

Speech 5 was made to the First Protectorate Parliament on 12th September 1654

Cannot have the Foundations of Government submitted to debate in this Assembly. Abdication of the Little Parliament; Protectorship and on what founded, by whom acknowledged. To proceed no farther until they have acknowledged it.

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GENTLEMEN,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And 'truly' so you are, -whilst you own the Government and Authority which called you hither. But certainly that word 'Free Parliament' implied a reciprocity, or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, if God will not bear it up, let it sink! (Yea!) But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness: -and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, that I called not myself to this place! (His Highness is growing emphatic.) And being in it, I bear not witness to myself 'or my office;' but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it 'and me.' If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People, -God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. (Do you mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honourable friends!) I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did. "That I called not myself to this place," is my first assertion. "That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses," is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of. -To make plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look 'a little' back.

I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament, 'and others;' and, -not to be over-tedious, -I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a

competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidence thereof. I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. (Well said, and well forborne to be said!)

Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end,-after Worcester fight,-I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat; hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the Military affairs,-I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. (Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company,) Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not,-I declined it in my former Speech,-I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I say to you, I hoped to have had leave, 'for my own part,' to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again;-and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! (Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.) That I lie not in matter of fact, is known to very many ("Hum-m-m!" Look of "Yea!" from the Military Party.): but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge. Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire,-I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also!--But I could not obtain 'what I desired,' what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves;-once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them,-for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation, thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men,-that the Nation loathed their sitting. (Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.) I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! (How astonishing there should not have been!) You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it 'actually' was their design. 'Yes:' had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad even to threats. I believe there never would have been 'any' thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons (O Sir Harry Vane!), tempted; and proposals were made me to that very end: That the Parliament might be thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections;-and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you. (What noble man would not, your Highness?) But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you 'this also:' That poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling! I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served.-I have given you but a taste of miscarriages 'that then were.' I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It's true this will be said, That there was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end of this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'But' what was this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was 'the nature of' that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same 'men in' Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome,-if a remedy be not found.

Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversation of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! (Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!) And so the liberties and interests and lives of people not judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments (So!). By an arbitrary Power, I say to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment,-sometimes 'even' by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known to exercise such a judicature. This, I suppose, was the case 'then before us.' And, in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess,-upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise,-that Parliament was dissolved (Not a doubt of it!): and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement,-did call those Gentlemen (The Little Parliament; we remember them!) out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before you already,-though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to "lie before the Lord!" I say, As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. (Hum-m-m!) I say to you again, in the Presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! (Your Highness-?-And "God" with your ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?) A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, to be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.-I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was,-for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,-we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it, and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But, 'in short,' that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that (Hum-m-m!), That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation 'of theirs,' till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also there are in this presence many witnesses. (Yes, many are convinced of it,-some not.) I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I had thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My 'own' Power was again, by this resignation, 'become' as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself, 'the only constituted authority that was left,' a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set;-and all Government, upon the matter being dissolved; all civil administration at an end-as will presently appear. ("A grave situation: but who brought us to it?" murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.)

The gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did consult;-and that I was not privy to their councils they know it. (Alas!)-When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative (Hum-m-m!) They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. (A plain truth they told.) I refused it again and again; not complimentingly,-as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, "That I did not hereby receive anything which put me into a higher capacity than before; but that it limited me; that it bound my hands to act nothing without the consent of a Council, until the Parliament, and then limited 'me' by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth,"-I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command;-and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. (His Highness is rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable!) I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present,-'at their entreaty' and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth,-accompanied to Westminster Hall: where I took the Oath to this Government. (Indisputably: draw your own inference from it!) This was not done in a corner: it was open and public!-This Government hath been exercised by a Council; with a desire to be faithful in all things:-and among all other trusts, to be faithful in calling this Parliament.

And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse; which truly I have been necessitated to 'do,'-and contracted in 'the doing of,' because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of Transactions leading me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised 'to demonstrate to' you, wherein I hope, I shall be briefer-Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom!-'But as to this first thing,' That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, "That I have not 'borne,' and do not bear, witness to myself." I am far from alluding to Him that said so! Yet truth concerning a member of His, He will own, though men do not.-But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as

froward as they will. (My honourable friends!) I have witness Within,- Without,-and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and 'who is' in my own conscience, before. Under the other head I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals;-and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made evident 'otherwise.' (In such circumstances, Yea!)-I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you; these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express consent on the part of these and other interested persons. And 'there was also' an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nouseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. I say, of the Officers: I had that by their 'express' Remonstrances, and under signature. But there went along with the express consent of theirs, an implied consent also 'of a body' of persons who had 'had' somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, of God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. (The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of "some considerableness," these too!) And truly, until my hands were bound, and I 'was' limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness,-the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they,-which many Historics will not parallel,-even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into 'the hands of' a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. (Hear!) This was another evidence 'of consent, implied if not express.'

