not be deceived by such impostors as the counterfeit Jew with you, and that Popish and other devilish practices to divide or corrupt them may be prevented, though we hope the pastors in every church will be very watchful in this thing.

“For the present we have no more to write to you, but to entreat your prayers for us as we for you, that you may stand complete in all the will of God, to whose tuition we commend you, and remain your strongly unchained brethren in the bonds of perfectness, and the unfeigned love of you in the Lord.

“Signed, in the name of the church at Weston, near Permaid, in Herefordshire:—John Skinner, *Teacher*; John Street, John Skinner, Thomas Rudge, *Brethren*.

“Do., church meeting at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire:—William Pritchard, *Elder*; Richard Rogers, Anthony Hare, *Brethren*.

“Do., baptized church in the Forest of Dean, in the county of Gloucester:—William Skinner, John Lills, *Elders*.

“Do., church of Aintile, in Herefordshire:—John Tombes, *Pastor*; John Patshall, John Warracklow, *Elders*.

“Do., Beaudly, in Worcestershire:—Thomas Bolstonne, Philip Man, Robert Girdler, *Elders*.

“Do., the church at Netherton, in Gloucestershire:—Richard Harrison, Paul Frum, William Drew, *Elders*.

“Do., in the city of Hereford:—R. London, *Pastor*; Charles Powell, Steven Chamberlin.

“Do., the church at Wormbredy:—John Bell, Francis Pobb.

“Do., in Colman Street, Swan Alley, London (it coming to us the 2d of the 8th month, 1653):—Henry Jessey, *Teacher*; George Baggett, George Wadde, *Brethren*.”*

The formation of Associations is traced to this period.

* New Evangelical Magazine, vol. x. (1824).

They have long formed a source of healthful and pleasant intercourse to many. From various parts of the county or district, brethren came. Intercourse was not easy. Roads existed more in name than in fact. No means of public transit existed, and commerce called individuals but rarely from their homes, or only to the next market town. These annual gatherings of the brethren were hailed as seasons of holy festivity. Men of note, both for piety and action, were brought together, and by their counsel and preaching greatly aided the church of God. The records of many of these early ones have been lost. From them, if they were at command, might be traced the progress of opinion and ecclesiastical polity which finally governed them. The earliest notice we have of these gatherings in England is about 1653, when the Western Association was formed. The Midland followed in 1655, and others in various parts of the country were soon after established. To these annual gatherings the churches frequently sent many queries, and solicited advice on topics which might have disturbed their unity. We select one or two. On the doctrine of laying on of hands, one church had asked the opinion of the assembled brethren. The following was the reply:—"The laying on of hands on baptized believers should be left to the judgment of the individual churches; but that if any minister contended for it as a term of communion, he should not be permitted to preach in any of the churches of the Association."^{*}

The singing of psalms, the public fasts, and other topics, mark the early gatherings of these bodies. Their letters are full of these inquiries, and the replies which were given to them. In many cases their proceedings were not printed, but the minister or messenger of each church was expected to take a copy for the use of the church, and in many cases they were regularly transcribed amongst the records of the church. We have examined some of them, though none of

* Gould's Norwich Case, pp. 232, 239.

so early a date as 1655. Thomas has given us an account of these gatherings in Wales of a later period, when vast numbers assembled at them. "About a century ago," he says, "it was sometimes necessary to prepare for 700 or 800 horses, which graze in the time of service; two or three persons are appointed to take care of them. The inhabitants for five or six miles round the place provide lodgings for the strangers, and good entertainment for man and horse gratis. The generosity of the county is such, that at these times all descriptions of persons open their doors cordially, whether religious or not, gentlemen as well as farmers. The leading men of the congregations know beforehand where to send two, four, six, or more guests, and there are persons ready to take them to their respective lodgings. On Tuesday evening, there is a meeting almost on purpose to accommodate the strangers. They generally take their horses with them; and where they lodge that night, they commonly do the next. The chief public day is the Wednesday. Thursday is the afternoon they set out on their return. They sup and breakfast where they lodge. The people beforehand bake a quantity of good bread, and brew good table beer, and put it in the vestry, or some convenient place; this, with cheese and butter, makes their dinner on Wednesday, which they take in and about the meeting-house on tables, boards, and as they can. As no meeting-house will contain the people, a temporary pulpit is prepared in a most convenient place, that the auditory may hear in the house and out; it is so covered as to prevent the sun and rain from coming to the minister. The multitude is peculiarly numerous on Wednesday, as all the neighbourhood flock together on that day," &c.*

During this period, many sects suddenly rose for a time before the people, and then retired.† Under various names

* Thomas, p. 87. The reader may consult also Douglas's Northern Church. Gould has collected many examples. Norwich Chapel Case.

† "I speak not of sects in an ill sense, but the nation is mightily made up of them."—Cromwell's Speech, Jan. 25, 1657. Burton, vol. ii., p. 365.

they pass before us. Ranters,* Muggletonians,† Seekers,‡ Familists,|| and Quakers.§ Many of these frequently were passed as Anabaptists, and not less frequently the latter were confounded with them. Most of the former sects have passed away, and the followers of Fox alone remain with any distinct organization. Upon many of them the hand of the Government was heavy. Toleration of religious opinion during this period was various. Upon Fox, Naylor, and others, persecution fell very severely. Imprisonment, whipping, the stocks, and other modes of treatment, were familiar to these men. They bore their trials with patience. Nor were our own brethren free from this kind of oppression. Some of them, far from the seat of Government, suffered frequently from the little men in power. Mr. Grantham says:—"In the time of Cromwell's usurpation, they did pull us before the judgment-seats, because we could not worship God after the will of the Lord Protector; for so they stiled him in their articles against us. And we had then our goods taken away, and never restored to this day." The pretensions of some of the former were blasphemous—their conduct frequently outraging all law, interfering with the order of public service, and it is probable that many of them would be treated not as sufferers for religion, but as the violators of public order, and subject, therefore, to the common law. We only suggest; we offer no apology for suffering for conscience sake.

* "They made it their business to set up the light of nature, under the name of Christ in man, and to dishonour and cry down the church, Scriptures, ministry, worship, and ordinances; and called men to hearken to Christ within them," &c.—Baxter's Life, p. 101.

† Muggleton and Reeve, the founders of this sect, professed to be the two witnesses clothed in sackcloth spoken of in the Revelation.

‡ These taught, "That the Scriptures were uncertain; that present miracles are necessary to faith; that our ministry is null, and without authority; and our worship and ordinances unnecessary and vain," &c.—Baxter, p. 101.

|| A notice of the founder of this sect has appeared in vol. i. of this work.

§ Fox's Journal.

A writer, who ordinarily manifests considerable impartiality when dealing with dissidents from his church, has said: "The sectaries who broke out at the close of the reign of James, and were now (1642) spreading like locusts over the whole land, held and taught, without any reserve, that the actions recorded in the Old Testament were recorded for imitation." Hence, that the religion of many "was a strange compound of Christian doctrine, often distorted and engrafted upon Jewish modes of thought and principles of action," &c.* This is true in a wider sense than this writer affirms here. The principle from which it springs is the corner-stone of all national establishments. Our brethren from the first dissented from it on this ground. It was against their principles; as Jewish, and not Christian, as sprung from Moses, and not Christ; as one of compulsion, and not the result of intelligent conviction. The proof of this is overwhelming. If by sectaries Mr. Marsden means all dissidents from Episcopacy, then his statement needs limitation. Presbyterianism, like Episcopacy, embodied it to a great extent. To the records of the Old Testament they frequently appealed, as affording a broad ground of justification for imprisoning, for depriving of all civil rights, and forcing into exile all sectaries. They had caught the spirit from the sister establishment. Other sects were less tinged with it; for though the Independents had not yet attained, nor were already perfect, though they had much to learn on the power of the magistrates, and the perfect freedom of the individual conscience, they were far in advance of the advocates of a national form of faith enforced by the sword of the civil power. The more sober and regular Baptists of this period, the men who were not imbued with fifth monarchy principles, were in advance of their brethren. In no sense could this apply to them. The hostility of their essential principles to these views exposed them to the scorn

* Marsden, *Early Puritans*, pp. 419, 420.

of the holy, and to the wrath of kings. The church at present has vindicated their accuracy by adopting, to a great extent, their primary dogmas, and many of the evangelical clergy are now compelled to form a church within a church. From his obscure hiding-place, one of the Anabaptist fanatics thus writes. If bishops and High Commissions had taught these doctrines, the crimes and miseries which marked this period of our history would have been unknown:—"Lastly, my judgment concerning this point is (and that according to the best light that it hath pleased God to give unto me by his Word and Spirit), that the Gospel, or New Testament, is that part (only) of God's written Word whereby we Christians (of the Gentiles) are to be regulated, and whereunto our consciences are (by God's appointment) bound to have due regard; and from thence to receive our warrant and directions for all our worship and service of God (John v. 24; Jas. i. 21; 1 Peter i. 8, 9; Rom. vi. 17; Heb. iii. 1-6). Yet not that I give not the Old Testament all holy reverence in its due place, as—1. To acknowledge it to be the Word of God, indited by the Spirit of God, and written for the benefit and instruction of all God's people in all ages. 2. That any, or all parts thereof, may lawfully and profitably be made use of for the confirmation of the accomplishment of all God's promises, judgments, and prophecies, either of Christ, or of the calling of the Gentiles; or briefly, for any other end for which either Christ Jesus, or any of his penmen of the New Testament, have made use thereof. But this is that what I deny unto the Old Testament, viz., authority to bind our conscience by any of the doctrines whereof which have not their confirmation in the New Testament."* In another place he thus writes:—"Doth not the Church of Scotland make the whole kingdom to swear (as often as they please) to a covenant that they shall prescribe unto them? And have they not their lordly

* The Mysterious Kingdom Discovered; by Henry Tuthill, pp. 4, 5. No titlepage. Dated Rotterdam, Sept. 26, 1644 (N.S.).

punishment at hand (by the magistrate's sword which they have at command) against all refusers? If this be not to rule as lords over God's heritage; and that a man (though otherwise never so godly) cannot be suffered to dwell in their land, unless he join with them in all the parts of their worship, though against his conscience," &c.*

The closing scene of the long chequered life of the great Protector was now rapidly approaching. Death had invaded his domestic circle, always the abode of the purest affection and of religious life. His aged mother had passed away; his son-in-law, the amiable Rich, had been carried to an early grave; and finally his daughter Claypole, whose loving spirit, and vigorous and well-cultivated mind, had enthroned her in the highest place of her father's affection. They created a void which nothing could fill. The splendour of his all but regal state was dimmed by these events. He found relief in loneliness and prayer. Ague seized him on the 26th of August, and after lingering for some time his great spirit bade adieu to the conflicts of the present life. The Protector died on the 3d of September, the anniversary of his great victories at Dunbar and Worcester. His funeral was conducted with great splendour. His detractors have delighted to pourtray the final scene with the most fearful accompaniments. Truth never checked them, in their miserable and unmanly course. The elements raged with unwonted fury. It was the advent of the great adversary to fetch his victim. Nothing could be more certain: and these unprincipled writers uttered it with as much confidence as though their great master had imparted to them his design. Goodwin, with his stern pen, has swept away all these infamous falsehoods. The reports of Lady Claypole; the interview with Goodwin and Owen, in the sense in which the writers of this period have misrepresented it; and the furious tempest which occurred on the day of his departure, are myths, and

* Tuthill, p. 43.

not historic facts.* The last days of this great man were marked by that earnest piety which ever, more or less, distinguished him through life. The night before he died, he was heard to utter this prayer:—"Lord, I am a poor, foolish creature; this people would have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory: all the stir is about this. Others would have me die. Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people; forgive their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency; and give me rest, for Christ's sake: to whom, with thyself and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory."† The contrast between this and the Lord's anointed, Elizabeth and James, cannot fail to strike all our readers. No one can tell with accuracy the ultimate results of a single action. Events the most disastrous or benignant may follow every movement. One step leads onward to another. History, to say nothing of facts which crowd into every circle, places this before us. "The great men of action never construct their plans beforehand, or in one piece. Their genius is alike in the instinct and the ambition. From day to day, in each circumstance as it occurs, they see facts such as they really are. They discover the path which these facts indicate, and the chance which that path opens, to them. They enter it resolutely, and advance along it, still guided by the same

* Goodwin, vol. iv., chap. xxxiii. "The truth, however, was, that this storm preceded his death by five days, happening on Monday, the 30th of August. On that day died Dennis Bond, a considerable Republican; and the Royalists turned this event into a cold pun, saying that Cromwell not being ready, the devil had taken Bond for his future appearing."—P. 575.

† "The Lord," says Fleetwood, "did draw forth his Highness's heart to set apart that day to seek the Lord; and, indeed, there was a very good spirit appearing. Whilst we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a signal answer. And the Lord hath not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in one way of prayer, which is, indeed, our old experienced approved way in all our difficulties and straits."—Lingard, vol. xi., p. 346. Thurloe, vol. viii., p. 159.

light, as far as space opens before them. Cromwell thus advanced, on and on, to the dictatorship itself, without well knowing whither he was going, or at what cost; but onward still he went.* Cromwell's whole life manifests this. We are not forced to admit his hypocrisy, or to attribute to him an ambition limitless in its recklessness, to account for the position which he ultimately reached. His career, in many respects, has no parallel in history. Occupying the lot of a country gentleman at first, busy with his farms; pondering, and ultimately enjoying, the great verities of the Christian faith, his religious conflicts were long, and marked with much anguish of mind. It was a discipline in perfect harmony with God's government. He always prepares men for great usefulness in public life by previous training. It has been so in all ages, from Moses to Bunyan. It was pre-eminently so with Cromwell. His entrance on the stirring period of his early life gave no promise to some of future greatness.† One of the sycophants of the day thus describes him:—"The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily appparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his

* Guizot's English Rev., p. 17.

† "Pray, Mr. Hampden," said Lord Digby, "who is that man, that sloven, who spoke just now, for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly?" "That sloven," replied the great patriot, "whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid, in such case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England." Hampden and Cromwell were cousins.

hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untameable, and his eloquence full of fervour.* His own words give us a glimpse of the motives which influenced him, and discover the secret of that success which has placed him high, if not the very highest, amongst the politicians and rulers of modern times:—"I was a person that from my first employment was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my being first a captain of a troop of horse. And I did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God did bless me as it pleased him. . . . I had a very worthy friend then, and a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to you all, Mr. J. Hampden. At my first going out into this engagement, I saw our men beaten on every hand; and I desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord of Essex's army of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. Your troops, said I, are most of them old and decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and, said I, their troops are gentlemen's sons, and younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution to back them? . . . He was a wise and worthy person, and did think I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly, I told him I could do something in it. And I must needs say (impute it to what you please), I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, that we were never beaten, and whenever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually." In this part of his speech to

* Warwick's Memoirs of Charles I., pp. 273, 274.

his Parliament, in 1657, we discover the secret of the Protector's success. His power of attaching men to his standard was unparalleled. His presence would quell a mutiny, and his voice would disarm his foes. With a mind of vast power, with resources which never appear to have been exhausted, with a genius for command of the highest order, his projects seldom failed. Steadily Providence seemed to be fitting him for, and leading him to, his exalted state of power.

Judging from the estimate of his character given by the writers of the period immediately succeeding him, both political and ecclesiastical, he was the embodiment of all crimes, the incarnation of hypocrisy and cruelty. The language of vituperation was exhausted. He was lost to all sense of moral feeling—low, grovelling, haunted with perpetual terror through life, and amidst the lightning's flash and thunder's roar, snatched away to the abodes of darkness, where crime reaps its ripened harvest. We need not wonder that this necessity was upon them. To the court of the abandoned monarch who succeeded him, nothing was so acceptable as to insult the memory of their invincible foe. Their unmixed hatred had been treasured up for years. In all its fulness it was now poured out. They could not understand the man. The loftiness and purity of his principles were in bold contrast to the lasciviousness of their idol. His piety was a power which their formalism and hypocrisy rendered them incapable of appreciating, and his large-heartedness and spirit of rational liberty chafed their proud and stunted souls. But all were not blind. Our readers will be pleased with the contrast. A spirit more intensely devoted to liberty never dwelt in the bosom of an individual, than that which lived and breathed in the bosom of Milton. In the full confidence of Cromwell, associated with him in the exercise of his official duties, few men were more capable of forming an estimate of the man than the illustrious poet. Thus he described his friend and patron:

“ He was a soldier thoroughly accomplished in the art of self-knowledge, and his first successes were against the internal enemies of human virtues,—vain hopes, fears, aspirings, and ambition. His first triumphs were over himself; and he was thus enabled, from the day he beheld an enemy in the field, to exhibit the endowments of a veteran. Such was the temper and discipline of his mind, that all the good and valiant were irresistibly drawn to his camp, not merely as the best school of martial science, but also of piety and religion; and those who joined it were necessarily rendered such by his example. In his empire over the minds of his followers, he was surpassed neither by Epaminondas, nor Cyrus, nor any of the most vaunted generals of antiquity. Then he formed to himself an army of men who were no sooner under his command than they became the pattern of order, obedient to his slightest suggestions, popular, and beloved by their fellow-citizens, and to the enemy not more terrible in the field than welcome in their quarters. In the towns and villages where they sojourned, in no way offensive or rapacious, abstaining from violence, wine, intemperance, and impurity; so that suddenly the inhabitants, rejoicing in their disappointment, regarded them not as enemies, but as guests and protectors: a terror to the disorderly, a safeguard to the good, and by precept and example the teachers of all piety.”* At the policy of Charles, we may for a moment

* *Defensio Secunda*, 1654. *Ibid*, 1658. “The superior officers, the subalterns, the privates, all held themselves forth as professors of godliness. Among them every public breach of morality was punished; the exercises of religious worship were of as frequent recurrence as those of military duty. In council, the officers always opened the proceedings with extempore prayer; and to implore with due solemnity the protection of the Lord of Hosts, was held an indispensable part of the preparations for battle,” &c.—Lingard, vol. xi., pp. 358-9. *Vide* Fletcher’s *Hist. Indep.*, vol. iv., pp. 80, 83, 84. “As for Col. Cromwell, he hath 2,000 brave men, well disciplined; no man swears but he pays his twelve pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other Roundhead, he is cashiered; insomuch that the counties, where they come, leap for joy of them, and come in and join them.”—Crom-

glance. Its religious aspect we have to do with in the main. Its contrast with the past, we see in his own words. The court party, said the Protector, sought "to innovate upon us in matters of religion also; and so to innovate as to eat out the love, and power, and heart, and life of all religion, by bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish ceremonies, and imposing upon those that were accounted the Puritans of the nation, and professors of religion among us; desiring them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness: as was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find liberty for their consciences."* The policy of the great Protector, in relation to the various sects, was for the time an enlightened one. Though far below what it should have been, it was far above his predecessors, and stood in the boldest contrast to the two wretched bigots who claimed to reign by Divine right under him. The Episcopalian found his sway easier than that of the Presbyterian Commonwealth. Their private meetings were tolerated, and the use of the Prayer Book winked at. Under him the clergy enjoyed far more freedom than they granted to the sects in the palmy days of their greatness when Laud ruled, and covered the country with multiplied examples of his ecclesiastical displeasure.†

But justice never slumbers. Her decision may be delayed, but in the end she utters her voice; and the mists and dark clouds which ignorance and malignity have thrown

welliana, p. 5. *Vide* Baker's Chronicles for a similar testimony. "Now I lived in peace, and enjoyed sweet communion with the religious officers of the company, which used to meet every night at one another's quarters by turns, to read the Scriptures, to confer of good things, and to pray together."—Life of Adam Martindale, p. 37. Cheetham Society. "Cromwell was a man of great virtues, sincere in his religion, fervent in his patriotism, and earnestly devoted to the best interests of mankind."—Goodwin, vol. iv., p. vii. We cannot refrain from recommending to our readers an admirable lecture on Cromwell, by the Rev. N. Haycroft, of Bristol. It is published by Snow, London.

* Protector's Speech, January, 1657.

† *Vide* examples in Lathorp, Echard, and Evelyn.

around the characters of the virtuous, the good, and truly great, are dispersed, and they stand out before us as the models to which every true man aspires, and the admiration of the world. It was so with the great Protector. Whether we compare him with his predecessors, or contrast him with the wretched men who followed him, in every view the comparison only enhances the majesty of Cromwell, and the boundless debt of obligation under which he has laid us. His own utterances and letters will form the noblest monuments to his fame. Posterity will find in them all the elements of true greatness. There, the patriot, the man of genius, and the true Christian, will be traced in all their fulness and beauty.*

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that the moral state of the country, for the most part, was of the highest order. This may be affirmed with confidence, after large allowances have been made for the imperfections of human nature, and the mere formalism which distinguished some. Compared with the past, and now placed in contrast with the reign that followed, the difference is immeasurable. Religious phrases and Scripture allusions marked the family circle, the senate, and the bar. To seek God—to fast and pray, marked their public and private engagements. They were men to whom religion was a living reality, who felt its power, who aimed to realise its glorious end. Sacrifice to them was easy; self-denial a daily task. If anything clothed life with interest, it was the opportunity it supplied for glorifying Christ. Mistakes there were; much of Judaism was mingled with the Gospel—much of the spirit of the world with the lowly one of Jesus; much bitterness was manifested against our brethren; still truth leads (not constrains) us to say, that there were men of the highest Christian attainment, whose influence still operates, and as

* *Vide* Carlyle's Speeches and Letters of Cromwell. A noble monument to the immortal Protector.

truth and virtue gain power in the future, will fill a wider circle, and lay the world under a larger debt than even now.

Cromwell, before his death, had named his eldest son Richard as his successor. There were but one or two elements of character which they had in common, and it was soon manifest that the iron will was broken, and that the hand which held together the heterogeneous materials of which the Commonwealth was composed was paralyzed. High above the rest rose the great Protector, with more martial glory, with a loftier genius for government, and far more resources at command, and awed every aspirant to his exalted position. Not so Richard. There was scarcely a single element in his character which fitted him for the trying crisis through which the nation was now passing. One that knew him thus speaks of him:—"Richard was so flexible to good counsels, that there was nothing desirable in a prince which might not have been hoped in him, but a great spirit and a good title; the first of which sometimes doth more hurt than good in a sovereign—the latter would have been supplied by the people's desired approbation."* Perhaps the partiality of the father, or the feeling of primogeniture in this case, might have influenced the mind of Cromwell. But the choice was unfortunate. The second son, Lord Henry, had more fitness for the crisis. He had filled important posts. He was now Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and had ruled that wild and savage nation with considerable success. Considering the circumstances in which he was placed, a higher meed of praise might have been truthfully pronounced. Though not equal to his father in diplomacy and the extent of his resources—though not clothed with the military prestige of Lambert, as the hero of many fights,—yet he exhibited qualities in governing, and a temper kind and winning, which, if he had been raised to the vacant seat, might have perpetuated the house of Cromwell even with regal dignity, and saved

* Mrs. Hutchinson, p. 110.

the nation from the disastrous reign of the last of the Stuarts.

The new Protector entered on his mission with lofty aims and pure motives. He assured Colonel Hutchinson, "that since God had called him to the Government, it was his desire to make men of uprightness his associates, to rule by their counsels and assistance, and not enslave the nation to an enemy."* Difficulties soon presented themselves. The exchequer was low, and the troops became clamorous for pay. Large arrears were due. The Government had no funds to meet these demands. A Parliament was necessary. Writs were issued in July. They were sent not only to the cities and large towns, but to many of the small boroughs which had been ignored by Oliver. A majority for the Government was obtained, but the opposition was strong. Leading Republicans—men of power, eloquent, and conversant with the forms of the House—were associated with a few whose tendencies were unmistakably in favour of the Stuarts. Long and various were the debates on the forms of Government—the power of the new Protector—the limits within which his authority should be confined—the right of the Irish and Scotch members to sit and vote. The anise, the mint, and the cummin, exhausted their strength and time, whilst the weightier matters of the nation lay comparatively unheeded before them.† It was not long before the military forces were in collision with them. Their rights had been infringed, and the various sections into which the commanders had been divided combined to compel Richard to dissolve the House. Virtually this annihilated his power. But he had no sure alternative, if he

* Mrs. Hutchinson, p. 110. "The Lord hath so ordered it, that the Council and army hath received him with all manner of affection. He is this day proclaimed, and hitherto there seems great face of peace: the Lord continue it."—Thurloe, vol. vii., p. 372. Baxter also says:—"Many sober men that called his father no better than a traitorous hypocrite, did begin to think that they owed him subjection."—P. 100.

† *Vide* Burton's Diary, for proofs.

would avoid a renewal of civil discord.* The year following, the remains of the Long Parliament were recalled. It bears in history the title of the "Rump." It did not exceed one hundred on its first gathering in Westminster; and it appears to have inspired the army with confidence, and it is all but certain the Republicans also. Addresses flowed in upon them from all parts, congratulating them on their restoration. Amongst others, Heath tells us that "addresses likewise came from the Independents and Anabaptist churches, some of whom kept a thanksgiving, and invited all the other congregations of that sect to join with them in that voluntary solemnization of this good providence; the chief of these were one Jessey's and Canne's disciples: the prime favourites of this Rump."†

Many of our brethren, animated by a similar spirit, took an active part in these affairs. The Commonwealth was dear to them. They regarded it as the only government in which perfect liberty could be enjoyed. Vane, who sympathised with them in politics, and regularly preached to a congregation of fifth monarchy men, now allied himself with the Anabaptists, Millenarians, and fifth monarchy men, in order to secure their devoted adherence to the cause of the Commonwealth.‡ They had united before with Quakers and others, in a petition to the House, expressing Republican principles, and ignoring the Protector. In this feeling, "the greater number of the officers and subalterns," says Guizot, "were desirous that the Commonwealth should be re-established; the Anabaptists, fifth monarchy men, and other mystic sectaries, who had great power among the soldiers, were all furious in their hostility to the Protector. Each of these various factions of the army had its official meetings, its secret conclaves, its agents, preachers, and pamphlets, &c." There is an allusion in one of the letters of the French

* Vaughan, vol. ii., p. 553.

† Heath, *Chronicles*, p. 422.

‡ Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 185. *Ibid*, pp. 132, 133.

