

Speech 7 was made at the meeting of the Second Protectorate Parliament on 17th September 1656

Our difficulties: Spain and why we have gone to war with Spain; Papists, Cavaliers, Levellers, Fifth Monarchists - the need there was of Major-Generals. Our remedies: To prosecute the war with vigour: to maintain the aim of all these struggles; Liberty of Conscience and a pure Gospel Ministry; to reform the Law :- to reform Manners; that will be the great remedy of all. Finance, Exhortation; Divine encouragement and hope: Eighty fifth Psalm.

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GENTLEMEN,

When I came hither I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you, 'and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby.' But truly now, seeing you in such a condition as you are, I think I must turn off 'my pity' in this, as I hope I shall in everything else;-and consider you as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in.- 'So far as possible, on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying the Art of Rhetoricians.' Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to 'much concern with;' neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

Truly our business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse in somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, 'His Church, the Communion of the Faithful Followers of Christ;'-and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People 'not as Christians but as human creatures,' within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to things; things that concern these Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in the world,-which 'latter' is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.

The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is That that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. (Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?) As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the first consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam:-and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that, 'namely of our National Being,' is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it not to be; and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what

will make it be, of what will keep its being and subsistence. (His Highness's heads of method.)

'Now' that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations;- and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them 'to all such things.' Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People,-which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: this is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it.- But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labour to specificate our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and Being of these Three Nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you 'about that same matter.' For which 'above others,' I think, you are called hither at this time:-That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. 'Dangers' which,-say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no,-strike at the very Being and 'vital' interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect 'namely' of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those Enemies, and how they come to be as heartily, I believe, engaged against you. (His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait will the axles get warm a little!)

Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout,-by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. 'Whatsoever is of God' which is in you, or which may be in you; contrary to that which his blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate him unto!-With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. (By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year-which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness!) For we are ready to excuse 'this and' most of our actions,-and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them-upon the ground of Necessity. 'And' the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about,-as I know they never will,-to make Laws against Events, against what may happen, 'then' I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him, -'and also' providentially, and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, 'I do but say,' He is naturally throughout an enemy; an enmity is put into him by God. "I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;" -which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! (Yea, your Highness; it is - Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes about patronising untruths, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices, -with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that!) And he that considers not such natural enmity, the providential enmity, as well as the accidental, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when he made a breach with the Spanish Nation 'long ago.'

No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion (It was not half reformed!) after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory, -we need not be ashamed to call her so! (No, your Highness; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was and is "of famous memory.") -but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant (The Council's "Declaration," in October last), which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation; and a series of it from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed 'about.' The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if not more; -and upon that ground he looks, 'and hath looked' at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end, -I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History. It would not be difficult to call to mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it; their designs of the same nature upon this Nation, -public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from,--that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but could not obtain satisfaction 'from the Spaniard' all the time they sat: for their Messenger (Poor Ascham!) was murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies (Yes at Tortuga, at St. Kitts; in many a place and time!), and for the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither, -satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all; nor any reason offered why there should not be liberty 'of conscience' given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in us 'as to their treatment there,'-whether in you or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there were imprisoned. We desired 'but' such a liberty as 'that' they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had 'from the Spaniard;' neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, "It was to ask his Master's two eyes;" to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!-

Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered upon with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself, -you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered (Poor Ascham, for example!), yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant experience, That Peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. (What is to be done with such a set of people?) We have not 'now' to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that they do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that, '-of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding.' They are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds, -being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined, 'and made to decide.'

In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things, -we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be,

the spirit of men that have higher spirits! (Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more,-Believers in God's Gospel, namely!"-Very clumsily said; but not all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.)-With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State:-though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these 'your other' engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark,-nay, upon the matter, War, 'or as good as War,' with Spain 'itself.' I could instance how it was said 'in the Long-Parliament time,' "We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home." I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat 'farther' to you, which will let you see our clearness 'as' to that, by and by.

