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# Barebone's Parliament

Annette Ewing

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BARREBONE'S PARLIAMENT -

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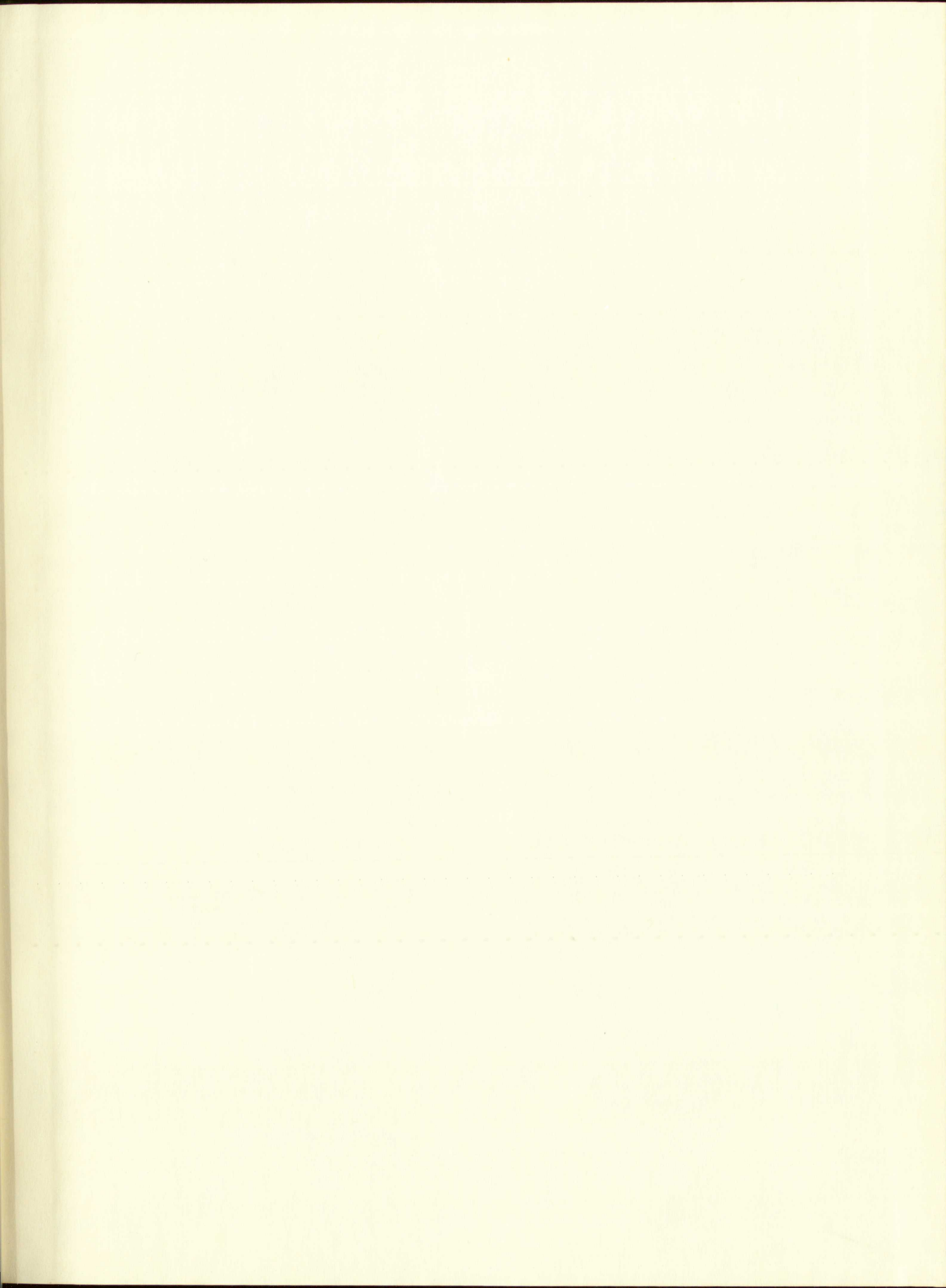
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BAREBONE'S PARLIAMENT

By

Annette Ewing

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in History

The University of New Mexico

1962





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MASTER OF ARTS

Stuart A. Rothberg  
DEAN

DATE

June 8, 1962

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University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the require-  
ments for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

  
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CANDIDATE

  
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ADVISOR

Thesis committee  
  
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## THE NAME OF THE PARLIAMENT

The Barebone's Parliament has probably been known by as many names as any parliament in British history. Before it voted to call itself the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, it was known as the new representative, the new assembly, and similar phrases. Its contemporaries referred to it as the Parliament, the little Parliament, or the late Parliament; or, if the person was a Royalist, as the so-called Parliament, the mock Parliament, or the mongrel Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The name Barebone's Parliament was apparently of later origin,<sup>2</sup> possibly after the Restoration. Later names also include: the Assembly of Saints, the Nominated Parliament, the Saints' Parliament, and the First Parliament of the Commonwealth.

---

<sup>1</sup>George F. Warner (ed.), The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State (3 vols.; Camden Society Publications; Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1886-1897), II, 40. Hereinafter referred to as the Nicholas Paper.

All spelling, punctuation, and other points of grammar have been modernized in this paper, with the exception of the retention of the "thou" construction in quotations with a religious flavor. This modernization will extend to the pound sign; £ being used for *l*.

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Rowen Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate: Vol. II, 1651-1654 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1907), p. 238n.



## THE NAME OF THE PARLIAMENT

The Barons' Parliament has probably been known by as many names as any parliament in British history. Before it took its name the parliament of the Commonwealth of England, it was known as the new representative, the new assembly, and similar phrases. Its contemporary referred to it as the Parliament, the little Parliament, or the late Parliament; or, if the person was a royalist, as the so-called Parliament, the new Parliament, or the merged Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The name Barons' Parliament was apparently of later origin,<sup>2</sup> possibly after the Restoration. Later names also included the assembly of saints, the nominated Parliament, the Saints' Parliament, and the Third Parliament of the Commonwealth.

---

<sup>1</sup>George F. Warner (ed.), The Nicholas Papers: Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State (3 vols.; Camden Society Publications; Westminster: Nichols and Sons, 1888-1897), II, 40. Hereafter referred to as the Nicholas Papers. All spelling, punctuation, and other points of grammar have been modernized in this paper, with the exception of the retention of the "thou" construction in quotations with a religious flavor. This modernization will extend to the pound sign; it being used for £.

<sup>2</sup>General Rowan Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate: Vol. II, 1653-1659 (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1907), p. 130.



The name, the Barebone's Parliament, as the most familiar today, will be used in this paper, though the author regrets that it has not lost its quality of derision and joined the ranks of now-respectable names such as Quaker, Leveller, Roundhead, Rump Parliament, and, later, Whig, Tory, Prime Minister, and Yankee.

Fraise-God Barebone, or more accurately Praise Barbon, the London merchant and Baptist preacher, was actually not a prominent member of the Parliament. His name, however, offered too attractive a means for ridicule for the detractors of the Parliament to fail to use it.







## INTRODUCTION

The unusual body which called itself a parliament and sat in Westminster from July 4 to December 12, 1653 has received scant and frequently inaccurate attention from historians. In fact, there has been no extensive discussion of it at all in books published in this century, though there have been a few perceptive presentations of the general Fifth Monarchy movement. This is unfortunate, because the Parliament can at least be regarded as a curious exception to England's reputedly sane history -- as the spectacle of an attempt to govern a country emerging from prolonged civil wars by an assembly of men chosen for their saintliness by the congregations of a few "gathered" churches in cooperation with the sometimes shrewd, sometimes pathetically idealistic officers of a well-drilled, hymn-singing army.

A better attitude, in that it regards the Parliament not as a mere curiosity but rather shows its vital part in the affairs of the Interregnum which so many writers have failed to allow, is to consider it as a decisive step in the progression toward the Protectorate. Its sitting gives a dramatic unity to the period from the spring of 1653 to the proclamation of the Protectorate in December during which Cromwell submitted to



## INTRODUCTION

The annual body which called itself a journal went and sat in Westminster from July 4 to December 15, 1857 has received recent and frequently favourable attention from historians. In fact, there has been no other alive discussion of it at all in books published in this century, though there have been a few pamphletive productions of the General Anti-Slavery Movement. This is unfortunate, because the Parliament can at least be regarded as a curious exception to England's reputedly sane history -- as the spectacle of an attempt to govern a country emerging from prolonged civil wars by a assembly of men chosen for their saintliness by the congregation of a few "gathered" churches in cooperation with the sometimes absurd, sometimes patriotically idealistic officers of a well-drilled, hymn-singing army.

A better attitude, in that it regards the Parliament not as a mere curiosity but rather shows the vital part in the affairs of the Interregnum which no many writers have failed to allow, for to consider it as a decisive step in the progression toward the Restoration. Its sitting gives a dramatic unity to the period from the spring of 1657 to the proclamation of the Protectorate in December during which Cromwell's authority



those radical forces which wanted the dissolution of the Long Parliament and permitted them to govern him -- indeed, perhaps willingly favored them at first -- until they, acting through the minority party of the Barebone's Parliament, showed to what revolutionary extremes their zeal would carry them. This climax -- a climax marking the apogee of Puritanism and also the most intense reform spirit in British government until the nineteenth century -- left England with the denouement of the security of dictatorship, and the virtual retirement of those elements which had been paramount in the spring.

The independent drama of the protectorate also begins its cycle with the Barebone's Parliament, for it has been asserted by writers, both contemporary and recent, that Cromwell permitted the Barebone's Parliament only to arouse the fear of the vested interests that they might support -- even demand -- his dictatorship. This interpretation is quite vulnerable to criticism, but it is true that the real and rumored radical schemes of the Parliament made the Protectorate more palatable.

This paper will be based on the interpretation of the Parliament as an independent cycle in religious radicalism rather than the somewhat paranoid interpretation that the Parliament was an assembly of dupes



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The independent spirit of the protestants also  
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Parliament made the Protestants more palatable.  
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of the Parliament as an independent cycle in religious  
radicalism rather than the somewhat artificial interpreta-  
tion that the Parliament was an assembly of judges



manipulated by an ambitious Cromwell. It will first present a chronological survey of the period demonstrating the validity of this interpretation. It will then examine in greater detail the major issues which showed the Parliament's distinctive character. In this second section the opinions of the radical party will be stressed, even though they were the minority party, since it is upon them that this uniqueness was based.

If any single passage were to be selected as best expressive of the Barebone's Parliament, its sense of purpose and its goals, it would be the following. It is quoted here to give a touchstone for the tone of this Parliament which has been called unrealistic, incompetent, and destructive, but never insincere.

If thou thinkest that thou art come to Canaan, the land of rest, and that there is attained unto the full end aimed at and intended by almighty God, in answer of all those mighty works and wonders (near unto miracles) that he hath wrought in these lands; if thou thinkest there is already the harvest of all that treasure spent, and blood spilt in the late wars, then rejoice and be glad: but if thou judgest God intended greater and more high things than yet thou has seen, in way of removing wickedness and oppression, and advancing justice



manifested by an ambitious Government. It will first  
present a chronological survey of the period commencing  
the validity of this investigation. It will then examine  
in greater detail the major issues which showed the  
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though they were the minority party, since it is upon  
them that this movement was based.  
If any single passage were to be selected as best  
expressive of the Government's Parliament, the words of the  
page and its goals, it would be the following. It is  
quoted here to give a foretaste for the tone of this  
Parliament which has been called unparliamentary, imprudent,  
and destructive, but never lacking.

If thou thinkest that thou art come to Jerusalem,  
the land of rest, and that there is rest for  
the soul and mind as well as for the body,  
God, in answer of all these things, will say  
unto thee (that thou thinkest) that he hath wrought in  
these lands; if thou thinkest there is already the  
harvest of all that treasure spent, and blood spilt  
in the wars, then rejoice and be glad; but if  
thou thinkest God intended greater and more high  
things than yet thou hast seen, in way of removing  
weakness and oppression, and advancing justice



and righteousness, then believe, and wait and pray; so adviseth he that is a well-wisher to the interest of the Lord Christ, the welfare of the saints, and the prosperity of the Commonwealth of England.

---

<sup>1</sup>[Samuel Highland], An Exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Late Parliament, Their Beginning and Ending, With a Brief Account of Their Expense, The Time of their Sessions, and the Acts that Were Made by Them, Who Were Dissolved December 12, 1653. As Likewise of Four Great Votes, Viz: 1. For Abolishing the Court of Chancery, 2. For a New Model of the Law, 3. For taking Away the Power of Patrons to Make Presentations, 4. That Innocent Negative Vote of Not Agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tithes. And an Account of Some Reasons of Those Votes: With a Brief Apology in Way of Vindication of Those Gentlemen That Appeared for the Votes, from the Great Out-Cry Made against them (London: 1654), hereinafter referred to as An Exact Relation, in Walter Scott (ed.), A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But Chiefly Such as Relate to the History and Constitution of These Kingdoms. Selected from an Infinite Number in Print and Manuscript . . . Particularly in [the Library of] the Late Baron Somers (London: 1811), VI, 268-269. Hereinafter referred to as The Somers Tracts.

It should be noted that this defense of the Parliament was written after its dissolution, hence the author's failure to recommend action as well as prayer. Highland, incidentally, was a member of the Parliament. In publishing this tract he abbreviated his name to "L.D."



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the nation, and the prosperity of the Common-  
wealth of England.

[Samuel Hilditch]. An Exact Relation of the  
Proceedings and Transactions of the Late Parliament,  
their Petitions and Prayers, with a Brief Account of  
their Actions, the Time of their Sessions, and the Acts  
that were made by them. Also here inserted is  
1653. As likewise of four great Votes, viz: 1. For  
abolishing the Court of Chancery, 2. For a new Model of  
the Law, 3. For taking away the Power of Persons to make  
Petitions, 4. That Innocent Negroes were to be  
liberated with the Report of the Committee for Affairs  
and an Account of some Reasons of those Votes, with a  
Brief Account in Way of Satisfaction of those Reasons  
that appeared for the Votes, from the Great Council  
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as an Exact Relation, in Walter Scott (ed.), A Collection  
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In publishing this tract he appropriated his name to "L.D."



## CHAPTER I

### THIS HOUSE TO LET

On April 20, 1653 the Lord General of the English, Scotch, and Irish armies forced an end to the sitting of the senile remains of the Long Parliament, then called the Rump. In so doing, he destroyed the only legally constituted governing power in England: the royal administration, the House of Lords, even the King had already passed away, as also had the established church. The next morning a sign was found on the doors of Westminster: "This House to be let unfurnished."<sup>1</sup>

This act was largely caused by the pressure brought upon Cromwell by the radical and millenarian forces in the army. It definitely was not part of an ambitious scheme of Cromwell's to destroy all opposition and establish himself as dictator, for he had consistently opposed the radical elements and hoped for a compromise with the Rump in which the members would dissolve themselves and provide for a new election. The endless complaints and schemes of the radicals, in combination with the Rump's attempt to sabotage the

---

<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, op. cit., p. 212.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

April 20, 1934

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed for you are two copies of a letterhead memorandum from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the Department of Justice, dated April 18, 1934, and captioned as above.

The letterhead memorandum contains information regarding the activities of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (A. S. P. C. A.) and its efforts to secure the passage of a bill for the protection of animals.

The A. S. P. C. A. is a national organization which has been in existence for many years. It has a large membership and has been successful in securing the passage of several laws for the protection of animals.

The letterhead memorandum also contains information regarding the activities of the A. S. P. C. A. in connection with the proposed bill for the protection of animals.

Very respectfully,  
J. Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enclosure



compromise and prolong their sitting, forced Cromwell to abandon the policy he had preferred and resort to force.

Prior to the Dissolution of the Parliament, Cromwell had complained to a friend

that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue of which made his hair stand on end. One of these, said he, is headed by Major General Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and condition suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution: of the other Major General Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.<sup>1</sup>

Of these two men, Lambert, the future architect of the Instrument of Government on which the Protectorate was based, was the leading force in the Council of State while Harrison, the political head of the millenarian Fifth Monarchy party, possibly had a greater following in the army than Cromwell himself.

Though Cromwell had preferred a peaceful solution of the problem of the Long Parliament, neither he

---

<sup>1</sup>Edmund Ludlow, Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant General of the Horse, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland, One of the Council of State, and Member of the Parliament which Began on November 3, 1640 (2 vols; Switzerland:1698), II, 448-450.



compromise and prolong their sitting, toward themselves to abandon the policy he had preferred and resort to force.

First to the dissolution of the Parliament.

Grosvenor had complained to a friend

that he was pushed on by two parties to do things the consideration of the House of Commons would not permit him to do. One of these, said he, is headed by Major General Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the Parliament did him, is now permitting him to go into Ireland with a thousand men and a considerable force to his service. Will he be contented with nothing less than that? The other, Major General Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the importance of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to regret.

Of these two men, Lambert, the future president of the Government of Ireland on which the Protestant was based, was the leading force in the Council of State while Harrison, the political head of the Whigs, with his minority party, possibly had a greater following in the army than Grosvenor himself.

Though Grosvenor had preferred a peaceful solution of the problem of the Irish Parliament, neither he

---

1. Edward Lambert, Member of the House of Commons, was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Forces, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, one of the Council of State, and a member of the Parliament which passed on Grosvenor's proposal. (2 votes; 184-120).



nor the other leaders were unprepared for a dissolution by force, and the adjustment to the new, potentially anarchical situation was made easily. Cromwell supplemented his Council of Officers by the formation of a new Council of State<sup>1</sup> which first met on April 29. Amid rumors that Cromwell intended to declare himself king, that Lambert might restore the Stuarts, that Harrison was going to seize power, and that Cromwell would call a parliament to offer him the crown, the Lord General and Council of Officers tackled the problem of determining the form of the new government.

It was a difficult problem. Cromwell was unwilling to constitute himself as dictator, but it was hard to find a workable alternative. A general election was unthinkable under the conditions in England at that time; it would only reopen the issues which had been

---

<sup>1</sup>The numbering of this council is difficult since its manner of selection was atypical. The Fifth Council of State had been dissolved along with the Long Parliament. Some authors call this the Sixth Council of State, though the Calendar of State Papers is inconsistent on this point. In this paper the term "Sixth Council of State" is used to designate that Council chosen by the Barebone's Parliament during the first week of its setting, and including this body which had been sitting since April 29 and which received the endorsement of the Parliament. Cromwell had told the members that this interim council sat only at their pleasure.



for the other leaders were...  
this by force, and the...  
stally...  
supplemented his...  
of a new Council of State...  
And...  
king, that...  
Harrison was...  
would call a...  
Lord General and...  
less of...  
It was a...  
willing to...  
hard to find a...  
was...  
time; it would only...

The...  
since the manner of...  
Council of State...  
Parliament...  
of State...  
at least on this point...  
Council of State...  
chosen by the...  
week of the...  
been sitting since...  
document of the...  
members that this...  
pleasure.



painfully settled and endanger the achievement of the goals of Cromwell's party. Between these two points --- a military dictatorship and a freely elected parliament --- lay enough possible schemes for government that agreement among the leaders was slow, perhaps impossible. Lambert wanted a powerful council of ten or twelve members, and eventually a parliament elected under rigorously controlled conditions. Harrison dreamt of an assembly of godly men patterned after the Sanhedrin of the Bible and having seventy members. Others recommended other solutions, including a republic on the Dutch model with Cromwell as Statholder. Cromwell apparently was influenced by Harrison, but favored a larger assembly than he pictured, resembling some more familiar English institution, and drawn from the larger body of the Puritans in general.

On April 21 a declaration was issued by Cromwell and the Council of Officers giving reasons for the dissolution of the Parliament and stating that the Rump had violated the compromise, which, it was implied the present powers would uphold:

That the supreme authority should be, by the Parliament devolved upon known persons; men fearing God, and of approved integrity; and the government of the Commonwealth committed



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had violated the compact, which, it was implied, the  
present powers would uphold:  
That the supreme authority should be, by the  
Parliament devolved upon those persons, men  
fearing God, and of approved integrity; and  
the government of the Commonwealth committed



unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby the people might forget monarchy, and, understanding their true interest in the election of successive parliaments, may have the government settled upon a true basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the defense of the same.<sup>1</sup>

The leaders continued to debate the exact form this government would take. On April 30 a proclamation that members of a new representative were "to be called from the several parts of this Commonwealth to the supreme authority"<sup>2</sup> was prepared but not issued due to the Council's indecision. A declaration of May 3 was simply a restatement of that of April 22. Finally on May 6 the April 30 proclamation was published.<sup>3</sup> Letters asking for nominations were sent to the so called "gathered" churches, that is, the Congregational, Baptist, Quaker and other sectarian

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<sup>1</sup>Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary and Constitutional History of England; Vols. XX, XXI, 1651-1656, 1656-1659 (London: 1757-1760), XX, 140. Hereinafter referred to as Parliamentary History.

<sup>2</sup>Gardiner, op. cit., p. 221

<sup>3</sup>This chronology is based on Gardiner's work; Abbot lists May 3 as the date for the last declaration and implies that the April 30 text was used then. [Wilbur Cortez Abbott (ed.), The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell: With an Introduction, Notes and an Account of His Life (4 vols; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), III, 25.]







churches into which the "elect" had been "gathered" out of the mass of "nominal believers" (Presbyterians and Anglicans).

The actual selection of the members was a careful process designed to exclude any persons who were unfriendly toward a republican but undemocratic form of government, who were not acceptable to the army, or who were not of reasonable godliness. Cromwell had preferred that no active soldiers be members, but this was not insisted upon. Also there were to be no "professed" lawyers allowed among the saints.<sup>1</sup> Names were submitted by the churches in England and Wales and by the army in Ireland and Scotland. The men around Cromwell did not hesitate to make recommendations, as witness Harrison's letter to Colonel John Jones concerning the members for Wales:

I presume Brother Powell acquainted you with our thoughts as to the persons most in them, to serve on behalf[of] the saints in North Wales; that we propound three for the North, three for South Wales, Hugh Courtney, John Brown, Richard Price out of your parts; wherein I wish the help of yourself and others if we have erred in the men, or to confirm us therein if approved by the most spiritual, or that you will send up two or three names of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Abbott, op. cit., III, 26-27.







most polished, in case there be cause of any addition or alteration, though it be by lot.<sup>1</sup>

After the recommendations had been received, the Council of Officers freely adjusted the lists to provide seats for prominent officers and politicians such as the able Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper and the ungodly General George Monk.

The nominations from only five counties remain, but these are instructive in that they indicate not only the adjustments made in the lists by the Council of Officers, but also the supremacy of Harrison at this time. The earliest surviving return is from the "people of Bedfordshire" and is dated May 13. It gives two names, of which one was retained.<sup>2</sup> The second place went to Edward Cater, who later voted with the radical party in the Barebone's Parliament -- that is, the millenarians who wanted an extensive reformation of England's institutions in preparation for Christ's return. The churches of Suffolk nominated six persons<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>C.H. Simpkinson, Thomas Harrison: Regicide and Major General (London: J.M. Dentand Co., 1905), 297.

Vavasour Powell was a particularly violent Fifth Monarchy preacher.

<sup>2</sup>John Nickolls, (ed.), Original Letters and Papers of State Addressed to Oliver Cromwell . . . Found Among the Political Collection of Mr. John Milton







of which five were accepted, no substitution being made for the sixth. The recommendation of the "people of Henly upon Thames" for one of the members for Cambridge-shire was allowed to stand.<sup>1</sup> The churches of Gloucester sent in twenty recommendations; of the three they particularly recommended two were accepted. The vacancy was filled by a radical, Robert Holmes, who does not appear on the longer list.<sup>2</sup> In a letter signed by the commissioners of nineteen churches in Kent, five persons were named,<sup>3</sup> of which two sat for other counties, two sat for Kent, and one was dropped entirely. Into the three vacancies were placed Colonel Thomas Blount and Andrew Broughton, both prominent radicals, and Lord Viscount Lisle, who played a major role throughout the Interregnum. Similarly the churches of Norfolk sent five names;<sup>4</sup> one was rejected; one sat for another county; and the vacancies were filled by two radicals, one having

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(London:1743), p. 92. Hereinafter referred to as the Milton Papers. It is interesting to note that John Bunyan was one of the signers of the nomination.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 95-96.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 124.



of which five were accepted, no objection being made  
for the sixth. The recommendation of the "people of  
Henry upon James" for one of the members for London  
shire was allowed to stand. The chairman of Gloucester  
sent in twenty recommendations; of the three first  
thoroly recommended two were accepted. The twenty  
was filled by a national, Robert Haines, who does not  
appear on the larger list. In a letter signed by the  
committees of sixteen churches in Kent, five persons  
were named, 5 of which was set for other churches, the  
and for Kent, and who was elected exclusively. These  
three vacancies were placed Colonel Thomas Haines and  
Andrew Livingston, both prominent residents, and Lord  
Viscountess, who played a major role throughout the  
interregnum. Sixty-five the members of London sent  
five names; one was rejected; and for another vacancy  
and the vacancies were filled by two residents, one being

(London, 1795), p. 55. Haines was referred to as the  
Milton Haines. It is interesting to note that John  
Haines was one of the signers of the constitution.

1795, p. 55.  
1795, p. 55.  
1795, p. 55.  
1795, p. 55.  
1795, p. 55.



served as an officer under Harrison. It should be noted that no attempt seems to have been made to temper the potentially radical character of the assembly, which further demonstrates that at this time Harrison had a stronger influence upon Cromwell than any other officer, including Lambert.

When the process had been completed, there were one hundred thirty-nine members in all: one hundred twenty-eight for England, five for Scotland, six for Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Finally in June, Cromwell and the Council of Officers were ready to summon the members of the new representative, the letters being sent under Cromwell's name alone:

For as much as upon the dissolution of the late parliament it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for; and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God and of approved fidelity

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner lists one hundred twenty-nine members for England and a total of one hundred forty, but he includes General Thomas Fairfax, the popular Presbyterian, in his figures. Fairfax had been offered a seat, but refused it. His name was hopefully retained on the lists until after June 20. (op. cit., pp. 231-232.)



served as an officer in the British Army, and that he attempted to join the IRA in 1916. He was also a member of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. He was arrested in 1916 and sentenced to death. He was executed on 11 April 1916. He was a member of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. He was arrested in 1916 and sentenced to death. He was executed on 11 April 1916.

When the British Government was informed of the activities of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army, it decided to take action. It sent a large force of British troops to Ireland in 1916. The British Government also decided to execute the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. The British Government executed the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army on 11 April 1916.

Finally, in 1916, the British Government decided to execute the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. The British Government executed the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army on 11 April 1916. The British Government also decided to take action against the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. The British Government sent a large force of British troops to Ireland in 1916.

For as much as upon the Irish people, the British Government should be provided with the necessary resources to ensure the safety and security of the Irish people. The British Government should also be provided with the necessary resources to ensure the safety and security of the Irish people. The British Government should also be provided with the necessary resources to ensure the safety and security of the Irish people.

The British Government also decided to take action against the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. The British Government sent a large force of British troops to Ireland in 1916. The British Government also decided to execute the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army. The British Government executed the leaders of the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Army on 11 April 1916.



and honesty are by myself with the advice of my Council of Officers nominated, to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is [sic] to be committed; and having good assurance of your love to and courage for God and the interest of his cause and of the good people of this Commonwealth:

I Oliver Cromwell, captain general and commander-in-chief of all the arms and forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you \_\_\_\_\_ (being one of the persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the council chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof, and then and there to take upon you the said trust unto which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the county of \_\_\_\_\_; and hereof you are not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of June, 1653.

O. Cromwell<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Birch (ed.), A Collection of State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.: Secretary First to the Council of State, and Afterwards to the two Protectors (7 vols; London: 1742), I, 274-275. Hereinafter referred to as the Thurloe Papers.

This summons was directed to Sydenham. Other summonses can be found in the Parliamentary History, II, 151-152; C.J. 281; Abbott, op. cit., III, 34; Thomas Carlyle's edition of Cromwell's speeches, and the following two works not previously cited in this paper:

Great Britain, Public Records Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series . . . Relating to the Interregnum (1652-1654), 1652-1653, p. 386. Hereinafter referred to as Cal. S.P. Dom. with the year. It should be noted that materials taken from any of the Calendars are likely to be condensed.

Bulstrode Whitelock, Memorials of the English Affairs . . . From the Beginning of the Reign of King Charles I to King Charles II, His Happy Restoration (London: 1732), pp. 558-559.



and possibly are by myself with the advice of my  
Council of Officers nominated, to whom the great  
change and trust of so weighty matters is  
to be committed; and having good assurance of your  
love and courage for God and the interest of  
his cause and of the good people of this Common-  
wealth:

I Oliver Cromwell, captain general and commander-  
in-chief of all the arms and forces raised and to  
be raised with this Commonwealth, do hereby com-  
mon and republish your \_\_\_\_\_ (being one of the  
persons nominated) personally to you and appear at  
the council chamber at Whitehall, within the city  
of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next  
ensuing the date hereof, and there and thence to  
take upon you the said arms with which you are  
hereby called and appointed to serve as a member  
for the county of \_\_\_\_\_ and hereof you are  
not to fail.

Given under my hand and seal the 6th day of  
June, 1655.  
O. Cromwell

Thomas Birch (ed.), A Collection of State  
Papers of John Thurloe, Esq. Secretary of State to the  
Council of State, and Minister to the two Protectorates  
(7 vols; London: 1742), p. 104-105. Parliamentary Register  
to the Thurloe Papers.  
This document was directed to Cromwell. Other  
announcements can be found in the Parliamentary History,  
II, 151-152; III, 101; Abstract of the Debates, 1655-56.  
Thomas Carlyle's edition of Cromwell's speeches, and  
the following two works not previously cited in this  
paper:  
Great Britain, Public Records Office, Calendar  
of State Papers, Domestic Series, . . . Relating to the  
Interim (1653-1654), 1653-1654, p. 300. Parliamentary  
Register to the Cal. Dom. 1653-54, p. 300. It should  
be noted that material taken from any of the Calendars  
are likely to be condensed.  
Solomon's Witnesse, Remonstrance of the English  
Affairs, . . . from the Remonstrance of the House of Commons  
Charles I to the Council, . . . and their Resolution  
(London: 1732), pp. 150-151.