Ambassador, which give us a glimpse of the attitude and influence of our brethren at this time:—"Although men now despise the Anabaptist faction, and they have been forbidden to assemble again, some satisfaction will nevertheless be given to them; and it is said that, in conformity with their wishes, Fleetwood, whom they wished to have as general, will be made commander-in-chief."* There is a statement, also, that they were kept in check by the hope of obtaining some authority, "if the House of Lords, composed of their leaders, is continued in existence."† M. Bordeaux, writing to Mazarin, in May, referring to the feeling in the city, says: "Not that the Corporation of the city, which is composed of Presbyterians, is not entirely opposed to them (the military chiefs), as well as the ministers, who rightly think that their tithes will be in danger if the Government falls into the hands of the Anabaptists and other sectaries, of whom Lieutenant-General Fleetwood is reputed to be the protector," &c.‡ Referring to the order for organizing the militia, he says: "The Anabaptists and the Quakers are the classes in whom the greatest confidence is placed; the Presbyterians murmur without revolting, and, indeed, there is not so much talk of insurrection since the tithes have been secured to the ministers."|| "Their strength in the army and the House was not equal," says the Frenchman. "These two bodies are divided into two factions—one, of the true Republicans, who are reputed Presbyterians; and the others, of the Anabaptists and Millenarians, or saints. That the former party prevails in the Parliament, and that the other is not so powerful in that assembly, but that it has on its side the majority of the officers of the army; which leads to the inference that, either by purgation or dissolution of the Parliament, it will assume the entire authority of the State," &c.§ No doubt many of the leading officers were professed Baptists. It was so in the navy. Admiral Lawson, and

* Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 246.

† *Ibid*, p. 321. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 373. || *Ibid*, p. 433. § *Ibid*, pp. 485, 6.

many other distinguished commanders, belonged to this community; and nearly to a man they were strongly imbued with Republican principles. But their wishes, and the expectations they had cherished from the re-assembling of the old "Rump," were doomed to early disappointment. The civil and military elements came into speedy conflict.

During the sitting of this Parliament the case of Overton was brought up. We have seen before the suspicions he had excited, and his arrest by Cromwell. No doubt he was favourable, from disappointment at the overthrow of the Commonwealth by Oliver, to the restoration of the monarchy. He had been confined in Jersey since January, 1655. A frigate was prepared to be sent to the island to convey him to the House. He reached the city on the 11th of March. He was ordered to attend the House. Vane said, "He is brought so weak with four years' imprisonment, that he can scarce go over the floor. If you please, he may be called on Monday." On the 16th of March he went to the House, attended by 400 or 500 men on horseback, and a vast crowd bearing branches of laurel in their hands. Standing before the members, he said: "I acknowledge it a great mercy of God, that after three years' imprisonment, succeeding fourteen years in your service, I am brought to the bar of this honourable House. As I have been in a suffering condition for four years, so I desire to be passive still. I had better have been torn in pieces by wild horses, than have endured this great torment; that would have been but for a moment. I hope I have not done anything contrary to what I at first engaged and fought for. You are my judges, and I think it a great mercy that it is so. I most humbly leave myself, my cause, and condition, to this House. I will not justify myself; I only desire one way or other, to receive as I have done."* Overton was acquitted, and was afterwards restored to his governorship of Hull.

* Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, vol. i., pp. 91-4. *Burton's Diary*, vol. iii., p. 448, &c. &c.

Hot-headed men, led by Haslerig,* sought to crush the men of the sword. Lambert, Desborough, and other chiefs, were cashiered. The action only showed the depth of their hostility, and the feebleness of their power. Whilst aiming at the destruction of their enemies, they were crushed by the effort. These party conflicts only hastened the downfall of the feeble fabric of Government then in power. The nation panted for repose. A settled Government, under which the people could pursue their occupations, and enjoy security of life and property, was desired. The restoration of the Stuarts appeared inevitable. The means by which this was effected can only be briefly detailed in these pages.

The Royalists were not insignificant in numbers, though greatly reduced in wealth and influence, under Oliver. During the latter part of his life, their schemes had been various to overthrow his power. They multiplied now with great rapidity. The disorders of the Commonwealth were hopeful to them. Those immediately around the person of the exiled prince, and those at home, augmented them in every way within their power. Many of the leading Presbyterians, never satisfied with the Protectorate, as it limited their power, now gave in their adhesion to the Royal cause; and even Richard, and members of his family, were by no means unfavourable to the restoration of Charles.† Encouraged by these favourable symptoms, a rising was projected. Cheshire witnessed the unfurling of the Royal Standard. Sir George Booth conducted this rash enterprise, but defeat awaited him.‡ Lambert, with the forces under

* Ludlow describes him as "a man of disobliging temper, sour and morose of temper, liable to be transported with passion, and in whom liberality seemed to be a vice."—Memoirs, p. 718. Guizot's Richard Cromwell, vol. i., p. 223.

† Hallam, vol. i., pp. 698, 9.

‡ About this time many political squibs were issued. In one of the doggerel pieces, the "New Liturgy," we find the following:—

"From the Anabaptists and the shivering Quakers;

From such as rule us like low-legged bakers;

From those that undo us, yet are good law makers;

—*Libera nos Domine.*"

his command, speedily dispersed them, and for the present threw a gloom over the whole circle. Again the sword gave place to the pen, and for a time the soldiers made way for the politicians. The leading men were again tried. Fleetwood, Lambert, and Monk, were the chiefs. Every influence was brought to bear upon them. Pardon for the past was readily promised. Titles and wealth were lavishly offered. Well one of these succeeded.

Monk, we have seen, had been left in the command of the forces in Scotland. On the elevation of Richard, he addressed him in the most friendly manner, suggesting wise counsels as to his government of the nation. He was a man of no principle. No engagement could bind him, and only ambition and the love of wealth appear to be the motives of his conduct. Amidst the numerous actors in these busy scenes, Monk stands pre-eminent for all that is mean, hypocritical, and despicable. He was a traitor to every high and holy feeling. Of his personal courage there can be no doubt; but it is the only redeeming element, if ever that can be called one, in a character formed by selfishness and hypocrisy. In the whole of his forces, a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks.* Before marching to England, he had received his brother, a devoted Royalist, into secret confidence with him.† It was at this time he had, as we have noted already, weeded his forces of Baptist officers and men, and placed in their stead others known for their attachment to Charles.

* Fox's James II., p. 19.

† Dr. Price's Narrative. Maseres Tracts, vol. ii. Thoresby says:—"Was especially pleased with the relation of Dr. Fairfax's secret transaction with General Monk, to whom he went from the old Lord Fairfax into Scotland, where he conducted that great transaction about the restoration of King Charles the Second; yet with such privacy, that he never saw Scotland, though the matter was transacted there."—Diary, vol. i., p. 445 (Note). "Towards noon, a great number of officers, mostly Republicans, Anabaptists, or Quakers, came to dine with the general, and loudly expressed their joy at the intelligence they had received."—The Defeat of Booth. Guizot's Richard Cromwell, vol. ii., p. 13.

His march to London was all but intercepted. For though Lambert had been sent to oppose his progress, or at the least to watch his motions, he escaped the vigilance of that general, and appeared in the vicinity of the city. Pepys thus describes the scene on the entrance of Monk:—"In Cheapside there were a great many bonfires; and Bow bells, and all the bells in all the churches as we went home, were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar; and at Strand Bridge, I could at one time tell thirty-one fires. In King Street, seven or eight; and all along burning and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks, and carried up and down. The butchers at the maypole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rumps. On Ludgate Hill, there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole line of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side."* "Indeed," he adds, "the city is very open handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day, and had money given them."†

During the sittings of the Long Parliament, which had been convened with the full acquiescence of the now all-

* Diary, vol. i., pp. 27, 28.

† *Ibid.*, p. 29. "Monday at night (Feb. 13) was a great rejoicing at Oxon, for the news that there was brought that there should suddenly be a Free Parliament. The bells rang, and bonfires were made, and some rumps and tails of sheep were flung into a bonfire at Queen's College gate. Dr. John Palmer, a great Rumper, warden of All-Souls' College, in the place of Dr. Sheldon, being then very ill and weak, had a rump thrown up from the street at his windows. He had been one of the Rump Parliament, and a great follower of Oliver."—Wood's Life, by himself. *Vide Oxonian*, vol. ii., p. 217. London, 1807.

powerful general, we have another notice of Praise God Barebones. He had received a lucrative appointment only a short time before, from the Parliament. We find him now, with a large body of the class to which he belonged, presenting a petition to the House, full of the warmest expressions of attachment to the Commonwealth, and asking that no one should be appointed to any civil or military office unless he expressly abjured Charles Stuart and his race, and every other pretender to the crown, as well as any Upper House, or any power of equal authority with the Commons. The House expressed its satisfaction, by conveying to the petitioners their warmest thanks for the address.* But their anticipations were speedily annihilated. Monk was steadily pursuing his treacherous course. With the most solemn imprecations avowing his fidelity to the Commonwealth, he was pledging himself to Charles, and secretly arranging for his restoration. Everywhere suspicion was awakened, and he attempted to veil his designs by the most solemn oaths. "I call God to witness that the asserting of a Commonwealth is the only intent of my heart."† Just before, he had publicly declared for the restoration. He drew off his glove, and placing his hand in that of Haslerig, said:—"I do protest to you, and in the presence of these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers." "It is most manifest that, if it be monarchical in the State, the Church must follow, and prelacy must be brought in; which these nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworn; and indeed moderate, not rigid, Presbyterian Government, with a sufficient liberty for consciences truly tender, appears

* Parliamentary History, vol. iii., 1569.

† Guizot, Monk, p. 227. "Many think," says Pepys, "that he is honest yet; and some think him to be a post that will raise himself, but think that he will undo himself by encouraging it."—Diary, vol. i., p. 42. Other instances of his treachery in pp. 62, 63.

at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable way to the church's settlement."*

The Restoration admitted now of no doubt. The details we cannot supply. The pent-up fury of the Royalists was now unloosed. In every way it manifested itself. Ballads of the most ribald kind against the Sectaries were widely circulated. Men known for their Republican principles were loaded with insults. Our brethren did not escape their indignation. Some of their chapels in the city were destroyed, and their congregations dispersed. Barbour, Harrison, and others, had been seized by an order of the Council of State, but remained at liberty, on the promise that they would not interfere. We have a sample of the annoyances to which many of our brethren were subjected, in the case of Mr. Kiffin. He was a man of the most peaceable spirit, opposed to the fifth monarchy men, but warmly attached to the late Government. He had been returned as member for Middlesex in 1656. Heath thus refers to it:—"Thus Buckstead got himself, with Kiffin, the Anabaptist, returned as Knight for Middlesex. A rout was brought down for Kiffin, who, together with the Red Coats (that were only the good people, and had most right to choose), bawled, scuffled, and juggled away the fair electors for young Mr. Chute, his father difficultly carrying it."† Ministers were not excluded from the House then. Dr. Owen had been returned. It appears probable, from some allusions in a pamphlet published against him, that Mr. Kiffin took his seat, and took part in the discussion in that assembly. He says:—"A little before his Majesty's return, upon General Monk's coming to London, he took up his quarters near to my house. In a few days after, I, with several others, were seized at midnight by some of his soldiers, and carried to the Gate-House at Paul's; the next day it was rumoured in the city that a great quantity of arms had been taken in our houses. As

* Speech in Parliament. *Vide* Parl. Hist., vol. iii., p. 1580.

† Chronicles, p. 383.

we were citizens, and not soldiers under his command, we thought it convenient to write to my Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Almin, signifying to him the scandal that was upon us; having, indeed, had no arms in any of our houses but what was ordinary for house-keeping. We prayed him that matters might be examined into, and that we might not be detained from our callings, and kept prisoners without cause. My Lord Mayor was pleased to order the letter to be read at the Common Council, who, being satisfied of our innocence, sent some officers, desiring that we might be released, and our arms, which had been taken from us, restored.* Major-General Harrison was brought to London by force, because he would not leave his home, in order that he might not desert his cause. Thus early had they a taste of the sufferings which in the reign of the restored Stuarts awaited them.† We have only to add, that in Ireland the proposal to restore the prince was hailed with joy. Heath gives an amusing account of the way in which the opposition of some of our brethren in that country was overcome:—“Sir C. Coot declared for a Free Parliament, 1659, by the readmission of the secluded members, and, therefore, possessed himself of Dublin Castle, having first of all surprised Galloway from Colonel Sadler in this manner:—He invited him and his officers (all Anabaptists) to his house over the waters, to be merry; which doing, Mr. Coot pretended a desire to drink a glass of wine in Galloway, privately, with Sadler. So they two secretly took boat, with each a servant, and being on the other side, ‘Sir C.,’ said Colonel Sadler, ‘I am resolved for a Free Parliament, &c. You have a sword, draw and fight, or else engage your honour you will make no kind of disturbance,’ &c. The Colonel, surprised, acquiesced,” &c.‡

* Life, p. 40. Sometimes he is called Captain, and occasionally Colonel. He was in the militia.

† Guizot, vol. ii., pp. 183, 184, 203, 209.

‡ Chronicles, p. 438.

Thus perished a form of government, by the ambition of military chiefs, and the conflicting passions of religious men, which had cost much blood and treasure, and gave place to one which opened the floodgate of vice and cruelty throughout the whole land.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARLES THE SECOND.

FEW events in our national history are more striking or suggestive than the restoration of the exiled Stuart to the throne of his father. It was hailed with the wildest tumult of joy. The nation was intoxicated with delight. Passion was enthroned, and the judgment was fettered. Dissatisfied with the rivalry of men, with the conflict of parties, and the dawn of an unchecked military despotism, the representative of the wretched Stuarts was welcomed by men who had bitterly opposed the second of that dynasty. Loyalty had no limits. It overleaped every barrier which the wisdom of the past had thrown up against despotic power, and men who had risked all in the defence of liberty were now seen prostrate at the feet of a monarch who had no moral principles to guide him, but every motive to wield those very powers which had covered the reign of his grandfather with infamy, and brought his father to the block. The golden age was anticipated. Bewildered, fascinated by the smiles of royalty, the men of mark and influence looked forward to a reign of prosperity, of morality, and peace. Never was expectation less realized; never did the nature of things less warrant it. Every year accumulated proof of the fearful mistake which had been made. Mrs. Hutchinson thus describes it:—"And almost all the gentry of all parties went—some to fetch him

over, some to meet him at the sea-side, some to fetch him into London, into which he entered on the 29th of May, with a universal joy and triumph, even to his own amazement; who, when he saw all the nobility and gentry of the land flowing unto him, asked where were his enemies? For he saw nothing but prostrates, expressing all that love that could make a prince happy. Indeed, it was a wonder, in that day, to see the mutability of some and the hypocrisy of others, and the servile flattery of others. Monk, like his better genius, conducted him, and was adored like one that had brought all the glory and felicity of mankind home with this prince.”*

The loyalty of the North was not less intense than that of the South. The reason will be manifest from the facts already detailed:—“As soon as the certainty of the king’s return arrived in Scotland, I believe there was never accident in the world altered the disposition of a people more than that did the Scottish nation. Sober men observed it; it did not only inebriate but really intoxicate, and made people not only drunk but frantic; men did not think they could handsomely express their joy, except they turned brutes for debauch, revels, and pageants; yea, many a sober man was tempted to exceed, lest he should be condemned as unnatural, disloyal, and unsensible. Most of the nobility,

* Hutchinson, p. 116. “The Sectaries will not be able to do anything to prevent the king’s coming in; our honest Presbyterian brethren are cordial for him. I have been dealing with some of them, to send some testimony of their affection for him; and yesterday some of them promised within a week to make a shift to send 1000 pieces of gold to him. The Episcopal party are making application to the Presbyterians for an accommodation; but the Presbyterians resolved to stick to their principles.”—Woodrow, vol. i., p. 19. (Sharp.) At the coronation, Heath says:—“Infinite and innumerable were the acclamations and shouts from all parts as his Majesty passed along, to the no less joy and amazement of the spectators, who beheld these glorious personages that rid before and behind his Majesty.”—Heath, p. 484. “It is incredible to think what costly cloathes were worn that day; the cloaks could hardly be seen what silk or satin they were made of, for the gold and silver lace and embroidery that was laid upon them,” &c.—*Ibid.*

gentry, and hungry old soldiers, flew to London, just as the vulture does to the carcase."* "All believed it would be the golden age, when the king returned in peace; and some of our British divines made it the date of the accomplishment of the glorious promises in the Apocalypse, not doubting he was assuredly to be the man who should destroy Rome, as sure as he was Constantine's successor. In fine, the eagerness of their longing was so great, some would never cut their hair, some would never drink wine, some would never wear linen, till they might see the desire of their eyes—the king."†

This outburst of feeling excites no surprise. The Presbyterian body had taken an active part in the restoration. Without their aid, it would have been impossible. "They were in possession of the whole power of England; the Council of State, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garrisons were there; their clergy were in possession of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a royalist or professed Episcopalian in any post of honour or trust; nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration," &c. It is more than probable, we think, that their conduct sprang not so much from love

* Kirton's History. *Apud* Woodrow, vol. i., p. 64. "Five drunkards in Berks agreed to drink the king's health in their blood, and that each should cut a piece off his buttocks and fry it, which four of them did; but the wife of the fifth coming into the room, and taking up a pair of tongs laid about her so, that she saved the cutting of her husband."—Whitelocke, p. 445. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 225.

† Kirton's History. *Apud* Woodrow, vol. i., p. 64. "A day of thanksgiving was kept in Edinbro', June 19, 1660. After sermons were over, the magistrates came to the Cross, where was a covered table with sweetmeats; the Cross ran with wine, 300 dozen of glasses were broke, the bells tolled, trumpets sounded, and drums beat. There were fireworks upon the Castle Hill, with the effigies of Cromwell and the devil pursuing him, till all was blown up in the air. Great solemnity, bonfires, music, and the like, were in other places upon this occasion," &c.—Woodrow's Ch. History, vol. i., p. 62.

to the Stuarts, as very ardent attachment to monarchy.* Defeat had marked their movements for some time past. Under the loss of power they had smarted, and the prevalence and influence of the sectaries, especially the Anabaptists, had kindled in their minds an intense hatred against them and the Independents.† Visions of power, wealth, and supremacy gleamed in the distance. The centre figure was the exiled monarch. Their great Diana could only be enthroned by his restoration. Reflection, which would have placed before them a crowd of improbabilities had it been indulged, was abandoned. In their enthusiasm for the Covenant, they forgot that Charles had violated already his most solemn oath to them; that he was educated amidst influences of a Papal rather than a Protestant character; that he had renounced the faith of his father, and been reconciled to the Romish church;‡ that he was surrounded by men whose attachment to the Episcopal church was

* "The king's interest is also supported by the Presbyterians, although they are Republicans in principle; and it is only the fear of these sectaries that the Anabaptists and other sectarians may obtain the Government, which leads them to oppose the present authorities."—Guizot's *Richard Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 407. Neal, vol. ii., chap. iv.

† "And now the ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion daily frequented St. James's (Monk's residence); they were in a hopeful expectation that all those sects who had supplanted them would with little difficulty be put under their feet; that themselves alone should inherit the blessing: the Church of England at that time being below their fear (for Monk was the defender of their faith, and had wrested the sword out of the army's, their enemies', hands). And, indeed, he was their zealous votary; for one Lord's day, he and his lady went and communicated (*sic*) at Mr. Calamy's church, who afterwards so far prevailed with him, that none were to preach before him but such only as he recommended," &c.—*The History of the King's Restoration*; by J. Price, D.D. Maseres Tracts, vol. ii., p. 776. This apologist of Monk supplies us with the most abundant proof of the duplicity of this unprincipled man.

‡ Neal, vol. ii., chap. iv. Hyde, in his narrow-mindedness, dissuaded the prince (Charles II.), when in France, from attending the Protestant places of worship at Charenton. "He was then at liberty," says Lord Campbell, "without interruption to devote himself on Sundays to Miss Lucy Walters, and other ladies of the same stamp, in whose society he now spent almost the whole of his time."—*Chan.*, vol. iii., p. 163.

increased by its sufferings, whilst a crowd of hungry courtiers surrounded the profligate prince, waiting to gratify their malignity, and to relieve their poverty by grasping at the offices and wealth of their adversaries.*

From Breda, where he had retired to be in readiness, Charles issued a declaration of his views and his tolerant disposition. It was full of promise, and for the time answered the end. We quote a part of this memorable document:—
 “We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.”

Amongst the multitude who surrounded the exiled prince at Breda, were seen some of the grave and leading divines of the Presbyterian body. Reynolds, Calamy, Manton, and others, were seen mingling in social intercourse with men who laughed at their rigid formality, and intensely scorned their piety. They had gone to enlist the sympathies of the lascivious monarch in their favour, and to secure his patronage for their religious dogmas. The time was critical, but Charles and his counsellors were quite adequate to the task. The game was deep, but it was well played. Promises were made, and compliments secured the admiration and attachment of the visitors. To such daring impiety did the

* One of our brethren thus expresses his opinion on this event:—“So that now, O England! thou canst not so complain, for by a miraculous hand thy head is restored to thee again; examine thyself now what benefit thou hast received,” &c. “That England’s subjects be often with the Lord in behalf of their king, who, from his long exile and restraint, is brought again into this land of his nativity, which is so full of licentiousness, luxury and lasciviousness, revellings, rendings and tearings, roarings, rantings and swearings, with those abominations of stage plays, May games and pastimes, pride and prodigality, that God in mercy would be pleased to direct his heart so as that he be not now either to own or allow of them; but to disown, dissuade, and discountenance them.”—*Adis’ Fanatics’ Mite*, pp. 36–44.

hypocrisy of the monarch carry him, whilst they were one day waiting in an anteroom, that he bended before the God of truth and holiness, and, in their hearing, "he thanked God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forgiveness from offended heaven."* The enthusiasm of the deputies rose to the highest point, and good Mr. Chase, in rapture, lifted up his hands to heaven and blessed God, who had given them a praying king.†

The joy of the cavaliers was not yet complete. The return of the monarch was associated with visions of wealth, honour, and riches, and better still, with full revenge. Upon some, the highest dignities were conferred. Monk, a man whom no principle could bind, who could swear to a lie with as much calmness as another would to fact, was raised to a dukedom. Other apostates were dignified with smaller tokens of royal gratitude; but dissatisfaction was felt by the mass of the adherents of the Stuarts. Their claims were of the very highest order. Many of them had suffered long and severely. Exile, poverty, and even want, had been endured by some. The munificence of Charles fell far short of the almost boundless expectations of his friends. The discovery was speedily made that the wild outbursts of loyalty were not always pure, and that the love of distinction and wealth were not quite ignored from the motives which bound some to the cause of exiled royalty.

* Neal, vol. ii., chap. iv. His counsellors at Breda had instilled into him, "that honour and conscience were burglars, and that the king ought to govern himself rather by the rules of prudence and necessity."—Lingard, vol. xi., p. 114 (Note). "God forbid I should imagine it possible for the king to counterfeit longer the Presbyterians; all his excuse is, that he was forced," &c.—Hyde to Nicholas. Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 33.

† "The Presbyterians, in their eagerness to be revenged on the Independents, sacrificed their liberty and deserted all their old principles."—Macaulay's Essays. Milton, p. 22.

But if dissatisfaction was felt here, ample room was given for the gratification of another feeling—deep, intense, and long cherished. To the indulgence of their revenge, everything was favourable. Sympathy, gratitude, compassion, had no play. Within the walls of St. Stephen's, men, reckless of character and destitute of principle, were gathered. Hatred to the sectaries and blind devotion to the court, had sent many of them there. By them, the Legislative Acts of the past were effaced from the Statute Book. The labours of men, whom people now delight to admire as some of the noblest of our race, were overturned by the wittings of the day. It was enough, if anything had on it the stamp of the Commonwealth, or of the Long Parliament, to be rejected with scorn. To other sources our readers must go for fuller details of these all but insane proceedings; only to one can we refer.

The regicides, as they were called, felt the full weight of their vengeance. The blood of the martyred monarch could only be atoned by slaughtering the men who had shed it. The trial of some of these was speedy. Others were pardoned; some sent into exile even worse than death.* The judgment hall at this time awakens mingled feelings. As we gaze in imagination on the prisoners at the bar, we feel kindling within us the loftiest admiration of the heroic men who stand before the tribunal; if we turn to the seat of justice, we see humanity in its most loathsome form; for among them was "the vile traitor who had sold the men who had trusted him; and he who had openly said he opposed the word *accommodation*, when moderate men would have prevented the war; and the colonel's 'our *dear friend*,' who had wished damnation to his soul if he ever suffered penury of any man's estate, or hair of any man's head to be touched."†

* The reader may consult Mrs. Hutchinson for proof of this.

† Hutchinson, p. 120. Monk, Hollis, and Ashley Cowper are the party here referred to. Glyne and Maynard, the counsel for the crown, had both held office under Cromwell.

Some of these were Baptists. There were more than one amongst the judges of the king. At the bar one of these stands, venerable for years, but calm and undaunted. We hope to do more justice to the heroic Harrison, some day. An enemy thus describes him:—"Thomas Harrison, a man of very mean birth, being the son of a butcher in or near Newcastle-under-Lyne. He was servant to Mr. Hulks, an attorney-at-law; but preferring war before peace, got into the army, and, having the knack of canting, was believed to be a person of surpassing piety; and so insinuated himself from one command to another, till he became Major-General of Wales, being dangerously Anabaptistical in his tenets, and a perfect hater of Orthodox divines, and a denouncer of their maintenance. He was very lately a preacher, and, indeed, head of a rebaptized congregation in London."* Before his judges he said, as to the blood of the king:—"I have not in the least any guilt lying on me, for I have many a time sought the Lord with tears, to know whether I had done amiss in it, but was rather confirmed that the thing was more of God than man."† His character for piety was eminent. Baxter says:—"I happened to be next to the

* *Mystery of the Good Old Cause, &c.* Parl. History, vol. iii., p. 1605. The following is not only curious, but interesting:—"It is observable that Major-Gen. Harrison and his wife, with Mr. John Carew and Major Courteny, though formerly supposed to be persons a storey or two above ordinances, being desirous to enter into the way of the rebaptized, have all of them, some time 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 Courteny was apprehended (who with Mr. Rogers, the minister, now stands committed to the tower), there was found in his lodging several dangerous pamphlets, divers of which were enclosed in letters, directed to several persons in the county, being the very same with those which have been lately scattered up and down among the soldiery, and elsewhere."—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 402. The work referred to was probably one called "Queries, written on purpose to prevent those called Anabaptists, and disaffect them against the Government," &c.—*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 363, where there is a proclamation against it.

