

Speech 1 was made at the opening of the Little Parliament on 14th July 1653. Retrospective aim of all these wars and struggles, chief events of them; especially the dismissal of the Long Parliament. Prospective: dayspring of divine Prophecy and Hope, to be struggled towards, though with difficulty. Demits his authority into their hands.

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GENTLEMEN,

I suppose the Summons that hath been instrumental to bring you hither gives you well to understand the occasion of your being here. Howbeit, I have something farther to impart to you, which is an Instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal Officers of the Army; which is a little (as we conceive) more significant than the Letter of the Summons. We have that here to tender you; and somewhat likewise to say farther for our own exoneration; which we hope may be somewhat farther for your satisfaction. And withal seeing you sit here somewhat uneasily by reason of the scantness of the room, and heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect thereunto.

We have not thought it amiss a little to remind you of that Series of Providences wherein the Lord hath appeared, dispensing wonderful things to these Nations from the beginning of our troubles to this very day.

If I should look much backward, we might remind you of the state of affairs as they were before the Short, that is the last, Parliament,-in what posture the things of this Nation then stood: but they do so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledge, that I shall not need to look so far backward. Nor yet to those hostile occasions which arose between the King that was and the Parliament that then followed. And indeed should I begin much later, the things that would fall very necessarily before you, would rather be for a History than for a verbal Discourse at this present.

But thus far we may look back. You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to winnow (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation; and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first. By what ways and means that was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to mind you of it. Indeed there are Stories that do recite those Transactions, and give you narratives of matters of fact: but those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the purposes of men, that He might raise up a poor and contemptible company of men, neither versed in military affairs, nor having much natural propensity to them, 'into wonderful success-!' Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion; which so soon as it came to be owned, and the state of affairs put upon the foot of that account, how God blessed them, furthering all undertakings, yet using the most improbable and the most contemptible and despicable means (for that we shall ever own): is very well known to you.

What the several Successes and Issues have been, is not fit to mention at this time neither; though I confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon that subject; forasmuch as Considering the works of God, and the operations of His hands, is a principal part of our duty; and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands and of our faith, for that which is behind. And among other ends which those marvellous Dispensations have been given us for, that's a principal end, which ought to be minded by us.

'Certainly' in this revolution of affairs, as the issue of those Successes which God was pleased to give to the Army, and 'to' the Authority that then stood, there were very great things brought about; besides those dints that came upon the Nations and places where the War itself was, very great things in Civil matters too. 'As first,' the bringing of Offenders to justice, -and the Greatest of them. Bringing of the State of this Government to the name (at least) of a Commonwealth. Searching and sifting of all persons and places. The King removed, and brought to justice; and many great ones with him. The House of Peers laid aside. The House of Commons itself, the representative of the People of England, winnowed, sifted, and brought to a handful; as you very well remember.

And truly God would not rest there: -for by the way, although it's fit for us to ascribe our failings and miscarriages to ourselves, yet the gloriousness of the work may well be attributed to God Himself, and may be called His strange work. You remember well that at the Change of the Government there was not an end of our troubles, (No!) -although in that year were such high things transacted as indeed made it to be the most memorable year (I mean the year 1648) that this Nation ever saw. So many Insurrections, Invasions, secret Designs, open and Public Attempts, all quashed in so short a time, and this by the very signal appearance of God Himself; which, I hope, we shall never forget! -You know also, as I said before, that, as the first effect of that memorable year of 1648 was to lay a foundation, by bringing Offenders to Punishment, so it brought us likewise to the Change of Government: -although it were worth the time 'perhaps, if one had, time,' to speak of the carriage of some in places of trust, in most eminent places of trust, which was such as (had not God miraculously appeared) would have frustrated us of the hopes of all our undertakings. I mean by the closure of the Treaty that was endeavoured with the King; whereby they would have put into his hands all that we had engaged for, and all our security should have been a little piece of Paper! That thing going off, you very well know how it kept this Nation still in broils by sea and land. And yet what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland you likewise know; until He had finished these Troubles, upon the matter, by His marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester.

I confess to you, that I am very much troubled in my own spirit that the necessity of affairs requires I should be so short in those things: because, as I told you, this is the leanest part of the Transactions, this mere historical Narrative of them; there being in every particular; in the King's first going from the Parliament, in the pulling-down of the Bishops, the House of Peers, in every step towards that Change of the Government, -I say there is not any one of these things, thus removed and reformed, but hath an evident print of

Providence set upon it, so that he who runs may read it. I am sorry I have not an opportunity to be more particular on these points, which I principally designed, this day; thereby to stir up your hearts and mine to gratitude and confidence.