The members thus selected and assembled have been subjected to much ridicule and inaccurate description by contemporaries, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century writers, and even some more recent authors. The most often encountered of these descriptions is that of the royalist Lord Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion:

There were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation as would consist with the guilt they had contracted: but much the major part of them consisted of inferior persons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practiced by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom: . . . in a word, there were generally a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of parliament lower than it was yet.<sup>1</sup>

This attitude was held not only by royalist officials in France, but also by official observers in London. A record of the reaction of the French Ambassador to England has been preserved:

I have seen letters from Monsieur de Bordeaux, intimating that there is a representative for the fourth of the next month [July] composed of mechanical fellows and tradesmen; and that it is a pity a kingdom should be governed by such men.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England . . . (6 vols; Oxford: 1731-1732), VI, 482.

<sup>2</sup>Thurloe Papers, I, 312.



The northern states... been subjected to such... tion by counter-revolution... Genuinely written, and even... The most often... of the royalist Lord...

Rebellion:

There were enough... degrees of... a proportion of... with the... the major part of... of no quality or... nearest friends... and proceeding... grave of men, but... in a word, there... non-alien fellow... reputation of...

This attitude was held... France, but also... record of the... England has been...

I have seen letters... interesting that... fourth of the... local fellows and... a Kingston should...

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Lyde, James and... of the... (1711-1712), p. 101.



In fact, the Barebone's Parliament was composed of men very similar to those who made up any other Tudor or Stuart House of Commons. A large number were country gentlemen and justices of the peace. Others were successful merchants and business men. Many of those who had not been born to wealth had profited from the wars and sale of royal lands; most of the members were therefore men of substantial means. Almost all of the members were experienced administrators, at the local if not the national level. Most of the major political and military figures of the Interregnum were members: Oliver Cromwell, Henry Cromwell, Harrison, Lambert, Major General John Desborow, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Lisle, Sir Gilbert Pickering, General George Monk, John Carew, Colonel William Sydenham, Colonel Philip Jones, Sir Charles Wolseley, General Blake, and Walter Strickland. After the Restoration the Stuarts continued to make use of the abilities of some of the members, and the list includes the future Earls of Carlisle, Shaftesbury, and Sandwich, and the future Duke of Albermarle.

The following charts give information on the positions and careers of the members. The tally of those with military careers indicates both commitment to the



In fact, the Government's... of men very similar to those... Under an... country... numerous... had not been... and sale of... fore men of... were experienced... national level... figures of the... Henry... Desbon... Gilbert... Colonel... Charles... After the... of the... included the... Sanderson, and the... The following... positions and... with military...



parliamentary cause and possible enrichment from the wars. The list of those who were in some way related to the trial of the king, either as judges or as officers of the court -- particularly those who signed the death warrant -- indicates extreme participation in the events of that time and thorough republicanism. These were almost the only persons who were exempted from the general pardon upon the Restoration, and they alone suffered the death penalty. The tally on members of the Long Parliament and the Rump serve not only as a further indication of previous activity but also the holding of a nominally elective position. In combination with the tally on those elected to one or more Protectorate Parliaments an idea can be obtained of how many of the members would have been attractive to the electorate. It should also be noted that not all of those who were elected to the Protectorate Parliaments were permitted to sit, which is an indication of disaffection toward the Protectorate. The tallies on the members of the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State demonstrate the holding of responsible positions while sitting on the Parliament; they also provide a breakdown of those two councils in terms of the other categories. The tally on the Protector's



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 of that time and thorough responsibility. These were al-  
 most the only persons who were exempted from the general  
 pardon upon the Restoration, and their share followed the  
 death penalty. The tally on members of the Long Parlia-  
 ment and the army were not only as a further indication  
 of previous activity but also the holding of a morally  
 effective position. In combination with the tally on  
 those elected to one or more Protectorate Parliaments  
 an idea can be obtained of how many of the members would  
 have been attractive to the electorate. It should also  
 be noted that not all of those who were elected to the  
 Protectorate Parliaments were painted to red, which  
 is an indication of disaffection toward the Protectorate.  
 The tally on the members of the House of Commons and  
 Council of State demonstrates the holding of responsible  
 positions while sitting on the Parliament; they also  
 provide a breakdown of those who carried in turn of  
 the other categories. The tally on the Protector's



Councils serves a similar function, and also indicates acceptance of that form of government. The holding of the office of justice of the peace is noted as an indication of good family, comparative wealth, and administrative responsibility. The same conclusions in an urban rather than rural context can be assumed for the mayors and aldermen. Positions as governors indicate similar responsibility while functioning in a military capacity. Finally, whenever possible, the political sentiments of the members have been noted. Various clues have been used, one of the most frequent being membership on one of the Commissions for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in 1655 (when Cromwell was trying to govern England through cantons under the administration of Major-Generals) as an indication of friendliness toward the Protectorate.

There are three charts given: one for the moderate party in the Parliament (that is, religious independents who favored gradual reform), one for the radical party (the more extreme sectarians whose millennial beliefs prompted an uncompromising insistence on radical reform), and one for those members whose affiliation with either group is uncertain. For additional information on the individual members, reference should be made to the appendix.







Moderates  
(total = 76)

Totals	Military	King's Judge Sign Death Warrant	Long Parli/ Rump	Pro. Parli.	Not Sit	6th Coun. of State	7th Coun. of State	Pro. Coun. JP, Mayor, Sher. Ald. Governor (Military)	Friend. P.	Unfriend. P.	Friend. R.	Unfriend. R.			
Military	32	6	4	10	19	1	13	14	10	11	13	17	3	5	4
King's Judge Sign Death Warrant	6	9	4	6	5	-	5	4	3	4	1	4	1	1	5
Long Parli/ Rump	4	4	4	4	3	-	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	4
Pro. Parli.	10	6	4	17	13	-	11	9	9	4	6	12	1	2	3
Not Sit	19	5	3	13	45	3	14	17	11	19	11	21	4	4	3
6th Coun. of State	1	-	-	-	3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	-
7th Coun. of State	13	5	3	11	14	1	20	14	14	4	8	13	1	3	2
Pro. Coun.	14	4	3	9	17	1	14	27	13	11	10	16	2	4	3
J.P., Mayor, Sheriff, Ald.	10	3	2	9	11	1	14	13	15	3	5	13	1	2	1
Governor (Military)	11	4	2	4	19	2	4	11	3	40	5	9	5	4	4
Friend. P.	13	1	1	6	11	1	8	10	5	5	15	8	2	1	4
Unfriend. P.	17	4	2	12	21	1	13	16	13	9	8	27	1	5	3
Friend. R.	3	1	2	1	4	2	1	2	1	5	2	1	6	1	4
Unfriend R.	5	1	1	2	4	1	3	4	2	4	1	5	1	5	-
	4	5	4	3	3	-	2	3	1	4	4	3	4	-	5



[illegible]



(total = 14)

[illegible]







Radicals  
(totals = 54)

Totals	Military	King's Judge Sign Death Warrant	Long Parli/ Rump	Pro. Parli.	Not Sit	6th Coun. of State	7th Coun. of State	Pro. Coun. JP, Mayor, Sher, Ald. Governor (Military)	Friend. P.	Unfriend. P.	Friend. R.	Unfriend. R.			
Military	16	1	1	4	2	-	3	2	-	10	3	4	4	1	3
King's Judge Sign Death Warrant	1	4	3	3	2	-	4	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	2
Long Parli/ Rump	4	3	3	7	3	-	4	3	-	6	2	1	3	-	3
Pro. Parli.	2	2	1	3	12	1	3	1	-	3	2	1	-	-	-
Not Sit	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6th Coun. of State	3	4	3	4	3	-	10	2	-	5	1	1	4	-	3
7th Coun. of State	2	2	2	3	1	-	2	4	-	2	1	-	2	-	2
Pro. Coun.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
J.P., Mayor, Sheriff, Ald.	10	1	-	6	3	-	5	2	-	25	6	6	3	1	3
Governor (Military)	3	-	-	2	2	-	1	1	-	6	8	3	1	-	1
Friend. P.	4	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	6	3	8	-	-	1
Unfriend. P.	4	2	2	3	-	-	4	2	-	3	1	-	6	-	4
Friend. R.	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
Unfriend. R.	3	2	2	3	-	-	3	2	-	3	1	1	4	-	7







Even though the new members were probably sincere, competent persons, the task before them required more than ability and imagination: the Commonwealth lacked firm financial foundations; the army, the real power in England, was drastically behind in its pay; reforms in the church and of the law were being demanded by the vocal soldiers, political leaders, and Independent preachers, but stubbornly resented by the English masses; England held Ireland and Scotland only by conquest, and Wales was still royalist in sentiment. These were problems with which the Rump had been unable to cope, with which Cromwell could at best achieve a strained truce, and before which Richard Cromwell -- "Tumbledown Dick" -- failed utterly. Well might Harrison say of the new members: "Oh that they may be Moses' for meekness, Samuels for uprightness, Davids for God's favorites, and figuring of the coming of Christ."<sup>1</sup> He should have prayed also for shrewdness, sophistication, and the ability to compromise.

Even before the new tenants had arrived in Westminster, objections were being made against them, the

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<sup>1</sup>Henry Alexander Glass, The Barebone Parliament (First Parliament of the Commonwealth) and the Religious Movement of the Seventeenth Century Culminating in the Protectorate System of Church Government (London: James Clark and Co., 1899), p. 61.



Even though the new measures were probably slow, competent persons, the bank before them, required more than ability and imagination; the Government lacked this financial foundation; the army, the real power in England, was financially weak in the 17th century. Reform in the church and of the law were being demanded by the vocal soldiers, political leaders, and independent preachers, but stubbornly resisted by the English monarch. England held Ireland and Scotland only by conquest, and Wales was still royalist in sentiment. There were problems with which the king had been unable to cope, which Cromwell could not even solve a strained time, and before which Richard Cromwell -- "the second Charles" -- failed utterly. Well might Harrison say of the new movement: "Of that they may be said; for Cromwell, Cromwell for uprightness, justice for God's sake, and fighting of the cause of truth." He should have prayed also for wisdom, sophistication, and the ability to compromise.

Even before the new regime had arrived in 1653, minister, objections were being made against them, too.

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Henry Aldrich, 1653, The English Revolution (17th Century of the English Revolution) and the English movement of the 17th century. Aldrich is the first to say of the English Revolution (17th Century) that it was a revolution.



most common being that there was no legal basis for their authority. Bulstrode Whitelock observed later:

It was much wondered by some, that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would at this summons and from these hands take upon them the supreme authority of this nation; considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to take it.<sup>1</sup>

These persons who questioned the legal basis for the power which Cromwell exercised in fact, and which he intended to transfer to the new assembly, failed to realize -- or perhaps accept -- the essentially revolutionary character of the situation.

A second objection, derived from the first one, was that the electorate had not been consulted. On May 20 Cromwell was presented a petition signed by six London aldermen and thirty-one common councillors, stating:

We . . . humbly conceive ourselves bound . . . to represent to you . . . the sad condition of this nation, which seemeth as in one day to be deprived of its ancient liberty, to wit being governed by representatives chosen by themselves, which in all ages since England hath been civilized the people have been so constantly addicted unto, as that notwithstanding the various changes of their kings and the exercise of their kingly

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<sup>1</sup>Whitelock, op. cit., p. 559.



most common being that there was no legal basis for such

authority. But the National Council of Education

It was such a number of years, that these people  
had, many of them, been in the service of the  
Government, and it was not until the year 1850  
that they were given the right to vote. It was  
not until the year 1850 that they were given the  
right to vote. It was not until the year 1850  
that they were given the right to vote.

These persons who possessed the legal rights for the  
power which Cromwell exercised in fact, and which he  
intended to transfer to the new assembly, failed to  
realize -- or perhaps never -- the revolutionary  
intention characterizing the situation.

A second objection, derived from the fact that  
was that the electorate had not been constituted. As yet  
no Cromwell was present in the field of view  
London aldermen and thirty-one common councilmen.

stage:

We . . . hardly ourselves ourselves come . . . to  
represent to you . . . the and condition of this  
nation, which seemed as in one day to be  
grieved of its ancient liberty, to the point of  
being by representatives chosen by themselves,  
which is all that since 1688 has been the  
used the people have been so constantly altered  
into, as that notwithstanding the various changes  
of their kings and the changes of their laws



power, even when they achieved it by conquest, there hath been ever found a necessity of governing this nation by parliaments. Whereupon we cannot but hope and do believe it is the earnest desire and expectation of thousands well affected in this city that so ancient and so useful a privilege, the birthright of this nation, will be tenderly preserved in your counsels as it hath been resolutely maintained by our bloods.<sup>1</sup>

The Levellers were more direct:

The said Oliver Cromwell did, in an unheard of manner, summon . . . divers persons and members of the lords the people of England, to take upon them the supreme authority of this commonwealth . . . and . . . he the said Oliver in so doing did commit the highest of treasons that could be committed; for that he the said Oliver did not intreat the lords the people of England to elect their representatives according to their indubitable rights.<sup>2</sup>

There were also those who, not necessarily wanting a general election, felt that limiting the selection in England and Wales to Independent congregations and the Council of Officers was excessive, in that it excluded them. A letter dated June 20 states that

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 229-230. The petitioners proceeded to request the restoration of the Rump, for which advice those who received salaries from the state were deprived of their offices.

<sup>2</sup>This passage from A Charge of Treason Exhibited Against Oliver Cromwell is quoted in the reply, Sedition Scourged; or a View of that Rascally and Venomous Paper Entitled "A Charge of High Treason Exhibited Against Oliver Cromwell, Esq. for Several Treasons by Him Committed" in the Somers Tracts, VI, 300. Hereinafter referred to as Sedition Scourged.







on Saturday last the soldiers, by the agitators of the army, exhibited a petition to the Council of State wherein they except against the persons appointed and summoned to be the new representatives. each soldier conceives himself as capable to have a voice in election of those members as any whosoever, but especially those who have been actually promoters of several remarkable things done in order to this reformation.<sup>1</sup>

The majority of Englishmen, however, were glad to be rid of the Rump and waited with at most mild curiosity to see what the new representative would do; some daring to hope that at least their petitions would be more speedily dealt with.

All that fear the Lord here are in much expectation what will be done by the new representatives; and they have our prayers that God will direct them to do that which may be most for his glory and the good of the Commonwealth, and that they may not tread in the footsteps of those who have gone before them, but that our Lord Jesus may be the foundation stone in all their actions and consultations, and that the superstructure may be answerable to such a foundation; if so, great will be the day of the Lord with us.<sup>2</sup>

Most enthusiastic of all were the gathered churches themselves; now there was seen "a breaking forth of sunshine after a dark and gloomy day."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Intercepted letter in Thurloe Papers, I, 306.

<sup>2</sup>John Poortmans, Deputy Treasurer of the Fleet, to Robert Blackborne, Secretary to the Admiralty Commission in Cal. S. P. Dom., 1653-1654, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>Milton Papers, p. 126.



on Saturday last the soldiers, by the agitation of  
the army, excluded a petition to the Council of  
State which they expect against the persons  
appointed and intended to be the new representatives.  
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voice in election of these members as any whatsoever,  
but especially those who have been equally pro-  
moted of several remarkable things done in order  
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some daring to hope that at least their petitions would  
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what will be done by the new representatives; and  
they have our prayers that God will direct them to  
do that which may be most for the glory and the  
good of the Commonwealth, and that they may not  
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fore them, but that our Lord Jesus may be the  
foundation stone in all their actions and coun-  
sels, and that the superstructure may be ac-  
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<sup>1</sup>Intercepted letter in London Express, 1, 306.

<sup>2</sup>John Footman, Deputy Treasurer of the Fleet  
to Robert Richardson, Secretary to the Admiralty Com-  
mission in Del. & Eng., 1817-18, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup>Wilson Papers, p. 126.



Oh! my Lord [Cromwell], what are you, that you should be the instrument to translate the nation from oppression to liberty, from the hands of corrupt persons to the saints? And who are we, that we should live to see these days, which our fathers longed to see, and reap the harvest of their hopes?<sup>1</sup>

As for Harrison, who with Cromwell had been the drafter of the new government, the hand of God alone was visible in this business:

Harrison hath lately written to an intimate friend, that the Lord has now made the General instrumental to put the power into the hands of his people (meaning the fanatic gathered churches) contrary to his intentions; that it was the Lord's work and no thanks to his Excellency.<sup>2</sup>

God had clearly made Cromwell his "threshing instrument, with teeth to thresh the mountains, till they become as chaffe;"<sup>3</sup> perhaps even the Millenium was at hand.

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

<sup>2</sup>Newsletter dated May 6 among the Clarendon Papers quoted in Charles H. Firth, Cromwell and the Expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653, "English Historical Review, VIII (July, 1893), 529.



Oh! my [unclear] [unclear]  
be the [unclear] to [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

At [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] of the [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
was [unclear] in [unclear] [unclear]

[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
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[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

God had clearly said [unclear] [unclear]  
with [unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
as [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

1845, p. 2.  
[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]  
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## CHAPTER II

### PROCEEDINGS OF THE BAREBONE'S PARLIAMENT

On July 4 the new members gathered in the small, hot council chamber at Whitehall to receive from Cromwell sovereignty over England, Ireland, and Scotland. Before making this transfer of power, Cromwell made a lengthy speech in which he briefly reviewed the Civil War as illustrative of the will of God enforced upon England, and described in detail the difficulties with the Long Parliament and the reasons for its dissolution. The calling of this new representative was the work of God, he stated, because God would not want England to be governed by wicked men, which surely would be the result of a general election to which the ungodly were given a vote. "Truly you are called by God to rule with him and for him."<sup>1</sup> Though, he continued, it would be better that he pray for rather than advise the saints, he entreats them to ask wisdom of God, to practice tolerance and pity toward all their subjects, and to promote the Gospel.

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<sup>1</sup>Abbott, op. cit., III, 61.



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On July 4 the new members gathered in the hall, not council chamber at Whitehall to receive from Cromwell sovereignty over England, Ireland, and Scotland. Before making this transfer of power, Cromwell made a lengthy speech in which he briefly reviewed the Civil War as illustrative of the will of God enforced upon England, and described in detail the difficulties with the long Parliament and the reasons for its dissolution. The calling of this new representative was the work of God, he stated, because God would not want England to be governed by wicked men, which surely would be the result of a general election to which the majority were given a vote. "Truly you are called by God to rule with him and for him," he continued, it would be better that he pray for rather than advise the nation. He exhorted them to ask wisdom of God, to practice tolerance and pity towards all their subjects, and to promote the Gospel.



He concluded the speech with a long description of the greatness of that day which Harrison would have had a difficult time matching for sheer enthusiasm:

I confess I never looked to see such a day as this . . . when Jesus Christ should be so owned as he is at this day, and in this work. Jesus Christ is owned this day by your call; and you own him by your willingness to appear for Him; and you manifest this . . . to be the day of the power of Christ. . . . I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company taking upon them, or rather being called to take, the supreme authority of this nation. Therefore own your call! Indeed, I think it might be truly said that never was there a supreme authority consisting of so numerous a body as you are. . . . who were ever in the supreme authority, under such a notion, in such a way of owning God, and being owned by him. . . . if it were a time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God will fit the people for such a thing, and none can desire it more than I! . . . I would all were fit to be called, and fit to call. . . . [In the meantime they must be shown] that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their thralldom and bondage under the regal power, so men fearing God do now rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them. But this is some digression. I say, own your call; for indeed it is marvellous and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us.<sup>1</sup>

He continued on a millennial note:

And why should we be afraid to say or think, that this may be the door to usher in the things that

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., III, 63-64.



He concluded the speech with a long description of

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a difficult time watching for sheer exhaustion:

I confess I never looked to see such a day as this  
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 that, as men feeling God have fought them out of  
 their position and bondage under the royal power,  
 so men feeling God do now rule them in the fear of  
 God, and take care to administer good unto them.  
 But this is some digestion. I say, own your call!  
 for indeed it is marvelous and fit to be called, and  
 it hath been unprotected, throughout all by you and us.

He continued on a millennial note:

And why should we be afraid to say or think that  
 this may be the door to usher in the things that

1846... III, 63-64.



God has promised; which have been prophesied of; which he has set the hearts of his people to wait for and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the lamb against his enemies; they shall be a people called, and chosen, and faithful. And God hath, in a military way -- we may speak it without flattering ourselves . . . -- he hath appeared with them and for them; and now in these civil powers and authorities does not he appear? These are not ill prognostications of that good we wait for. Indeed I do think something is at the door: we are at the threshold.

He even quotes from the favorite passage of the Fifth Monarchy Men (Daniel vii): "It is our duty to endeavor this way; not vainly to look at that prophecy in Daniel."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid. III, 64.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. The Speech is also given in the Parliamentary History, in Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England, in Carlyle, and in the Harleian Miscellany: or a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts . . . (London:1810), VI, 331-344. Hereinafter referred to as Harleian Miscellany.

It is interesting to compare this speech with Cromwell's speech four years later, on April 21, 1657, in which he spoke of the Barebone's Parliament:

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly, and yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was. . . . It was thought then that men of our judgment, that had fought in the wars, . . . why surely these men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever can be desired! Truly we did think, and I did think so; the more to blame. And such a company of men were chosen and did proceed into action. And truly this was the naked truth, that the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. (Abbott, op. cit., IV, 489.)







Thus convinced that this was, in fact, an assembly of saints, Cromwell produced "the Instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and instruct the supreme authority and government of this commonwealth unto the persons then met."<sup>1</sup> The quorum of the new body was to be forty; they were to sit until November 3, 1654, at which time other persons chosen by them three months previously were to govern not longer than a year and to provide for the further succession in government.

From the very first session the House made it clear that they intended to act as becomes the Assembly of Saints. July 5, from eight in the morning until seven that night<sup>2</sup> was spent "seeking God by prayer"

to the great gladdening of the hearts of many; some affirming they had never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did that day.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Parliamentary History, XX, 175.

Unless indicated to the contrary, the materials concerning the proceedings of the Parliament have been based on the following two sources:

Great Britain, Parliament, Journals of the House of Commons, VII, hereinafter referred to as CJ;

Great Britain, Parliament, Several Proceedings in Parliament, From the Day of Their First Meeting . . . 4 July - 13 December, 1653, comp. Henry Scobell, Clerk, hereinafter referred to as Scobell.

<sup>2</sup>Dutch Deputies to the States General in Thurloe Papers, I, 338

<sup>3</sup>Exact Relation, in Somers Tracts, VI, 269-270.



There is no doubt that this was, in fact, an assembly  
 of a kind, broadly produced "the movement" under his  
 own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of  
 his officers, involve and limit to the extreme activity  
 and government of this community with the persons  
 then present. The object of the assembly was to be for the  
 they were to sit until November 1, 1874, at which time  
 other persons chosen by their representatives previously  
 were to govern not longer than a year and to provide  
 for the further succession in government.

From the very first session the House made it  
 clear that they intended to act as a permanent assembly  
 of State. Only 5. Two days after the meeting until  
 seven that night was again "meeting and by prayer"  
 to the great gathering of the people of Maryland  
 some attending they had never enjoyed so much of  
 the spirit and presence of God in any of the  
 meetings and exercises of religion in all their  
 lives as they did that day.

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Parliamentary History, VI, 1874.  
 Unless indicated to the contrary, the materials  
 concerning the proceedings of the Parliament have been  
 based on the following two sources:  
 Great Britain, Parliament, History of the House  
 of Commons, VII, 1874, referred to as G.C.  
 Great Britain, Parliament, History of the House  
 of Commons, VIII, 1874, referred to as G.C.  
 Parliament, from the day of their first meeting  
 4 July - 13 December, 1874, comp. Henry Jacobell, Esq.,  
 Parliament referred to as Jacobell.

British Deposits to the Great Central in England  
 1874, p. 228

House of Commons, in House of Commons, VI, 1874-1875.



July 6 the motion was made that that day be also spent "seeking the Lord," but it was decided to wait until July 11 when the day would again be spent praying "for a blessing on their proceedings."

The amount of time the members spent in prayer was remarkable even for that God-oriented age. Besides the time which the members spent at services on Sundays and in the evenings -- indeed their attendance was so regular that it was suggested they conducted the government there --, each morning as soon as ten or more members were present they began to pray "and so continued praying, one after another, until there was a sufficient number assembled to make up a House."<sup>1</sup> The reply to a petition was typical: "The business of your petition is and shall be in due time under consideration; . . . the House will do therein as the Lord shall direct them."<sup>2</sup>

This attitude expressed itself not only in prayer, but also in resolutions such as: "That no person shall be employed or admitted into the service of this House, but such as this House shall be first satisfied of his real godliness."

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<sup>1</sup>Parliamentary History, XX, 183-184.

<sup>2</sup>Scobell, p. 31.



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1. Constitutional History of the U.S.  
2. Samuel S. Hays



This excessive godliness made Englishmen uncomfortable, and led to considerable ridicule of the Parliament. Such strange enthusiasm prevented the Parliament from gaining the popularity -- or at least acceptance -- it needed early in its career for support of its intended reforms. Though the gathered churches<sup>1</sup> who had made the nominations for the Parliament were firm in their adherence to the Parliament, they were relatively few in number.

The first problem confronting the new assembly was to determine what sort of institution it was, and what it should call itself. Francis Rous, the elderly provost of Eton, was summoned to the chair, and proceeded to tackle the problem. Many of the members were wary of the name parliament due to the uniqueness of their nomination and of their claims to special godliness; they feared that name would lead to popular confusion as to their role and position. The assembly decided, however, by a sixty-five to forty-six vote to call itself the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England because of the title's "lowness and innocency . . . having little earthly glory or boasting in it."<sup>2</sup> A declaration to this

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<sup>1</sup>See Page 9.

<sup>2</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 270.



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firm in their attitude to the Parliament, they were  
relatively few in number.

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what it should call itself. Kenneth Jones, the clerical  
proponent of it, was entrusted to the chair, and proceeded  
to tackle the problem. Many of the members were wary of  
the name Parliament due to the reputation of their coun-  
tation and of their dislike to popular godliness; they  
feared that name would lead to popular domination and to  
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title's "lowness and simplicity. . . having little  
actually glory or boasting in it." A resolution to this

See Page 3.

2  
Recent Relations in Foreign History, VI, 250.



effect was issued July 12, requesting the prayers of the nation. Rous thus became the Speaker, and the mace was brought in. The Parliament was to be attended by Henry Scobell as clerk and John Birkhead as sergeant-at-arms, both having served the Long Parliament. They also summoned Cromwell, Harrison, Lambert, Desborow, and Colonel Matthew Tomlinson to sit as members.

By the end of the first week the House was ready to take up the matter of appointing and instructing the Council of State. The instructions were based on the models of previous parliaments, and were as follows:

1. To oppose and suppress any person supporting Charles Stuart;
2. To order and direct the militia and forces by land and sea; and upon any emergency to raise and arm such forces as are necessary; and to grant commissions;
3. To use all good ways and means for reducing all parts and places belonging to the Commonwealth and not yet reduced;
4. To care for the stores and magazines of military provisions; and to care for the Fleet;
5. To encourage trade and promote the good of foreign plantations;
6. To send ambassadors and in general direct foreign affairs;
7. To advise and consult of anything concerning the good of the Commonwealth;
8. To send for any persons to advise with them in pursuance of these instructions (power to issue warrants);
9. To administer oaths;
10. To send for and imprison any offender against these or any other instructions received from Parliament;



effect was limited to the...  
nation. Some...  
brought in...  
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both having...  
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1. To...
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11. To charge the public revenue by warrant for such funds as shall be necessary to carry out these instructions;
12. To observe and execute any further orders from Parliament;
13. To appoint committees or persons for examinations, receiving information, and preparing of business for debates and resolutions;
14. To meet in Whitehall, etc.;
15. To be in charge of forests which supply timber to the fleet;
16. To prevent meetings dangerous to the safety of the state;
17. To care for the public library at St. James;
18. To give warrants for issuing the money received from the sale of royalist lands;
19. To remove twenty miles from London and Westminster any persons prejudicial to the public safety;
20. To prevent the mischiefs of free-quarters and short marches of soldiers;
21. To keep record of expenditures, reporting to Parliament all warrants for issue of money or imprisonment;
22. To encourage fisheries;
23. To preserve timber;
24. To employ only godly and honest persons.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Summarized from:

Samuel Rowen Gardiner, The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution: 1625-1660 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906<sup>2</sup>, pp. 381-383;

Cal. S. P. Dom., 1653-1654, pp. 15-16;

Edward Raymond Turner, The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1927), I, 256-258.



- 11. To change the public revenue by warrant for such funds as shall be necessary to carry out these instructions;
- 12. To observe and execute any further orders from Parliament;
- 13. To appoint committees or persons for enacting, receiving information, and preparing of business for debates and resolutions; to meet in Whitehall, etc.;
- 14. To be in charge of houses which supply timber to the fleet;
- 15. To prevent meetings dangerous to the safety of the state;
- 16. To care for the public library at St. James;
- 17. To give warrants for taking the money received from the sale of royalist lands;
- 18. To remove twenty miles from London and Westminster any persons prejudicial to the public safety;
- 19. To prevent the massacre of free-quarters and other marches of soldiers;
- 20. To keep record of expenditures, reporting to Parliament all warrants for issue of money or appointment;
- 21. To encourage fisheries;
- 22. To preserve timber;
- 23. To employ only civil and honest persons.

Transmitted from:  
Samuel Brown Gardner, The Constitutional Documents of the English Revolution 1629-1649 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903, pp. 301-337)  
Col. S. B. Dow, 1651-1654, pp. 15-16  
Edward Raymond Turner, The Early Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1927), p. 250-252.



These were the areas in which the Council of State, acting as an almost independent executive committee of the Parliament, had power; in all other areas the Barebone's Parliament had supreme governing authority in England. Even in the above areas it was necessary for the Council of State to report to Parliament and often receive acts of Parliament for carrying out their resolutions and orders. On at least one occasion, the naming of judges for the Court of the Admiralty, the Parliament refused to accept the council's recommendations.

The Sixth Council of State was to number thirty-one members, and was to meet until November 3, 1654.<sup>1</sup> The thirteen members of the interim Council of State were retained:

Lambert, Harrison, Desborow, Colonel Tomlinson, Pickering, Strickland, Carew, Colonel Jones, Colonel Anthony Stapeley, Sydenham, Samuel Moyer, Colonel Robert Bennett, and Major Richard Salway.