† *Pepys' Diary*, vol. i., p. 146. *Kennett*, p. 276.

Major (Harrison) when the flight (of Goring's troops) began, and heard him with a loud voice break forth into the praise of God with fluent expressions, as though he had been in a rapture." "I knew none of them but Major-General Harrison, whom I love so well that I wish he may patronize a better cause."* The final scene is thus described:—"The executioner, in an ugly dress, with an halter in his hand, was placed near the Major-General, and continued there during the whole of his trial." Ludlow, commenting on this, says:—"Which action I doubt whether it was ever equalled by the most barbarous nations. But having learned to condemn such baseness, after the sentence had been pronounced against him, he said aloud, as he was withdrawing from the court, that he had no reason to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged. The sentence was so barbarously (and literally) executed, that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire."†

Nor did these victims satisfy their thirst for blood. The resting-places of the mighty chiefs were invaded, and the triumphs of the court and its minions reached its climax when the mouldering skeletons of the men at whose names, when alive, fear and trembling had often seized some of them, were suspended on the gibbet. The remains of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were thus dishonoured. From the Abbey Church at Westminster, the bodies of Mrs.

* *Infant Church Membership*, p. 373. "Harrison and Rich were in the small but illustrious band of Republicans, who never compromised their dignity by the smallest token of submission or deference to the present chief magistrate. Unyielding virtue, like theirs, extorts from us an involuntary approbation."—*Goodwin*, vol. iv., p. 271 (Note).

† *Memoirs*, vol. iii., pp. 62, 63. Amongst the crowd attracted to this savage scene was Pepys. He thus refers to it:—"I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ, to judge them that now had judged him; and his wife do expect his coming again."—*Pepys*, vol. i., p. 146.

Cromwell, Pym, and Twiss and Marshall, were cast out.* Lambert and Hutchinson wasted away in gloomy confinement, and the inflexible Vane paid the penalty soon after by suffering on the block. Punishment, to be effectual, must always be just. If passion marks it, or it is disfigured by hate, its power is weakened. By the thoughtless and the frivolous, these demonstrations of cruelty were hailed with satisfaction; but history, always faithful, has embalmed the memory of these men as some of the noblest champions of English freedom, and future ages will confirm her verdict.

Immediately after Charles's return, doubts were excited, and subsequently opened the eyes of the nation to the true character of the monarch, and the imposition which had been practised on the Nonconformists.† All laws passed during the interregnum were declared null. By an easy

* *Lives of the Regicides*. Pepys, vol. i., p. 78. Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 323. Evelyn thus embodies the malignant feeling of multitudes, in the utterance of his own rabid nonsense. "This day (O, the stupendous and inscrutable judgment of God!) were the carcases of those arch rebels, Cromwell, Bradshaw, the judge who condemned his Majesty, and Ireton, son-in-law to the usurper, dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster, among the kings, to Tyburne, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit; thousands of people, who had seen them in all their pride, being spectators. Look back at November 22, 1658 (Oliver's funeral), and be astonished! and fear God, and honour the king! but meddle not with them who are given to change."—*Diary*, vol. ii., p. 162. This maudlin dabbler in judgments lived to witness the most revolting profligacy in the Lord's anointed, and the final expulsion of the Stuarts from the English throne.

† "Charles the Second, and his brother the Duke of York, returned, in fact, into England, the one an infidel libertine, who falsely gave himself out to be a Protestant, and a blindly sincere Catholic; both imbued with the principles of absolute power; both dissolute in morals, the one with elegant and heartless cynicism, the other with shocking inconsistency; both addicted to those habits of mind and life, to those tastes and vices which render a court a school of arrogant and frivolous corruptions, which rapidly spreads its contagious influence through the higher and lower classes who hasten to the court to imitate and seek it."—*Guizot's Richard Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 263.

fiction, Episcopalianism was still the religion of the State. "The covenanted king" sanctioned the liturgy in his own chapel, and extended his patronage, in all its plenitude, to the bishops. On emerging from the obscurity in which they had been hidden, like the sun, when the thunder-cloud which has veiled its brightness has passed away, they came forth with fresh splendour, and more than their wonted insolence. Ministers, who for moral and intellectual unfitness had been removed from the ministry, now, in many cases, resumed their rights, and luxuriated in their triumph over the men who had been placed there by the highest authority of the nation. Many holy and useful ministers were compelled to retire from their congregations at an early period of the monarch's reign. An Act of Indemnity was passed by the Parliament. Many in the House needed it. But it excepted many from the royal clemency, and offered pardon to others on terms which conscience and a sense of duty prevented their accepting. The feeling which pervaded the House may be gathered from the language of the Speaker. He had been an active partizan during the civil conflict. His utterances proclaim the depth of his meanness. He thought it not beneath the dignity of his character to feed the fire of revenge, which he knew was burning in the breasts of men who had the power of scorching the innocent by its fury.

"But looking over a long, black, prodigious, dismal roll and catalogue of malefactors, we there meet, not with men, but with monsters, guilty of blood—precious blood—precious royal blood—never to be remembered without tears, incomparable in all kinds of villanies that were acted by the worst of miscreants—perverters of religion, subverters of the Government, false to God, disloyal to the best of kings, and perfidious to their country," &c.*

* Parl. Hist., vol. iii., p. 113. In contrast to this we place before our readers another opinion, uttered in the Long Parliament:—"Who is it but

But things were not yet ripe for the full development of the policy of the court. Charles, intensely devoted to pleasure, willingly resigned the care of Government to Hyde. The Minister hated the dominant sect.* Still again and again Charles was made to hold out the hope of a comprehension. In the senate, and in private, his promises were reiterated. The deception was increased. "To keep them somewhat sanguine in their expectations," says Collier, "Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstowe, Dr. Wallis, Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Ask, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Chase, and also several others, were made the king's chaplains-in-ordinary, though none of them ever preached before his Majesty, excepting Mr. Calamy, Drs. Reynolds, Baxter, Spurstowe, and Woodbridge."† Interviews were ever graciously permitted, petitions were received with royal blandness, and the wily monarch even condescended to listen to discussions in the House of the Chancellor. Division excited his regret, and "he was resolved to leave no method unattempted for procuring a harmony, and drawing the distant persuasions to a good understanding. To this end he desired them to lay some proposals before him touching church government, that the main difference being once settled,

he that hath advanced all our Popish bishops? These are the men that should have led Christ's flock, but they are the wolves that have devoured them; the sheep should have fed on the mountains, but the mountains have eaten up the sheep," &c.—*Vide* David's Essex Noncon., p. 191.

* "Every good man would depart from many little things, if the doing so would firmly unite the Presbyterians to the Church—which, I confess, I think impossible; for the truth is, *they are a pack of knaves*. . . . If the Presbyterians once believed that nothing would be yielded to them, and all their hopes were desperate, it would be the best measure to reduce them. *They are as much afraid of the Papists and Independents* as any sober man can be, and will join against them as soon as their own hopes are at an end."—Letter to his Son, about 1671. Life iii., p. 483. "To this sect may be attributed all the schisms that have happened in Christianity, with most of the wars that have lacerated poor Europe ever since; and it may be called the source of the civil distraction that now afflicts this poor island."—Howell's Letters, p. 413.

† Collier, vol. ii., p. 871.

other matters might be easily accommodated."* Our space forbids us to enter into the various means adopted for this. There is only one to which we can advert.

The Savoy Conference was held in 1660. In this assembly the points of difference were to be discussed between the Episcopal and the Presbyterian parties. By the royal mandate it was convened. "The king," said Sharp, afterwards the noted archbishop, "ordered a letter to Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy, ordering them to nominate ten to themselves, of their judgment, to meet in a conference with twelve of the Episcopal party, whom he will nominate."† The arrangements were soon made; but the prospects of success were very cloudy. The grandfather's farce was about to be re-acted again. "The king," says Kirton, "even as his father, was resolute for bishops, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary; he knew well bishops would never be reprovers of the court, and the first article of their catechism was non-resistance. . . . They were the best tools for tyranny in the world: for, do a king what he would, their daily instruction was—kings could do no wrong, and that none might put forth a hand against the Lord's anointed and be innocent. . . . They were all for the king's absolute power, and most of them for the universal prosperity, and to make the people believe the king was lord of all their goods without consent of Parliament."‡

* Collier, vol. ii., p. 871.

† Sharp to Douglas. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 42. "A knowing minister told me this day that, if a Synod should be called by the plurality of incumbents, they would infallibly carry Episcopacy. There are many nominal, few real, Presbyterians. The cassock men do swarm here; and such who seemed before to be for Presbyterians, would be content of a moderate Episcopacy." "The king and grandees are whole for Episcopacy: the Episcopal men are very high."—(Sharp) Woodrow, vol. i., p. 33.

‡ Hist., p. 132. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 225. The feeling in relation to the Presbyterians was strong. The following is a sample:—"This rebellion first bubbled up in Presbyterian pulpits: yet it's impolitic to say so much. We also know 'tis more for fear of the fanatics than for love to us, they

The leading bishops had no desire for a comprehension. Restored to power they would use it. Hailing with rapture their exalted position, they, nevertheless, shrunk from an examination of the basis on which it rested. Sharp, the correspondent of the kirk in England, in one of his letters, gives us a glimpse of this. "The Episcopal party, who now make it their work to put off the meeting of a Synod, which hitherto hath been in the talk of all, seeking to settle their way before a Synod can be called. I see generally the cassock men appearing boldly; the liturgy in many places setting up. The service in the chapel at Whitehall is to be set up with organs and choristers, as formerly. No remedy for this can be expected from the Parliament, who, for the majority, are ready to set up Episcopacy to the height in matters ecclesiastical; and, with the rest, moderate Episcopacy will go down."^{*}

On the other hand, various causes had influenced the minds of the leading Presbyterians. Their views were considerably modified. The Presbyterianism of the Westminster Assembly had lowered its tone considerably. Baxter and others had no objection to a modified Episcopacy. No doubt rests on this fact. From the correspondent already

now are loyal; so also it is our necessity, not choice, that makes us court them. Hug them—you cannot hang—at least, till you can—. A blue ribbon and a star, we know, will unbecome a rebel's shoulder; but fishes bite at baits. He is an ass that angles and hides not his hook. . . . But he came in on terms, and is bound up! Tush! remember that blessed line I marked in Machiavel: he's an oafe that thinks an oath, or any tender, can tame a pioneer beyond his pleasure," &c.—News from Brussels in Collection of Tracts, vol. iv., p. 473.

^{*} Letter to Douglas. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 39. "The Episcopalians drive so furiously, that all lovers of religion are awakened to look about them, and to endeavour the stemming of the fearful impetuosity of these men; all that is hoped is to bring them to some moderation and closure with an Episcopacy of a new make." "'Tis much to be lamented that such men as Wren, whose corrupt principles and wicked practices, in persecuting conscientious ministers, who, though conforming, are too well known to be soon forgotten, should have the impudence to appear with these Babylonish brats."—Mr. Douglas. Woodrow, vol. i., pp. 37, 38.

quoted, we gather that "The influencing men of the Presbyterian judgment are content with Episcopacy of Bishop Usher's model, and a liturgy somewhat connected with the ceremonies of surplice," &c. "The moderate Episcopalians and Presbyterians fear that, either the high Episcopal men be uppermost, or that the Erastians carry it from both." "Some leading Presbyterians tell me they must resolve to close in with what they call moderate Episcopacy, else open profanity will, upon the one hand, overwhelm them, or Erastianism (which may be the design of some statesmen) on the other."*

With these feelings the Conference was held. Over several days it extended. Baxter and Gunning were the chief gladiators in the arena. The contrast between them was great. Men more unfit for the task could not have been found. Both were men of large reading, of subtle intellect, and trained in all the dialectics of the schools. "They spent some days in much logical inquiry, to the diversion of the town, who thought them a couple of fencers engaged in a dispute that could never be brought to an end or have any good effect."† The demands of the Presbyterians were not great. Changes in the liturgy, modifications in the festivals, occasional free prayer, omission of the Apocrypha in the service of the church, the omission of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's Supper, embraced, in the main, the extent of their demands. To embody their views more clearly, Baxter, with his very ready pen, produced a liturgy,

* Sharp to Douglas. Woodrow, vol. i., pp. 33, 39. It may amuse our readers to see the opinions of Douglas on Episcopacy at this time:—"The government by presbytery is good, but prelacy is neither good in Christian policy or civil. Some say, May we not have a moderate Episcopacy? But 'tis a plant God never planted, and the ladder whereby antichrist mounted his throne. Bishops get caveats, and never kept one of them; and will just do the like again. We have abjured Episcopacy, let us not lick it up again."—Sermon by Douglas, 1660. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 62.

† Burnet's Own Times, vol. i., pp. 283, 284.

which he thought might satisfy all parties.* But all these efforts were vain. The results of the Savoy Conference stand before us as a monument of the folly of such gatherings. The bishops would not move. Concession was not their aim. On no point would they change. Both parties now appealed to the king. Promises, as usual, were given to the Presbyterian party: their value will presently be seen. In this Conference the Baptists and Independents had no part.†

The spirit of the leading Presbyterians in Scotland may be gathered from the paper of advice sent to Sharp about this time: "We shall not concern to dive into the temper of Independents and other sectaries, and how they may relish Episcopacy and the liturgy in the recent establishment of affairs; nor trouble you with an account of what noise is raised, upon the very appearance thereof, by others whom you know; but if his Majesty knew what grief of heart the fear of Episcopacy and the service-book is to many loyal and honest subjects, who have much and often mourned in secret for him, and do now rejoice in his wonderful restitution, and how much it would refresh them to be secured against these fears; we are confident he would be most ready to satisfy such subjects, who will count nothing temporal too dear to be laid forth as his Majesty's affairs shall require; and though it may be conceived that the affairs of England do nothing concern them, yet they cannot but remember, from former experience, what influence the state of the Church of England hath had upon this church," &c.‡

We only add another specimen of the mean and despicable spirit which governed some of these men at this time:—

* Calamy has given this in his *Life of Baxter*. An outline of Usher will be found in the same work.

† Collier, vol. ii., p. 878, &c. *Baxter's Life and Times*.

‡ Paper of Advice to Sharp from Messrs. Douglas, &c. Woodrow, vol. i., pp. 36, 37 (Note).

“We trust that our courage upon all occasions shall argue in us indelible evidence of unstained loyalty and love to our Sovereign, whom we honour as a man next unto God, inferior to none but God, who is his only judge; invested by God with a peerless supremacy over all persons and ranks of persons within his Majesty’s dominions; the chief nurse, father of the church, and keeper of both tables of God’s law, the Sovereign protector and defender of the worship and ordinances of God; God’s vicegerent, sent by him to bear the sword, with imperial power, to punish all evil deeds and evil-doers trespassing against religion and piety, or moral honesty, and duties that man doth owe to man, and to put any one in his dominions to the doing of their duty to God and man,” &c.* And this from a body of men who claimed to be the faithful ministers of Christ, to a man unprincipled, hypocritical, and awfully vicious.†

But this self-abasement was all in vain. The Episcopal party soon manifested that their restoration to office was not a mere form. The return of royalty to the throne had brought back the full power of the church.‡ The court and the senate presented only the feeblest barriers to its exercise. Men filled the Episcopal thrones, who had pleaded for moderation in their adversity; but

* The Synod of Fife, April 2d, 1661. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 120. The city of John Knox thus spoke:—“We are very hopeful, and humbly supplicate this High Court of Parliament will, by their civil sanction, establish, maintain, and defend the true religion, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, presently professed, received, practised; and restrain and suppress all impiety, vice, profaneness, and whatever is contrary to truth and godliness.”—Petition of the Presbytery of Edinboro’, 1661. Woodrow, vol. i., p. 113.

† It is said that on the first night of his landing, he took from her husband Barbara Villiers, a woman of great beauty, but of most dissolute manners.

‡ “Here I saw the Bishops of Winchester, Bangor, &c., all in their habits, in King Henry the Seventh’s chapel. But, lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect.”—Pepys, vol. i., p. 143. 1660.

who now appeared animated by the spirit of Bonner or Laud. No toleration for tender consciences could be allowed. The "Liberty of Prophesying" was ignored, and measures were soon propounded which breathed the most intense hatred to everything, however holy, if it was associated with the sectarians. The conscience of the king, if ever troubled about his declaration from Breda, was speedily calmed by Protestant Jesuitry, and the hope of toleration was soon extinguished from the breasts of the most sanguine. True it is, Charles issued a declaration, which appeared to satisfy some of the leading Presbyterians, but which shortly after, when submitted to the Commons that it might have the force of law, was rejected by that sage assembly by a majority of twenty-eight, headed by the ministers of the crown.*

The Baptists were very early made to feel the power of their oppressors. Probably none were more obnoxious to the ruling power in Church and State. Suspected by the latter as opposed to all monarchical governments, holding and teaching principles which, if embraced universally, must in the end overthrow the power of the former, both had motives of the most potent and influential kind for their repression. No means were neglected to awaken suspicion as to their want of attachment to the existing Government. Thousands were ready to do the bidding of the unprincipled and the vengeful in Church and State. The following example will illustrate this. Six months after the return of Charles, a letter was addressed to Mr. Kiffin from Taunton to this effect:—"That the Princess of Orange being now dead, they were now ready to put their design into execution; if, according to my promise, I would provide and send down powder, matches, bullets, &c.; for they believed the promise that one of these should chase a thousand," &c. "In consequence of this letter," he says, "I was seized on a Saturday

* Vaughan, vol. ii., p. 590.

at midnight, and carried to the guard-house at Whitehall; no one being suffered to speak with me. There I continued all the Lord's day, exposed to the taunts and threats of the soldiers. In the evening, I was sent for to appear before General Monk, and several others of the Privy Council, who read the above-mentioned letter to me; adding, I must needs be guilty of the things contained in it. I replied, that I knew not so much as the name of the man by whom it was said to be written; and that I did abhor even entertaining a thought of doing anything which might lead to the disturbance of the kingdom. After examination, I was again placed under the protection of the soldiers, who were ordered to take me the next day to the Lord Chief-Justice Foster to be examined. They took me to an inn in King Street, where I was strictly guarded through the night. Under this dispensation, I found much support from God; and, knowing my innocency, I did not doubt but he would, in some way or other, work deliverance for me. The next day I was taken in a coach to Sergeants' Inn, to be examined: soldiers being about the coach occasioned a great concourse of people, who inquired what was the matter; some of them shouting, 'Traitors, rogues, hang them all!' Appearing before my Lord Chief-Justice, I was strictly examined by him about the said letter; I answered all his lordship's questions, and then told him that I did not doubt but his lordship would take more pleasure to clear an innocent man than to condemn one who was guilty; and therefore prayed him I might have liberty to speak for myself, as I felt persuaded my innocency would appear. His lordship replied, I might speak freely what I could. I said there were some things in the letter itself which might satisfy him it was a forged letter. The letter takes the rise of the execution of this plot from the death of the Princess of Orange, and yet it was dated at Taunton three days before she died. To which his lordship replied, it was indeed a weighty observation, and seeing the date of the letter to be as I had stated,

observed that might be but a mistake in the date, and yet the letter itself might be true. To which I answered, I should leave that to his honour's consideration; but there was one thing more, in which, with submission to his lordship's judgment, there could be no mistake; that was, there could be no letter written from London to Taunton, and an answer to it be obtained from Taunton, from the time of the death of the princess to the time when I was taken; for his lordship knew the princess died on the Monday night. Now, no letter could give advice of it by post till the next night, and no answer could be obtained to that letter till the next Monday morning; but I was seized the Saturday night after her death, which must needs be before any post came in. Upon which, my lord looked very steadfastly upon the Lieutenant-Colonel, whose prisoner I was; and the said officer desired my lord to put me upon my oath. His lordship replied, in great anger, he would not; and that things were come to a fine pass, when a Lord Chief-Justice must be instructed by a soldier telling him what he ought to do; telling him it was a trepan. And then directing his speech to me, he said he was persuaded I was abused, and that if I would find out the authors of the said letter, he would punish them; and so he discharged me. Mr. Henry Jessey and Mr. Crape were also mentioned in the letter, who were examined and discharged. Thus did God work deliverance for me." "A little after this (1661), being at a meeting on a Lord's day in Shoreditch, we were apprehended and carried before Sir Thomas Bide, by whom I and some others were committed to the new prison; but having been in confinement three or four days, I was by him released."*

Upon others the heavy hand of the oppressor fell. In the county as well as the city, suspicion, insults, and the jail awaited our brethren. These pages might be crowded with examples of the cruelty and lawlessness of men, who, under

* Life, pp. 43, 44.

the pretence of sustaining the church of Christ, were sapping its foundation, and suspending the labours of some of its brightest ornaments. The case of John Bunyan can only be noticed, and that, too, in the very briefest way. His history is familiar to most. For some time he had laboured with great zeal in Bedford, and the neighbouring districts. Churches had been formed by him in various places, but all on the mixed principle. It is doubtful if the church at Bedford was ever a Baptist church, in the sense in which the term would be ordinarily understood. But though professing that water baptism should be no barrier to communion, strange as it may appear, he invariably declined to dismiss any member to a Baptist church where the communion was restricted.* A congregation had gathered in the agricultural village of Haslington to hear the Gospel. It was about the 12th of November. The usual worship had finished, and Bunyan was in the act of ministering the truth of God to the people, when the deep attention of the

* The following extracts from the Bedford Church-Book have been supplied by our friend the Rev. J. Jukes, the senior pastor of the church there:—

“Jan. 6, 1695.—At a church-meeting held at Bedford, our Bro. Henry Mann’s letter for a dismission was read; but being desired to be dismissed to a baptized congregation, ’twas denied, and an answer to be sent: and our Bro. Chandler to write and send it.

“1700.—At a church-meeting the beginning of December, a letter from our Sister Stover to the church, she being now in London, was read, wherein she desired to be dismissed from us to a baptized church in London, under Mr. Piggott; and ’twas concluded to deny it her, as being contrary to the mind of Christ, and the received principles and practices of this church: and Bro. Chandler sent her the church’s answer.

“Jan. 4, 1720.—At this church-meeting, our Sister Tutzell’s letter was read, desiring dismission to the Baptist church in London under Mr. Skip, but the church took time to deliberate upon the answer to her till the next church-meeting.

“1st March, 1720.—The church concluded not to dismiss Ann Tutzell to Mr. Skip, because he and his people were for communion with baptized believers only, and that by immersion.”

We have unpublished letters on the same subject, which may appear in another part of this work.

people was broken by the entrance of the constable. Francis Wingate, one of the great unpaid ministers of justice, had commissioned this man to execute this task. Bunyan was a man of undoubted courage. In the army of his country he had braved danger. "Had he been minded to play the coward, he could have escaped and kept out of their hands." He felt that it was a call from God, and he was ready to obey it. Doubtless the change of the times had prepared him for this. He knew what the forlorn hope was, and from it he was not anxious to shrink. In the morning he was conducted before the magistrate. The threats of the little man in authority were many. Bunyan had broken the law; such meetings were dangerous; and unless he was prepared to find sureties that would be bound to keep him from such practices, their bonds would be forfeited, and he must go to prison. "'Tis useless," said the heroic man; "I shall break them, for I shall not leave speaking the Word of God." To prison Bunyan went. Efforts were made by his friends to mitigate the evil, and to secure his liberation, but in vain. For five weeks the prisoner was confined. The sessions were now held at Bedford. Before the assembled administrators of law the prisoner was brought. The charges against him were read. They were of the gravest kind. The indictment said:—"That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, being a person of such and such condition, hath, since such a time, devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear the Divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and destruction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our Sovereign Lord the King," &c. The prisoner said:—"We have had many meetings together, both to pray to God and to exhort one another; and that we have had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord amongst us for our encouragement (blessed be his name, therefore!), I confess myself guilty, not otherwise." No witnesses were examined, but the plea was

recorded, and then the sentence was passed. For the great crime of preaching God's Word to a few poor people and praying with them, the administrator of justice said:—"You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and at the three months' end, if you do not submit and go to church to hear Divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, you must stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly;" and so he bid the jailor have him away. To the solitude of the cold damp prison-house on Bedford Bridge, Bunyan retired. We can have no difficulty in conceiving how his active mind would revolve every element of this appalling sentence. Before his vivid imagination would rise the wife of his ardent affection, and the loved ones whose youthful prattle had so often delighted him—their wretchedness and sorrow, their want and unprotected condition. The reality, or even worse than the reality, would be distinctly before him. Exile from his country was not what we understand by it in these happier times. It was slavery. Banishment to the plantations involved all this.* Of this he could not be ignorant, as only a short time before St. Stephen's had rung with eloquent invectives against this evil. Return, and ignominy and death awaited him. But all this could be escaped. Only give up preaching! Forsake your love of telling the poor wanderer of Christ's love! Come to church *and hear* the Divine service read by some unholy lips, and freedom, domestic enjoyment, yea, and patronage too, shall await you! The struggle was fearful, but it was soon over. Like the rock in the ocean, the

* "Some were employed grinding at the mills, attending at the furnaces, and digging in that scorching island (Barbadoes), being bought and sold still from one planter to another, or attached as horses or beasts of burden for the debts of their masters, being whipped at the whipping-posts as rogues at their masters' pleasure, and sleeping in styes worse than hogs in England."—Burton's Diary. Lingard, vol. xi., p. 384.

thunder-cloud gathers around it, and the angry billows dash against its base; but it remains unshaken amidst the wildest confusion of this war of elements. Nothing could move the illustrious sufferer. All efforts failed to change him. All efforts, therefore, for his release were abortive. For twelve years his imprisonment was continued. God's hand was in it. The wicked ones meant it for evil; but God designed it for good. From that prison-house issued words of fire, which have enlightened, guided, and comforted more "pilgrims from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City" than any other written volume, except the inspired one, in the world. But of the glorious dreamer—more hereafter.*

Of the mad attempt of Venner and his fifth monarchy men at insurrection, and their defeat and subsequent punishment, we cannot say much, beyond the fact that our brethren were free from it. In various memorials from Baptists in various parts of the kingdom it was disowned, and expressions of loyalty and attachment to the reigning sovereign were laid at the foot of the throne. But all was in vain. Alarm was excited in the circles of power, civil and ecclesiastical. It was only a pretence—a veil to cover deeper and long-planned designs. The dissidents must now be punished. Clarendon and his colleagues were for the work. "He and Lord Southampton," says Clarke, "with the bishops, were the great opposers in the House of Lords of the king's inclinations and intentions to grant, according to his promise, given at Breda, a toleration to Dissenters so limited as not to disturb the public peace of the kingdom."† The meetings of the Anabaptists, Quakers, and fifth monarchy men were forbidden by a proclamation from the king. They might meet in churches, but not in their own places of worship. In private houses, with the consent of the proprietors,

* Pilgrim's Progress, by Offor. Hans. Knollys Society. Works by Offor, 3 vols. Crosby and Ivimey may be consulted for details.

