

Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

The Fifth-Monarchy Manifesto of 1654.

Transcribed from the original in the British Museum, E 809 (15), by J. W. Thirtle. Notes appended by the Editor, drawn very largely from "The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth-Monarchy Men In England During the Interregnum," by Louise Fargo Brown, Ph.D., Instructor of History in Wellesley College.

[Title page.]

A
DECLARATION
Of several of the
Churches of Christ,
AND
GODLY PEOPLE
In and about the Citie of
LONDON;
Concerning
The Kingly Interest
OF
CHRIST,
AND
The present Suffrings
OF
His Cause and Saints in England.
LONDON

Printed for Livewel Chapman, at the Crown in Popes-head-Alley, 1654.

MAY, 1913.

129

9

[1]

A

DECLARATION

Of several of the
Churches of Christ,
And Godly people:

Being a few of the despised Remnant in and about the City of London, that yet cleave close to the Cause and Interest of our Lord Jesus, so much disowned and rejected in these times of Apostacie, and in this hour of our great Tribulation and Temptation.

In the Name of Jehovah-Nissi, (Exod. 17. 15). our Lord Christ, Protector of his People, King of Saints and Nations: To all that are sanctified in Jesus Christ, whether in Churches, or out, that partake of the same Faith (with us) of our Lord Jesus, especially the sealed number now upon their watch, that have not defiled their garments, whose robes are washed with the blood of the Lamb, that are redeemed from among men, and follow [2] the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, in these three Nations, or elsewhere. We their unworthy Brethren, one with them in the present Sufferings of our Lord Jesus, and his Saints, in the behalf of our selves, and many others, Do from the bottom of our hearts, wish like Faith, Grace, Zeal, Light, Joy, and Peace, which we enjoy from God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Forasmuch as we believe many godly people in these three Nations and elsewhere, are deceived (and therefore unsatisfied) concerning us in the matters of our faith, relating to the most precious Cause, Interest, and Monarchy of the Lord Christ, (which we cleave unto) through misrepresen-

tations and false reports made of us and our Principles, by persons, and Letters posted about the Nations for that purpose, full of errors, mistakes, unchristian censures, uncharitable reproaches and invectives, wherein the Adversaries have all the advantage against us, that worldly power can possess them with: but now, that we may no longer (by a forced silence) be a dissatisfaction to our Friends, grievous to the Truth, offence to the Saints, a trouble to our own Consciences, and advantage to the Adversaries, or be so much the subject (as we have been) of our Enemies malice, to forge their lyes, jealousies, or evil reports upon, nor yet be suspicious to many, and for signes and wonders to most in the Commonwealth; as if we were monsters, and not men; infidels and not believers; enemies to Government, and not orators for it day and night, as God hath appointed it; We shall therefore (in the behalf of thousands more (we hope) one with us herein) in all faithfulness, meek-[3]ness; and clearness, declare unto you, (and to all the world) how far we are engaged in this most glorious (though crucified) cause of Christ, (maugre all opposition of Men or Devils) in as little room as this short Narrative will allow us; being awakened thereunto every day. Yet it cannot be expected that in this Paper we should relate all our Grievances, lay down all our Grounds, or answer all Objections, (which we hope to do hereafter) but onely so far as may make obvious to any unbyassed eye or understanding, the just rise of our Discontents, Troubles, and Dissatisfactions, and as may exonerate our souls in the sight of Heaven and Earth.

O our bowels, our bowels! our hearts even ake, and are pained within us, to hear the doleful and daily groans of Gods people, crying out, O where are our Deliverers and Saviours! The Reeds that we leaned upon, have pierced our hands, and we bleed! And after our eyes fail with looking for Freedom, Peace,

and Light, behold Darkness, Oppression, and Distraction! and what hope is left us? And all this, through the declension of the Armies first Principles, and former Declarations, extant to the view of the world: witness p 14, 15 of the Remonstr, Albans, & p 66. They urge it upon the grounds of Common Right, Freedom, and Safety, that Parliaments be by a certain succession, Annually, or Biennially. And in their Declar. June 14. 1647 p. 8, 9. they declare this so "essential and fundamental to Freedom, as that it cannot, nor ought it to be denied or withholden from us: and that arbitrary or absolute power in any person or persons during life, doth not render that State any better then Tyranny, nor the People subjected thereto [4] any better then Vassals." And therefore they say, p. 9. "We are so far from designing or complying to have an absolute or arbitrary power signed or settled for continuance in any persons whatsoever, as that (if we might be sure to obtain it) we cannot wish to have it so in the persons of any whom we could most confide in, or who should appear most of our own opinions or principles, or whom we might have most personal assurance of, or interest in; but that the Authority of this Kingdom in Parliament may ever stand, and have its course." Yet for all this, were not the last Parliament dissolved, for that they would rule as Saints, (or part of the fifth Monarchy, for Christ) and for doing that the former Parliament neglected, and therefore were dissolved? and for doing that which the Army and good people had many yeers declared to be their duty to do? viz. Remostr. p. 20. And have not some by Printing opprobriously and injuriously abused those precious members that stood for the Magistracie and Ministry of the Gospel, or Uction, as if they would have had no Government, no Ministers, nor Propriety at all? and, after all their integrity, cast an Odium upon them, and upon the name of Saints, yea, and upon the Interest of