Having thus 'said, we are' engaged with Spain,-'that is the root of the matter;' that is the party that brings all your enemies before you. (Coming now to the Home Malignants.) It doth: for so it is now that Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,-Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again!-but I dare not believe any in this room is. (Heavens, no; not one of us!) And I say it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by his providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say, 'farther' (His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once,-producing results of "some inextricableness," as he himself might phrase it). No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person (Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain:-the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so)-! And the "choosing out" (as was said today) "a Captain to lead us back into Egypt," 'what honest man has not an aversion to that?'-if there be such a place? I mean metaphorically and allegorically such a place; 'if there be,' that is to say, A returning 'on the part of some' to all those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have attained unto-?-I am sure my Speech 'and defence of the Spanish war' will signify very little, if such grounds (Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers!) go not for good! Nay I will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare ("By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and so on:" his Highness looks animated!) that they are of that spirit, I do, with all my heart;-and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also!- -

You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves:-this last said hath a little vehemency in it (His Highness repents him of blazing up into unseemly heat): but it is well worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers 'and grand crisis' this Nation stands in 'thereby.' All the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest,-who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name 'of Antichrist' given him by the Apostle in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and likewise so expressed in the Revelations; which are sure and plain things! Except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and Antichristian. (Who would not go to war with it!) I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel,-with the Spaniard.

And truly he hath an Interest in your bowels; he hath so. The Papists in England,-they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. (The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!) They never regarded France; they never regarded any other Papist State where a 'hostile' Interest was, 'but Spain only.' Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this 'Spanish' Interest is also, in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so,- upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, so soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Newburgh, who is a Popish prince hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State 'of Spain:' and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your Enemy is naturally an enemy, and is providentially too become so. (Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a VIRTUAL enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an ACTUAL one.-"That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?" ask some Moderns.-Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall in with Antichrist anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!)

And now farther,-as there is a complication of these Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, Unchristian, Un-English-like, 'say you.' Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this

condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers;-but it is also--(His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way)-That is to say, your danger is so great, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend other things! (Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.) 'Pretend, I say;' yea who, though perhaps they do not all suit in their hearts with the said 'Popish' Interest-(Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible)-Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented spirits are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support!-I could have reckoned this in another 'head' (Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him.)-But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact,-to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. (Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To shew ME what THOU seest, what is in THEE: what else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.)

Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. (Penruddock at Salisbury;-we heard of Wagstaff and him!) It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. 'Nay,' it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament 'time.' From that time to this hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party: they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation,-who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tends. Those 'Papists and Cavaliers' do foment all things that tend to disservice; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this,-we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that they pretended;-whose ends, 'these Jesuits' ends,' have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. (Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Antichristian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!)

We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person;-which I would not remember as anything at all considerable, to myself or to you (Very well, your Highness!):for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, 'this of the assassination;'-it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned, (Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!) for their designs to cut

the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation.

And did think to make a very good issue 'in that way,' to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it, We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we lay under I know not! (Suspicious of us in that Parliament!) It was conceived, it seems, we had things which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what:-in short nothing was believed (Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things" which rather intended to &c. &c. What most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate,-articulate enough for the occasion!); though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But "they were a company of mean fellows,"-alas!-"not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a man of fortune, nor a this nor that, among them: but it was a poor head-strong people, a company of rash fellows who where at the undertaking of this,"-and that was all! And by such things (His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babblements") have men 'once well-affected' lost their consciences and honours, complying, 'coming to agreement with Malignants,' upon such notions as these!-Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other 'Declaration' which set down the grounds of our war with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe,-we are satisfied, we do our duty. (A suspicious people your Highness; nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense,-and unused to such phenomena as your Highness!) If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to us: But to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people!-Which, truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never would for all the world: I must tell you so.-

These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day that the King (We may call him "King") sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Newburgh Country (Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure);-I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead:-but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or notwithstanding all that hath been done, may still continue their compliances

'with the Malignants;'-I leave it. (Yes, let THEM look to that.) I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away!-

There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the Tower. He who commanded there would give us account, That within a fortnight of such a thing there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. (Vigilant Barkstead!) And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

And if this be so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion,-wherein perhaps he may shame us,-and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy: and his Designs are known to be all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world. If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had 'for Spaniards,' and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers,-what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury (Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!) 'striving' to reconcile matters of Religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these 'Popish' men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly,-I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have 'heard me:' There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! (Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainly! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it!-Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?); and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

If this be our condition,-with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger, wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears,-upon even 'what are called' such sordid attempts" as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation, who "would not reckon up every pitiful thing,"-perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only "considerable dangers!" I will tell you plainly 'what to me seems dangerous;' it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches. I have none, truly:-but to tell you how we find things.