† Life of James II., vol. i., p. 391.

they might convene, but gatherings anywhere else were declared to be unlawful. The mayors in towns, and other officers of justice, were commanded to search out these conventicles, to seize the persons found there, and bind them to appear at the next sessions. Fully convinced of the will of these men to persecute, their power to execute depends very much on circumstances. The disposition of a people will always modify the mandates of a tyrant. Rightly then to estimate the condition of our brethren, as well as for other reasons, we should know the moral state of the people.

To inquire into the causes which produced the marked change in the moral condition of the nation immediately on the accession of Charles, though a subject of profound interest, is not our business now. No one familiar with the period can doubt the fact, or question its awful magnitude. The court already was the centre of corruption and impiety.* Virtues were not safe within its precincts, and moral principle was unknown. Charles, fond of ease, careless about business, gave himself up to self-indulgence without restraint. But the sources of enlightenment and spiritual power were dark and corrupt. Burnet, in his MS. History of his own Times, thus describes the bishops and clergy:—"Many books came out against the Church of England. This alarmed the bishops and clergy much; so that they set up to preach against rebellion and the late times, in such a strain that it was visible they meant a parallel between these and the present times. And this produced at last that heat and rage into which the clergy had run so far, that it is like to end very fatally. They, on their part, should have showed more temper, and more of the spirit of the Gospel; whereas, for the greatest part, they are the worst-natured, the fiercest, indecentest, and most persecuting sort of people that are in the nation. There is a sort of them do aspire to preferment,

* "I had some discourse with Povey, who is mightily discontented, I find, about his disappointment at court; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here."—Pepys, vol. ii., p. 450.

that there is nothing so mean and indecent that they will not do to compass it; and when they have got into preferment, they take no care either of themselves or of those committed to their charge, but do generally neglect their parishes. If they are rich enough, they hire some pitiful curate at as low price as they can, and turn all over to him; or if their income will not bear out that, they perform the public offices in the slightest manner they can; but take no care of their people in the way of private admonition, and so do nothing to justify the character of pastors or watchmen that feed the souls of their people or watch over them. And they allow themselves in many indecent liberties of going to taverns and alehouses, and of railing scurrilously against all that differ from them; and they cherish the profaneness of their people, if they but come to church and rail with them against the Dissenters; and are implacably set on the ruin of all that separate from them, if the course of their lives were otherwise ever so good and unblamable. In a word, many of them are a reproach to Christianity and to their profession, and are now, perhaps, one of the most corrupt bodies of men in the nation.”* Though the bishop modified this, of the correctness of the sketch there can be no doubt. The outline may be accurately drawn, but no one yet has furnished a finished portrait. From Episcopal thrones and parish pulpits the doctrines of the Laudian school were promulgated. Non-resistance and passive obedience were everywhere promulgated. Vacancies in the Episcopate were filled

* Maseres Tracts, vol. i., p. 116. The bishop modified this in his printed copy:—“A nation where infidelity was, at that time, considered more pardonable than a superstitious reverence for saints,” &c.—Strickland’s Queen Catherine of Braganza, vol. viii., p. 286. “Catherine was wedded to the most witty and fascinating prince in the world, constitutionally good humoured, but without religion or moral principles—brave, reckless, and devoted to pleasure,” &c.—*Ibid*, p. 314. “The clergy,” says Carlyle, “study Pan, Bacchus, and the longs and the shorts, rather than the Hebrew Bible, and the truths of the living Jehovah.”—Cromwell, vol. iii., p. 181.

by men of the highest church principles, "and most inveterate resentments." Their fines on the renewal of leases were extraordinary. Bishop Burnet says:—"What the bishops did with these great fines was a pattern to all their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church; the men of service were loaded with many livings and many dignities. With this accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hospitality; and with this onset of wealth and pomp that came upon men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing into old age became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church." Nor was this limited to Episcopal and clerical circles. The floodgates of vice were thrown open. The holy checks of the past were broken; the mighty influence of the Government and official men in favour of virtue was withdrawn; to ridicule and insult devout ministers were exposed; and in the place of them every encouragement was given to the most sinful habits and criminal indulgences—gaming, drunkenness, and kindred evils. The psalm gave place to the lewd song, the voice of prayer to the voice of mirth and ribaldry, and immorality of the most debasing kind threatened to sweep away all the landmarks of virtue and godliness. One of our brethren thus describes the city in 1660:—"But the moon-sick madness of the multitude, yet unrepented of, together with the revived and daily continued acts of the abominations in stage plays, May-games and pastimes, with the many bitter and most horrid oaths and execrations, uttered almost in every corner, by ninepin, ninehole, and by pigeon-hole players, and to the poisoning of the youth of our age in the multitude of damning and debauched bawdry-houses, even the foul and detestable sham of a Christian kingdom," &c.* Poets

* Fanatics' Mite Cast into the King's Treasury; by Henry Adis, a baptized believer, undergoing the name of a Freewiller; and also most

kindled their genius at this altar, and invoked the Muse to hold up to the scorn of the pampered voluptuary the sacred claims of piety, and to cherish in the minds of the reckless hostility to the Gospel.* The reader must bear in mind this state of things, as deepening and widening in its influence throughout the whole of this reign.

Many of our brethren soon felt, as we have seen, the effects of this change. The hostility which had existed, but which had by the strong hand of the law been repressed, now broke forth. To escape this, a number of Baptists, with crowds of other religionists, fled to the continent. Holland now, as in former times, was a refuge for these oppressed ones. The sons of liberty found protection under the form of government to which, by suffering and toil, they had sought to conform their country. "It is not to be believed," says Sir G. Downing, "what numbers of dissatisfied persons come daily out of England into this country. They have settled at Rotterdam an Independent, an Anabaptist, and Quaker church; and do hire the best houses, and have great bills of Exchange come over from England. . . . I am about setting correspondence at Rotterdam and other parts, that I may know who they are, and what they do."† Clarendon encouraged this. Again and again in his own correspondence with this unprincipled creature, we find him urging it.‡ Every movement was watched, and all their pro-

ignominiously by the tongues of infamy called a fanatic or a madman. London, 1660.

* In an old ballad of these times, the following occurs:—

"Farewell, Say and Seale, with hey;
Farewell, Say and Seale, with hey ho!
And those valiant sons of Aymon,
May they hang as high as Haman,
With the old Anabaptist they came on,
With a hely, trolly, lolly, ho."

— A Farewell to Parliament. *Vide* Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, vol. ii., p. 56.

† Life of Clarendon, vol. iii., p. 144.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 169, 170. Letter to Downing. Other examples of this detestable policy may be seen, vol. iii., pp. 155, 388. A feeling of alarm perhaps prompted this conduct.

ceedings carefully registered. With or without the consent of the State, Downing would have seized the leading exiles, and exposed them to the malice of their foes. Hume tells us that Downing was once chaplain to Colonel Oakey's regiment. He now at Delpt seized Corbet, Oakey, and Buckstead, and sent them to England, in violation of the laws of the States, where they finished their course on the gibbet, and thus added to the long list of victims to the royal vengeance.*

Hostility at home was not diminished. From place to place the sectaries were hunted. Rumours of dissatisfaction with the existing Government were rife. Sham plots were reported, and every means employed to awaken suspicion in the minds of the authorities against them. The jails were

* Some writers distilled their own gall, and dipped their pen in it. The following is a sample:—"Pettit places Baxter in hell, where Bradshaw acts as president of an infernal tribunal, and Halber and Neville strive in vain to obtain from his adjudication the crown for pre-eminence of evil and mischief on earth; which he awards to the Nonconformists. 'Let him come in,' exclaims the new Rhadaman—thus, 'and be crowned with wreaths of serpents and chaplets of adders. Let his triumphant chariot be a pulpit, drawn on the wheels of cannon by a brace of wolves in sheep's clothing. Let the ancient fathers of the church, whom out of ignorance he has vilified; the reverend and learned prelates, whom out of pride and malice he has belied, abused, and persecuted; the most righteous king whose murder he has justified, come, and let them all be bound in chains to attend his infernal triumphs to his Saint's Everlasting Rest; then make room, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, atheists, and politicians, for the greatest rebel on earth, and next to him who fell from heaven.'"—Sir J. Stephen's Essays. South, who was the incarnation of intolerance, was ever spitting forth his venom upon the wise and the good. Milton, whose genius and morals he could never reach, and certainly could never appreciate, was the blind adder who spit venom on the king's person; and Cromwell, now rising from the mists with which the age of Charles II. had encircled him, in all his massive and fair proportions, was only a bankrupt beggarly fellow, who entered the Parliament House with a thread-bare torn coat and greasy hat, and perhaps neither of them paid for. South's judgment of men was much influenced by the cut and condition of the garment. Moral worth beyond the Episcopal pale was unmixed pollution, but hypocrisy and the most revolting sensuality were trifles, if covered by an Episcopal cloak.—*Vide* Life and Sermons of South. Bohn, London, 1855.

crowded with them. From their peaceful homes they were dragged, and their families plunged into deepest sorrow. Their fortitude was tried in the severest way. Hunger, cold, and insults were their daily lot. The prisons at this time were foul and loathsome. But their faith failed not. In Kent—always fruitful in heroic confessors—there was a large number of sufferers. The metropolis, the eastern, the midland, and the northern parts of the empire, felt the power of the oppressors. They uttered their complaints in touching appeals to the king. From some of them we extract a sentence or two, as they will place before us the sentiments they cherished on magistracy, and the annoyances they endured. “From which assemblings, O king,” said the General Baptists in Lincolnshire, soon after the Restoration, “we have been discharged by some in magisterial capacity in these parts; although therein we bless God, none hath ever found us with multitude or tumult. But being taught of God to obey him in the things by him commanded, rather than man, though in the places of magistracy, when commanding things contrary; we durst not receive that discharge. Wherefore some of us have been silenced from mention of the name of the Lord as formerly, by being entangled in bonds, pretendedly imposed on us for our good behaviour. Since thus entangled, O king, we have been much abused as we pass in the streets, and as we sit in our houses; being threatened to be hanged if heard but praying to the Lord in our families, and disturbed in our so waiting upon God by an uncivil beating at our doors, and sounding of horns; yea, we have been stoned when going to our meetings, the windows of the places where we have been met struck down with stones; yea, also taken as cvildoers, and imprisoned when peaceably met together to worship the Most High, in the use of his most precious ordinances.”* “We have, O king, spread those things before them in

* Crosby, vol. ii., pp. 20, 21.

authority in these parts, but can have no redress from them; but the rage of our adversaries hath been augmented by hearing us abused by some of them in open court, who sat on the bench of justice, under the odious terms of *knavish, juggling, impudent and fanatic fellows*, &c. And as if all this were too little, they have, to fill up their measure, very lately indicted many of us at the sessions; and intend, as we are informed, to impose upon us the penalty of £20 *per month*, for not coming to hear such men as they provide us, of whose principles and practices we could give a most sad and doleful," &c. The prisoners in Maidstone jail thus spoke to the king:—"Thou hast already seen our Confession of Faith, wherein our peaceable resolutions were declared. We have not violated any part thereof, that should cause that liberty promised at Breda to be withdrawn. And now for our principles that most particularly relate to magistrates and Government, we have with all clearness laid them before them; humbly beseeching that they may be read patiently, and what we say weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and then judge how worthy we are of bonds and imprisonment. And this we do the more earnestly desire, because not only our own lives are in danger, but also an irresistible destruction cometh on our wives and little ones by the violence which is exercised on us. Disdain not our plainness of speaking, seeing the great God accepts of the like."*

In London, many were "seized, and taken out of their beds at midnight by soldiers with drawn swords, without any warrant from a justice of the peace; others being taken in their religious assemblies, the doors of which were open that all might hear what they said, and see what they did; and others being assaulted by soldiers whilst they were passing along the streets about their lawful employment, and carried without a warrant before justices who acted in a manner

* This address and confession may be seen in Tracts on Liberty of Conscience. Hans. Knollys Society.

unworthy of the office which they sustained." So many were "thrust into little rooms together, that they were an annoyance to each other, especially in the city of London, where the Lord Mayor crowds them very close together; that it hath been observed the keepers have complained they have had too many guests; and whilst they suffer there, some of their wives and tender babes want bread at home."* Adis thus refers to the sufferings of some:—"And cause them to be thrown, as it were, on heaps, one upon another, as some of the Baptists lately have been—sixty in one room some nine feet broad and fourteen feet long, in Newgate; and much after the same way in several other jails and prisons in the nation; enough to breed infections and diseases, had not the God whom we serve appeared mightily on our behalf."† "This I humbly beg, that if you are not willing that we should serve our God in that way which we have received, but that we shall be taken into custody for our so doing; that then you would commissionate some peace-officers for that work to have to do with us; and that we be not left to the mercy of the rude multitude, nor the violent laws of the mercenary soldiers, whose actings towards the peaceable have been very rude and inhuman in London and Westminster; where at one meeting they wounded one man so dangerously on his arm, that it is greatly feared he will lose the use of one of his hands." "At another meeting-place, they rudely came and drank up the wine that was provided by the congregation to celebrate that holy ordinance of communicating at the table of the Lord." "At another meeting-place, the congregation being generally dispersed

* Ivimey, vol. ii., pp. 316, 317.

† Fanatics' Address to the King and his Peers, pp. 15, 16. The sufferings of the Friends at this time were great. Upon them and our brethren the chief weight fell. "It is probable that in 1661 or 1662, there were no less than 4500 Friends in prison in England and Wales at one time, for meeting to worship God, refusing to swear," &c. Fox, in a letter to Charles II., tells him (1662) that there were 3068 Friends imprisoned since his restoration.

before they came, in revenge whereof the soldiery set on the rude multitude to break in pieces the tables that they used to make use of to celebrate the Lord's Supper upon." "At another meeting-place, they rudely behaved themselves, violently casting some of them headlong down the stairs; but the stairs being winding, and some people on them, the force of the falls (through mercy) being thereby broken, there was not much harm done as to the people, the greatest harm that was done was by one of the soldiers to himself."* We could multiply these examples greatly, but our space forbids. The sources of the deepest misery are generally unseen; the acutest sorrows are often felt in the home circle. In this case no one doubts the fact, and no one can fully understand it. "The interruption of family ties, the breaking up of households, the loss to many of all means of support, were hard and cruel sufferings for conscience sake; but they were generally aggravated at this period by the damp and filthy condition of the prisons, holes, and dungeons in which the sufferers were confined, as well as by their crowded condition. And to all these circumstances of trial must be added those of personal abuse, fines, dstraint, and it may strictly be said, of wholesale robberies they endured. Some died of the beatings which they received in the breaking up of their meetings, and many from the filthy and close state of the prisons, in some of which they were so closely packed that they had to take it by turns to stand up whilst others lay down. They were also overrun with lice and vermin."† An illustration may give our readers a glimpse of some things which marked the prison life of some of these confessors. "On the 3d day of the month called August, 1662—when the prisoners in Newgate, called Baptists, were in their chamber seeking the Lord, and speaking one to another, that they might, as their duty is,

* Adis' Fanatics' Address to the King and Peers, pp. 15, 16.

† Fox's Journal, vol. i., p. 399.

provoke one another to love and good works—about four o'clock in the afternoon, the thieves, as housebreakers, pick-pockets, highwaymen, came with violence into our room; one took up a Bible from the table, and threw it down on the ground, asking what we did there. Struck one in the face with his fist, and he and the rest fell upon us, drew their knives, and endeavoured to stab some of us. But the Lord was pleased to deliver us from their cruelty; for we took courage to defend ourselves, and escaped their bloody hands. And on the same day, the like violence, as we were informed, was offered to those brethren in the White Lion, Southwark, by the felons there. And on the 1st of June, so called, 1662, which was on the first day of the week, after we were brought to prison, some of the keepers did come upon us, and charge us that we should not pray nor preach; for if we did, they had orders to put us into the hole, and that they must do it. And though that was not executed, yet the felons did come violently upon us in our room, and did beat some of us, and threaten us all, saying they would now order us well enough, for they had a commission so to do.”*

The martyrdom of John James must close this narrative of suffering for the present. He was pastor of a Sabbatarian church in Bulstake Alley, in the city. The service was interrupted one day by the appearance of one Justice Chard, with a Mr. Wood, a head borough, commanding Mr. James to come down, having spoken treason against the king. Refusing compliance, Wood then advanced to the middle of the room again in the king's name, and threatened to pull him down if he did not obey. The threat was speedily executed, and he was dragged to prison, with several of his hearers. The next day they were brought before four justices, who were sitting at a public-house. The oath of allegiance was tendered and refused by some of them, and in default, both men and women were committed to New-

* Crosby, vol. ii., pp. 178, 179.

gate.* “Afterwards the same justices entering the meeting-place, sat down about the table with their cloaks; and Major Stanley standing by, did send for John James. And in the meantime the Lieutenant of the Tower read a paper which he pulled out of his pocket, saying he would read to them what doctrine was preached there that day—being of the nature of a charge, which they drew up from Tipler’s mouth against John James, demanding of certain women, relating to the meeting, yet detained, and whose names they were then taking, how they could hear such things as these.” To which they unanimously replied in the fear of the Lord, “*That they never heard such words, as they shall answer it before the Lord: and they durst not lie.*” This Tipler was one of those wretched creatures found in numbers at this time. He was a pipemaker’s assistant, and a character so worthless that even the magistrate took not much notice of what he said. James was now brought before this tribunal, and after much questioning, “the lieutenant told him he should stretch for it; and if he were not hanged, he would be hanged for him.” James said, “he was not careful in that matter, and that they could do no more than they should be suffered by the Lord to do.” To a company of soldiers the confessor was now committed. They had been waiting around the doors for him. To Newgate he was carried in the king’s name, on the charge of speaking in a conventicle treasonable words against his Majesty. On the 14th of November, the trial was begun in Westminster Hall. The Chief-Justice Forster presided, aided by three others of the judges. The charge was grave and treasonable. Thus it runs:—“He stood indicted for compassing and imagining the king’s death. For endeavouring to levy war

* Many of them, like the brethren of an earlier period noticed in the former part of this volume, objected to all oaths, and on principle declined to take them. Crosby has preserved a statement of theirs on this matter in Appendix No. v. to his second volume. This subject will claim the reader’s attention in a subsequent chapter.

against the king. For endeavouring to change the Government. For saying the king was a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, a bloodthirsty man, and his nobles the same. That the king and his nobles had shed the blood of the saints at Charing Cross, and the blood of the Covenanters in Scotland." "That the king was brought to this end, to fill up the measure of his iniquity; and that the king's cup of iniquity had filled more within this last year than in many years before. That he much feared they had not improved their opportunity when they had the power in their hands; that it would not be long before they had power again, and then they would improve it better; and he learned the apostacy of the people of God, and said, 'They had not fought the Lord's battles thoroughly; but when the Lord should give his work into their hands again, they would do it better. That the death and destruction of the king drew very near.'"^{*} To these five counts he pleaded not guilty, but in vain. On the 19th the trial commenced amidst the laughter and scorn of the bench and the bar. Intimation had been given to the prisoner that a packed jury would be selected, and that his case was probably hopeless. Tipler testified that, being in a yard near the meeting-house, he did, through a window, see the prisoner in the pulpit, and heard him speak the words laid in the indictment; adding, that he mightily applauded Cromwell, saying that every finger of his was a champion. Osborn, another witness, deposed that he was within the meeting-house, and heard the prisoner speak the words laid in the indictment, or to that effect; another deposed that, being in Tipler's house, and hearing a person speaking very loud, he went out and heard the speaker say, "That the Lord had a great work," &c., but could not be positive that the preacher was the person that spoke them.† Witnesses were called to prove the contrary; to show that Osborn had said that he was compelled to give

^{*} Salmon's State Trials, p. 290.

† *Ibid*, p. 290.

evidence. Mr. James declared his innocency of the charges; that he had no malice against the king, but prayed for his soul; that he never had any public employment against his present Majesty or his father, and denied he spoke the words in the indictment, or any others to that effect; that he had always declared against Cromwell's usurpation, and suffered under it. In this strain the prisoner proceeded, till the Chief-Justice, forgetting the dignity of the bench and the responsibility of his high position, interrupted him in the most unseemly manner. The jury, after a quarter of an hour's retirement, pronounced their verdict, well understood beforehand, of guilty.* The efforts of his wife to save him were treated with contempt by the monarch. Lost to all sense of dignity and the common feelings of humanity, he said, in reply to her petition, "Of John James, that rogne, he shall be hanged; yea, he shall be hanged." To Tyburn the martyr was drawn on a sledge, and on the 26th of November—and after showing that he was not a Jesuit in disguise, and declaring his innocence of the charge for which he was about to suffer—he was suspended on the fatal tree. After hanging for about an hour, he was disembowelled and quartered, and his limbs placed on the gates of the city; but his head was placed on a pole near his meeting-house in Whitechapel.† Thus for a season did the wicked triumph!

Wales did not escape this fiery trial. Vavaseur Powell, who had continued his self-denying labours in the Principality, "was," says Mr. Jessey, "seized upon and imprisoned in Shrewsbury, and many of his friends in several northern counties in Wales; and not for any crime committed by him or them; yea, and divers of their houses plundered by soldiers, showing no warrant for their proceedings therein."‡

* Salmon, p. 290.

† *Ibid*, p. 291. Crosby gives this date 1661. Salmon in 1662.

‡ H. Jessey's Loud Call to England, p. 13. This volume contains many accounts of the sufferings of our brethren; also some striking instances of disasters and sudden death of their persecutors.

Here he was confined for nine weeks, and then by an order of the Council was released with the rest of his brethren. Soon after he was again arrested, and by an order of Council was removed to London. He was confined in the Fleet for almost two years, "and for about twelve months of that time in such close confinement that he was not suffered to go out of his chamber door, which, together with the offensive smell of a dunghill which was just before his window, did so much impair his health, that he never after perfectly recovered it."* At the close of this period, he was suddenly removed to Southsea Castle, where he remained a close prisoner for five years, and obtained his release on the dismissal of Hyde from the chancellorship.† The Baptists at this time were confined chiefly to the northern parts of the Principality. At the time of the Restoration there were about thirty ministers, and a greater number of churches. These felt the bitterness and fierceness of the persecution which followed.‡ Their associational gatherings were suspended for about twenty years, their property was seized by the lawless and brutal soldiery, and their persons imprisoned in filthy and unwholesome jails, "because they would not

* Life, pp. 129, 131.

† *Ibid*, p. 132. Mr. Powell was pastor of a church at Dartford for about two years.—Life, p. 15.

‡ "The great talk of the town is the strange election that the city of London made yesterday for Parliament men, viz., Fouke, Love, Jones, &c. . . . Men that, so far from being Episcopal, are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeal, in spite of the other party that thought themselves so strong, calling out in the hall, 'No bishops! no lord bishops!' It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same; and, indeed, the bishops are so high, that very few do love them."—Pepys, vol. i., p. 184. *Ibid*, p. 338. Sir H. Burnet, in a letter to Charles, says:—"It imports your Majesty in this conjuncture to strengthen your authority by all the means and ways the law allows you, since the dissatisfaction towards the present Government (though, God knows, very undeservedly) is become so universal that any small accident may put us into new troubles, though they should not as yet be thoroughly designed by those that wish for them."—May 19, 1662. Life of Clarendon, vol. iii., letter 98.

forego their meetings, and join with them again in their traditional worship, from whom the Lord had separated them." Against these simple and earnest-minded brethren no other charge was alleged. They suffered for nonconformity to the worship of a church they considered "traditional."

We have adverted to this feature of our history at some length, though only partially. The full details, which are within our reach, would occupy the remainder of this volume. From every county, nay, probably, from all the hives of population, narratives of sufferings might be drawn. These were, to some extent, the strongholds of the body; where energy and intelligence were found, Baptist principles were sure to find a home. But we are only entering on the exercise of that spiritual and political tyranny which has made this reign one of the most infamous in the annals of the English nation. Upon some matters we must now touch. The first Parliament called by Charles was thoroughly Episcopal. It was composed of cavaliers and their sons, who entirely predominated. The influence of the great families and the restored priesthood was placed in their hands. Only some fifty or sixty men of popular sympathies were returned. Pepys gives us a view of the character of the former. "They were the most profane, swearing fellows he had ever heard in his life."* The members, for the most part, were elected agreeably to the wishes, and without doubt by the influence, of the court. "The greatest part were high churchmen—that is, violent enemies of the Presbyterians, great asserters of the minutest ceremonies of the Church, and most devoted to the king and the royal prerogative." This Parliament was managed entirely by Clarendon, and is known in history as the Pensionary Parliament, from the mighty influence of the court.† Their piety and attachment to the Church were manifested at an early period of the session. The majority voted that all their members should,

* Diary, vol. i., p. 113.

† Rapin's Hist., vol. xi., p. 213.

on a certain day, receive the Lord's Supper according to the Episcopal ritual, and that the Solemn League and Covenant should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.* This spirit characterized their whole proceedings. "Charles," says Mr. Lathorp, "had promised liberty to tender consciences; but, if disposed, he would have found it extremely difficult to have kept his promise with a Parliament like the present. Charles was engrossed by his pleasure; and, notwithstanding his declaration, he was ready to sacrifice the Nonconformists to the resentment of the Parliament. . . . Devoted to his pleasure, Charles never bestowed a thought on the subject of religion; and was heartily desirous to leave the whole matter with the Parliament."† The pleasure-loving and sensual monarch had no doubt about the readiness of these creatures to do his pleasure. They speedily reinvested him with all but limitless power, and affirmed the doctrine of non-resistance to his will. Speedily the Bill for regulating Corporations was passed. It was a daring invasion of the liberty of the subject. The Church demanded it, and the request was not denied. This inquisitive measure was aimed at the dissidents from the Church. "It enjoined all magistrates and persons bearing offices of trust in corporations to swear that they believed it unlawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, and that they abhorred the traitorous position of bearing arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him. They were also to renounce all obligations arising out of the oath called the Solemn League and Covenant; in case of refusal, immediately to be dismissed from office. Those elected in future were, in addition to the same oaths, to have received the sacrament within one year before their election, according to the rites of the English Church."‡

* Hallam, vol. ii., p. 22.

