

# THE LEVELLER TRACTS PROJECT

## *An Anthology of Leveller "Agreements"* (1647-1649)

AN <sup>23</sup>  
**AGREEMENT**  
OF THE  
Free People of England.  
Tendered as a *Peace-Offering* to  
this distressed *Nation*.

BY  
Lieutenant Colonel *John Lilburne*, Master *William Walwyn*, Master *Thomas Prince*, and Master *Richard Overton*, Prisoners in the Tower of London, *May* the 1. 1649.

*Matth. 5. verse 9. Blessed are the Peace-makers for they shall be called the children of God.*



A Preparative to all sorts of people.

**I**F afflictions make men wise, and wisdom direct to happiness, then certainly this Nation is not far from such a degree thereof, as may compare it not far from any part of the world: having five hundred years by-past, drunk deep of the Cup of misery and sorrow. We bless God our consciences are clear from adding affliction to affliction, having ever laboured from the beginning, of our publick distractions, to compose and reconcile them & should esteem it the Crown of all our joyfull felicity that yet we might be instrumentall in procuring the peace and prosperity of this Common-wealth the land of our Nativity. And therefore according to our promise in our late *Manifestation* of the 14 of *April* 1649. (being perswaded of the necessity and justness thereof) as a *Peace-Offering* to the Free-people of this Nation, we tender this ensuing Agreement, not following any more effectual means to procure relief to all our sorrows and troubles.

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*An Anthology of Leveller "Agreements" (1647-1649)*. Edited by David M. Hart (Pittwater Free Press, 2024).

These pamphlets/tracts are part of a collection of [Leveller Tracts](#).

### Editor's Note

The page numbers refer to the page numbering in the original pamphlet. Sometimes page numbers were missing or there were duplicates. On many occasions the text in the margin notes is unreadable as a result of poor scanning of the original.

### *Editor's Introduction*

To make this edition useful to scholars and to make it more readable, I have done the following:

1. inserted and highlighted the page numbers of the original edition
  2. not split a word if it has been hyphenated across a new line or page (this will assist in making word searches)
  3. added unique paragraph IDs (which are used in the "citation tool" which is part of the "enhanced HTML" version of this text)
  4. retained the spaces which separate sections of the text
  5. created a "blocktext" for large quotations
  6. moved the Table of Contents to the beginning of the text
  7. placed the footnotes at the end of the book
  8. reformatted margin notes to float within the paragraph
  9. inserted Greek and Hebrew words as images
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1. [Several Hands], *An Agreement of the People for a Firme and Present Peace, Upon Grounds of Common-Right and Freedome* (3 November 1647).

"The First Agreement of the People" [↩](#)

AN  
AGREEMENT  
OF THE  
PEOPLE

FOR  
A firme and present Peace, upon  
grounds of common-right and free-  
dome;

As it was proposed by the Agents of the five  
Regiments of Horse; and since by the generall approba-  
tion of the Army, offered to the joynt concur-  
rence of all the free COMMONS of  
ENGLAND.

The Names of the Regiments which have already appeared for the  
Case, of *The Case of the Army truly stated*, and for this  
present Agreement, VIZ.

1. Gen. Regiment.	} Of Horse	1. Gen. Regiment.	} Of Foot
2. Life-Guard.		2. Col. Sir Hardresse	
3. Lieut. Gen. Regiment.		Waller's Reg.	
4. Com. Gen. Regiment.		3. Col. Lamberts Reg.	
5. Col. Whaley's Reg.		4. Col. Rainsborough's	
6. Col. Riches Reg.		Regiment.	
7. Col. Fleetwoods Reg.		5. Col. Overtons Reg.	
8. Col. Harrison's Reg.		6. Col. Lilburns Reg.	
9. Col. Twissdins Reg.		7. Col. Backsters Reg.	

Nov: 3 Printed Anno Dom. 1647.

**Title ID:** T.115 [1647.11.03] [Several Hands], *An Agreement of the People for a firme and present Peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedome* (3 November 1647). "The First Agreement of the People".

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*Full title*

[Several Hands], *An Agreement of the People for a firme and present Peace, upon grounds of common-right and freedome; As it was proposed by the Agents of the five Regiments of Horse; and since by the generall approbation of the Army, offered to the joynt concurrence of all the free Commons of England. The Names of the Regiments which have already appeared for the Case, of The Case of the Army truly stated, and for this present*

*Agreement, viz.*

Of Horse: 1. Gen. Regiment, 2. Life-Guard, 3. Lieut.Gen. Regiment, 4. Com.Gen. Regiment, 5. Col. Whaley's Reg., 6. Col. Riches Reg., 7. Col. Fleetwoods Reg., 8. Col. Harrisons Reg., 9. Col. Twisdens Reg.

Of Foot: 1. Gen. Regiment, 2. Col. Sir Hardrosse Wallers Reg., 3. Col. Rainsboroughs Regiment, 5. Col. Overtons Reg., 6 Col. Lilburnes Reg., 7. Col. Backsters Reg.

Printed Anno. Dom. 1647.

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[1]

*An agreement of the People, for a firme and present Peace, upon grounds of Common-Rights.*

Having by our late labours and hazards made it appeare to the world at how high a rate wee value our just freedome, and God having so far owned our cause, as to deliver the Enemies thereof into our hands: We do now hold our selves bound in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future, to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargable remedy of another war: for as it cannot be imagined that so many of our Country-men would have opposed us in this quarrel, if they had understood their owne good; so may we safely promise to our selves, that when our Common Rights and liberties shall be cleared, their endeavours will be disappointed, that seek to make themselves our [2] Masters: since therefore our former oppressions, and scarce yet ended troubles have beene occasioned, either by want of frequent Nationall meetings in Councell, or by rendring those meetings ineffectuall; We are fully agreed and resolved, to provide that hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for the time, nor made uselesse to the ends for which they are intended: In order whereunto we declare,

*I.*

That the People of England being at this day very unequally distributed by Counties, Cities, & Burroughs, for the election of their Deputies in Parliament, ought to be more indifferently proportioned, according to the number of the Inhabitants: the circumstances whereof, for number, place, and manner, are to be set down before the end of this present Parliament.

*II.*

That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present Parliament be dissolved upon the last day of [3] September, which shall be in the year of our Lord, 1648.

*III.*

That the People do of course chuse themselves a Parliament once in two yeares, viz. upon the first Thursday in every 2d. March, after the manner as shall be prescribed before the end of this Parliament, to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in Aprill following at Westminster, or such other place as shall bee appointed from time to time by the preceding Representatives; and to continue till the last day of September, then next ensuing, and no longer.

*IV.*

That the power of this, and all future Representatives of this Nation, is inferiour only to theirs who chuse them, and doth extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons; to the enacting, altering, and repealing of Lawes; to the erecting and abolishing of Offices and Courts; to the appointing, removing, and calling to account Magistrates, and Officers of all degrees; to the making War and peace, to the treating with [4] forraign States: And generally, to whatsoever is not expresly, or impliedly reserved by the represented to themselves.

*Which are as followeth,*

1. THat matters of Religion, and the wayes of Gods Worship, are not at all intrusted by us to any humane power, because therein wee cannot remit or exceed a tittle of what our Consciences dictate to be the mind of God, without wilfull sinne: neverthelesse the publike way of instructing the Nation (so it be not compulsive) is referred to their discretion.

2. That the matter of impresting and constraining any of us to serve in the warres, is against our freedome; and therefore we do not allow it in our Representatives; the rather, because money (the sinews of war) being alwayes at their disposall, they can never want numbers of men, apt enough to engage in any just cause.

3. That after the dissolution of this present Parliament, no person be at any time questioned for anything said or done, in reference[5] to the late publike differences, otherwise then in execution of the Judgments of the present Representatives, or House of Commons.

4. That in all Laws made, or to be made, every person may be bound alike, and that no Tenure, Estate, Charter, Degree, Birth, or place, do confer any exemption from the ordinary Course of Legall proceedings, whereunto others arc subjected.

5. That as the Laws ought to be equall, so they must be good, and not evidently destructive to the safety and well-being of the people.

*THese things we declare to be our native Rights, and therefore are agreed and resolved to maintain them with our utmost possibilities, against all opposition whatsoever, being compelled thereunto, not only by the examples of our Ancestors, whose bloud was often spent in vain for the recovery of their Freedomes, suffering themselves, through fradulent [6] accommodations, to be still deluded of the fruit of their Victories, but also by our own wofull experience, who having long expected, & dearly earned the establishment of these certain rules of Government are yet made to depend for the settlement of our Peace and Freedoms, upon him that intended our bondage, and brought a cruell Warre upon us.*

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[7]

***For the noble and highly honoured the Free-born People of ENGLAND, in their respective Counties and Divisions, these.***

*Deare Country-men, and fellow-Commoners,*

For your sakes, our friends, estates and lives, have not been deare to us; for your safety and freedom we have cheerfully indured hard Labours and run most desperate hazards, and in comparison to your peace and freedome we neither doe nor ever shall value our dearest bloud and wee professe, our bowells are and have been troubled, and our hearts pained within us, in seeing & considering that you have been so long bereaved of these fruites and ends of all our labours and hazards, wee cannot but sympathize with you in your miseries and oppressions. It's greife and vexation of heart to us; to receive your meate or moneyes, whilst you have no advantage, nor yet the foundations of your peace and freedom surely layd: and therefore upon most serious considerations, that your principall right most essentiall to your well-being is the clearnes, certaintie, sufficiencie and freedom of your power in your representatives in Parliament, and considering that the original of most of your oppressions &



miseries hath been either from the obscuritie and doubtfulness of the power you have committed to your representatives in your elections, or from the want of courage in those whom you have betruſted to claime and exercise their power, which might probably proceed from their uncertaintie of your assistance and maintenance of their power, and minding that for this right of yours and ours we engaged our lives; for the King raised the warre against you and your Parliament, upon this ground, that hee would not suffer your representatives to provide for your peace safetie and freedom that were then in danger, by disposing of the *Militia* and otherwise, according to their trust; and for the maintenance and defense of that power and right of yours, wee hazarded all that was deare to us, and God hath borne witnesse to the justice [8] of our Cause. And further minding that the only effectual meanes to settle a just and lasting peace, to obtaine remedie for all your greivances, & to prevent future oppressions, is the making clear & secure the power that you betrust to your representatives in Parliament, that they may know their trust, in the faithfull execution whereof you wil assist them. Upon all these grounds, we propound your joyning with us in the agreement herewith sent unto you; that by vertue thereof, we may have Parliaments certainly cal'd and have the time of their sitting & ending certain & their power or trust cleare and unquestionable, that hereafter they may remove your burdens, & secure your rights, without oppositions or obstructions, & that the foundations of your peace may be so free from uncertainty, that there may be no grounds for future quarrels, or contentions to occasion warre and blood-shed; & wee desire you would consider, that as these things wherein we offer to agree with you, are the fruites & ends of the Victories which God hath given us: so the settlement of these are the most absolute meanes to preserve you & your Posterity, from slavery, oppression, distraction, & trouble; by this, those whom your selves shall chuse, shall have power to restore you to, and secur you in, all your rights; & they shall be in a capacity to tast of subjection, as well as rule, & so shall be equally concerned with your selves, in all they do. For they must equally suffer with you under any common burdens, & partake with you in any freedoms; & by this they shal be disinabled to defraud or wrong you, when the lawes shall bind all alike, without priviledge or exemption; & by this your Consciences shall be free from tyrannie & oppression, & those occasions of endlesse strifes, & bloody warres, shall be perfectly removed: without controversie by your joyning with us in this Agreement, all your particular & common grievances will be redressed forthwith without delay; the Parliament must then make your reliefe and common good their only study.

Now because we are earnestly desirous of the peace and good of all our Country-men, even of those that have opposed us, and would to our utmost possibility provide for perfect peace and freedome, & prevent all suites, debates, & contentions that may happen amongst you, in relation to the late war: we have therefore inserted it into this Agreement, that no person shall be questionable for any thing done, in relation to the late publike [9] differences, after the dissolution of this present Parliament, further then in execution of their judgment; that thereby all may be secure from all sufferings for what they have done, & not liable hereafter to be troubled or punished by the judgment of another Parliament, which may be to their ruine, unlesse this Agreement be joyned in, whereby any acts of indempnity or oblivion shalbe made unalterable, and you and your posterities be secure.

*But if any shall enquire why we should desire to joyn in an Agreement with the people, to declare these to be our native Rights, & not rather petition to the Parliament for them; the reason is evident: No Act of Parliament is or can be unalterable, and so cannot be sufficient security, to save you or us harmlesse, from what another Parliament may determine, if it should be corrupted; and besides Parliaments are to receive the extent of their power, and trust from those that betrust them; and therefore the people are to declare what their power and trust is, which is the intent of this Agreement; and its to be observed, that though there hath formerly been many Acts of Parliament, for the calling of Parliaments every year, yet you have been deprived of them, and inslaved through want of them; and therefore both*

*necessity for your security in these freedoms, that are essentiall to your well-being, and wofull experience of the manifold miseries and distractions that have been lengthened out since the war ended, through want of such a settlement, requires this Agreement and when you and we shall be joyned together therein, we shall readily joyn with you, to petition the Parliament, as they are our fellow Commoners equally concerned, to joyn with us.*

*And if any shall inquire. Why we undertake to offer this Agreement, we must professe, we are sensible that you have been so often deceived with Declarations and Remonstrances, and fed with vain hopes that you have sufficient reason to abandon all confidence in any persons whatsoever, from whom you have no other security of their intending your freedome, then bare Declaration: And therefore, as our consciences witness, that in simplicity and integrity of heart, we have proposed lately in the Case of the Army stated, your freedome and deliverance from slavery, oppression, and all burdens: so we desire to give you satisfying assurance thereof by this Agreement wherby the foundations of your freedoms provided in the Case, &c. shall be setted unalterably, if we shall as faithfully proceed to, and all other most [10] vigorous actings for your good that God shall direct and enable us unto; And though the malice of our enemies, and such as they delude, would blast us by scandalls, aspersing us with designes of Anarchy, and community, yet we hope the righteous God will not onely by this our present desire of settling an equall just Government, but also by directing us unto all righteous undertakings, simply for publike good, make our uprightnesse and faithfulness to the interest of all our Countrey men, shine forth so clearly, that malice it selfe shall be silenced, and confounded. We question not, but the longing expectation of a firme peace, will incite you to the most speedy joyning in this Agreement: in the prosecution whereof, or of any thing that you shall desire for publike good, you may be confident, you shall never want the assistance of*

Your most faithfull fellow-Commoners, now in Armes for your service.

Edmond Bear } Lieut. Gen. Regiment.