Christ, against which they have opened the mouthes of many thousands to blaspheme? O these are the swords which pierce our hearts! Besides, doth not this Personal Interest now up, look too much alike that which God hath confounded and stamped upon before our eyes? in the same predicament of Pride, Profaness, Persecution of Saints, and Oppression, with them that went before? Oh! are not the Wicked exalted on every side, and such taken up again, (Malignants and others) as not [5] long since they most declaim'd against? and are not the Saints (and them onely, or mostly) afflicted, cast out of their Assemblies from praying and preaching? and some of the faithfulest of them in all these Wars, now closely imprisoned (for their Consciences and this Cause of Christ) from the common air, yea, cast among Malefactors, condemned, threatned, reproached, and trampled on? Oh! can we have hearts so hard, as to mention these, and (many more) such-like effects, without yerning and mourning? Besides, are not the new Court of Tryers at Whitehall for Ministers, of like make with the Bishops High-Commission-Court? The Graven image of the worldly power, creating a worldly Clergie, for worldly ends, highly scandalous, and against the Rule of the Gospel, and Faith of Christ, and as much to be exploded as the Pope and Prelate? notwithstanding they assume the title of Orthodox, and soundness of opinion to themselves, and upon that account charge others (that are not one with them in their Carnal and Antichristian Interest) with Errours and Rashness. But, as the Declaration of the Army to Scotland, (p. 15) saith, "This hath been found in all ages of high advantage to them that assumed it, that it were strange if those (Civil Tryers) should not have used it to smite them withal, whom they would render odious, and destroy." And is not This against their own Declar. to Scotland, p. 16. where they say, "That that Church-Government which is of

God, Gods own means, viz. his Word, must establish, without a busie meddling with, or engaging of the authorities of the world?" And the Lo. General CROMWEL, in his Letter to the Kirk assembly from Dunbar, p. 11. [6] saith, "It is worth considering, how those Ministers take into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, that meddle with worldly policies, or earthly powers, to set up that which they call The Kingdom of Christ; which indeed is neither it, nor, if it were, would such means be found effectual for that end; and neglect, and not trust to the Word of God, the Sword of the Spirit," &c. Is not this all true in the Tryers? And is not this also against their own Remonstr. Albans, pag. 20. where they declare it the Parliaments part, "to protect religious men, and take away all the corrupted Forms of outside Religion, and (National) Church-state, whether imposed without Law, or rooted in Law in times of Popish ignorance or idolatry, and of Gospels dimmer light; and also to take away the dependence of the (National) Clergie in Civil Laws and Ecclesiastical affairs, which they had upon the King; or that interest of the Clergie in Civil Laws and Affairs, which the craft of both in length of time had wrought for each other: But that the King's part was to discountenance the Godly, or any conscience obliging above or against humane or outward Constitutions, and to uphold and maintain the Civil dependence of the Clergie, and their Church-matters, under him." Our bowels are so moved at these things, that we cannot refrain from bewailing our condition, after so vast a stream and treasure of the blood, tears, prayers, lives, and spoils of our dearest relations. O did we ever think to see so many hopeful Instruments in the Army, Churches, and elsewhere, to be so fully gorged with the flesh of Kings, Captains, and Nobles, &c. (i.e. with their [7] Lands, Mannors, Estates, Parks, and Palaces) so as to sit at

ease, and comply with Antichrist, the World, Worldly Church and Clergie. Oh! how hath the Cup of the Whore foxt and enchanted men! viz. with the wine of the wrath of her fornication, to commit sin with her daily, (which the sober blush to see) and to paint her over afresh, for New Lovers to lie down with, to their utter ruine! O the Mystery of Iniquity works apace! This subtil spirit and soul of Antichristianism (in a new body) hath bewitched many of the Common sort, and is wonderful cunning to deceive; although by this universal falling away amongst us, the Man of sin is (blessed be Jehovah) more discovered than ever, who must be destroyed with the breath of Christ's mouth, and the brightness of his coming. Yet under a sad sense of so many fresh assaults which the Saints meet with daily by outward Violence, and Ecclesiastical Tyranny, and in a clear apprehension of that heavey Doom and Precipice hard by (we verily believe) upon all those Powers and Interests of men, which keep warm the Seat of the bloody Beast for the Mother of harlots: And after many Solemn Meetings, and seekings of God for a special presence, rolling our selves onely on his Arm, having no carnal confidence, (blessed be our wise God) now left us to look upon, we are fully perswaded in our souls, that he who hath hitherto most eminently appeared, and plainly, owned this blessed Cause (which the Apostates of the times have cast aside, and we yet cleave unto) in England, Ireland, Scotland, and elsewhere, according to the faith and prayers of his poor despised people that he will yet appear, and that more eminently, (and terribly too) to save, then ever, and [8] witness to the righteousness of his own Cause, and the innocencie of his servants that suffer therein, in great mercy and pity, passing by the failings and infirmities of us his poor creatures. Therefore though we are not sure that God will vindicate his own Name to purpose, ere long, under so

much reproach; yet, in the dread of that Name, we appeal unto the LORD, who will be a swift witness against us, if we utter these things in hypocrisie, or for base ends, or for any carnal Personal Interest whatsoever, if we are not in the sincerity and simplicity of our hearts (so far as we have one grain of true grace in us) for Christ alone, and his poor, rejected Cause and People, that we may ease and exonerate our selves in the sense we have of our duty herein, and be withdrawn (to the eye of all) from partaking in the crying sins and Apostacie of the Times; with all faithfulness, holy awe, and humility, we profess and declare,