† English Episcopacy, p. 321.

‡ Hallam, vol. ii., pp. 27, 28. The Bill passed by 182 to 77. Most readers know that this infamous law is now removed from the Statute Book of the realm.

By this act our brethren were at once deprived of all municipal rights. It touched them, probably, beyond any other sect, and fully exposed them to the malice of the ignorant and malicious in many ways. True it is there were a few exceptions to this. Amongst this class we find John Tombes. Singularly enough this eminent scholar and devout man, though the greatest writer in existence in favour of Baptist views, yet not only preached but advised occasional communion with the corrupt and persecuting Church. Only one example of this can we give here. "In many places of my writings," he says, "I have disclaimed separation from that wherein I was disputing with others, always foreseeing that a groundless separation would be endless; and, therefore, have still professed my desire of such a reformation as might be without separation from brethren, who are not heretical in the doctrine of Christian faith, nor idolatrous in their worship, nor impose that on me for communion with them, which I cannot yield to without sinning against God. Yea, when some of those who agreed with me in that tenet which my writings held forth differently from others were moved to admit me to their communion; and they excepted against it, because I did not disclaim the Church of England, nor renounce ordination by bishops, nor desert my standing as a parish minister, nor my maintenance by tythes or augmentation; nor my bearing with the world, as they used to speak, nor some such like practice as was inconsistent with the principles of the Separatists: I refused many years ago to join with them, who would not otherwise admit me then on such terms; but did not answer these exceptions against me, and persisted in my refusal unto this day."* As an occasional communicant with the Church, he continued till his death. These and other views held by Mr. Tombes will be found in another chapter. With others it was not so. Some even hesitated about hearing individuals who had not been baptized.

* Theodulia (Preface).

The issue of the Savoy Conference, and the spirit of the Government, as seen in the proceedings of the Lower House without restraint from the Ministry, had filled the minds of the leading Presbyterians not only with disappointment but something more. Their joy was turned into sadness, and their hope into doubt; and though the hand of persecution had not yet grasped them, as it had the Baptists, still there was cause for alarm. A modern writer thus states their case:—
“The course which the public policy of the realm took on the restoration of King Charles was in all respects disappointing and discouraging to every branch of the Puritan family; but it was especially mortifying to the Presbyterians, who were still the most numerous and valuable part of that family, to see themselves confounded with the wild sects which had sprung from them in the preceding period, and subjected to the same rigorous measures; and to find no sense entertained of their services in promoting the restoration of monarchy, and not the slightest disposition to condescend to any of their scruples or their opinions in the new settlement which it was necessary to make in the ecclesiastical affairs of the English nation.”* Greater disappointment awaited this narrow-mindedness and senseless bigotry. Their proud and lofty pretensions had to receive a greater abasement from “their covenanted king.”

The Parliament of Scotland was forbidden to allow any one to renew the swearing of the Solemn League and Covenant, or of any other covenant or public oaths concerning the government of the Church or kingdom, without his Majesty's warrant. To add to the distress of the Presbyterians in the northern kingdom, the conflict with black prelacy was about to be renewed. Sharp, who had acted as their regent for some time in London, with three others, renounced their Presbyterian ordinations, and submitted to be re-ordained by the Bishop of Winchester: first as to the

* Hunter's Life of O. Heywood, p. 122.

lower orders in the Church, and then as bishops. These tools of the Government then procured a proclamation, that it was the king's pleasure to restore the constitution of the Church by archbishops and bishops, as it was settled in the year 1673.* In the meantime, the meetings of Synods and Presbyteries had been interdicted till they should be authorised by the newly-created archbishops and bishops. We cannot trace the effects of this tyrannical measure—the war, the crime, the immorality, and the public and social miseries, which resulted from it. We can only indulge ourselves with a sentence or two to place in contrast the state of the country under the government of “the usurper,” “the murderer” Cromwell, and that of the “Lord's anointed.” “At the king's return every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles either by the parents or by their ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster by the divines of both nations. Every minister was obliged to preach thrice a week, to lecture and catechise once, besides other private duties in which they abounded, according to their proportion of faithfulness and abilities. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation or negligent in their office so long as a Presbytery stood, and among them were many holy in conversation and eminent in gifts; nor did a minister satisfy himself except his ministry had the seal of a divine approbation, as might witness him to be really sent of God. Indeed, in many places, the Spirit seemed to be poured out with the word, both by the multitude of the sincere converts, and also by the common work of reformation upon many who never came the length of a communion: there were no fewer than sixty aged people,

* Collier, vol. ii., p. 887.

men and women, who went to school, that even then they might be able to read the Scriptures with their own eyes. I have lived many years in a parish where I never heard an oath, and you might have rid many a mile before you had heard any; also, you could not for a great part of the country have lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and prayer. Nobody complained of our church government more than our taverners, whose ordinary lamentation was—their trade was broken, people were become so sober.* Referring to the journey of the commissioners for the establishing of the Episcopate, the last writer says:—“Many remarks upon the prodigality, profaneness, and terrible revelling at this progress, were made at this time. Such who entertained the commissioners (for the establishing of the bishops) best, had their dining-rooms, their drinking-rooms, their vomiting-rooms, and sleeping-rooms, when the company had *lost* their senses. I find it registered, that at Ayr the devil’s health was drunk at the Cross, in one of these debauches about the middle of the night; indeed it was a work of darkness.”† History has portrayed this period of Scottish history in the darkest colours. Pride, worldliness, and tyranny on the part of Sharp and his consecrated colleagues, were accompanied by an outbreak of crime and immorality of the most revolting kind.‡

Juxon, who had been raised at the Restoration to the see of Canterbury, was old and infirm. He could take no active part in the great revolution now rapidly advancing. The chief ecclesiastical power was in the hands of Sheldon, who filled the metropolitan see. The spirit of Laud was incarnate in this bishop.§ The Established Church was perfect. Con-

* Kirton’s Hist., pp. 68, 69. Woodrow, vol. i. Preliminary Dissertation, p. xi.

† Woodrow, vol. i., p. 282.

‡ Woodrow. Life of Sharp, &c.

§ “This was the incendiary!—this Sheldon—the most virulent enemy and poisoner of the English Church. Alas! she still feels the *taint* in her very bones. I look on Gardiner as canonizable, compared with Sheldon. . . . Much as I love the Church of England, I have no

formity to her ritual and teaching was essential to salvation. Dissent from any part of her formularies was a crime of the deepest dye. The toleration of sectaries would expose the nation to the most signal marks of the divine displeasure. To carry out his intolerant views, and effectually to check the growth of Nonconformity, a bill was brought into the House to enforce Uniformity in Religion. It passed, after some sharp debates, and received the royal assent on the 19th of April, 1662. It enacted, "That every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever, who now hath or enjoyeth any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this realm of England, or places aforesaid, shall in the church, chapels, or places of public worship belonging to his said benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's day, before the feast of St. Bartholomew which shall be in the year of our Lord God 1662, openly, publicly, and solemnly read the morning and evening prayers appointed to be read by, and according to, the said Book of Common Prayer, at the time then appointed; and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly, before the congregation then assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed, in these words and no others:—I, A. B., do here declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the form or manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.'" It was further enacted, that all persons holding any office in any way connected

hesitation in asserting (as my belief) that nothing in the history of the Inquisition was equally *wicked* as the conduct of Sheldon and the court after the Restoration."—Coleridge's Notes on English Divines, vol. ii., pp. 22, 45.

with the Church, "and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school, and any person instructing or teaching any youth in any house or private family as a tutor or schoolmaster, who shall, upon the first day of May in the year of our Lord God 1662, or at any time thereafter, be in possession of any deanery, &c. &c., shall, before the feast of St. Bartholomew aforesaid, make the following declaration:—I, A. B., do declare that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established; and I do declare that I do hold there lies no allegation upon me, or any other person, from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant, to endeavour any change or alteration of government either in Church or State; and that the same was in itself an unlawful oath, and imposed upon the subjects of this realm against the known laws and liberties of this kingdom."*

The Prayer Book had just been revised. Upon a part, to which very strong objections had been urged by the Non-conformists, the attention of the bishops had been fixed. They knew that these men had objections to many of the useless, because unmeaning, ceremonies of the Church, and they made them more binding. They knew that they regarded the Apocrypha as an uninspired book, and destitute of

* English Puritanism. Act of Uniformity. George Firman relates that a lady assured him that on her expressing her dislike to a member of Parliament of the Act, saying to him, "I see you are laying a snare in the gate;" he replied, "Aye, if we can find any way to catch the rogues, we will have them." "A dignitary of the Church and a man of note and figure, when a sober gentleman showed some regret that the door was so strait that many sober ministers could not have admission, replied, 'It was no pity at all; if we had thought so many of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter.'"—Noncon. Memorial, vol. i., p. 3. Life of Baxter, p. 182.

authority, and they inserted the fable of Bell and the Dragon, and the instructive narrative of Susanna and the Elders. They demanded also a reordination where the Episcopate had not imparted the Holy Spirit. Other things also augmented the evil. Such was the spirit of the bishops and the Ministry of Charles.* The Church must be purified. Not a taint was to remain of sectarian pollution. Clothed afresh in the garments of her past splendour, she was to fix the thoughts and concentrate the affections of the nation on herself for all time. Alas! never was mistake more glaring. A greater enemy to the Church than Sheldon was never found. The hostility of the Nonconformists was harmless, compared with the deadly injury inflicted by this man. To this day the wound is not healed. It is corrupting her life, and rendering her the sport of the infidel and the scorn of the sceptic. Cruel as the demand was, the sufferings of these servants of the loving Redeemer were augmented by the time fixed on for the application of the test. The ministry, in the main, had been supported by tithes. They were nearly due. The seceders would be deprived of their income, without any provision for their wants, and their successors to place and power would be put in full possession of what they should have enjoyed. During the rule of Cromwell, and indeed before, every ejected minister—and be it remembered only those were ejected who were immoral or disloyal—had been allowed one-fifth of the income; but no provision was made in this case. Probably fidelity to conscience was never more severely tested. The nation was agitated through all its length and breadth. All circles felt its power. We can easily conceive, though not so easily describe, the emotion

* Hallam, vol. ii., chap. xi. Against the terms of this, the objection has been urged that in many of the parishes the Act came into force before the pastors had time to obtain the book. We attach but little weight to this, inasmuch as the Act provides that, "without some lawful impediment, to be allowed and approved of by the ordinary of the place, neglect or refuse to do the same, &c.; or in case of such impediment, within one month after such impediment is removed," &c.

which would rise in the minds, not of ministers only, but of thousands of the holiest and best men in the land. Hope and fear would rapidly alternate in many. Intense would be the solicitude in the minds of ministers to know and to do what was right. With what care would they examine the requisitions of this iniquitous law, and the claims of their families! Who can tell the depth of anguish which rolled across the mind of many a faithful pastor, as he gazed on his perhaps delicate wife, and the suffering and want to which she and their loved but helpless little ones would be exposed, if the claims of conscience were heard! We may gauge the outward suffering—we may estimate the physical—but the hidden springs which poured their bitterest sufferings upon them will never be known. Our power to measure these utterly fails. In contrast to this, we can have no difficulty in imagining the emotions of Sheldon and his brethren as they reposed in their splendid palaces in fine linen—if not in Imperial purple—amidst the returned luxuries of the revived Church, waiting, with sanctified hypocrisy, the success of their infamous measures. Their feelings even then would be mixed. And how would these multiply their influence as the day approached! It came. Hypocrisy had unveiled itself before. Thousands had thrown aside the form of godliness. Vice and immorality prevailed in the palace where virtue and purity only a few months before had reigned; but on this day—memorable in the history of Christ's church—one of the brightest and most illustrious examples of the power of truth and of fidelity to Christ was witnessed. It told then; it tells still; and future ages will point to August the 24th, 1662, as a memorable proof of the potent influence and of the living power of true piety.*

* "It is somewhat bold in Anglican writers to complain, as they now and then do, of the persecutions they suffered at this period, when we consider what had been the conduct of the bishops before, and what it was afterwards. I do not know that any member of the Church of England was imprisoned under the Commonwealth, except for some political reason; certain it is, that the jails were not filled with them."—Hallam, vol. ii., p. 14.

It is difficult to tell the exact number of the faithful in this time of trial. More than 7,000 ministers had sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant; at least 5,000 now repudiated it in the terms of the Act. The number of the dissidents is variously reported. Collier, never disposed to exaggerate on this side of the question, gives them at 2,000; Calamy says 2,188; Mather estimates them at 2,500. Probably the first is near the mark. To these must be added the families of these heroic servants of Christ.

Only few of our brethren were found occupying "the public places" at this time. Many of them had resigned their appointments before. Previous writers of our history have given us a list, but it appears to us defective. Some names are inserted which should, we think, be left out, and others are omitted which should find a place there. Ivimey gives the following list:—

Henry Jessey, M.A.	W. Dell, M.A.	F. Bampfield, M.A.
Thos. Jennings.	P. Frenen.	J. Head.
J. Tombes, B.D.	D. Dyke, M.A.	R. Adams.
J. Marsden.	T. Hardeastle.	R. Browne.
G. Camelford.	J. Skinner.	— Baker.
J. Gosnold.	T. Quarrel.	T. Ewins.
L. Wise.	J. Donne.	P. Hobson.*
J. Gibbs.	J. Smith.	T. Ellis.
T. Pickford.	J. Chauncey, M.D.	

To these must be added Thomas Horrexe, vicar of Maldon,† Mr. Woodward, ejected from Southwood, E. Stennett, from

* We have seen that Hobson was in the North, and we find that Burton mentions him as a visitor to the intended University of Durham, which Cromwell intended to found. He must have been a non-resident. He is called Gentleman of Seggerston Hugh.—Diary, vol. ii., p. 536.

† Davids' Essex, p. 425. There is the following notice of Horrexe in an account of "Informations of Meetings in Hertfordshire," dated Jan. 2, 1664:—"Horrexe, late vicar of Maldon, in Essex, who hath bin severall times indited at y^e assize in that county for holding conventicles, is now preacher to y^e Anabaptists of Hertford, who meet on Sunday at y^e house of one Hules, a ffarmer, cald Brickingtonbury, to y^e number of 500 at a time, from y^e parts thereabout. These talke high, y^e the time of their liberty draweth neare. . . . And Horrexe, aforesaid, is to them as

Wallingford, B. Cox, and about thirteen in the Principality.* Let it be remembered that the public places were occupied by them under the authority of the Government, simply as places where they could preach the Gospel, and nothing more. Their churches were separate things. Their relation to the latter was pastoral—to the former it was only ministerial. Government dealt with ecclesiastical property then, as it may do again, as the property of the nation, and placed in the ecclesiastical structures such ministers of Christ as they approved, without restricting their teaching, or interfering, as a general principle, with their views of church government. It may be doubted if these men did more than the most consistent voluntary would do now, if placed in similar circumstances. Our brethren, at least, were simply teachers—not pastors in their places.

The reader may like to know with what feelings these men of God regarded their trial. Only with a sentence or two can we gratify this natural desire. With the fullest conviction that deep and bitter hostility from men in power, from the highest officer of the Government to the village constable, was cherished; that poverty, if not absolute want, stared them in the face; that their property and their domestic circles would be invaded by the ruthless hands of their foes; they went forth with a calmness all but unparalleled, and with a confidence in God of the very highest degree. "So long as we have a good God, a good cause, and a good conscience, why should our faces look pale for fear of man," said one of these confessors. "I beg," said another, "that

one of the furies to spurn them onward. He p(rea)ches to them, y^e he comes not to them with a sermon out of a booke, but with that which the Lord hath spoken to him, viz., y^e theye must not goe back nor bee daunted with any terrors, lest God spue them out of his mouth." Calamy says that Horrexe died at Battersea, about 1687. The institution of Head, his successor at Maldon, is given as "*per inconformitatum* Thomas Horrexe."

* Thomas's Hist., pp. 17, 18. Davids' Essex, pp. 425, 631. Life of J. Stennett.

you would not suffer our Nonconformity, for which we patiently bear the loss of our places, to be an act of unpeaccableness and disloyalty. We will do anything for his Majesty but sin. We will hazard anything for him but our souls. We hope we could die for him, only we dare not be damned for him. We make no question, however we may be accounted of here, we shall be found loyal and obedient subjects at our appearance before God's tribunal." "Brethren, I could do very much for the love I bear to you, but I dare not sin. I know some will tell you this is pride and peevishness in us, and that we would fain all be bishops; but the Lord be witness between them and us. I am sensible what it is to be reduced to a morsel of bread. Let the God of heaven and earth do what he will with me. If I could subscribe with a good conscience, I would; I would do anything to keep myself in the work of God; but to sin against God I dare not do it." Noble, true-hearted men! it was not your disloyalty to Charles, but your attachment to Jesus.* It was neither fancy, faction, nor humour, that made you not comply, but simply the fear of offending God. You gave up all, in the true martyr-spirit, rather than dishonour your greater Master. Of you it might be most truly said, "Ye took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing that for yourselves you *have in heaven a better and more enduring substance.*"

Professedly to mitigate the evils of this Act, Charles proposed an indulgence, and to grant some liberty in matters of religion to the suffering Nonconformists. For a short time it shed a gleam of light on their dark prospects, but the hypocrisy of the monarch was soon detected. Popery, not

* "The king by name, with all his dignitaries, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatiques, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better; and that, let the king think what he will, it is them that must help him in the day of war. For, generally they are the most substantial people, and the soberest."—Pepys, vol. ii., p. 118.

Nonconformity, the Papists, "who had deserved well of him," not the men who had hailed his return and prepared the way for it, were the objects of his Royal solitudes. Popular feeling in the House and in the nation was roused against it. Low as moral sentiment had fallen, Romanism was still detested. Pepys says:—"All the news is the great odds yesterday in the votes between them that are for the indulgence of Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30."*

In 1663 Juxon died, and Sheldon was raised to the throne of Canterbury. The change brought no relief to the persecuted. About the time of his enthroning, the nation witnessed another ruthless attack on the liberty of conscience. The Conventicle Act passed the Commons, and received the Royal assent. This infamous measure provided, amongst other things, "That any person above sixteen years of age, present at any meeting under pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manners than is the practice of the Church of England, where there are five persons more than the household, shall, for the first offence, by a justice of peace be recorded, and sent to jail three months, till he pay £5; and for the second offence, six months, till he pay £10; and the third time, being convicted by a jury, shall be banished to some of the *American plantations*, excepting *New England* or *Virginia*."† The former conviction could be effected without a jury. The squire, armed with magisterial authority, could call before him a suspected one, and sentence to fine or imprisonment without the intervention of a third party. We shall presently see with what fearful power it was made to act.

* Diary, vol. ii., p. 10. "A work published about this time, though in favour of the hierarchy, complains of about 3000 ministers admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; and of 1500 debauched men ordained; and of more unlearned men ordained; and of 1342 factious ministers a little before ordained," &c. The bishops had cast out the fine gold, and with a judicial blindness kept with complacency the dross.—Baxter's Life, p. 307.

† The Act may be seen in "English Puritanism."

Mad upon his pleasure, Charles appears to have grown insensible to all moral claims. The diaries already quoted give us a glimpse of the life of this abandoned prince. "The king do mind nothing but pleasure, and hates the very sight or thought of business. If any of the counsellors give him good advice, and move him to anything that is to his good and honour, the other party, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to listen to the advice of these old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies, when, God knows, it is they that now-a-days do most study his honour."* "The king," says another, "was inordinately fond of pleasure, and lamentably ignorant. It was difficult to get him to write even a short letter; only on one day in the week (Friday) would he devote any time to such duties; and even that day was often entirely disposed of other ways, and a whole week would elapse before he could be persuaded to repair the omission."† Absorbed in his seraglio; amusing himself and his mistresses with the most frivolous engagements; sometimes hunting a moth, or engaged in kindred sports, or planning new schemes of pleasure and extravagance unworthy of the monarch of a great nation, the appearance of the plague in the metropolis filled the abandoned king and his debauched court with alarm. The first thought on the confirmation of the report was flight. To escape with his concubines and the panderers to his lusts to a place of safety, was the absorbing desire. About the people there was no care. Death was everywhere. Every day augmented the consternation. Business almost ceased. Fear was in every house, and social intercourse was dreaded. Ten thousand a week at the crisis fell by the power of this fearful scourge.‡ Many

* Pepys, vol. ii., p. 37.

† Life of Clarendon, vol. i., p. 888.

‡ At least more than 100,000 died by this visitation in London and the villages around it. In a letter to Sancroft from J. Tillison, the writer

of the clergy fled, and left their charges uncared for. The bishops found it convenient to visit their dioceses, and give themselves up to the spiritual improvement of the rural population. Heedless of law, fearless of the contagion which everywhere was spreading, into this sea of death many of the persecuted ministers threw themselves. They occupied the deserted churches, and thousands hung on their lips with an intensity of feeling unknown before; into the lanes and dark alleys of the city, where Death was holding his court, they penetrated, warning, encouraging, and shedding the radiance of hope on the prospects of the dying. Their self-denial, their faithfulness, and their success, whilst they stood in the boldest relief to the heartlessness of their rivals, awakened no gratitude in their minds, but rather intensified the hatred of the Episcopate against them.

The monarch and his court had fled to Oxford. There the Parliament also was convened. Another Act of oppression was proposed. The Act of Uniformity imposed, with other things, upon every official person connected with the Church, an oath that it was not lawful, under any pretence whatever, to take up arms against the Sovereign, or persons commissioned by him. Under the influence of this it was now sought to bring all the Nonconformist clergy. It was now enacted, that all persons in holy orders that had not subscribed the Act of Uniformity should take the oath, and in case of refusal, they were rendered incapable of teaching schools, and prohibited from coming within five miles of any city, corporate town, or borough sending members to Parlia-

says:—"The desolation of the city is very great. That heart is either of steel or stone that will not lament this sad visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable woes! What eye would not weep to see so many habitations uninhabited—the poor sick not visited—the hungry not fed—the grave not satisfied. Death stares us continually in the face in every infected person that passes by us, in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The custom was in the beginning to bury the dead in the night only; but now both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it."—Ellis's Letters, &c.

ment. Sheldon aided Clarendon with all his might to carry this measure. Success crowned their efforts.

The influence of these measures on the Nonconformists generally, and the Baptists in particular, was great. To the full power of their foes they were now exposed, and the latter used it in no small degree. They had no protector but God. To no law could they appeal. No liberty could they plead. Everywhere they were met with dangers, imprisonments, or exile. The Act of Uniformity cast them from their livings, and cut off their ordinary means of support; the Conventicle Act sought to annihilate the congregations which had gathered around them, by fine, imprisonment, and exile; and now this Five-mile Act forbade their approach to cities and corporations where their influence had been felt, and where merchants and the trading community had gathered around them, and drove them into the sparsely occupied districts of the country, in too many cases the abodes of ignorance and vice, where their means of support were hourly diminished. Pepys thus notices the sufferings of some of these confessors:—"Many pious ministers of the Word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread; and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves everywhere, so as that they are hated and laughed at by everybody; among other things, for their excommunication, which they serve upon the least occasion almost that can be. . . . He gave me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish."* Some days after, he refers to this again:—"I saw several poor creatures carried by constables for being at a conventicle. They go like lambs, without any resistance. I would to God they would either conform, or be more wise and not be caught."†

But their cup of misery was not yet full. They were

* Diary, vol. i., pp. 116, 117.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 209.

prostrate before the successors of the apostles, but the foot of the conqueror was not yet on the neck of the foe. From the churches, from the cities and corporate towns of the kingdom, from the back streets and upper rooms where they met to carry on their simple worship, they had been hunted; their means of support had been abridged, if not entirely destroyed; still they did not quail before the mitred dignity, but lived and laboured on. Where did they reside? who gave them shelter? By what means did they support their families in the difficulties in which they had been plunged? These and other kindred questions did the mind of the imperious Sheldon revolve, as he lounged at ease amidst the splendour of Lambeth. His restless spirit could find no ease whilst Mordecai sat at the gate.

In 1665, the archbishop issued orders to all the bishops of his province, commanding them:—"Particularly certify me the names, surnames, and degrees of all nonconforming ministers that within their respective dioceses have been ejected out of any ecclesiastical benefice, promotion, or charge for non-subscription or nonconformity; and where, and how, and in what profession of life they do now live; and how they behave themselves in relation to the peace and quiet as well of the Church as of the State; and further, if any such Nonconformists shall have removed from any other diocese into any of their respective dioceses, that they certify the same thing concerning them," &c.* With relentless severity was this measure executed. The names and residences, the employment and other sources of support, of the Nonconformist ministry, were reported to the bishops, "in order," says Lister, "that their retreats might be discovered, and all sojourners within interdicted limits summarily dislodged. There are many unoffending men whose conscientious disinterestedness had deprived them of their ecclesiastical incomes, who were again excluded from the means of

* Life of Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 294.

subsistence which they had subsequently adopted, and were driven from the vicinity of friends who had ministered to their comfort and support. The first persecuting statutes had deprived them of their preferment; the second debarred them from public worship; the third drove them from their homes.* To this pitch had persecution risen within six years, from the king's Declarations promising "indulgence to tender consciences." No one was safe; no home was free from the intrusion of the spies of the bishops. Uncertainty and dread guarded the fireside. No act was so innocent, no word so harmless, but they might be urged against the persecuted. Into every city, town, village, and hamlet, the emissaries of evil penetrated. In almost every vicar and parish curate the Nonconformist found a bitter foe. The justice, the constable, the unprincipled, were banded against them. Their holiness was a living rebuke to the immorality which existed; their high principle a constant condemnation of the hypocrisy and deceit which abounded. Into the woods and the forests, which were not few at this time, many of them were driven. In dark places they were compelled to hide, when the jail was not their home. Under the cover of midnight they frequently met for worship, or in some hidden room carefully watched by some faithful one from the stealthy footfall of the unprincipled. The sufferings of our brethren may form the subject of another chapter, and we will only give one or two examples of individual suffering here. Page after page could be covered, but selection must be the rule.