New members were:

Cromwell, Lieutenant General Charles Fleetwood, Richard Norton, Wolseley, Alderman Robert Tichborne, Colonel John Hewson, John Williams, Colonel Charles Howard, Henry Lawrence, Dennis Hollister, Hugh Courtney, Lisle, Andrew Broughton, Richard Major, Colonel Edward Montague, Thomas St. Nicholas, Sir James Hope, and Anthony Ashley Cooper.

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<sup>1</sup>For the numbering of the Councils of State as used in this paper, see above, Page 7.



There were also some other persons who were

State, coming to the office of the

Chief of the Police, and some of the

the persons who were in the office

in England. They were all of the

the Council of the State, and some

received some of the persons who

inquiries were made, and some of the

of judges, and the persons who were

refused to accept of the persons who

the persons who were in the office

one person, and some of the persons

The persons who were in the office

were retained:

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

New persons were:

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,

James, James, James, James, James,



Only Fleetwood was not a member of the Parliament.

The House also during this first week of its sitting appointed the Commissioners for Ireland, for Scotland, for the Admiralty and the Navy, and for Inspecting the Treasuries. Members of the House who served on these commissions were as follows:

For Ireland: Wolseley, Henry Cromwell, Courtney, Colonel John Clark, Sir Robert King, Major, Strickland, Jones, Norton, Sydenham, Colonel William West, Carew, William Spence, Colonel Charles Howard, Tobias Frere, Francis Brewster, Hewson, and Colonel David Hutchinson; (Only one commissioner was not a member of Parliament.)

For Scotland: William Lockhart, Hope, Howard, Sydenham, Lambert, Desborow, Courtney, Colonel Anthony Rous, Nathaniel Taylor, Carew, Hewson, Major Thomas Saunders, John Sawrey, Oliver Cromwell, Tichborne, Harrison, Montague, Thomas Brooke, Lawrence, John Swinton, Henry Barton, and Salway; (All commissioners were members of Parliament.)

For the Admiralty and Navy: Carew, Salway, John Langley, Blake, Monk (these five were repeating members), Hollister, Major William Burton (and three additional commissioners who were not members);

For Inspecting the Treasuries: Arthur Squib, Ralph Wolmer, Colonel Bennett, Colonel William Kenrick, Colonel John James, Blount, Taylor, Hope, Hutchison, Sir William Brownlow, Harrison, and Sir William Roberts. (Two more commissioners were not members of Parliament.)

In the instructions to these commissions there appeared one much needed reform, considering the bad financial situation of the Commonwealth: the collecting of all the







revenues into one treasury, and improving upon the account of how monies were disbursed.

On July 20 the Parliament decided to conduct its affairs by committees, of which the following were the most important:

For the Business of the Law: Cooper, Roberts, Brownlow, Desborow, Tomlinson, Sadler, and Blount, John Brewster, Taylor, King, Gervais Bennett, Edward Gill, John Swinton, Nathaniel Barton, Roger Coats, Augustine Wingfield, Spence, Moyer, West, and St. Nicholas; (A motion to make Andrew Broughton, formerly assistant counsellor to the high court of justice for the trial of the king, a member was rejected.)

For the Army: Sydenham, Norton, Clark, Lockhart, Edward Gludd, Wolmer, Colonel John Pine, Richard Lucy, West, Colonel George Fleetwood, Richard Cust, Major Edward Horseman, William Neast, Colonel Bennett, John Anlaby, James Phillips, Richard Price;

For the Advancement of Learning: Strickland, Sadler, Lawrence, Wingfield, Dr. Vincent Goddard, Burton, Spence, Cooper, Sydenham, Tichborne, Montague, Lockhart, King, Blount, Roberts, John St. Nicholas, Matthews, and Cust.

Other committees included: for Receiving Petitions; for the Affairs of Ireland; for the Affairs of Scotland; for Inspecting the Treasuries; for Considering of the Public Debts, to Receive Accusations of Bribery, Public Frauds, and Breach of Public Trust (this committee was expected to deal with members of the Rump who were suspected of corruption); for Trade and Corporations; for the Poor, and Regulating Commissions of the Peace throughout the







Nation; for Prisons and Prisoners. There were also formed committees for the question of tithes, and for a New Body of the Law when efforts to discuss these particularly touchy problems on the floor of the House alone proved too difficult; these committees will be given when those two problems are discussed. Also new members were frequently appointed to these committees for the discussion of particular issues or bills.

The new Parliament was not even comfortably settled in their new lodgings in Westminster when, on July 13, two of its most critical issues were brought in. One, the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, was destined to make the Parliament play the tyrant toward the one person in England who had strong popularity with the masses; the other, the question of tithes, promptly split the body into two hostile, uncompromising parties and finally caused the suicide of the Parliament.

Freeborn John, as the leader of the democratic and sometimes communistic Levellers, had been banished by an act of the Rump on January 15, 1652 for a crime which resolved itself into a breach of parliamentary privilege, and his mere presence on English soil had been declared by that skeleton of a parliament to be a felony punishable by death. With the dissolution of the Rump, Lilburne had



Nation; for Britain and Ireland. There were also formed committees for the question of fish, and for a new body of the law than efforts to discuss these particularly touchy problems on the floor of the House alone proved too difficult; these committees will be given when those two problems are discussed. Also new members were frequently appointed to these committees for the discussion of particular issues of bills.

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Frederick John, as the leader of the democratic and sometimes constitutional revolution, had been punished by an act of the King on January 13, 1689 for a crime which resolved itself into a breach of parliamentary privilege, and his mere presence on English soil had been declared by the majority of a Parliament to be a felony punishable by death. With the dissolution of the House, Dillwyn had



petitioned to Cromwell that this extravagant act might be reconsidered, but received no reply. On June 14 he had nevertheless returned to England and petitioned to be allowed to remain; on June 15 he had been arrested and his trial set for June 21. On June 20 he had successfully petitioned Cromwell for a postponement until the new Parliament might review the act under which he was to be tried. There being no action in Parliament, Lilburne petitioned that body directly. Before the petition was read, however, Strickland, speaking for the Council of State, reported that while on the Continent Lilburne had entered into negotiations with the Royalists, claiming that with £10,000 he could put Charles Stuart on the throne of England.<sup>1</sup> The next day, July 14, the petition was read, as well as the petition of "divers well-affected people inhabiting the cities of London, Westminster, the

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<sup>1</sup>For confirmation by a Royalist source see letter of 1/11 April, 1652 in Nicholas Papers, I, 291:

Lilburne . . . saith that, if the King will under his hand promise, if he be restored to be King of England and to all his revenues, that he will put all his forts, castles, and ships, and likewise the militia of England, into the hands of the people of England and be constantly governed by Parliaments in all affairs that concern the Commonwealth of England, that he will undertake to make him King of England, having, as he says, above 40,000 men that will upon such conditions arise for the King . . . . Some . . . are of the opinion that Lilburne is more able to set the crown on the King's head than ever Scotland was.



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be reconsidered, but received no reply. On June 12 he  
had nevertheless returned to England and petitioned to  
be allowed to remain on June 12 he had been arrested and  
his wife and four sons. On June 12 he had subsequently  
petitioned Cromwell for a continuance until the new  
Parliament might review his case and a motion was made to be  
tried. There being no motion in Parliament, it was  
petitioned that both be tried. Before the petition was  
read, however, Sir John, speaking for the Council of  
State, reported that while on the Continent William had  
entered into negotiations with the Catholics, claiming  
that with £10,000 he could put down the spirit of the  
throne of England. The next day, July 1, the petition  
was read, as well as the petition of "diverse well-affected  
people inhabiting the cities of London, Westminster, the

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For confirmation by a Royalist House was lost  
of 1/11 April, 1653 in Nicholas Peters, 1, 201:  
William . . . which that it was the will of the  
hand promise, it he be restored to calling of England  
and to all his revenues, that he will put all his force  
cavalry, and ships, and likewise the militia of England  
into the hands of the people of England and be completely  
governed by Parliament in all matters that concern the  
Commonwealth of England, that he will undertake to  
make him King of England, having, as he says, above  
£40,000 now with him upon such conditions as shall be  
the King . . . some . . . are of the opinion that  
William is more able to set the crown on his King's  
head than ever Scotland was.



borough of Southwark, and places adjacent, in behalf of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne." There follows the cryptic entry in the Journal:

The question being put, That the House will suspend the proceedings in law against Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne: It passed in the negative.

On July 13 Lilburne was brought to trial, but he managed to use so many delays that his trial had not been finished by July 16, the end of the court's session, and it was ordered to be postponed until August 10.

By not rescinding the unjust law against the one man in England who had mass support, the Parliament had missed its opportunity to pass a truly popular act.

The greater part of the period July 13-19 was spent debating the problem of tithes. On this question, and at this early date, the House became sharply divided into two parties: the radicals, many of them Fifth Monarchy Men, who felt that as God's chosen people they must do as God directs, and surely God was opposed to the popish maintenance of the clergy by tithes; and those who were more moderate, either from political astuteness or from an opportunistic desire not to offend Cromwell. The radicals, from their fanatical conviction that they were the instruments of God, could not compromise; the moderates would not. One member of the House, a radical,







wrote later:

All the House, for the most part, were sensible that it [tithes] was a grievance fit to be removed, the difference was, some would not give way to the removal of it till some other thing were provided to set in the room of it; others would have it removed as a grievance in the first place, and then to make provisions as God should direct.<sup>1</sup>

On July 15 the question was proposed: "whether the maintenance of ministers by tithes shall be continued after the third day of November next." By a sixty-eight to forty-three vote the House decided not to vote on the question; the tellers for the two sides in this division clearly show the existence of the two parties (Cooper and Tichborne being tellers for those favoring the postponement of the vote; Harrison and Blount being tellers for those favoring the immediate vote).

By July 18 the House, after having discussed tithes in general, took up particular problems relating to tithes, specifically "the propriety of incumbents in tithes." The next day, in an effort to bring the stale-mated debate to a close and get on to other business, the moderates moved that the matter be referred to a Committee. In the resulting division Pickering and

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<sup>1</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 270.



Wrote later:

All the things for which I was  
in [ ] were a [ ] of the  
difference between the [ ] and the  
moral of the [ ] and the [ ]  
and in the [ ] of the [ ]  
as a [ ] of the [ ] and the [ ]  
provision of the [ ]

On [ ] the [ ] and the [ ]  
the maintenance of the [ ]  
planned with the [ ] of the [ ]  
sixty-eight to [ ] the [ ]  
to vote on the [ ] of the [ ]  
in this division of the [ ]  
garden (Gordon's) [ ] the [ ]  
favoring the [ ] of the [ ]  
shown [ ] the [ ] of the [ ]

note).

It was [ ] the [ ] of the [ ]  
either in [ ] or [ ] the [ ]  
to [ ] the [ ] of the [ ]  
either. The [ ] of the [ ]  
nated [ ] of the [ ] of the [ ]  
the [ ] of the [ ] of the [ ]  
[ ] of the [ ] of the [ ]

EXHIBIT

WITNESSES



Cooper were tellers for the fifty-six yeas and Harrison and Blount were again tellers for the forty-nine noes.

A Committee on Tithes was therefore formed, consisting of

Harrison, Sadler, Cooper, Colonel Barton, Blount, Highland, Tichborne, Praise Barebone, Desborow, Clark, Strickland, Sydenham, Danvers, Roberts, Squib, Woolmer, West, Kenrick, Frere, Captain John Stone, Taylor, Wingfield, Colonel Rous, Moyer, Jamor Edward Horseman, Edward Plumstead, John Herring, Courtney, Alexander Jaffray, Gill, William Spence, and John Swinton.

The radicals and moderates were equally divided.

Temporarily free of this touchy subject, the House began a period of intense and productive activity. The above-mentioned committees were formed in the next few days; several problems were promptly referred to them. The Committee for the Poor was to investigate matters relating to hospitals; the Committee on Law was told to consider ways of removing "all laws and ordinances that are a hindrance to the progress of the gospel," how relief might be given to tenants against the oppression of "delinquent, malignant, or popish landlords," also business concerning probate of wills and administrations; the Committee on Ireland was to find means for guaranteeing the liberty of appeals to the Parliament by the people in Ireland; and the Committee on Trade was instructed to prepare a bill for compelling the late farmers







of the customs to pay their proportionate share of the £150,000 formerly paid by some of the farmers.

On July 22 the Parliament took up business relating to military affairs. On that day the Council of State made its report on renewing the commission of the Court of the Admiralty and appointing three judges. The Parliament refused to accept the Council's recommendations, and when the act finally passed on July 30 only one of the three judges suggested by the Council received a commission. On July 27 an act which had been under consideration was passed concerning the Army's Treasurers at War, for reducing their salaries "for the ease of the Commonwealth," and defining the powers of the Committee for the Army. The next day an act was passed renewing the previous act constituting the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, and defining their jurisdiction.

Also by July 28 the Committee for the Treasury was ready to report names for the seven Treasury Commissioners, including three members of the Parliament; Squib, Sydenham, and Roberts. More important, the act for combining the receipts of the revenue into one treasury was read and passed that day.

Action was taken on a letter from the Commissioners in Ireland before the end of July; the Commissioners







reported that all opposition had been suppressed and recommended a reduction of the parliamentary forces there. An act to this effect was completed on September 5. It should be noted that the commissioners also reported that twenty thousand Irish had been transported and an additional eleven thousand were in the process of being transported "into foreign nations" (such as Venice, where they served in the army); thus the Parliament adopted the policy of the Long Parliament toward the Irish.

The area, however, where the new Parliament showed the most promise of efficient and productive action during the first month of its sitting was that of law reform. On July 12 the Parliament directed that "the gentlemen who were heretofore appointed to consider of the grievances and inconveniences in the proceedings of the law" should have copies printed for each member of the drafts for acts they had prepared. These drafts had been prepared for the Rump, but in three months of sitting they had so bogged down in the definition of terms such as "incumbrances" that not a single act had been passed. By July 22 one of these acts, an act for taking away fines upon bills, declarations, and original writs, was twice read and referred to the busy Committee



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recovered a...  
there. At...  
2. It...  
posed that...  
and an...  
of being...  
Venon, who...  
new...  
the...

The...  
showed the...  
during the...  
reform. On...  
conclusion...  
the...  
the law...  
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had been...  
eluding...  
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tating...  
white, was...



for the Law; on August 2 it was passed into law, "saving of the people of this Commonwealth £120,000 per annum, only £10,000 or £12,000 thereof coming to the state."<sup>1</sup>

July, then had been a productive month; but the Parliament had already shown serious symptoms of the cancer which was going to cause its death. Bitter party feelings were strong; the Parliament had failed to gain popular support; and rumors based on the exaggerated statements made by the radicals in debates had already started that public alarm which was going to grow into a panicked fear that the whole framework of English life and institutions was about to be overthrown. An intercepted letter intended for Paris and dated July 29 states:

I own our new Parliament to be a chosen company of as godly painful men as are in the world; yet in all their consultation in the House they differ as much, or rather more, than any hath done before; and in particular in the business of tithes and impropriated law, and arraignment of Freeborn John. The House has been several times divided in these last; though next to prayer to God, they have been the chief things handled.

The writer continues:

There have been several motions in the House, that all marriages since 1647 should be null; and that the Jews might be admitted to trade as well as in Holland; and that all cathedrals should be forthwith pulled down.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Thurloe Papers, I, 386-387.



for the last twenty years. It is the only one of the people of this country who have only \$10,000 or \$15,000 in the bank.

But, what is the result of this? Very little. The people of this country have been able to keep their money in the bank.

Feelings have been kept in the bank. People have been able to keep their money in the bank.

Popular support and sympathy have been kept in the bank. People have been able to keep their money in the bank.

Statements made by the people of this country have been kept in the bank. People have been able to keep their money in the bank.

Started that morning the people of this country have been able to keep their money in the bank.

a pointed out that the people of this country have been able to keep their money in the bank.

and that the people of this country have been able to keep their money in the bank.

Conclusion: The people of this country have been able to keep their money in the bank.



The worst suspicions of the public were more than confirmed in August when in one day the Parliament resolved to abolish the High Court of Chancery. In fact, this was not as irresponsible and unrealistic as it seems. This was only a resolution; the Committee on the Law was ordered to draw up a bill to this end which would also provide a way to determine those cases pending in Chancery and matters of equity in the future. Three bills to this effect were eventually reported by the committee; two were rejected and the third was still under consideration at the time of the Parliament's dissolution. Furthermore the Court of Chancery was quite unpopular and obviously in need of reform because of its slowness, corruption, and expense. According to a member of the Parliament:

For dilatoriness, chargeableness, and a faculty of bleeding the people in the purse-vein, even to their utter perishing and undoing, that Court might compare with, if not surpass, any court in the world. . . . There were depending in that Court twenty-three thousand causes, some of which had been there depending five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty years, and more: . . . there had been spent therein many thousands of pounds, to the utter ruin, nay undoing, of many families. . . . What was ordered one day was contradicted the next, so as in some causes there had been five hundred orders and more.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 275.



The Court was divided 5-4 in its decision. The majority, consisting of Justices Brandeis, Cardozo, Sutherland, and Van Devanter, held that the Government's action was not an unconstitutional taking of property. They reasoned that the Government had a right to regulate the use of property in the public interest, and that the compensation required by the Fifth Amendment was not applicable in this case. The dissenting opinion, written by Justice Holmes and joined by Justices Brandeis, Clegg, and Glavin, held that the Government's action was an unconstitutional taking of property. They argued that the Government had no right to regulate the use of property in the public interest, and that the compensation required by the Fifth Amendment was applicable in this case.

For this reason, the Court held that the Government's action was not an unconstitutional taking of property. The majority opinion was written by Justice Brandeis, and was joined by Justices Cardozo, Sutherland, and Van Devanter. The dissenting opinion was written by Justice Holmes, and was joined by Justices Brandeis, Clegg, and Glavin. The Court's decision was a landmark case in the history of the Fifth Amendment, and it has been cited many times in subsequent cases.

1. United States v. Miller, 307 U.S. 174 (1939).



Being a radical, the man continued:

How sad a thing it is, that after such appearances of God in the land, such a court, in such a way of practice, should be continued, to greaten the retainers to it, and practicers in it, by the ruin of others, eating the fat and sweat of other men's labours and estates.<sup>1</sup>

It is likely, since the debate did not last one full day and since the Journals do not record a division over the resolution, that the description of the Court is not exaggerated. What alarmed the public was the suddenness and thoroughness of the resolution (or, as many believed, the act).

The proposed abolition of the Court of Chancery might not have seemed so drastic if the House had not voted less than two weeks later to form a new committee for the purpose of considering a "new body of the Law." The very thing for which Englishmen had been fighting for so many years at so great a cost in lives, the thing which they regarded as their unique English birthright, was to be taken away and abolished! Even worse, it was rumored that English Law would be replaced by the Law of Moses gleaned from Scripture -- a rumor based on the attempts of the utopian Fifth Monarchy Men to make England ready for the reign of Christ. Cromwell himself gave

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Ibid.







support to this rumor by stating in 1654 when he addressed the First Protectorate Parliament that the Barebone's Parliament

perhaps would bring in the Judaical Law, instead of our known Laws settled among us. . . . every stone is turned to bring in confusion.<sup>1</sup>

Samuel Highland, a member of the committee, later said in defense of the reform that the Parliament had intended a new "model" of the laws rather than an entirely new body:

It being not a destroying of the Law, or putting it down as some scandalously reported, but a reducing the wholesome, just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date; such as concerned the bishops and holy church (so called) and were made in favor of kings . . . ; the law of God being eyed, and right reason looked unto in all, there being some of the laws that are contrary to both; as the putting of men to death for theft, the sparing of the lives of men for murder, under the notion and name of manslaughter, a term and distinction not found in the righteous law of God. . . . By which means the great volumes of law would come to be reduced into the bigness of a pocket book.<sup>2</sup>

He was not very reassuring.

The House had been divided on the question of forming this committee, Squib (a Fifth Monarchy Man)

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<sup>1</sup>Abbott, op. cit., III, 438.

<sup>2</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 278.



STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE  
JANUARY 1, 1901

REPORT OF THE  
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE

APRIL 1, 1900

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and Bowtell being tellers for the forty-six yeas and Desborow and Cooper being tellers for the thirty-eight noes. The committee was composed of

Wolseley, Harrison, Pickering, Highland, Cooper, Tichborne, Desborow, Clark, Strickland, Sydenham, Danvers, Barton, Sadler, West, Barebones, Spence, Taylor, Squib, Kenrick, Blount, Wingfield, Moyer, William Roberts, Jaffray, Wolmer, Frere, Plumstead, Courtney, Gill, Stone, Colonel Rouse, Gill, Swinton.

August also brought the climax of the Lilburne affair, and with it the most unpopular and most censurable acts of the Barebone's Parliament. On August 2 a group of young men and apprentices of London presented a petition stating that they wanted a parliament chosen by "the legal, formal election by the people," and that the only way the present Parliament could remove the blot was by doing justice to the oppressed. "When upon any respect you decline such works, you decline your being; and when you cease from doing of them, do you not cease also from being a Parliament?"<sup>1</sup> The six men who delivered the petition were called in and questioned, whereupon the first was told by the others "not to answer any demands, but to demand an answer to this petition." The petitioners were promptly ordered to withdraw, and it was

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, op. cit., p. 247







resolved:

That this petition is a most high breach of the privilege of Parliament;

Resolved, That this petition is scandalous and seditious;

Resolved, That these six persons, who brought in the petition, be forthwith committed to custody.

. . . Resolved, That Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne be kept close prisoner.

The men were examined by the Council of State, and on August 16, were committed to "hard labor during the pleasure of the Parliament." Five of the men were eventually released due to sickness; the sixth was still being held in 1654.

Lilburne's trial resumed on August 10, but it was not until August 20 that he was forced to put an end to his stalling (by being told that if he did not enter a plea he would be executed according to the law) and plead not guilty. The court had instructed the jury to determine only if Lilburne had, in fact, returned to England; but Lilburne asserted that the jury was judge of the law as well as the fact. He proceeded to argue that if Cromwell had dissolved the Long Parliament justly, then its unjust actions should not be maintained; if the Parliament was just, then Cromwell in dissolving it had committed treason and should be punished. He also pointed out that if he could be put to death as a result of an







act of Parliament, without a trial for defending himself against the charges upon which that act was based, what guarantee was there of liberty for any Englishman? The jury, after lengthy deliberations and to the wild joy of the three to four thousand spectators, found Lilburne "Not guilty of any crime worthy of death."

The action of the Council of State, with the Parliament's approval, was prompt and decisive. On August 22 the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Commissioner, and the officials at the trial were summoned to give an account of the proceedings. The next day the jurors were examined. When asked to explain their verdict, a few refused to answer, several declared that they had acted as judges of the law, while the rest stated that they were not certain this John Lilburne was the John Lilburne named in the act. Finally on August 27 Lilburne was transferred from Newgate to the Tower "to be there secured for the peace of the Nation." Three months later the acquitted man's request for habeas corpus was denied. The Parliament had deprived the most eloquent and popular champion of liberty in England of that due process of law which his countrymen regarded as an inalienable right.

That these two unpopular and unjust issues -- Law and Lilburne -- should occur during August is







unfortunate because, perhaps more than any other month, this period was occupied by arranging and passing acts and reforms which were needed and wise. On August 1 the Committee for Inspecting the Treasuries was ordered to consider "how the excise might be brought in with the greatest ease to the people, and how the oppressions and burdens which have been in the managing of that business may be redressed in the future." After the English sea victory over the Dutch, the Parliament voted on August 8 to give gold chains and medals to the leading officers. On August 3 they had issued orders to various military committees and the Council of State to provide pensions for widows and orphans, relief for the sick and maimed soldiers and seamen, and other similar orders which, though routine, represented a speedy discharge of duties. On August 8 another one of the bills for law reform which had languished during the last months of the Rump was read the first and second times. This act for civil marriages and the registration of births, marriages, and burials was finally passed on August 24. One of its provisions, establishing minimum ages for marriage without consent of parents or guardians, was in part an attempt to discourage the abduction and marrying of young heiresses. An amendment to the bill which failed to pass would have



unfortunate... this period... and... the Commission... to consider... granted... burdens... may be... victory over the... to give... On August... considered... for widows and... soldiers and... through... On August 6... had... the first... and the... was finally... establishing... of parents... courage... in...



provided for divorce on grounds of adultery. Though quite unpopular, this act placed no restrictions against religious ceremonies, and did provide for much needed county registers.

The Committee for Prisons and Prisoners brought in a lengthy report, most of the points eventually being acted upon, for reforms in regard to debtors' prisons. Charges were brought against the keeper of the Upper Bench Prison for neglecting his duties, murdering and otherwise mistreating prisoners, and graft; and his dismissal was obtained. Acts were requested for the examination of escapes from prisons, and to give relief to the creditor of the escaped prisoner either out of the estate of the debtor or from that of the jailor; and also for action against jailors who charged prisoners more than their just fees. The Committee further reported on their examinations of the prisons and stated that they had found some prisoners who were able to pay their debts but refused (they recommended inquiries into these cases and the sale of the man's estate if so indicated); that some debtors wished to pay their debts but possessed only entailed estates (they recommended that Parliament provide for the removal of this feudal restriction); they also found prisoners who were eligible for release under







an act of the Rump providing prisoners whose estates were less than five pounds might be discharged but who preferred to remain in prison (they recommended hard labor); they found poor prisoners whose estates exceeded five pounds (they recommended the establishment of a panel of judges to give relief in these cases); and that some debtors were being unjustly detained by their creditors (they recommended legal action and compensation for the persons wronged). By October 5 an act was passed for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners which provided for a panel of judges to hear cases and clear debts where possible by April 1, 1654. This was to be accomplished by proceeding against prisoners who could pay their debts as though they were bankrupts, selling their estates for satisfaction of the amount owed, the remainder of the proceeds to be returned to the debtor. All persons who had been committed before June 30, 1653 but not proceeded against, were to be released. This act also provided for escapes as requested. Though in some ways this is a harsh act, it was an improvement over the previous situation. The prisons were full of persons who had been imprisoned for initially small debts which had increased to overwhelming proportions as the interest accumulated. In Fleet Parish alone one man was found who had been held for twenty-nine



an act of the... were lost... referred to... (page) that... five... panel of... some... term... the... the... for a... possible... proceeding... through... location of... to be... completed... want to be... as... it was... prisons... initially... proportion... alone one...



years for a debt of £712, another for twenty-five years for £228, one for nineteen years for a debt of £27, and one for eighteen years for a debt of £100.<sup>1</sup> By 1654 three hundred persons had been released in the area of London as a result of this act.<sup>2</sup>

On August 22 the Parliament ordered that an act be brought in to provide a way to pass bills for the custodianship and tuition of lunatics, idiots, and infants, there having been no provision for this since the abolition of the Court of Wards in 1645 and the beheading of the King in 1649. It passed on October 13.

Also in August the Parliament attempted to cope with the Commonwealth's hopeless financial troubles. Their method was in no way original; they merely arranged to seize and sell more Royal, Royalist, and Catholic properties. Thus on August 2 there was an act for collecting the arrears in payments for sequestered estates. A second act provided for the sale of Hampton Court and for discovering Kings', bishops', deans', and chapters' lands not yet surveyed (this bill was defeated August 31). Especially for the supply of the Navy, two-thirds of the lands of recusants then held by the Commonwealth were

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<sup>1</sup>Glass, op. cit., p. 104.

<sup>2</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 273.



years for a copy of the...  
for 1898, and a...  
one for fifteen years...  
three hundred...  
London as a...  
on August 2...  
be brought...  
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ordered to be sold, an act to that effect passing on October 21. Finally an act was ordered to be brought in enabling the trustees for the sale of delinquents' estates to sell woods growing on those lands and for disaforestation, that is indemnifying the buyers against the forest laws. It finally passed November 22. Two acts of a more constructive nature were ordered to be brought in at this time. The Committee for Inspecting the Treasury reported that the payment of arrears of \$37,706 in excise taxes due from the farmers was being obstructed by several bills placed before the Court of the Exchequer by those same farmers; they recommended that an act be brought in providing for the seizure of the farmers' estates if necessary, an act to that effect passing August 30. In an effort to bring some order into the debt of the Commonwealth, the Committee on Public Debts requested an act which would require registration of all items and funds acquired through bills of public faith, the persons receiving such bills, the persons giving them, and the authority by which the bill was made. All persons claiming a public debt, or arrears in wages, etc. must make such claim in writing by December 25, 1653, and after that date all such claims and debts not registered would be void. This was passed into law on October 7.



ordered to be sold, in 1911, at a public sale.

October 10, 1911, the land was sold to the

trustees of the land, who were to sell

to sell the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

tion, then is indicated, that the land

land, the land is sold, in 1911, at a public sale.

consistently, and the land is sold, in 1911, at a public sale.

time. The land is sold, in 1911, at a public sale.

that the payment of money, in 1911, at a public sale.

due from the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

placed before the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

land, in 1911, at a public sale.

validity of the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

an act to give effect to the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

bring some other land, in 1911, at a public sale.

Commission on the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

negative registration of the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

through bills of the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

Bill, the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

the bill was passed, in 1911, at a public sale.

or otherwise is passed, in 1911, at a public sale.

by December 1, 1911, at a public sale.

and the land, in 1911, at a public sale.

into law, in 1911, at a public sale.



One piece of important business during August should be noted because it contributed to Cromwell's growing dissatisfaction with the Parliament.. Early in August in relation to the Lilburne trial the Parliament had made several resolutions regarding treason and the prevention of seditious publications, and accordingly the Council of State on August 10 requested that "due to the designs that are on foot in this Commonwealth on the behalf of Charles Stuart" a high court of justice be erected. Since some Royalist plots had been discovered, the Parliament readily complied and without a division passed a resolution that the Council of State bring in an act to that effect. That same day Thomas St. Nicholas, Moyer, and Tichborne were ordered by the Council to prepare the act. After that date the whole business bogged down, largely because the radicals were hesitant to help set up a court which they realized could be effectively used against them whenever they entered into opposition to the government. When a new rash of seditious pamphlets appeared after the publication on September 14 of A Charge of High Treason Exhibited against Oliver Cromwell (which called for a spontaneous election of a new parliament on October 16), the Parliament in alarm asked for action from the Council on October 11. The Council coldly



One point of importance was that the

should be noted however that the Government  
giving consideration to the possibility of  
being in a position to make a statement  
had made several statements in the past  
prevention of the Government from  
Council of State in regard to the  
designs that are at present being  
behalf of the Government in regard to  
executed. Since the British Government  
the Parliament voted to support the  
passed a resolution in regard to the  
act to first effect. The Government  
Moyer, and the Government have  
gave the act. The Government  
down, largely because the matter was  
set up a committee to study the  
used against the Government in regard to  
to the Government. The Government  
appeared after the publication of the  
of High Treason. The Government  
called for a special meeting of the  
October 16, the Government in regard to  
from the Council of State in regard to



reminded the House of the act which they had prepared for the Court. Still there was no action other than to refer it to a committee, consisting of Broughton, Sadler, Jones, Bennett, Spence, Harrison, Desborow, Taylor, Blount, Colonel Clark, Hope, Barebones, and Courtney, and it was only by hurriedly reading the bill and passing it quickly one morning while the radicals were still at a meeting at Blackfriars that the act finally became law on November 21.