I shall now begin a little to remind you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester. Coming from whence, with the rest of my fellow Officers and Soldiers, we did expect, and had some reasonable confidence our expectations would not be frustrated, That, having such an history to look back unto, such a God, so eminently visible, even our enemies confessing that "God Himself was certainly engaged against them, else they should never have been disappointed in every engagement,"-and that may be used by the way, That if we had but miscarried in the least, all our former mercies were in danger to be lost:-I say, coming up then, we had some confidence That the mercies God had shown, and the expectations which were upon our hearts, and upon the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those who were in Authority to do those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged fit for such a God, and worthy of such mercies; and indeed being a discharge of duty from those to whom all these mercies had been shewn, for the true interest of this Nation! (Yes!)-If I should now labour to be particular in enumerating how businesses have been transacted from that time to the Dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme which would be troublesome to myself. For I think I may say for myself and my fellow Officers, That we have rather desired and studied Healing and Looking-forward than to rake into sores and to look backward,-to give things forth in those colours that would not be very pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we shall say for our own vindication, as pointing out the ground for that unavoidable necessity, nay even that duty that was incumbent upon us, to make this last great Change-I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two to that (Hear, Hear!). As I said before, we are loath to rake into businesses, were there not a necessity so to do.

Indeed we may say that, ever since the coming-up of myself and those Gentlemen who have been engaged in the military part, it hath been full in our hearts and thoughts, To desire and use all the fair and lawful means we could to have the Nation reap the fruit of all the blood and treasure that had been spent in this Cause: and we have had many desires, and thirstings in our spirits, to find out ways and means wherein we might be anywise instrumental to help it forward. We were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition. For some of the Officers being Members; and others having very good acquaintance with, and some relations to, divers Members of Parliament,-we did, from time to time, solicit such; thinking if there had been nobody to prompt them, nor call upon them, these things might have been attended to, from ingenuity and integrity in those that had it in their power to answer such expectations.

Truly when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought according to our duty, a little, to remind them by a Petition; which I suppose you have seen: it was delivered, as I remember, in August last. What effect that had, is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all for our

satisfaction,-a few words given us; the things presented by us, or the most of them, we were told, "were under consideration:" and those not presented by us had very little or no consideration at all. Finding the People dissatisfied in every corner of the Nation, and 'all men' laying at our doors the non-performance of these things, which had been promised, and were of duty to be performed,-truly we did then think ourselves concerned, if we would (as becomes honest men) keep up the reputation of honest men in the world. And therefore we, divers times, endeavoured to obtain meetings with divers Members of Parliament;-and we did not begin those till about October last. And in these meetings we did, with all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be mindful of their duty to God and men, in the discharge of the trust reposed in them. I believe (as there are many gentlemen here know), we had at least ten or twelve meetings; most humbly begging and beseeching of them, That by their own means they would bring forth those good things which had been promised and expected; that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the Army, but from their own ingenuity: so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation of the People. Having had very many of those meetings; and declaring plainly that the issue would be the displeasure and judgment of God, the dissatisfaction of the People, the putting of 'all' things into a confusion: yet how little we prevailed, we very well know, and we believe it's not unknown to you.

At last, when indeed we saw that things would not be laid to heart, we had a very serious consideration among ourselves what other ways to have recourse unto (Yea, that is the question!); and when we grew to more closer considerations, then they 'the Parliament men' began to take the Act for a Representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on. And had it been done with integrity, there could nothing have happened more welcome to our judgments than that. But plainly the intention was, Not to give the People a right of choice; it would have been but a seeming right: that 'semblance' of giving them a choice was only to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves. And truly, having been, divers of us, spoken unto to give way hereunto, to which we have perpetual aversions, indeed abominating the thoughts of it,-we declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction with it. And yet they that would not hear of a Representative formerly, when it lay three years before them, without proceeding one line, or making any considerable progress,-I say, those that would not hear of this Bill formerly, did now, when they saw us falling into more closer considerations, make, instead of protracting their Bill, as much preposterous haste with it on the other side, and run into that 'opposite' extremity.