Robert Everard }

George Garret } Com. Gen. Regiment.

Thomas beverley }

William Pryor } Col. Fleetwoods Regiment.

William Bryan }

Matthew Weale } Col. Whalies Regiment.

William Russell }

John Dover } Col. Riches Regiment.

William Hudson. }

Agents coming from other Regiments unto us, have subscribed the Agreement to be proposed to their respective Regiments, and you.

[11]

***For Our much honoured, and truly worthy Fellow-Commoners, and Souldiers, the Officers and Souldiers under Command of His Excellencie Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX.***

*Gentlemen and Fellow Souldiers;*

The deepe sense of many dangers and mischiefes that may befall you in relation to the late War, whensoever this Parliament shall end, unlesse sufficient prevention be now provided, hath constrained Us to study the most absolute & certain means for your security; and upon most serious considerations, we judge that no Act of Indempnity can sufficiently

provide for your quiet, ease, and safety; because, as it hath formerly been, a corrupt Party (chosen into the next Parliament by your Enemies meanes) may possibly surprize the house, and make any Act of Indemnity null, seeing they cannot faile of the Kings Assistance and concurrence, in any such actings against you, that conquered him.

And by the same meanes, your freedome from impressing also, may in a short time be taken from you, though for the present, it should be granted; wee apprehend no other security, by which you shall be saved harmlesse, for what you have done in the late warre, then a mutuall Agreement between the people & you, that no person shall be questioned by any Authority whatsoever, for any thing done in relation to the late publike differences, after the dissolution of the present house of Commons, further then in execution of their judgment; and that your native freedome from constraint to serve in warre, whether domestick or forraign, shall never be subject [12] to the power of Parliaments, or any other; and for this end, we propound the Agreement that we herewith send to you, to be forthwith subscribed.

And because we are confident, that in judgment and Conscience, ye hazarded your lives for the settlement of such a just and equall Government, that you and your posterities, and all the free borne people of this Nation might enjoy justice & freedome, and that you are really sensible that the distractions, oppressions, and miseries of the Nation, and your want of your Arrears, do proceed from the want of the establishment, both of such certain rules of just Government, and foundations of peace, as are the price of bloud, and the expected fruites of all the peoples cost: Therefore in this Agreement wee have inserted the certaine Rules of equall Government, under which the Nation may enjoy all its Rights and Freedomes securely; And as we doubt not but your love to the freedome and lasting peace of the yet distracted Country will cause you to joyn together in this Agreement.

So we question not: but every true English man that loves the peace and freedome of England will concurre with us; and then your Arrears and constant pay (while you continue in Armes) will certainly be brought in out of the abundant love of the people to you, and then shall the mouthes of those be stopped, that scandalize you and us, as endeavouring Anarchy, or to rule by the sword; & then will so firm an union be made between the people and you, that neither any homebred or forraigne Enemies will dare to disturbe our happy peace. We shall adde no more but this; that the knowledge of your union in laying this foundation of peace, this Agreement, is much longed for, by

*Yours, and the Peoples most faithfull Servants.*

[13]

*Postscript.*

*GENTLEMEN.*

WE desire you may understand the reason of our extracting some principles of common freedome out of those many things proposed to you in the Case truly stated, and drawing them up into the forme of an Agreement. Its chiefly because for these things wee first ingaged gainst the King, He would not permit the peoples Representatives to provide for the Nations safety, by disposing of the Militia, and otherwayes, according to their Trust, but raised a Warre against them, and we ingaged for the defence of that power, and right of the people, in their Representatives. Therefore these things in the Agreement, the people are to claime as their native right, and price of their bloud, which you are obliged absolutely to procure for them.

And these being the foundations of freedom, its necessary, that they should be settled unalterably, which can be by no meanes, but this Agreement with the people.

And we cannot but mind you, that the ease of the people in all their Grievances, depends upon the settling those principles or rules of equal Government for a free people, & were but this Agreement established, doubtlesse all the Grievances of the Army and people would be redressed immediately, and all things propounded in your Case truly stated to be insisted on, would be forthwith granted.

Then should the House of Commons have power to helpe the oppressed people, which they are now bereaved of by the chiefe Oppressors, and then they shall be equally concerned with you and all the people, in the settlement of the most perfect freedome: for they shall [14] equally suffer with you under any Burdens, or partake in any Freedome. We shall onely adde, that the summe of all the Agreement which we herewith offer to you, is but in order to the fulfilling of our Declaration of Iune the 14. wherein we promised to the people, that we would with our lives vindicate and cleare their right and power in their Parliaments.

Edmond Bear } Lieut. Gen. Reg.  
Robert Everard }

George Garret } Com. Gen. Reg.  
Thomas Beverley }

William Pryor } Col. Fleetwood Reg.  
William Bryan }

Matthew Wealey } Col. Whaley Reg.  
William Russell }

John Dober } Col. Rich Reg.  
William Hudson }

Agents coming from other Regiments unto us, have subscribed the Agreement, to be proposed to their respective Regiments and you.

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2. [Several Hands], *The Armies Petition: Or a New Engagement* (3 May 1648) [↶](#)

No image  
available

**Title ID:** T.327 [1648.05.03] [Several Hands], *The Armies Petition: Or a New Engagement of Many in the Army* (3 May 1648).

**Estimated Date of Publication:** 3 May 1648.

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*Full title*

The Armies petition: or A nevv engagement of many in the Army, vvho are yet faithfull to the people: being a perfect relation of the late proceedings of the agents of divers regiments of horse : with the manner of their imprisonment, by some officers; with the petition of Col. Riches regiment to the generall for the release of their agents.

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[1]

*The Armies Petition: OR A NEW ENGAGEMENT Of many in the ARMY,*

*Who are yet faithfull to the PEOPLE: Being a perfect Relation of the Late Proceedings of the Agents of divers Regiments of Horse: With the manner of their imprisonment, by some Officers; with the PETITION of Col. Riches Regiment to the Generall for the Release of their Agents.*

May 3<sup>d</sup> 1648

Countrey-men,

LEast you should be weary with inquiring, who will shew you any good? I have expended some time to search out an Answer: but I cannot but first justifie you in your mournfull plaint, and I could bemoane your unhappy fate in depending upon false friends: your hopes were once raised by the Parliaments promises to deliver you from an Arbitrary Government, and to secure [2] your native Freedome, and to study alwayes to encrease your happinesse; and your expectations I know were bigge when you had conquered the Common Enemy: but the Warre being ended, their promises appeared to be but wind, and their fruit to you was but a whirl-wind, your Government was then by no other rule then the wills of men; Parliament Committees, and Countrey Committees were your absolute Lords, and your burthens were doubled and trebled, and no other use was made of this opportunity put into the Parliaments hands then to continue themselves sitting at *Westminster*, and to divide your Treasure amongst themselves; as for your freedome, it was made a crime almost to name it, your very Petitions were burned, and Petitioners imprisoned.

In this extremity the Army interposed in *June* last to redeeme you from your intended Vassalage, they gallantly challenged your Freedome as your due, and the price of their bloud; they promised to see your Liberty cleared and secured according to the Parliaments Declarations, and solemnly engaged to you, and each to other on *June* 5. 1647. not to Disband untill they had sufficient security for your freedome; but alas, how hath pride, covetousnesse, ambition, or affectation of an absolute Dominion, blasted all the promising buds of those faire engagements! how is your hopefull remedy the Army become an aggravation of your slavery, they have made your yoaks heavier, and your burthens more grievous.

But Countrey-men, Let not your hearts faile you, suppose not the whole Army to conspire in your slavery; take an impartiall view of all passages since the Armies first Engagement at *Newmarket*, on *June* 5. 1647. and learne to distinguish between your friends, and your oppressors.

You must understand that some private Soldiers in the severall Regiments, which engaged in the late Warre, conscientiously for your *freedom*, were the sole actors which engaged the whole Souldiery to stand unanimously to vindicate your native Freedoms, these were called *Agitators*. The grand Officers opposed the Souldiers first Petition, as long as it was for their advantage, and never concurred with them untill all danger was past; but having interested themselves in the same Cause, although they solemnly engaged, that all things [3] should be done by a Councell constituted of two Officers and two Souldiers to be chosen by every Regiment, yet their spirits could not beare any Co-partners with them in power, and therefore they first discouraged the *Agitators* as meddling with matters which did not concern them, then they questioned their power, by whom indeed themselves were settled in the power they had; and then they introduced all Officers into the Councils, when there was Councils, and at last, they quite dissolved the Councell, and some few (if not one alone) drew up a

short Declaration contrary to their first Engagement, and would have enforced all at the Rendezvous at *Ware* and *Kingstone* to subscribe it; so that by the Grand Officers wresting all power out of the *Agitators* hands, this settlement of your Freedoms, and the removall of your grievances hath been prevented; yet the same honest Souldiers in *November* last, attempted the same settlement as at first, but the Grand Officers imprisoned the *Agents*, and threatned them all with death.

Yet so restlesse are the spirits of the honest Souldiers, and so deare is the Freedom of their Countrey to them, that the Officers threatnings of death cannot daunt them, and therefore they have been and are again endeavouring to fulfill their first Engagements, and to prevent obstructions, they resolved to proceed in the most humble way of Petitioning, and to that purpose, drew that Petition which you may hereafter read in this Paper; having prepared their Petition, they desired a meeting of some Souldiers of severall Regiments of Horse, to consider of the most speedy way to offer the Petition to all the Souldiers for their Subscriptions, accordingly some met at *S. Allians* about the 24 of *April*, and Collonell *Riches* Regiment chose one of every Troop to meet there and give them an account of their proceedings, but being met together, *Cap. Brown*, *Cap. Cladman*, *Cap. Packer*, and other Officers rushed violently into the place, where they were met, and imprisoned all their persons, and carried them to *Windsor*, where they remaine Prisoners.

Now yee people of *England*, whether these Prisoners be your friends, I referre to your own judgements, let the Petition which they were promoting, and joyning in with the Eastern Association, let that speak for them.

The true Coppy thereof here follows.

[4]

*To the honourable the Commons of England assembled in Parliament.*

*The humble Petition of many Officers and Souldier in the Army.*

Sheweth,

THat first we engaged in Iudgement and conscience, to oppose the King in assuming to himselfe a power Superiour to yours, declaring all your Orders to be void and nul without his consent, in his clayming an absolute power over the *Militia*, and in his endeavours to make the Government wholly Arbitray, and himselfe unaccountable; and you for your parts were engaged to restore us to our native Freedomes, if God gave good successe to that war, that when the common enemy was subdued they should thirst after our native Freedoms, prevailed with us to concurr with you in a new engagement, in opposition to a potent party in the house which invaded our liberties, and endeavoured to perpetuate this Parl, and inslave us againe to Arbitrary power; and you were pleased then to give us hopes by divers Votes, that the happy ends of our former and latter Engagements should be made good to us, and the whole Nation; that neverthelesse we see the oppressions of the people as far from being removed or lessened, as if our ransome cost no blood, and yet we find our selves to be rendred the burthen and disturbers of the Nation, by the daily out cryes against us for not standing up for lustice and Freedome, according to your and our promises and Declarations; and although we doe gratefully acknowledge these hopefull Votes that no more addresses should be made to, nor received from the King; yet hitherto we see no Iustice or common freedom hath followed those Votes: that the sence of our duty to the Country, and that feare of compulsion which threatens the Common Wealth through the generall discontent of the people provokes us to sollicite in their behalves: that the engagements first and last, and the many pretences of this house to make the Nation free, may at last be fulfilled and performed; We humbly represent our former desires with a more full explanation of our intention therein.

As first that a period of time be prefixed when the Parliament shall certainly end. 2. That of course every second yeare there be a free and equall election of representatives by the people, to make their Lawes free without obstructions or interruptions, by the pretences of any man whomsoever, to a negative voice or check upon them: that so no English man may be bound but by his representatives without which there is no freedom. 3. That [5] there be a known and certain rule between the people and their representatives that are chosen and intrusted with that supream power of making Lawes; as first, that the time of their continuance of trust be certaine, and that their meeting be dissolved of course at some prefixed period of time. And 2. that it be declared, that their power extends not to inforce and compell the consciences of any in the matter of Gods worship: wherein none can without wilfull sin consent, remit, orexceed one title what their consciences dictates to them to be the will of God. 3. That their power extends not to presse or inforce any mans person to serve in War. And 4. that it be declared to be intended by the people in their trust, that all Laws to be made by them may be equall and alike, binding unto every English man, without respect to Birth, Tennor, Pattennt, Place, Office or any other pretended priviledge, and that they shall not make such Laws as shall be clearely and evidently destructive to their lives, properties, and liberties. And 5. that for security of all persons engaged in the publick difference since 1640. It be declared that no representatives of the people after the end of this present Parliament shall have power to intermeddle with those matters of publique difference; otherwise then in execution of their judgement: And we desire that this rule between the people and the representarives, may be inserted into a contract to be sealed between the people and all their representatives, upon the dayes of their severall elections respectively; and that all the foregoing particulars being essentiall to freedome, may be settled by an Agreement among the people.

4. That there be a regulated course of justice settled, and all arbitrary powers abolished as farre as may be.

5. That all dangerous Presidents of preventing the people from, and imprisoning of, and declaring them as enemies to the State, for petitioning may be taken away, and that undoubted right of theirs publickly cleared. 6. That accounts be given to the people of their disbursments of the velle Summes of money leavied and paid; and that hence forth all publick charges be exactly computed, and only monies proportionable leavied, and that the accounts be open to the view of all men, and frequently published: 7 That all Prisoners according to the intent of the Law be brought to a speedy hearing, and just triall. And that such as are unjustly imprisoned may with their liberties have due reparations. 8. That the antient and almost antiquated badge of slavery, that is, all base Tenures of Lands, as by Copyes and Fines at will, by oathes of fealty, homage &c. (the Conquerours brand upon the people) may be taken away, and to that end, that a proportionable value be set, at which the Possessours of Land so holden, may purchase themselves free-holders, which if not willing, or not able to doe, that then after a prefixed period of time, all such duties and services may descend into, and from that time become a certaine rent, that by this meanes persons disaffected to the welfare and freedom of the Nation may be prevented [6] from drawing men to a War against themselves, by vertue of an awe upon them by such dependant Tenures.