The case of Kiffin shows to what means the friends of the Church had recourse. Plots, intended murder, and risings were laid to the charge of our brethren. "About midnight," says Mr. Kiffin, "I was seized by Mr. Wickham, one of the messengers of the Privy Council, by order of the Duke of Buckingham. By him I was given in charge to Mr. Clifford, a

* Cardwell, vol. ii., p. 275. This inquiry was repeated in 1678.

gentleman belonging to the duke. Many others also were seized at the same time. I was taken to York House, and continued there till the next night, under the care of soldiers. In the evening the duke came to me, accompanied by several others, and told me I would have hired two men to kill the king, saying, if they would not do it, I would do it myself; adding, if I would confess the truth, care should be taken that I should not suffer. I was greatly amazed at the charge, and returned the duke for answer, 'that I would rather he should charge me with the crime, than I should give the least entertainment to such an intention so much as in my thoughts; for, I thanked God, I did abhor from my soul such a design against the meanest man in the kingdom, much more towards his Majesty;' and I further said, that the person could not be considered his Majesty's friend that should say a word of the saving the life of any man, if in his wits, that should speak of any such thing! The duke told me he knew I could speak well enough for myself, having so often spoken before the Council; but what he had charged me with would be proved by two witnesses, and ordered Clifford to deliver me to the soldiers till the rest had been examined, whose crimes, it seemed, were not so great as mine. I certainly felt some consternation, though I knew my innocence; but it pleased the Lord, whose care and goodness had been extended towards me in all difficulties to that day, greatly to revive me, bringing that Scripture with great power to my soul, Isa. xli. 10, 'Fear not, I am with thee,' &c. . . . I was made willing to submit to whatever the pleasure of God should be towards me in this matter. About two hours after, when all were examined, and several had been sent to the Gate-House, Mr. Wickham requested the duke that I might be his prisoner; it was accordingly so ordered that I went to his house, where I went to bed and slept soundly. The next day Lady Ranelagh came to visit me. She advised me to write to the Chancellor to acquaint him with my present condition, and offering to carry it to him herself.

She did so. The Chancellor having read it, told her there was nothing of those things before them in Council, and said he would lay the matter before the king. The next morning the letter was read, and the Secretaries of State were asked if any charge against me had been received. On their saying there was none, an order for my discharge was issued without the payment of fees. I thought the storm was over, and that I was again delivered out of the hands of wicked and unreasonable men. Having been informed of the kindness of the Chancellor, I went the next morning to his house to acknowledge my obligation to him. While I stood without, I saw go to him the Lord Chief-Justice Bridgman; Sir G. Palmer, the Attorney-General; Sir H. Finch, the Solicitor-General; and Sir R. Brown.* After some time I was called in, and asked if I was still a prisoner. I told him I had been, but was come to thank him for presenting my case to his Majesty, and obtaining my pardon. He asked me how it was that I was released. I said by order of the king and Council. He asked for the order. I told him the original was in the messenger's hands, but that I had a copy of it. He told me that there had

* "This man, who had been a very active partizan during the civil war and the Protectorate, had manifested strong Royalist tendencies. He had been forbidden the House; but amidst the tide of loyal feeling, 'the Acts passed against Major-General Brown, a timber merchant in London, who had greatly distinguished himself of late, were abrogate, and liberty was given him to resume his place in the House.'"—French Ambassador, Guizot, vol. ii., p. 363. The fury of this apostate is thus indicated by a sufferer from his malice:—"Why are we in several gaols and dungeons in most counties in England, where are found no evil doers, when they have nothing against us in anything save in the matter of our God;—who saith by his Son, '*Swear not at all!*' Nay, why are, and have been, several imprisoned that have sworn? . . . Why, cry out several in Newgate, are we thus rudely imprisoned by Richard Brown, and kept in without trial? Why were we—cry out some thirty of them, committed to Newgate the 10th day of Abib (Exo. xiii. 4), or the first month—driven from our peaceable meeting out of Birch Lane, by the city marshal, till, the 18th day after, we were carried before him; the tenderest of whose mercies are mere cruelty?"—Adis' Fanatics' Alarm to the Mayor, p. 22.

been such an order issued, but that last night, just afterwards, the Duke of Buckingham came and brought in the charge; and it was ordered that I should remain with the messenger, and that I must return again to his care, and that I should have a fair and speedy trial. I thanked his lordship, and said I was very willing to do so, knowing my innocence. He wished me to go to the back stairs at Whitehall, and speak to one of the king's pages who attended there, and desire him to tell the king that I was there. I went immediately. The king was gone out, and I returned to the city, and took two sufficient citizens with me to tender bail, if it were demanded, and hastened back again. As the providence of God ordered it, just as the king came into the palace, the Chancellor had come into the king. At the door I was remanded, and after waiting an hour, the messenger came to tell that the king said I might go home. He asked if there was a messenger with me; but finding none, he said that if there had been one, he had orders to discharge me, but I must be ready at all times to come when his Majesty sent for me." The reflections of this good man, on this interposition of the Divine hand, we dare not omit. "This great deliverance was cause for wonder to all that heard of it: for many who were taken at the same time, whose charges were not by any means so high as mine, were kept in the Gate-House more than six months, although nothing was ever exhibited against them from their commitment until their release."*

To another scene the reader's attention must now be turned. Not only did the men in power try to silence the voice, but they would not allow their victims to use the pen with impunity. Deprived to a great extent of the liberty of ministering, some of our brethren sought to inculcate the truth of God through the medium of the press.

* Life, pp. 47-51. We have slightly abridged this. It is due to Hyde to say, that in more than one instance he showed favour to Kiffin and his friends.

Amongst these was Benjamin Keach. He had suffered much before. He had been dragged from his meeting-house by troopers, threatened to be trampled to death with their horses, and was only saved from this fate by the interposition of an officer. Thrown across the back of one of the animals, he was conducted to prison. About this time he printed and published a small book, entitled "*The Child's Instructor; or, A New and Easy Primer.*" A copy of this little book falling into the hands of Mr. Stafford, a magistrate of the county, he went with a constable to Mr. Keach's; and, seizing all the copies, bound him over to the assizes at £100, and two sureties in bonds of £50 each. The assizes were held at Aylesbury, October 8th, 1664. Chief-Justice Hyde presided. At an early period the prisoner was called before him. Hyde was one of those time-serving men who had no sense of justice, and disgraced the bench on which they sat. Ridiculing Mr. Keach's person and profession, he held up the little book, and asked the culprit if it was not his production. Mr. Keach's assenting brought down another dignified tirade against him, alike expressive of the ignorance of the man and the unfitness of the ermined villain for his office. The following samples of his insolence may be selected:—

"*Chief-Justice.*—In your book you have made a new creed; I have seen three creeds before, but I never saw a fourth till you made one.

"*Keach.*—I have not made a creed, but a confession of the Christian faith.

"*Chief-Justice.*—What is a creed, then?

"*Keach.*—Your lordship said that you had never seen but three creeds, but thousands of Christians have made a confession of their faith!"

Upon the nature of baptism and the ministry his lordship expatiated; and Mr. Keach, attempting to correct his mistakes, was insolently rebuked, and told that he should not preach there, or give the reasons of his *dumnable doctrines* to seduce and infect the lieges of the king.

During the preparation of the indictment, the Chief-Justice, breaking through all law and decency, represented him to the grand jury as a man of the most dangerous principles, attempting to poison the minds of children by his pernicious principles; and exhorted them to do their duty when the bill came before them. The next day the judge was gratified with the success of his appeal; a true bill was brought in against the author. Standing at the bar, the following indictment was read by the clerk:—"Thou art here indicted by the name of Benjamin Keach, of Winslow, in the county of Bucks, for that thou, being a seditious, heretical, and schismatical person, evily and maliciously disposed, and disaffected to his Majesty's Government and the government of the Church of England, didst maliciously and wickedly, on the first day of May, in the 16th year of our Sovereign Lord the King, write, print, publish, or cause to be written, printed, and published, one seditious and venomous book, entitled '*The Child's Instructor; or, A New and Easy Primer;*' wherein are contained, by way of question and answer, these *damnable positions*, contrary to the Book of Common Prayer and the liturgy of the Church of England; that is to say, in one place you have thus written:—*Ques.* Who are the right subjects of baptism? *Ans.* *Believers*, or godly men and women only who can make confession of their faith and repentance. And in another place you have maliciously and wickedly written these words:—*Ques.* How shall it go with the saints? *Ans.* O, very well; it is the day they have longed for; then shall they hear that sentence, '*Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you;*' and so shall they reign with Christ on the earth a thousand years, even on Mount Zion, in the new Jerusalem, for there will Christ's throne be, on which they must sit down with him." Omitting a paragraph, as not necessary to a correct view of the proceedings, the indictment proceeds. "In another place, you have wickedly and maliciously written these plain English words:—*Ques.*

Why may not infants be received into the church now, as they were under the law? *Ans.* Because the fleshly seed is cast out, though God under that dispensation did receive infants in a lineal way by generation; yet he that hath the key of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, that shutteth and no man openeth, hath shut up that way into the church, and hath opened the door of regeneration, receiving in none now but believers. *Ques.* What, then, is the case of infants? *Ans.* Infants that die are members of the kingdom of glory, though they be not members of the visible church. *Ques.* Do they, then, that bring in infants in a lineal way by generation err from the way of truth? *Ans.* Yea, they do; for they make not God's Holy Word their rule, but do presume to open the door that Christ hath shut, and none ought to open," &c. Other points are alleged, but they need not be quoted. Such now, gentle reader, were the grave charges for which an Englishman and a Christian minister was deprived of liberty, imprisoned, and called before the bar of his country! The trial was a mockery of justice. Bullied by the judge, who compelled him to plead before he would allow him a copy of the indictment—the charges in it were compared with the tendency of the Prayer Book. Being found in opposition to its pernicious doctrines—the jury, after some delay, and an abusive charge from Hyde, brought him in guilty. Upon this, the Chief-Justice said:—"Benjamin Keach, you are here convicted for writing, printing, and publishing a seditious and schismatical book, for which the court's judgment is this, and the court doth award, that you shall go to gaol for a period of fourteen days without bail; and that next Saturday, to stand upon the pillory at Ailsbury, in the open market, for the space of two hours, from eleven o'clock till one, with a paper on your head with this inscription: 'For writing, printing, and publishing a schismatical book, entitled *The Child's Instructor; or, A New and Easy Primer.*' And the next Tuesday, to stand in the same manner in the market of

Winslow; and there your book shall be openly burnt before your face by the common hangman, in disgrace of you and your doctrine. And you shall forfeit to the king's Majesty the sum of £20; and shall remain in gaol until you find sureties for your good behaviour and appearance at the next assizes, there to renounce your doctrines, and make such public submission as shall then be enjoined you." "I hope I shall never renounce those doctrines which are taught in that book," said the heroic sufferer, at the close of this unjust sentence.*

To the letter, and more, was this order carried out. In the market-places of these two towns, Mr. Keach appeared on the appointed days. The sympathies of some were warmly expressed, whilst the insults and scoffs of others marked the scene. Such was English liberty in the days of the restored Stuarts; such is a sample of the feeble evidence on which devout men were exposed to suffering!

The confessors were not alone in their complaints of the cruelty of these men of peace. The conduct of the bishops awakened in other minds—minds that had no sympathy, because they could not comprehend the lofty principles by which the Baptists and their brethren were influenced—the deepest anxiety. As politicians, if not as enlightened Christian men, they could see the monstrous evils of the course which Sheldon and his brethren were pursuing. The conduct of many of the clergy was in striking contrast to that of the persecuted ministers. With the loftiest pretensions to sanctity and Divine authority, immorality and vice were wide-spread and unchecked in the presence of these men. Every barrier was overleaped, and true piety had retired from the cathedral to the watched haunts of the fanatics. As a sample of the feeling indicated, we select the following.† Referring to the

* We have abridged Crosby's Narrative, vol. ii., pp. 180, 209.

† Pepys' Diary, vol. iv., pp. 26, 27, 41, 42. "Wickedness, like a flood, is like to drown our English world. It begins already to be above the tops of the mountains; it has almost swallowed up all; our youth,

bishops, the writer says:—"I know they must fall, and they are near it, taking all the ways they can to undo themselves, and showing us the way." "The king is for toleration, though the bishops be against it." "Much discourse about the bad state of the Church, and how the clergy are come to be men of no worth in the world; and as the world do now generally discourse, they must be reformed; and I believe the hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no—the king being offended with them and set upon it, as I hear." In the highest circle this feeling was growing. About this time, Clarendon, with all his faults, and they were not few—the friend of his father, and the devoted adherent of Charles in all his wanderings, and since his restoration the able minister of the crown—was driven into exile. Men steeped in corruption grasped the helm of the State, and left the monarch unchecked in his senseless and lascivious career. The influence of this is thus given by a writer whose testimony cannot well be doubted by the friends of monarchy and the Church:—"The king was now at liberty to pursue his own projects, not only without restraint, but even with the aid of counsellors more fertile in expedients and more regardless about consequences than he himself was. And this was the darkest and most intricate period of a reign which may justly be called throughout the greater portion of it, the mystery of iniquity. Within the compass of a few years the king resolved to be independent of Parliament, entered into a war to which the nation was generally adverse, declared his treasury insolvent, united himself with France, and became the pensioner of the French monarch, formed a secret compact to surrender the liberties and religion of his own kingdom," &c.*

middle age, old age, and all are almost carried away by this flood. O debauchery, debauchery, what hast thou done in England! Thou hast corrupted our young men, and hast made our old men beasts; thou hast deflowered our virgins, and hast made matrons bawdy. Thou hast made our earth *'to reel to and fro like a drunken man,'*" &c.—Bunyan, vol. iii., p. 593.

* Cardwell, vol. ii., p. 282 (Note).

Another view our readers must have, if they are rightly to understand the circumstances in which our brethren were placed. Not only was the fountain of honour, as it is called, thoroughly polluted, but the Senate was probably never more corrupt. Lost to all moral, to all patriotic feeling, the legislators were selfish, and luxuriated in the misery and ruin of their country. Well might one of England's noblest sons say, referring to the Lower House:—"It is too notorious to be concealed, that near a *third part of the House have beneficial offices under his Majesty* in the Privy Council, the army, the navy, the law, the household, the revenue, both in England and Ireland, or in attendance on his Majesty's person. . . . Then those that are both hungry and out of office make another third part of this House of Commons. There are such as having observed by what steps, or rather leaps or strides, others of this House have ascended into the highest places of the kingdom, do upon measuring their own birth, estates, parts, and merits, think themselves as well and better qualified, in all respects, as their former companions. They are generally men who, by speaking against the French, inveighing against the debaucheries of the court, talking of the ill-management of the revenue, and such popular flourishes, have cheated the country into electing them, &c. In money matters they seem at first difficult; *but having been discoursed with in private*, they are soon set right, and *begin to understand* it better themselves, and also begin to correct their brethren. There is a third part still remaining, but as contrary in themselves as light and darkness; they are either the worst or the best of men; the first are the most profligate persons, that have neither estate, conscience, nor good manners; yet are therefore picked out as the necessary men, and whose votes will go furthest; the *charges of their elections are defrayed*, whatever they amount to; *tables are kept for them at Whitehall*, and through Westminster they may be ready at hand within call at a question: all of these are

received into pension, and know their pay-day, which they never fail of; insonmuch that a great officer (the Lord Treasurer) was pleased to say, that they came about him like so many jackdaws for cheese at the end of the session. If they be not in Parliament, they must be in prison." Justice demands that we should add, from this faithful amongst the faithless:—"But notwithstanding these, there is a handful of salt, a sparkle of soul that hath hitherto preserved this gross body from putrefaction; some gentlemen that are constant, invariable, indeed Englishmen; such as are above hopes and fears, or dissimulation; that can neither flatter nor betray their king or country; but being conscious of their own loyalty and integrity, proceed through good and bad report to acquit themselves in their duty to God, their prince, and their country."*

Nor was this all. Official life was as polluted as senatorial. Places were bought and sold as any other article in the market. Many of these passed through the hands of the court ladies. The wretched mistresses of the wretched monarch were often the brokers in these matters, and the bribes they received were no trifles. Nay, the highest personages in the land, as well as the ministers, participated in this corruption.† "There was one Graham who told me that he knew the designs the king of France had upon Eng-

* Andrew Marvell's Works. "Being absolutely resolved to sell my place, and being dispensed with by his Royal Highness (Duke of York) from any attendance in it till I have disposed of it, you may imagine I shall be very glad to make the best of it," &c. "And considering both Mr. Loftus' desire and his conditions, if I ask £2,000 for it and take £1,800, I think I do not use him ill; if he seems very averse to any such proposition, which I desire may be insisted on awhile, the best terms he shall ever receive from me shall be £1,600, of which I will have £1,200 down," &c.—Saville Correspondence, Let. xxviii., p. 30. Camden Society.

† Dalrymple supplies abundant proof, vol. ii.; also Burnet, Raresby, and others. Lady Danby and the Countess of Lauderdale were regular traffickers in these matters. "I presume you know that H. Sidney hath bought Mr. Godolphin's place of the Master of the Robes; gives £5,000," &c.—Saville Correspondence, pp. 46-48.

land; that he distributed every year £3,000,000; that he knew who it is gone to; and if the king give him orders, he will discover it," &c.* The fountain of justice was not pure. Examples of the violation of all law by the highest judicial authority have already passed before us. They existed everywhere. The highest and most important transactions of the court were marked by manifest injustice. Trial by jury was a farce; fine or imprisonment frequently compelled the jurors to give a verdict the opposite of truth. In many cases the wishes of the court ruled, not law. No man could be sure of the decision of the court. He might be right; no doubt could exist as to the case; still he would retire with defeat and heavy costs. The Conventicle Acts and other oppressive statutes were made to tell with fearful effect. In the hands of the notorious Justice Keeling, and men of his class, they became terrible instruments of oppression.

It is not easy to conceive, much less to describe, the condition of the population at this period. The head and heart of the community were immoral, vicious, and degraded. A writer, by no means of Puritan or Nonconformist sympathies, says:—"In came a torrent of atheism and debauchery, as if all sense of good and evil was quite obliterated out of their minds. What cursing, swearing, whoring, blaspheming, even in the face of the sun! All manner of filthiness, even to a prodigy! And he was no gentleman, nor person of any honour, that had not a two hours' sitting at wine; or invented some new modish oath; or found out the late intrigue between the L. B. and L. P.; laughed at the fopperies of priests, and made lampoons and drolleries on the sacred Scriptures themselves. This was and is the practice of our young nobility and gentry, to the great scandal and reproach of their families."† This witness is true, not

* Sidney's Diary, vol. i., p. 267.

† Great Interest of King and People. Maseres Tracts, vol. i., p. 53. Another glimpse of social life:—"I have been all this day sick to agonies

only in relation to the higher classes, but, in the main, to the community at large.

The fall of Clarendon placed the full power of the State in the hands of men who have scarcely been surpassed for infamy in the annals of the nation—Shaftesbury, Arlington, Buckingham, Clifford, and Lauderdale.⁵ From the initials of their names, it was called the *Cabal* ministry. Clifford and Arlington were Romanists; Buckingham, the most debauched man of his age, was an Atheist; Ashley was a Deist; and Lauderdale as unprincipled as any of them. Under the guidance of these men the court aimed at the diffusion of Popery, and the establishment of arbitrary power. Romanists had suffered but little since the Restoration. Laws had been enacted, and edicts fulminated against them, but Charles had managed to neutralize the one and counteract the other. In every way the royal convert to Rome aided them.† Under the mask of favour to the Non-

with four days' swallowing more good ale and ill sack than one would have thought a country town would hold; and this worthy employment must be begun again to-morrow, though I burst for it."—An Election of Newark. Saville Correspondence, p. 37. "You would have laughed to see how pleased I seemed to be in kissing of old women, and drinking wine with handfuls of sugar, and great glasses of burnt brandy—three things much against the stomach, yet with a very good will, because to serve him I most honoured."—Sidney's Diary, vol. i., p. 119.

* The reader may consult Burnet's *Own Times*. "It is almost unnecessary to remind the reader, that Lauderdale was one of the most depraved characters of his age, and totally without principle, whether considered as a Covenanter in the reign of Charles I., or as an enemy to that party a few years afterwards."—Napier's *Montrose*, &c., p. 453.

† But little doubt can be cherished about Charles's early reconciliation to Rome. Dalrymple supplies, we think, abundant proof of this. Later still we find the following:—"The king of Great Britain, being convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and resolved to declare himself a Catholic and to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, thinks the assistance of his most Christian Majesty necessary to facilitate his design; it is therefore agreed and concluded upon, that his most Christian Majesty shall furnish to the king of England, before the said declaration, the sum of £200,000, &c. And further, that the said lord, the most Christian king, shall assist his Britanick Majesty with troops and money as often

conformists, he urged on his Parliament a toleration of dissidents from the Church. Sheldon and his persecuting brethren had lost much of their influence with the court on the fall of their patron. But it was not so in the Senate. Many causes contributed to this. Our limits forbid details. It is enough to say that, though the court brought all its influence to bear on the Commons, the proposition was rejected. More; the House in 1670 passed a Bill enacting additional and more severe clauses to the Conventicle Acts. Upon all classes of Nonconformists it fell with terrible power. No motives more powerful could be presented to the minds of the abandoned to annoy and distress the Baptists than this bill supplied. It gave one-third of the fines inflicted on offenders "to the informer or his assistants, regard being had to their diligence and industry in discovering, dispensing, and punishing the said conventicles." It inflicted on the teacher of any conventicle £20 for the first offence, and £40 for the second. Upon those who allowed their barns, houses, yards, to be used for any service, the fine was £20. The bill also provided an easy process by which conviction might be obtained. Distrainment on the offender's goods was allowed, and in case of poverty, on those of others. Authority was given to all constables and head-boroughs to break open and enter any place where they might suspect the offenders to be assembled. Under these provisions, and in the hands of such men, the reader will easily conceive the distress and sufferings which our brethren endured throughout the nation. The remainder of this volume might be filled with the most affecting details.* Many will appear in another chapter. The oppression fell upon all classes. The people as well as the ministers suffered. Cutlers, shoe-

as there shall be need, in case the subjects of the said lord the king shall not acquiesce with the said declaration, but rebel against his said Britanick Magesty," &c.—Leagues, &c. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 49. Charles's Ministers bribed by France. *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 82.

* Ample details will be found in the pages of Crosby and Ivimey.

makers, tanners, drapers, grocers, gardeners, maltsters, and the names of almost every class of trades appear in the records. Fines were inflicted of every degree, from five shillings and upwards. Their houses were broken open, their goods seized, and in the public markets they were exposed for sale. The distress of families, the tears of the widow, and the plaints of the children, had no effect on the minds or hearts of these men. Invincible hatred to the principles of our brethren, and the love of gain, were motives of the very highest power in this case. The spirit and temper of the judges and justices were such, that, when any of these men came before them with accusations against our brethren, they were zealous in aggravating their crime, and aiding in every way in their oppression. Many of these informers were men who had formerly associated with them, united in their assemblies, and made loud and earnest professions of their attachment to Christ's holy Gospel. Seasons of persecution, whilst they agitate the Church to its centre, invariably separate from it the formalist and the hypocritical.*

Such a course of action on the part of the men in office was not powerless. Indeed, long ere this the splendid vision which the Restoration had opened to some minds had vanished. Presbyterian songs of gladness† had given place to the wail of sorrow. Persecution had fallen with a heavy

* Crosby, vol. ii., p. 258.

† “Mr. Newcome, of Manchester, addressed the people of that town in a strain of vehement indignation against the persons who had abolished monarchy for their own selfish ends, and nearly destroyed religion itself.” “Mr. Heyrick preached on the day of the king's coronation from the words, ‘And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony, and they made him king and anointed him; and they clapped their hands and said, God save the king,’” &c.—Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 120. Other examples are given. “The Presbyterian pulpits do thunder against our electors, and Baxter, the Corypheus of Worcestershire, is come here for no good. I am certain he labours much to preach on Sunday before Monk, who is not now to be altered.”—Lady Willoughby to Hyde. *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 731.

hand on those who hailed the return of the exiled monarch as an era of peace and liberty. The iron yoke of Cromwell, which was to give place to silken cords and a gentle and loving sceptre, was followed by the reign of the lowest vice and the most revolting corruption. The palace of St. James's, adorned by the lofty but stern virtue of the Puritan Protector, had become the abode of the courtesan, and the home of every corruption, and the living embodiment of all that was opposed to purity and domestic virtue. The influence of the monarch filled a wide circle. His example operated with fearful effect. Says one:—"The exiled and outcast king seemed to have brought back the seven spirits of holy writ—two more besides the personages in the Cabal; and the last state of England was worse than the first. There never was a period in honest England in which all the virtues and even the decencies of life were so disregarded."* The Dutch war, which covered the nation with infamy, deepened the feeling of discontent.† The past was again compared with the present. "The relation of England to Europe during the Protectorate—the might of her navies, the extent of her commerce, and the terror of her name in countries which had no sympathy with her religion—rose up before the public, and tinged the dark cloud which had been cast on the memory of the great ones of that wondrous period of our national history with a gleam of brightness." "It is strange," says the old diarist, "how everybody do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him; while here a prince comes in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willing-

* Warburton, vol. iii., p. 465.

† "The night the Dutch burnt our ships," says Pepys, "the king did sup with Lady Castlemaine at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and they were all mad in hunting a poor moth. The king has taken ten times more pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stuart when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom."—Diary, vol. iii., pp. 262, 268.

ness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time."* Danger was apprehended by many, and a leader of courage might have closed the despicable dynasty of the Stuarts sooner by some years than it was.†

The policy of the court about this time underwent a great change. Persecution was to give place to the spirit of toleration. The favour of the Dissenters was to be cultivated. The penal laws were to be suspended, and liberty of conscience, to some extent, was to be enjoyed. In 1672, the Indulgence was issued. Charles confesses that coercion had failed. For twelve years the experiment had been tried, and with only a very little fruit. Now, he says:—"We think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized by several statutes and Acts of Parliament." In relation to Dissenters, the will of the monarch was, "That none of our subjects do presume to meet in any place, until such place be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be allowed by us." His Majesty was prompted to this act by his clemency and indulgence; but every violation of the Declaration would be visited with the strongest marks of the royal displeasure. The Declara-

* Diary, vol. iii., p. 289. At a little earlier period we discern the following contrast:—"Of all the old army, now you cannot see a man begging about the streets; but what? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker; the lieutenant a baker; this a brewer; that a haberdasher; this common soldier a porter: and every man in his apron and frock, &c., as if they had never done anything else; whereas the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing and stealing; running into people's houses by force, oftentimes to carry away something; and this is the difference between the temper of the one and the others," &c.—Pepys, vol. ii., pp. 118, 119.