I. For this Cause and Kingly Interest of our Lord Jesus, in England, Ireland, and Scotland, or elsewhere, according to the several Declarations of the Army: sealed to with the blood of thousands of the precious Saints, the cry of whose blood is for Christ, according to the Declaration of the Army to Scotland, p. 36, 37, 8, 29. who declare, "They were stirred up by the Lord to assist the Parliament against the King, for this end, to bring about the destruction of Antichrist, and the deliverance of his true Church and People; and upon this simple account was it, that they engaged in the Wars of the three Nations, against all Opposers of this work of Jesus Christ; having these things singly in their eye, viz. the destruction of Antichrist, and advancement of the [9] Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and deliverance and reformation of his Church, and the establishment of Christs Ordinances according to his Word, and the just Civil Liberties of Englishmen. And this, they declare, with the loss of many precious Saints, p. 38. That they engaged against the late King and his Monarchy, as one of the ten horns of the Beast, guilty of the blood of the Saints: which act (they say) they are confident God will own against all Kingdoms or Nations that will oppose them, and that will not suffer Jesus Christ to be King." So page 39. they declare,

“they value the Churches* of Christ, who are the lot of Gods inheritance, a thousand times beyond their own lives; and that it is their duty to persevere therein to the utmost hazard of their lives: and that the Lord made them instruments to vex all in his sore displeasure, that take counsel against Christ, whom the Lord hath anointed and decreed King: and that they were not meerly the servants of man; and that they not onely proclaimed Jesus Christ, King of Saints, to be King, but that they would submit to him (alone) upon his own terms and admit him (onely) to the exercise of his Royal authority.” Therefore say they, in pag. 40, “We beseech you, in the fear of God, look about you: for our Lord Jesus is coming, &c.” Now accordingly we have and do declare for this Royal Interest of [10] Christ, which ought to be set up, which so much blood hath been poured out for, like water, in the three Nations. This Cause of Christ was magnified by God, in answering the Dunbar- Appeal against the King of Scots: the English Army appealing to God, according to the Act of Parliament, 1648, declaring it High treason to set up Charles Stuart, or Any other person, Chief Magistrate in England, or Ireland, or any of the Dominions thereunto belonging. And as our Appeal was for No King but Jesus, (by which were the greatest Victories obtained that we had) the Scots Appeal, on the other side, was for A King, or personal Interest of Man, &c. God’s answer was so full and wonderful on the No king’s side but Jesus, and according to the Act of Parliament, (upon which the Army marched against the King of Scots) that all Scotland was given in in few months, and their armies destroyed: and, to use the very words of the Act of

* Margin: Then owning the Congregated Churches, as appears by Letters written to Mr. Feak, and Mr. Simpson, and the Churches that walk in fellowship with them, and others.

Parliament, Die Martis, 17 Septemb. 1650. "This answer was enriched with so many remarkable circumstances, as is to be admired at by succeeding generations; evidencing such a divine presence, as the Commonwealth can never be thankful enough for: and that it was given in as a Seal or Confirmation from heaven, of the justness of this Cause, after solemn appeals made on both sides to God himself, the righteous Judge in this War between England and Scotland: and that God did so decide the Controversie, (himself) was of such value and high consequence, that Generations to come may taste the sweet of it," &c. Besides all this, much more we might mention (of their own) for this Cause and Kingly Interest of Christ; which [11] we are resolved to adhere to, and (if the Lord will enable us) never to recede from, but to live and die in it. Neither is it a Resisting of Government (as some say of us) but a Reforming of it (which our Principles lead us to) according to the Word. And seeing the Army and Parliament have often declared, as pag. 7. of Declar. June 14. 1647. "No resisting of Magistracie, to side with just Principles; upon which Maxime they assisted the Parliament against the King: and that it is one witness of God in the world, to carry on a testimony against the injustice and unrighteousness of men, and against the miscarriages of Governments, when corrupted, or declining from their primitive and original glory." We use their own words. 'Tis true, Every soul must be subject to the higher powers; and it is in obedience thereunto, that we are subject to Christ, and stand by this his Cause (as we do) so long as the Controversie is not now (with us) between Man and Man, (as was wont to be in other ages) but it is between Christ and Man. Which of these two then shall have the absolute power of Government in the nations? and who are the resisters of the higher powers which are of

God, those that own, or those that oppose Christ's claim? Judge ye!