These things we humbly pray may be done, se led, and provided forthwith, that so speedy proceedings may be made to redresse the other common grievances of the prople; that our Lawes and all proceedings therein may be in English, and the innumerable abuses thereof remedied, and the places for ministration of justice and justice it selfe may no longer be bought and sold, that Monopolies may be abolished and care taken to renew the decayed trade of the Nation, that the poor may be provided for, and none suffered to beg their bread; that publick debts may be computed and put into some probable way of being satisfied; the burthens of tythes, excise, and whatsoever else is justly grievous may be removed: And



unlesse these prudent foundations of freedom and just Government m•y re•st•••••shed, we conceive that neither you nor we can satisfie our consciences, that so much blood hath been shed in the prosecution thereof, or in continuing an Army, who contrary to their own desire are constrained to live upon the labours of others for nought, and therefore desire that sufficient indemnity may be provided for all o••••••• engagements whatsoever, with either Parliament or Army, in all things done in order to our utmost prosecution thereof; that accounts may be justly stated, that some considerable part of the Souldiers arreares may be given them, and good security for the remainder; and that we may be discharged from this present employment, either to returne quietly to our severall callings, if we can beare the yoake of our slavery, or otherwise to depart the Nation, to seek our freedome in some wilderness.

The imprisonment of the Agents for preparing this Petition, much affected the Soldiery of Col. *Riches* Regiment, and with all speed they framed a Petition to the Generall for the release of their Agents. The Copy thereof here followeth

*To his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax Captain Generall of the Forces under the Command of the Parliament.*

*The humble Petition of the Souldiers of Colonel Rich his Regiment,*

Sheweth,

THat as in Iudgement and conscience, we first engaged in the late warre, for our Native rights and freedoms, so likewise upon the same account, we refused to Disband, and entrea••••• a solemne Engagement at *New. Market*, when our freedoms were invaded, and the fundamentall right of Petitioning denied us.

That upon the same ground, after much patience in waiting for the securing our commer. Rights according to the Engagement, we intrusted severall of our fellow Souldiers to meet with some of other Regiments at *S. Albans*, to give us an account of their proceedings.

That while they were proceeding in a most unquestionable just way of preparing a Petition, they were violently seized upon, and imprisoned, all which (if it were done by Order from your Excellency) we hope did proceed from a misunderstanding of our, and their meaning and intentions.

[7]

That our fellow Souldiers being employed by us as Agents in our behalfe, we esteeme our selves obliged both in conscience and honour to be Copartners with them in whatsoever condition they are, or shall be involved by reason of that imployment: and our resolutions are to adhere faithfully to them, in the vindication of their innocent intentions, in prosecuting our solemne Engagement, or to suffer equally with them.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray, that our said Agents now under restraint may be forthwith released, according to the present urgent necessities, and without further descanting delays, which have already made us odious to the people, we may all joyne together, and effectually endeavour to fulfill our first engagements to the people, and each to the other, by settling and securing the Nations common Rights and Freedomes.

And they shall pray &c.

The Regiment employed two Soldiers to present this Petition, and after the Grand Officers had long consulted, they called in the Messengers, and descanted strangely upon the Petition, and examined them upon Interogatories, *as who delivered it to them, and whom they see subscribe it;* but the messengers refused to betray their liberties in answering

Interrogatores, and told them they were employd by the Regiment to deliver the Petition and their Subscriptions wree annexed, and they had no other message, then they threatned them with death severally, but yet they said at last they would shew them mercy, and so released them.

Now Countrey-men, consider how deeply you are concerned in the imprisonment of these your friends, judge whether your Freedoms can ever be secured, unlesse the foregoing Petition be granted, and judge how desperate your condition is, if once your Liberty of Petitioning be lost, if it shall be a crime to meet and consider how to beg for your Right, unto what lower degree of slavery, can you be reduced? The Parliament have declared it, to be their duty to receive Petitions though against established Lawes: These are their words in their Declaration of *Sept. 2. 1642. 1. book Decla. p. 532. We acknowledge wee have received Petitions for the removeall of things established by Law, and we must say, and all that know what belong to the course and practice of Parliments, will say, that we ought to doe so, and the Liberty of Petitioning, being the lowest degree of freedom;* the invasion of that was the first occasion of the Armies refusall to disband, and engaging against *Hollis* his Faction; therefore I say again, consider whether necessity do not now require your speedy assistance of these your Friends, who have thus constantly endeavoured and hazarded themselves for your freedome; and observe good people, it is not the Souldiery that enslave you, but they are enslaved equally with you, they are denyed the common right of petitioning, and for your sakes they suffer.

[8]

Object. But it will be objected that the grand Officers oppose not the Freedome, which the Souldiers thus prosecute, but the irregular maner of their prosecution of it.

Answ. Wherein can it be said they have been irregular, is it in Petitioning without their Officers; was there ever such a band upon the Souldiers, either by the *••••w* or Reason, that they should not Petition without their Officers? shall not the Souldiers begge for what they want, unlesse they please? but suppose there be some irregularity, in riding from one Regiment to another without licence from their Officers or disputing such Commands, yet who could have imagined that the Officers of this Army should dare to object it against the Souldiery: will not the necessity of such actings justifie the seeming irregularities; was not that all their plea in *Iune* last, when they were irregular in the highest degree, and rejoiced and applauded the Souldiers for their being irregular; and was it not upon the same ground that they opposed the Parliament, because they made an Order to suppress a Petition amongst the Souldery, and declared those Enemies to the State that promoted it, and though that Petition was promoted contrary to the Officers minds, and Col. *Rich* and others sent expresse Orders to suppress it, and though the Parliament proceeded not to imprison such as act about it; yet when they were interested in it, they declared, in their Representation of *Iune* 5. that that President of the Parliaments Order to suppress the Petition, if it should stand good, did tend in the consequence of it, to render all Souldiers under this Parliament the worst of slaves, and all subjects little better: and the like they declared in the Remonstr. of *Iune* 13. but besides, is it more irregular to dispute an Officers Command then to dispute the Parliaments Orders, and did not the Generall, and the Lievtenant Generall countenance the Souldiers, and approve them, when they resolved a Rendevous without the Generall, if he would not Order it, and were any of the Souldiers di••countenanced when they dismounted, beat and houted out of the field such Officers as would have obeyed the Parliaments Commands? and surely, none will say there is not now the same necessity to justifie these actings as was then; nay, is not the necessity farre greater? the Liberties of the people are neither cleared nor secured, the very right of Petitioning, is in a higher manner invaded, more are now imprisoned for Petitioning and meeting about Petitions, then ever since *England* stood, and not only the Parliament, but the Army is now so odious to the people for breaking

their first promises and engagements, that the people are ready to out the throats of all Souldiers without distinction, and the whole Nation is ready to perish with distractions and discontents through want of a settlement.

Now set all English men and all Souldiers consider, whether they may not bid adiew to Freedom, if they suffer their friends to want assistance in prosecuting their first Engagements. Col. *Riches* Regiment have been constrained to rescue some of their *Agents* from Prison, and therefore they expect now the immediate assistance of all honest men in every Regiment.

*FINIS.*



3. [Several Hands], *A New Engagement, or, Manifesto* (3 August 1648) [↗](#)

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available

**Title ID:** T.326 [1648.08.03] [Several Hands], *A New Engagement, or, Manifesto* (3 August 1648).

**Estimated Date of Publication:** 3 August 1648

**Thomason Tracts Catalogue Information:** TT1, p. 658. (669.f.12/97).

*Full title*

A New Engagement, or, Manifesto: Wherein is declared the sence and Resolution of many thousands of well-affected people in and about LONDON, and some adjacent Counties (viz. Kent. Hartford, Buckingham, and Berks, &c.) who seeing all present Authorities to be perverted from their naturall end, the Peoples Safety, are necessitated to invite all Faithfull Englishmen to put themselves into a Posture of Defending their own and Countries Liberties, and to labour for a speedy establishment of a Just and Equall Government.

Published at the desire of some honest and eminent persons, for the satisfaction of all that seek not the advancement of Parties and Factions, but desire the Peace and prosperitie of the Nation.

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## *A New Engagement, or, Manifesto*

THE freedom we were born to, is so justly due to every English man, that whosoever shall remember the vehemency wherewith the people did thirst after a Parliament before they had this; the zeal wherewith they contributed to the late War, for defence of this freedom, and the success wherewith it hath pleased God to bless those endeavours, will soon be satisfied, that there is no better cause in the world to engage upon. And therefore,

The cause we undertake at present, (for which we carry our lives in our hands) being the very same, will certainly need no Apology for it self; the only thing that may seem strange in these our actings being the irregular manner of prosecuting our un-doubted rights.

Herein we desire it may be considered, that all ordinary means, and some extraordinary have been already attempted, and after much patience proved altogether fruitless. That the Parliament hath made no other use of those many signal opportunities put into their hands, then to continue their sitting at *Westminster*, and dividing the publike treasure among themselves. That the chief Officers of the Army, though pretending to keep up the Forces under them, to see the same for the peoples good, accomplished in a short time; have yet made no other use of their power, then to continue and enlarge their own commands. That besides our being disap|pointed of the fruit so long expected, and being made more slaves every day then other, to Committees, and sundry other like arbitrary courses, even in the most legal proceedings we find so much corruption, tediousness, chargeableness and obscurity, practised and abetted by Officers of all sorts, that the Law it self is become no protection to us in our Properties or Liberties.

We find that barbarous course still maintained of imprisoning men for debt, thereby, hindering them from the use of their lawful callings, though they have nothing else wherewith to satisfie their Creditors, or to preserve themselves and their families from starving.

We find, that the restraining mens persons at pleasure, without cause rendred, and during pleasure, was never more frequent.

We find, That Tythes, whose beginning was superstitious, and is found by experience to oppress the poor husbandmen, to be vexations to all manner of people, and prejudicial to the Common-wealth, were never so rigorously and cruelly exacted as at this present.

We find Taxes to be so multiplied without number or hopes of end, and Excise so cruelly exacted, that no man knows what is, or what shall be his own: And although many millions of moneys have been levied and paid, both voluntarily and by compulsion, yet no accompt is given how they have been expended; but the publike debts are dayly increased, instead of being satisfied, and such vast sums of money paid dayly out of the publike treasury for interest, unto some rich Usurers, as is almost incredible.

We find the Trade of the nation (which the Parlia. at first promised to advance) to be so generally decayed, that without speedy remedy the nation cannot long subsist.

We find the poor to be wholly dis-regarded, and most oppressed, and thousands of families suffered to beg their bread, and many to perish with hunger.

But herein our condition hath been rendred most desperate; That we have not been suffered to Represent our Miseries to the Parliament, and Petition for Re|dress, but persons have been imprisoned for Petitioning, and Orders issued out from Parliament to suppress Petitions.

Considering therefore this deplorable estate of the Common-wealth, and the apparent danger of being imbroyled again each in others blood, unless a speedy settlement prevent it and considering not only that we have attempted all Regular ways, to procure relief for our long oppressed Country, but also that we cannot with safety any longer offer our grievances, and desires to the Parliament in Petitions; and likewise considering, that our slavery under Arbitrary powers, is occasioned by the want of a settlement of a just and equal Government, which, if it were established, would speedily ease us of all our common burthens; we cannot bethink our selves of a more probable remedy then to put our selves, and invite our Country-men to joyn with us in a posture of defence, whereby we may be secure from danger, and from being prevented of our good intentions by the opposition of such as have designed our slavery, while we propound to all our dear Country-men (who are sure to be concerned as much as though they were in office) some certain grounds of common Right and Freedom, wherein they and we might see reason to agree among our selves, and thereupon to establish a firm and present peace. The Particulars we offer are as followeth:

1. That a period of time be set wherein this present Parliament shal certainly end.

2. That the people be equally proportioned for the choyce of their Deputies in all future Parliaments, and that they do of course meet upon a certain day once at least in two years for that end.

3. That a Contract be drawn and sealed between the People and their several Deputies respectively, upon the day of their Election, wherein the bounds, limits and extent of their trust shall be clearly expressed. As that they be empowered with sufficient authority for enacting, altering and repealing of Laws; for erecting and abolishing Judicatories; for appointing, removing and calling to account of Magistrates and Officers of all degrees; for making War and Peace, and Treating with Forraign States. And that their power do not extend to the binding of any man in matters of Religion, or in the way of Gods Worship; nor to compel the person of any innocent man to serve against his will either by Sea or Land; nor to the making of any Law that shal be either evidently pernicious to the people, or not equally obligatory to all persons, without exception.

4. That for the security of all parties, which have acted on any side in the late publick differences since the year 1640. and for preventing all contentions amongst them, the people may agree amongst themselves, that no future Parliaments shall question or molest any person, for any thing said or done in reference to those publicke differences.

5. That the great Officers of the Kingdom as well Civill as Military, be often removed, and others put in their roomes, either every year or every second year at the farthest, to the end that the persons employed may discharge their places with the greater care when they know themselves lyable to a speedie account, and that other men may be encouraged to deserve preferment, when they see the present incumbents not affixed to their Offices as to free-holds.

6. That all determinating Committees (except such as are necessary to be kept up for the managing of Forces by Sea or Land) the Chancery with all other Arbitrary Courts, be forthwith dissolved, or at least all power taken from them, which they have hitherto exercised over mens persons or Estates, and that henceforward as well Ordinances as acts of Parliament be executed in the Ancient way of Tryalls by Juries.

7. That the huge volumes of Statute-Laws and Ordinances with the penalties therein imposed, as well corporall as pecuniarie, be well revised, and such onely left in force as shall be found fit for the Common-wealth, especially, that mens lives be more precious then formerly, and that lesser punishments then death, and more usefull to the publique be found out for small offences. That all Laws, Writs, Commissions, pleadings and records be in the

English tongue, and that proceedings be reduced to a more certain cheap and expeditious way then formerly. That no Fees at all be exacted of the people in Courts of justice, but that the publick Ministers of State be wholly maintained out of the publique Treasurie.

8. That Estates of all kinds reall and personall be made lyable to debts, but no imprisonment at all by way of punishment, nor in order to making that satisfaction, which possibly can never be made, but onely by way of securitie in order to a tryall for some criminall Fact, to be determined within some short and certain space of time, and that this power of restraining mens persons be very cauciously allowed, to which end the benefit of *Habeas Corpusses* to be in no case denied by those whom it concerns to grant them.

9. That Tythes be wholly taken away, the parishoner, from whence they are due, paying in lieu thereof to the State where they are not appropriate, and to the owner where they are, a moderate and certain rent charge out of his land. The Ministers to be maintained either by the voluntary contribution of such as desire to hear them, or else by some settled pensions out of the publike treasure.

10. That as speedy and as perfect an Accompt as may be, be given and published for the satisfaction of the people, how those vast sums of money have been disposed of that have been disbursed voluntarily and otherwise, since the beginning of these troubles.

11. That so soon as publike occasions will possibly permit, the imposition of Excise and all other Taxes upon the people be wholly taken away; and that in the mean time all care and diligence be used, in taking away those occasions, and in the husbandly managing of the publike purse, and to that end that a balance be made and declared of all publike revenues and expences; and that a course be taken for paying all publike debts and damages so far as may be; that the debts upon interest be discharged by sale of such lands and goods as are either properly belonging or any ways accrewed to the State, and that they be sold to the best advantage.