† Even the ultra Royalist Evelyn could tell Pepys, "That wise men do purpose to remove abroad what they have, for that we must be revised, our case being so past relief; the kingdom so much in debt, and the king minding nothing but his lusts."—Diary, vol. iii., p. 321.

tion failed. Most saw that it was not Protestantism that was shielded by this, but Popery. Many of the Presbyterians embraced this liberty and took out licences, and here and there Baptists did the same; but the mass of them could not. It recognized a power they could not acknowledge. On all grounds, both civil and political, their compliance would have involved a sacrifice of principle. But the existence of the Declaration was only very brief. In the Senate, the right and the tendency of the Act were questioned; and so strong was the feeling of the Lower House against it, not so much from hostility to Dissent as to Popery, that it was speedily recalled.*

The growth of Popery had been rapid. All the influences which the court durst bring were thrown around it. Facts place it beyond all doubt that Charles for years, if not before his restoration, had been a convert to Popery.† At the Duke of York's he often met with Lords Arlington, Clifford, and Arundel, to advise on the best methods of advancing Romanism in the kingdom.‡ Even Clarendon, the patron of Sheldon, had invoked the aid of the Romanists in behalf of a king "who will perform whatsoever can reasonably be asked of him, and under whom his Catholic subjects might enjoy a full happiness, flatter themselves that they shall enjoy protection and security under these devils, who, in the end, will extirpate them out of all their dominions," &c.§

The Duke of York left no doubt about his state. More

* Hallam hints that Charles's women prevailed on him to bow to the wishes of the Commons.—Vol. ii., p. 90.

† *Vide* Evidence in Jessey's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 352.

‡ Clarke's Life of James II., vol. i., pp. 441, 442.

§ Life, vol. iii., pp. 55, 56. "The Duchess of Orleans had prevailed on her brother to relinquish," says Hume, "the most settled maxim of honour and policy, and to finish his engagement with Lewis for the destruction of Holland, as well as for the subsequent change of religion in England."—Parl. Hist., vol. iv., p. 455. "Papists and swarms of sectaries now boldly showing themselves."—Evelyn's Mem., vol. i., p. 450.

conscientious than Charles, he had declined keeping up the awful hypocrisy of communing with the Establishment, though urged again and again to continue the solemn mockery by his unprincipled brother. The conviction was growing in the national mind, that, under the combined influence of the two brothers and the reckless men at the head of the State, an effort would be made to restore the detested system of Popery. Probably from this feeling, as much as from hatred to Nonconformity, the Legislature added another Act to its oppressive enactments. We refer to the *Test Act*. This bill passed the Legislature in 1673. It excluded from all places of civil trust all persons who did not receive the Sacrament in the State Church, and required the renunciation of the cardinal doctrine of Rome—the dogma of transubstantiation. The penalty of disobedience was a fine of £500; incapacity for suing in the law courts; for being an executor or administrator in any case. No legacy or deed of gift could be enjoyed, and the guardianship of children was taken from them. The whole influence of the court was exerted against the bill. Pity for the Nonconformists was urged. Their loyalty was undoubted, and the measure would be as unjust as it was cruel. The representatives of these men repudiated the former. They expressed their willingness to suffer, rather than impair any Act which would retard the progress of a system which would enthrone both a civil and a religious despotism in the nation. This Act told with power on many of the class at which it was aimed. The Duke of York gave up his office, and the most unprincipled and dangerous men in the ministry were compelled to retire to private life.* From this vantage ground the Commons advanced, and implored the interposition of the king against the marriage of the duke with a Popish princess.

* Parl. Hist., vol. iv. Hallam, vol. ii., pp. 91, 92. Neal, vol. ii., pp. 566, 567.

The patriotism of the Nonconformists was followed on the one hand by the efforts of the Lower House to ameliorate their condition, but the indulgence was defeated in the Upper House through the bitterness of Sheldon; on the other hand, the hatred of the court was kindled afresh. From all restraint the penal laws were now released. The mitred priests, acting in consort with the drunken ruffians, interfered again with the peaceful habits and religious services of the brethren. Sheldon employed his old tactics. Circular letters were addressed by him to the bishops, commanding them to tell their officials to employ informers to ascertain everything about the Dissenters in their parishes, and to report to him. The labour was one of love in many cases. From place to place the ministers were driven. Many fled to the New World—the plantations, as the Colonies were then called. Owen had made arrangements for his departure, but was prevented by the express command of the king. The details of the sufferings of other bodies may be found in various works on this subject.*

Amongst this cloud of confessors, our brethren were not the least. Compression is necessary; our pages might be crowded with examples of moral heroism of the highest order. In every way the hand of the oppressors fell heavily upon them. Their meetings were disturbed, their ministers imprisoned and fined, and their people subjected to every form of annoyance. Informers everywhere surrounded them. They were followed in the streets by these colleagues of the Episcopate. Into their secret retirement they intruded; and like the frogs of Egypt, they were found everywhere. No means came amiss to these men, which could impair the confidence of the public in our brethren, or hold them up to the scorn or contempt of the community. We have an example before us. "In 1673 was issued a pamphlet, under

* The reader may consult Neal, Calamy's Noncon. Memorial, Baxter's Life, Burnet's Own Times, &c.

the alarming title of ‘*Mr. Baxter Baptized in Blood.*’” To give weight to its statements, Dr. Samuel Parker, a man of some note in the ecclesiastical world, licensed the publication. It professes to give an account of a horrible murder committed by four Baptists, at Boston, in New England, upon a minister, a Mr. Josiah Baxter, because he had defeated them in a dispute. It assumes the form of a narrative, detailing the place, the names of the disputants, the speeches—and then gives all the particulars of the tragedy. Full details are given of their entering his house, seizing the godly man, whipping him, then disembowelling him, and finally flaying him alive, amidst the shrieks of his family lying bound before him. This libel was professedly published by the brother of the murdered man, Mr. B. Baxter, residing in Fenchurch Street, London. The writer says, in closing:—“I have penned and published this narrative *in perpetuam rei memoriam*, that the world may see the spirit of these men, and that it may stand as an eternal memorial of their cruelty and hatred to all orthodox ministers.” Though the animus was evident, its effect was not powerless. Happily, the infamous fraud was soon detected. Mr. Kitfin, whose influence at court had often been exerted on behalf of the oppressed, brought the matter before the Privy Council. After a rigid examination, the following order was issued by that board:—“Whereas there is a pamphlet lately published, entitled ‘*Mr. Baxter Baptized in Blood,*’ containing a horrible murder committed by four Anabaptists upon the person of Mr. Josiah Baxter, near Boston, in New England; the whole matter having been inquired into and examined at the Council board, is found altogether false and fictitious.” More than this:—“The licenser, Dr. Samuel Parker, being also acquainted with the whole matter, confesseth his mistake, and too sudden credulity in the licensing so strange a pamphlet, as appears by the testimonial under his own hand.” The sale was interdicted by order of the Lord Mayor: and some of the publishers were imprisoned. The

strongest suspicion was fixed on this violent churchman as the author of this attempt to identify the sect with the followers of John Leyden and the Munster Anabaptists.* With the exploits of these men, the brethren had been pelted by all sects. Of this treatment, Bunyan complains again and again. "It was rumoured that he was a witch, a pirate, a highwayman." His moral character was impeached, and charges of the most infamous kind alleged against it. They charged me," he says, "that I went thither (to London) to plot and raise division, and make insurrections: which God knows was a slander." The mud stuck for a while, but soon fell off, and left the garment unsullied by the contact.

The Society of Friends, or Quakers as they were called, originated at a much later period than the Presbyterians, or either of the Congregational bodies. The founder, George Fox, was marked by many elements of greatness. Dissatisfied with all other sects, he began a course of religious reformation, and soon gathered around him a number of followers. We pass over the lofty pretensions and the unmixed fanaticism of many of the early members of this sect. Forgetfulness of their errors is best. Their hostility to others, and especially the manner in which it was manifested, exposed them to the greatest suffering. Into the "public places" they would intrude; and not only interrupt the services, but, in language which nothing could justify, denounce the ministers. This conduct was pursued everywhere. Fox travelled the country, propagating his religious views, and opposing all others. During the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, and up to the present time, their sufferings had been almost unparalleled.† They were the Ishmaelites of the ecclesiastical world; they were against every man, and every man's hand was against them.

* Crosby, vol. ii. Ivimey, vol. ii. The reader will find more details in Marvell's Works, who distinctly charges Parker with this infamous attempt to augment the hostility of the country against this sect.

† The reader may consult Burton's Diary for the trial and punishment of Naylor by the Commons.

Time had modified their pugnacity only in a very small degree. With the Baptists they had had many a fierce encounter. The wordy war, at the present time, broke out afresh. It involved the leading men of both sides; and it was protracted and fierce. It would be amusing to collect choice specimens of the phraseology of both parties. The vocabulary of abusive terms was exhausted.* Boroughs' reply to Bunyan shall supply an example or two:—"How long, ye crafty fowlers, will ye prey upon the innocent, and shoot at him craftily? How long shall the righteous be a prey to your teeth, ye subtle foxes, who seek to devour?" "And John Bunyan and his fellows, who have joined themselves to the broken army of Magog, now in the heat of the day of great stirring, are not the least of all guilty amongst their brethren of secret smiting the innocent with secret lies and slanders, who have showed themselves in defence of the Dragon against the Lamb." Warmer and still warmer Edward becomes. Flash after flash illuminates the darkness, as he proclaims Bunyan "of the stock of Ishmael, and of the seed of Cain, whose line reacheth unto the murdering priests and Scribes and Pharisees." "O thou blind priest," he exclaims, "whom God hath confounded in thy language—the design of the devil in deceiving souls is thy own, and I toss it back to thee." "The Lord rebuke thee, thou unclean spirit, who hast falsely accused the innocent to clear thyself from guilt." In this spirit Christian verities were frequently discussed in those days. Abuse was often con-

* Baxter gives an amusing instance of their abuse:—"The Quakers in their shops, when I go along London streets, say: 'Alas! poor man, thou art yet in darkness.' They have oft come to the congregation, when I had liberty to preach Christ's Gospel, and cried out against me as a deceiver of the people. They have followed me home, crying out in the streets, 'The day of the Lord is coming, and thou shalt perish as a deceiver.' They have stood in the market-place, and under my window, year after year, erying to the people, 'Take heed of your priests, they deceive your souls;' and if any one wore a lace or neat clothing, they cried out to me, 'These are the fruits of your ministry.'"—Sir J. Stephen's Essays—Richard Baxter.

founded with argument, and impudence with depth of conviction. In too many cases it marked all professors.* The present dispute originated in a publication by Mr. Thomas Hicks, charging the Friends with certain errors, which he thought subversive of the Christian faith. William Penn, George Whitehead, and others of the Friends, rushed into the arena in defence of their principles, charging Hicks with falsehood, &c. From his own pen, at public meetings, and by the investigations of his brethren, his character was cleared from the imputations of his adversaries. The conflict was long and painful, and ended in no satisfaction to some engaged in it.† Early on in his career, Fox had frequent collisions with the Baptists. The complacency with which he records his triumphs is amusing. He never fails. Always he drives his opponents as chaff before him. One or two instances may be given. They refer to an earlier period than the present; but they contain information we do not

* Samples on the other hand from ourselves. Bunyan thus complains in one place:—"At this, Mr. W. Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Paul, and Mr. Henry D'Anvars, and Mr. Denne, fell with might and main upon me; some comparing me to the devil, others to a bedlam, others to a sot, and the like, for my seeking peace and truth amongst the godly."—Works, vol. ii., p. 656. And John Tombes writes thus contemptuously of Sam. How, one of his brethren:—"How, the cobbler, a much followed preacher, a great while ago vented in print that learned scholars do make the Scriptures as a nose of wax; are but jugglers and deceivers; which are too often insinuated into the minds of well-meaning, but weak minds, whereby they are more addicted to such men as *How*, *Tillinghast*, and other popular orators," &c.—Theodulia, p. 358.

† Crosby and Ivimey give fuller details. As a sample of the wild enthusiasm into which some of these men ran, we give the following:—"William Simpson was moved of the Lord to go, at several times, for three years, naked and barefoot before them, as a sign unto them in markets, courts, towns, cities, to priests' houses, and to great men's houses; so shall they all be stripped naked as he was stripped naked. And sometimes he was moved to put on hair sackcloths, and to besmear his face, &c. Great sufferings did that poor man undergo; some whippings with horsewhips and coachwhips on the bare body, grievous stonings and imprisonments, in three years' time, before the king came in," &c.—Lingard, vol. xi., p. 294. Fox's Journal, vol. i., p. 572. *Vide* Naylor's Case.

wish to lose. "In 1649, there were some Baptists in Leicestershire whom I desired to see and speak with, because they were separated from the public worship. So one Oates, who was one of their chief teachers, and others of the heads of them, with several others of their company, came to meet us at Barrow; and there we discoursed with them. One of them said, 'What was not of faith was sin.' Whereupon I asked them what faith was? and how it was wrought in man? But they turned off from that, and spoke of their baptism in water. Then I asked them whether their mountain of sin was brought down and laid low in them; and their rough and crooked ways made smooth and straight in them? for they looked on the Scriptures as meaning outward mountains and ways. But I told them they must find them in their own hearts; which they seemed to wonder at. We asked them who baptized John the Baptist? and who baptized Peter, John, and the rest of the apostles? and put them to prove by Scripture that they were baptized in water; but they were silent, &c. &c. So after some discourse we parted; and some of them were loving to us."* Travelling north in 1653, he gains another victory over his assailants:—"From thence we came to Carlisle; and the pastor of the Baptists, with most of his hearers, came to me to the Abbey, where I had a meeting, and declared the word of life amongst them; and many of the Baptists and of the soldiers were convinced. After the meeting, the pastor of the Baptists, a high notionist and a flashy man, came to me and asked me, 'What must be damned?' I was moved immediately to tell him, 'that which spoke in him was to be damned.' This stopped his mouth; and the witness of God was raised up in him. I opened to him the state of election and reprobation, so that he said he never heard the like in his life. He also came afterwards to be convinced." The last glimpse we get of the spiritual soldier

* Fox's Journal, vol. i., pp. 77. 78.

in conflict with our brethren is in 1657:—"In Leith, there came in many Baptists, who were very rude; but the Lord's power came over them, so that they went away confounded." "In Edinbro', when I had done, I went to one meeting, whither many rude people and Baptists came. The Baptists began for to vaunt with their logic and syllogism; but I was moved by the Lord's power to thrash their chaffy, light minds, and showed the people that after that fallacious way of discoursing, they might make white seem black, and black white; as that because a cock had two legs, and each of them had two legs, therefore they were all cocks, &c. Hereupon those Baptists went their way; and after they were gone, we had a blessed meeting in the Lord's house, which was over all."*

The influence of France in English councils was all-powerful. Louis all but literally ruled in the kingdom. His pensioners were as numerous in the Legislature as in St. James's. Corruption was unblushing. Its polluting touch was felt in every department of the State.† National honour was extinct, and the degradation of England at this period was never surpassed. The gloom and superstition of

* Journal, vol. i., pp. 157, 317, 318.

† The following shows that it existed where we should not have supposed:—"Afterwards Sir J. Baker came to me and complained of the Prince of Orange for being so unkind to the Presbyterians, and told me there were ways of reconciling himself to them; he confessed they had behaved themselves ill in the last sessions, and lays all the fault on my Lord Shaftesbury," &c.—Sidney's Diary, vol. i., pp. 3, 4. "He was agent for the Presbyterians and the Duke of York."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 3. "He is set down in Barillon's (French Ambassador's) list as one of those members of the popular party who were pensioners of Louis for 500 guineas." The same says:—"The Chevalier Baker is he through whom I have a connexion with the Presbyterians. He is a rich man, and afraid of troubles; at the bottom he is attached to the Duke of York. I see plainly that the pains he has taken have not been useless, for the Presbyterians are entirely against the Prince of Orange; and I believe it will be very difficult to set to rights what has been done against him."—Note to Sidney's Diary, vol. i., pp. 3, 4. "It is manifest, from the despatches of the French Ambassador, that not only did Charles obtain large sums for

mind of James, unchecked by defeat, and unmoved by the growing power of a living Protestantism, embraced every opportunity of promoting the interests of the church whose corrupt faith he had espoused. Anxious to unite his daughter to the son of Louis, in order to strengthen his own interest,* his plans were defeated, and Mary became the wife of William of Orange; and this laid the foundation of a union, the ultimate issue of which compelled James to fly, and enthroned William in the vacant seat as the champion of Protestantism. Our space forbids us to trace the struggle, which extended over years, the efforts of the patriot party to cut off James from the succession, the attempts of the monarch and his unprincipled favourite to grasp arbitrary power, the plots against the patriots, and the cruel deaths of some of England's noblest sons.† We can only indicate the feeling of the monarch in an instance or two. "On the Exclusion Bill," says Sidney, "the king acts as though he were mad. The bill was yesterday cast out of the Lords' House, and our friend is in great disgrace for giving his vote for the bill. All things are coming to the last confession, in all appearances; but yet the Commons are the

distribution amongst the members of the Senate, but that the representative of Spain and the Emperor were purchasing the support of this class."—Dalrymple, vol. ii., pp. 110, 111. Again and again did this despicable monarch prorogue his Parliament for larger sums from France. Louis governed more effectually by his gold than Charles by the Constitution.—*Ibid*, vol. ii., pp. 112, 113. Lingard, vol. xiii., pp. 4, 5.

* "The duke had hopes of marrying the Princess Mary to the Dauphin, thus rendering England a province of France."—Reresby's Mem., p. 109.

† Calamy thus refers to the feeling in the city in 1678, in regard to the murder of Sir E. B. Godfrey:—"The frequent execution of traitors that ensued, and the many dismal stories handed about continually, made the hearts not only of younger but elder persons to quake with fear. Not so much as a house was at that time to be met with but what was provided with arms; nor did any go to rest at night without apprehensions of somewhat that was very tragical that might happen before morning. And this was then the case, not for a few weeks or months only, but for a great while together."—Life of E. Calamy, D.D., by J. T. Rutt, London, 1830, vol. i., pp. 83, 84.

patientest, prudentest persons (that) ever was."* Mortified, and perhaps alarmed, at the elements of danger which were rapidly gathering around him, Charles tried to avert this by another project. The diarist tells us:—"The king had resolved to propose something that should satisfy everybody, and that I believe is but the rest of an expedient that was thought of before that Parliament broke, and which, for aught I know, might have done then, but I doubt will not now. 'Tis, in short, for the duke to have the name of king after the king's death; but the kingdom to be governed by a Protector and Council, and the Prince of Orange to be the Protector," &c.† To other sources the reader must be referred for information on these and other topics.

No concession relieved the friends of liberty of the anxiety they felt as to the future. The tendencies of the court were unmistakable. Popery and arbitrary power everywhere marked it. With the latter a considerable number of the higher clergy sympathized. In this circle it flourished. Nothing in the past exceeded it. Oxford then, as now, was the hotbed of corruption. In 1683, the University issued its infamous dogma, in which passive obedience was inculcated, and the absolute authority of kings over everything was affirmed. Upon twenty-seven propositions, drawn from the works of leading Nonconformists, these men of light and power stamped their disapprobation. They were dangerous—nay, blasphemous. All teachers, of whatever degree, were ordered to inculcate on their pupils the duty of submitting to any ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; and this obedience was to be clear and absolute, and without exception of any order of men. "They passed judgment," says one, "on certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines destructive to the sacred persons of princes," &c. Twenty-seven propositions were embraced in

* Diary, by the Hon. Henry Sidney, vol. i., p. 125. London: Colburn, 1843.

† Sir W. Temple. *Ibid*, vol. ii., p. 177.

this censure. Baxter, Buchanan, Knox, Goodman, Owen, &c., supplied the materials. The learned convocation decreed—"That the books which contained the aforesaid propositions and impious doctrines are fitted to deprave good manners, corrupt the minds of unwary men, stir up seditions and tumults, overthrow states and kingdoms, and lead to rebellion, murder of princes, and atheism itself; and, therefore, we interdict all members of the University from the reading of the said books, under the penalties in the statutes expressed. We also order the before-recited books to be publicly burned by the hand of our marshal, in the court of our school." To this *Index Expurgatorium* of Rome they would have added the *Auto-da-fé* of Spain, if their power had been equal to their will.*

On the other hand, the patriots, fully alive to all this, gathered around them all the elements of strength they could command. The crisis was serious, and they felt its importance. At the polling-booths the battle-cry was, "No Popery!" "No arbitrary power!" In St. Stephen's the struggle was severe. Around them a small but influential body of clergy gathered—men in advance of thousands of their brethren. The sympathies of the Nonconformists were with the friends of progress, and all the friends of the Prince of Orange, now increasing rapidly, secretly, if not all of them openly, aided in the good work. The interests of the latter prince were becoming more and more identified with England's liberties. He was the guiding star of many, and the hope of multitudes. And even some of the leaders so far forgot their own dignity and the grandeur of their mission, as to receive bribes from France, and court the aid of the unprincipled monarch of that nation. Calm, determined, and armed with moral power, the patriots entered on the struggle. It was marked by many of the

* Maseres Tracts, vol. iii., p. 226, 227. Lingard, vol. xiii., 340, 341. Orme's Owen, p. 233.

characteristics of the early period of the first Charles. Plots and counterplots of Papal and Protestant ever and anon agitated the country. The Pym and Elliotts of the past, were represented by the Sidney and Russell of this era. Their blood, shed by the tyrant, only hastened the downfall of his dynasty, and, in a few years, the expulsion of the last of the Stuarts from the throne.

The recollection of this is necessary to form an accurate conception of the state of things which marked the ecclesiastical world, and the opposite motives by which they were called into existence. Two things resulted from this. The opponents of the court and its despotic tendencies became more favourable to the Nonconformists. It was natural. Upon their love of liberty, Sidney, Russell, and their compeers, could repose with the fullest confidence. In the Commons, sympathy with their past sufferings was expressed, and efforts were not wanting to relieve them of existing burdens. More than this, there was much talk of a scheme of comprehension, by which the Nonconformists should be brought into the Church. The Baptists would have been untouched by it. No scheme would have reconciled them to so anti-Christian a union as that of Church and State. Many of their members were excluded from the churches, for hearing the ministers of the State Church. But they were probably alone in this. The Presbyterian body would have hailed it. Baxter, ever active, prepared a scheme by which this matter might be accomplished. Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others of this class, now rising into view, held frequent interviews with the leading members of this body. How far the Congregational body would have gone in this direction, we are not prepared to say. Owen was not behind his brethren in any matter; but his views on the prince's power to interfere with the Church, to enforce truth and repress error, happily would find no sympathy with his successors in the present. But failure marked it. Fear probably, not love, was the most potent motive.

On the other hand, the position the Nonconformists had taken in relation to the Test Act and the Popish designs of the court, had aroused the anger of the monarch. The penal laws were unloosed, and every impediment to their full working was removed. Sheldon and many of his brethren hated Dissent more than Popery. Their love of arbitrary power we have seen; their detestation of Nonconformity was as intense. Into all the persecuting measures of the infatuated monarch they readily fell. The appliances of the bishops for this work were ample. They had only to speak, and, in every parish in the kingdom, the instruments of their power were found. For the work of suffering the machinery was perfect; but for life and purity it was powerless. A letter from the Princess Anne, afterwards queen, to her sister of Orange, gives us a glimpse of the men who ruled in the highest circles. Referring to Sunderland, she says:—"Everybody knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late king's reign, and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the priests, and stirs up the king to do things faster than I believe he would of himself. Things are come to that pass now, that if they go on much longer, I believe, in a little while, no Protestant will be able to live here."* Upon our brethren the storm broke with great fury. Escape was impossible. From all parts of the empire the cry was heard, and probably not a county in the kingdom that did not supply some victim to gratify the saintly malice of Sheldon and his Popish auxiliaries.†

* Sidney, vol. ii., p. 263. "Mr. Godolphin, Mr. May, and two or three more, are still very honest, but have little power with the king; the others are great rogues, and betray their master every day."—Sidney to the Prince of Orange. *Diary*, vol. ii., pp. 216, 217.

† From the Correspondence of Thoresby, we get some curious glimpses of the religious life of the Presbyterians of this time. It excites no wonder in us. Sharp, of Leeds, thus writes:—"Men choose new things with us, as in the Egyptian darkness men know not what way to go—

Only a few examples can be given of this savage raid against peaceable and honest men. First in the list of sufferers, and perhaps illustrating the spirit of the court and the Episcopate as fully as any one we can select, we place Delaune. His crime in the eyes of his oppressors was of fearful magnitude. He had simply asserted the dignity of our common humanity, and maintained the birthright of every man to think for himself. A Dr. Calamy, who would never have emerged from the obscurity to which nature and Providence would have consigned him, with the impudence inseparable from little minds, in a printed sermon abused the Nonconformist body, and in the plenitude of his condescension urged them to propound their doubts, and offered to give them, if they were meek enough to receive, instruction. To this insolence, Delaune replied in his unanswered and unanswerable "*Plea for the Nonconformists.*"* Little doubt can be cherished about Calamy. It was a bravado—a flash of zeal for a certain purpose. The practice is common enough with men of his class. No answer could be expected; none was desired. The hint that such an one was preparing was enough. Its publication, if possible, must be checked. Only one way was open to these thoughtful and truthful instructors of the people. It was a favourite one. Within

some to Quakerism, Anabaptism, Antinomianism, and they will not leave their Delilahs, their beloved errors."—Sharp, of Leeds. Thoresby's Diary, vol. i., pp. 58, 59. "Most of our people are Protestants upon no better principle than many of them are Papists, viz., education and interest, &c. &c.; carnal policy and interest make many seem fine Protestants that else see or know little difference between religion, nor are one jot better in their practice. Most conclude a freehold is better than a life estate; and, as it is not genteel, so it would not be worth their while to change their religion on such uncertainties. Could they secure the succession, and get off all penal laws, that it should not be high treason (as our law makes it) to quit their own and embrace the Romish communion, they would go over by shoals, of all ranks and professions, that now seem much averse to it," &c.—R. Steelton. Correspondence of R. Thoresby, vol. i., p. 90.