2. Because the Boutefeu's of the Times are ever blowing up the flames upon us, and incensing the present worldly powers and others against us, with their lying accusations, and evil surmisings, as the adversary did, Ezra 4. and Nehem. 6. against Iudah and Ierusalem, (to render them odious to Artaxerxes) that they intended to rebel when they had done their building; and that if he suffered them to go on, it would [12] hinder his Revenue, &c. and so Sanballat sent Nehemiah word, that he and the Jews intended to rebel, when they had done with the walls they were about: and all this, to weaken the hands of them that had a minde to work. Therefore, to avoid such Jealousies and Fears, We do freely declare against all Carnal Plots, Devilish Designes, or Ungodly Combinations of men whatsoever, as inconsistent with those gracious Principles which have (we hope) carried us (and yet do daily) into a spiritual warfare and hot contest for this Cause of Christ, by the Word, Faith, Prayer, and Solemn appeals unto our God, the righteous Judge of heaven and earth. And indeed, being (thus) armed with the whole armour of God, we dare (as before) wrestle with Principalities and Powers; and, through the grace of our God, we are not afraid of their Armies or Numbers, but (although we have not the least reliance on any arm of flesh, yet) we can bid defiance unto all the enemies of this glorious Cause of Christ contended for by the Saints, with those means that God's Word leads us unto; for which, our dear brethren are imprisoned, and suffer persecution at this day. Therefore, in a just and necessary defence of what is dearer to us then our lives, (bought with the price of the blood of Christ, and thousands of his dearest Saints) we call heaven and earth to witness between us and our brethren that have denied us and

this Cause! For in Cases not clearly or properly under mans judgment, or where it is not easie for man to give a certain judgment, the engaged, upon sure Principles and Pretences, do centre in appeals to God for judgement: and so did the two tribes and a half, Josh. 22, for that it is then [13] the proper work of God to bear witness, and give righteous judgment: which as he hath always done, sooner or later, clearer or darker, after the Appeal is made to him; so in this last age and part of the world he hath made more haste than formerly to judgement, and given it more quickly, speedily, and terribly, and made his own Arm so bare therein, as all men might see it: witness the aforesad' Appeal at Dunbar. In the same Cause the Appeal is now made (by us) again. All which hath induced us to take up the Word of God, Faith, and Prayer (by Solemn Appeals to the just Judge of Heaven and Earth) in the like and the same Cause. A few particulars of the Matter whereof, take as followeth.

1. About their Vows, Declarations, Promises, Engagements, made unto God for Christ and his Interest, in time of their great distress: all which, are they not broken, both as to Magistracie, Ministry, Churches, Liberty, and the Right of the Saints of the most High? We appeal to God.*

2. Whether an espousing of the same or a like interest with that which God hath destroyed before our eyes, and rejecting this blessed Cause of Christ, King of the Nations, for a Personal Cause of Man, as we now conceive, Jer. 3. 1, Mal. 2. 11. be not a provocation of God in the highest degree, and too full a testimony of the foulest hypocrisie and selfishness in them, whose former Profession and Declarations obliged them to the contrary?

3. Whether a persecuting and imprisoning some of

* Margin: Psal. 66. 13, 14. Deut. 23. 21, Eccles. 5. 3, 4, 5, 6.

the choicest and holiest servants of Christ, in the present light, and work of this Generation, whilst the [14] Wicked are exalted on every side, and such as were cast by, taken up again, Isa 49. 24, 25. Ier. 13. 17. be of God, or no?

4. Whether the violence and force, flattery, or any other wayes which are used to compel any of us, against our Consciences, to prostrate to mens carnal interests, and to sin against the light, be according to their former pretended Principles, or the Word of God?

5. Whether their unjust and unchristian accusations of us in the face of the world, are not full of loathsome and cruel lyes, whiles they spread about, That we are against Magistracie, Ministry, Propriety, Ordinances, and the like? Whether it be so or no, we appeal to him that judgeth righteously.

6. Their vexing and rising up against the Spirit of God, which they call an Impostor, and the false, devilish, fanatick spirit of Black-Fryers, or Alhallows-meeting; speaking blasphemously against it, and that frequently: wherein we appeal to the Lord to judge, whether that Spirit that is among them, leading to Pride, Pomp, Worldliness, Carnality, Lying, Persecution, and Blaspheming; or that Spirit which leads us day and night to the duty of Faith, Assembling, Praying, Preaching, Exhorting, and Building up in the present Truth contested against by them, and to Comforting, Counselling, and Quickening up one another every day, to hold fast our profession without wavering; to Self-denying and Mortification, that we may not minde the present World, nor the vanities thereof: Whether this Spirit, our infirmities excepted, or theirs, which acts them, be of God; and which is the devilish [15] worldly, and deluding spirit. Isa. 63. 10. 2 Pet. 2. 7, 8.

7. Is not pomp, pride, and vanity in Court and elsewhere, now up again, (in some respects more then

ever) so much contested and inveighed against for so many yeers together, by themselves and others? Whether by these (amongst other things) they have not opened the mouthes of the Enemies to blaspheme Christ and his Spirit? to reproach his Cause, and to harden their hearts? And whether they have not given advantage to Charles Stuart or some others, to invade us, our lives, our relations, afresh, by open Wars, Inundation of blood and Mischief, so as seems to make void and uneffectual many yeers Wars, with vast treasure, expence and blood?