12. That there be no less care taken for the growing wealth of the Nation, consisting principally in trade, which being our strength and glory, ought by mitigating of the Customes, and by all other good means, to be cherished and encouraged.

13. That (though restoring peace and commerce be the surest way of providing for the poor) yet some more effectual course may be found out then hitherto hath been for setting those to work who are able, for bringing up of children to profitable employments, and for relieving such as are past their labor, especially such as became so in the service of their Country, during the late War.

14. That the affairs of Ireland be taken into a more serious consideration then heretofore, and that a peaceable way of reducing that Nation may be once endeavoured, and in case that succeed not, the War be prosecuted with that vigor and unanimity, as by Gods blessing, we may promise to our selves a speedy end of those troubles, a timely relief to many famishing families there, and better intend the affairs of England.

15. That all Monopolies and restraint of trade, under colour of any Companies, Fraternities, or otherwise be forthwith abolished.

16. That the Ancient and almost antiquated badge of slavery, *viz.* all base Tenures by Copies, Oaths of Fealty, Homage, Fines, at the will of the Lord, &c. (being the Conquerors marks upon the people) may be taken away; and to that end that a certain valuable rate be set, at which all possessors of Lands so holden, may purchase themselves Freeholders, and in case any shall not be willing or able, that there be a prefixed period of time after which all Services, Fines, Customes, &c. shall be changed into, and become a certain Rent, that so

perso is disaffected to the Freedom and welfare of the Nation, may not have that advantage upon the people, to draw them into a War against themselves upon any occasion, by vertue of an awe upon them in such dependent tenures.

Now considering that the settlement of the Nations Peace and Freedom hath been constantly declared by the Parliament to be their only end in engaging in the late War, and considering their many promises, solemn vows, and oaths made by them to the people to confirm them in the belief of their sincere intentions therein, we should hope to find no opposition from them in these our desires; but however we cannot but be confident that the Souldiery of the Army (who solemnly ingaged at Newmarket, in June last, to procure the same things in effect for the people which are here propounded) will so remember that solemn ingagement, as to shew their ready concurrence with us; And we hope it will be clear to them, that there is no other possible way to provide that sufficient Indempnity (the want whereof first occasioned their refusal to disband) then what is here propounded; neither that there is any other probable way to secure the Arrears of the Supernumeraries, who are disbanded, contrary to the solemn Ingagement, or of those continuing in Arms; And at least we cannot but promise our selves the assistance of all the Comlmons who are not either blinded by some self-interest, or ingaged to continue the present consuming distractions by vertue of some office or employment depending thereon.

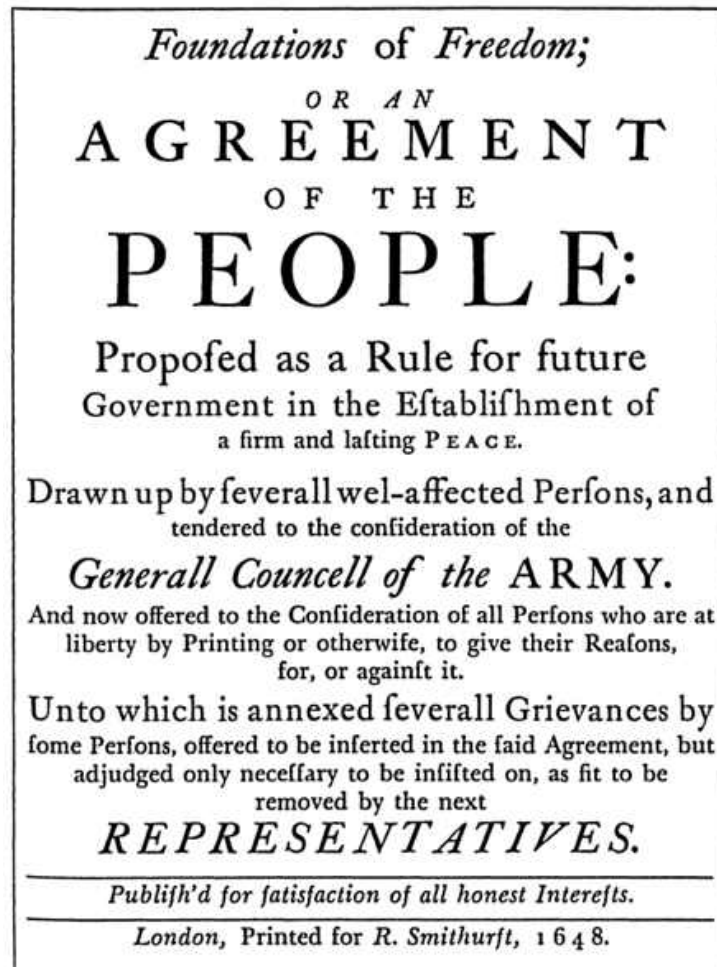
But however we intending wrong to no man, nor any private advantage to our selves, and the cause for which we appear being so clearly just, and of common concernment to all parties and honest interests, we repose our confidence in the most high God to protect us from the malice and rage both of all self-seeking ambitious men, who affect Lordliness and Tyranny, and have designed the Peoples slavery, and a perpetuation of their own rule; and of all such mercenary vassals as they shal hire to destroy us, and keep the yokes of slavery upon the Peoples necks; And we do hereby promise and ingage to all our Country-men, that whensoever the settlement of the Peace and Freedom herein propounded shal be effected (all delays wherein we shall to our utmost possibilities prevent) we shal gladly and cheerfully return to our private habitations and callings, enjoying only our equal share of Freedom with all others in the Nation.

Printed in the Year. MDCXLVIII.





4. [Several Hands], *Foundations of Freedom; Or An Agreement of the People* (15 December, 1648).  
"The Second Agreement of the People." ↩



**Title ID:** T.167 [1648.12.15] [John Lilburne], *Foundations of Freedom, Or An Agreement of the People* (15 December, 1648). "The Second Agreement of the People."

**Estimated Date of Publication:** 15 December, 1648.

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*Full title*

[Anon., sometimes attributed to Lilburne or Overton], *Foundations of Freedom, Or An Agreement of the People: Propofed as a Rule for future Government in the Establishment of a firm and lasting Peace. Drawn up by severall wel-affected Persons, and tendered to the consideration of the Generall Councell of the Army. And now offered to the Consideration of all Persons who are at liberty by Printing or otherwise, to give their Reasons, for, or against it. Unto which is annexed severall Grievances by some Persons, offered to be inserted in the said Agreement, but adjudged only necessary to be insisted on, as fit to be removed by the next Representatives.*

*Publish'd for satisfaction of all honest Interests.*

London, Printed for R. Smithurst, 1648.

[2]

*The Publisher to the Judicious Reader.*

Dear Countryman,

*This Agreement having had its conception for a common good, as being that which contains those Foundations of Freedom, and Rules of Government, adjudged necessary to be established in this Nation for the future, by which all sorts of men are to be bound, I adjudged it a just and reasonable thing to publish it to the view of the Nation, to the end that all men might have an opportunity to consider the Equity thereof, and offer their Reasons against any thing therein contained, before it be concluded; That being agreeable to that Principle which we profess, viz. to do unto you, as we would all men should do unto us; not doubting but that the Justice of it will be maintained and cleared, maugre the opposition of the stoutest Calumniator, especially in those clear points in the Reserve so much already controverted, viz. touching the Magistrates power to counsel or restrain in matters of Religion, and the exercise of an arbitrary power in the Representative, to punish men for state offences, against which no Law hath provided; which two things especially are so clear to my understanding, that I dare with confidence aver, That no man can demand the exercise of such a power, but he that intends to be a Tyrant, nor no man part with them, but he that resolves to be a slave. And so at present I rest,*

Friday, Decemb.

10. 1648.

Thy true-hearted  
Countryman.

[3]

**AN AGREEMENT Of the PEOPLE of ENGLAND,**

***And the places therewith INCORPORATED;  
For a firm and present PEACE, Vpon Grounds of Common Right and Freedom.***

HAVING by our late labors and hazards made it appear to the world, at how high a rate we value our just Freedoms, and God having so far owned our cause, as to deliver the enemies thereof into our hands, we do now hold our selves bound, in mutual duty to each other, to take [4] the best care we can for the future to avoid both the danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another War: For as it cannot be imagined that so many of our Countrymen would have opposed us in this quarrel, if they had understood their own good, so may we safely promise to our selves, that when our common Rights and Liberties shall be cleared, their endeavors will be disappointed, that seek to make themselves our Masters: Since therefore our former oppressions, and not yet ended troubles have been occasioned, either by want of frequent national meetings in Council, or by the undue or unequal constitution thereof, or by rendring those meetings ineffectual; we are fully agreed and resolved to provide, that hereafter our Representatives be neither left for uncertainty for time, nor be unequally constituted, nor made useless to the end for which they are intended.

In order whereunto we declare and agree,

1. That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in authority, this present Parliament be dissolved upon or before the last day of *April*, in the year of our Lord 1649.

2. That the people of *England* being at this day very unequally distributed, by Counties, Cities, or Burroughs for the election of their Representatives, be more in differently proportioned, and to this end, That the Representative of the whole Nation, shall consist of 300 Persons; and in each County, and the places thereto subjoyned, there shall be chosen to make up the said Representative at all times, the several numbers hereunder mentioned.

*viz.*

The County of <i>Kent</i> , with the City of <i>Rochester</i> , and the Burroughs, Town, and Parishes therein	11
The City of <i>Canterbury</i>	1
The County of <i>Sussex</i> , with the City, Burroughs Towns, and Parishes therein	7
The County Town of <i>Southampton</i>	1
The County of <i>Southampton</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	6
The County of <i>Dorset</i> , with the Town of <i>Pool</i> , and all other Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	6
The City of <i>Exeter</i>	2
The County of <i>Devon</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Plymouth</i>	11
The Town of <i>Plymouth</i>	1
The County of <i>Cornwal</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	6
The City of <i>Bristow</i>	2
The County of <i>Sommerset</i> , with the Cities of <i>Bath</i> and <i>Wells</i> , and the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Taunton</i>	8
The Town of <i>Taunton</i>	1
The City of <i>Salisbury</i>	1
The County of <i>Wilts</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	7
The County of <i>Berks</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Reading</i>	6
The Town of <i>Reading</i>	1
The County of <i>Surrey</i> , with all the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Southwark</i>	5
The Burrough of <i>Southwark</i>	2
The City of <i>London</i>	8
The City of <i>Westminster</i>	1
The County of <i>Middlesex</i> , with the Towns and Parishes therein	7
The County of <i>Hartford</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	8
The County of <i>Buckingham</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	8
The City of <i>Oxon</i>	1
The University of <i>Oxon</i>	1
The County of <i>Oxford</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	4
The City of <i>Glocester</i>	1

The County of <i>Glocester</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	7
The City of <i>Hereford</i>	1
The County of <i>Hereford</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	4
The City of <i>Worcester</i>	1
The County of <i>Worcester</i> , with the Towns, Burroughs, and Parishes therein	5
The City of <i>Coventry</i>	1
The County of <i>Warwick</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The Town of <i>Northampton</i>	1
The County of <i>Northampton</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The County of <i>Bedford</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The University of <i>Cambridg</i>	1
The Town of <i>Cambridg</i>	1
The County of <i>Cambridg</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	4
The County of <i>Essex</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Colchester</i>	10
The Town of <i>Colchester</i>	1
The County of <i>Suffolk</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Ipswich</i>	10
The Town of <i>Ipswich</i>	1
The City of <i>Norwich</i>	2
The County of <i>Norfolk</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	9
The County of <i>Lincoln</i> , with the City, Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	11
The County of <i>Rutland</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Huntington</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	3
The Burrough of <i>Leicester</i>	1
The County of <i>Leicester</i> , with other Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The County of <i>Nottingham</i> , with Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The County of <i>Darby</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	6
The County of <i>Stafford</i> , with the City of <i>Liechfield</i> , and the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The County of <i>Salop</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	5
The Town of <i>Shrewsbury</i>	1
The City of <i>Chester</i>	2
The County of <i>Chester</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	4
The County of <i>Lancaster</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	7
The City of <i>York</i>	2

The Town of <i>Kingston upon Hull</i>	1
The County of <i>York</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	13
The County of <i>Durham</i> , with the City of <i>Durham</i> , and the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	3
The Town of <i>Newcastle</i>	1
The Town of <i>Berwick</i>	1
The County of <i>Northumberland</i> , with the other Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Cumberland</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Westmerland</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Anglesley</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Brecknock</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Cardigan</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Carmarthen</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Carnarven</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Denbigh</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Flint</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Monmouth</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	3
The County of <i>Clamergan</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Merioneth</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Montgomery</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	2
The County of <i>Radnal</i> , with the Burroughs, and Parishes therein	1
The County of <i>Pembrooke</i>	1
In all	300

[7]

*The maner of Elections.*

1. THat the Electors in every Division, shall be Natives or Denizons of *England*, such as have subscribed this Agreement; not persons receiving Alms, but such as are assessed ordinarily towards the relief of the poor; not servants to, or receiving wages from any particular person. And in all Elections (except for the Universities) they shall be men of one and twenty years old, or upwards, and House-keepers, dwelling within the Division, for which the Election is; Provided, that until the end of seven yeers next ensuing the time herein limited, for the end of this present Parliament, no person shall be admitted to, or have any hand or voyce in such Elections, who have adhered to, or assisted the King against the Parliament in any of these Wars or Insurrections; or who shall make or joyn in, or abet[8] any forcible opposition against this Agreement; and that such as shall not subscribe it before the time limited, for the end of this Parliament, shall not have Vote in the next Election; neither, if they subscribe afterwards, shall they have any voyce in the Election next succeeding their subscription, unless their subscription were six months before the same.

2. That until the end of fourteen yeers, such persons, and such onely, may be elected for any Division, who by the rule aforesaid, are to have voyce in Elections in one place or other; Provided, that of those, none shall be eligible for the first or second Representatives, who have not voluntarily assisted the Parliament against the King, either in person before the fourteenth of *June*, 1645. or else in Mony, Plate, Horse, or Arms, lent upon the Propositions before the end of *May*, 1643. or who have joyned in, or abbetted the Treasonable Engagement in *London*, in the yeer 1647. or who declared or engaged themselves for a Cessation of Arms with the *Scots*, who Invaded the Nation the last Summer, or for compliyanse with the Actors in any the Insurrections of the same Summer, or with the Prince of *Wales*, or his accomplices in the revolted Fleet.