There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty; (Coming now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men.") and these are diversified into several sects and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible, in respect they are many,

and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief,-yet they are apt to agree in aliquo tertio. They are known, (yea, well enough) to shake hands with,-I should be loath to say with Cavaliers,-but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation, (Not loath to say that, your Highness?) to put you to trouble. And, when I come to speak of the Remedies, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrections at Salisbury, 'your Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms'--(Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and he plunges in this manner)- I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales 'at the same time;' at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places,-where all these Insurrections were at that very time! (Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!)- -There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers: and that Levelling Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a finer name or notion! I think they would now be called "Common-wealth's-men,"-who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates (Lord Grey of Gorby; he is in the Tower; he and others.) should join with such a people. But if the fact be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. (His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse, and necessarily SECRET operation of his.)

I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous,-and do not despise them!-at the time when the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had been transacted 'by us;' and called them by I know not what 'names,' "tyranny," "oppression," things "against the liberty of the subject;" and cried out for "justice," and "righteousness," and liberty:"-and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry on that Design? And these are things,--not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got (Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!): and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived; which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody: but that was the time of it; an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth (Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!), "To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies." And this was so.-

Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things (call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!): but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of "Liberty:" and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, 'him' and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a Party behind them,-to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have 'purposely' brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable 'part of

the' Army would have followed them 'hither' at the heels.--And not only thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination; and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were,-as To get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you is true. These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are true. And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination, it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. We have some 'of them' in prison for these things.

Now we would be loath to tell you of notions mere seraphical! (His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.) These are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions. We have had endeavours to deal between two Interests;-one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! (A "NOTION;" not even worth calling a "SECTION" or "PARTY"-such moonshine was it.)-Which 'strange operation' I do not recite nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But de facto it hath been so, That there have been endeavours;-as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end,-no end can be so bad as that of Herod's was,-but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, 'to tell you candidly,' I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from Charles Stuart.' (The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing.) I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, they did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow, (Sexby, the miserable outcast!) a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,-they sent him to Madrid to advise with the King of Spain to land forces to invade this Nation. Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur with him to have both men and monies; undertaking both to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison 'on the coast;' to raise a party, 'so' that, if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him!-This person was sometimes a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an "Ambassador;"-and gave promise of much monies: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain monies; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange:-and God by His providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them, and some of the monies! (Keep hold of them, your Highness!) Now if they be payable, let them be called for! (He won't call, I believe.)-If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood;-though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years:

yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you, if I did not give you this true re-presentation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing (Coming to the Major-Generals.) which I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet--No quiet; "there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture (Isaiah, Fifty-seventh): "They are like the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters throw up mire and dirt." They cannot rest,-they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know what belongs to that (My brave one!); therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease to live,-nor so easily neither!--Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was the erecting of your Major-Generals (Yes!): To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, 'split' into divers interests,-and the workings of the Popish Party! 'Workings' of the Lord Taffe and others; the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expelled from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre; of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection!-

And upon such a Rising as that was,-truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! (His Highness looks animated.) We did find,-I mean myself and the Council did,- That, if there were need to have greater forces to carry on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. (Yea!) And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the Interest of England!--Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) ("Name?" He must go unnamed, this one!); and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear as the day;-we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination 'of the insurrectionists,' bear their share of the charge. 'Bear their share,' one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs! And truly if any man be angry at it,-I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him! If this were to be done again, I would do it.

