

This Speech was to the two Houses of Parliament; the Commons having raised debates as to the Title of the other House on 25th January 1657. (Note - English Calendar. New Year started on 25th March).

Perils of the Nation; perils of the Protestant interest in Europe at large; pressing need for unanimity. Do not sacrifice great vital interests for titles and niceties.

-----

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

(For so I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations!-The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such that I could not with a good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedy as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting,-our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if otherwise,-I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to men, 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust which is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. (His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough to-day. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth to-day of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough,-and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!)

I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, such "good" may be attained, and such "evil," whatever it is, may be obviated. (Truly!) We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is!-I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in understanding me;-but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be of the greatest concernment to us. (No mortal thinks so, your Highness.) Your dangers,-for that is the head of my speech,-are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are come now, as I may say, into

the end (which may but prove the new beginning!) of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in my thoughts to have had this the method of my Speech: To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and 'those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being! You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us!

First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of "Well-being;" and truly, in a good sense, so it is, and it is no more: though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of "Well-being." (A Nation can still BE, even without Protestantism.) But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad,-I do believe, he that looks well about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknowledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether the Christian world shall be all Popery? Or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant Christians in the world? (Yes, your Highness, the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril,-with what indifference do we now, safe at two centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off,-ungrateful as we are!) He that strikes at but one species of a general to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot, trodden down? Judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or not. And then, I will pray you, consider how far we are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being!

We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees,-that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact:' The Papacy, and those that are upholders of it, they have openly and avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted with in that noble Charity which was exercised in this Nation, and the just sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of this, That if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of the whole. But is this 'of Piedmont' all? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria Proper and Spain, are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not,-to begin there,-the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men 'with' not only a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it,-is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure

of the Emperorship?' No doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria. (There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.) Whom will he then have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants, out of his own patrimonial country, -out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? (Ferdinand the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness; -and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred, that!) 'And' it is the daily complaint which comes over to us, -new reiterations of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of the City, That the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

And what think you of the other side of Europe, Italy to wit, -if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may, -'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? They all, -what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself (Neuter gender) the Head of all this! A Pope fitted, -I hope indeed "born" not "in" but out of "due time," to accomplish this bloody work; that so he may fill up his cup to the brim, and make himself ripe for judgment! (Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!) He doth as he hath always done. He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to this very thing (Rooting out of the Protestants. -The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in! -He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap, -that WE for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!); -and no man like this present man. So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe but a consent, a cooperating, at this very time and season, 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress everything that stands in their way? (A grave epoch indeed.)

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of the world; what is that to us?" -If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England.

I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor Prince (Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him); -indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and what addeth to the grief of all, -more grievous than all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be too truly said!)-is,

That men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin. (Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!")

I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? Men that are not true to the Religion we profess, '-profess,' I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world, -God will find them out! (The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues" for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre!) I beseech you consider how things do cooperate. 'Consider,' If this may seem but a design against your Wellbeing? It is a design against your very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest, -wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat ("Coat," I hope, is not "red:" -but we are in haste.), as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your godliness (Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!), but reckon godliness the greater gain!

But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever, -I name no one state upon this head, (Do not name the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!) but I think all acknowledge States are engaged in the combination, -judge you where you were! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping, -unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves on terra firma!-

And these things stated, liberavi animam meam; and if there be "no danger" in 'all' this, I am satisfied. I have told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure-Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle jargon!), -and that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without any due sense of these things, -I have this comfort to God-ward: I have told you of it. (Yes, your Highness! -O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no SENSE of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a grey waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such HEADS too

common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves-stuck up on Temple Bar!)

Really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance against that Party at this time!- Should there be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured and aimed at, "a General Peace"), then will England be the "general" object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to accuse;-but do look on the other side of the water! You have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends,- that is, rather believe your enemy, and trust him that he means your ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be in some alliance with you! (We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately!)-I perhaps could enforce all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same who have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy 'all along;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence, to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public attempts (Spanish Armadas and such like) would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of any use for preserving our peace! (Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravallac in the Rue de la Ferronnerie, and Stadholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!) And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business then was: The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either the kindness that was then shewn them (which was their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them,-truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. (He cannot, your Highness: unless GOD and His TRUTH be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can!) But this may awaken you, howsoever. I hope you will not be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is certain they (These Dutch) have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter in dispute at this time, 'we are not here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought;-let it do so. And we must tell you, we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is true. I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange here 'in London' were resorted to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired-sloops, I think they call them, or some other name,-they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and One-thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. (What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God!" The "was" may possible have been "is"

when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.) And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose:-a thing to no other end than that it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any artifice with you to pray you to help us with money for defending ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may be defended abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion-(His fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off)-For you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to get a consideration among you, a due and just consideration,-let God move your hearts for the answering of anything that shall be due unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous (The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears); I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for us that we are Englishmen;-but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. (Truly!)-But I beseech you, what is our case at home?- I profess I do not well know where to begin on this head, or where to end,-I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities, and of divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,'-though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we have had-yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace'-

("Beautiful great Soul," exclaims a modern Commentator here, "Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all, irradiated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely visible in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and those souls passed away without return?-Patience: intrinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they remain with us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, reappear among us,-if it please Heaven! There have been Divine Souls in England; England too, poor moiling, toiling, heavyladen, thickeyed England,

has been illuminated, though it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones;-and once, in a sense, is always!")