3. That whoever, being by the Rules in the two next preceding Articles incapable of Election, or to be elected, shall assume to Vote in, or be present at such Elections for the first or second Representative, or being elected, shall presume to sit or Vote in either of the said Representatives, shall incur the pain of confiscation of the moyety of his estate, to the use of the Publike, in case he have any estate visible, to the value of fifty pounds. And if he have not such an estate, then he shall incur the pain of imprisonment for three months. And if any person shall forcibly oppose, molest, or hinder the people (capable of electing as aforesaid) in their quiet and free Election of their Representatives; then each person so offending, shall incur the pain of confiscation of his whole estate, both real and personal; and if he have not an estate, to the value of fifty pound, shall suffer imprisonment, during one whole yeer, without bayl or mainprise. Provided, that the offender in each such case be convicted within three months, next after the committing of his offence.

[9]

4. That for the more convenient Election of *Representatives*, each County, with the severall places thereto conjoynd, wherein more then three *Representatives* are to be chosen, shall be divided by a due proportion into so many parts, as each part may elect two, and no part above three *Representatives*. And for the making of these Divisions, two persons be chosen in every Hundred, Lath, or Wapentake, by the People therein, (capable of electing as aforesaid) which People shall on the last Tuesday in February next between eleven and three of the Clock, be assembled together for that end at the chiefe Towne, or usuall meeting place in the same Hundred, Lath, or Wapentake; And that the persons in every Hundred, Lath or Wapentake so chosen, or the Major part of them, shall on the fourteenth day after their Election, meet at the Common Hall of the County-Towne, and divide the County into parts as aforesaid, and also appoint a certain place in each respective part or Division, wherein the People shall alwaies meet for the choice of their *Representatives*, and shall make Returnes of the said Divisions, and certain places of meeting therein, into the Parliament Records in writing under the hands and seales of the major part of them present: And also cause the same to be published in every Parish in the County before the end of March now next ensuing: And for the more equall Division of the City of *London*, for the choice of its *Representatives*, there shall one person be chosen by the People in every Parish in the said City (capable of Election as aforesaid) upon the last Tuesday in February aforesaid; on which day they shall assemble in each Parish for the same purpose, between two and four of the clock: And that the persons so chosen, or the major part of them, shall upon the fourteenth day after their Election, meet in the Guild Hall of the said City, and divide the same City into eight equall parts or Divisions, and appoint a certain place in every Division respectively, wherein the People of that Division shall alwaies meet for the choice of their *Representatives*, and shall make Returne thereof; and cause the[10] same to be published in the manner prescribed to the severall Counties, as in this Article.

5. That for the better provision for true and certain Returnes of persons elected, the chiefe publique Officer in every Division aforesaid, who shall be present at the beginning of the Election, and in absence of every such Officer, then any person eligible as aforesaid, whom the People at that time assembled shall choose for that end, shall regulate the Elections, and by Poll or otherwise clearly distinguish and judge thereof, and make true Returne thereof, in writing indented under the hands and seales of himselfe, and of six or more of the Electors, into the Parliaments Records, within one and twenty daies after the Election, and for default thereof, or for making any false Return, shall forfeit 100 l. to the publique use.

4. That one hundred and fifty Members at least be alwaies present in each sitting of the *Representatives*, at the passing of any Law, or doing of any Act whereby the People are to be bound.

5. That every *Representative* shall within twenty daies after their first meeting, appoint a Councill of State for the managing of publique affaires, untill the first day of the next *Representative*, and the same Councill to act and proceed therein, according to such instructions and limitations as the *Representatives* shall give, and not otherwise.

6. That to the end all Officers of State may be certainly accomptable, and no Factions made to maintain corrupt interests, no Member of a Councill of State, nor any Officer of any salary Forces in Army or Garrison, nor any Treasurer or Receiver of publique moneys, shall (while such) be elected to be a *Representative*: And in case any such Election shall be, the same to be void; and in case any Lawyer shall be chosen of any *Representative*, or Councill of State, then he shall be incapable of practise as a Lawyer, during that trust.

7. That the power of the Peoples *Representatives* extend (without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons) to the enacting, altering, repealing, and declaring of Lawes; to the erecting and abolishing Officers of Courts of Justice, and to<sup>[11]</sup> whatsoever is not in this *Agreement* excepted or reseryed from them:

As particularly:

- 1. We do not empower our *Representatives* to continue in force, or make any Lawes, Oaths and Covenants, whereby to compell by penalties or otherwise, any person to any thing, in or about matters of Faith, Religion, or Gods Worship, or to restraine any person from the professing his Faith, or exercise of Religion, according to his Conscience, in any house or place (except such as are, or shall be set apart for the publique worship,) neverthelesse the instruction or directing of the Nation in a publique way, for the matters of Faith, Worship, or Discipline (so it be not compulsive or expresse Popery) is referred to their discretion.
- 2. We do not empower them to impresse or constraine any person to serve in Warre either by Sea or Land, every mans conscience being to be satisfied in the justnesse of that cause wherein he hazards his life.
- 3. That after the dissolution of this present Parliament, none of the people be at any time questioned for any thing said or done in reference to the late VVarres, or publique differences, otherwise then in execution or pursuance of the determination of the present House of Commons, against such as have adhered to the King or his interest against the People: And saving that Accomptants for publique moneys received, shall remain accomptable for the same.
- 4. That in any Lawes hereafter to be made, no person by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Pattent, Degree or Birth, shall be priviledged from subjection thereto, or being bound thereby as well as others.

- 5. That all priviledges or exemptions of any persons from the Lawes, or from the ordinary course of legall proceedings, by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Pattent, Degree or Birth, or of any place of residence or refuge, shall be henceforth void and null, and the like not to be made nor revived againe.
- 6. That the *Representatives* intermeddle not with the execution[12] of Lawes, nor give judgement upon any mans person or estate, where no Law hath been before provided; save only in calling to an accompt, and punishing publique Officers for abusing or failing their trust.
- 7. That no Member of any future *Representative* be made either Receiver, Treasurer or other Officer during that employment, saving to be a Member of the Councill of State.
- 8. That no *Representative* shall in any wise render up, or give, or take away any the foundations of Common Right, liberty or safety contained in this *Agreement*, nor shall levell mens estates, destroy propriety, or make all things common.

8. That the Councill of State, in case of imminent danger or extream necessity, may in each intervall, summon a *Representative* to be forthwith chosen, and to meet, so as the Sessions thereof continue not above forty daies, and to it dissolve two moneths before the appointed time for the meeting of the next *Representative*.

9. That all securities given by the publique Faith of the Nation, shall be made good by the next and all future *Representatives*, save that the next *Representative* may continue or make null in part or in whole, all gifts of moneys made by the present House of Commons to their own Members, or to any of the Lords, or to any of the Attendants of either of them.

10. That every Officer or Leader of any Forces in any present or future Army, or Garrison that shall resist the Orders of the next or any future *Representative*, (except such *Representative* shall expressly violate this *Agreement*) shall forthwith after his or their resistance, by vertue of this *Agreement*, loose the benefit and protection of all the Lawes of the Land, and die without mercy.

These things we declare to be essentiall to our just Freedomes, and to a through composure of our long and wofull distractions. And therefore we are agreed and resolved to maintain these certain Rules of Government, and all that joyne therein, with our utmost possibilities, against all opposition whatsoever.

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These following Particulars were offered to be inserted in the *Agreement*, but adjudged fit, as the most eminent grievances to be redressed by the next *Representative*.

1. IT shall not be in their Power, to punish or cause to be punished, any person or persons, for refusing to answer to Questions against themselves in criminal Cases.

2. That it shall not be in their Power, to continue or constitute any proceedings in Law, that shall be longer then three or four months, in finally determining of any Cause past all Appeal, or to continue the Laws (or proceedings therein) in any other Language, then in the English tongue.

3. It shall not be in their Power, to continue or make any Laws, to abridg any person from Trading unto any Parts beyond the Seas, unto which any are allowed to Trade, or to restrain Trade at home.

4. It shall not be in their Power, to continue Excize longer then twenty days after the beginning of the next *Representative*, nor to raise moneys by any other way, except by an equal rate, proportionally to mens real or personal Estates; wherein all persons not worth above thirty pound, shall be exempted from bearing any part of publike Charge, except to the



poor, and other accustomed Charge of the place where they dwell.

5. It shall not be in their Power, to make or continue any Law, whereby mens Estates, or any part thereof, shall be exempted from payment of their Debts; or to continue or make any Law, to imprison any mans person for Debts of any nature.

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6. It shall not be in their Power, to make or continue any Law, for taking away any mans life, except for Murther, or for endeavoring by force, to destroy this *Agreement*; but shall use their uttermost endeavor, to propound punishments equal to Offences, That so mens Lives, Limbs, Liberties, and Estates, may not as hitherto, be lyable to be taken away upon trivial or slight occasion; and shall have special care, to keep all sorts of people from Misery and Beggery.

7. They shall not continue or make a Law, to deprive any person, in Case or Tryal, from the benefit of Witnesses, as well for, as against him.

8. They shall not continue the grievance and oppression of Tithes, longer then to the end of the first *Representative*; in which time, they shall provide for, and satisfie all Impropiators: Neither shall they force any person, to pay toward the maintenance of the publike Ministers, who out of Conscience cannot submit thereunto; but shall provide for them in some other unoppressive way.

9. They shall not continue or make a Law, for any other ways of Judgment or Conviction of Life, Liberty, or Estate, but onely by twelve sworn men of the Neighborhood.

10. They shall not continue or make a Law, to allow any person to take above six pound *per cent.* for loan of Money for a year.

11. They shall not disable any person from bearing any Office in the Common-wealth, for any opinion or practise in Religion, though contrary to the publike way.

Unto these I shall adde.

I. That the next *Representative*, be most earnestly[15] pressed, for the ridding of this Kingdom of those Vermine and Caterpillars, the Lawyers, the chief bane of this poor Nation; to erect a Court of Justice in every Hundred in the Nation, for the ending of all Differences arising in that Hundred, by twelve men of the same Hundred, annually chosen by Freemen of that Hundred, with express and plain Rules in *English*, made by the *Representative*, or supreme *Authority* of the Nation, for them to guide their Judgments by.

II. That for the preventing of Fraud, Thefts, and Deceits, there be forthwith in every County or Shire in *England*, and the Dominion of *Wales*, erected a County Record for the perfect Registering of all Conveyances, Bills, and Bonds, &c. Upon a severe and strict penalty.

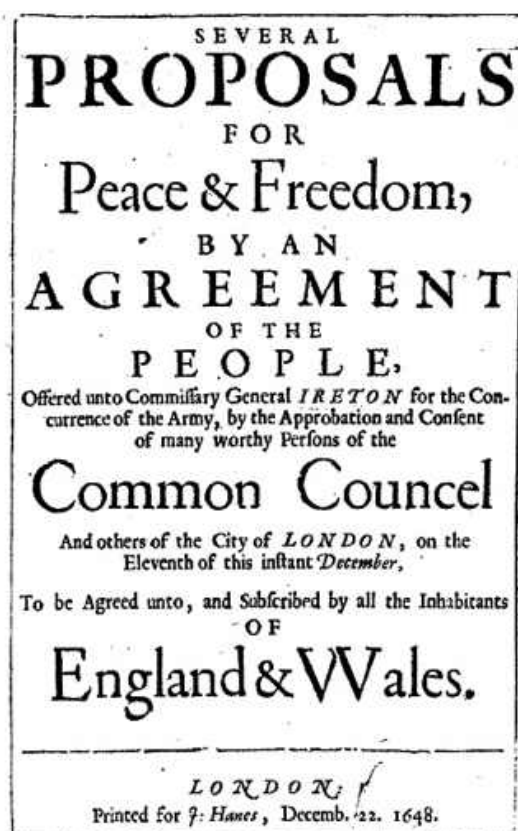
III. That in case there be any need after the erection of Hundred Courts of Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Deputy Lieutenants, &c. That the People capable of Election of *Parliament men*, in the foregoing *Agreement*, be restored by the *Representative*, unto their native, just, and undoubted Right, by common Consent, from amongst themselves, annually to chuse all the foresaid Officers in such maner, as shall be plainly and clearly described, and laid down by the supreme *Authority* of the Nation: And that when any Subsidies or publike Taxes be laid upon the Nation, the Freemen of every Division or Hundred, capable of Election as aforesaid, chuse out Persons by common Consent from amongst themselves, for the equal division of their Assessments.

**IV.** That the next *Representative*, be earnestly desired to abolish all base Tenures.

*FINIS.*



5. [Lieut. Col. John Jubbes], *Several Proposals for Peace & Freedom* (22 December, 1648)[e](#)



**Title ID:** T.169 [1648.12.22] [Lieut. Col. John Jubbes], *Several Proposals for Peace & Freedom* (22 December, 1648).

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*Full title*

Several Proposals for Peace & Freedom, by an Agreement of the People, Offered unto Commissary General Ireton for the Concurrence of the Army, by the Approbation and Consent of many worthy Persons of the Common Council And others of the City of London, on the Eleventh of this instant December, To be Agreed unto, and Subscribed by all the Inhabitants of England & Wales.

London: Printed for J. Hanes, Decemb. 22. 1648.

**SEVERAL PROPOSALS FOR Peace & Freedom,  
BY AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE.**

Whereas those His Majesties failings published to us and the World by the several Declarations and Remonstrances of Parliament cannot be denied, whereby, through the violation of his Oath and Covenant made unto the People at his Coronation, all our late and present Woe and Miseries of War both in *England* and *Ireland* have come; as also the great Divisions amongst our most worthy and eminent persons of the Commonwealth, [4] with the great distempered and unconstant actings and high failings even in the Parliament it self: And for that it is the due Right and Priviledge of the folk or People of this Nation, to make and choose our and their Laws by an equal Representative in Parliament, as by the aforesaid Coronation Oath and Covenant fully appeareth; Therefore the Right Honorable the Lord Major, Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, do in the Name of the City, First, Humbly offer unto the Right Honorable, The High Court of Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, this present intituled Paper, called, *A Great Agreement of all the People of England and Wales*, for their Approbation and Subscription; and that it may thence be dismissed, and forthwith sent into every part of the Land, to be Agreed on, Consented to, and Subscribed by all the Free-born People of the same (above the age of Sixteen) on pain for the Refusers to be excluded and debarred the protection of the Law of the Land; and that all the Subscriptions may be brought in to the present particular Representatives of Parliament, to be Returned and Recorded there for a grand Law forever.

***First, We Agree,***

**I.** THAT the King, by the Advice of his evil Council, through usurping and incroaching upon our Freedoms, and by leaving the Parliament, and leavying a War against it, is guilty of all the Blood, vast expence of Treasure, and Ruine that hath been occasioned by these Wars within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*.