Finding that this spirit was not according to God; and that the whole weight of this Cause,-which must needs be very dear unto us who had so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe it was so to you,-did hang upon the business now in hand; and seeing plainly that there was not here any consideration to assert this Cause, or provide security for it, but only to cross the troublesome people of the Army, who by this time were high enough in their displeasures: Truly, I say, when we saw all this, having power in our hands, 'we could not resolve' to let such monstrous proceedings to go on, and

so to throw away all our liberties into the hands of those whom we had fought against (Presbyterian-Royalists; at Preston and elsewhere-"fought against," yea and beaten to ruin, your Excellency might add!); we came, first to this conclusion among ourselves, That if we had been fought out of our liberties and rights, Necessity would have taught us patience; but that to deliver them 'sluggishly' up would render us the basest persons in the world, and worthy to be accounted haters of God and of His People. When it pleased God to lay this close to our hearts; and indeed to shew us that the interest of His people was grown cheap, 'that it was' not at all laid to heart, but that if things came to real competition, His Cause, even among themselves, would also in every point go to the ground; indeed this did add more considerations to us, That there was a duty incumbent upon us, 'even upon us.' And,-I speak here, in the presence of some that were at the closure of our consultations, and as before the Lord,-the thinking of an act of violence was to us worse than any battle that ever we were in, or that could be, to the utmost hazard of our lives (Hear him!): so willing were we, even very tender and desirous if possible that these men might quit their places with honour.

I am the longer upon this; because it hath been in our own hearts and consciences, justifying us, and hath never been yet thoroughly imparted to any; and we had rather begin with you than have done it before;-and do think indeed that this Transaction is more proper for a verbal communication than to have it put into writing. I doubt, he whose pen is most gentle in England would, in recording that, have been tempted, whether he would or no, to dip it deep in anger and wrath (Stifled cries from Dryasdust.)-But affairs being at this posture; we seeing plainly, even in some critical cases, that the Cause of the People of God was a despised thing;-truly we did believe then that the hands of other men 'than these' must be the hands to be used for the work. And we thought then, it was very high time to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty (Oliver's voice somewhat rising; Major-General Harrison and the others looking rather animated!)

If, I say, I should take up your time to tell you what instances we have to satisfy our judgments and consciences, That these are not vain imaginations, nor things fictitious, but which fell within the compass of our own certain knowledge, it would bring me, I say, to what I would avoid, to rake into these things too much. Only this. If anybody was in competition for any place of real and signal trust, 'if any really public interest was at stake in that Parliament, 'how hard and difficult a matter was it to get anything carried without making parties,-without practices indeed unworthy of a Parliament! When things must be carried so in a Supreme Authority, indeed I think it is not as it ought to be, to say no worse (Nor do I.)!-Then when we came to other trials, as in that case of Wales, 'of establishing a Preaching Ministry in Wales,' which, I must confess for my own part, I set myself upon,-if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor People of God there had (who had men watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs as soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that Business was trodden under foot 'in Parliament,' to the discountenancing of the Honest People, and the countenancing of the Malignant Party, of this Commonwealth-! I need but say it was so. For many of you know, and by sad experience

have felt it to be so. And somebody I hope will, at leisure, better impart to you the state of that Business 'of Wales;' which really, to myself and Officers, was as plain a trial of their spirits, 'the Parliament's spirits,' as anything,-it being known to many of us that God had kindled a seed there (Such is the metaphor) indeed hardly to be paralleled since the Primitive Time.-

I would these had been all the instances we had! Finding, 'however,' which way the spirits of men went, finding that good was never intended to the People of God, I mean, when I say the People of God, I mean the large comprehension of them, under the several Forms of Godliness in this Nation;-finding, I say, that all tenderness was forgotten to the Good People (though it was by their hands and their means, under the blessing of God, that those sat where they did),-we thought this a very very bad requital! I will not say, they were come to an utter inability of working Reformation,-though I might say so in regard to one thing: the Reformation of the Law, so much groaned under in the posture it now is in (Hear, hear!). That was a thing we had many good words spoken for; but we know that many months together were not enough for the settling of one word, "Incumbrances" (Three calendar months! A grim smile on some faces.),-I say, finding that this was the spirit and complexion of men,-although these were faults for which no man should lift up his hand against the Superior Magistrate; not simply for these faults and failings-yet when we saw that this 'new Representative of theirs' was meant to perpetuate men of such spirits; nay when we had it from their own mouths, That they could not endure to hear of the Dissolution of this Parliament: we thought this an high breach of trust. If they had been a Parliament never violence was upon, sitting as free and clear as any in former ages, it was though, this, to be a breach of trust, such as a greater could not be.