How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause,-if it 'still' be thought such, and it was well stated, 'this morning,' against all the 'new' humours and fancies of men! -And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.- -

Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency:-as truly, I think, it will not; for we are Englishmen; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy 'from HIM.' (Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!) And much more 'than English!' Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ (Yea!), and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and knowledge,-pardon me if I say so, my knowledge,-of the condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably: I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. (Second head of method: the Remedies.) I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head, 'a general, nay a universal consideration,'-the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation: and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which 'truly' is most material and significant: for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies.-I do put them, 'the remedies,' into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration: That a true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be,-That that, 'I say,' will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to shew it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie!-forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant as you can be,-I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, it will be your best security! (Hear him; Hear, hear!)

First, 'however,' with regard to Security 'outwardly considered.' We will speak a little distinctly to that. ("Be ye wise as serpents withal!") You see where your War is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all "other" Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France,-the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane; the Mahometan;-you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain, you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would tie you to this War? No. 'According' as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War,-'according' as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you can come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously or don't do it at all!

Truly I shall speak a very great word,-one may ask a very great question: "Unde, Whence shall the means of it come?" Our Nation is overwhelmed in

debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business, -a recoiling man may haply recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground. Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it vigorously. In the second place I would advise you to deal effectually, -even because there is such a "complication of interests," 'as some keep objecting.' If you believe that there is such a complication of interests, - why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other 'enemies,' this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself, -to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment: and in the mean time, - being in such a case as I suppose you know we are, -to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers that are at home - I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one Religion 'with ourselves,' and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and 'as' it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves, -then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, 'which are' of all sorts, -where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus*. And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing ever could more properly be put in practice since this or any Nation 'first' was.

As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation, -I had rather put these under this head; and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken to already to-day 'elsewhere.' I will tell you the truth: Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see that what ever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; -and not to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, 'and not peaceable,' let the pretence be never so specious, -if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, whom we meet withal, though never so specious, 'if they be not quiet!' And truly I am against all "liberty of conscience" repugnant to this. If men will profess, -be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment, -in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said to-day, undoubtedly "this is the peculiar Interest all this while contended for." (An excellent "Interest:" very

indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.)

Men who believe in Jesus Christ-that is the Form that gives being to true religion, 'namely,' to Faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith;-men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: whose men who are certain they are so (Faith of assurance),-'they' are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms:-it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. (True Tolerance: a noble thing, patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable INTOLERANCE for the want of the Essential!)

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him 'who is' under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him,-I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist 'judgment' shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them,-as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ,-so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things equal. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes 'on the ear,' and rebukes,-on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those of the Presbyterian judgment-("Do themselves partly approve my plan," he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it)- -I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties-I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they, 'the Presbyterians there,' do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance;-and that, in their outward profession they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to shew. And I confess I look at that as the blesseddest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, 'or' which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to be the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others;-I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation:-I say, if please God to give you and me hearts to keep this straight, 'it may be a great means' in giving countenance to just Ministers,-(In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic)-in countenancing a just maintenance to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power to settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes,-it doth as surely cut their 'the Ministers' throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way,-if the State will provide it. (Sensation among the Voluntaries!--His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas, "TITHES" and "EQUALITY," and in free-flowing half-articulate manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely, as it stands,-Grammar yielding place to something still needfuller, to TRANSPARENCY of speech with or without grammar).- -Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty,-I think as it, 'this of tithes, or some other maintenance,' hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession (No public maintenance no regular priest), the upholding of this-I think you will find a blessing in it:-if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance which is so honest and so necessary. (Better keep up Tithes, till we see!)

Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners to wit-But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing-in of them that have passed an Approbation? (Our two Commissions, of Triers and Expurgators.) I dare say such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference 'from the old practice,' that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations;-though, I can say too they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men with rather than without 'that addition;' and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, toward them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England, 'in regard to this matter.' And I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth 'now' in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so this Ministry of England-I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this day. Therefore, I say, in these

things, 'in these arrangements made by us,' which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Public Ministry, 'I think' you will be so far from hindering, that you will farther them. And I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of Manners. And those abuses that are in this Nation through disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. It is that, which I am confident is a description and character of the Interest you have been engaged against, 'the Cavalier Interest:' the badge and character of countenancing Profaneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places,-(A horrible "character," your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under OUR new Defender of the Faith (if you could see into futurity) what a height of evidence will it rise to!)-and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is Popery, and 'with' the profane Nobility and Gentry of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this Nation! Whether "in Caesar's house," or elsewhere! It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it.-We would keep up (He bethinks him of the above word "profane") Nobility and Gentry:- and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! And you will hereby be as labourers in that work 'of keeping them up.' And a man may tell us plainly as can be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm 'in repressing evil,' under I know not what weak pretensions. (Yes, your Highness; even so,- were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuller than Death;-equal to Death with a Grimaldi mask clapt on it!) If it lives in us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general 'heart of the Nation,' it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon,-Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits,-which are the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. (A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!)

There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. ("Hear, hear!" from all quarters of the Nation.) Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. (Hale and others; yea!)-Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part 'of it,' as to the administration 'of the Law;' but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, which 'it' will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eight-pence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder,-is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose

their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. (Your Highness actually says so, believes so?) And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so 'too.' Truly I did begin with what I thought was 'the means' to carry on this War (if you will carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: "But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to-- (Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;-nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.)-The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it,-that you should inspect the Treasury, and how monies have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And, therefore, we will say negatively, first, No man can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not been,-as the world terms it,-so fortunate in all our successes, 'in the issues of all our attempts?' (Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet-a load to crush any but a Man of Hope!) Truly, if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be quarrelling with what God 'Himself' will answer 'for.' And we hope we are able,-to may be weakly, I doubt not,-to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, it-("It," the principal "reason" we could give, was the Plotting of the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again!)-was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough;-and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to quench them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours-by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals; I can repeat it with comfort,-they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! (What worlds of old terror, rage, and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness!) It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! (Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!) But I say there was a Design-I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency-But you had not peace two months together, 'nothing but plot after plot;' I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental they, 'these Major-Generals,' have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means,-which, we say, was Necessity! More 'instrumental' than all instituted things in the world!-If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, 'laws' to meet everything that may happen,-you make a law in the face of God; you tell God you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things whether He will or no! But if you make good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey

and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and 'yet' good laws to be observed. But if nothing should 'ever' be done but what is "according to Law," the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a law! (The Tyrant's plea?-Yes; and the true Governor's my friend; for extremes meet.) Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet-'if a Government in extraordinary circumstances go beyond the law even for self preservation, it is' to be clamoured at, and blottered at. (His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!) When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!-

I confess, if Necessity be pretended, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God as if He had sent a Necessity; who doth indeed send Necessities! But to anticipate these-For as to an appeal to God, I own it, 'own this Necessity,' conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing:-But if there be a supposition, I say, of a Necessity which is not, every act so done hath in it the more sin. This 'whether in a given case, there is a Necessity or not,' perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action 'of this Government,' no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison (Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others; a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!) hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: "Pray live quietly in your own countries; you shall not be urged with bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the Government." But they would not so much as say, "We will promise to live peaceably." If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done such things. And if other particulars strike, we know what to say,-as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had 'withal' to give an account of them to men. (Anticlimax;-better than some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.)

I confess I have digressed much. (Yes your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse;-like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!) I would not have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftilly, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government:-and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat, this Nation owed 700,000l. We examined it; it was brought unto that,-in that short Meeting 'of the Little Parliament,' within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was more rather than less. They 'the Long-Parliament people' had 120,000l. a-month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands; which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Government, we abated 30,000l. the first half-year, and

60,000l. after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable; (Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold); I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had:-and give me leave to tell you, You are not so much in debt as we found you. We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the Nation into 2,500,000l. of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,-I think I may say, by some hundreds of Thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly,-it may be not so wisely as some others would have done,-but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull of the common charge 60,000l. a-month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money 'in hand,' as now we are in debt.-these things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account,-though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, If I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If not,-you plunge it (to all human appearance), 'it' and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin!-

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Shew yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men!" It doth not infer any reproach if you do shew yourselves men: Christian men,-which alone will make you "quit yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "Spew it out of His mouth!" It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the wrong way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests:-such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, "Having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man: but the ringleaders are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have works with faith; who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission 'of sins,' till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings, wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, 'so many' will carry it on.