**II.** That if any King of *England* shall hereafter challenge to himself a Negative Voyce, to the Determinations of the Representative in Parliament; and shall not according to the Duty of his Kingly Office, Consent and Sign all such Laws as the People by their Representative, The Commons of *England*, from time to time assembling in Parliament, after Consultation had with the Lords therein (when sitting) shall make and choose, [5] may be deposed by the same Parliament: And that what Subject of the Nation that shall assist, or side with him therein, may upon good proof thereof, not onely from thenceforth be deemed and taken for Enemies to the State, and therefore not onely void of the protection of the Laws, but dealt with as in a case of high Treason. And that the particular Representatives do from time to time wholly prosecute and pursue in Parliament all such instructions as the People for whom they are chosen and serve, shall at the day of their Elections and afterwards be required unto. And that no Officer of War, or Member of the Committee of State, shall be chosen into any first next following Parliament, after their discharge thereof.

**III.** That in all Laws made or to be made, every person may be bound alike; and that no Degree of Lords, Peers of Parliament (now or hereafter assembled) or others, No Tenure, Estate, Charter or Office soever, shall confer any exemption from the ordinary Course of Justice, and Legal Proceedings, whereunto others are subjected.

**IV.** That our meanings and intentions are, Not to leave our selves lyable to the least of mercy, touching our Freedoms, either of the most Righteous, or evil and unrighteous Princes, (disclaiming confidence in vain man) But knowing that Justice of punishment ought never to

be inflicted, but where in Reason it will convert into mercy; and seeing that it hath pleased God, That a Covenant is passed between this Nation and our Brethren of *Scotland*, whereby mercy is claimed by that Nation on his Majesties behalf: Therefore if the King shall Assent unto this Agreement, that then He may be Proclaimed and Crowned King again. And who (after the first four years in which the Kingdoms Debts may be paid) may in a Parliamentary way have as great an Annual Revenue conferred upon him, as (one year with another of his Reign) was yet ever brought into the Exchequer, notwithstanding those vast illegal sums thereof, raised by the multitude of Monopolies, and destroying [6] usurping Projects, Except what shall be defalked for such Charges as henceforth shall be thought fit to be defrayed by the Parliament, which formerly was done by the King.

**V.** That all or any person or persons that shall approve, or any way allow of any thing which the King, or any person by or under him have done in this late miserable and destructive War, may be dealt with as in a case of high Treason: And that neither any such who have assisted the King in person or otherwise, and such as have approved of any thing done against the State in the said War, may not sit, or have place in the next Parliament, or Voyces in the Elections thereof.

**VI.** That if any person or persons whatsoever, that shall any way wilfully endeavor to disgrace (by approbrious speeches) any person or persons for assisting the King in his War against the Parliament, may be bound to the good Behavior, with great Surety for the same; And that no man whatsoever be hereafter questioned for any thing done in reference to the late publique Differences since the year, 1641. further then in execution of the Judgement of this present Parliament.

**VII.** That a general Revisement may be had of all the Laws and Statutes now in force; and that those intending and relating to the maintenance of Popery, Prelacy, Episcopacy, Superstition, and all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction or Government, and whatsoever else that wil not best stand with the good of the nation according to this present age, may be Repealed: And that all those that shall be continued unto us, may be put in execution, according to the purity and truth thereof, that the tediousness and long delays formerly exercised therein, as also all undue practice thereof, may be wholly taken away, so as that intended chiefest good for the peaceable well-being of the Commonwealth, may not henceforth be exercised to the great disquieting and wasting of the people, as formerly (even hitherto) it hath done. And that such sure provisions be speedily made, not [7] onely for the hinderance and avoiding of all Vagabonds and Beggars, but for a conscientious and sufficient Relief for all the poor and indigent people, that none may perish with want; as also for the extirpating of Drunkenness and Swearing, upon such high penalties, and ways of encouragement for the prosecutors thereof, as, through God, may wholly take away all those Evils.

**VIII.** That the Excize may continue but until the present Engagement thereupon be discharged; And that what moneys soever the Parliament shall be necessitated to use, may be raised by Subsidies and Taxes, and such other open and known ways as may be most visible and apparently equal to the whole Commonwealth.

**IX.** That the people being at this time very unequally distributed for Electing their Representatives, may be more indifferently proportioned; And that not onely every Freeholder, but Copyholder also, that is worth 40 s. *per Annum*, and every other person that is worth 50 l. personal Estate, may have Voyces in the Election thereof.

**X.** That the people do of course choose themselves a Parliament once every two years, after the most free and uncontrolable maner, upon pain of high Treason to the Disturbers, over-bearer or over-bearers of any person or persons of the Elections for ever, and to continue by the space of five Moneths, to begin on every first Thursday in every second

March; and to begin to sit upon the first Thursday in April then next ensuing, after the dissolution of this; and to continue till the last day of August then next following also, and no longer; and that this may terminate and end before May 1649.

**XI.** That the Irish may not be still proceeded against, as to execute cruelty for cruelty, but that both they and those other Offendors of our Brethren of *England* that have not [8] Compounded, may yet Compound, and have such Fines set upon them, and so to be payed, as that with respect unto their conditions, may not ruine and undo them and their posterities, except the Beginners and Fomenters of the War.

**XII.** That out of every Parliament there may be a Committee of State appointed, consisting of Forty of the Members thereof, six whereof to be out of the City of *London*, *Westminster*, and the Borough of *Southwark*; and the next to be equally proportioned for the several other Counties, Cities and Towns Corporate of *England* and *Wales*, to Negotiate in the Intervals of Parliament, of all things given them in charge by the said Parliament.

**XIII.** That annually there may be an equal Tax in every Parish within the Kingdom of *England* and *Wales*, as well of Lands as Goods, proportionable to that of the accustomed Tythes (Impropriations excepted) to be raised, leavied and paid into the hands of one or more Treasurers in every County for that purpose, to be paid and issued forth again to the Teachers in the Word, as cause shall require: And that all Tythes of Impropriations may be bought in at such conscientious Rates as the Committee of State (as hereafter followeth) or Commissioners from them appointed for that purpose shall think most reasonable and meet.

**XIV.** That whereas God the Creator and Father of Spirits is Omnipotent and unlimited by man, giving to every one a various and different Spirit, of which no man is certainly Master, no, not for a minute, therefore ought Liberty of Conscience to be granted to all godly Conscientious walkers (protesting against the State-destroying Tenents, as to Peace and Freedom) not onely of the Church of *Rome*, but of Episcopal and all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by Courts and Offices for that purpose also; yet the way of instructing the people is referred to the Ministry.

[9]

**15.** That all inslaving Tenures upon Record by Oaths of Fealty, Villanage, Hemage, and Fines at will of the Lords, may all be bought in at such rates as shall not exceed twenty years purchase to the Lord, upon a conscientious computation of profits made according to the Reign of King *James*.

**16.** That all the Marish Lands, Fens and Common Pastures, within the Kingdom of *England* and *Wales*, may be enclosed and divided, one fourth part to be equally proportioned to the several Tenants of the several Parishes, where such Land lieth; and another fourth part to the Poor of the same; and the other two parts to be divided for, and towards the payment of all the Officers and Souldiers Arrears; To be holden and taken up by Copy of Court-Roll of the proper Lord or Lords of the Soyls, giving and paying the sum of five shillings, *per Acre*, Fine, for Admittance at every Alienation, Change, and Taking up, by death or otherwise, if the Annual Rent of every Acre be worth so much, or else not to exceed the value thereof; and twelve pence *per Acre* at the most, or the sixt part of the yearly value for the Annual Rent of all that fourth part divided among the Poor, and six pence *per Acre* at the most for the other three parts of the yearly Revenue to be proportioned certainly for ever.

**17.** That his Excellency the *Lord General*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, the Lord Mayor of our City, the Earl of *Northumbirland*, the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, the Lord *Wharton*, Major General *Skippon*, Commissary General *Ireton*, Sir *John Potts*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Brereton* Sir *John Maynard*, Colonel *Harlo*, Mr Alderman *Fouke*, Mr Alderman *Gibbs*, Mr

*Fran. Allen, Major General Massey, Col. Wilson, Col. Fleetwood, Col. Harrison, Col. Russel, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Henry Vane junior, Mr Perpoint, Col. Marten, Col. Rigby, Mr Holland, Sir John Palgrave, Major Wildeman, Lieutenant Colonel Lilburn, Col. Lualow,* may be a Committee to continue until the first day of the next Parliament to regulate, place, displace, confirm, commissionate or non-commission all Justices belonging to the Courts of *Westminster*, with the Officers and Offices thereunto belonging, all Sheriffs of Counties and Justices of Peace, and all other the Officers and Offices whatsoever, formerly occasioned to be granted by his Majesty, whether by usurpation or otherwise: And after the expiration and end of the aforesaid Committee, to be disposed of by succeeding Parliaments or Committees of State: And that his Majesty may degrade all such persons, either in [10] part or in whole, as were the Cause and Beginners of the Wars, or the Continuance thereof; as also to confirm such honors on such worthy Members as have most self-denyingly endeavored our Freedoms, according to the judgment and wisdom of this most excellent and honorable Committee, or the major part thereof. And after the expiration of this Committee, that then all such persons as his Majesty shall for the future dignifie with titles of Honor, as aforesaid, may first have certificate of their Demerits for Services done unto the State, either from the Parliament, or Committee of State, as aforesaid, to signifie the same.

18. That the Earl of *Pembrook*, the Earl of *Denby*, the Earl of *Kent*, Mr Serjeant *St. John*, Lord chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Mr Serjeant *Wylde*, Sir *Thomas Wydrington*, the Lord *Lisle*, Sir *John Danvers*, Sir *Henry Myldmay*, together with his Excellency the Lord General, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, the Lord Mayor, with the rest of the Members of the excellent and honorable Committee for the regulating of Offices and Officers, may be the Committee of State for the next ensuing Intervals of Parliament.

19. That all Debts, upon the first Propositions, due upon the Publique Faith, and all other Moneys and Values, lent upon the fifth and twentieth parts, may be satisfied and paid by the Inhabitants in every County within it self, by an equal rate as well of Lands, as Goods, by Commissioners to be chosen within themselves also for that purpose.

20. That henceforth no Free-born person of this Nation be hereafter pressed to serve in the War.

21. That a strict Accompt may be taken of all those persons that have been Treasurers, Receivers, or otherwise any way intrusted with the Treasure of the State.

22. That all the Dean and Chapters Lands may be sold for payment of the Publique Debts, or for what other uses the Parliament shall think fit; and that all the Soldiers of the new Model now in Arms may either be payd by proportions out of the Marish Lands, Fens and Common Pastures; For every Trooper that is behind, and in Arrear for every year (or proportionable according to that time) the sum of four pounds *per annum*, during his life, without allowance for Free Quarter, and every Footman the sum of fifty shillings *per annum*, with proportion to time as aforesaid; and if it shall happen that the said Marish Lands, Fens, and Common Pastures will not be sufficient to perform the [11] same, that then it may be made up out of the aforesaid Deans and Chapters Lands: Conditionally provided, That all such, as shall be assigned by the General Council of the Army for the Service of *Ireland*, do not refuse the same; but that all such, as shall be dismissed thither, shall have the Fee-simple of the said proportions of Land to them and their heirs for ever: And all others, that shall desire to leave the Wars, and shall be dismissed the Army by the Council of War also, may forthwith be satisfied their Arrears upon his Excellency's discharge.

23. That the great Weight and Charge of *Ireland* may be intrusted in a faithful Committee, consisting of nine at the least, for ordering that high Affair, whereof two to be Members of the City of *London*.

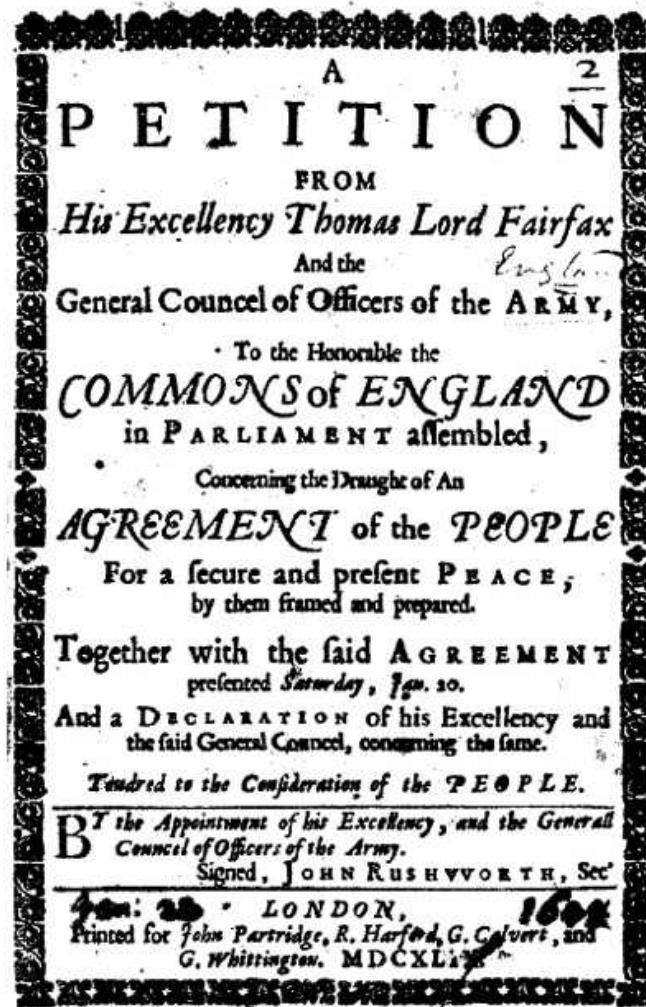
24. That for the frustrating of the several perilous designs of the many parties, which are now so strongly working to carry on their particular Interests for Ruine and Destruction to us; and for the setting of a firm Peace in this distracted Nation; That after all have subscribed this present Agreement for the maintaining of all our just Right, by the Power and Authority of Parliament, that then all the Parliaments Forces now in the Kingdom may be paid, or else effectually satisfied all their Arrears due unto them; be acquitted of all or any past failings, and forthwith dismissed for *Ireland*, with all convenient speed, under their present Conduct and Command, except what Forces shall be thought meet for the Garrisons of *England* and *Wales*; as also that the Lord General may still be continued with us in his Renowned Command (General of *England* and *Wales*) aforesaid; and that Lieutenant General *Cromwel* may be sent General into *Ireland* aforesaid, and have the Command of all the Forces for the reducement thereof; and that the Scots there, being put under the Command aforesaid, may then be there equally capable with our own in all benefits, priviledges and profits whatsoever, that our mercy and moderation may be known unto all, and that the Lord is our Councill.