By the end of August Cromwell was thoroughly displeased with the Parliament. He is reported to have said, comparing them with the Rump, "I am more troubled now with the fool than with the knave."<sup>1</sup> The Venetian secretary reported the rumor that Cromwell intended to alter the membership of the Parliament,<sup>2</sup> though this is more indicative of the general dissatisfaction than of Cromwell's plans. The best indication of the strained situation is a letter written by Cromwell to his son-

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<sup>1</sup>Gardiner, op. cit., p. 254.

<sup>2</sup>Great Britain, Public Records Office, Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs Preserved in Archives of Venice: Vol. XXIX, 1653-1654, pp. 118-119. Hereinafter referred to as Cal. S.P. Ven.







in-law Charles Fleetwood and dated August 22:

Truly I never needed more help from my Christian friends than now. Fain would I have my service accepted to the saints (if the Lord will), but it is not so. Being of different judgements, and those of each sort seeking most to propogate their own, that spirit of kindness that is to them all is hardly accepted of any.<sup>1</sup>

Cromwell had particular reason to be annoyed with the Parliament because it was commonly believed that it was his puppet and its actions his dictates. Thus when the Parliament attacked the legal system or the ministry, the public's reaction was either that Cromwell had willed it to destroy the Law or ministry, or that he was using the Parliament as a foil to increase his own popularity. Yet Cromwell himself was disturbed to realize how slight a hold he had over the assembly as is illustrated by the delay in the establishment of the high court of justice. By mid-September it would become apparent that Lambert was replacing Harrison as Cromwell's favorite; and by November the Parliament, by further exercising its independence from Cromwell by antagonizing his beloved army, would make the entire relationship intolerable to Cromwell.

The public was equally unhappy with the Parliament for they, like Cromwell, felt the double frustration of

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<sup>1</sup>Abbott, op. cit., III, 89.



In the United States and other countries

There is a growing feeling that the United States is not doing enough to help the people of the world. This feeling is based on the fact that the United States is the only country in the world which has not yet adopted a policy of universal disarmament. It is not only the United States but also the other great powers which are responsible for the present state of the world. The United States is the only country which has not yet adopted a policy of universal disarmament. It is not only the United States but also the other great powers which are responsible for the present state of the world.

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having an institution they could not control threaten their own integrity. A paper, probably of this approximate date, observed:

His [Cromwell's] Parliament's earnest debate from the pulling up of tithes has disengaged all that be serious, either Independent or Presbyterian, in matters of religion, who look upon the ministry destroyed when the maintenance is taken away; and that all properties will hereafter have the same estimation, especially since elective parliaments, the bulwark of propriety, is [sic] taken away.

The sudden plucking up of the High Court of Chancery, before another better expedient to dispatch things incident thereto [has been] found out, debated, and concluded, and this with so little respect to the honor of so ancient a court, gives the lawyers to think what will become of their trade; and their order to bring in a new body of law makes serious men in doubt what will become of the laws themselves, and that new kind of arbitrary government is at the door; when such foundations as those, so eagerly and with so much blood contended for but the other day, are not only dared to be attempted, but pulled up by those who have pretendedly been the champions to vindicate and secure their authority.<sup>1</sup>

September opened with a bold warning to the Parliament in the form of a petition in support of the established ministry, maintenance by tithes, and the universities presented by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London. In its preamble it stated:

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<sup>1</sup>"A paper advising the way to restore King Charles II" in the Thurloe Papers, II, 747.







Except that the honor of the Parliament be preserved, we think you will be scarce able to do any great matters; and if any people in the nation shall be suffered at their pleasure to reflect upon the supreme power, we think very ill fruits must follow of it; we beseech you, therefore, to consider of your own honor, to preserve it.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, the honor of the Parliament had already been lost; and even though throughout September and October the Parliament passed sensible measures and tried to cope with the financial difficulties, the popularity of the Parliament continued to decline. Only some positive, reassuring act might have braked this plunge, and it was not forthcoming. Instead the Parliament succeeded in offending the very wellspring of all power in the Commonwealth: the Army.

The financial efforts of the Parliament are pathetic. The debt was for that time overwhelming, yet like a frugal shopkeeper they carefully examined the salaries of the employees of the state and nipped away £5 here and £3 there and seemed to feel that they were making substantial progress. The only sufficient sources of income were kin to theft: the Royalist properties, seizing Dutch and Spanish ships, and selling lands in Ireland.

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<sup>1</sup>CJ, p. 312; Scobell, p. 83.



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Thus when the Commissioners for Inspecting the Treasuries were given two bills from the Navy, one for £182,641 and the other for £282,641, "and finding the several treasuries . . . for the supply of the Navy, at present, to run very low; and the wants of the Navy not possible in any measure to be supplied by the monies arising on the several treasuries appointed, by Parliament, for the aforesaid purpose," the only solution to this problem was to grant forest lands as security to the farmers of the customs for a loan of £276,146. Small-scale thrift was also attempted, and on October 1 the Committee for Inspecting the Treasuries and Regulating Officers and Salaries reported ways of economizing by eliminating some officers and reducing the salaries of others for a savings of £1,650 per annum. Three days later they added further reductions to save an additional £340 -- just £40 more than one of the two gold chains that were given to Blake and Monk in August to celebrate the victory over the Dutch, the total bill for medals for that victory having exceeded £2,000. The committee also reported that the creditors to whom £243,319 was owed should be requested to lower their interest rates to 6%. The Committee of the Army then submitted a bill (which passed on October 19) empowering them to determine how much



This when the Commission was first set up. The Commission  
was given the task of investigating the situation in the  
the other two fields, and finally, and most important,  
the Commission was to report on the situation in the  
the very last part of the year of the last session of  
any measure to be adopted by the Commission in the  
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money had been received by all officers, soldiers, and others employed by them for October 1647 to July 1653 in an attempt to discover how much had been paid and how great the arrears actually were. Yet on September 29 the Council of State had sent the Parliament the urgent request "that £10,000 may be speedily provided for Council's contingencies, there being pressing affairs which cannot be carried on without a speedy advance of money"<sup>1</sup> and even that sum was not readily available. The Venetian Secretary accurately summarized the situation:

The necessity of keeping the navy and army in a good temper and well paid adds to the financial embarrassments of the government. There are no funds, and it is not considered safe to impose fresh taxes, as those now in force are a heavier burden than the English have ever been accustomed to. So to avoid insurrection, before doubling the ordinary and extraordinary assessment, they have decided to raise money from the so called "delinquents" and Catholics. . . . They thus further exasperate the subject, whose goodwill has always been considered a rich treasure for the exigencies of the sovereign but here it is a source of revenue which is most certainly on the decline.<sup>2</sup>

In this climate of chronic financial crisis and acute public discontent a bill for renewing the assessment for the army was brought in November 4 (earlier

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<sup>1</sup>Cal. S.P. Com., 1653-1654, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup>Cal. S.P. Ven., pp. 133-134. The letter is dated October 3, N.S.







in September an act for continuing the excise to December 29 had passed with no difficulty because it was regarded as a temporary measure). The Parliament had anticipated this problem and had spent several days in late September and mid-October debating the "equality of the taxes." The problem was caused in part by

the great inequality betwixt county and county, city and city, hundred and hundred, and so of particular estates, some paying but two or three shillings in the pound, and others four and five; yea and some ten or twelve shillings for their real estate, besides what they paid for their personal.<sup>1</sup>

The system which had been in use was to assign a certain amount on each county; that tax to be collected by a pound rate upon property would be invariable within the county but would differ considerably from one county to another. The Parliament hoped to reform this system by levying the tax on England as a whole, irrespective of counties, to be collected by a uniform pound rate, but the transition period for such a reform would be too long since the new assessment would need to start being paid in January. Thus on October 14 the House resolved "That the next assessment throughout the nations shall be by a fixed sum upon each respective county . . .

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<sup>1</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 274.







[to] be levied by a pound rate upon the estates real and personal." Since the House had debated this problem principally as a grand committee no record of the votes which led to this resolution was entered in the Journals.

When the bill for an assessment of £120,000 per month was introduced in November, however, the October resolution was disregarded and the uniform rate again debated, and again rejected on November 8. It should be noted that on this question the moderate party as well as the House was divided, with Howard and Cooper being tellers for the fifty votes favoring the continuance of the old system and Jones and Wolseley being tellers for the twenty-seven votes favoring reform. This opportunity for relieving the tax burden on some of the subjects being rejected, the House considered other possible ways of reducing the assessment, the most extreme being that of the idealistic Harrison that the officers should serve for one year without pay:

It was moved indeed in order to the abatement of the tax that, in respect to their great estates already gotten, and the little pains and hazard they were now at in this time of peace, and the sore and heavy burden that was upon the people, that the chief officers would for one year in this time of strait serve the Commonwealth freely, as they had called the Parliament to do.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Great Britain's Post in Gardiner, op. cit., p. 264n.



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It was not until November 24 that the Assessment bill finally became law (though it was only extended for six months in hopes of passing later reforms). The only reform that had been made in it was to readjust the amounts levied upon the various counties and to increase London's assessment from £6,000 to £8,000 a month, which those of London, of course, felt was excessive. The adjustments made in the counties' rates were at times so slight as to be ridiculous. The smallest adjustment was the addition of three pounds, six shillings, eight pence each month.

The assessment issue had thoroughly antagonized the army; this fruitless delay had undermined their confidence in the Parliament's serving their interest. Equally damaging to the relationship between the "sovereign power" and the real power in England was the Parliament's handling of the case of Sir John Stawell. Stawell had been a Royalist commander who had surrendered in 1646 under the articles of Exeter which granted amnesty; because of charges of cruelty dating from an earlier period he was, however, taken prisoner and his estate confiscated. In spite of later decisions of courts of justice, the army, and the Long Parliament that articles of surrender should be strictly observed; and in spite of a decision of a high court of justice in 1650 which had been ordered read in



It was not until 1871 that the first  
trial of a case involving the  
rights of a person of African descent to  
testify in court was heard. The case  
was that of a man named John Brown  
who had been charged with the murder  
of a white man. The court was divided  
on the issue of whether or not Brown  
should be allowed to testify. The  
majority of the court held that he  
should, and the case was decided in  
his favor. This was a landmark  
decision in the history of the law  
in this country. It established the  
principle that all persons, regardless  
of race, are entitled to the same  
rights under the law. This principle  
has since been extended to all  
persons, and it is now a fundamental  
part of our legal system. The case  
of John Brown is remembered as a  
great triumph for the cause of  
justice and equality.



Parliament in 1651 to the effect that Stawell should receive benefit of the amnesty, he was still deprived of his estate. Cromwell had personally promised the return of his property, the honor of the army being at stake in his opinion, and a special commission for dealing with such grievances had upon Cromwell's recommendation decided in Stawell's favor. The Parliament, however, resolved on September 15 that "the purchasers of Sir John Stawell's estate shall quietly possess and enjoy the same," an act to that effect passing on October 13. For the second time Parliament had failed to render justice and in so doing had undermined its own foundations.

During September and October the Parliament remained busy and to a large extent productive. An act "for settling Ireland, and making it part of the Commonwealth, and satisfying the adventurers and soldiers with lands" brought in on September 3 and passing September 26 included a provision for the removal of customs duties between the two nations to encourage the settlement of the land by English Protestants. A bill for uniting England and Scotland was read the first time on October 4 and the second on October 11, the House sitting as a grand committee for the discussion of it on October 18. Nothing came of the bill because of unsettled conditions in Scotland and the



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dissolution of the House. On October 10 it was resolved that a declaration be prepared for "giving fitting liberty to all that fear God within this Commonwealth; and for preventing the abuses of speaking evil against magistrates and magistracy; and the better preservation of the mutual peace of such as fear God among themselves, without imposing one upon another; and to discountenance blasphemies, damnable heresies, and licentious practices." A bill for continuing a former act for the "transporting, maintaining, and educating in the true Protestant religion, Irish children" was read once and laid aside, but not rejected. On October 24 the Council of State reported that all the commissions of Parliament in Scotland were due to expire; when establishing new commissions, they recommended, all clerks, officers, and dependents of the courts of justice should receive salaries rather than fees. It was so resolved on October 31.

Considerable progress was made in enacting the law reforms which were being considered by the Committee for the Law. On September 29 acts concerning wills and administrations and the better election of jurors were reported by that committee, followed a few days later by an act barring any persons who solicited for an office from holding that office. These three bills, however,







had not been finally passed when the House was dissolved. On October 26 an act for reviving and expanding an act of Parliament for redress of delays and mischiefs arising from writs of error and false judgment -- techniques by which a defendant could so lengthen proceedings against him that the plaintiff could not afford to pursue the case to its conclusion -- was reported by the committee and passed November 4. Also in early November, a highly popular reform was enacted providing for the repeal of that part of the Act for Subscribing the Engagement which required that a person must swear to be faithful to the government of the Commonwealth without King or House of Lords in order to receive the benefit of the law in proceedings before the various courts of the Commonwealth. Finally a bill enabling tenants in tail to pass away their entailed estates was brought in, but not passed before the dissolution. Thus while the Parliament sat, four of the previously recommended acts had been enacted into law (those concerning fines on bills, marriages, the engagement, and the relief of creditors and poor debtors); two additional drafts had been favorably considered but not passed before the dissolution (those concerning wills and entailed estates); and three extra law reforms had been passed (those dealing with delays due to writs of false judgments, etc.,







with idiots and lunatics, and with thieves and highwaymen).

Before its dissolution the Parliament tried to establish a proper substitute for the High Court of Chancery. On October 15 it was resolved that proceedings in the court for the session then about to begin be adjourned for one month (Clark and Pickering being tellers for the thirty-four noes, Highland and Ireton being tellers for the thirty-seven yeas), but the bill to this effect was defeated October 17 (the House dividing equally on the question, and the speaker casting his vote with Cooper and the noes). Three bills were then brought in on October 19, on October 22, and on November 3. The first two were eventually rejected and the third, which reputedly provided that "any ordinary cause might be determined and ended for twenty or forty shillings, and in a very short time,"<sup>1</sup> was still waiting final action when the House dissolved.

Thus even in the area where the Parliament functioned most effectively -- that of law reform -- it had raised up problems for itself with which it was unable to cope. But by late October the Parliament was so universally unpopular that even good acts would have gone unnoticed. In dealing with the assessments the Parliament

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<sup>1</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts VI, 276.



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had failed to relieve the burdens of the general public; but, by trying, had antagonized the military. Be being so bold as to suggest that officers might serve without pay for the ease of the nation during the new crisis the Parliament had earned the distrust of the most influential single class in England. Yet by failing to enact sweeping reforms they had lost the support of the radical soldiers who had previously followed Harrison. Cromwell too had been alienated, as already noted, and the handling of the assessment and Stawell cases had only further irritated him. The lawyers and ministers, who had never been friendly toward the irregular Parliament, felt particularly threatened as it attacked their very livelihood and indeed, the whole system to which they belonged. Yet here also the radical groups had been lost due to the failure of the Parliament to act more decisively, and the fanatical preachers in London began to attack the Parliament from the pulpit. The common Englishman had no reason to be happy with the Parliament; overtaxed, basing his opinion on wild rumors, and knowing only that the popular hero Lilburne was still in prison, he felt no ties with this Parliament which in no way represented him. The schizophrenia of the Parliament itself -- the uncompromising radicals thwarting the efficient aims of the moderates and paralyzing the whole



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body -- had left it totally isolated.

On November 1 the new Council of State was elected. One hundred thirteen members were present for the vote, a remarkably large number since many members, particularly the moderates, had stopped attending the proceedings in exhaustion and disgust. Two votes were to be taken, one for sixteen members to be retained from the previous Council of State, another for fifteen new members. The instructions were also scheduled to be renewed with no significant alterations.

The results of this election are important only because they so vividly illustrate the decline of the radical party. Too thoroughly discredited to receive votes from the other party and too weak to vote themselves into position, five (or at most six) were elected. In the following list of the members chosen and the number of votes they received, the radicals are marked (R) and the one member whose party affiliation is uncertain is marked (RS). Members retained from the Sixth Council of State were:

Lord General Cromwell . . . . .	113 votes
Pickering . . . . .	110
Desborow . . . . .	74
Strickland . . . . .	71
Lawrence . . . . .	68
Sydenham . . . . .	67
Jones . . . . .	65
Wolseley . . . . .	62



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Tichborne . . . . .	61 votes
Cooper . . . . .	60
a Carew . . . . .	59
Montague . . . . .	59
a Harrison . . . . .	58
Lisle . . . . .	58
Norton . . . . .	57 (didn't sit)
Mayor . . . . .	57
Howard . . . . .	57

New Members were:

Colonel Rous . . . . .	93
Sir William Roberts . . . . .	63
Sadler . . . . .	62
King . . . . .	61
Colonel Cromwell . . . . .	60
Dr. Goddard . . . . .	59
aa Brownlow . . . . .	58
Colonel Barton . . . . .	56
Lord Bure . . . . .	56
Captain Stone . . . . .	55
Colonel George Fleetwood . . . . .	54
a James . . . . .	53
a Anlaby . . . . .	52
Gervase Benett . . . . .	52
Bingham . . . . .	52
a Cust . . . . .	52 (didn't sit)

Most of the proceedings during November were painfully slow, including such tedious matters as the naming of High Sheriffs for the counties, amending the Act for Disaforestation to provide for countless special cases, and one monstrous list of rates for the excise which was closely written on eighty sheets of paper listing everything from saffron to beaver hats and which took a full day just to read.

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mentioned and were concluded during November, the only important action during the month was the resolution of November 17 declaring that the "power of patrons to present candidates to benefices shall from henceforth be taken away." This resolution caused alarmed charges that the Parliament was about to do away with property, to which the radicals replied that they were only preventing simony:

There were but two important matters of business in December: the report of the Committee for Tithes on December 2 which was debated without interruption from December 6 to Saturday, December 10 (the intervening three days having been devoted to naming and instructing the new Admiralty Commissioners); and the dissolution of the Parliament on Monday, December 12 after the radicals had commanded a majority on Saturday.

The report of the Committee on Tithes, presented by Mr. Sadler, declared that

The best way for ejecting, ignorant, profane, and scandalous ministers . . . [is] that commissioners be sent from hence into all the counties, divided into six circuits, besides London and Middlesex; three commissioners into each circuit, to join with four or six in every county . . . [and that the said persons] be empowered to eject all ministers of that county, that are not of good behavior, and holy in conversation, or that are not apt to teach, or in teaching hold not fast the



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faithful word, or be not diligent, or labor not in the word and doctrine, or be greedy of filthy lucre; and be impowered to settle godly and able persons to preach the gospel on all void places; and to unite two or three parishes together, so that none be above three miles from the public meeting house.

The report continued:

Resolved, that it be presented to the Parliament, that all such as are or shall be approved for public preachers of the Gospel in the public meeting-places, shall have and enjoy the maintenance already settled by law . . . ;

And that wherever any scruple payment of tithes, the three next justices of the peace, or any two of them, shall, upon complaint, call the parties concerned before them; and by the oaths of lawful witnesses, shall duly apportion the value of the said tithes to be paid either in money or land . . . [if a person refuses to pay, to be collected in kind] ;

Upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to this committee touching the propriety in tithes of incumbents, rectors, possessors of donatives, or propriate tithes, it is the opinion of this committee, and resolved to be so reported to the Parliament, that the said persons have a legal propriety in tithes.

Objections to the report were made by those who felt that the phrase "the best way" in the first clause should be removed, and by the radicals. In presenting the radical case, Highland gave another one of those explanations which he must have felt would show how reasonable and moderate the radicals actually were, but which actually shows that the moderates had good reason for their alarm. In defense against the charges that



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 meeting, and be interpreted to satisfy every and every  
 person to present, the speaker on all valid classes  
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The report contained:

Resolved, that it be presented to the Legisla-  
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 meeting places, shall have and enjoy the same  
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 any two of them, shall, upon complaint, call and  
 parties concerned before them; and by the person  
 of lawful witnesses, shall duly ascertain the  
 value of the said thing to be paid either in  
 money or land . . . [if a person refuses to pay,  
 to be collected in kind.]  
 Upon hearing and considering what hath been  
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 domestic, or property class, it is the opinion  
 of this committee, and resolved to be reported  
 to the Parliament, that the said persons have a  
 legal property in either.

objections to the report were made by those who  
 felt that the phrase "the best way" in the first clause  
 should be removed, and by the radicals. In presenting  
 the radical case, Richard gave another one of those  
 explanations which he must have felt would show how  
 reasonable and moderate the radicals actually were, but  
 which actually shows that the moderates had good reason  
 for their alarm. In defense against the charges that



the radicals "would have destroyed all the ministers, good as bad, and overthrown the gospel" he wrote:

They were against those grievances of the law and tithes, and would have taken those away; and they would not concur with the report of the committee in order to the settling of tithes, that being at the bottom of the report; so as by these men's logic and conclusion those two grievances of the law and tithes (which these so reproached labored to have taken away) are the magistracy and ministry . . . But, alas! magistracy can stand without such horrible corruptions of law, and the ministry without tithes, as it is in other countries where there is neither of them.<sup>1</sup>

When the first clause of the report was put to a vote upon the question: "That this House doth agree with this clause of this report," it passed in the negative. In the division, Sydenham and Jones had been tellers for the fifty-four yeas; James and Danvers for the fifty-six noes.

After the House had adjourned the moderates spent Saturday afternoon and all day Sunday planning the dissolution of the House. Accordingly some forty moderate members were present in the House early Monday morning, forming an easy majority over the radicals, and Sir Charles Wolseley promptly moved:

That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 281.







the Commonwealth; and that therefore it is requisite to deliver up to the Lord General Cromwell the powers which they received from him.<sup>1</sup>

In his speech urging this action he attacked the radicals

and particularly charged them with a design to destroy the Army by not making a sufficient and timely provision for their pay . . . and asking officers to serve without pay one year . . . and endeavoring to destroy the clergy, the Law, and the propriety of the subject, instancing in their denying a right of presentation to the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices: in general that they had not a frame of spirit to do justice, which they would have made out by their not relieving Sir John Stawell, when he made his application to them [the Parliament].<sup>2</sup>

The motion to take away the right of presentation was criticized also as a destruction and confiscation of property. In regard to the Law, the Court of Chancery and the proposal for a new legal system were particularly condemned. Wolseley concluded:

That for these considerations, he could not satisfy himself to sit any longer in the House,

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<sup>1</sup>CJ, p. 363.

<sup>2</sup>Ludlow, *op. cit.*, II, 472, 473.

Ludlow wrote this account after 1688 and based it on accounts he had received from friends who were members of the Parliament, he being in Ireland at the time of the dissolution. That the assessment was mentioned in Wolseley's speech is most unlikely because Wolseley himself had favored the reform. The quote is included here, however, in order to give a complete picture of the charges against the Parliament as seen by the moderate members.



The Council of the League of Nations  
has decided to accept the  
proposal of the League of Nations  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.

the results

and a number of other  
countries have also  
accepted the proposal  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.  
The Council of the League of Nations  
has decided to accept the  
proposal of the League of Nations  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.

The Council of the League of Nations  
has decided to accept the  
proposal of the League of Nations  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.  
The Council of the League of Nations  
has decided to accept the  
proposal of the League of Nations  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.

it is recommended that  
the Council of the League of Nations  
should accept the proposal  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.  
The Council of the League of Nations  
has decided to accept the  
proposal of the League of Nations  
to establish a permanent  
international court of justice.



and so be guilty of bringing confusion and desolation upon the Nation.<sup>1</sup>

Sydenham seconded the motion. One radical was permitted to speak in defense of the Parliament, but a second desiring recognition by the Chair was told by the Speaker that it was not a time for debate. As the House was beginning to fill, the Speaker, without calling for a vote on the motion, left his chair and, followed by the moderate members and the sergeant-at-arms bearing the mace,

departed out of the House to Whitehall; where they, being the greater number of the members sitting in Parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign unto his Excellency their said powers: and Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did present the same to his Excellency, accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

Approximately eighty members eventually signed the suicide note.

A Cromwellian source reports of those who were left in the House:

The smaller part, being about 27, remained in the House, where Colonel Goff presently came, and with

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<sup>1</sup>An Answer to "A True Narrative of the Cause and Manner of the Dissolution of the Late Parliament upon the 12th of December, 1653," in Parliamentary History, XX, 243.

<sup>2</sup>CJ, p. 363.







all meekness told them that he was fearful their stay might prove prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and probably to themselves (they being no House); they desired to know if he had any power, which he denied, but sweetly argued it with them, but they refusing to hear he opened the door, and presently entered one file of musketeers upon whose appearance the remaining part of the House withdrew.<sup>1</sup>

Goff and his soldiers were acting under orders from Lambert, who victoriously helped destroy the distasteful Parliament he had consistently opposed.

On December 1, Sir Edward Nicholas, a member of Charles Stuart's Privy Council, had written to Sir Edward

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<sup>1</sup>Newsletter quoted in Charles H. Firth (ed.), The Clarke Papers: Selections from the Papers of William Clarke, Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-1649, and to General Monk and the Commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-1660; Vol. III ("Royal Historical Society Publications;" London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), p. 9.

Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 263, says thirty-four or thirty-five remained, but twenty-seven is more likely because one of the radical members thus reported it in a letter to his brother. Only with forty could they have conducted business as a House.



all members of the family were  
stay with those who were  
and probably to the  
they believe to be  
he father, but  
they believe to be  
presently living  
whose address was  
Michigan.

John and his wife were  
Lambert, who was  
the following  
the following  
On January 1, 1934  
Charles Stuart

Investigation of the  
The Office of the  
Walter  
1934-1935  
the Air  
Historical  
Green, and Co., 1934  
Exact  
thirty-four on  
is more likely  
thus reported  
with forty  
house.



Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon:

I am [of] your mind that all things in England are reduced to so great a confusion merely on design in the present governors there to make any tolerable settlement or order acceptable; for the laws being in a manner abolished, the Chancery taken away, Religion Confounded, and Parliaments (so much idolized by our nation) annihilated, the people will submit to anything that may probably seem to secure them and their estates.<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the dissolution had not been engineered by Cromwell any more than the Parliament's other proceedings had been controlled by him, but he was quite pleased that it had taken place, and by Friday, December 16, a proclamation had been prepared and published:

Whereas the late Parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their powers and authorities, the government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector and successive Parliaments, is now established.<sup>2</sup>

The government which so speedily replaced the old was

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<sup>1</sup>Nicholas Papers, II, 31.

<sup>2</sup>Cal. S.P. Dom., 1653-1654, p. 297.







based on Lambert's Instrument of Government which, though providing for some checks on the Protector's power through a Council, was a dictatorship. As a defender of Cromwell declared:

Since it hath pleased the Lord to make his own arm bare, and to conduct us through all these changes and turns of Providence, into this estate of liberty wherein we now stand, it behooves us, as men following the meek and gentle doctrine of Christ himself, not only to walk in humility and obedience to the present powers, who are of God, but also to be duly and sincerely thankful to that hand which hath taken off from our necks that iron yoke of monarchy, and put us into that condition of liberty which we and our posterity, if we can but know our own happiness, are likely with God's blessing to enjoy.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties Cromwell had with the Barebone's Parliament were in many ways prototypes of those he would have with all his Parliaments even though the individual issues differed. Basically the problems stemmed from the incompatibility of dictatorships and parliaments. Since Cromwell's rule had been made possible only by the military victory of an unpopular minority party, no general election could be permitted because it would return too many of the government's enemies. If any sort of Parliament were called under these conditions, the members would be likely

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<sup>1</sup>Sedition Scourged in Somers Tracts, VI, 302-303. Though this statement was written while the Parliament was still sitting, it was a defense of Oliver Cromwell.







to be either puppets of the dictator or radicals of approximately his same party. With the puppets predominating, the function of the Parliament would be lost; with the uncompromising, unrealistic radicals predominating, the Parliament would become a revolutionary assembly which even the dictator might be unable to control.

In September, 1654, the first Protectorate Parliament was elected by a franchise which permitted only the more substantial Englishmen (those possessing estates valued at over £200) to vote. Though Cromwell had probably thought this restricted franchise would eliminate most republicans, it was too general an election to return a Parliament acceptable to his interest. In January, 1655 the Parliament was dissolved by Cromwell after it had insisted on devoting itself exclusively to reviewing the Instrument of Government and the concept of government by one person; it had not passed a single act. Cromwell then attempted to govern the country through Major-Generals having extensive power over the twelve districts into which England was divided, but this highly unpopular system had to be abandoned in 1657. The Parliament of 1656 --- the Parliament which offered Cromwell a crown --- was allowed to sit only after a hundred of its members



to be of the nature of a...  
approximately the same...  
inasmuch as the...  
with the...  
inasmuch as the...  
assembly which...  
trial.

In September, 1911, the...  
Inasmuch as the...  
the more...  
valued at over \$100,000...  
ably thought...  
most...  
a...  
the...  
stated on...  
Inasmuch as...  
by one person...  
then...  
also having...  
into which...  
system...  
1915 -- the...  
was allowed to...



had been excluded by the Council of State, leaving a Parliament composed largely of puppets.<sup>1</sup> In 1657 Cromwell established a "Second Chamber" or new House of Lords according to the Humble Petition and Advice (the constitution passed by the 1656 Parliament to replace the Instrument of Government). This Second Chamber was the main object of criticism by the 1658 Parliament (the reconvened 1656 Parliament). This latter Parliament, like that of 1654, proved totally unmanageable because the members excluded in 1656 were permitted to sit; and it was dissolved by Cromwell after sitting only a fortnight. In terms of legislation passed, the Barebone's Parliament was the most productive Parliament of the Protectorate.