8. Whereas they say, we are all for Wars, and would have no Peace with the Nations round about; we appeal to God therein, whether we are not for the best, safest, and lasting (godly) Peace? and, were it God's will, could wish no more blood might be shed! Although we would not willingly see a Peace (worse then War) made with the nations, against the Word of God, Safety and Liberties of the good people, (for which so many have bled both by Land and Sea) and upon such terms too, as makes more for the interest of some men, then for the Publick; or upon such Articles (as might make us blush for shame, at this time of the Day, and after so many outgoings of God in the midst of us) as have not so much as one Article for the Lord Jesus, or his Saints, that are in the present work of this generation, concerning Christs Kingdom or Interest, to subscribe unto, Numb. 33. 52, 53. to the end. Exod. 23. 32, 33, and 34. chap. 12. 13.

[16] Upon these (and many other) grounds, we are induced (and are resolved in the strength of Christ) to keep up the Altar *ED, and continue our Appeal until the Lord doth answer in justice, and yet in much mercy, to his poor little remnant, (which we are perswaded will be speedily) as Luke 18. 7, 8. And if men

* Marginal reference: Iosh. 22. 34.

will (yet) needs blinde their eyes, and harden their hearts (we could wish it be not to their destruction) yet we do bless our heavenly Father that hath opened our eyes, and kept our feet from falling, (with them) that we can so comfortably see the things that concern our (best) Peace, according to the Law and the Testimony, in the sure Word of Prophecie. Blessed be JEHOVAH. Amen, Amen.

3. But thirdly and lastly, for that we finde much Misunderstanding among some, and Misrepresentations among most, of the Fifth Monarchy, or Kingdom of Christ in the Nations, which the holy Scriptures, both in the Old and New Testament, do clearly and plentifully declare, with a positive period to the Worldly, Heathenish Laws, Ordinances and Constitutions of men, as they are now executed in the Nations of the world: And whereas it is also upon the hearts of many of the choice servants of God, that in this present Age the Lord JEHOVAH is setting up the fifth Kingdom, (as Dan. 2. 44 & 7. 22, 26, 27, Zech. 21 [sic]) which shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces all the four kingdoms, and remain for ever and ever; and that (at this time) whenas the fourth Monarchy is partly broken in these Nations, that Christ may be the onely Potentate, the King of kings, and of all Nations, 1 Tim. 6. 15. Micah 4. 7. Zech. 9. 9, 10. Col. 1. 16. [17] Heb 2. 8. Rev. 11. 15. & 17. Chap. 14 & 19, Chap. 15. 16. Now finding this (the present Truth) so much opposed by the National Rulers and their Clergie, yea, and by some godly people and Church-members, accounted Orthodox, who cannot endure the day of Christs coming; We therefore are resolved, according to the presence and assistance of the Lord with us, to entertain a serious Consideration and Debate, for the benefit of all others, touching the premises, viz. of the Laws, Subjects, Extent, Rise, Time, Place, Offices, and Officers of the fifth Monarchy,

or Kingdom, whereby the world must be governed according to the Word of God, without the mixture (as now is) of Mens Laws and Inventions, whether in respect of Magistracy or Ministry, Church or Civil affairs: which Debate we intend to hold once a week in this City of London: and we desire our beloved brethren which are one with us in the present Truth and sufferings, whether in Churches or out, whether in City or Country, (that are enlightned) to take special notice of it, for this end, that they may enjoy the like freedom with us in those Meetings and Debates, as often as they please to come. And if the Lord give us the liberty, we do purpose to proceed with the Debate of it from this day onward, until we have taken up a full and clear Narrative thereof (so far as shall appear to us) out of the Scriptures, fit to publish to the view of all men, that our Principles in that point of the fifth Monarchy, may be fully known; with desire to know what any of our Adversaries (now against us) shall have to say to us or to our principles therein; who are contented with all our souls (the Lord knows) to be convinced of any Errour [18] or Mistakes by the Word of Truth: But we think not Imprisoning or Persecuting us, a competent or fit way to convince our Consciences, if we were in errors, as they pretend.

And although we need no Law of men to allow us this Liberty, it being our Birth-right in Christ among Christians, and so fully warranted by the Word of God, and practice of Primitive Saints; yet if we should condescend to be Captious of our times, we could tell them, The Instrument, intituled, The Government of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, in the five and twentieth Article declares, "That Liberty shall be given to discover and confute Errour and Heresie, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine." All which the Engager, fol. 46. hath promised in the presence of God to observe, and cause to be observed