*FINIS.*





6. John Rushworth, *A Petition concerning the Draught of an Agreement of the People* (20 January 1649).  
"The Officers" Agreement." [↪](#)



**Title ID:** T.179 [1649.01.20] John Rushworth, *A Petition concerning the Draught of an Agreement of the People* (20 January 1649). "The Officers" Agreement."

**Estimated Date of Publication:** 20 January 1649.

**Thomason Tracts Catalogue Information:** TT1, p. 716, E.539/2.

*Full title*

John Rushworth, *A Petition from His Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax And the General Council of Officers of the Army, To the Honourable, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, Concerning the Draught of An Agreement of the People For a secure and present Peace, by them framed and prepared. Together with the said Agreement presented on Saturday, Jan. 20. And a Declaration of his Excellency and the said General Council, concerning the same. Tendered to the Consideration of the people. By the Appointment of the Generall Council of Officers of the Army. Signed John Rushworth, Sec.*

London, Printed for John Partridge, R. Harford, G. Calvert, and G. Whittington. 1649.

[Also known as "The Officers' Agreement".]

The Tract contains the following parts:

1. To the honorable the Commons of England in Parliament assembled; The humble Petition of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, and the General Council of Officers of the Army under his Command
  2. AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, And the places therewith INCORPORATED
  3. A Declaration of the Generall Councill of Officers of the Army
-

*To the honorable the Commons of ENGLAND in Parliament assembled;*

*The humble Petition of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, and the General Council of Officers of the Army under his Command, concerning the Draught of An Agreement of the People, by them framed and prepared.*

IN our late Remonstrance of the 18 of November last, we propounded (next after the matters of publike Justice) some Foundations for a general settlement of Peace in the Nation, which we therein desired might be formed and Established in the nature of a generall Contract or Agreement of the People; and since then, the matters so propounded be wholly rejected, or no consideration of them admitted in Parliament (though visibly of highest Moment to the Publique) and all ordinary Remedies being denied, we were necessitated to an extraordinary way of Remedy; whereby to avoyd the mischiefs then at hand, and set you in a condition (without such obstructions or diversions by corrupt Members) to proceed to matters of publike Justice and general Settlement. Now as nothing did in our own hearts more justify our late undertakings towards many Members in this Parliament, [4] then the necessity thereof in order to a sound Settlement in the Kingdom, and the integrity of our intentions to make use of it only to that end: so we hold our selves obliged to give the People all assurance possible, That our opposing the corrupt closure endeavoured with the King, was not in designe to hinder Peace or Settlement, (thereby to render our employments, as Souldiers, necessary to be continued,) and that neither that extraordinary course we have taken, nor any other proceedings of ours, have been intended for the setting up of any particular Party or Interest, by or with which to uphold ourselves in Power and Dominion over the Nation, but that it was and is the desire of our hearts, in all we have done, (with the hindering of that imminent evil, and destructive conjunction with the King) to make way for the settlement of a Peace and Government of the Kingdom upon Grounds of common Freedom and Safety: And therefore because our former Overtures for that purpose (being only in general terms, and not reduced to a certainty of particulars fit for practise) might possibly be understood but as plausible pretences, not intended really to be put into [5] effect, We have thought it our duty to draw out these generals into an intire frame of particulars, ascertained with such circumstances as may make it effectively practicable. And for that end, while your time hath been taken up in other matters of high and present Importance, we have spent much of ours in preparing and perfecting such a draught of Agreement, and in all things so circumstantiated, as to render it ripe for your speedier consideration, and the Kingdoms acceptance and practise (if approved,) and so we do herewith humbly present it to you. Now to prevent misunderstanding of our intentions therein, We have but this to say, That we are far from such a Spirit, as positively to impose our private apprehensions upon the judgments of any in the Kingdom, that have not forfeited their Freedom, and much lesse upon your selves: Neither are we apt in any wise to insist upon circumstantial things, or ought that is not evidently fundamental to that publike Interest for which You and We have declared and engaged; But in this Tender of it we humbly desire,

- 1. *That whether it shall be fully approved by You and received by the People (as it now stands) or not, [6] it may yet remain upon Record, before you, a perpetual witness of our real intentions and utmost endeavors for a sound and equal Settlement; and as a testimony whereby all men may be assured, what we are willing and ready to acquiesce in; and their jealousies satisfied or mouths stopt, who are apt to think or say, We have no bottom.*
- 2. *That (with all expedition which the immediate and pressing great affairs will admit) it may receive your most mature Consideration and Resolutions upon it, not that we*

*desire either the whole, or what you shall like in it, should be by your Authority imposed as a Law upon the Kingdom, (for so it would lose the intended nature of An Agreement of the People,) but that (so far as it concurs with your own judgments) it may receive Your Seal of Approbation only.*

- 3. *That (according to the method propounded therein) it may be tendred to the People in all parts, to be subscribed by those that are willing, (as Petitions, and other things of a voluntary nature, are;) and that meanwhile, the ascertaining of those circumstances, which it refers to Commissioners in the several Counties, may be proceeded upon in a way preparatory to the practise of it: And if upon the Account of subscriptions (to be returned by those Commissioners in April next) there appear to be a general or common Reception of it amongst the People, or by the well-affected of them, and such as are not obnoxious for Delinquency; it may then take place, and effect according to the Tenor and Substance of it.*

By the Appointment of his Excellency, and the general Council of Officers of the Army.

WHITEHALL

Jan. 15. 1649.

Jo: RUSHVVORTH *Secr*'.

[7]

***AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, And the places therewith INCORPORATED,***

***For a secure and present Peace, upon Grounds of Common Right, Freedom and Safety.***

HAVING by our late labors and hazards made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our Just Freedom, And God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the Enemies thereof into our hands, We do now hold our selves bound in mutuall duty to each other to take the best care we can for the future, to avoyd both the [8] danger of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another War: For as it cannot be imagined, That so many of our Country men would have opposed us in this Quarrell, if they had understood their own good, so may we hopefully promise to our selves, That when our Common Right and Liberties shall be cleared, their endeavors will be disappointed, that seek to make themselves our Masters, since therefore our former oppressions, and not yet ended troubles, have been occasioned, either by want of frequent National Meetings in Council, or by the undue or unequal Constitution thereof, or by rendering those meetings uneffectual. We are fully agreed and resolved (God willing) to provide, That hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for time, nor be unequally constituted, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended.

*In Order whereunto We Declare and Agree;*

1. That to prevent the many inconveniencies, apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in supream Authority, this Present Parliament end and dissolve upon, or before the last day of *April*, in the year of our Lord. 1649.

2. That the People of *England* (being at this day very unequally distributed, by Counties, Cities and Burroughs, for the Election of their Representatives) be indifferently proportioned: And to this end, That the Representative of the whole Nation shall consist of four hundred persons, or not above; and in each County, and the places thereto subjoynd, there shall be chosen, to make up the said Representative at all times, the several numbers here mentioned; *VIZ.*

In the County of <i>Kent</i> , with the Burrough, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder particularly named)	ten. }	10
The City of <i>Canterbury</i> , with the Suburbs adjoining, and Liberties thereof,	two. }	2
The City of <i>Rochester</i> , with the Parishes of <i>Chatham</i> and <i>Strowd</i> ,	one. ]	1
The Cinque Ports in <i>Kent</i> and <i>Sussex</i> , viz. <i>Dover</i> , <i>Rumney</i> , <i>Hyde</i> , <i>Sandwich</i> , <i>Hastings</i> , with the townes of <i>Rye</i> and <i>Winchelsey</i> ,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Sussex</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes (therein except <i>Chichester</i> and the Cinque Ports)	eight. }	8
The City of <i>Chichester</i> , with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Southampton</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named,	eight. }	8
The City of <i>Winchester</i> , with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof,	one. ]	1
The County of the town of <i>Southampton</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Dorset</i> , with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein (except <i>Dorchester</i> )	seven. }	7
The Town of <i>Dorchester</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Devon</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder particularly named,	twelve. }	12
The City of <i>Excester</i> ,	two. ]	2
The Town of <i>Plymouth</i> ,	two. ]	2
The Town of <i>Barnstaple</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Cornwall</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein,	eight. }	8
The County of <i>Somerset</i> with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named,	eight. }	8
The City of <i>Bristol</i> ,	three. ]	3
The Towne of <i>Taunton-Deane</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Wilts</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein (except <i>Salisbury</i> ),	seven. }	7
The City of <i>Salisbury</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Berks</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except <i>Reading</i> ,	five. }	5
The Town of <i>Reading</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Surrey</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Southwarke</i> ,	five. }	5
The Burrough of <i>Southwarke</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Middlesex</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named,	four. }	4
The City of <i>London</i> ,	eight. ]	8
The City of <i>VWestminster</i> , and the <i>Dutchy</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Hartford</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein,	six. }	6

The County of <i>Buckingham</i> with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein,	six. }	6
The County of <i>Oxon</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are here under-named)	four. }	4
The City of <i>Oxon</i> ,	two. ]	2
The University of <i>Oxon</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Glocester</i> , with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein (except <i>Glocester</i> )	seven. }	7
The City of <i>Glocester</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Hereford</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therin (except <i>Hereford</i> )	four. }	4
The Citie of <i>Hereford</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Worcester</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except <i>Worcester</i> )	foure. }	4
The City of <i>Worcester</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Warwicke</i> , with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except <i>Coventrey</i> )	five. }	5
The City of <i>Coventrey</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Northampton</i> , with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein (except <i>Northampton</i> )	five. }	5
The Town of <i>Northampton</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Bedford</i> , with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein,	foure. }	4
The County of <i>Cambridge</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are here under particularly named)	foure. }	4
The University of <i>Cambridge</i> ,	two. ]	2
The Town of <i>Cambridge</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Essex</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except <i>Colchester</i> )	eleven. }	11
The Town of <i>Colchester</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Suffolk</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder named)	ten. }	10
The Town of <i>Ipswich</i> ,	two. ]	2
The Town of <i>S. Edmonds Bury</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Norfolk</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder named)	nine. }	9
The City of <i>Norwich</i> ,	three. ]	3
The Town of <i>Lynne</i> ,	one. ]	1
The Town of <i>Yarmouth</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Lincoln</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except the City of <i>Lincoln</i> , and the town of <i>Boston</i> )	eleven. }	11
The City of <i>Lincoln</i> ,	one. ]	1
The Town of <i>Boston</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Rutland</i> , with the Burroughs, Townes, and	one. }	1

Parishes therein,		
The County of <i>Huntington</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Leicester</i> , with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein (except <i>Leicester</i> )	five. }	5
The Town of <i>Leicester</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Nottingham</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein (except <i>Nottingham</i> )	four. }	4
The Town of <i>Nottingham</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Derby</i> , with the Burroughs, Townes, and Parishes therein (except <i>Derby</i> )	five. }	5
The Town of <i>Derby</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Stafford</i> , with the City of <i>Lichfield</i> , the Burroughs, towne and Parishes therein,	six. }	6
The County of <i>Salop</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except <i>Shrewsbury</i> )	six. }	6
The Town of <i>Shrewsbury</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Chester</i> , with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except <i>Chester</i> )	five. }	5
The City of <i>Chester</i> ,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Lancaster</i> , with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except <i>Manchester</i> )	six. }	6
The town of <i>Manchester</i> , and the Parish,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Yorke</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes, therein, except such as are here under named,	fifteen. } }	15
The City and County of the City of <i>Yorke</i> ,	three. ]	3
The Town and County of <i>Kingston upon Hull</i> ,	one. ]	1
The town and Parish of <i>Leeds</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County <i>Palatine of Duresme</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein, except <i>Duresme</i> and <i>Gateside</i> ,	three. }	3
The City of <i>Duresme</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Northumberland</i> , with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein, except such as are here under named,	three. }	3
The Town and County of <i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i> , with <i>Gateside</i> ,	two. ]	2
The Town of <i>Berwicke</i> ,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Cumberland</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Westmerland</i> , with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein,	two. }	2
The Isle of <i>Anglesey</i> (with the Parishes therein)	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Brecknock</i> , with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Cardigan</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Caermarthen</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	three. }	3

The County of <i>Carnarvon</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Denbigh</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Flint</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	one. ]	1
The County of <i>Monmouth</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	four. }	4
The County of <i>Glamorgan</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	four. }	4
The County of <i>Merioneth</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	two. }	2
The County of <i>Mountgomery</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	three. }	3
The County of <i>Radnor</i> , with the Burroughs and Parishes therein,	two. ]	2
The County of <i>Pembroke</i> , with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein,	four. }	4

[16]

Provided, That the first or second Representative may (if they see cause) assigne the remainder of the foure hundred Representors, (not hereby assigned) or so many of them as they shall see cause for, unto such Counties as shall appear in this present distribution to have lesse then their due proportion. Provided also, That where any Citie or Burrough to which one Representor or more is assign'd shall be found in a due proportion, not competent alone to elect a Representor, or the number of Representors assign'd thereto, it is left to future Representatives to assigne such a number of Parishes or Villages neare adjoining to such City, or Burrough, to be joynd therewith in the Elections, as may make the same proportionable.

3. That the people do of course choose themselves a Representative once in two yeares, and shall meet for that purpose upon the first Thursday in every second May by eleven of Clock in the morning, and the Representatives so chosen to meet upon the second Thursday in June following at the usuall place in Westminster, or such other place as by the foregoing Representative, or the Councell of State in the intervall, shall be from time to time appointed and published to the People, at the least twenty daies before the time of Election. And to continue their Session there or elsewhere untill the second Thursday in December following, unlesse they shall adjourne, or dissolve themselves sooner, but not to continue longer. The Election of the first Representative to be on the first Thursday in May, 1649. And that, and all future Elections to be according to the rules prescribed for the same purpose in this Agreement, viz.