As for the members of the Barebone's Parliament, most of them either found positions with the Protectorate or led a comparatively normal life of resistance to the government. For the radical party of the Parliament, and the millenarian Fifth Monarchy men, however, the Protectorate was treason against God and must be dealt with accordingly. In spite of a quantity of calls to arms

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that many members who opposed Cromwell, i.e. the Presbyterians, voted to make Cromwell king in order to limit his power by placing him under the traditionally imposed restriction on England's monarchs.



had been known by the name of ...  
Bartholomew ...  
well established ...  
according to the ...  
tution passed by the ...  
ment of ...  
object of ...  
voted ...  
of ...  
excluded ...  
solved by ...  
terms of ...  
was the most ...  
in for the ...  
most of them ...  
on led a ...  
Government ...  
the ...  
to ...  
accordingly ...

The ...  
Gronwall ...  
king in ...  
the ...  
monarch.

1934  
1935  
1936



the resistance expressed itself almost entirely in venom from the pulpit:

Oh our bowels, our bowels, our hearts even ache,  
and are pained within us, to hear the doleful and  
daily groans of God's 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, op-  
pression, and distraction!"<sup>1</sup>

"Let us go home and pray, and say Lord, wilt thou have  
Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?"<sup>2</sup>  
commanded another. The arrests of the leading preachers  
and the general weariness of the supporters after waiting,  
waiting, and waiting for the return of Christ resulted in  
the gradual decline of the party. Only twice did the  
movement express itself in extensive violence, and the up-  
risings were censored by the leading members, including  
Harrison. In 1657 and again in 1661 a Thomas Venner per-  
suaded his congregation "that they had been praying and  
preaching, but not acting for God."<sup>3</sup> "Most of them were

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<sup>1</sup>A Declaration of Several of the Churches of Christ  
... Concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ quoted in  
Perez Zagorin, History of Political Thought in the English  
Revolution (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup>Cal. S. P. Dom., 1653-1654, p. 306.

<sup>3</sup>An account of Venner's trial in Somers Tracts,  
VII, 471.



the resistance in the ...

from the ...

On one ...  
and are ...  
daily ...  
and ...  
we ...  
hired ...  
freedom ...  
protection ...

"Let us ...

Oliver ...  
commanded ...  
and the ...  
waiting ...  
the ...  
movement ...  
things ...  
Harrison ...  
sailed ...  
proceeding ...

1. A ...  
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10. ...

STUDY ...



persuaded they were invulnerable, and so . . . they had no hesitation in commencing an insurrection . . . being assured . . . that no force brought against them shall prosper."<sup>1</sup> Their battle cry in their 1661 uprising was: "The King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates."<sup>2</sup> Thus ended the last major public activity of the Fifth Monarchy; and in its total failure -- inversely proportionate to its super-realistic goals -- it is a fitting coda for the activities of the party which reached its climax in the Barebone's Parliament.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 469.

<sup>2</sup>C. Burrage, "Fifth Monarchy Insurrection," English Historical Review, XXV (1910), p. 744.



permeated they were...  
had no hand...  
being secured...  
shall proceed...  
rising was...  
gates...  
the Fifth...  
proportionate...  
flying code...  
reached the...  
-----

1-1511, p. 400.

British...  
1911



### CHAPTER III

#### THE PARLIAMENT AND THE FIFTH MONARCHY MEN

We cannot but acknowledge that we are not yet at rest, nor can believe we have yet enjoyed or seen enough to accomplish the ends of God; or satisfy the thoughts of men for that vast expense of blood and treasure which could not have been endured with any patience, but in hope that, at length, those bitter pangs and throws would make some way for that long expected birth of peace, freedom, and happiness; . . . and although we do not see it fully brought forth, yet we do not despair, but in God's due time it shall be so; and that the dark blue clouds of the night shall fly before the bright morning star, and the shakings of heaven and earth make way for the desire of all nations: Way, there are many things which make us hope the time is near at hand . . .

Neither are we wholly alone in these hopes; for if we be not very much deceived, many, if not all the people of God in all the world, are in a more than usual expectation of some great changes coming on the world, which we believe can hardly be paralleled with any times but those a while before the birth of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

. . . In peace and joy [may we] all wait, expect and long for his glorious Coming, who is the King of Kings, the Lord of Lords, our Hope and Righteousness; who is still to ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer, till he hath subdued all his Enemies; and at length, come to deliver up the kingdom to his Father, that God may reign, and be all in all.<sup>1</sup>

These passages, contained in the declaration issued by the Barebone's Parliament on July 12, 1653, are an illustration of how extensively that assembly of saints was wedded to millennial notions. How extensive this

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<sup>1</sup>Declaration of July 12 in Parliamentary History, XX, 185-186, 189.



THE SAILING

THE SAILING

It was a fine day for sailing, the wind was just what was needed, and the sea was smooth. The ship sailed on for many hours, and the crew were all happy and content. The captain was a good man, and he knew his business. He had sailed many times before, and he knew the way. The ship was a fine one, and it was well equipped. The crew were all good men, and they were all happy. The sailing was a fine one, and it was well enjoyed by all.

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Commitment was can be seen from the fact that the eight man committee that prepared it included Wolseley, who made its report, Sydenham, Sadler, and Pickering. To be sure, most of the members of the Parliament felt that though the events of the day were clearly the result of God's special love for England, the actual reign of God meant rather the reign of those godly men who were obedient to the will of God. A few, however, expected the "personal and visible" reign of Christ -- in England, of course.<sup>1</sup> These persons believed in this so strongly, that they felt that one of their major duties as a Parliament was "to bring things as near as might be before Christ comes to what they shall be when he is come."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, determining what laws and institutions would accomplish this approximation to godliness should not be difficult:

There is undoubtedly a form of civil government instituted by God himself in the holy scriptures

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<sup>1</sup>Commenting on Millenarianism among the general English population, Robert Barclay stated:

It was more widely spread . . . than is generally supposed; there was not a denomination in which the idea did not exist.

Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (London: 1876), p. 486n.

<sup>2</sup>John Rogers quoted in Edward Rogers, Some Accounts of the Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man: Chiefly Extracted from the Writings of John Rogers (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), p. 40.



Commitment was one of the main things that the  
men committed themselves to. They made the report  
be sure, most of the things that they did  
through the evening and the night. They  
had a special love for the things that they  
wanted to do. They wanted to be sure that  
they were doing the things that they wanted to  
do. They wanted to be sure that they were  
doing the things that they wanted to do. They  
wanted to be sure that they were doing the  
things that they wanted to do. They wanted to  
be sure that they were doing the things that  
they wanted to do. They wanted to be sure  
that they were doing the things that they  
wanted to do. They wanted to be sure that  
they were doing the things that they wanted to  
do. They wanted to be sure that they were  
doing the things that they wanted to do.

There is a great deal of work that is  
done by the people of the world. They are  
working to make the world a better place.  
They are working to make the world a better  
place. They are working to make the world a  
better place. They are working to make the  
world a better place. They are working to  
make the world a better place. They are  
working to make the world a better place.  
They are working to make the world a better  
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They are working to make the world a better  
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world a better place. They are working to  
make the world a better place. They are  
working to make the world a better place.



whereby any nation may enjoy all the ends and effects of government in the best manner, were they but persuaded to make trial of it. We should derogate the sufficiency and perfection of the scriptures if we would deny it.<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that any Englishmen who might be inclined toward millenarian enthusiasms should hold the greatest of expectations by the spring of 1653. The political conditions of the time were truly exceptional: the Thirty Years War had only recently ended on the Continent leaving exhaustion in its wake; in England the established church, the King, and the Parliament had all been overthrown. Power belonged exclusively to a few men, many of whom belonged to churches which required that each member produce evidence through visions or miracles of the work of grace upon his soul. The members of these congregations were commonly called "saints" since they were presumed to be among the elect. The situation was clearly a fulfillment of the prophecy of

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<sup>1</sup>John Eliot, The Christian Commonwealth: or the Civil Policy of the Rising Kingdom of Jesus Christ ("Massachusetts Historical Society Publications," 3rd Series, IX; Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), p. 134. (First published in 1661.)

Eliot had constructed institutions for governing the Indians of New England which he felt were so inspired they would be applied to England as well. They were based upon Exodus xviii:25, and consisted of pyramids of "rulers of ten."



# EXHIBIT

whereby any person...  
testify...  
but...  
disregard...  
acquiescence...

It is not...  
might be...  
hold the...  
The political...  
tionals: the...  
the Communist...  
the established...  
had all been...  
to a few men...  
required that...  
or mixtures...  
bers of...  
since they were...  
situation was...

John...  
Civil...  
1845...  
the...  
pyramids...



Daniel 11, and one millenarian exultantly proclaimed:

The faithful brethren in Scotland gave the first blow at the dirty toes and feet of this Image; with whom the faithful brethren in England presently concurred. But the iron of the civil state stuck so fast to the miry clay that, according to the Word of Christ i.e. Daniel 11 they are (beyond all the thoughts of men) both fallen together; they are fallen, they are fallen, they are both fallen together: Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord, for his faithful Word shall be accomplished. Amen, Amen.<sup>1</sup>

These millenarians found further assurance of the imminence of that event by examining Daniel vii, the text from which they got the name "Fifth Monarchy Men":

These great beasts, which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom forever, even for ever and ever.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it to pieces.

And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise; and another shall arise after them the little horn; and he shall be diverse from the rest, and he shall subdue three kings.

\* \* \* \* \*  
But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and destroy it unto the end.

And the kingdom and dominion, and the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most high, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 132.







Scripture thus promised them that the Kingdom of Christ would be established upon earth shortly after the fall of the Fourth Monarchy, that is, of Roman power. This they attributed to 1648 as indicated by the devastation of the Holy Roman Empire by the Thirty Years' War. The Little Horn was interpreted as being William the Conqueror and his Norman successors -- or merely Charles I. Clearly "the judgment" had "taken away his dominion" in 1649.

(After 1653 Cromwell was given this honor, and the judgment was eagerly awaited.) Christ would certainly soon come to the throne that was being prepared for him in England, and with the assistance of the New Model Army spread his dominion over the Continent, by 1660 subduing Rome, and by 1666 ruling the entire world.<sup>1</sup> As one unfriendly observer explained the computations in 1655:

Some that have heard that the end of Paganism is placed in the year 395 . . . will easily be induced to believe that the famous number 1260, ought

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<sup>1</sup> John Rogers, Sagrir, or Doomsday Drawing Nigh, with Thunder and Lightening to Lawyers, in an Alarm for New Laws, and the People's Liberties from the Norman and Babylonian Yokes. Making Discovery of the Present Ungodly Laws and Lawyers of the Fourth Monarchy, and of the Approach of the Fifth; with whose Godly Laws, Officers, and Ordinances that belong to the Legislative Power of the Lord Jesus . . . (First published in 1653.) Hereinafter referred to as Sagrir. In Rogers, op. cit., p. 95.







to be added to it, and then . . . 1655 must be pointed out for an apocalyptical epoch. Others pitch upon the year 1656, because, having summed up the lives of the patriarchs in the fifth chapter of Genesis, they find 1656 years from the creation to the flood, and thence infer, that the coming of Christ will be the next year, because it must be as in the days of Noah. To 325, (the Council of Nice [sic] was in) add 1332, that is, twice 666, the sum will be 1657. Others will wait three or four years more, hoping that the 1260 years must be reckoned from the death of Theodosius. . . . Nor need we wonder, if we find some confident that eleven years hence we shall see the fatal change, because of the number 666.<sup>1</sup>

And when this day came:

Man shall be blessed . . . he shall be restored by God unto right reason and wisdoms, and that beast-like and brutish nature and principles (from whence proceeded all murders, thefts, rebellion, violence, oppression, ravening, and devouring his fellow creatures . . .) shall be in a great measure done away.<sup>2</sup>

It would be a Utopia worth attempting.

The total destruction of the Fourth Monarchy could not be completed until after two of its last vestiges were taken away. A prominent Fifth Monarchy preacher addressed Cromwell to this end in 1653:

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in Louise Fargo Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum (Washington: American Historical Association, 1912), p. 24.

<sup>2</sup>A Standard Set Up . . . in Zagorin, op. cit., p. 103.







O deliver the Lord's people . . . from the intolerable oppressions (which freeze out the very hearts of thousands) both of the Norman yoke of corrupt lawyers that live by sin, . . . and also from the oppressions of that Babylonian, brazen yoke of tithes, as also of . . . foul-tyranizing advowsons and presentations, which make a mere dale of souls.<sup>1</sup>

It is against this background that the Barebone's Parliament's intemperate attacks of law and the ministry must be viewed.

The basic principle for law reform according to the Fifth Monarchy men was to bring the laws into harmony with the revealed word of God:

As for such wholesome, just, and wise laws as any nation hath already made, the wisdom of the Lord will teach his people to refer them to their scripture-principles, demonstrating the truth and equity thereof by the word of God whereby they will appear to be deducts from the Word of God, and hence they that are governed by them, are governed by the Lord; they that break them sin against the Lord. . . .<sup>2</sup>

Another Fifth Monarchy preacher wrote while the Parliament was sitting:

The law of God (which is now slighted as imperfect, while men set up their own notions and forms in the stead, and prefer Gratian's or Justinian's law, and to make themselves as heathens without the law of God amongst them), this law lies in Deuteronomy vi 1, These are the Commandments (i.e. the ten in

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<sup>1</sup>John Rogers, Ohel, or Bethshemesh, a Tabernacle For the Sun . . . (First published in 1653) in Rogers, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

<sup>2</sup>Eliot, op. cit., pp. 140-141.



0 follower who holds the view that the  
essence of religion is a feeling of  
awe and reverence for the unknown  
cosmos. I have found that this  
from the point of view of the  
force of things. It is a feeling of  
awe and reverence for the unknown  
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two tablets given Moses on Mount Sinai, Exodus xx), the statutes (i.e. the several cases depending on and arising out of each command. . . . Now this law, statute-book, and judgment must be set up (and not man's).<sup>1</sup>

Yet the preacher just quoted would want the laws also to be in accord with reason. Another Fifth Monarchy man, writing in 1659, said:

Since the Law of God is the law of nature, the law of nations, the law of reason, the law of precedent, the law of antiquity . . . why will some go on to . . . contrive laws and judgments contrary to the law of God . . . ? is not the sum of God's laws, Love and the execution Do as you would be done by? doth it not end all suits in a day, and pay all debts without arrests or imprisonments . . . ?<sup>2</sup>

That instructions of this type were being followed by the Parliament's Committee for a New Body of the Law can be seen from a description of its proceedings by one of its members, Highland:

The way the Committee took in order to their work . . . was by reducing the several laws to their proper heads to which they did belong, and so modelizing or embodying of them; taking knowledge of the nature of them, and what the law of God said in the case, and how agreeable to right reason they were. . . .<sup>3</sup>

The goal of any reform of the laws in the mind

<sup>1</sup>Sagrir in Gardiner, op. cit., 266n.

<sup>2</sup>Peter Chamberlen quoted in Zagorin, op. cit., p. 100.

<sup>3</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 278.



two tablets with the same inscription  
the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
and arising out of the same, the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
law, tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
(and not one)

For the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

also to be in respect with the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
now, writing the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

Since the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
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precedent, the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
some go on to the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
contrary to the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
and of the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
you would be the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
in a day, and the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
inscriptions

That inscriptions of the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

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can be seen from the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

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proper name, the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
modeling of the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
ledge of the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
of God still in the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
right tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

The fact of the tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)

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1. Tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
2. Tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)  
p. 100.  
3. Tablets (one) the tablets (one) the tablets (one)



of a Fifth Monarchy man would be that God's law -- in English that they might be readily available to the people -- should be enforced without charge, with judges available in all cities, and with each man pleading his own case, and the decisions executed equally, without respect of persons.<sup>1</sup> The difficulty, of course, was that while the Bible could be used to justify the abolition of the death sentence for theft, it could just as easily be used to impose capital punishment for denying God, blasphemy, or profaning the Sabbath.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the Law of Moses, by virtue of this ambiguity and vagueness, could be made the vehicle for social criticism, as seen by the statement:

The laws of God say, Open they mouth wide for the dumb . . . and plead the cause of the poor and needy: the beastly laws of the world, opens the mouth wide for those that have a large purse to plead their cause, whilst the poor are sent empty away.<sup>3</sup>

When the House took up the problem of tithes and the clergy, they entered an area where the abuses and

<sup>1</sup>Sagrir in Rogers, op. cit., 96.

<sup>2</sup>William Sapinwall, The Legislative Power is Christ's Peculiar Perogative in Zagorin, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>3</sup>The Out-cries of the Poor, Oppressed and Imprisoned . . . in Zagorin, op. cit., p. 100.



of a fifth century man would be...  
in English that they might be...  
people -- should be...  
available in all...  
own case, and the...  
respect of persons...  
that while the...  
tion of the...  
easily be...  
God, blasphemy, or...  
Let the law of...  
and vengeance,...

orthodox, as seen by...  
The laws of God...  
the laws...  
and needs: the...  
the north with...  
to place their...  
empty any.

When the House took up the...  
the clergy, they entered...

1. Robert de... 1214  
2. William de... 1215  
3. The... 1216  
4. The... 1217



need for reforms were apparent to all, but where the complaints of vested interests and the labyrinth of contradictory solutions presented an insurmountable problem. Tithes were criticised as being burdensome to those who paid them and unequal in their distribution, some receiving £300 or £400 per annum, while others equally or more able received only £20 or £30 per annum. The right of patrons to make presentations, and the unsatisfactory method of appointing ministers to vacancies in general, had produced a clergy that was often corrupt, poorly trained, and disinterested in its duties.

Objections more closely related to the religious ferment in England were also raised. The tithes, it was argued, were popish since they were based on Canon Law. The established ministry was attacked on similar grounds, as

standing on that old popish foot . . . a part of the old hierarchy, judging it reason, that as archbishops and bishops, deans and prebends, etc. were removed as Antichristian, so parsons, vicars, curators, rectors, donatives, and incumbents (strangers to the gospel) should be taken away also, being of the same stamp.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, tithes and the clergy as it stood were contrary to right laws, and were condemned,

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<sup>1</sup>Exact Relation in Somers Tracts, VI, 268.



need for reform was apparent to all. The various  
complaints of various interests and the various  
trading interests presented as they were  
fifteen were submitted to the various  
paid them and the various interests  
ing 2500 or 3000 or 4000 or 5000 or 6000  
side received only 250 or 300 or 400 or 500  
patrons to make transactions, and the various  
method of appointing officials to represent the  
had produced a situation which was not  
trained, and the various interests  
Of course more and more the various  
ferment in England was also taking place. The  
signed, the various interests were  
The established ministry was organized as follows  
as

standing of the various interests  
the old interests, including the various  
archbishops and bishops, and the various  
were removed as follows: the various  
curators, rectors, and the various  
(originally in the hospital which was  
also, being of the same kind.  
Furthermore, the various interests and the various  
many to the various interests and the various  
The various interests and the various  
The various interests and the various



From the end of all honest laws, which must be preferred before the letter of the laws, viz. the public good and freedom of the people:

From the foundation of the laws, which ought to be the eternal law of God.<sup>1</sup>

On no subject of national interest did the Parliament receive more petitions than on this question. Later in the 1650's, George Fox would bring in a petition showing the extreme unpopularity of the system of maintenance -- a petition carrying the signatures of fourteen thousand men and seven thousand women. The following violent little piece is more typical of the petitions sent the Barebone's Parliament by the gathered churches, this one being from Kent:

Humbly desiring, that tithes of all sorts, root and branch, may be abolished, that Jewish and Antichristian bondage and burden on the estates and consciences of the Godly may cease, and that we may not be ensnared with forced maintenance, or any thing like it in the stead thereof.

And your petitioners shall own the Lord in you, and bless the Lord for you, and pray, hope, and wait to see your hands stretched out for the Lord, till you shall help to tear the flesh of the whore, and burn her with fire.<sup>2</sup>

The more moderate petition in support of tithes is typical for its tone, its stressing of the often sanctioned status quo of "settled" maintenance, and also

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<sup>1</sup>Sagrir in Rogers, op. cit., 79.

<sup>2</sup>Scobell, p. 32.



from the fact that the law is not  
be applied in the same way as it is  
the public and the fact that the law  
from the fact that the law is not  
to be the same as it is.

On no other of the law is not  
the same as it is. The law is not  
later in the law. The law is not  
tion showing the same as it is. The law is not  
maintenance -- a public law is not  
fourteen thousand dollars. The law is not  
following violent acts in the law is not  
petitions and the same as it is. The law is not  
ered charges, and the same as it is.

Under the law, the same as it is. The law is not  
and the same as it is. The law is not  
connection with the law is not  
any other law is not  
and the same as it is. The law is not  
and the same as it is. The law is not  
wait to see what the law is not  
all the same as it is. The law is not  
and the same as it is. The law is not

The more the law is not  
typical for the law is not  
standards of the law is not

1. The law is not  
2. The law is not



for the substantial class that it represents, it being submitted by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of London:

Your petitioners do humbly pray, that care be taken that the precious truths of the Gospel, which hath been the blessed portion of this nation so many years, may be preserved in their purity; that the faithful dispensers thereof being men learned, godly, and void of offence, may receive all due encouragement; and that such (being so approved) may be sent forth to preach the Gospel; that the settled maintenance by the laws of the land for them may be further confirmed; and that the acts and ordinances of Parliament for this purpose may be put into execution, and such other provision made, that their properties may be preserved.<sup>1</sup>

A final issue should be examined for the sake of completeness even though it, being related to foreign affairs and therefore assigned to the Council of State, was not official business before the House and is not mentioned in the Journals. The actual proceedings concerning the treaty with the Dutch Republic are too complex to permit discussion, but the basic problem was simple. Cromwell and the moderates wanted a treaty that would be advantageous to England, while the radicals in the Parliament wanted one which would benefit Christ when he returned. Witness a letter to Cromwell dated June 3, 1653:

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 86.







Every tongue is now tipt with talk of a treaty with the Hollanders and other nations. But if you make leagues, O let not Christ be forgotten! to covenant for yourselves or national interests and forget his! O! A peace upon the account of Christ, to engage together against the Antichrist, Rome, prelates, enemies in all nations -- to stand and fall, live and die together, in one cause, for the bare and very interest of Christ, would be a blessed peace indeed, without a penny from the purse of them to boot. But without this it is not all their treasures and estates that can make a comfortable peace or league.<sup>1</sup>

At first the two interests seemed to coincide, and Cromwell and the Fifth Monarchy men sounded much alike. Compare the statements of two preachers:

We are bound by the Law of God to help our neighbors as well as ourselves, and so to aid the subjects of other princes that are either persecuted for the true religion or oppressed under tyranny. . . . How dare the army be still, now the work is to do abroad.<sup>2</sup>

I will never believe that his Navy was made on purpose of breaking our neighbors in pieces, and there an end. We shall at last join together, and do such work for God as was never done in the world. We shall carry the Gospel with our Navy up and down to the Gentiles.<sup>3</sup>

with a statement reportedly made by Cromwell to the Dutch Deputies on June 29:

You have appealed to the judgement of Heaven. The

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<sup>1</sup>Epistle dedicatory of Sagrir, in Rogers, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>2</sup>Sagrir in Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Feake on September 11, 1653, quoted in Brown, op. cit., p. 24n.







Lord has declared against you. After the defeats you have undergone, your only recourse is to associate yourself with your formidable neighbor to work together for the propagation of the kingdom of Christ, and the deliverance of the people groaning under oppression.<sup>1</sup>

In July, terms were offered to the Dutch which were quite similar to those which had been offered the Scotch and Irish after their defeats.

After negotiations broke down, as would be expected with these terms, the differences between Cromwell and the radicals became more critical. Cromwell was willing to proceed with more lenient terms in order to end the costly and unpopular war; the radicals violently opposed this. The following is a report of a sermon by one of their favorite preachers:

It was last Monday preached publically . . . that if they now make peace with those rogues and dogs the Dutch, after they had beaten, and beaten, and beaten the slaves, nay and almost quite conquered them, that God's vengeance would follow upon such a heathenish peace; for where should they have a landing place when they went to do the great work of the Lord, and tear the whore of Babylon [Rome] out of her chair, if they gave back by making peace with them, a people and the land which the Lord had as good as given wholly up unto their hands?<sup>2</sup>

One of the Dutch Ambassadors visited a session at Blackfriars -- next to Westminster, the place radical members

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<sup>1</sup>Abbott, op. cit., III, 45.

<sup>2</sup>Thurloe Papers, I, 534.



And has been...  
You have...  
that you...  
work together...  
of Christ...  
growing...

In July, some were...  
similar to those...  
Italian after...

After...  
peaked with these...  
and the...  
ing to proceed...  
the...  
opposed...  
one of their...

It was...  
they...  
Luther...  
the...  
that...  
which...  
place...  
Lord...  
her...  
then...  
good...

One of the...  
friend --

Abbot, ...  
Thomas...



of the Parliament were likely to be found:

The scope and intention of their meeting is to . . . stir up the people against the United Netherlands. . . . I heard one prayer and two sermons; but good God! what cruel, and abominable, and most horrid trumpets of fire, murder, and flame.<sup>1</sup>

The situation here, as in so many similar situations, resulted in a stalemate as long as Parliament sat. A Royalist informer reported a false rumor which illustrates how impossible it would have been to make Parliament pass a reasonable treaty:

Some are of opinion that it [a treaty] is privately concluded between the general and the ambassadors, but kept very secret, by reason that the Anabaptist party, who are very prevalent in the House, oppose it most furiously.<sup>2</sup>

An unpopular, expensive war, then was continued because the radicals could not compromise when they felt the interests of the Fifth Monarchy were at stake, even though by so doing they alienated Cromwell, the Army, and their countrymen who had to pay higher taxes. The impasse was only broken -- ten days after the above letter was written -- by the dissolution of the House. Its existence and the national interest had indeed proved incompatible.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., I, 442.

<sup>2</sup>Intercepted letter dated December 2 in Ibid., I, 621.







## CONCLUSION

The Barebone's Parliament was foredoomed not to fulfill the hopes of the gathered churches:

That our Lord Jesus will yet have in England,  
men executing judgment, and speaking the truth;  
certainly if you go one, we doubt not but the  
children that are to be born will have cause to  
call you Blessed; as the repairers of our breaches,  
the restorers of paths to dwell in.<sup>1</sup>

Its failure was inherent in its very nature. The uncompromising attitude of the radicals, based as it was on their belief that they acted as God's instruments, was a fatal flaw which gave the drama of the Parliament the magnitude of a Greek Tragedy.

Superficially, the Parliament had had a great potential. The members were able; they legally held dictatorial powers; and a sufficient number were willing to work toward much needed reforms. The party divisions and the inability of the weakened Parliament to deal with the antagonized elements in England meant that the potential could not be realized.

If the moderates had gained ascendancy, the Parliament would probably have produced a program of moderate reform similar to that developed by the Protectorate and

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<sup>1</sup>Petition of the "Godly Party in the County of Salop" in Scobell, p. 144.



CONCLUSION



The Government's position is that the...  
fulfill the hopes of the...  
That our...  
men...  
certainly...  
children...  
call you...  
the...  
Its failure was...  
promising attitude...  
their belief...  
a fatal flaw...  
magnitude of a...  
Superiority...  
potential. The...  
dictatorial power...  
to work toward...  
and the inability...  
the antagonized...  
that could not be...  
If the...  
element would...  
reform...  
"Salop" in...  
February...



without the objectionable methods of an open military dictatorship. If, however, the radical element had been able to gain ascendancy, and enact its program of law reform and the separation of church and state, it would have been unable to retain its dictatorial powers because it had lost the allegiance of the one true guarantee of power during a revolution -- the army. Its alienation of the vested interests and of the general population was unfortunate; its alienation of Cromwell and the army would have been fatal. Theoretically, if the radicals had been able to keep the support of the army they could have taken advantage of the poor attendance of the moderates to seize control of the Parliament. This failure to back up their theoretical powers of dictatorship with force makes the radicals distinctive. Cromwell, when occupying a similar position at the left of the effective political spectrum in the 1640's, did not hesitate to use his army to increase and establish his power. Nor did he shy away from unconstitutional action, as demonstrated by Pride's Purge, the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and by his relationship with the Protectorate Parliaments. More recent revolutions have shown a similar willingness of the radical party to increase its power and maintain it by force, as, for example,



without the opportunity of a...  
dictatorship. It is...  
able to gain...  
reform and...  
have been...  
cases it...  
tee of power...  
ation of the...  
tion was...  
any would...  
only had...  
could have...  
moderates...  
failure to...  
ship with...  
when occupying...  
effective...  
hesitate to...  
power. For...  
as demonstrated...  
Long Parliament...  
for the...  
a similar...  
its power and...

THE BATTLE

1851



Robespierre's party (which, incidentally, held an ideological position in terms of the secular religion of the Enlightenment which is quite comparable to that of the Fifth Monarchy men in terms of Utopianism, destructiveness, and the carrying of their precepts to the most extreme logical conclusion). It is, of course, quite uncertain that the radicals in the Barebone's Parliament could have used their initially sizeable support in the army to purge the Parliament of its moderates and actually to establish a Puritan Republic of Virtue; but it is notable that they did make the attempt.

Since neither party in the Barebone's Parliament managed to gain effective ascendancy over or compromise with the other, the Parliament remained displeasing to both its founders: too narrow to satisfy Cromwell; too broad to satisfy Harrison. The moderate party, by its very nature as a moderate party, could not be expected to accept the schemes of the millenarians, although they were willing to make changes, as in their acceptance of the abolition of the High Court of Chancery. The radicals on their part failed to realize the tactical necessity of compromise. Had they compromised on some issues, avoided antagonizing certain interests, and accepted legislation which marked only a partial realization of their position,







the Parliament would have been able to function and to enact much needed reforms. They failed to use the one trick that has been used by successful revolutionaries, whether idealists such as Cromwell and Lenin, or opportunists such as Hitler. And in so failing they destroyed their one vehicle for reform. To regard this merely as stubborn unwillingness to compromise is erroneous, for the radical party was actually quite unable to compromise. These men felt that they were God's tools for establishing His Kingdom in England; compromise would have been renunciation of the validity of their mission and hence Judas-like treason against God's plan. It was unthinkable. They lived in fear of the Biblical edicts which had for them an immediate and personal significance.

Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently.<sup>1</sup>

Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord,  
curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;  
because they came not to help of the Lord,  
to the help of the Lord against the mighty.<sup>2</sup>

These were dedicated men, courageous in their attacks upon corruption and social injustice; men remarkably lacking in ambition and self interest; yet ironically they formed a fatal cancer within the Parliament in

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<sup>1</sup>Jeremiah xlviii 10.

<sup>2</sup>Judges v 23.



the Parliament... which much needed... which that... whether... tants... their... at... the radical party... These men... His Kingdom... mutation of... Under-line... able... had for... Unrest... negligence... Grace vs. Mary... course vs. ... because they... to the help of... These were... upon corruption... lacking in... they formed...

1/2... 2/3...



which they placed their greatest hopes, and failed as  
a direct result of the intensity of their conviction.



which they have been used for many years.

It is a very old and well known fact that

the people of this country have been using

the same method for many years.

It is a very old and well known fact that

the people of this country have been using

the same method for many years.

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## APPENDIX

The following list of the members of the Parliament is divided into three sections: those who were moderates, that is, those who held themselves to be responsible primarily for the smooth administration of a government in the midst of reform; those whose party affiliation is uncertain; and those who were radicals, that is, those who regarded themselves to be instruments of God for instituting drastic reforms to prepare England to be the capital of Christ's Kingdom.

The sources for party affiliation are a list published in 1654 and republished in the Thurloe Papers, IV, 132-133 in which "those favoring the universities and godly learned ministry" are starred, and the list compiled by Glass and based on a list of those who "helped to break" the Parliament. A member is classified as a radical or a moderate only if the two lists agree.

The primary source materials for the brief biographies have been the Calendars of State Papers, particularly for those members who served on the Councils of State; the Parliamentary lists, particularly that for 1656 which lists the incomes of the members; the Thurloe



# MILLERS FALLS

The town of Millers Falls is situated on the  
north bank of the St. Lawrence River, about  
fifty miles from Montreal, and is one of the  
most beautiful spots in the Province of Quebec.  
The town is situated on a high point of land,  
and is surrounded by a dense forest of  
spruce, fir, and balsam poplar. The  
climate is healthy and pleasant, and the  
scenery is of a grand and sublime character.  
The town is one of the most important  
centers of commerce in the Province, and  
is the seat of the lumber trade. The  
population of the town is about 1,000  
inhabitants, and the surrounding district  
contains a large number of small villages  
and hamlets. The town is well supplied  
with all the necessaries of life, and  
the commerce of the district is carried  
on in a flourishing manner. The town  
is one of the most beautiful spots in the  
Province, and is well calculated to attract  
the attention of the tourist. The  
scenery is of a grand and sublime character,  
and the climate is healthy and pleasant.  
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centers of commerce in the Province, and  
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with all the necessaries of life, and  
the commerce of the district is carried  
on in a flourishing manner. The town  
is one of the most beautiful spots in the  
Province, and is well calculated to attract  
the attention of the tourist. The  
scenery is of a grand and sublime character,  
and the climate is healthy and pleasant.



Papers, and similar collections of correspondence. The secondary sources have been the Dictionary of National Biography whenever indicated; the notes by George Shaw Sandison Yule, The Independents in the English Civil War (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958) on those members who had belonged to the Long Parliament; the materials in Glass; and longer biographies of the more prominent members such as Harrison and Lambert. Of the secondary sources, information from the Dictionary of National Biography and from Yule has been trusted even if verification from primary sources was lacking.

Glass's material, however, has been rendered less useful than would be desired due to his failure to cite his sources, his not giving dates for various positions held by the members, his much too frequent contradiction or omission of material found in the basic primary sources, and his apparently careless inaccuracies. For these reasons the material from Glass has generally been used only when verification has been possible or where the material is consistent with the other findings of this study.

The roles of the members in the Parliament are not mentioned here since whenever important the material has been included in the body of the paper. Detailed







accounts of military careers are also omitted, as are activities after Cromwell's death, except when they indicate attitudes or abilities which might have had a bearing on the proceedings of the Parliament.







### Moderates

A George Baldwin was member from Buckinghamshire.

A Henry Barton was member for London.

Colonel Nathaniel Barton, member for Derbyshire, and holder of an MA from Oxford, had defeated the Royalists at Tilbury in 1645. He was a member of the Seventh Council of State, where he served on the Committees for the Mint, for Lunatics, for Ordnance, and for Examination (of matters relating to the public safety). He also served as a member of the Parliament in 1654. He apparently was disaffected toward the Protectorate, as indicated by his political inactivity after 1654, and by a reference to him in 1655, in a letter sent to Secretary Thurloe by a Major-General Whalley who had been sent to Derby as Major-General of the 12 cantons:

But Col. Sanders, who notwithstanding he lived but four miles from Derby, yet neither would come to me, nor send his answer. He is a good man, but too much over-persuaded by Col. Barton, who preached an angry sermon the day after I came to Derby.<sup>1</sup>

Gervase Bennett, member for Derbyshire, served also on the Seventh Council of State, where he was the chairman of the Committee for Examination. He served also

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, IV, 241.







on the Irish and Scotch Committee. A supporter of the Protectorate, in 1655 his name appears among the names of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth who were to assist the Major-General in charge of that canton. He was a member of the Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1658, being among those who offered Cromwell the crown. Mr. Bennett, as a Justice of the Peace, had at one time committed George Fox to prison.

Colonel John Bingham, member for Dorsetshire, was a man of an old family possessing a good estate, and had been educated at Brasenose, Oxford and The Middle Temple. He was a Justice of the Peace and the Governor of Guernsey. He had been a member of the Long Parliament, and the Rump, and was a member of the Protector's Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1658. While a member of the Barebone's Parliament he sat on the Seventh Council of State, serving on the Committees for Examination and for the Mint. That he remained friendly toward the Protectorate can be seen from his membership on the Commission for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth and, particularly, by his voting to offer Cromwell the crown in 1657. He was a thorough Independent, having been among







those who fled to the army in 1647 when the Presbyterians controlled Parliament; as late as 1672 his house was licensed for independent worship.

Robert Blake,<sup>1</sup> the famous and popular commander of the fleet, was named to the Parliament as a member for Somersetshire, where he had been a successful merchant of Bridgewater before the war. It is probable that he did not sit often, because of his ill health and sea duties. Blake had been of republican sentiments since his student days at Oxford, and had been one of the first to take up arms in 1642. He had held a seat in the Short Parliament in 1640 and in the Long Parliament after 1645. Yet in spite of his strong opinions in favor of republicanism (Cromwell felt free to dissolve the Long Parliament partly because Blake was too ill to oppose him), he felt even more strongly that England needed to present the image of strength and vigor to foreigners. As expressed in his letter to Thurloe upon being informed of the dissolution of the Parliament of 1654, of which he was a member:

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<sup>1</sup>Dictionary of National Biography, II, 632-642. Hereinafter referred to as DNB.







I cannot but exceedingly wonder, that there should yet remain so strong a spirit of prejudice and animosity in the minds of men, who profess themselves most affectionate patriots, as to postpone the necessary ways and means for preservation of the commonwealth, especially in such a time of concurrence of mischievous plots and designs both of old and new enemies. . . . But blessed by the Lord, who hath hitherto delivered, doth deliver us; and I trust will continue so to do, although he be very tempted by us.<sup>1</sup>

Blake was a devout Puritan and an elder in the Presbyterian church.

Colonel Robert Castle, member for Cambridgeshire, was a Justice of the Peace and the master of the manor of Hoddenham, Cambridge. He sat on the Parliament of 1656, but was not among those who voted to offer Cromwell the crown.

Colonel John Clark, member for Ireland, though not a member of the Sixth Council of State, served on several of its committees relating to Irish affairs, including one on settling the lands in Ireland and one on bringing Irish children to England.

Mr. John Clark, member for Suffolk, was a Justice of the Peace. He sat on the Parliament of 1656 (but did not offer Cromwell a crown) and served as an Admiralty Commissioner. He was married to the sister of John Thurloe, secretary to the Council of State throughout

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, III, 232.



I cannot but exceedingly wonder, that there should yet remain as strong a spirit of prejudice and animosity as the minds of men, who profess themselves most affectionate patriots, as to postpone the necessary steps and means for preservation of the commonwealth, especially in such a time of concurrence of mischievous plots and designs both of old and new enemies. . . . But blessed by the Lord, who hath blessed deliverance, both deliver me; and I trust will continue to do so, although he be very tempted by us.

Blake was a devout Puritan and an elder in the

Presbyterian church.

Colonel Robert Leslie, member for Cambridge, was a

Justice of the Peace and the master of the Manor of

Hobbsdon, Cambridge. He sat on the Parliament of

1656, but was not among those who voted to offer

Cromwell the crown.

Colonel John Leslie, member for Ireland, though not a mem-

ber of the Fifth Council of State, served on several

of its committees relating to Irish affairs, including

one on settling the land in Ireland and one on settling

the Irish soldiers in England.

Mr. John Leslie, member for Oxford, was a Justice of the

Peace. He sat on the Parliament of 1656 (but did not

offer Cromwell a crown) and served as an Assistant

Commissioner. He was elected to the House of Commons

in 1656, secretary to the Council of State throughout



the Protectorate.

Edward Cludd, member for Nottinghamshire, was a wealthy Justice of the Peace who served on the Parliament of 1656 but did not offer Cromwell a crown.

Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper,<sup>1</sup> member for Wiltshire, was the informal leader of the moderate party in the Parliament, and in general was a person of considerable political ability. A man with good family connections and a large personal estate (yielding rents of £7,000 annually), he had initially fought with the Royalist forces in the Civil War but, in 1644, resigned all his commissions to become a commander for the Parliament. For political reasons he became a Presbyterian at this time. Although disqualified because of his previous Royalist connections from holding the seat in the Long Parliament to which he was elected in 1645, he did hold several offices under the Parliament, including that of High Sheriff for Wiltshire, and committee member for Removing the Inconveniences in the Proceedings of the Law. After the execution of the king he not only took the Engagement himself but acted as commissioner for giving it in 1650. He was one of the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, IV, 1036-1055.







men named by the members of the Barebone's Parliament to the Sixth Council of State, where (besides being one of its presidents) he served on the Committees to deal with the Dutch Ambassadors, for Scotland, for Foreign Affairs, to examine the petitioners supporting Lilburne, and the Ordnance Committee. He was named also to the Seventh Council of State and served on the Committees for Examinations, Treason, Foreign Affairs, Lunatics, and the Mint. Though after the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he was active as a member of the Protector's Council, after the dissolution of the Parliament of 1654, of which he was a member, he moved into opposition to Cromwell for his failure to honor parliamentary institutions, and when he was elected to the Parliament of 1656 he was excluded by the Council of State. He sat on the Parliament of 1658 where he led the opposition to Cromwell's House of Lords. He helped bring about the Restoration and played a prominent role in his administration as Chancellor of the Exchequer, being made First Baron Ashley in 1661 and First Earl of Shaftesbury in 1672, at which date he also became



new name of the movement of the day  
Portsmouth, N. H. in 1840  
(perhaps being the first time)  
on the continent of North America  
before, for the first time  
extending the rights of suffrage  
the English people, in 1840  
the Beverly, Massachusetts  
Committee for the year 1840  
British, American, and French  
the abolition of the slave trade  
he was active in the movement  
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of 1840, at which time  
opposition to Gerritt, and  
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First House of Commons  
Gerritt's in 1840



Lord High Treasurer. It might be noted that he continued to work for reform of the Court of Chancery and to support religious toleration, and as late as 1675 was accused of wanting a commonwealth, though he brought legal action against the slanderer. He took a leading part in the parliamentary and court opposition to James, which led at one time to a dismissal from office (1675) and at another to imprisonment (1676-1678) and finally (1681) to going to treasonable lengths in support of Monmouth and more imprisonment. In his biography in The Dictionary of National Biography he is described as:

undoubtedly the most eminent politician of his time . . . That he was a man of keen ambition is very certain. . . . As a statesman he will always remain memorable, because, starting from the conception of tolerance, he opposed the establishment of an Anglican and Royalist organization with decisive success. He seems always to have espoused the doctrines that had the greatest future.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Cromwell,<sup>2</sup> Oliver's fourth son, was young and new to political office when he took his seat in the Barebone's Parliament for Ireland. His only previous public activities had been military. It was

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, V, 1054.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, V, 152-155.



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only after the Parliament's dissolution that Cromwell began his career as Governor of Ireland, as Commander in Chief of the army from 1655-1657 and afterward as Lord Deputy, in which he showed himself to be a thoroughly competent ruler. While dealing with the opposition of the Anabaptists in Ireland, who, in 1655, were favoring Fleetwood, Cromwell in his letters to Thurloe gave several indications of his personality:

I bless the Lord, I do get strength enough to bear their reproaches beyond what I ever expected, both in respect of my youth and natural temper.<sup>1</sup>

And more specifically:

my showing too much of my own spirit (which through grace I am sensible of as my burden) in a debate about some particular persons (of whom I was not fully satisfied).<sup>2</sup>

Though as governor Cromwell was no less harsh than his predecessors toward the Irish population, his policies on religion were more liberal and he attempted to base his rule on the older protestant settlers of Ireland rather than the military elements. In general, he favored a government with as broad a base as possible, and with a parliamentary body.

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, IV, 376.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., IV, 349.



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well known fact that the  
Government in the United States  
is now in a position to  
sell to the public a large  
quantity of the same at a  
reduced price. It is  
indeed, a very large  
quantity of the same  
is now in the hands of the  
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to-day's paper, but I  
expect it will contain  
a full account of the  
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S. J. J.



He was opposed to the Restoration, stating that any extreme would be preferable because "other disasters are temporary and may be mended; those [the Restoration] not."<sup>1</sup> After it had been effected, however, he successfully petitioned to be allowed to retain lands valued at six to seven thousand pounds per annum, stating that:

all his late actings were not out of malice to His Majesty, but from natural love to his late father. At the time of his power in Ireland, he encouraged a learned ministry, maintained several bishops, and was favorable to the King's friends.<sup>2</sup>

It should also be noted that while sitting on the Barebone's Parliament he served on the Seventh Council of State as well, being a member of the Irish and Scotch committees.

Oliver Cromwell, one of the coöpted members, needs no description other than to note that at this time his official positions were Lord General of the Army, and member of the Council of State. No one, particularly foreign ambassadors, failed to acknowledge that he was the real power in England, in spite of his assigning the sovereignty to the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, V, 154.

<sup>2</sup>Cal. S.P. Dom., 1600-1661, p. 519.







Parliament.

William Cullen, member for Kent, was also Mayor of Dover.

Robert Cunliffe, member for Lancashire, had been a Commissioner for Assessments in 1644 and a Commissioner for Sequestrations in 1651.

Henry Dawson (or Davison), member for Durham, was also Mayor and Alderman of Newcastle. Earlier in 1653 there is an entry in the Calendar of State Papers which states: "Alderman Dawson, Collector of Customs at Newcastle, to take up £1,000 upon his own credit, for furnishing the fleet with necessaries."<sup>1</sup> He had also been a Commissioner for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1650.

Major General John Desborow (or Desborough)<sup>2</sup> who is the seventeenth century counterpart of the modern party hack, was one of those generals whose presence in the intimate circle around Cromwell lowered the moral and reforming tone of the Protectorate.

Though a competent military figure, Desborough owed his position primarily to his relationship with Cromwell, having married his sister in 1636. A

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 1652-1653, p. 584.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, V, 853-855.



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member of the Long Parliament and the Rump, he served on the Committee for Law Reform (he had had legal training in his youth, but had not been diligent at it). In 1653 he was one of the Generals at Sea, and one of the Admiralty Commissioners. He served on the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State and on the Protector's Councils. In 1657 he was one of Cromwell's Major-Generals in the highly unpopular attempt to divide England into twelve cantons under military administrators. Besides being one of Cromwell's Lords, he sat on the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 where, interestingly, he strongly opposed the offer of a crown to Cromwell.

After Cromwell's death he was active in the intrigues against Richard. Upon the Restoration he was exempted out of the general pardon and barred from holding public office.

The Dictionary of National Biography damns him with the following uncomplimentary description:

Desborough's patriotism was tempered by a strict regard for his own interests. Deficient in all the qualities of a statesman, he sought to introduce a military despotism under which he might hope to hold a high command.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, V, 855.







It might be noted that he rose from an income of £60-£70 per annum to one exceeding £3,200 in 1657.

Thomas Dickenson, a man of good estate and member for Yorkshire, was Alderman and Lord Mayor of York. In 1655 he was named one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace in Yorkshire, upon the recommendation of Major-General Robert Lilburne, who wrote the Protector:

I could humbly wish your highness would lay your commands on Alderman Dickenson to return home and assist us, for he is not only more resolute and active than many named; but indeed knows more about the late designs than any country gentleman in these parts . . .<sup>1</sup>

He also served as a member of Parliament in 1654 and in 1656 and 1658, but he did not offer Cromwell the crown. He was knighted by Cromwell on March 3, 1656.

Colonel Robert Duckenfield,<sup>2</sup> member for Cheshire, had been born a gentleman. He had, in 1643, been a Commissioner for Sequestrating Estates; in 1649 he had been High Sheriff of Cheshire and commander of a regiment of foot raised there; in 1650 he had been named Governor of Chester, a position he still held

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, IV, 294.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, VI, 89-90.



# MISSISSIPPI

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Thomas W. Gore, Jr., Governor of the State of Mississippi

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in 1653; and in 1651 he had been named Governor of the Isle of Man which he reduced by treachery. After the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament, he was critical of the Protectorate, though he continued to receive appointments. In 1654 he rejected a commission for command of a regiment of horse because, as he wrote Cromwell on March 23, the area was too poor to raise a regiment and:

Because that the extremes that the Levelling party do run furiously upon, doth, as I humbly conceive, drive your highness upon direct contrary extremes; and I desire to imitate Caleb and Joshua in the wilderness, as near as may be, and not to seek a confederacy with those, who limit God to their passions, and against whom God hath an evident controversy, &c. I believe firmly, that the root and tree of piety is alive in your lordship, though the leaves thereof through abundance of temptations and flattery, seem to me to be withered much of late; yet I hope time and experience will have a good influence upon your lordship . . .

He continues:

I praise the Lord for his extraordinary mercy to me in this way, that I am not much moved with the actings of men, though of the better sort; nor do I regard preferment much . . . .

He wishes the good of the Commonwealth, for the service of which "I am content to leave my private and obscure condition, wherein I am much delighted" if he can work with good men, not "such as be your superficial and dissembling friends, whom I know







well, and will have little to do with them, unless forced thereto." And he states that he would be willing to serve in the army abroad but not in England. He concludes:

I humbly beg pardon for this boldness, it preceeding really from the well-wishes of your lordship's very faithful and humble servant, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Duckenfield must have been an able and respected individual, because in spite of this remarkably frank letter he was appointed to be one of the Commissioners for Ejecting Scandalous and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters in Cheshire, in 1655; and in February, 1656 one of Cromwell's Major-Generals wrote Thurloe:

The report we have here is, that Col. Duckenfield is named high sheriff. I thought fit to signify, that he is the only person, that refuses to act with us upon the orders and instructions of his highness and council (to serve as a commissioner for securing the peace).<sup>2</sup>

So that his proud evaluation of himself was apparently accurate.

He was even more opposed to the Restoration,

<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, III, 294.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., IV, 485.







raising a force to help suppress an uprising in 1659 in favor of Charles Stuart. After the Restoration he was tried for his part as a judge in the trial of Lord Derby, but was acquitted. He was also imprisoned from 1665-1666 for suspicion of plotting to overthrow the king and restore government by parliament.

Samuel Dunch, member for Berkshire, served in 1655 on the Committee for Securing the Peace in Berkshire. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

James Erisy, member for Devonshire, was also a Justice of the Peace. He came from an old family.

George Lord Eure, member for Yorkshire, was the Baron of Eure, and later one of Cromwell's lords. He had been a soldier for the Parliament, raising a regiment of foot and a troop of horse for service under Lord Fairfax. He was also a Justice of the Peace. He was a member of the Seventh Council of State, and sat on the Parliament of 1656, but did not offer the Protector a crown.

Colonel Robert Fenwick, member for Cumberland, was also one of the king's judges.







Colonel George Fleetwood,<sup>1</sup> member for Buckinghamshire, a Justice of the Peace and a man of good estate, had been one of the regicides, having signed the king's death warrant. He had served with the Parliamentary forces since 1643, and had been a member of the Long Parliament and the Rump. While a member of the Barebone's Parliament he served on the Seventh Council of State. He was made one of Cromwell's lords in 1657. Even though he assisted Monk in bringing about the Restoration, he was arrested and tried in 1660, and though successfully petitioning against execution, forfeited his estates, which were given to the Duke of York.

Tobias Frere, member for Norfolk, was a gentlemen of estate and a Justice of the Peace. He had served as a Commissioner for Assessments and Sequestrations, and on the Long Parliament's Committee for the Law. He later served on the Parliament of 1654 and was one of the Commissioners for Preserving the Peace for Norfolk in 1655.

Jonathan Goddard, M.D.,<sup>2</sup> member for Oxfordshire, was a

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, VII, 265-266.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, VIII, 24-26.







favorite of Cromwell, having been Physician in Chief to the Army of Parliament in Ireland in 1649 and in Scotland in 1650-1651. To this friendship he owed his appointment as warden of Merton College, Oxford, for 1651-1660 and as Professor of Physics at Gresham College from 1655 to his death.

In 1647 he delivered the anatomy lectures before the College of Physicians in London on the theme that the wisdom and goodness of God is illustrated in the structure of the human frame. He also maintained a laboratory where he developed what were commonly known as "Dr. Goddard's Drops" for the relief of fainting, apoplexy, lethargy, etc. The drops contained dried viper, skull of a person hanged, and, incidentally, ammonia. During his later lifetime he sent at least fourteen communications to the Royal Society, including a recommendation that wine be made from the sugar of the Barbados, to help that area's economy, and also ten ways to tell a fresh egg from a stale one.

Vincent Gookin, member for Ireland, was one of the chief supporters of the plan to transplant the Irish. A Justice of the Peace, he was a member of the Irish Parliament and sat on the Parliament of 1656, at







which time he voted to offer Cromwell the crown.

Henry Henley, member for Somersetshire, was also a Justice of the Peace. In 1656 he was a Commissioner for Ejecting Scandalous Ministers.

Colonel John Hewson,<sup>1</sup> member for Ireland, had served in the Parliamentary Army since the beginning of the Civil Wars, being the commander of one of the regiments of the New Model Army. He had been one of the King's Judges, sitting regularly, and signing the death warrant. He was also a member of the Rump. One of the commanders in Cromwell's expedition into Ireland, he remained there to become Governor of Dublin. There he joined the congregation of John Rogers, one of the most prominent Fifth Monarchy preachers, and favored the Anabaptists. In 1655 he was one of the leaders of the effort to replace Henry Cromwell by the Baptist, Fleetwood, as Governor of Ireland. He sat on the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, but did not offer Cromwell a crown. In 1657 he was knighted by Cromwell and was made one of his lords. In 1659 he was a member of the Committee of Safety that governed England after the expulsion of the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, IX, 762-763.







Parliament. In that year he suppressed an uprising in London for a freely elected parliament, killing three persons and wounding twenty, which caused his intense unpopularity.

Upon the Restoration, he was one of those exempted from the general pardon, and fled to Holland.

John Hildesley, member for Southamptonshire and a gentleman by birth, sat on all three Protectorate Parliaments, but did not vote to make Cromwell king. He served on several committees and commissions, and the description of him in 1656 states that as Commissioner of the Prerogative Office he received £300 per annum. He was also High Sheriff of Southampton.

Major Edward Horseman, member for Rutlandshire, sat on the Parliaments of 1654 and 1658. In 1652 he had served on the High Court of Justice. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Charles Howard,<sup>1</sup> member for Westmoreland, had fought with the King's forces early in the Civil War, and after the Restoration fitted easily into service of the king, being created First Earl of

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<sup>1</sup> DNB, x, 6-7.







Carlisle, as well as holding posts as Privy Councillor, Lord-Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmoreland -- all before the end of 1661. (He later served as ambassador extraordinary to Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, and as Deputy Earl-Marshall of England, and as Governor of Jamaica, before his death in 1685.)

Being an unashamed opportunist, he was able to adjust to any political climate and became one of Cromwell's trusted officials. In 1646 he had paid a \$4,000 fine for his earlier service under the king, and after that date served as High Sheriff of Cumberland (where he seems to have discovered some witches), and as Governor of Carlisle (where he bought Carlisle Castle, part of the royal properties). In 1653 he served on both the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State. After the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he remained close to Cromwell, writing to him in June, 1655:

I hope I need not say anything to make your highness believe, that I am and shall be diligent to serve you . . . I shall conclude with this, that besides the great ties of conscience, honor, and gratitude, I have a particular one, which is due to your person, and that I can say with boldness is so hearty, that no man that serves hath more; and it will appear in cases of greatest difficulty that







he speaks truth, who subscribes himself  
your highness's<sup>1</sup> most obedient and faith-  
ful servant. . . . etc.

In 1655 he was captain of Cromwell's bodyguard; in January of that year he was given command of a regiment; in March he was made member of the Council of State in Scotland; in April he was appointed commissioner to try rebels in Yorkshire, Northumberland, and Durham; in October he was named Deputy Major General of Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmoreland. Undoubtedly he benefited from his tie to Cromwell's person. Even so, at this time his name appears on Royalist correspondence as a person who "has a great desire to do the King Mat<sup>y</sup> some considerable service."<sup>2</sup>

He also sat on the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, when he offered Cromwell the crown; in 1657 he was made one of Cromwell's lords.

Colonel David Hutchinson, member for Ireland, was Mayor and Alderman of Dublin and had served on the High Court of Justice for Ireland. He was also a member of the 1654 Parliament.

<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, III, 568.

<sup>2</sup>Nicholas Papers, III, 258-259.



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In 1955 he was...  
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Colonel Philip Jones,<sup>1</sup> member for Monmouthshire, had a military career dating back to 1642 with particularly heavy activity in his native South Wales. He had served on the Rump (having been elected in one of its few by-elections). His later parliamentary activities include all the Protectorate Parliaments and membership in Cromwell's House of lords. He was among those who voted to offer the Protector a crown. He was also a member of all the Councils of State after May, 1653, serving usually on the Committees for Irish and Scotch Affairs, and for Foreign Affairs. He, incidentally, also served on a committee to suppress several Fifth Monarchy preachers in 1654. He was also Comptroller to the Household of both Protectors. His biographer in the Dictionary of National Biography states that he "was one of the most trusted councillors both of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and belonged to the section in the council which wished to establish the protectorate on a legal basis, and opposed the arbitrary measures advocated by the military party."<sup>2</sup> It might be noted

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, X, 1039, 1041.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, X, 1040.



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that during the Commonwealth period he increased his estates to over £3,000 per annum, having had under £20 before the Civil War.

Henry King, member for Norfolk, later worked for the Protectorate as a Commissioner for the Ejection of Scandalous Ministers in 1654 and as a Commissioner for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in Norfolk in 1655.

Sir Robert King,<sup>1</sup> member for Ireland, was one of Cromwell's dependable military officials in Ireland, in spite of his Irish birth. He served as one of the governors of Ulster Province in 1645 and after 1651 as a Commissary of the Musters. As a member of the Seventh Council of State, he served on the Committee for Irish and Scotch Affairs. Later he was elected to the Parliament of 1656.

Major General John Lambert,<sup>2</sup> was a skillful soldier and an ambitious, efficient statesman, who had no patience with clumsy or disobedient Parliaments. He had served with the Parliamentary forces since the beginning of the Civil War, and by 1650 he was second in command

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XI, 154-155.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XI, 452-459.







to Cromwell during the Scotch Campaign (while his rival Harrison was Commander-in-Chief of the forces in England during Cromwell's absence).

The rivalry between Harrison and Lambert in 1653 has already been noted in the body of this paper. It should be noted that Lambert seldom sat on the Barebone's Parliament or attended the sessions of the Sixth Council of State after June, even though prior to that time he had been the Council's most active member. He was absent from London entirely during parts of July and all of August, September, and October. As the collapse of Harrison's Parliament approached, however, Lambert returned to London, and was prepared to present the Instrument of Government which he and a few other officers had composed. The speed with which the Protectorate was announced after the death of the Barebone's Parliament shows how totally Lambert had overcome opposition and won Cromwell's confidence.

Later Lambert helped establish the system of Major-Generals which was used to govern England briefly after 1655. He declared to the 1656 Parliament, of which he was a member:







I wish any man could propound an expedient to be secure against your common enemies by another way than as the militia is settled. The quarrel is now between light and darkness, not who shall rule, but whether we shall live or be preserved or no. Good words will not do with the cavaliers.<sup>1</sup>

The friendship between Lambert and Cromwell broke over the offer of a crown to Cromwell which Lambert violently opposed. By the end of 1657, Lambert had been forced to resign all his commissions, which involved the loss of an income of £6,500 a year, though Cromwell gave him a pension of £2,000 per year.

After the Restoration Lambert was kept prisoner on Guernsey, where he died in 1683.

John Langley, member for London, was a wealthy alderman, merchant, and shipowner. He frequently served as a Commissioner for the Admiralty and the Navy.

Colonel Francis Lascelles (or Lassels), member for Yorkshire, had been a judge of the King but was pardoned after the Restoration since he had refused to sign the death warrant. He sat in the Long Parliament and in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, though he did not offer Cromwell a crown. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XI, 455.



I wish to state that the above information was obtained from a confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past.

The information was obtained from a confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past. It is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was obtained.

on January 1, 1964, the above information was obtained from a confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past.

Colonel [Name] was a member of the [Organization] and was active in the [Activity] during the [Period].

the above information was obtained from a confidential source who has provided reliable information in the past.

It is not to be used for any purpose other than that for which it was obtained.



Colonel Henry Lawrence,<sup>1</sup> member for Hertfordshire, as a cultured, well-born, intelligent man holding a BA and MA from Cambridge, was the most eminent Baptist of his day. A member of the Long Parliament, he was later purged after he had strongly opposed the trial of the King. He was a close friend of Cromwell and after the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he became permanent chairman of the Protector's Councils, in which capacity he served until the Restoration (he had also been on the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State). He was also a member of the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, and after 1657 of Cromwell's House of Lords.