And that we might not be in doubt about these matters; having had that Conference among ourselves which I gave you an account of, we did desire one more,-and indeed it was the night before the Dissolution; it had been desired two or three nights before: we did desire that we might speak with some of the principal persons of the House. That we might with ingenuity open our hearts to them; that we might either be convinced of the certainty of their intentions; or else that they would be pleased to hear our expedients to prevent these inconveniences. And indeed we could not attain our desire till the night before the Dissolution. There is a touch of this in our Declaration. As I said before, at that time we had often desired it, and at that time we obtained it: where about Twenty of them were, none of the least in consideration for their interest and ability; with whom we desired some discourse upon these things; and had it. And it pleased these Gentlemen, who are here, the Officers of the Army, to desire me to offer their sense for them, which I did, and it was shortly thus: We told them "the reason of our desire to wait upon them now was, that we might know from them, What security lay in their manner of proceeding, so hastened, for a New Representative; wherein they had made a few qualifications, such as they were: and How the whole business would, 'in actual practice,' be executed: Of which we had as yet no account; and yet we had our interest, our lives, estates and families therein concerned; and, we thought likewise, the Honest People had interest in us: 'How all this was to be?' That so, if it did seem

they meant to appear in such honest and just ways as might be security to the Honest Interest, we might therein acquiesce: or else that they would hear what we had to offer." Indeed, when this desire was made, the answer was "That nothing would do good for this Nation but the continuance of this Parliament!" We wondered we should have such a return. We said little to that: but, seeing they would not give us satisfaction that their ways were honourable and just, we craved their leave to make our objections. We then told them, That the way they were going in would be impracticable. 'That' we could not tell how to send out an Act, with such qualifications as to be a rule for electing and for being elected, Until we first knew who the persons were that should be admitted to elect. And above all, Whether any of the qualifications reached 'so far as to include' the Presbyterian Party. And we were bold to tell them, That none of that judgment who had deserted this Cause and Interest should have any power therein. We did think we should profess it, That we had as good deliver up our Cause into the hands of any as into the hands of those who had deserted us, or who were as neuters! For it's one thing to love a brother, to bear with and love a person of different judgment in matters of religion; and another thing to have anybody so far set in the saddle on that account, as to have all the rest of his brethren at mercy.

Truly, Gentlemen, having this discourse concerning the impracticableness of the thing, the bringing-in of neuters, and such as had deserted this Cause, whom we very well knew; objecting likewise how dangerous it would be by drawing concourses of people in the several Counties (every person that was within the qualification or without): and how it did fall obvious to us that the power would come into the hands of men who had very little affection to this Cause; the answer again was made, and that by very eminent persons, "That nothing would save the Nation but the continuance of this Parliament." This being so, we humbly propose,-since neither our counsels, our objections to their way of proceeding, nor their answers to justify that, did give us satisfaction; nor did we think they ever intended to give us any, which indeed some of them have since declared 'to be the fact,'-we proposed to them, I say, our expedient; which was indeed this: That the Government of the Nation being in such a condition as we saw, and things 'being' under so much ill sense abroad, and likely to end in confusion 'if we so proceeded,'-we desired they would devolve the trust over to some Well-affected Men, such as had an interest in the Nation, and were known to be of good affection to the Commonwealth. Which, we told them, was no new thing when this Land was under the like hurlyburly. And we had been labouring to get precedents 'out of History' to convince them of it; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. This expedient we offered out of the deep sense we had of the Cause of Christ; and were answered so as I told you, That nothing would save this Nation but the continuance of that Parliament. 'The continuance:' they would not 'be brought to' say the perpetuating of it, at this time; yet we found their endeavours did directly tend that way; they gave us this answer, "That the thing we offered was of a very high nature and of tender consideration: How would money be raised?"-and made some other objections. We told them 'how' and that we here offered an expedient five times better than that 'of theirs,' for which no reason was given, nor we thought could be given (Why should the Fag-end of this poor old Parliament, now fallen impotent except to

raise money for itself, continue? No reason is given, nor we think can be, that will convince mankind.);-and desired them that they would lay things seriously to heart! They told us, They would take time for the consideration of these things till to-morrow; they would sleep upon them, and consult some friends: 'some friends,'-though, as I said, there were about Twenty-three 'of them here,' and not above Fifty-three in the House. And at parting, two or three of the chief of them, one of the chief (O Sir Harry Vane!), and two or three more, did tell us, That they would endeavour to suspend farther proceedings about their Bill for a New Representative until they had another conference with us. And upon this we had great satisfaction; and had hope, if our expedient could receive a loving debate, that the next day we should have some such issue thereof as would give satisfaction to all. And herewith they went away, 'it' being late at night.