I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;-which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and 'included' as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles-the several Corporations and Societies of citizens in this City,-as hath at any time been seen in England. And not without some appearance of satisfaction also.-And I had not this witness only. I have had from the greatest County in England, and from many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. 'Express approbations' not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General-Assizes;-the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for

undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it. These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear "I do not bear witness to myself."

This is not all. The Judges,-truly I had almost forgotten it (Another little window into his Highness!),-the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted:-and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you!-

And I have two or three witnesses more,-equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I should say, All you that are here are my witnesses,-I should say no untruth! I know that you are the same persons here that you were in your countries-But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the issue, 'the general outcome and climax,' of my Proof. (Another little window:-almost a half-soliloquy; you see the Speech getting ready in the Interior of his Highness.) I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England are my witnesses; and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. (My honourable friends, how did YOU come in?) Yea, the returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown,-not a thing to be blown away by breath,-the Returns on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

And I shall now make you my last witnesses! (Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!") And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs 'of Counties,' and through the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which 'Writs' the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them,-to which end great numbers of copies 'thereof' were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government 'was' also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises, 'or misleadings of them through their ignorance;'-where also they signed the Indenture, with proviso, "That the Person so chosen should not have power to alter the Government as now settled in one Single Person and a Parliament!" (My honourable friends-?)-And thus I have made good my second Assertion, "That I bear not witness to myself;" but that the good People of England, and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely!-And 'now' this being so,-though I told you in my last Speech "that you were a Free Parliament," yet I thought it was understood withall that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right of God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to shew a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it.-I did not in any other Speech take upon me to justify the 'Act of Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, 'in order' that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

This is what I had to say at present for approving myself to God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God.-And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp (Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences.) bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! (Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke and the last "Protector.")-I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with any Hereditary Interest (Nor do I!); as a thing less subject to those cracks and flaws which that 'other' is commonly incident unto; and disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now!-

Now, if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are-Although some men be froward, yet that your judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of approving this Government-(His Highness, bursting with meaning, complex neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.)-For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment; to sit, and not own the Authority by which you sit,-is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the Nation as any thing 'that' could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or 'that' could well have happened. (Sorrow, anger, and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into ALT, and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!)

It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment which are fundamental, so there are others which are not, but are circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall easily agree to vary, to leave out, 'according' as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may not be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail. The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the

esse, it is constitutive. And as for the Person,-though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases!-

In every Government there must be Somewhat Fundamental (Will speak now of Fundamentals.), Somewhat like a Magna Charta, which should be standing, be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said,-surely a return ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exercised it; and by it called you,-surely it ought 'by you' to be owned.-That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. (Yea, all know it: taught by the example of the Rump!)

Of what assurance is a Law to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to unmake it again? (Must have a single Person to check your Parliament.) Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; will give it no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'Again,' is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ("HE is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?" The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare.),-why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having 'himself' liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ("Where then are the limits of Dissent?" An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really BELIEVED!) Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: "Oh give me liberty!" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience'-truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath his supremacy; he may settle Religion, 'that is, Church-Government,' according to his conscience. And 'as for the People'-I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty 'of Conscience' better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery,-or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up! This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer (As you seem to argue.), without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ("Fitting:" that is a wide word!)-we shall have the People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and

comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England;-where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. (Yea!)

Another 'Fundamental' which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. That it should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into 'the hands of' one 'Person,'-without a check, what doth it serve? 'On the other hand,' I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? 'This as we now have it' is equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so;-namely in one Person, and in the Parliament 'along with him' while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in them? Think, Whether, without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether-into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this 'of the Militia' be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed in one 'party,' that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ("Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.)-Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,-truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that 'this power of' the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Government;-should be placed so equally that no one party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the power of ordering it. 'Well;'-the Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all intervals of Parliament; and have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. (So that we are safe-or safish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.) The power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is coordinate, 'placed' in the Supreme Officer;-and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.-

As for that of Money-I told you some things were Circumstantial (Comes to Circumstantial.); as, for example, this is: That we should have 200,000l. to defray Civil Offices,-to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief: All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the esse so much; nor 'is it' limited 'so strictly' as 'even' the number of Soldiers is,-20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. (Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum in that!) Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are 'Circumstantial,' are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated, 'regulated,' as occasion shall offer.