Lord Viscount Lisle<sup>2</sup> (Philip Sidney), member for Kent, had been elected to the Long Parliament in 1640 and, though he had refused to be the King's judge, was still sitting when the Rump was expelled. He had fought with Parliament since the beginning of the Civil War, being particularly active in Ireland. He was a member of the Sixth and Seventh Councils of

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XI, 697-699.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XVIII, 234-236.



Colonel Henry Lawrence, Member for Northampton, was

a celebrated, well-known, distinguished and leading  
 an and an Irishman, was the first to propose  
 that at his age, a member of the House of Commons,  
 he was later found after he had strongly opposed  
 the trial of the King. He was a close friend of  
 Cromwell and after the dissolution of the House of  
 Commons, he became a member of the House of  
 Commons. Cromwell, in which capacity he served  
 until the Restoration (he had been born on the 11th  
 and Governor General of India). He was also a member  
 of the House of Commons of 1660 and 1661, and after 1661

of Cromwell's House of Commons.

Lord Viscount Falkland (Philip Sidney), Member for Kent, and

been elected to the House of Commons in 1629 and  
 though he had refused to be the King's justice, was  
 still sitting when the King was executed. He had  
 fought with Parliament since the beginning of the  
 Civil War, being particularly active in Ireland. He  
 was a member of the House of Commons in 1629 and 1630.

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2369-2370, 2370-2371, 2371-2372, 2372-2373, 2373-2374, 2374-2375, 2375-2376, 2376-2377, 2377-2378, 2378-2379, 2379-2380, 2380-2381, 2381-2382, 2382-2383, 2383-2384, 2384-2385, 2385-2386, 2386-2387, 2387-2388, 2388-2389, 2389-2390, 2390-2391, 2391-2392, 2392-2393, 2393-2394, 2394-2395, 2395-2396, 2396-2397, 2397-2398, 2398-2399, 2399-2400, 2400-2401, 2401-2402, 2402-2403, 2403-2404, 2404-2405, 2405-2406, 2406-2407, 2407-2408, 2408-2409, 2409-2410, 2410-2411, 2411-2412, 2412-2413, 2413-2414, 2414-2415, 2415-2416, 2416-2417, 2417-2418, 2418-2419, 2419-2420, 2420-2421, 2421-2422, 2422-2423, 2423-2424, 2424-2425, 2425-2426, 2426-2427, 2427-2428, 2428-2429, 2429-2430, 2430-2431, 2431-2432, 2432-2433, 2433-2434, 2434-2435, 2435-2436, 2436-2437, 2437-2438, 2438-2439, 2439-2440, 2440-2441, 2441-2442, 2442-2443, 2443-2444, 2444-2445, 2445-2446, 2446-2447, 2447-2448, 2448-2449, 2449-2450, 2450-2451, 2451-2452, 2452-2453, 2453-2454, 2454-2455, 2455-2456, 2456-2457, 2457-2458, 2458-2459, 2459-2460, 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State and of the Protector's Councils, serving particularly on committees relating to foreign affairs. In 1653 he was appointed Ambassador to Sweden, but due to his ill health Bulstrode Whitelock went in his place. He was one of Cromwell's favorites and served on the Protectorate Parliament's new House of Lords. He also was one of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice. After the Restoration he was pardoned, and he retired from public life. He became third Earl of Leicester upon his father's death in 1677.

Sir William Lockhart,<sup>1</sup> member for Scotland and a Scottish laird, had initially fought with the King, but had joined Cromwell in 1650 because of annoyance over Charles II's treatment of him. In 1652 he became one of Cromwell's Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Scotland and became a member of the Scottish Privy Council. After the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament, he served on the Protector's Council in Scotland and on the Parliaments of 1654, 1656, and 1658; in 1657 he voted to offer Cromwell the crown. From 1656 to the end of the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XXI, 50-52.



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Commonwealth he served as Ambassador to France, and after 1658 was governor of Dunkirk. After the Restoration he continued to serve as an ambassador to various capitals, being apparently an able diplomat.

Richard Lucy, member for Warwickshire, was also a member of the Protectorate Parliaments, and voted to make Cromwell king.

Richard Major (or Mayor), member for Southamptonshire, was also a member of the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State and the Protector's Council. He had been High Sheriff of Hampshire and was a Justice of the Peace. He was also Richard Cromwell's father-in-law.

Christopher Martin, member for Devonshire, was also a member of the Parliament of 1658. He was a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Joachim Matthews, member for Essex and a Justice of the Peace, was excluded from the Parliament of 1656; and when allowed to sit in 1658 he took a leading part in the attack on the new House of Lords.

General George Monk,<sup>1</sup> member for Devonshire, had originally fought with the Royalist forces but after being captured in 1646 switched to the Parliamentary side

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIII, 594-609.







and became a Presbyterian. In November, 1652, he was appointed one of the Generals of the Fleet, and was at sea from February to October 1, 1653, successfully pursuing the Dutch War. When Cromwell had dissolved the Long Parliament, Monk and the other commanders had signed a declaration supporting, though not very enthusiastically, this action; later in 1659 he commented:

The variety of times does very much vary the nature of affairs, and what might then patiently be submitted unto, we being engaged with a foreign enemy in a bloody war, cannot be drawn into a precedent at this time, after our repentance.<sup>1</sup>

Blake's attitude was similar, but his signature is conspicuously absent from the endorsement which Monk willingly signed.

Though while Cromwell was alive he had been faithful to the Protectorate and had revealed to Cromwell all overtures he received from the King, in 1659 he took a leading part in the Restoration of Charles II, and marched his army into England from Scotland (where he held command) for this purpose.

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIII, 596.



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Colonel Edward Montague,<sup>1</sup> member for Huntingdonshire, had been a personal friend as well as a trusted officer to Cromwell. Like Monk, he played a leading role in the Restoration, taking the fleet to Holland to bring the King to England, for which he received many favors from Charles. In the Dictionary of National Biography there is the following description of his character after the Restoration:

His daily gossip and behavior . . . show him as a man of easy, comfort-loving temper, with notions of morality not too strait-laced for the times, and broad views about religion which, in that age, might seem atheistical.<sup>2</sup>

Though popular, and a courageous officer, he does not seem to have had any particular political abilities.

Major William Neast, member for Gloucester, was Justice of the Peace of Tewksbury and a member of the Parliament of 1656 who sat, but did not offer to make Cromwell king. After the Restoration a "Captain Neast of Tewksbury" was implicated in a plot, having received a letter declaring, among other things, "Good people are preparing for dark days, in order to a glorious appearance."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIII, 679-684.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XIII, 683.

<sup>3</sup>Cal. S. P. Dom., 1661-1662, p. 148.



Colonel Edward Montague, a member of the House of Commons,

had been a personal friend as well as a trustee of the House of Commons. He played a leading role in the restoration, during the time of Holland to bring the King to England, for which he received many favors from Charles. In the Parliament of National Assembly there is the following account of his character after the restoration:

His daily conduct and behavior . . . show him as a man of easy, easy-going temper, with notions of morality not too strict for the times, and broad views about religion, which, in that age, might seem extraordinary.

Though popular, and a vigorous supporter, he does not seem to have had any particular political opinions.

Major William Heath, member of the House of Commons, was Justice of the Peace of Hampshire and a member of the Parliament of 1690 who said, but did not offer to name Grenwell King. After the restoration a "Captain Heath of Hampshire" was mentioned in a story, having received a letter containing, among other things, "Good people are preparing for dark days, in order to a glorious appearance."

THE KING, 1690-1691.

THE KING, 1691.

Col. H. P. 1691-1692, p. 148.



Colonel Richard Norton, member for Southamptonshire, was a member of the Sixth Council of State, serving on the Committee for Foreign Affairs and on the Admiralty Commission. He was a member of the Protectorate Parliaments, but didn't vote to make Cromwell king. He had served with the Parliamentary forces since early in the Civil War, and by 1656 was Governor of Portsmouth. He had also been High Sheriff of Hampshire.

John Odinsels, member for Nottinghamshire, was a Justice of the Peace and became a Commissioner of the High Court of Justice in 1655.

Captain Henry Ogle, member for Northumberland, had been known to cashier men under his command for swearing or ungodliness. He had been High Sheriff in 1645.

Stephen Pheasant, member for Huntingdonshire, was a member of the Parliament of 1654.

Captain James Philips, member for Wales, was High Sheriff of Pembroke in 1650. He later served on the Protectorate Parliament, voting to make Cromwell king in 1657.

Sir Gilbert Pickering,<sup>1</sup> member for Northamptonshire,

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XV, 1128.



Colonel Richard H. Hays, who was a member of the  
a member of the staff of the  
the Commission for the Study of the  
military Commission, was a member of the  
Joint Committee on the Organization of the  
Army. He had served with the Army in  
since early in the First World War and  
error of fact. He had been a member of  
of the  
John O. Hays, member of the House of Representatives,  
of the House and was a member of the  
Committee on the  
General Hays, who was a member of the  
known to be a member of the  
of the  
Stephen Hays, member of the House of Representatives,  
member of the House of Representatives.  
Captain Hays, who was a member of the  
of the House of Representatives.  
House of Representatives, who was a member of the  
1917.  
Mr. Hays, who was a member of the

1917-18

1918-19



though of a respected family, had joined the Parliamentary forces at the outbreak of the Civil War and had sat on the Long Parliament since it began. He was appointed to be one of the King's judges, but attended only two sessions and refused to sign the death warrant. He sat on all the Councils of State and on the Protector's Councils, serving particularly on Committees for Foreign Affairs, Ireland and Scotland. He was also a member of the Protectorate Parliaments and of Cromwell's House of Lords, but didn't offer Cromwell a crown. He was Lord Chamberlain to both Protectors' households.

Pickering had been educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Gray's Inn. He was described by an enemy as "first a Presbyterian, then an Independent, then a Brownist, and afterwards an Anabaptist."<sup>1</sup>

A Colonel John Pratt was member for Leicestershire.

Sir William Roberts,<sup>2</sup> a member for Middlesex, had been a minor official for Charles I, but had joined the Parliamentary forces immediately upon the outbreak of the Civil War. During the Commonwealth he

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XVI, 1280.



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increased his estate by the purchase of quantities of church lands. He had been a member of the Rump Committee for Remedying Inconveniences in the Law. He was also a member of the Seventh Council of State. In 1656 he sat on the Parliament and was among those who voted to make Cromwell king. After the Restoration he was made a baronet.

Colonel Anthony Rous, member for Cornwall, was a member of the Council of State and of the Protectorate Parliaments, though he did not offer Cromwell a crown. He also became vice-admiral of the fleets on the north and south coasts of Cornwall. In 1656 he was added to the Committee for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in Cornwall. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

Francis Rous,<sup>1</sup> member for Devonshire, was the Speaker of the Barebone's Parliament. A man seventy-four years old, he was a prominent and respected Puritan. He took a leading part in all the debates on religion and the church in all the Parliaments after 1625. In 1644 he had been named Provost of Eton, a position he held until his death in 1659; at this time he also composed a metrical version of the Psalms which was still in use in Scotland at the end of the Nineteenth Century. After

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XVII, 316-317.



STATE OF NEW YORK  
IN SENATE  
JANUARY 19, 1910

increased the number of members of the  
of finance, and the number of the  
Committee for the purpose of the  
He was elected member of the  
In 1886 he was on the  
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Colonel Anthony Rome, of the  
of the Council of the  
Parliamentary, and  
He also became  
and social sciences of  
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Francis Rome, of the  
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old, he was a  
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the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he was named to the Protector's Councils, to the Protectorate Parliaments, and to the new House of Lords.

John Sadler,<sup>1</sup> member for Cambridgeshire, had been appointed master of Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1650, a position he held until the Restoration. He was a pious and tolerant man, had served on the Committee for Remedying Inconveniences of the Law, and had been largely responsible for permission being given for the construction of a synagogue in London. He was a member of the Seventh Council of State, and of the Parliaments of 1654 and 1658. He was also one of the masters of the High Court of Chancery, a position he held even after 1655 when Cromwell reduced their number to six.

A John St. Nicholas was member for Warwickshire.

Major Richard Salway,<sup>2</sup> member for Worcestershire, had been opposed to the dissolution of the Long Parliament, of which he had been a member since 1645, and at one point told Cromwell, who had been complaining of the burdens and temptations its dissolution had put upon him:

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XVII, 593-594.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XVII, 715-717.







The way, Sir, to free you from this temptation is for you not to look upon yourself to be under it, but to rest persuaded that the power of the nation is in the good people of England, as formerly it was.<sup>1</sup>

Salway was a substantial London merchant (who as a young man had been one of the spokesmen for the turbulent London apprentices) and profited greatly from the purchase of royal and church lands. He was a commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, a member of several Councils of State, and, in 1654, English Ambassador to Constantinople.

Major Thomas Saunders, member for Devonshire, served in the Protectorate Parliaments, and was allowed to sit in 1656, even though he had refused to be one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth. He was also a Justice of the Peace and the governor of the fort at Plymouth.<sup>2</sup>

Captain John Stone, member for London, was a financier and member of the Seventh Council of State.

<sup>1</sup>Ludlow, op. cit., I, 358.

<sup>2</sup>A Thomas Saunders who was a Baptist was one of three officers signing a petition to Cromwell dated December 20, 1653, in which they lament finding you Cromwell engaged in transaction whereupon the life and death of the cause bought with out blood hangs, and they state we are obliged to remind you of the tyranny against which we engaged, and of the fundamental rights and



The way, Sir, to free you from this position is for you not to look upon yourself as a subject, but to treat yourself as a free man. In the first place, the nation is in the hands of the people, and the next is war.

Salway was a substantial London merchant, and as a young man had been one of the members of the House of Commons (London apprentices) and had been greatly interested in the purchase of royal and church lands. He was a commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, a member of several Councils of State, and, in 1704, he was Ambassador to Constantinople.

Major Thomas Grenville, member for Devonshire, arrived in the Protestant establishment, and was elected to sit in 1696, even though he had refused to be one of the Commissioners for securing the Peace of the House of Commons. He was also a trustee of the Bank and the Governor of the Bank of England. Captain John Grenville, member for London, was a member of the House of Commons, and a member of the Society of Friends.

London, 22d. 1704. I, 1704. A Thomas Grenville was a member of the House of Commons, and a member of the Society of Friends. Three officers of the House of Commons, in which they sat, December 20, 1704, in which they sat, finding you Grenville engaged in the House of Commons, whereupon the life and health of the House of Commons, with out blood money, and they state we are obliged to remind you of the House of Commons, which we engaged, and of the House of Commons, which we engaged.



Walter Strickland,<sup>1</sup> member for Yorkshire, had served the Parliament as Ambassador to the Netherlands from 1642 to 1650, and was sent again in 1651 to discuss the possible union of the two Protestant commonwealths. He had been a member of the Long Parliament since 1645, and served on several Councils of State before sitting on the Sixth, Seventh, and Protector's Councils. He also sat on the Protectorate Parliaments and was made one of Cromwell's lords. In spite of the many positions he had held he was not considered politically dangerous and was not penalized in any way upon the Restoration.

It should also be noted that Strickland had been trained as a lawyer and was a Justice of the Peace. He was apparently a hard-working bureaucrat, having an exceptional attendance record for the Councils of State, being frequently used as messenger to the Barebone's Parliament, and serving on most of the committees that dealt in any way with foreign affairs.

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freedoms we intended to redeem out of the tyrant's hands. (Cal. S.P. Dom., 1653-1654, p. 302.)  
He also signed a petition with a distinctly Leveller tone in October, 1654.

<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIX, 54-55.



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Colonel William Sydenham,<sup>1</sup> member for Dorsetshire, had fought with the Parliamentary forces since the outbreak of the Civil War, and had been a member of the Long Parliament and Rump. In 1649 he had been appointed one of the two governors of the Isle of Wight, and as such had custody of two of the King's children. He served on the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State and on the Protector's Councils. He was also a member of the Protectorate Parliaments and of the new House of Lords. Though he was capable of hanging six or eight "mere Irish rebels," he was opposed to the violent anti-Quaker legislation and the excessive punishment of the Quaker, James Naylor, stating in Parliament in 1656:

We live as Parliament men but for a time, but we live as Englishmen always. I would not have us so tender of the privilege of Parliament as to forget the liberties of Englishmen.<sup>2</sup>

Dudley Templer, member for Essex, was also a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel William Thompson, member for Lincolnshire, was an Alderman of Lincoln and a member of the Council of State.

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIX, 253-255.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XIX, 254.



Colonel William H. H. H.

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Major General...

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Colonel William H. H. H.

Albany...

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Robert Tichborne,<sup>1</sup> member for London, was at that time Alderman of the city and later became Lord Mayor. He was a member of the Sixth and Seventh Councils of State and also of the Protector's Councils, serving particularly on Committees relating to Lilburne's trial, the High Court of Justice, and the examination of the Fifth Monarchy preachers of Blackfriars who had denounced the Protectorate. Though a republican and one of the more prominent regicides, he served in the Protectorate Councils, Parliament, and House of Lords. After the Restoration he was imprisoned, and died in captivity twenty-two years later.

Colonel Matthew Tomlinson,<sup>2</sup> one of the co-opted members, was noted primarily for his taking custody of Charles I from 1648 to his execution the next year, even though he had refused to be one of the King's judges. He was called to the Parliament because of its desire to include in its membership all of the members of Cromwell's interim Council of State. Tomlinson spent most of the Protectorate serving in Ireland, and was made one of Cromwell's Lords in 1657.

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XIX, 857-858.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XIX, 684-685.







Humphrey Walcot, member for Lincolnshire, was also a Justice of the Peace.

Samuel Warner, member for Cambridgeshire, later served as High Sheriff of Cambridge.

Augustine Wingfield, member for Middlesex, composed the following poem when the Dutch fleet was severely damaged in a storm. The poem was printed in English and Latin in Several Proceedings . . . which was published weekly and distributed generally:

What can your plots, your nation, ships avail  
If Christ to oppose and his flock, ye hoist up sail?  
Repent, Repent, O Holland! Cease from wars!  
The English Nation are for Peace, not jars:  
It's for the Lord they stand, that Christ alone  
May reign in Zion, and Antichrist dethrone.  
Then ope your eyes, and Heavenward set your face,  
That so God's hand may teach you peace t'embrace:  
Least your evil deeds, the Lord repay,  
And from Heaven's joys ye perish quite away.<sup>1</sup>

A Major Ralph Wolmer was a member for Norfolk.

Sir Charles Wolseley,<sup>2</sup> member for Oxfordshire, was still in his early twenties and politically inexperienced when he sat on the Barebone's Parliament. He had been too young to participate in the Civil Wars, though his father had been a Royalist. He served on the Sixth

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<sup>1</sup>Scobel, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XXI, 793-794.



Emerson's letters, mostly to his friends,

Justice of the Peace.

Samuel Weston, member of the Unitarian Church,

as High Sheriff of the County.

Annals of the County, 1840-1841, 1842-1843,

following, contain the names of the

damaged in a storm. The storm was

and took in several hundred

fishes, mostly of the

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and Seventh Councils of State, and during the Protectorate, served on the Protectorate Councils, Parliaments, and House of Lords.

A Major Thomas Wood was a member for Berkshire.



and several members of the  
Protestant, Baptist and  
Evangelical churches of  
A Major League club in a recent  
season.

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FIVE  
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WON



### Party Affiliation Uncertain

Colonel Henry Birkhead,<sup>1</sup> member of Cheshire, was also a Justice of the Peace.

Barnaby Bowtell,<sup>2</sup> member for Lincolnshire, and a Justice of the Peace, had served on the High Court of Justice in 1650.

Major Francis Brewster,<sup>3</sup> member for Suffolk, was of an old and wealthy Puritan family possessing the manor of Wrentham Hall, which was worth £700 per annum. He sat on the Parliament of 1656, but did not vote to offer Cromwell a crown; his son Robert had been active on the Long Parliament, the Rump, and the Parliaments of 1654 and 1658. In 1655 he was one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth.

Alexander Brodie,<sup>4</sup> one of the members for Scotland, was a Scottish Laird whose family dated back to 1311. A fanatical Presbyterian, in 1640 he had headed a party

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<sup>1</sup>A moderate according to the Glass list; a radical according to the Thurloe list.

<sup>2</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe.

<sup>3</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe

<sup>4</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe. He never took his seat. See DNB, II, 1285-1286.







which mutilated the interior of the Cathedral of Elgin which was supposedly unsuited for a house of worship. He was active in attempts to restore Charles Stuart as king on the condition that he sign the National Covenant, and was sent as a commissioner of the General Assembly to Breda in 1650. Upon the Restoration, however, he was fined £4,000. When he was summoned to attend the Barebone's Parliament he refused to attend and said that he "resolved in the strength of the Lord to eschew and avoid employment under Cromwell."<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Thomas Brooke,<sup>2</sup> a member for Northamptonshire, was a Justice of the Peace and also a Commissioner for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in 1655. Colonel John Brown,<sup>3</sup> represented Wales as a result of the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, II, 1286.

<sup>2</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe.

<sup>3</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.

In dealing with this member a researcher is cursed by a classic example of the common name. Glass lists Brown as a moderate, but confuses him with John Brown of Dorsetshire, a member of the Long Parliament who refused to sign the King's death warrant, and who was later one of Cromwell's Commissioners for Securing the Peace in 1655. Another John Brown played a prominent part in the 1657 insurrection led by Venner. Judging from Brown's association



which mutilated the interest of the nation  
again which was brought to the attention of  
womanly. He was called to attention by  
Charles Sumner as being on the ground of the  
the National Government, and was not to be  
of the General Assembly. He was not to be  
Restoration, however, he was called to  
was summoned to attend the National Convention  
refused to attend and said that he would not  
strength of the bond no longer and would not  
under Cromwell.

Colonel Thomas Brown was a Justice of the Peace and a member of the  
for securing the peace of the country in 1861.  
Colonel John Brown represented the people of the State

to Thirteenth.  
Moderate according to the National Convention  
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is dealing with this subject. The National Convention  
by a classic example of the National Convention  
known as a moderate, but was not to be  
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to sign the King's declaration of independence  
of Cromwell's declaration of independence  
Another John Brown was a member of the National Convention  
introduction led by the National Convention



recommendation of Major-General Harrison. This association with Harrison would indicate that he was probably a radical.

Sir William Brownlow,<sup>1</sup> member for Lincolnshire, was also a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Seventh Council of State.

John Cheetwood,<sup>2</sup> member for Staffordshire, was also a Justice of the Peace.

Edward Gill,<sup>3</sup> member for Yorkshire, was also a member of the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656 (on which he sat,

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<sup>3</sup>With the radical element in Wales it is possible that if he were staying in London in 1657 he might have participated in the Venner revolt, though it should be noted that Harrison, Carew, and John Rogers all refused to support the revolt.

<sup>1</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe.

<sup>2</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.

<sup>3</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe.



recommendation of the...  
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Sir William...  
a Justice of the Peace...  
Colonel of...

John Greenwood, member of...  
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but did not offer Cromwell a crown.) On the list of members for the 1656 Parliament he is listed as a captain.

Major Vincent Goddard,<sup>1</sup> member for Berkshire, had originally sided with the King in the Civil War, then had switched over to Parliament. He apparently remained faithful to Cromwell, because his name appears among the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in Berkshire, though it is possible he would have been among those who refused to serve. He died before the first meeting of the Commissioners.

Dennis Hollister<sup>2</sup> member for Somersetshire, was a merchant and a lay preacher in Bristol. After he became a Quaker he fought violently with the Baptists, whom he described as belonging to the Synagogue of Satan in a pamphlet entitled in part "The Skirts of the Whore Discovered." He served as receiver of assessments, and an entry in the Calendar of State Papers for 1662 speaks of £1,500 still in his possession. He was a member of the Sixth Council of

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<sup>1</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.

<sup>2</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.







State, and also was one of the Commissioners for the Admiralty and Navy.

An Edward Smith, a man of good estate, was member for Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

William Spence, member for Sussex, was a member of the Parliament of 1658 and a Justice of the Peace.<sup>2</sup>

Arthur Squibb, member for Middlesex, was Teller of the Exchequer and a Justice of the Peace. He was a Fifth Monarchy man, and should probably be classified as a radical.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Radical according to Glass; moderate according to Thurloe.

<sup>2</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.

<sup>3</sup>Moderate according to Glass; radical according to Thurloe.



State, and also was one of the Commissioners for the

Admiralty and Navy.

An Edward Smith, a man of good estate, was member for

Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

William Rogers, member for Sussex, was a member of the

Parliament of 1653 and a Justice of the Peace.

Arthur Smith, member for Middlesex, was Teller of the

Exchequer and a Justice of the Peace. He was a

rich mercantile man, and would probably be classed

as a radical.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Radical according to Green; moderate according  
to Thurloe.

<sup>2</sup>Moderate according to Green; radical according  
to Thurloe.

<sup>3</sup>Moderate according to Green; radical according  
to Thurloe.



### Radicals

John Anlaby of Yorkshire, a pro-Quaker Justice of the Peace, had served in the Long Parliament and the Rump from 1649 to 1652. He had refused to be one of the King's Judges, and his name does not appear among those who were exempted from the general pardon upon the Restoration. He was a member of the Seventh Council of State, and he was elected to sit on the Protectorate Parliaments of 1654 and 1658.

Thomas Baker, member for Shropshire, was High Sheriff of Salop.

Praise-God Barebone (or, more accurately, Praise Barbon)<sup>1</sup> was a substantial merchant of London, dealing in leather, who was sufficiently wealthy to be able to place bond for the amount of £500 for Dr. Aaron Guerdon, Master of the Mint. He was best known as a leading Baptist minister and publisher, and he and his

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, I, 1071-1073. The London wags took even greater liberties with his son's name, which actually was quite prosaic and gave no foundation for the story. They claimed that the boy had been baptised If-Christ-Had-Not-Died-For-The-Thou-Wouldst-Be-Damned; and since the son was considerably less puritanical than his father, he was known as "Damned Barebones."



THE HISTORY OF THE

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congregation were the frequent targets of persecution.

A pamphlet, The Discovery of a Swarm of Separatists, or a Leather-Seller's Sermon, published in 1641, states:

The said Burboone preached very nigh five hours, crying diverse times . . . Hell and Damnation, telling that they were all damned . . . [The congregation which attracted a mob, and numbered about 150 was attacked.] At length they caught one of them alone, but they kickt him so vehemently as if they meant to beat him into a jelly. It is ambiguous whether they have kil'd him or no. . . . I confesse it had been no matter if they had beaten the whole tribe in like manner. . . . The constables at last interferred, and committed some of the congregation to Bridewell, and others to the Counters.<sup>1</sup>

Though his name was affixed to the Parliament by some wit, the minister was an inconspicuous member. His only other notable political activity was to sponsor a petition against the return of the Stuarts in 1660. Upon the Restoration he was imprisoned in the Tower.

Henry Barrington was described as a "dangerous sectary" in a letter of intelligence sent from Sir James Bunce to Secretary Nicholas in January, 1661.<sup>2</sup> His only other important position, besides membership for Essex on the Parliament, was as Alderman of Colcester.

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<sup>1</sup>Glass, op. cit., p. 136n. And DNE, I, 1072.

<sup>2</sup>Cal. S.P. Dom., 1660-1661, p. 469.







He had been a supporter of the Commonwealth since 1643, and remained thus during the Protectorate.

John Bawden, a member of an old family which had once possessed a large number of manors, was a Justice of the Peace from Cornwall and had also commanded troops in the militia.

A George Bellot was member for Staffordshire.

Colonel Robert Bennett,<sup>1</sup> master of the Manor of Iawhilton and a prominent Baptist, who had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford and the Middle Temple, was a member for Cornwall. He had previously served on the Long Parliament since 1648, and the Rump, and he was Alderman of Launceston. He had been a leading Cornish supporter of the Parliamentary cause, having entered the war in 1643, and had been governor of several forts, which had cost him large sums for which he was not reimbursed. He was a member of the Sixth Council of State, but after July left London for personal reasons and did not return until 1654, when he sat on the new Parliament. Later he was elected to the Parliament of 1658. Though a republican, he was a friend of Cromwell, and after the Protector's death

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, II, 236-237.



He was a supporter of the Government since 1842, and remained so during the 1850s. John Brown, a member of an old family which had once possessed a large number of manors, was a trustee of the House from 1841 and had also commanded troops in the militia.

A George Elliot was member for Great Britain. Colonel Robert Palmer, a member of the House of Commons and a prominent Baptist, who had been educated at Exeter College, Oxford and the Middle Temple, was a member for Cornwall. He had previously served on the Long Parliament since 1645, and was again a member of the House of Commons. He had been a leading Cornish supporter of the Parliamentary cause, having entered the war in 1642, and had been governor of several forts, which had cost him large sums for which he was not reimbursed. He was a member of the Sixth Cornish of State, but after July left London for personal reasons and did not return until 1652, when he sat on the new Parliament. Later he was elected to the Parliament of 1658. Though a royalist, he was a friend of Cromwell, and after the Protector's death



he supported Richard.

Colonel Thomas Blount, member for Kent, had been an early supporter of Parliament, in spite of his good family and Royalist associates, but apparently was not active politically during the Protectorate. Upon the Restoration he was arrested and, unwilling to be in any way martyred for a lost cause, he presented a petition in which he stated that he had accepted a commission only from King and Parliament and that he resigned this in 1647 when the Parliament changed that commission; that he had refused to be a part of the King's trial; that he had opposed the sale of royal lands; and that he had set up bells and hired ringers to celebrate the King's return.<sup>1</sup> It should also be noted that in 1657 he provided men and arms to put down the revolt led by Thomas Venner.

After his release from prison Blount retired to his estate, where he worked on several inventions such as a carriage with an improved action, ploughs, and an odometer for a carriage. In 1665 he was admitted to the Royal Society, but withdrew in 1668.

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<sup>1</sup>Cal. S. P. Dom., 1660-1661, p. 486.







William Bottrell, member for Shropshire, had served as Governor of Ludlow Castle in 1649.

John Brewster, member for Essex, was also a Justice of the Peace. In November of 1653 the Parliament granted Brewster and Joachim Mathews an acre of land valued at £100 in Waltham Forest for a meeting house.