The next morning, we considering how to order what we had farther to offer to them in the evening, word was brought us that the House was proceeding with all speed upon the New Representative! We could not believe it, that such persons would be so unworthy; we remained there till a second and a third messenger came, with tidings That the House was really upon that business, and had brought it near to the issue,-and with that height as was never before exercised; leaving out all things relating to the due exercise of the qualifications (which had appeared all along 'in it till now'); and 'meaning,' as we heard, to pass it only on paper, without engrossing, for the quicker despatch of it.-Thus, as we apprehend, would the Liberties of the Nation have been thrown away into the hands of those who had never fought for it. And upon this we thought it our duty not to suffer it (No!).-And upon this the House was dissolved, even when the Speaker was going to put the last question (Let HIM travel, at any rate!).

I have too much troubled you with this; but we have made this relation that you might know that what hath been done in the Dissolution of the Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this Cause. And the necessity which led us to do that, hath brought us to this 'present' issue, Of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw You together 'here;' upon this account, that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of His marvellous Dispensations; and may be trusted, as far as men may be trusted, with this Cause.

It remains now for me to acquaint you a 'little' farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great Business. 'But indeed' that is contained in the Paper here in my hand, which will be offered presently to you to read. But having done that we have done (Dissolving of the Parliament; which cannot be repented of, and need not be boasted of!) upon such ground of necessity as we have 'now' declared, which was not a feigned necessity but a real,-'it did behove us,' to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts and our integrity who did these things, Not to grasp at the power ourselves or keep it in military hands, no not for a day; but, as far as God enabled us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands of Proper Persons that might be called from the several parts of the Nation. This necessity: and I hope we may say for ourselves, this integrity of concluding to divest the



Sword of all power in the Civil Administration,-hath been that that hath moved us to put You to this trouble 'of coming hither;' and having done that, truly we think we cannot, with the discharge of our own consciences, but offer somewhat to you on the devolving of the burden on your shoulders. It hath been the practice of others who have, voluntarily and out of a sense of duty, divested themselves, and devolved the Government into new hands; I say, it hath been the practice of those that have done so; it hath been practised, and is very consonant to reason, To lay 'down,' together with their Authority, some charge 'how to employ it' (as we hope we have done), and to press the duty, 'of employing it well:' concerning which we have a word or two to offer you.

Truly God hath called you to this Work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the argument of necessity, for the Government must not fall; taking the appearance of the hand of God in this thing,-'I think' you would have been loath it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies! I am sure, God would not have it so. It's come, therefore, to you by the way of necessity; by the way of the wise Providence of God,-through weak hands. And therefore, I think, coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be ill taken if we do offer somewhat (as I said before) as to the discharge of the Trust which is now incumbent upon you Certainly not!). And although I seem to speak of that which may have the face and interpretation of a Charge, it's a very humble one: and if he that means to be a Servant to you, who hath now called you to the exercise of the Supreme Authority, discharge what he conceives to be a duty to you, we hope you will take it in good part.

And truly I shall not hold you long in it; because I hope it's written in our hearts to approve yourselves to God. Only this Scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: Hosea, xi 12, "Judah yet ruleth with God, and is faithful with the Saints." It's said before, that "Ephraim compassed God about with lies, and the house of Israel with deceit." How God hath been compassed about by fastings and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all cause to lament. Truly you are called by God, 'as Judah was,' to "rule with him," and for him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints who have been instrumental to your call. 'Again,' Second Samuel, xxi. 3, "He that ruleth over men," the Scripture saith, "must be just, ruling in the fear of God" (Groans from Dryasdust. Patience, my friend! Really, does not all this seem an incredibility;-a palpable hypocrisy, since it is not the mouth of an imbecile that speaks it? My estimable, timberheaded, leaden-hearted friend, can there be any doubt of it!).

And truly it's better to pray for you than to counsel you in that matter, That you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! It's better, I say, to pray for you than counsel you; to ask wisdom from Heaven for you; which I am confident many thousands of Saints do this day, 'and' have done, and will do, through the permission of God and His assistance. I say it's better to pray than advise: yet truly I think of another Scripture, which is very useful, though it seems to be for a common application to every man as a Christian,-wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what that is. That's "from

Above," we are told; it's "pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits;" it's "without partiality and without hypocrisy." Truly my thoughts run much upon this place, That to the execution of judgment (the judgment of truth, for that's the judgment) you must have wisdom "from Above;" and that's "pure." That will teach you to exercise the judgment of truth; it's without partiality." Purity, impartiality, sincerity: these are the effects of "wisdom," and these will help you to execute the judgment of truth. And then if God give you hearts to be "easy to be entreated," to be "peaceably spirited," to be "full of good fruits," bearing good fruits to the Nation, to men as men to the People of God, to all in their several stations,- this will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth (Yes, if thou understand it; still yes,-and nothing else will!). And I have little more to say to this. I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf, as I said; and many others will.