to his power; subscribed, O CROMWEL. In the mean time men would do well to take heed of Blaspheming, Reproaching Christ, his Spirit, and his Monarchy, as they do daily, (for which our hearts are grieved within us) and to search the Scriptures whether these things be so or no. For as the Lord Cromwel writes, in his own Letter to the Kirk of Scotland, "The Word of the Lord may be to some a word of judgement, that they may fall backward and be broken, and snared and taken; there may be a spiritual fulness, which the world may call drunkenness, (or giddiness)" Act. 2. O that we might beseech such in the bleeding Bowels of Christ, (crucified before our eyes) to think it possible they may be mistaken! Though the Great Ones, and Wise Ones, Priests and Rulers, Scribes and Pharisees, and Orthodox [19] Professors (so accounted of the times) were all on their side; yet a little handful of the weak ones may have the Truth (though but the despised persecuted Truth) on their side. And we do in the tenderness of our hearts and affections to all that are faithful, beg of them in the Name of the Lord Jesus (who is coming to reign righteously and gloriously) that they will have nothing to do with them that are guilty of so great sins, lest partaking of their sins, they partake also of their plagues. And we hope the Lord will enable us to undergo the sharpness of this day, for our dear Christ and his Cause, through the Reproaches, Imprisonments, Persecutions, unjust Charges, uncivil Railings, or un-Gospel Carriages, which we have, or are like to meet with, whether less or more, so we may drink out of Christ's Cup, and pledge our Master, who first drank to us the bitter Potion.

We shall close at present with our heartiest prayers and supplications, That God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ would in his due time cast down all those carnal, earthly, cruel, and political combinations of men (of all sorts) that would not have him to Reign

over us, but set up themselves, and their own corrupted interests, in the room of that Scepter of righteousness which he hath given into the hands of his dear Son; that he would by his Spirit (resting and abiding upon you and us) keep up all our hearts in a constant and patient waiting for his coming till he comes: Even so come quickly, Lord Iesus come quickly.

[Page 20—blank.]

[21]

Ordered by this Assembly (mentioned in the last branch of the Declaration) That 150 (and no more) of the Names subscribed to the Declaration, be transcribed out of the Original Copie, and published in the name of the rest: And that a short Word to the Reader be drawn up and printed, to signifie so much.

The 30 day
of the sixth
month. 1654.

Of the Church
that walks
with M. Feak
now close pris-
oner for this caus-
of Christ at
Winsor-Castle.

Emanuel Runwel
Will. Bathoe
John Jones
Philip Hieron
Miles Petty
John Greene
Tho. Cartwright
Robert Shepherd
Peter Kirby
Peter Chamberlain
John Light
John Spittlehouse
John Davies
Richard Ellis
Richard Smith
Robert Feak
John Rogers
Henry Bridges
Glid. Beaumont
Gregory Garth
Hur Horton

In the name of
the whol Church
that walks with
Dr. Chamberlain.

In the name of
the whole Body
that walks with
Mr. Rogers,
now prisoner for

William Medley
Christoph. Crayle
Samuel Rutter
Edward Grove
John Saunders
Gregory Kirby
William Russel
Benjamin Rutter
Francis Young
Abel Wescot
Humphrey Talbot
James Gresham
John Fuller
Nicolas Spencer
Thomas Ridel
Joseph Jefferies
Thomas Bernard
James Hicks
William Righton
John Palmer
David Morris

this Cause of
Christ at Lam-
beth-prison.

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Raworth.

Richard Bland
James Wilson
George Rickets
Thomas Selbie
Thomas Walcham
Daniel Rosier
John Swetnam
Robert Aske
Philip Rickards
Robert Young
George Lawson
Josiah Carsewel
John More

With M. Knowis.

John Withinbrook
Thomas Franklin
John Perkins
John Dunton
Robert Mason
David Towler
Ioseph Heather
Simon Wyld
Iohn Hewet
Nathaniel Aske
Thomas Harrison
Iohn Webber
Daniel Ingold
Thomas Wilkes
Ieremy Wright
Iohn Sealy
Iohn Turner
Will. Shrewsbury
Iohn Combe
Arthur Jones

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Simson.

[22]

Peter Kidd
David Hackman
Ioseph Cleaver
George Barret
Iohn Clarke
Thomas Pierson
William Minchin
Nathaniel Hewet
Ioshua Rickards
Iames Allen
Iohn Berry
Iames Rich
Iohn Jones
Ioseph Mackreth
George Ewbanck
William Morris
Iohn Thorne
Peter Soone
Iohn Green
Iohn Iackson
Thomas Trouer
Iohn Richardson
Thomas Kaymond
Iohn Luxford
Iohn Willow
Christopher Cope
Iohn Tufnel
Hugh Griffin
Samuel Bradleigh
Iohn Young
Caleb Nicolas
Robert Smith
Thomas Crundal

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Jesse.

Of the Church
that walks with
Mr. Barbone.

[23]

John Franklin	Thomas Baker
William Lucas	John Hayward
James Mason	Will. Burrowston
William Mort	John Glover
William Seale	Lewis Honyburne
Edward Farmer	John Allen
Humphrey Bache	Philip Thomas
Samuel Gilbert	Ralph Willis
Ferdinando Adam	John Nicks
William Smart	John Low
Thomas Wheeler	John Read
Lawrence Ranson	Anthony Cooper
Thomas Hill	Robert Woodard
Matthew Turner	Nich. Waterson
Robert Steele	Jeremy Wright
William Johnson	William Bate
Mihil Miles	John Marlow, &c.

Of the Church
that walks with
L. Col. Fenton.