Andrew Broughton, member for Kent, had served as secretary and assistant counsellor to the High Court of Justice for the Trial of the King. He was named to the Sixth Council of State by the Parliament, and was a member of the Committees for the Mint, for Customs, for Idiots, for Ireland and Scotland, and for Preparing the Draft of the Act for Establishing the High Court of Justice. He later served on the Parliament of 1658.

Major William Burton, member for Norfolk, was Governor of the Port of Yarmouth and also a Commissioner for the Admiralty and Navy. He was a Justice of the Peace.

A Jacob Caley was member for Suffolk.

John Carew,<sup>1</sup> member for Devonshire, was a prominent Republican and Fifth Monarchy Man, being one of Harrison's closest friends. A man of considerable wealth and educated at Oxford and the Inns of Court, he had been one of the members of the Long Parliament and the Rump,

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, III, 936.







where he had served on the Committee for the Law. He had been one of the King's Judges, had attended every session of the trial, and had unhesitatingly signed the King's death warrant. In spite of his association with Harrison, who favored the dissolution of the Long Parliament, as late as March, 1653, he was listed by a Royalist source as being against any obstruction of the Long Parliament, preferring that it pursue its own wishes concerning adjournment. His Republican opinions brought him into frequent friction with the Protectorate and he was imprisoned in 1655 and 1658.

He served as a member on the Third, Fourth, Sixth, and Seventh Councils of State, also as a Commissioner for the Admiralty and Navy. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

Though Carew would undoubtedly have been of a fanatical temperament befitting a Baptist, millenarian and Republican, he was a man of considerable character. He was courageous in his opposition to both Cromwell and to the militant extremists in his own party. When Harrison, Carew, and Courtney were summoned to meet with the Protector in 1655, they refused because they could not acknowledge the government which was "against







the will of God, anti-Christian, and Babylonian." Carew later told Cromwell that when he dissolved the Barebone's Parliament he "took the crown from the head of Christ and put it on his own."<sup>1</sup> When approached by Venner in 1657 he accused him of being "not of a Gospel spirit . . . and that . . . he would submit to the mercy of the adversary before he would follow us (Venner)."<sup>2</sup> Upon the Restoration he was excluded from the Indemnity Bill and, refusing several opportunities to escape, was tried and executed as a regicide in 1660.

Edward Cater, member for Bedfordshire and a Justice of the Peace, served in 1655 as one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth for Bedfordshire. As one of the eleven signatories of a letter to Cromwell, he gave his approval of the system of Major-Generals:

We cannot but acknowledge the great providence and mercy of God in this juncture of time, to put it into the hearts of his highness and council, to propose such a way of settling the hearts and quieting the minds of all good people.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe to Monk, quoted in Simpkinson, op. cit., 213.

<sup>2</sup>Burrage, op. cit., p. 729.

<sup>3</sup>Thurloe Papers, IV, 207-208.



the will of God, and the will of the people.  
Garner later told Orinwell that when he discussed  
the Bostonian's "Manifesto" in "The Bostonian" and in  
the hands of Orinwell and his friends, and that  
approached by Orinwell in 1850, he was asked to write  
"not of a Gospel, but of a Gospel."  
submit to the mercy of the majority, but he would  
follow us (Vander).  
excluded from the "Bostonian" and "The Bostonian"  
opportunities to change, and that he was excluded as a  
reside in 1850.

Edward Gager, member for Massachusetts and a friend of the  
Pace, served in 1850 as one of the Massachusetts Tax  
Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth for Massachusetts.  
As one of the eleven members of a "Committee on  
he gave his approval of the report of the Committee.  
We cannot but acknowledge the great influence  
and mercy of God in this movement of peace, to  
put it into the hands of the people and to  
oil, to propose such a way of settling the matter  
and placing the matter of all good people.

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<sup>1</sup> Minutes to 1850, dated in Massachusetts, p. 13, 137.  
<sup>2</sup> Passage, p. 13, 137.  
<sup>3</sup> Minutes, p. 13, 137.



Captain Roger Coats, member for Yorkshire, served as a spy for Cromwell in February of 1654 and was accidentally sent to the Tower but was released in a week.

Colonel Hugh Courtney, a member for Wales who had been proposed by Harrison, was a Fifth Monarchy Man and a member of the Commission for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. As an active member of the Sixth Council of State he opposed the Protectorate, and after the Restoration was banished. A few of his letters are in Thurloe's collection, and though no individual parts are particularly quotable, the over-all tone is one of dignity and restraint, though decidedly God-fearing and Christ-expecting.

Captain John Crofts, member for Gloucestershire and a Justice of the Peace, served on several commissions for the Protectorate between 1654 and 1657, even though he was a Baptist.

Richard Cust, member for Lincolnshire, was named by the Sixth Council of State to be a Commissioner to Inspect the Treasuries. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Henry Danvers,<sup>1</sup> member for Leicester, was a leading Baptist and Fifth Monarchy Man. As a Justice of the

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<sup>1</sup>DNE, V, 489-490.



Captain Henry Jones, member of the  
for General Jones, and was  
sent to the front and the following

Colonel John Jones, member of the  
proposed by the committee, and  
member of the committee, and

General Jones, member of the  
Council of the committee, and  
after the committee, and

there are the committee, and  
vital parts and the committee,  
there is one of the committee, and

God-fearing and the committee,  
Captain John Jones, member of the  
justice of the committee, and

for the committee, and  
though he was a member,  
Richard Jones, member of the

with General Jones, member of the  
the committee, and  
Colonel Henry Jones, member of the

captain and the committee, and  
the committee, and  
the committee, and

the committee, and  
the committee, and  
the committee, and



Peace and Governor of Stafford in 1651 he was noted for never taking bribes. A defender of toleration, he published in 1640 "Certain Queries Concerning Liberty of Conscience . . ." making the statement:

Were not the Protestants the Pope's heretics? The Puritans of Non-conformists theirs? And the Independents the Puritans' heretics and scismatics? Is not the principle more suitable and agreeable with the Gospel that Christ shed His blood for His bloodiest enemies, died for the chief of sinners?<sup>1</sup>

Educated at Christ's Church, Oxford, and Gray's Inn, he had been a member of the Long Parliament.

He was opposed to the Protectorate and was arrested in 1657, along with Harrison, for a suspected plot against the Protector. In 1655 Thurloe had written to Henry Cromwell concerning a meeting of Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchy Men "with full intentions to have engaged the churches in blood, many of them laid their matters beforehand, and prepared both horse and arms . . . Colonel Danvers is one, who would fain be in arms, and was at one of these meetings to incite others to the same thing."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Glass, op. cit., 74.

<sup>2</sup>Thurloe Papers, IV, 629.







He was equally suspect after the Restoration, and even arranged to put his estate, worth £400 annually, in the hands of trustees for protection against prosecution. It should, however, be noted that he never actually rose in armed revolt against the government, even when he was committed to support Monmouth, a fact which has been attributed to cowardice.

William Draper, member for Oxfordshire, was High Sheriff and had served as Governor of Oxford in 1651.

Robert Dunkon, member for Suffolk, served in 1655 as one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in Suffolk.

Christopher Earl (or East), member for Essex, was also a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Thomas Eyre, Mayor of Marlborough, member for Wiltshire, served in 1655 on the Commission for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in Wiltshire. He was also a Justice of the Peace.

Thomas French, member for Cambridgeshire, was in the process of buying several parcels of royal land during the sitting of the Parliament.

Nicholas Green, member for Wiltshire, was one of the Commissioners for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth in 1655.



He was appointed to the position of...

even attended the trial of...

in the matter of...

prosecution. It should be noted...

never formally took...

exhibit, even when he was...

a fact which has been established...

William Byrd, master of the ship...

and had received...

Robert Jackson, master of the ship...

of the ship...

Commander...

Dr. Thomas...

Justice of the Peace...

Colonel Thomas...

Witness...

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was also a Justice of the Peace...

Thomas...

of buying several...

attending of the...

Michael...

missionary for...

in 1855.



Major-General Thomas Harrison,<sup>1</sup> one of the coöpted members, was unquestionably the most important single member of this Parliament, which he had in part designed and in which he led the Radicals.

As a military figure, Harrison was one of Cromwell's more competent and dependable generals, having served with the Parliamentary forces since the beginning of the Civil War. More important, Harrison was extremely popular with both the troops and officers, and according to Professor Firth his following was greater even than Cromwell's before 1653.<sup>2</sup> After 1653 when, as a result of the failings of the Barebone's Parliament, his popularity declined rapidly, he remained the leader of the Fifth Monarchy Party, to which he had adhered since 1649. A pleasant, genial, and frank person, he in no way resembled the caricature of the blum and drab Puritan. Perhaps most important to his leadership, both of a large following in the

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, IX, 41-44.

<sup>2</sup>Charles H. Firth, "Life of Thomas Harrison," American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings. New Series, VIII (1893), 420.







army and later of the Radical Party, was that he was a courageous person capable of unselfish dedication and endless patience. But he was a religious fanatic of the most extreme sort; the most intensely religious of Cromwell's generals. One person, who had been standing beside him in battle when the Royalists broke ranks and retreated, heard him "with a loud voice break forth into the praises of God with fluent expressions, as if he had been in a rapture." Another story which circulated among the cavaliers and is possibly exaggerated reports that Harrison slew one man after he had laid down his arms, saying, "Cursed is he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." Later, between February, 1650 and early 1653, Harrison showed the missionary zeal of a fanatic when he served as one of a seventy-man Committee for the Propagation and Preaching of the Bible in Wales, a strongly Royalist area. Harrison imported Fifth Monarchy preachers like the violent Vavasour Powell, enacted strict censorship laws, expelled a large number of clergymen, and siezed £60,000 in tithes. A Royalist pamphleteer states, probably without too much exaggeration:

The laws of the land were not executed in Wales, but Major-General Harrison's laws



away and later of the ...

a courageous ...

and endless ...

of the most ...

of ...

ing beside ...

and retreated, ...

into the ...

he had been ...

enlisted among ...

agitated ...

had laid down ...

death the ...

twice ...

the missionary ...

one of a ...

and ...

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acrobatic ...

and ...

asses, ...

The ...

when, ...



were there in full force. No orthodox ministers could there be suffered but whom he pleased to allow; . . . he endeavored the remodelling of that country, so that the opinion of his own proselytes would teach and instruct the people.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this aggressive policy, a few "gathered churches" were set up, though it should be noted that of the six members for Wales, five were of Harrison's party.

As for Harrison's political life, he had entered the Long Parliament in 1646, and served on the Committee for Religion, the Poor, and Removing of the Inconveniences in the Proceedings of the Law. In 1649 he played a determining role in the execution of the king, being the officer in charge of bringing him to London, attending every session of the trial, urging the conviction, and signing the death warrant. He was also prominent in Parliamentary affairs, attacking the House of Lords in 1647, taking an active part in Pride's Purge, and advocating and helping force the dissolution of the Long Parliament. During Cromwell's absence in Scotland in 1650, Harrison was Commander-in-Chief of the forces in England. He was also a member of the Councils of State after 1651.

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<sup>1</sup>Simpkinson, op. cit., p. 101.



were there in full force. No orthodox states-  
 men could think he would be so far from  
 pleased to allow . . . He emphasized the re-  
 modeling of that country, so that the opinion  
 of his own people would be taken into account  
 the people.

In spite of this aggressive policy, the "Garrison  
 churches" were not up, though it should be noted that  
 of the six members for Wales, five were of Garrison's  
 party.

As for Garrison's political life, he had entered  
 the long Parliament in 1846, and served on the Com-  
 mittee for Religion, the Poor, and Revolving of the In-  
 conveniences in the Proceedings of the Law. In 1849  
 he played a determining role in the execution of the  
 king, being the officer in charge of extending him to  
 London, attending every session of the trial, writing  
 the conviction, and signing the death warrant. He  
 was also prominent in Parliamentary affairs, attacking  
 the House of Lords in 1847, taking an active part in  
 Burke's charge, and advocating and helping force the  
 dissolution of the House of Lords. During Crutwell's  
 absence in Scotland in 1850, Garrison was Commander-in-  
 Chief of the forces in England. He was also a member  
 of the Council of State after 1851.



After the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he withdrew from political office and was deprived of his commission in December of 1653 for his refusal to accept the Protectorate. From that time until the Restoration he was constantly under suspicion, being forced to withdraw from London, and frequently being spied upon, questioned, and even imprisoned; yet he did not take active part in the political activities of his party.

After the Restoration he was promptly arrested and was one of the few to suffer execution as a regicide, being the most hated of Cromwell's party still alive. He died still expecting the Fifth Monarchy;

Ere it be long, the Lord will make it known from Heaven, that there was more of God in it than men are now aware of. Be not discouraged by reason of the cloud that now is upon you; for the sun will shine, and God will give a testimony unto what He hath been adoin'g in a short time.<sup>1</sup>

Firth reports that among the Fifth Monarchy Men he was regarded as a martyr, and was expected to rise again to judge his judges and restore the kingdom to the saints.<sup>2</sup>

John Herring, member for Herefordshire, was also an

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, IX, 44.



After the discovery of the body, the  
man in white dress coat and top hat  
graved of the body was found in the  
his refusal to accept the body was  
time until the body was found in the  
suspicion, the body was found in the  
temporarily being held in the  
imprisoned, yet he is not a prisoner  
political activities of the body.

After the body was found in the  
and was one of the body was found in the  
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body was found in the body was found in the

Then the body was found in the body was found in the  
was reported to the body was found in the body was found in the  
again to find the body was found in the body was found in the  
to the body was found in the body was found in the

John Martin, member of the body was found in the body was found in the

1914  
2nd



Alderman of Norwich and a Justice of the Peace.

Samuel Highland, member for Surrey, was the author of The Exact Relation of the Proceeding . . . of the Late Parliament. (He gave his name as "L.D., a member of the Late Parliament.") Highland was pastor of a Baptist congregation and a Justice of the Peace who had been criticized for his leniency. He sat on the Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, though he did not offer Cromwell the crown. In a debate on the floor of the House he is quoted as declaring, "Moral things are as necessary as religious -- to feed and clothe the naked and oppressed. It is religion to pay your debts."<sup>1</sup>

A Robert Holmes was member for Gloucestershire.

Sir James Hope,<sup>2</sup> a Scottish Laird and mine owner, had, as a prominent Scotch political figure, been active in recommending some sort of compromise in which Charles II would surrender his claim to England, Ireland, and parts of Scotland in exchange for clear rule over the remainder of Scotland. This defeatist action made him extremely unpopular in Scotland, and it was only after Cromwell's victory there that his disabilities were removed. In

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<sup>1</sup>Glass, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, IX, 1209-1210.



Address of the House of Commons

General Pitt-Rivers, Member of the House of Commons

The House of Commons

Resolved, That the House do

the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

Resolved, That the House do

A Robert Jones was appointed

Mr. James Jones

a prominent member

two members

would not

of Scotland

of Scotland

unpopular in Scotland

Victory Lane

Victory Lane

Victory Lane



1652 he was appointed Commissioner for the Administration of Justice in Scotland, from which post he was removed in 1654, in spite of having been a "good and upright judge," because of his behavior upon the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament. He was reappointed to this position after the Restoration. While sitting on the Barebone's Parliament for Scotland he was a member of the Sixth Countil of State.

Alderman John Ireton,<sup>1</sup> member for London and brother of General Henry Ireton, served as Sheriff (in 1651), Alderman, and Lord Mayor (in 1658) of London. Upon the Restoration he was exempted from the general pardon, imprisoned in the Tower, and in 1662 was transported to the Scilly Isles.

Alexander Jaffray,<sup>2</sup> member for Scotland, was Provost of Aberdeen and directory of the Chancellory of Scotland. A man of comfortable estate, he had sat on the Scotch Parliament from 1644 to 1650 and had been one of the commissioners to treat with Charles II at Breda. He had fought in the Battle of Dunbar, and was severely wounded and taken captive, at which time he became

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, X, 479.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, X, 564-565.



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acquainted with Cromwell and his chaplain. A man of deep religious sensitivities, he advocated Independency in 1652, having previously been nominally a Presbyterian, and joined the Quakers by 1662, being arrested in 1664 and 1668 for holding meetings.

Colonel John James, member for Worchestershire, was also a member of the Seventh Council of State. He had held commissions for Taxes and Sequestrations from 1647 to 1650 and had been Governor of Worcester.

Colonel Robert Jermy, of an old and wealthy family and member for Norfolk, had served as a Colonel under Harrison.

Colonel William Kenrick, member for Kent, had previously been an Admiralty Commissioner.

Francis Langdon, member for Cornwall, was of good family and was a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Bussey Mansell, member for Wales, had been one of the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. In December of 1653 he wrote his brother concerning the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament:

Twenty-seven stayed in the House a little time speaking to one another, and going to speak to the Lord in prayer . . . amongst whom I was an unworthy one.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, I, 637.



acquainted with Cromwell and his chaplain. A man of  
deep religious sensitivities, he advocated independence  
in 1639, having previously been nominally a Presbyterian,  
and joined the Quakers by 1650, being arrested in 1655  
and 1658 for holding meetings.

Colonel John James, member for Worcestershire, was also a  
member of the Seventh Council of State. He had held  
commissions for taxes and suggestions from 1647 to  
1650 and had been Governor of Worcester.

Colonel Robert Jemmy, of an old and wealthy family and  
member for Norfolk, had served as a Colonel under  
Harrison.

Colonel William Kirtick, member for Kent, had previously  
been an Admiralty Commissioner.

Francis Langdon, member for Cornwall, was of good family  
and was a Justice of the Peace.

Colonel Robert Maxwell, member for Wales, had been one of  
the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in  
Wales. In December of 1652 he wrote his brother con-  
cerning the dissolution of the Parliament's Parliament:

Twenty-seven stayed in the House a little time  
speaking to one another, and going to sleep to  
the Lord in prayer. . . . amongst whom I was an  
unhappy one.

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Thomas Kirtick, I, 637.



It is a sad letter, but quite free from fire and invective. After the Parliament's dissolution he completely disassociated himself from Cromwell, though he continued to function as High Sheriff of Glamorgan, and he welcomed the Restoration.

A Lawrence March was member for Surrey.

Samuel Moyer, member for London, was a prominent Baptist and one of the most respected business men at that time, being chairman of Haberdasher's Hall Committee, "one of the seven great sequestrators of England,"<sup>1</sup> and quite active in the affairs of the East India Company. He had been a member of the Rump, serving on the Committee for Remedying the Inconveniences of the Law. He was also a member of the Sixth Council of State, and was appointed to draft the act for setting up a high court of justice. He was suspect during the early years of the Protectorate for his support of the radical preachers at Blackfriars.

Edward Plumstead, member for Suffolk, was a prominent Quaker.

Captain Richard Price, member for Wales, was High Sheriff of Montgomeryshire in 1650 and later High Sheriff of Cardiganshire. A Richard Price of Cardiganshire had been excluded from the Long Parliament by Pride's Purge.

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<sup>1</sup>Cal. S.P. Dom., 1652-1653, p. 339.







Also, a Richard Price had, with others, sent a letter to Cromwell in January of 1656, declaring:

For as much as you have caused great searchings of heart and divisions among many of God's people . . . and also of the exceeding contempt, which the wonderful and excellent operations of God are brought into . . . we cannot . . . but present to your hands the ensuing testimony, which . . . is no more than necessity exacts from us, for the cleansing of our own souls from guilt, and of discharging our duty to God and men.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, a Richard Price was arrested after the Restoration for his activities as a radical Baptist.

Colonel John Pyne, member for Somersetshire, was a man of good estate and a Presbyterian elder. As a Justice of the Peace he had been friendly to the Quakers.

A Major William Reeve was member for Hertfordshire.

Captain Wroth Rogers, member for Herefordshire, had been both a governor and a high sheriff. He sat on the Protectorate Parliaments but did not offer Cromwell a crown.

Thomas St. Nicholas, member for Yorkshire, had served as steward of the Court of Chancery in 1651 and, as a member of the Sixth Council of State, drafted the act for establishing the High Court of Justice.

John Sawyer, member for Lancaster, was also a Justice of

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<sup>1</sup> Thurloe Papers, IV, 381.







the Peace and had served on several commissions.

Colonel Anthony Stapley,<sup>1</sup> member for Sussex, was a regicide who had served on all the Parliaments from 1624 to his death in 1655. He also served on five of the first six Councils of State, and on the admiralty commission. He was a governor and a Justice of the Peace.

Nathaniel Studeley, member for Sussex, was also a Justice of the Peace.

A Richard Sweet was a member for Devonshire.

John Swinton,<sup>2</sup> member for Scotland, had joined Cromwell's forces in 1650, an act which resulted in his being excommunicated by the Scottish Kirk and in the Scotch Parliament's passing an act for the forfeiture of his life and estates. After Cromwell's victory, Swinton became, in the phrase of a contemporary, "the man of all Scotland most trusted and employed by Cromwell."<sup>3</sup> Though not always on friendly terms with the Protectorate, he continued to be active until the Restoration when he was

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<sup>1</sup>DNB, XVIII, 991-992.

<sup>2</sup>DNB, XIX, 237-238.

<sup>3</sup>DNB, XIX, 238.







condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment. After his release he was occasionally arrested for his activities as a Quaker, but no further legal action was taken against him.

A Nathaniel Taylor was member for Bedfordshire.

Colonel William West, member for Lancaster, at one time had refused to issue a warrant against George Fox even though a judge had ordered it. He later served in the Parliament of 1658.

John Williams, member for Wales, had been one of the Commissioners for Propagating the Gospel in Wales; and he later served as High Sheriff and Justice of the Peace there. He was also a member of the Council of State. After the dissolution of the Barebone's Parliament he became violent in his attacks upon Cromwell, and preached several well-attended sermons against the Protector, declaring in March of 1654, "What do you want now, a King? You have one, and that as great a tyrant as the former."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thurloe Papers, II, 129.



condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment. After his  
release he was occasionally arrested for his  
activities as a Quaker, but no further legal action  
was taken against him.

A Nathaniel Taylor was member for Bedfordshire.  
Colonel William Hume, member for Lancaster, at one time  
had refused to issue a warrant against George Fox  
even though a Judge had ordered it. He later served  
in the Parliament of 1658.

John Williams, member for Wales, had been one of the dis-  
tinctioners for propagating the Gospel in Wales; and  
he later served as High Sheriff and Justice of the  
Peace there. He was also a member of the Council of  
State. After the dissolution of the Puritan's  
Parliament he became violent in his attacks upon  
Cromwell, and presented several well-attended sermons  
against the Protector, beginning in March of 1654.  
"What do you want now, a King? You have one, and  
that we grant a tyrant as the former."



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A second narrative of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.

Section 1. The first of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.

Section 2. The second of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.

Section 3. The third of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.

Section 4. The fourth of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.

Section 5. The fifth of the events of the day, 1864, is given in the following pages.



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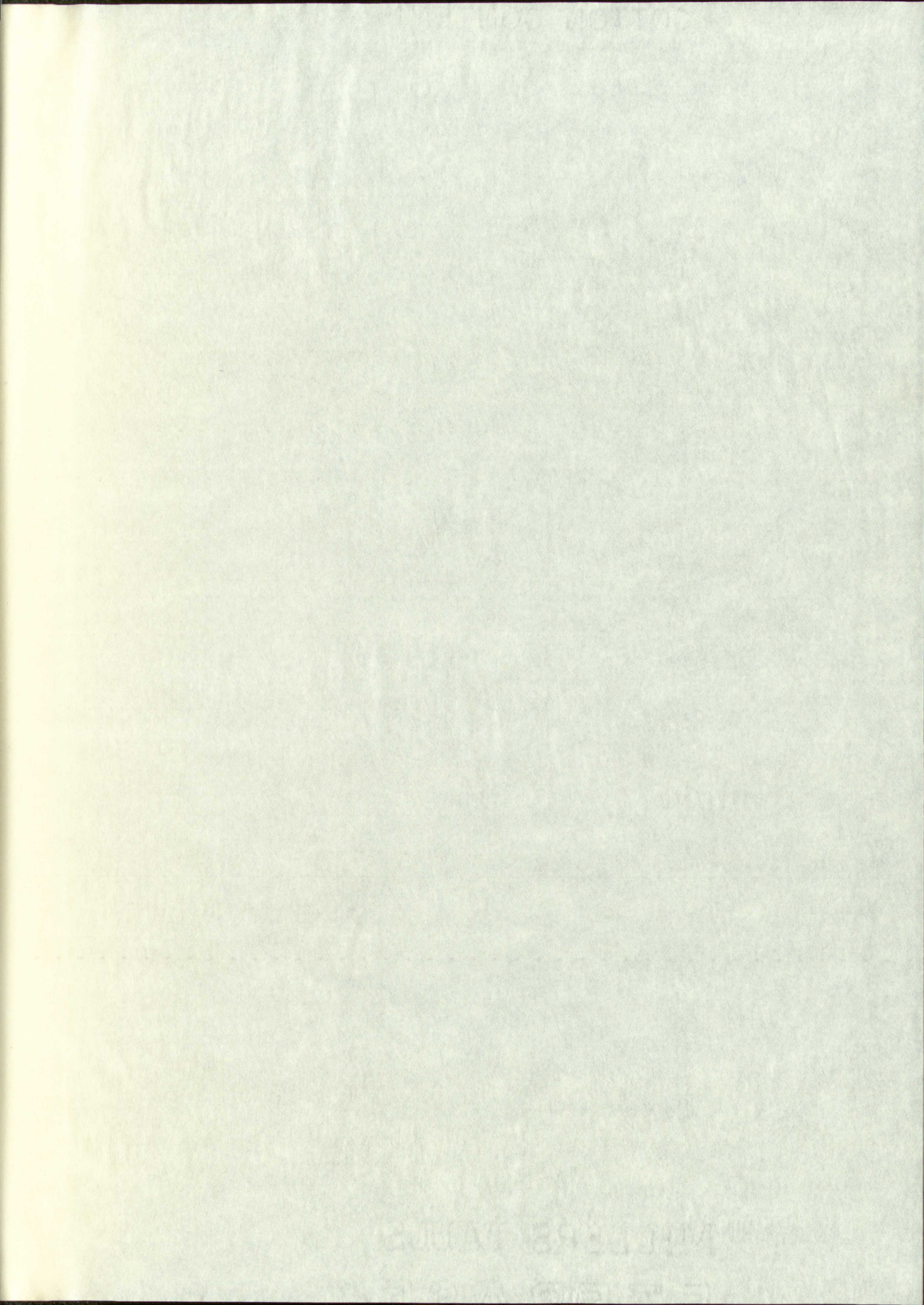


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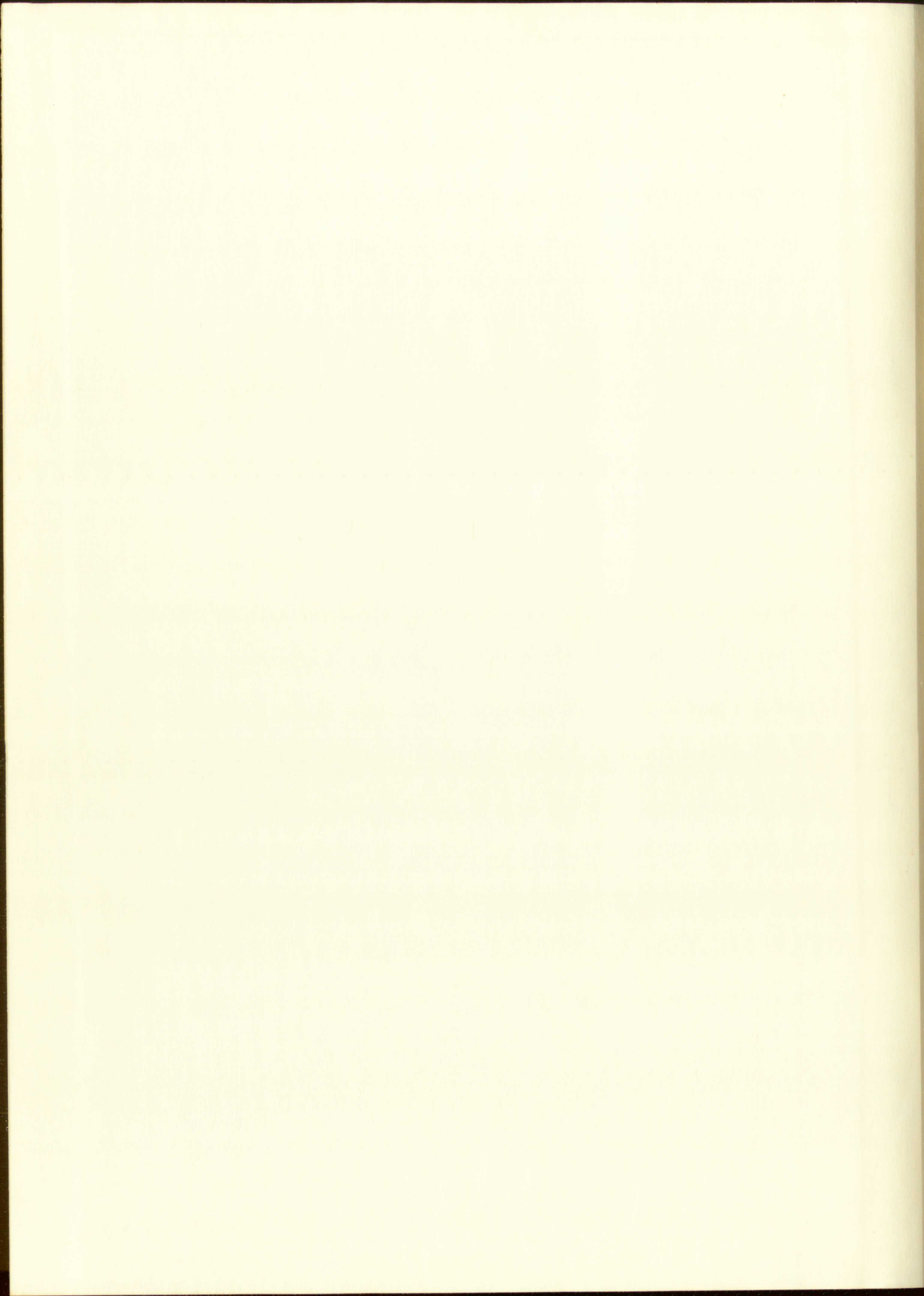


















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