Truly the "judgment of truth," it will teach you to be as just towards an Unbeliever as towards a Believer: and it's our duty to do so. I confess I have said sometimes, foolishly it may be: I had rather miscarry to a Believer than an Unbeliever. This may seem a paradox: but let's take heed of doing that, which is evil to either! Oh, if God fill your hearts with such a spirit as Moses had, and as Paul had,-which was not a spirit for Believers only, but for the whole People! Moses, he could die for them; wish himself "Blotted out of God's Book:" Paul could wish himself "accursed for his countrymen after the flesh" (Let us never forget that, in Moses and Paul.-Are not these amazing sentiments, on their part, my estimable, timberheaded, leadenhearted friend?): so full of affection were their spirits unto all. And truly this would help you to execute the judgment of truth, and of mercy also.

A second thing is, To desire you would be faithful with the Saints; to be touched with them. And I hope, whatever others may think, it may be a matter to us all of rejoicing to have our hearts touched (with reverence be it spoken) as Christ, "being full of the spirit," was "touched with our infirmities," that He might be merciful. So should we be; we should be pitiful. Truly, this calls us to be very much touched with the infirmities of the Saints; that we may have a respect unto all, and be pitiful and tender towards all, though of different judgments. And if I did seem to speak something that reflected on those of the Presbyterial judgment,-truly I think if we have not got an interest of love for them too, we shall hardly answer this of being faithful to the Saints.

In my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that Scripture often, Forty-first of Isaiah; where God gave me and some of my fellows encouragement 'as to' what He would do there and elsewhere; which He hath performed for us. He said, "He would plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle and the oil-tree; and He would set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine-tree, and the box-tree together." For what end will the Lord do all this? That they may see, and know and consider, and understand together, That the hand of the Lord hath done "this;"-that it is He who hath wrought all the salvations and deliverances we have received. For what end! To see, and know, and understand together, that He hath done and wrought all this for the good of the Whole Flock (Even so. For "Saints"

read "Good Men;" and it is true to the end of the world). Therefore, I beseech you,-but I think I need not,-have a care of the Whole Flock! Love the sheep, love the lambs, love all, tender all, cherish and countenance all, in all things that are good. And if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, shall desire to live peaceably and quietly under you,-I say, if any shall desire but to lead a life of godliness and honesty, let him be protected.

I think I need not advise, much less press you, to endeavour the Promoting of the Gospel; to encourage the Ministry; such a Ministry and such Ministers as be faithful in the Land; upon whom the true character is. Men that have received the Spirit, which Christians will be able to discover, and do 'the will of;' men that "have received Gifts from Him who is ascended up on high, who hath led captivity captive, to give gifts to men," even for this same work of the Ministry!

And truly the Apostle, speaking in another place, in the Twelfth of the Romans, when he has summed up all the mercies of God and the goodness of God; and discoursed, in the former Chapters, of the foundations of the Gospel, and of those things that are the subject of those first Eleven Chapters,-he beseecheth them to "present their bodies a living sacrifice" (Note that!). He beseecheth them that they would not esteem highly of themselves, but be humble and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, and also that they would have a care for those that "had received gifts" to the uses there mentioned. I speak not,-I thank God it is far from my heart,-for a Ministry deriving itself from the Papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted on, "Succession" (Hear hear!" from the Puseyites). The true Succession is through the Spirit-(I should say so!),-given in its measure. The Spirit is given for that use, 'To make proper Speakers-forth of God's eternal Truth;' and that's right Succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; who I am persuaded, are taught of God, much more, and in a greater measure than myself, concerning these things.

Indeed I have but one word more to say to you; though in that perhaps I shall show my weakness: it's by way of encouragement to go on in this Work. And give me leave to begin thus. I confess I never looked to see such a Day as this,-it may be nor you neither,-when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, this day, in this Work. Jesus Christ is owned this day, by the Call of You; and you own Him, by your willingness to appear for Him. And you manifest this, as far as poor creatures may do, to be a Day of the Power of Christ. I know you well remember that Scripture, "He makes his People willing in the day of His power." God manifests this to be the Day of the Power of Christ; having, through so much blood, and so much trial as hath been upon these Nations, made this to be one of the great issues thereof: To have His People called to the Supreme Authority (A thing, I confess, worth striving for; and the one thing worth striving for!). He makes this to be the greatest mercy, next to His own Son. God hath owned His Son; and He hath owned you, and made you own Him. I confess I never looked to have seen such a day; I did not.- Perhaps you are not known by face to one another; 'indeed' I am confident you are strangers, coming from all parts of the Nation as you do: but we shall tell you that indeed we have not allowed ourselves the choice of one person in

whom we had not this good hope, That there was in him faith in Jesus Christ and love to all His People and Saints (What a Parliament; unexampled before and since in this world!).