Of the Church
that walks with
Justice High-
land.

[Page 24—blank]

[25]

To the Reader.

Christian Reader.

Thou art desired to take notice, that the End of this DECLARATION being to witness to the blessed Truth, with the persecuted Cause and servants of the Lord Jesus, these NAMES published are thought sufficient. Fewer, might have rendered it an inconsiderable Testimony, and given Men advantage against us (and Christ's Cause) on that side. The Multitude, or More (either those which we have, or the which we might have hereto) might probably represent it far more evil, formidable, or dangerous to them, (that are too ready, the Lord knows, to receive any Charge against us for our Faith and Consciences, in these matters of Christs Kingly Interest.). Now to obviate this Advantage, also, which men might have taken, Order is taken for these Names onely, and no [26] more, to be published here-

with; and that several other Churches beside, whom we might mention, be forborn. And for subscriptions out of the Countries (notwithstanding the hundreds out of Kent) they are also all omitted, on purpose, to leave it to the Churches in their several Counties to bear their own Testimony to this suffering Cause of Christ and his Saints, as in discharge of our Duty (with the comfort of our Consciences, blessed be our heavenly Father) we (who are judg'd to be in the first place concern'd) have done, and DO this DAY, in the sight of heaven and earth; and GOD IS OUR RECORD.

FINIS.

A study of the Fifth Monarchy Movement appeared in our last volume at page 166, by Professor Farrer. The circumstances that led to this manifesto may, therefore, be briefly stated. The Rump of the Long Parliament had dallied with the Army petition of August 1652 that tithes be abolished, that legal procedure be reformed, that none but godly men sit in Parliament or hold office. It had allowed the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel to expire, and was rushing a Bill to perpetuate itself, when Cromwell marched in a file of musketeers and expelled it, Harrison handing the Speaker out of the Chair. The deed met with frank support from Canne, Powell (not yet Baptist), and all the Fifth Monarchy zealots. They had seen first Charles I. executed, then Charles II. of Scotland defeated and driven away, now the remnant of Parliament gone; the way seemed clear for Christ to establish the Fifth Monarchy and rule through His saints.

Edmund Chillenden and John Spittlehouse proposed new plans, as also John Rogers. Cromwell and the other leading officers adopted the common element in these, that the new assembly should be composed chiefly of godly men. These were nominated by the council of officers, after careful consultation with the Gathered Churches throughout the country, and other local notables; 140 were summoned, and all but two accepted. A full list may be seen at the Museum, 669 f. 19. No. 3; among the advanced members were Colonel Robert Bennet, John Crofts, William Reeve, offset by his colleague, Henry Lawrence, of a more

conservative type, Henry Danvers, Samuel Moyer, Arthur Squib, John Pyne and Dennis Hollister, Samuel Highland, William Spence, and John James. Such a band of Baptists has hardly sat in any other Parliament. There were others, who were Fifth Monarchy pædobaptists, of whom the most important were John Carew, Praisegod Barbone, and Hugh Courtney, with Major-general Harrison co-opted. Three of these were baptized in February 1657-8; Barbone's case shall be considered presently.

The Nominated Parliament had about sixty of these radicals, as against eighty-four conservatives, including Generals Monk, Blake, Cromwell, Lambert, Desborough; Colonels Montague and Howard; Sir Anthony Cooper and Sir Charles Wolseley, with other real baronets and lords. The radicals attended regularly, and usually did as they desired, but on crucial occasions the others came and defeated them. The final snap-division was on 12 December 1653 when the majority dissolved Parliament, and another file of musketeers soon ejected Harrison and the minority. Within the week Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector under a new Instrument of Government, and the Fifth Monarchy was out of practical politics.

Harrison and many other officers resigned, Anna Trapnel, of John Simpson's church, fulminated prophecies against the "Little Horn," as she identified Cromwell, and Vavasor Powell, on 18 December, had a hymn sung at Christ Church, plainly repudiating Cromwell's rule and titles:

To Christ our King, let us praise sing,
 Who is our Savior dear,
 Who is our Protector and our Rock,
 Who will come and soon appear.

His Saints shall reign with him on earth,
 And great ones they shall bow;
 The Battle and the Battle ax
 And men of war shall know

That he will arise, and he will rule,
 And their power shall fall,
 And Christ our great Commander, He
 Shall be our General.¹

¹ The Faithful Scout, Museum, E 223.

Feake, Rogers, and Trapnel had at last to be sent to prison without trial, while efforts were made to induce moderate Baptists to speak up vigorously for the Protectorate. Chillenden claimed to have thwarted Danvers in getting up a protest;² Kiffin, Spilsbury, and Sansom wrote to Ireland in favour of the new constitution;³ Richard Lawrence was elected President of the Council of State; Samuel Richardson became a vigorous pamphleteer; Henry Borden, editor of the *Faithful Scout*, a weekly paper, used his position well; and Henry Hills was printer to the Commonwealth.

