

Speech 2 was made on the Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament on 22 January 1654 (Note the English calendar - New Year 1655 did not start until 25th March)

Regrets that they have not communicated with him: he was not unconcerned with them; has been struggling and endeavouring for them, keeping peace round them: does not know, on their part, whether they have been alive or dead. Of trees that foster only things poisonous under their shadow. Of disturbances, once well asleep, awakened into new perilous activity during these debates. Necessary that they be dissolved.

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GENTLEMEN,

I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. (Doubtless we are here, your Highness!)

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the consideration of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of, -though not of the greatest, -yet a very great 'People;' and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought 'it' so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations: -and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God (Hah!); God having, as it were summed up all our former honour and glory in the things that are of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived, -as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think, -at a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God, and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like those of the Ancients, -who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let down to us from God Himself! Whose appearance and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. (Deep silence; from the old Parliament and from us.) Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: "Things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from their children; shewing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that He hath done. For he established a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded our fathers that they should make known to their children; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare then to their children: that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments."

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them,-had you had hearts unto it. (Alas!) You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! (No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sadness.) This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment!-If I had proposed to have played the Orator,-which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall (Hear!),-I doubt not but upon easy supposition, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the 'then' management of affairs did savour of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility,-shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And, therefore, by that Recognition (The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m!), suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added to your own Declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient:-thereby, 'I say,' you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if every thing had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,-you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,-I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes: and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations;-whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that entrusted you. (Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.)

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself,-to this very day 'none.' You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ("None dare report us, or whisper what we do.") But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what you have been doing!! (With a certain tone; as one may hear!) I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine!-If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them,-why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions.-I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.-

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this. (Old Parliament dubiously rolls its eyes.)-I say, I have been caring for you, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in any thing, promote, in any place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat,-which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon you; whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,-in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government,-have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say can be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges! I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose,-a man may say so by way of allusion,-to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,-I will not say what you have cherished, under your shadow; that were to hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,-instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and

righteousness and peace kissing each other, by 'your'; reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,-weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole,-have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are, or can be. I say the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations,-which 'products' I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briars and thorns,-they have nourished themselves under your shadow! (Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.)

And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy conjuncture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether,-which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf,-they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it not for me. I am sure they had not 'from me.' From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but that they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,-as I have not,-to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but 'that' the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briars and thorns,-they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sitting and proceedings. ("Hum-m-m!") But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. (Yea!) And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,-let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is non Causa pro Causa, 'a Cause without Cause,'-the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! (Moderns look astonished.) For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That 'man who,' because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and

submits not to the Appearances of God in the World; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other;-calling such observations "enthusiasms:" such men, I say, no wonder if they "stumble, and fall backwards, and be broken, and snared and taken," by the things of which they are wilfully and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, "The Rod has a voice, and He will make Himself known by the judgments which He executeth." And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; "whom He loves as the apple of His eye?" Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not there-by also seen giving kingdoms for them, "giving men for them, and people for their lives"-As it is in Isaiah Forty-third? Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as any thing our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His people, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship with the freedom of their estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory,-and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an interest in a better world,-it is my glory and I know a Cause which yet we have not lost; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! (Hah!)-But you will excuse this long digression.-

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,-I could wish some of them had thrust in here, to have heard what I say,-have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, "May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will any body find fault for that?" Not for that. But the reason for their doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will in the face of the Nation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.-Banks of money have been framing, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the advance of money,-which 'Letters' have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for regiments of horse and foot, and command of castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all 'disease' will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will these diseases take

accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers,-as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass,-in respect of which I shall give you a particular account,-that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

And what is all this? 'What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?' Truly I must needs still say: "A company of men like briars and thorns; and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you, These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. (Anabaptist Levellers!) And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling,-which shews there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth much perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who as Solomon says, "when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain." Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend "Commonwealth's Interest," they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. 'Any cause' from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"What these men have done?" They also have laboured to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army: and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the army. They have, they have! (Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?) I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How; much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavours have been 'made' to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.-What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget

hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, 'is in our hands.' Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their 'projected' common Rising; whereof, I 'say,' we are possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement:-whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse;-and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. (His Highness looks animated!) And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. ("Hum-m! We had a Constitution to make!")

There was a Government 'already' in the possession of the People,-I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months; and if it were needful that I should tell you how it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People,-I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government: ravelling into it-You know I took no notice what you were doing-(Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!)-If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations 'as were wanted;' for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet 'as' would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments,-'to' men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower-I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have

kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, 'have' rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. (And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!)