Thus God hath owned you in the eyes of the world; and thus, by coming hither, you own Him: and, as it is in Isaiah, xliii. 21, -it's an high expression; and look to your own hearts whether, now or hereafter, God shall apply it to you: "This People," saith God, "I have formed for Myself, that they may shew forth my praise." I say, it's a memorable passage; and I hope, not unfitly applied: the Lord apply it to each of your hearts! I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain: indeed you are as like the "forming of God" as ever people were. If a man should tender a Book to you 'to swear you upon,' I dare appeal to all your consciences, Neither directly nor indirectly did you seek for your coming hither. You have been passive in coming hither; being called, - and indeed that's an active work, - 'though not on our part!' "This People have I formed:" consider the circumstances by which you are "called" hither; through what strivings (At Marston Moor, at Naseby, Dunbar and elsewhere.), through what blood you are come hither, - where neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had any 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 may be truly said that there never was a Supreme Authority consisting of such a Body, above One-hundred-and-Forty, I believe: 'never such a Body' that came into the Supreme Authority 'before,' under such a notion 'as this,' in such a way of owning God, and being owned by Him. And therefore I may also say, never such a "People" so formed," for such a purpose, 'were' thus called before (These are lucent considerations; lucent, nay radiant!).

If it were a time to compare your standing with 'that of' those that have been "called" by the Suffrages of the People - (He does not say what the result would be) - Which who can tell how soon God may fit the People for such a thing? None who can desire it more than I! Would all were the Lord's people; as it was said, "Would all the Lord's people were Prophets" (Fit to sit in Parliament and make Laws; alas, hitherto but few of them can "Prophecy!"). I would all were fit to be called. It ought to be the longing of our hearts to see men brought to own the Interest of Jesus Christ. And give me leave to say: if I know any thing in the world, what is there likelier to win the People to the interest of Jesus Christ, to the love of Godliness (and therefore what stronger duty lies on you, being thus called), than an humble and godly conversation? So that they may see 'that' you love them; 'that' you lay yourselves out, time and spirits, for them! Is not this the likeliest way to bring them to their liberties? (To make them free by being servants of God; free, and fit to elect for Parliament!) And do not you, by this, put it upon God to find out times and seasons for you; 'fit seasons' by putting forth His spirit? At least you convince them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their 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 it is of God! Indeed, it is marvellous, and it hath been unprojected. It's not long since either you or we came to know of it. And indeed this hath been the way God dealt with us all along, To keep things

from our eyes all along, so that we have seen nothing, in all His dispensations, long before hand: which is also a witness, in some measure, to our integrity-("Integrity!" from Dryasdust.-Husht, my friend, it is incredible! A flat impossibility, how can it be believed? To the human Owl, living in his perennial London Fog, in his Twilight of all imaginable corrupt Exhalations, and with his poor head, too, overspun to such extent with red-tape, parliamentary eloquence, force of public opinion and such like, how shall the Azure Firmaments and Everlasting Stars become credible? They are and remain incredible. From his shut sense all light-rays are victoriously repelled; no light shall get admittance there. In no Heaven's-light will he for his part, ever believe;-till at last, as is the necessity withal, it come to him as lightning! Then he will believe it.). I say, you are called with an high calling. And why should we be afraid to say or think, That this may be the door to usher in the Things that God hath 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 and I believe you know it,-He hath appeared with them 'with that same "people," and for them; and now in these Civil Powers and Authorities 'does not he appear?' These are not ill prognostications of the God we wait for. Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold;-and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and encourage ourselves in the Lord. And we have thought, some of us, That it is our duties to endeavour this way; not merely to look at that Prophecy in Daniel, "And the Kingdom shall not be delivered to another people," and 'passively wait.' Truly God hath brought this to your hands; by the owning of your call; blessing the Military Power. The Lord hath directed their (our) hearts to be instrumental to call you; and set it upon our hearts to deliver over the Power "to another people" (Therefore "we" are not the persons prophesied of?)-But I may appear to be beyond my line here; these things are dark. Only I desire my thoughts to be exercised in these things, and so I hope are yours.

Truly seeing things are thus, that you are at the edge of the Promises and Prophecies-(Does not say what results)-At least, if there were neither Promise nor Prophecy, yet you are carrying on the best things, you are endeavouring after the best things: and, as I have said else where, if I were to choose any servant, the meanest Officer for the Army or the Commonwealth, I would choose a godly man that hath principles. Especially where a trust is to be committed. Because I know where to have a man that hath principles. I believe if any one of you should choose a servant, you would do thus. And I would all our Magistrates were so chosen:-this may be done; there may be good effects of this! Surely it's our duty to choose men that fear the Lord, and will praise the Lord: such hath the Lord "formed for Himself;" and He expects no praises from other 'than such' (O Secretary of the Home Department, my right honourable friend!).