Until the Protectorate Parliament met, the Protector and Council were empowered to issue Ordinances; on 20 March and 28 August there appeared two, which established central and county Tryers of nominees to livings, as alluded to on pages 124-5 of this present volume. These peculiarly excited the opposition of the Fifth Monarchy men, as appears on page [5] of their manifesto. Since Parliament was to meet on 4 September, and would have to confirm or disallow all these interim ordinances, they held this meeting in the City, and published their declaration on 2 September. Its language, on page [12], expressly disclaiming the least reliance on any arm of flesh, is hardly reconcilable with the frequent allusions to the Army and the Appeal at Dunbar, and it is not to be wondered at if some outbreak were feared. The Parliament itself needed very resolute handling within eight days, though its objections to Cromwell were on other grounds.

The external troubles were two: a Royalist plot and Fifth Monarchy dissatisfaction. In the nature of things, the two parties could not come to terms, and Cromwell always distinguished them; but in many speeches and letters he warned the Fifth Monarchy men that their action tended to anarchy. In Wales, Powell and his friends were able to declare they had 20,000 men ready to hazard their blood; Courtney and Allen were active in Devon; at Hull, Colonel Overton was suspect; further north, Bramston, Hobson, and Oates were preparing an officers' petition; Alured, Saunders, Okey, Sexby, Lawson, and Sankey drafted another; and Lawson probably had a hand in one from the seamen.

For the third time Cromwell cast aside all legality. He abruptly dismissed the Parliament in January 1654-5, and pre-

2 Thurloe iv. 365.

3 Nickolls 159, a misprint being corrected.

pared to rule again by the sword. Efforts were again made to get Baptist support, as by addresses from the military churches in Scotland, and others at Hexham, Horton near Bradford, Derby, Burton, Dublin.⁴ On the other hand, the general feeling that Baptists were being turned out of the army was voiced by Trooper John Sturgeon, in an anonymous pamphlet, quickly echoed by others.⁵ Cromwell now lost patience, stopped all unlicensed printing, and appointed twelve officers to rule the counties with almost unlimited powers against both Royalists and Fifth Monarchy men. There was no Baptist among these: the nearest approach to one was Major-general John Disbrowe, who had married Cromwell's sister Jane, and whose father James was an early member at Fenstanton;⁶ though Colonels Packer and Lilburne were deputies for other major-generals. From that time the Fifth Monarchy men had no real chance; they did, indeed, prepare an insurrection in April 1657, and another in January 1659-60, but both failed ignominiously.

On each occasion the populace confounded the Baptists with them; as the mistake was very excusable, and is quite common still, this manifesto may be analyzed to test the connection. In the group of those walking with Christopher Feake, not one name is recognisable as Baptist: Dr. Brown indeed classes Feake himself as Baptist, on the ground that in 1646 he "had begun to have scruples as to infant baptism." Unfortunately, she does not support this statement by evidence, and there is nothing to say whether his scruples were quieted. The whole church of Peter Chamberlain was undoubtedly Baptist. John Rogers was, on the other hand, Pædobaptist. Raworth and his friends are not known as Baptist, but Simpson was. Jessey was an open-communion Baptist, Barbone was not, though Dr. Brown, who, in her earlier pages, has reproduced several exploded fictions, has accepted the loose statements that he was. When they are tested, the only evidence seems to be that his name figures in this declaration; and elsewhere she has been at pains to insist that the Fifth Monarchy party included both Baptists and Pædobaptists—much as the Keswick movement finds support from both sections. This makes us rather hesitate when, in the same sentence, she sets down Lieutenant-

4 Nickolls, 134.

5 A Short Discovery. Museum, E 852 (3).

6 Fenstanton Records, 251.

colonel John Fenton and Justice Samuel Highland as Baptists; she offers no proof. More than fifty names are given as from their three churches, and we are not aware of any of these men figuring as Baptist, though there is abundant literature of and about that period. We conclude, therefore, that the Baptist element in the Fifth Monarchy movement was rather less than half at this period. It could be shown that many other Fifth Monarchy men became Baptist about 1658, of whom Harrison, Powell, Carew, and Courtney are outstanding examples; and it could also be shown that many of them became Seventh-day Baptists, a phenomenon deserving study.

One other feature about this Declaration ought to be noted. At first sight, it looks as if ten churches signed, but a closer scrutiny of the side notes dispels this idea. Two churches did authorize their male members to sign "in the name of the whole Body": those walking with Chamberlain and Rogers. The other signatures are only by irresponsible members "of the church that walks with" Raworth or Simpson. And in these cases we miss the names of the pastors; Francis Raworth, Hanserd Knollys, John Simpson, Henry Jessey, Praisegod Barbone, John Fenton, Samuel Highland, did not sign. Samuel Richardson speedily called attention to this, called it a libel, "as if it were signed by those said churches, and upon examination it is proved false and counterfeit." 7

The activity of the Fifth Monarchy men, both in literature, in preaching, and in fighting, and the fact that they included many Baptists, gave colour to the general idea that English Baptists were of the same type as the German Anabaptists a century earlier, who were always judged by Munster as a revolutionary set of visionaries. Against this it was hard for quiet men like Kiffin, Spilsbury, and Richardson to persuade the public that Baptists, as such, had distinctly religious aims.

7 Apology for the Present Government. Museum. E 812 (18).