Are these things done; or any thing towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For 'indeed' Religion was not the thing at first contested for 'at all;' but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us.

And wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses (Our poor brethren of New England!); and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they 'themselves' laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands!-As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation,-punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights,-they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.-The discipline of the Army was such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these.-

And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for the 'Instrument of' Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing!-I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds 'of it,' whereby the

difficulties, might have been cleared 'to them,' and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed 'by them:' I think in my conscience,-well as they were thought to love their seats,-they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And not have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the 'Instrument of' Government. And if I be misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say "such an expedient as this Government,"-wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for,-I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, 'I forbear at present.' For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled 'A State of the Case of the Commonwealth,' published in January 1653. And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned.

And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them,-it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for them to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of which I had never yet had a word from you! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands 'upon,'-it looks as if the laying grounds for a quarrel had rather been designed than to give the People settlement. If it be thus, it's well your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! (Old Parliament looks agitated;-agitated, yet constant!)

This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so,-a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation;-having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other;-and yet not to found Dominion in Gratia 'either.' (Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!) And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this 'Frame of' Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible,-by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! (Hear!) But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this 'Frame of' Government, 'a question' referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament,-of which evil or evils Time itself

will be the best discoverer:-how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make their love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing:- how can it, I say, be imagined that the present of succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People? Or to recede from any thing which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although, for the present, the keeping up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest 'condition,' yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to get it 'for the sake of this Cause:'-what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up at any time,-it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettling in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation shall happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated?-What if I should say: If there be a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand!-

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me know your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to you. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly to me to listen to Town-talk, such things have been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness 'too' of divers here, who I think truly 'would' scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been adverse to any alteration, of the good I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. ("our sanction not needed, then!")

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures But I must tell you this: That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest,-which in my conscience 'I think' is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and settlement:-so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old

Government, offered me this one, this one thing-I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak:-if, 'I say,' this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditarily, I would have rejected it! And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason;-though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and 'that He' placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in Isaiah, "That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning," I did not know but that God might 'now' begin,-and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! (A noble thought, your Highness!) I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the Ecclesiastes: "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?" Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony!- And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own concernment;-and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking;-especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; 'so' that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; 'this of speaking these things to you.' I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. 'Sitting thus long;' and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would

be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there has been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with pretexts of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. (Hear the "dilemmas.") Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. (Hear!) If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. (Yea!) If it be of man, it will tumble; as every thing that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken and tumbled down, and trampled upon, every thing that He had not planted? (Yes, your Highness: such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had any real Bible!) And as this is, so 'let' the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence,-then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good,-He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in his strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity. That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. 'His,' though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, "It is an easy thing to talk of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the Lord Protector make himself great and

his family great? Doth not he make these Necessities? And then he will come upon the People with his argument of Necessity!"-This were something hard indeed. But I have not yet known what it is to "make Necessities," whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, "made Necessities." I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, "My glory I will not give unto another," let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another,-how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but 'were' sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposing of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there was not a God that ruled the Earth!

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve one to speak, of yours to hear. If you would consider the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protector,"-I take it to myself,-"it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God, who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there have been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as

with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received,-except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. (Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man;-there, wherever else it be.) He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there 'also' He speaks to them; and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God speaketh once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their mumpsimus and sumpsimus (Bulstrode looks astonished), their masses and Service-Books, their dead and carnal worship,-no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because they say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them,-judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the Hebrews: "If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin." 'A terrible word.' It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ apostatised from Him. What then? Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the Living God!"-They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and 'fancy' that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ himself, "upon whose shoulders the government is laid,"-they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength,-we provoke the Mediator: and He may say; I will leave you to God, I will intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede not mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God!-Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,"-take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions!-I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!-

There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men,-if I shall 'now' raise money according to the Article in the Government 'whether I am not compelled to do it!' Which 'Government' had power to call you hither; and did;-and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the

Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so:-but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible,-through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,-to march for England out of Scotland; and in discontent to seize their General there (General Monk), a faithful and honest man, that so another (Colonel Overton) might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether this will be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but "The Army are in discontent already; and we will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast off their governors and discipline?" What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other (Building Constitutions), and pretending liberty and many good words,-whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think they are not safe. A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (If it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!-

I have troubled you with along Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God;-and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,-I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.