This being so, truly it puts me in mind of another Scripture, that famous Psalm, Sixty-eighth Psalm; which indeed is a glorious Prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel Churches,-it may be, of the Jews also. There it prophesies that "He will bring His people again from the depths of the Sea, as

once He led Israel through the Red Sea." And it may be, as some think, God will bring the Jews home to their station "from the isles of the sea," and answer their expectations "as from the depths of the sea." But 'at all events' sure I am, when the Lord shall set up the glory of the Gospel Church, it shall be a gathering of people as "out of deep waters," "out of the multitude of waters:" such are His People, drawn out of the multitudes of the Nations and People of this world.-And truly that Psalm is very glorious in many other parts of it: When He gathers them "great was the company" of them that publish His word. "Kings of Armies did flee apace, and they that tarried at home divided the spoil" (Consider Charles Stuart, First and Second; and what we see this day!); and "Although ye have lain among the pots, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold" (Hah!). And indeed the triumph of that Psalm is exceeding high and great; and God is accomplishing it. And the close of it,-that closeth with my heart, and I do not doubt with yours, "The Lord shakes the hills and mountains, and they reel." And God hath a Hill too; "an high Hill as the Hill of Bashan: and the chariots of God are twenty-thousand, even thousands of Angels, and God will dwell upon this Hill forever!"-(PROCUL PROFANI! The man is without a soul that looks into this Great Soul of a man, radiant with the splendours of very Heaven, and sees nothing there but the shadow of his own mean darkness. Ape of the Dead Sea, peering asquint into the Holy of Holies, let us have done with THY commentaries! Thou canst not fathom it.).

I am sorry I have troubled you, in such a place of heat as this is, so long. All I have to say, in my own name, and that of my fellow Officers who have joined with me in this work, is: That we shall commend you to the grace of God, to the guidance of His Spirit: 'That' having thus far served you, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ 'in regard to you,' we shall be ready in our stations, according as the Providence of God shall lead us, to be subservient to the 'farther' work of God, and to that Authority which we shall reckon God hath set over us. And though we have no formal thing to present you with, to which the hands, or visible expressions, of the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland, 'are set;' yet we may say of them, and we may say also with confidence for our brethren at Sea,-with whom neither in Scotland, Ireland nor at Sea, hath there been any artifice used to persuade their consents to this work,-that nevertheless their consents have flowed in to us from all parts, beyond our expectations: and we may with all confidence say, that as we have their approbation and full consent to the other work, so you have their hearts and affections unto this. And not only theirs: we have very many Papers from the Churches of Christ throughout the Nation; wonderfully both approving what hath been done in removing of obstacles, and approving what we have done in this very thing. And having said this, we shall trouble you no more. But if you will be pleased that this Instrument be read to you, which I have signed by the advice of the Council of Officers,-we shall then leave you to your own thoughts and the guidance of God; to dispose of yourselves for a farther meeting, as you shall see cause.

I have only this to add. The affairs of the Nation lying on our hands to be taken care of; and we knowing that both the Affairs at Sea, the Armies in Ireland and Scotland, and the providing of things for the preventing of

inconveniences, and the answering of emergencies, did require that there should be no Interruption, but that care ought to be taken for these things; and foreseeing likewise that before you could digest yourselves into such a method, both for place, time and other circumstances, as you shall please to proceed in, some time would be required,-which the Commonwealth could not bear in respect to the managing of things: I have, within a week 'past,' set up a Council of State, to whom the managing of affairs is committed. Who, I may say, very voluntarily and freely, before they see how the issue of things will be, have engaged themselves in business; eight or nine of them being Members of the House that late was.-I say I did exercise that power which, I thought, was devolved upon me at that time; to the end affairs might not have any interval 'or interruption.' And now when you are met, it will ask some time for the settling of your affairs and your way. And, 'on the other hand,' a day cannot be lost, 'left vacant,' but they must be in continual Council till you take farther order. So that the whole matter of their consideration also which regards them is at your disposal, as you shall see cause. And therefore I thought it my duty to acquaint you with thus much, to prevent distractions in your way: That things have been thus ordered; that your affairs will 'not stop, but' go on, 'in the meanwhile,'-till you see cause to alter this Council; they having no authority or continuance of sitting, except simply until you take farther order.