Of this sort there are many circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government; and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil 'effects' appearing, and good appearing, and better judgment 'in ourselves,' will give occasion for ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those things, 'Circumstantial things,' are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this (Does not yet say it)-I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, '-certainly these' are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretence to break known rules by. 'Yes;' but it is as legal, 'contrary to God's free Grace,' as carnal, and as stupid (Atone of anger), to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest 'and real,' because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case, if I should so think 'here;' and I hope none of you so think. I have to say (Says it now): The wilful throwing away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above, 'were a thing which,'-and in reference 'not to my good, but' to the good of these nations and of Posterity,-I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! (Never!-Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder, from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouthed, and mournful eyes,-kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke, and wrathful defiance?-Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched: but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!)

You have been called to hither to save a Nation,-Nations. You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our Neighbours round about,-apt 'otherwise' to take advantages where God did administer them. 'These things we had, few days ago, when you can hither. And now?'-To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves (Chiefly "I") rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers (Dutch Ambassadors and the like) who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give them opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: "A people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day, and are unhinged still,"-as if scattering, division, and confusion came upon us like things we desired: 'these,' which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for sin! I would be

loath to say these are matters of our desire. But if not, then why not matters of our care,-as wisely as by our utmost endeavours we might, to avoid them! Nay if, by such actings as these 'now' are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble-And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking 'and confusion' should come upon us;-all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves 'to be' shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests:-as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? 'To men'-to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, "Oh, we quarrelled for the Liberty of England; we contested, and 'went to confusion,' for that!"-'Now,' Wherein, I pray you, for the "Liberty of England?" I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours we have had--Nay the things will speak for themselves. The "Liberty of England," the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians,-is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world what 'really' hath been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were-For God can discover; no Privilege (What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?) will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory!-And when these 'things, as I say,' shall be manifested; and the People will come and ask, "Gentlemen, what condition is this we are in? We hoped for light: and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We hoped for a rest after ten-years Civil War, but are plunged into deep confusion again!"-Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not 'the Liberty' of Parliaments, 'if,' when a Parliament was so chosen 'as you have been,' in pursuance of this Instrument of Government, and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it.-some Owing of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. (Deep silence in the audience.) This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forborne upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! (Paleness on some faces.) Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted,-till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the 'Writ of' Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT

TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. (You understand that, my honourable friends?)

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes me, seeking my counsel from God. There is therefore Somewhat to be offered to you; which I hope, will answer, being understood with the qualifications I have told you, '-namely, of' reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals 'that is to say,' in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures "not to be altered." The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People. And this thing (The Parchment!), 'when once it is shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. (Honourable gentlemen look in one another's faces,-find general blank.)

The place where you come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. (My honourable friends, you know the way, don't you?)--

The 'Instrument of' Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are ipso facto Laws, whether I consent or no,-if not contrary to the 'Frame of' Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and interest so long contended for.

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The "Thing," as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: "I do hereby freely promise, and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not (according to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the Government as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament." Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!-"About a hundred signed directly, within an hour." Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct Hundred) went and "had dinner together," to talk the matter over;-mostly though it would be better to sign: and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty. Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning

again,-some mild, some grim. Tomorrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated "with all tenderness;" most of them come in by degrees: 'Three-hundred before the month ends."

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman;-went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for this recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch, and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands;-a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; "the misfortune is," says one Commentator, "he does not give us names." Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;-it held on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the "Institution of Government," modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &c. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon "Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters," upon tender consciences, and like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all;-and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle,-in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and his Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. The Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivances of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners, -poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially "Theauro John, who laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day," - a man clearly needing to be confined. "Theauro John:" his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till on this "Saturday, 30th December, 1654, he very clearly knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House," as much as to say, "What is this you are upon?" and "lays about him with a drawn sword;" -after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native "Vale of Bever:" Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever "a very tender people." In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms and other portents are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn, or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, missed the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs, -dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, well; bear visibly to me the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them; -lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business; -as little of that as you can.

Friday, 29th September, 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants; -was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive, -two in hand I think, with a postilion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postilion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, "dragging him by the foot for some time." so that "a pistol went off in his pocket," to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon-his Highness got up again, little the worse: was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual! Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my

erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol.-Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and also truculent-flunkeys, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against;-and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!-

Thursday, 16th November, 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household, have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: "My Lord Protector's Mother of Ninety-four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my Lord her blessing, in these words: 'The Lord cause His face to shine upon you; and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief unto His People. My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good night!'-and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell!-Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: "at the sound of a musket she would often be afraid her Son was shot; and could not be satisfied unless she saw him once a day at least." She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences-Well, are they not divine?-

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces;-sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.-None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, "The Lord Protector's Government makes England more formidable and considerable to all Nations than ever it has been in my days."