* A Mr. Hart published a reply to this, entitled, "*The Bulwark Stormed.*"

the damp walls of the wretched prison-house, liberty could be abridged. Means might be employed there to calm the spirit of the insulted one. It was so with Delaune. Before the publication of his "Plea," he was lodged within the walls of Wood Street, by a warrant from the Recorder (Jenner), Nov. 30th, 1683. Writing to his antagonist, he thus describes his suffering. It is only a sample of what his brethren in prison, Bampffield, Ralphson, and others, had to endure:—"I was turned in among the common side prisoners, where a hard bench was my bed, and two bricks my pillow; and I was not suffered to see some of my acquaintance who were prisoners there as Dissenters. I was soon after sent to Newgate, and lodged among felons, whose horrid company made a perfect representation of that place which you describe when you mention hell. But after two days and nights, without any refreshments—the unusualness of that society and place has changed my health, the constitution of which at best is very tender and crazy—I was removed, and am now in the press-yard, a place of some sobriety, though still a prison." Failing in this appeal, he again addressed the orthodox divine. His claim was just and reasonable. "I had some thoughts that you would perform the office of a divine in visiting me in my place of confinement, either to argue me out of my doubts, which you promised *Scripture* and *reason*, not a *mittimus* and Newgate, could easily do. To the former I *can* yield; to the latter it seems I *must*. This is a severe kind of logic, and will probably dispute me out of the world." The logical power of this argument was well understood by Calamy and his friends. Experience had frequently tested its force.

Before the infamous Jeffreys Mr. Delaune was called. The highest legal officials of the Government were engaged against him,—men who knew that the more abuse they lavished on him the more acceptable would their service be. He was tried in the Court of the Old Bailey. In such cases, the fountain of justice was corrupt in the extreme. The follow-

ing portion of the indictment will show the animus of the whole:—The “Plea” was a libel of the worst character, and “contained these false fictions and scandalous sentences following, viz.: The Church of Rome and England, who are great transgressors, to presume to vary from Christ’s precepts in altering or adding to the form of words expressed by Christ in the 11th of Luke: for so they have done. They say, ‘Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us,’ when there are no such words in Christ’s prayer. His words are, ‘Forgive us our sins or debts, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.’ And, says the indictment, in another part of the said libel, are contained these false fictions, seditious and scandalous sentences following, viz.: And may we not say that, in these following particulars, we do symbolize with idolatrous Rome herein? Firstly, enjoining and imposing this (the Common Prayer), as a set form, as they do with penalties contrary to the Scriptures. Secondly, by an open repetition of the same form in the exercises three or four times, at least, insomuch that, in cathedral churches, it is said or sung ten or twelve times a day, contrary to Christ’s express words that, ‘When we pray, we do not make vain repetitions as the heathen do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.’ Thirdly, by enjoining the whole congregation, men and women, to repeat after the priest, though no such directions by Christ: nay, he forbids women to pray or prophesy in the church. Fourthly, in singing this prayer in the cathedrals by responses of people, without the least warrant from Christ for such song-praying.” “Then the indictment ends with a fearful aggravation that is in contempt of the king, and to the evil and most pernicious example of all such other delinquents in the like case, and against the peace of the said lord now king, his crown and dignity.” Such was the crime of this heroic sufferer for Christ.

Against these charges the pleadings of Mr. Delaune were

in vain. In that court, and under such a president, hope had vanished. The Attorney-General made very large demands on his powers to pervert the facts. Jeffreys, with his all but unequalled talent for abuse, and utter absence of all moral principle, bullied the prisoner; and the jury decided, in harmony with the unmistakable wishes of the court, that he was guilty of the charges alleged in the indictment. The sentence was as follows:—"Thomas Delaune, fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner (*i.e.*, till the fine was paid), and to find good security for his good behaviour for one whole year afterwards; and that the said books and seditious libels, by him published, shall be burnt with fire before the Royal Exchange in London; and if he be discharged, to pay six shillings."

Well may De Foe say, "To answer sober argument with sour conscience, to dispute by the gaol and the hangman, to debate by the prison and not by the pen—these have been the peculiar tactics of the party—and the power of persecution, not of persuasion, has been the way of their usage to the Dissenter." For fifteen months Delaune endured his confinement, in the midst of poverty and extreme suffering, and, by lingering sickness, closed his ebequered career. "I cannot refrain saying, such a champion, of such a cause, deserved better usage. But it was very hard, such a man, such a Christian, and such a scholar, and on such an occasion, should starve in a dungeon, and the whole body of Dissenters in England, whose cause he died for defending, should not raise him £66 13s. 4*d.* to save his life." We would not mitigate this crime an atom; but it is right to suggest that Mr. Delaune may have interdicted the payment of the fine. It is not likely that the associate of Knollys, Kiffin, Keach, and others of this class, would excite no interest. The man that could present £10,000 to Charles, would not hesitate about the payment of a trifle for the relief of such a man from the power of the harpies of the law.*

* Plea for the Nonconformists.

This case is only a sample of a numerous class. Multitudes crowded the horrid dens, called at this time prisons. Newgate, the Fleet, the Gate-House, were the chief places where holy men endured the cruel imposition of jailors and their savage wardens, and the revolting annoyances which marked these residences of the most hardened criminals of the nation. Mr. Delaune, in his touching narrative, mentions the names of two of his fellow-sufferers—Bampffield and Ralphson. Their crimes were similar to his own; their imprisonment was more protracted; and both of them fell victims to disease, induced by the sanitary condition of these sinks of corruption.* Both of these men had laboured with great devotedness in their ministry. Forced from one place, they repaired to another, and proclaimed the glad tidings. From the pulpit both of them were carried to prison, where they found other confessors suffering in the Saviour's cause. In this list of sufferers at this time, the names of Griffiths, Gifford, Knollys, and others, stand out prominently before us. The former was the companion of Bampffield; the latter, torn from the bosom of his family

* We have a glimpse of the state of the prisons after the Restoration. Ellwood, the friend of Milton, thus refers to one:—"At night *all* the prisoners were lodged in one room, which was large and round, having in the middle of it a great pillar of oaken timber, which bore up the chapel over it. To this pillar was fastened our hammocks at one end, and to the opposite wall on the other end, quite round the room, and in three degrees or three storeys high, one over the other, so that they who lay in the upper and middle rows of hammocks were obliged to go to bed first, because they were to climb up to the higher by getting into the lower. And under the lower rank of hammocks, by the wall side, were laid beds on the floor, in which the sick and such weak persons as could not get into the hammocks lay. And, indeed, though the room was large and pretty airy, yet the breath and steam that came from so many bodies of different ages, conditions, and constitutions, packed up so close together, was enough to cause sickness amongst us, and I believe did so," &c.—Ellwood, p. 164. In 1579, one hundred persons died within the King's Bench in a few days. "Many times it so happened, viz., in the summer, persons that through want of air, and to *avoid smouldering*, were forced in the night to call out to come and open the windows of the wards."—Styve's Stow, b. iv., p. 19.

amidst the infirmities of age, was kept in confinement for six months. Gifford was hunted from place to place. In Bristol, Kingswood, and the adjacent districts, he preached to the colliers and others with great success. The rapidity of his movements, and the various disguises he put on, saved him for a season; but at last Gloucester Castle received the servant of God. Other details of the sufferings of these men will be found elsewhere.

A little before this time, a new and important movement was commenced by our brethren, which has exerted an influence of the very best kind on the denomination. Their opponents had lavished every species of abuse on them for want of learning. To the scorn of the nation their ministers had been held up, as tradesmen of the lowest order. Examples of this have been already given. Not only so; but the charges, though utterly without foundation, had been made, that they were opposed to a learned ministry. They were not the patrons of ignorance, or opposed to secular learning; but they despised the useless forms of the schools for the higher teaching of the divine Spirit; they trampled on the mischievous formalities of Episcopal and Presbyterian introductions to the ministry, and rested more fully on the judgment and authority of the church, in estimating the fitness of those they called to office to contribute to the full development of their spiritual welfare. Illiterate some of them might be; but none were ignorant. They could not annotate a Greek play; but they could expound the language of a Paul, and inculcate the sublime morality of Jesus. The immortal dreamer belonged to this class.* He, too, was branded by the lofty scorn of these pretenders, whilst true enlightenment, in modern times, has forgotten the tinker in the man of genius, and hailed him as a

* Lord Campbell says of his Pilgrim:—"Which has done more to awaken piety, and to enforce the precepts of Christian morality, than all the sermons that have been published by all the prelates of the Anglican Church."—*Chief Justices*, vol. i., p. 561.

teacher for all times, for all nations, for the child as well as the man of years, for the philosopher as well as the peasant. Kiffin, Dyke, Collier, and other ministerial brethren, in 1675, called the attention of the whole body to the importance of training young men for the ministry. The great national schools were closed against them. Into Oxford and Cambridge none could enter without the most costly sacrifice which man can make. At the thresholds of these seats of learning, where Owen and Goodwin and Dell had shed the light of their genius, stood the representatives of proud prelacy, forbidding the approach of the student, unless he would have the badge of slavery stamped on his forehead. To the continent many of the younger men retired for their education. At Leyden, and other places, they sought the intellectual culture which was denied them at home. Gale, Stennett, and others, gathered their rich stores of learning there. There was no alternative before them. Circumstances, for a time, prevented their realizing their purpose. But the object was not relinquished. Two years later, an assembly was held; and though we have no record of its deliberations on the subject of ministerial training, we have a valuable Confession of Faith, issued under its authority.

The closing scene of the life of the monarch was drawing nigh. Evelyn, the adorer of Charles, shall supply the picture of his last Sabbath:—"I shall never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God, it being Sunday. The king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, &c.; a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery; whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at basset around a large table, a bank of at least £2,000 in gold before them."* This was on the 15th of February, 1685. On

* Diary. Macaulay, with his usual skill, has amplified this into a gorgeous picture.—Vol. ii., chap. iv.

Monday morning the scene changed. Consternation filled the palace. The news reached the sultana, that the monarch was smitten by an invisible hand. Apoplexy had seized him. For a short time he rallied, but it was only for a day. Around him the dignified clergy crowded, but he heeded not their admonitions. His hypocrisy had been long, but he shrunk from it now. For years he had been reconciled to the Church of Rome.* At the suggestion of his early mistress, a priest was smuggled into the chamber of death, and in broken accents the dying man acknowledged, in general terms, the wickedness of his life; absolution of all his sins was then pronounced, the body and blood of the Lord administered, and the tender mother received her straying son into her maternal bosom. With such perfect ease, without any signs of genuine penitence, could the Church of Rome cancel the guilt of a life of extraordinary turpitude, and marked by the most revolting vices.†

Our space forbids a lengthened review of the character of this embodiment of the very worst elements of human nature. Indeed, the necessity is by no means urgent. Every reader will at once see that he stands alone in the pages of our history. All the worst characteristics of his family were intensified in him, without a single redeeming feature. Raised to the throne amidst the wildest outbursts of loyalty, a prospect of national prosperity and peace lay before him unequalled in the past.‡ The nation panted for repose; he

* Lord Campbell, vol. ii., p. 214.

† The death of Charles is minutely described by the French Ambassador. Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 98. It was attributed to poison. The reader may consult, on this matter, the examination of J. Dugdale, and others, published by order of Parliament. Rome rejoiced at his death. Parl. Hist., vol. iv.

‡ "Their hearts are filled with a veneration of you," said D. Hollis, "longings for you, confidence in you, and desire to see and serve you; and their tongues do, upon all occasions, express it, and in so doing they are (according to the nature of Parliament) the true representatives of the whole nation; for they but do that in a more contracted and regular way, which the generality of the people of the land, from one

could have given it. With few exceptions, men anticipated a reign of peace, of wealth, and liberty. The vision was speedily dissipated. He had gathered no experience from the past. The errors of his family had supplied no elements of warning. Blinded by the sudden changes from exile to the throne—from the deepest poverty to the voluntary homage and wealth of the nation—he rushed into the vortex of self-indulgence at once, and made the gratification of his passions, not the dignity and prosperity of the nation, the absorbing end of his life. “Charles,” says Macaulay, “was sensual, indolent, unequal to any strong intellectual exertion, and destitute alike of all patriotism, and of all sense of personal dignity.” Carry this description to the highest degree, and our readers will form nearly an accurate conception of this monarch.*

end of it to the other, do in a more confused and disorderly manner, yet as heartily and as affectionately, all degrees and ages and sexes, high and low, rich and poor (as I may say), men, women, and children, join in sending up their prayers to heaven, ‘God bless King Charles! long live King Charles!’ So as our English air is not susceptible of any other sounds, and echoes out nothing else; our bells, bonfires, peals of ordinance, volleys of shot, the shouts and acclamations of the people, bear no other moral, have no other signification but to triumph in the triumphs of our king in the hearts of his people,” &c. &c.—Speech to the King at Breda. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 38, 56. *Clarendon’s History*, vol. vi., p. 773. Such was the tumult of passion, that it is said that some of the old cavaliers died from joy. “The whole country flocked in, and cutting down palms and strewing the way with all sorts of fragrant flowers, and decking the lawns and passages with the greatest variety of country pomps, garlands bent with rings, ribands, and the like; the air echoing all along, and redoubling the perpetually iterated hosannas, he came to London.”—*Walker’s History of Independency*, part iv., p. 105. *Life*, vol. iii., p. 306. “Charles displayed his gratitude to heaven, for his wonderful restoration, by passing the night of his return with Mrs. Palmer (afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Cleveland).”—*Jessey’s Memorials*, vol. iii., p. 308.

* “The king and the court were never in the world so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women, drinking, and the most abominable vices that were ever in the world; so that all must come to nought.”—*Pepys’ Diary*, vol. iii., p. 303. *Lister’s Life of Clarendon*, vol. ii., pp. 389, 390, 491, 492.

Cromwell had raised the nation to the highest pitch of dignity and prowess. His fleets swept the seas. His name was a tower of strength. The mightiest sought his friendship, and stood in awe of his genius. The contrast now was of the boldest kind. Into the lowest depth the legitimate king sunk it. Liberty was suffering from the despotic tendencies of the worthless monarch. The fountain of justice was polluted at its source; the financial condition of the country was at the lowest ebb;* whilst French gold, and the influence of his mistresses, governed the country.† In the seraglio the booming of Dutch cannon was heard, as the fleets of Holland swept the seas and threatened the capital; but Charles was wrapt up in the noble gratification of hunting a moth with his painted courtezans. Under the blighting influence of a man so destitute of all that was ennobling, all that was great and good in the nation all but perished.‡

* Whilst the country was suffering, the monarch was squandering immense sums on his mistresses. "No less a sum than £136,668 10s. appears to have been bestowed by the profligate monarch on this woman within the space of one year, and this at a period when the wages of the servants of the royal household were doled out by beggarly instalments." *Vide Moneys Received and Paid for Secret Services*, pp. viii. ix., 1681. Camden Society. Others may be seen in this volume. "The king having all this day no handkerchiefs, and but three bands to his neck."—Pepys, vol. ii., p. 346.

† "Rouviigny (the French Ambassador) writes, 2d September, 1674, that Charles had agreed either to prorogue his Parliament till April, 1675, in consideration of 500,000 crowns; or, if he convened it in November, to dissolve it in case it should refuse to give him money, in consideration of which he was to have a pension of £100,000 from France. Charles afterwards chose the first of these alternatives, got his money, and France was enabled to carry on the war a year without any fear of an English Parliament."—Dalrymple, vol. ii., p. 99. "In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects 6,000,000 of livres (£300,000) yearly for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his Majesty and the king of France; because it will be two or three years before he can hope to find his Parliament in humour to give him supplies, after your having made any peace with France."—Letter of E. Danby, March 25, 1678. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 1060, 1061.

‡ "To-day, for certain, I am told, how in Holland publickly they have pictured our king with reproach. One way is, with his pockets turned

The influence of the court was all-powerful. Through every grade of society it extended. Nothing could withstand it. Onward the tide of immorality flowed. The landmarks of public and almost of private virtues were swept away. Sensuality, not love—gigantic vices, not moral virtues, flourished. The former stalked in public without a blush. The baronial residence, the house of the merchant, the cot of the peasant, according to their degrees, were the abodes of deep, of unmixed profligacy. Men in courtly dress, and with pretensions to the character of gentlemen, could barter the virtues of a sister or a wife without a blush, for some paltry distinction. In the higher circles, the dignity of the English matron was forgotten, and the purity of British maidenhood all but unknown. Every man had his price; everything was bought and sold. The coronet of the peer, the ermine robe of the judge, and the cassock of the bishop, were disposed of to the highest bidder. Charles's mistresses derived great gain from the sale of these attractive baubles. It marked every period of his reign. During the supremacy of Buckingham, he extorted very large sums from aspirants to office. His low-born mother was, if possible, worse. "No man was in those times safe who could not secure Lady Buckingham's favour. Those whom she smiled on prospered; those whom she frowned on fell." Bacon, Montague, Yelverton, and others, were forced from office to give place to her creatures. Every sentence in the court of law was a kind of stock which the courtiers could sell in the open market. The very highest persons, often ladies, dealt in this infamous ware. Lady Suffolk kept a regular office for the sale of pardons. The price was always

the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies, while others abuse him."—Pepys, vol. ii., p. 125. "They have pictured the Church of England in Holland in the shape of a goose; the Papists plucking one wing, and the Dissenters another, with this label from her mouth, '*Passive obedience.*'"—Thoresby, vol. i., p. 91.

regulated by the magnitude of the offence. The annals of those times are full of these infamous practices. As Macaulay somewhere says, the age "was the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot, and the slave." Under the shadow of his court, the Church was all but powerless. Absorbed in other matters than the cultivation of pure and undefiled religion, the dignified clergy had no power to arrest the tide of corruption which flowed in every direction. Their monuments were acts of cruelty, not virtues; their labour the extirpation of sectaries, not the conversion of the ungodly; and from Sheldon and his colleagues no power went forth to check the mad career of this head of the Church.* The harvest of immorality all but covered the land. Godliness was laughed at, and public opinion was ridiculed; and, but for the persecuted, piety would have retired from the land. The characteristics of the Stuarts were inherent in Charles.

* Though it is long, we cannot deny our readers the pleasure of reading the following:—"Deep and latent as are the ultimate causes of the continued existence of Episcopacy in England, nothing can be less recedite than the human agency employed in working out that result. Nursed by the Tudors, adopted by the Stuarts, and wedded in her youth to a powerful aristocracy, the Anglican Church retains the indelible stamp of these early alliances. To the great, the learned, and the worldly-wise, it has for three centuries afforded a resting-place and a refuge. But a long interval had elapsed before the national temples and hierarchy were consecrated to the nobler end of enlightening the ignorant, and of administering to the poor. Rich beyond all Protestant rivalry in sacred literature, the Church of England, from the days of Parker to those of Laud, had scarcely produced any one considerable work of popular instruction. The pastoral care which at a later period Burnet depicted, was till then a vision which, though since nobly fulfilled, no past experience had realised. The alphabet was among the mysteries which the English Church long concealed from her catechumens. There is no parallel in the annals of any other Protestant State of so wonderful a concentration, and so imperfect a diffusion of learning and genius, of piety and zeal. The reigns of Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, were unmolested by cares so rude as those of evangelising the artisans and peasantry. Jewell and Bull, Hall and Donne, Hooker and Taylor, lived and wrote for their peers, and for future ages, but not for the commonalty of their own."—Sir J. Stephen's Essays—Richard Baxter.

The spirit of kingcraft ruled him. The thirst of the first Charles for arbitrary power was not more intense. It was the only thing which could interest him. With the nation's liberties, his high and true interests, he had no sympathy. These never stood in the way of his gratification. Without a pang he would have immolated the whole. The despotic power of his patron, the French monarch, was the only model he had any ambition to imitate. His ministers and judges* only found favour with him, as they sympathized with this spirit; whilst the mass of the clergy were most zealous for the "Divine right." No instrument was too low, no means unworthy, which could secure this. Advancing years augmented this. Self-respect had long retired from him,† and his moral sense was entirely blunted, so that what would have checked ordinary men had no influence on the monarch.‡ The spirit of despotism pervaded many of his

* "The High Courts of Justice were presided over by men as destitute of principle as any of those who had disgraced the ermine in the former reign. Lord C. Finch aided the monarch in stealing away a bill which had passed the House, for the relief of Dissenters from persecution for not going to church. Lord Guildford's policy was to study the peculiar humour of the king—to do whatever was most agreeable to him personally—to pass for the king's friend, and to be *solus cum solo*."—North's Life, vol. ii., pp. 163, 165, 169. Campbell's Lives, vol. ii., pp. 409, 429, 437, 471, 480. "England during the Stuart reign was cursed with a succession of ruffians in ermine, who, for the sake of court favour, violated the principles of law, the precepts of religion, and the dictates of humanity."—*Ibid*, vol. iii., p. 581.

† "Besides all this, when the king was at Windsor, because he would not stay so long as the duke (Buckingham) would have him, he took the bridle off the king's horse, to the great danger of the king's person."—Parl. Hist., vol. iv., p. 632.

‡ "That in several counties many Protestant Dissenters have been indited, under the notion of Popish recusants; and the penalties of the law levied upon such Presbyterian Dissenters; when the Papists there have been either totally, or for the most part discharged," &c.—Reasons on the Danger of the Growth of Popery, presented by the Commons to the Lords, 1678. Parl. History, vol. iv., p. 964. "Since the king's Restoration, Popery has played in court, in our negotiations of war and peace, of setting up ministers and taking them down; and God knows where it will end," &c.—Sir H. Capel. Parl. His., vol. iv., p. 1043.

acts, and, but for the persecuted—the cherished sons of liberty, who aided the inflexible band of patriots led by a Sidney and a Russell—the nation would again have had to force the monarch into exile, or have groaned for a season under the yoke of bondage.

There is one incident in the domestic life of the monarch we cannot omit. It places the character of the voluptuary in the strongest light. The annals of profligacy probably present no parallel to it. We refer to his treatment of his wife. We give it in the words of the heartless sensualist:—“I wish,” he says, in a letter to Clarendon, “that I may be unhappy in this world and the world to come, if I fail in the least degree of what I have resolved, which is, of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife’s bedchamber; and whosoever I find use any endeavour to hinder this resolution of mine (except it be to myself), I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. . . . If you will oblige me eternally, make this business as easy to me as you can.”* Beyond this brutality cannot go. An insult cannot be offered to a wife of greater magnitude. Her entreaties, her threats, her tears, had no avail with the unfeeling monster; and the keeper of his conscience, Clarendon, triumphed over the

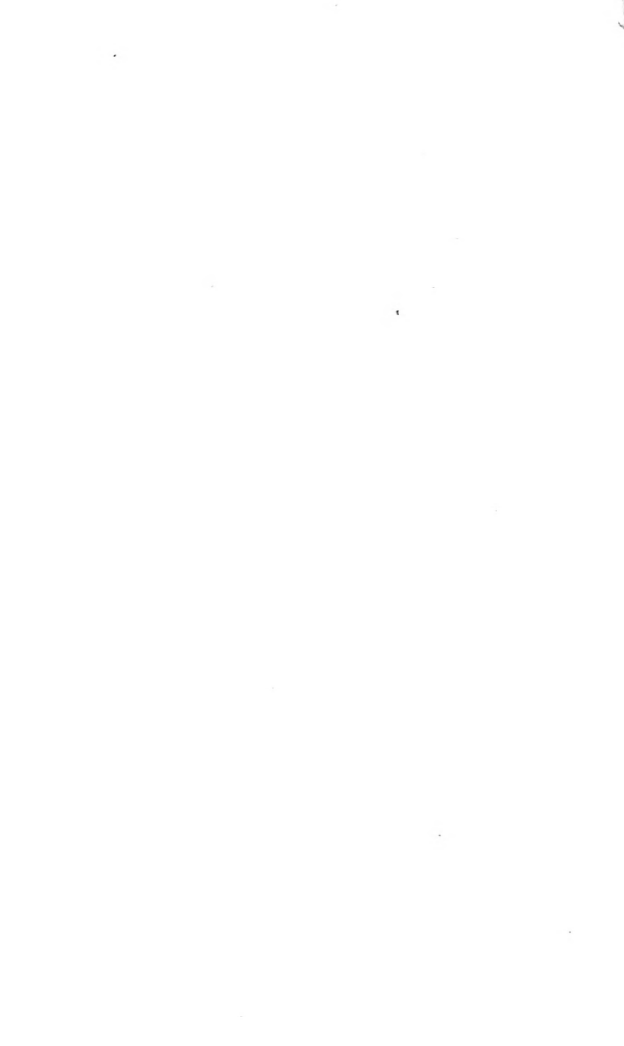
* Life of Clarendon, vol. ii., p. 148. Vol. iii., p. 202, where the letter is given. Lister, Life of Clarendon, thus speaks of this profligate:—“Who had laboured to debase the morality of the country by an unblushing display of the grossest profligacy, and to ruin its finances by the wildest extravagance; who had shamefully forgotten the responsibilities of his station, and neglected, in the pursuit of the most frivolous amusements, the important interests of his country; who, immediately after the fire of London, applied the energies of his mind to a change of the court costume; who, while the Dutch were burning our ships in the Thames, was amusing himself and Lady Castlemaine with the dignified pastime of hunting a moth; who was most anxiously engaged at this season of peril in composing the quarrels of his rival mistresses,” &c.—Vol. ii., pp. 389, 390. Pepys confirms this. “Sir H. Chomley came to me to-day, and tells me the court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships, the king did sup with Lady Castlemaine at the Duchess of Monmouth’s; and they were all mad in hunting of a poor moth.”—Diary, vol. iii., p. 262.

hapless queen, and Charles had the infamous satisfaction of seeing this shameless prostitute installed as the attendant on his wife in her most domestic seclusion.

But the most enormous evils are never unmixed. The wildest tempest is often followed by largest benefits. The greatest tyranny is often the birthtime of liberty. So here the unparalleled evils which marked the reign of the restored Stuart, wrought out for the nation an earlier dawn of freedom. "We are, however, much indebted to the memory of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland; Louisa, Duchess of Portsmouth; and Mrs. E. Gwyn. We owe a tribute of gratitude to the Mays, the Killigrews, and the Chaffinches of the Government. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty; they saved our forefathers from the 'Star Chamber and the High Commissioned Court;' they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the house of Stuart."*

* Hallam, vol. ii., p. 53.

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