If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to carry them 'along with you,'-it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in his mind; he is saying, "O, if we could but exercise wisdom to gain Civil Liberty,-Religion would follow!" (His Highness thinks Religion will PRECEDE,-as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons,

and Members of the Rota Club. Here however he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.) Certainly there are such men, who are not maliciously blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. (Yes, your Highness; we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,-in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.) (It cannot be expected that they should do anything! (Profound silence.) These men,-they must demonstrate that they are in bonds.--Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. (What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling out pennyweights of distilled constitution; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear?) Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an "outward profession of Godliness," whom the Apostle speaks of so often, "are enemies to the cross of Christ; whose god is their belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things." (A really frightful kin of character;-and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed?) Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet 'and defy' all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make? (Not to BE expected, your Highness; not at all. And yet we, two hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,-by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c.!)

Give me leave to tell you,-those that are called to this work it will not depend 'for them' upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches! (A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.) I do not look the work should be done by these. 'No;' but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word,-to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood of His servants: that is such a spirit as will carry on this work. (Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.)

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think every objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest, I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate; (We will have no disputing about that,-you are aware!) and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt! But it is a union, really it is a union, 'this' between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ and to His peculiar Interest in the world,-that must ground this work. And in that, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end,-it were not an extravagant thing for me to curse myself: because I know God will curse me, if I have! (Look in that countenance of his Highness!) I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope

I never shall be bold with Him;-though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!-

I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations may say, "These are knit together in one bond, to promote the glory of God against the Common Enemy; to suppress everything that is Evil, and encourage whatsoever is of Godliness,"-yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great,- perhaps greater than all the 'other' oppositions you can meet with. I do not know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God;-and as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be "bold." If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He would not bear it at my hands! (Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.) Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told of; and the blessing of God go with you,-and the blessing of God will go with you! (Amen)-

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome:-But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm; it is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. (We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other;-and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.)

It begins: "Lord, thou hast been very favourable to Thy Land; Thou has brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; Thou hast covered all their sin. Thou hast taken away all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us, O God of our salvation, and cause Thine anger toward us to cease. Wilt Thou be angry with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine anger to all generations? Wilt Thou not revive us again, that Thy People may rejoice in Thee?" Then he calls upon God as "the God of his salvation," and then saith he: "I will hear what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn again to folly. Surely His salvation is nigh them that fear Him;" Oh-"that glory may dwell in our land! Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. Truth shall spring out of the Earth and Righteousness shall look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give that which is good, and our Land shall yield her increase. Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps." (What a vision of celestial hope is this: vista into Lands of Light, God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Helldogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep,-and yet it steads not. Do not I look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant,- which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!)

Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "Thou hast done this," and "Thou has done that;" "Thou hast pardoned our sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities!" Whither can we go to a better God? For "He hath done it." It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "turn and take away our sins"-Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His People." If you be the People of God, He will speak peace:-and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly:" a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! (Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!) I do not think these are lawful, except to make them recreations. That we will not endure 'for necessary ends' (For preventing Royalist Plots, and such like) to be abridged of them:-Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, "but He bears with them in France;" "they in France are so and so!"-Have they the Gospel as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights.-If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from "turning again" to those fooleries:-and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "Mercy and Truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy!" They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be merciful as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet want that, he is but sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal!"-

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm. That is a rare Psalm for a Christian!-and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we shall hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard and Devil and all, set themselves against us,-though they should "compass us like bees," as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm,-yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: "We will not fear, though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." (A terrible scene indeed:-but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever! "Yea," answers the Hebrew David; "Yea," answers the German Luther; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another: soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto deep.) "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God. God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved." (No!) Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." (What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-

hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter,-the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force we can raise?)

I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your hearts and mine would shew His presence in the midst of us.

I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.