-that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root that man out of this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! (Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!)

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it is they are driving towards? They should do it! He that considereth not the "woman with child,"-the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as Nineveh was said to be;-he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! (Where is Sam Cooper, or some "prince of limners," to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best Historical Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!)-I say look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of Interests in this Nation,-if they be worthy the name of Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people,-if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account- (Sentence gone: meaning left clear enough)-Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may be uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and "they would use it well;"-that every sect may get the power into their hands! (A reflection to make one wonder.-Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate peppery, loud-babbling individuals,-with so much good in them too, while "bitted!")

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule. 'Content with rule,' if it were but in Civil things, and with those that would rule worst;- because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad Government is better than none!-Neither is this all: but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, 'but widening those already made.' As if you should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds! This is what 'such' men would be at; this is the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they were. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything-I speak not of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up of them,-and what is the want that prevents these things from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing while they are contesting one with another! They are contesting in the midst

of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these all united. What must be the issue of such a thing as this? 'So stands it;' it is so.-And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. (Republican spirits: we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!) Summoning men to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight for their notions; each sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking that they are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project!

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. This is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,'-amidst such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect to what these- ("Cavaliers and their Participants," both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends)-are like to do of themselves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal: (Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful!)-some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is true. 'This' and many other things that are not fit to be suggested unto you; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. (Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we shew them in daylight, they vanish forever,-as Manning, when they shot him in Newburg, did.) I say, this is your condition! What is your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you to your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an Army in these parts,-in Scotland, in England and Ireland. Take them away tomorrow, would not all these Interests run into one another? I know you are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if this be not the Frame, 'this which you are now called together upon, and engaged in,-I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this:' Give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove as a great plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness.-And what is the case of your Army 'withal?' A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! (Twenty-fifth of January.) And yet a peaceable people, 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea he must be a man with a heart as hard the weather who hath not a due sense of this! (A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.)--

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. (This Frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.) And yet, at this day,-do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in those several ways, having 'continually' made battery at this defence ever since you got to enjoy peace-(Sentence catches fire)- -What have they made their business but this, To spread

libellous Books; (Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature.) yea and pretend the "Liberty of the Subject"-(Sentence gone again)-?-which really wiser men than they may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never look to see the people of England come into a just Liberty, if another 'Civil' War overtake us. I think, 'I' at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our "Liberty" is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting!-Therefore all I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to you; to uphold this Settlement 'now fallen upon.' Which I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else, 'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger?--'A danger' which all manner of considerations,' besides good-nature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone to be sensible of!-Give us leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go otherwise, 'and break this Settlement?' If our spirits be dissatisfied what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay: yea an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. And if these things be considered,-I cannot doubt but they will be considered; I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-quarter come upon the Irish People! (Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!) You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of them settled there;' who, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, transplanted to the West. You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free-quarter there,-upon your English Planters, as they must,-the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary: and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country 'again' for a receptacle to the Spanish Interest?-

And hath Scotland been long settled? (Middleton's Highland Insurrection with its Mosstroopery and misery is not dead three years yet.) Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. (Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.)-And yet in a way (I have spoken with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough;-it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort-(The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.)- -The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were

under their own great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect upon that Nation: but the middle sort of people do grow up there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable if not better than they were before. (Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money;-prospering though sulky.)

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us: of the united Cavaliers; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain; while we have to look upon ourselves as a divided people-(Sentence off)-A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things,-(Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and such like) neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor of Reason; and draw one another off from considering of these things,-'which are very palpable things!' I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight,-a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our case abroad and at home, That our Being and Wellbeing,-our Wellbeing is not worth the naming comparatively,-I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad, That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want to maintain what is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if through our mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things-!-I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no other than what a foolish Book expresseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Independency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing but an "orderly confusion!" And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits,-I speak of men going about who cannot tell what they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others-! (An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?)

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration,-and I profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still unsatisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home,-who from the beginning of our Peace to this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. And I say, if this be so the truth,-I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! (Yea!) And give you one heart and mind to carry on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so,-should you meet to-morrow, and accord in all things tending to your preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' for your delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you!-

We have now had Six Years of Peace, and have had an interruption of Ten Years War. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? (Hah!) Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall we, listen to delusions to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in this world! (Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.)-I wonder how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! (What a tone!) Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this Nation;-not to pretend to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! (As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be Supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!) Really, pretend what we will, if you run into another flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things, and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And may look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whoever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth, as I remember: "Mark such as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, under any pretence whatsoever!-

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did it. I am not ashamed of it at any time, (Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!)-especially when I meet with men of such consideration as you. There you have one verse which I forgot. "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." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War,-having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed if we return again to "folly," let every man consider, If it be not like turning to destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread down everything that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we have been saying-(The sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has not got quite round into the negative side)-and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace,-it will be said of this poor Nation, Actum est de Anglia, 'It is all over with England!'

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and am able, I shall be ready-

Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tarbarrels, can call in its Nell-Gwyn Defender of the Faith,-and make out a very notable Two Hundred Years under his guidance; and, finding itself now nearly got to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. He is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.)

-I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath (In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last) to govern "according to the Laws" that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. (Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think;-with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place!" Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.) I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied, in my eye, in the Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall,-I must!-see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this Government!-(And mean to continue administering it withal)-And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say but to pray, God Almighty bless you.