- 1. That the Electors in every Division, shall be Natives, or Denizons of England, not persons receiving Almes, but such as are assessed ordinarily, towards the reliefe of the poore; not servants to, and receiving wages from any particular person. And in all Elections, (except for the Universities,) they shall be men of one and twenty yeares old, or upwards, and housekeepers, dwelling [17] within the Devision for which the Election is provided, That untill the end of seven yeares next ensuing the time herein limited for the end of this present Parliament, no person shall be admitted to, or have any hand or voice in such Elections, who hath adhered unto, or assisted the *King* against the *Parliament*, in any the late Warres, or Insurrections, or who shall make, or joyne in, or abet any forcible opposition against this Agreement.
- 2. That such persons and such only, may be elected to be of the Representative, who by



the rule aforesaid are to have voice in Elections in one place or other; provided, That of those, none shall be eligible for the first or second Representatives, who have not voluntarily assisted the *Parliament* against the *King*, either in person before the 14th. of *June* 1645. or else in Money, Plate, Horse, or Armes, lent upon the Propositions before the end of *May* 1643. or who have joyned in, or abetted the treasonable Engagement in *London*, in the year 1647. or who declared or engaged themselves for a Cessation of Armes with the *Scots*, that invaded this Nation, the last Summer, or for compliance with the Actors in any the insurrections, of the same Summer, or with the Prince of *Wales*, or his accomplices in the Revolted Fleete. And also provided, That such persons as by the rules in the preceding Article are not capable of electing untill the end of seven years, shall not be capable to be elected untill the end of foureteen years, next ensuing. And we do desire and recommend it to all men, that in all times the persons to be chosen for this great trust, may be men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousnesse, and that our [18] Representatives would make the best Provisions for that end.

- 3. That who ever, by the two rules in the next preceding Articles, are incapable of Election, or to be elected, shall assume to vote in, or be present at such Elections for the first or second Representative, or being elected shall presume to sit or vote in either of the said Representatives, shall incur the pain of confiscation of the moyety of his Estate, to the use of the publike, in case he have any Estate visible, to the value of fifty pounds. And if he have not such an Estate, then shall incur the pain of imprisonment, for three months; And if any person shall forcibly oppose, molest, or hinder the people, (capable of electing as aforesaid) in their quiet and free Election of Representors, for the first Representative, then each person so offending shall incur the penalty of confiscation of his whole Estate, both reall and personall; and (if he have not an Estate to the value of fifty pounds,) shall suffer imprisonment during one whole year without Bayle, or mainprize. Provided, That the Offender in each such case, be convicted within three Months next after the committing of his offence, And the first Representative is to make further provision for the avoyding of these evils in after Elections.
- 4. That to the end, all Officers of State may be certainly accomptable, and no factions made to maintain corrupt interests, no Member of a Councel of State, nor any Officer of any salary forces in Army, or Garison, nor any Treasurer or Receiver of publique monies, shall (while such) be elected to be of a Representative. And in case any such Election shall be, the same to be void. And [19] in case any Lawyer shall be chosen of any Representative, or Councel of State, then he shall be incapable of practice as a Lawyer, during that trust.
- 5. For the more convenient Election of Representatives, each County wherein more then three Representors are to be chosen, with the Townes Corporate and Cities, (if there be any) lying within the compasse thereof, to which no Representors are herein assigned, shall be divided by a due proportion into so many, and such parts, as each part may elect two, and no part above three Representors; For the setting forth of which Divisions, and the ascertaining of other circumstances hereafter exprest, so as to make the Elections lesse subject to confusion, or mistake, in order to the next Representative, *Thomas Lord Grey of Grooby*, *Sir John Danvers*, *Sir Henry Holcraft*, Knights; *Moses Wall Gentleman*, *Samuel Moyer*, *John Langley*, *William Hawkins*, *Abraham Babington*, *Daniel Taylor*, *Mark Hilsley*, *Richard Price*, and Col. *John White*, Citizens of *London*, or any five, or more of them are intrusted to nominate and appoint under their Hands and Seales, three or more fit persons in each County, and in each Citie, and Borough, to which one Representor or more is assigned to be as Commissioners for the ends aforesaid, in the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, and by like writing under their Hands and Seales shall certifie into the

Parliament Records, before the fourteenth day of *February* next, the names of the Commissioners so appointed for the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, which Commissioners or any three, or more of them, for the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, shall before the end of *February* next, by writing under their Hands and Seales, [20] appoint two fit and faithfull persons, or more in each Hundred, Lath, or Wapentake, within the respective Counties, and in each Ward, within the City of *London*, to take care for the orderly taking of all voluntary subscriptions to this Agreement by fit persons to be employ'd for that purpose in every Parish who are to returne the subscriptions so taken to the persons that employed them, (keeping a transcript thereof to themselves,) and those persons keeping like Transcripts to returne the Originall subscriptions to the respective Commissioners, by whom they were appointed, at, or before the fourteenth of *Aprill* next, to be registred and kept in the County Records, for the said Counties respectively, and the subscriptions in the City of *London*, to be kept in the chief Court of Record for the said City. And the Commissioners for the other Cities and Burroughs respectively, are to appoint two or more fit persons in every Parish within their Precincts to take such subscriptions, and (keeping transcripts thereof) to returne the Originalls to the respective Commissioners by the said fourteenth of *Aprill* next, to be registred and kept in the chief Court within the respective Cities and Burroughs. And the same Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, for the severall Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, respectively, shall, where more then three Representors are to be chosen, divide such Counties (as also the City of *London*) into so many, and such parts as are aforementioned, and shall set forth the bounds of such divisions, and shall in every County, City, and Borough (where any Representors are to be chosen) and in every such division as aforesaid within the City of *London*, and [21] within the severall Counties so divided, respectively, appoint one certaine place wherein the people shall meet for the choise of their Representors, and some one fit Person or more inhabiting within each Borough, City, County, or Division, respectively, to be present at the time and place of Election, in the nature of Sheriffes to regulate the Elections, and by Pole, or otherwise, clearly to distinguish and judge thereof, and to make returne of the Person or Persons Elected as is hereafter exprest, and shall likewise in writing under their hands and Seales, make Certificates of the severall Divisions (with the bounds thereof) by them set forth, and of the certaine places of meeting, and Persons, in the nature of Sheriffes appointed in them respectively as aforesaid, [1] and cause such Certificates to be returned into the Parliament Records before the end of *April* next, and before that time shall also cause the same to be published in every Parish within the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs respectively, and shall in every such Parish likewise nominate and appoint (by Warrant under their hands and Seals) one Trusty person, or more, inhabiting therein, to make a true list of al the Persons within their respective Parishes, who according to the rules aforesaid are to have voyce in the Elections, and expressing, who amongst them are by the same rules [22] capable of being Elected, and such List (with the said Warrant) to bring in, and returne at the time and place of Election, unto the Person appointed in the nature of Sheriffe, as aforesaid, for that Borough, City, County, or Division respectively; which Person so appointed as Sheriffe being present at the time and place of Election; or in case of his absence by the space of one houre after the time limited for the peoples meeting, then any Person present that is eligible, as aforesaid, whom the people then and there assembled shall chuse for that end, shall receive and keep the said Lists, and admit the Persons therein contained, or so many of them as are present unto a free Vote in the said Election, and having first caused this Agreement to be publicly read in the audience of the people, shall proceed unto, and regulate and keep peace and order in the Elections, and by Pole, or otherwise, openly distinguish and judge of the same: And thereof by Certificate, or writing under the hands and

Seales of himself, and six or more of the Electors (nominating the Person or Persons duly Elected) shall make a true returne into the Parliament Records, within one and twenty dayes after the Election (under paine for default thereof, or for making any false Returne to forfeit one hundred pounds to the Publique use.) And shall also cause Indentures to be made, and interchangeably sealed and delivered betwixt himselfe, and six or more of the said Electors on the one part, and the Persons, or each Person Elected severally on the other part, expressing [23] their Election of him as a Representor of them, according to this Agreement, and his acceptance of that trust, and his promise accordingly to performe the same with faithfulness, to the best of his understanding and ability, for the glory of God, and good of the people.

This course is to hold for the first Representative, which is to provide for the ascertaining of these Circumstances in order to future Representatives.

4. That one hundred and fifty Members at least be alwaies present in each sitting of the Representative, at the passing of any Law, or doing of any Act, whereby the people are to be bound; saving, That the number of sixty may make an House for Debates, or Resolutions that are preparatory thereunto.

5. That each Representative shall within twenty dayes after their first meeting appoint a Councill of State for the managing of Publique Affaires, untill the tenth day after the meeting of the next Representative, unlesse that next Representative thinke fit to put an end to that trust sooner. And the same Councill to Act, and proceed therein, according to such Instructions and limitations as the Representative shall give, and not otherwise.

6. That in each intervall betwixt Bienniall [24] Representatives, the Councill of State (in case of imminent danger, or extreame necessity) may summon a Representative to be forthwith chosen, and to meet; so as the Session thereof continue not above foure-score dayes, and so as it dissolve, at least, fifty dayes before the appointed time for the next Bienniall Representative, and upon the fiftyeth day so preceeding it shall dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.

7. That no Member of any Representative be made either Receiver, Treasurer, or other Officer, during that imployment, saving to be a Member of the Councill of State.

8. That the Representatives have, and shall be understood, to have, the Supreame trust in order to the preservation and Government of the whole, and that their power extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other Person or Persons, to the erecting and abolishing of Courts of Justice, and publique Offices, and to the enacting, altering, repealing, and declaring of Lawes, and the highest and finall Judgement, concerning all Naturall or Civill things, but not concerning things Spirituall or Evangelicall; Provided, that even in things Naturall and Civill these six particulars next following are, and shall be understood to be excepted, and reserved from our Representatives, *viz.*

- 1. We doe not impower them to imprest or constraine any Person to serve in Forraigne Warre either by Sea or Land, nor for any Millitary Service within the KINGDOME, save that they may take order for the [23] the forming, training and exercising of the people in a Military way to be in readinesse for resisting of Forrain Invasions, suppressing of suddain Insurrections, or for assisting in execution of Law; and may take order for the imploying and conducting of them for those ends; provided, That even in such cases none be compellable to goe out of the County he lives in, if he procure another to serve in his roome.
- 2. That after the time herein limited for the commencement of the first Representative, none of the people may be at any time questioned for any thing said or done in relation to the late Warres, or publique differences, otherwise then in execution or pursuance of

the determinations of the present House of Commons against such as have adhered to the King, or his interest against the people: And saving that Accomptants for publique monies received, shall remaine accomptable for the same.

- 3. That no securities given, or to be given by the Publique Faith of the Nation, nor any engagements of the Publique Faith for satisfaction of debts and dammages, shal be made void or invalid by the next, or any future Representatives; except to such Creditors, as have, or shall have justly forfeited the same; and saving, That the next Representative may confirme or make null, in part, or in whole, all gifts of Lands, Monies, Offices, or otherwise, made by the present Parliament to any Member or Attendant of either House.
- 4. That in any Lawes hereafter to be made, no person, by vertue of any tenure, grant, Charter, patent, degree or birth, shall be priviledged from subjection thereto, or from being bound thereby, as well as others.
- 5. That the Representative may not give judgement upon any mans person or estate, where no Law hath before provided; save onely in calling to Account, and punishing publique Officers for abusing or failing their trust.
- 6. That no Representative may in any wise render up, or [24] give, or take away any the Foundations of common Right, Liberty and Safety contained in this Agreement; nor levell mens Estates, destroy Propriety, or make all things common: And that in all matters of such fundamentall concernment, there shall be a liberty to particular Members of the said Representatives to enter their dissents from the *major* vote.

9. *Concerning Religion, we agree as followeth:*

- 1. It is intended, That Christian Religion be held forth and recommended, as the publike Profession in this Nation (which wee desire may by the grace of God be reformed to the greatest purity in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, according to the Word of God.) The instructing of the People whereunto in a publike way (so it be not compulsive) as also the maintaining of able Teachers for that end, and for the confutation or discovery of Heresie, Errour, and whatsoever is contrary to sound Doctrine, is allowed to be provided for by our Representatives; the maintenance of which Teachers may be out of a publike Treasury, and wee desire not by tithes. Provided, That Popery or Prelacy be not held forth as the publike way or profession in this Nation.
- 2. That to the publike Profession so held forth none be compelled by penalties or otherwise, but onely may be endeavoured to be wonne by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation.
- 3. That such as professe Faith in God by Jesus Christ (however differing in judgement from the Doctrine, Worship or Discipline publicly held forth, as aforesaid) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion according to their Consciences in any place (except such as shall be set apart for the publick Worship, where wee provide not for them, unlesse they have leave) so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or to actual disturbance of [25] the publike peace on their parts; neverthelesse it is not intended to bee hereby provided, That this liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy.
- 4. That all Lawes, Ordinances, Statutes, and clauses in any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary of the liberty provided for in the two particulars next preceding concerning Religion be and are hereby repealed and made void.

10. It is agreed, That whosoever shall by Force of Armes, resist the Orders of the next or any future Representative (except in case where such Representative shall evidently render up, or give, or take away the Foundations of common Right, Liberty and Safety contain'd in this Agreement) shall forthwith after his or their such Resistance lose the benefit and

protection of the Laws, and shall be punishable with Death, as an Enemy and Traitor to the Nation.

The form of subscription for the Officers of the Army.

*Of the things exprest in this Agreement, The certain ending of this Parliament (as in the first Article) The equall or proportionable distribution of the number of the Representatives to be elected (as in the second.) The certainty of the peoples meeting to elect for Representatives Bienniall, and their freedome in Elections with the certainty of meeting, sitting and ending of Representatives so elected (which are provided for in the third Article) as also the Qualifications of Persons to elect or be elected (as in the first and second particulars under the third Article) Also the certainty of a number for passing a Law or preparatory debates (provided for in the fourth Article) The matter of the fifth Article, concerning the Council of State, and the sixth concerning the calling, sitting and ending of Representatives extraordinary; Also the power of Representatives, to be, as in the eighth Article, and limited, as in the six reserves next foling the same; Likewise the second and third particulars under the ninth Article concerning Religion, and the whole matter of the tenth Article.*

[26]

*All these we doe account and declare to be Fundamentall to our common Right, Liberty, and Safety; And therefore doe both agree thereunto, and resolve to maintain the same, as God shall enable us. The rest of the matters in this Agreement, wee account to be usefull and good for the Publike, and the particular circumstances of Numbers, Times and Places expressed in the severall Articles, we account not Fundamentall, but we finde them necessary to be here determined for the making the Agreement certain and practicable, and do hold those most convenient that are here set down, and therefore do positively agree thereunto.*

*By the appointment of his Excellency, the Lord Generall, and his General Council of Officers.*

Signed  
John Rusworth

FINIS

[27]

***A Declaration of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, and his Generall Councell of Officers:***

***Concerning the Agreement by them framed in order to peace, and from them tendred to the People of England.***

HAVING ever since the end of the first War longingly waited for some such settlement of the Peace and Government of this Nation, whereby the Common Rights, Liberties and safety thereof, might in future be more hopefully provided for, and therein something gained, which might be accounted to the present age and posterity (through the mercy of God) as a fruit of their labours, hazards and sufferings, that have engaged in the common cause, as some price of the blood spilt, and ballance to the publique expence and damage sustained in the War, and as some due improvement of that successe, and blessing God hath pleased to give therein: And having not found any such Establishment assayed or endeavoured by those whose proper worke it was, but the many addresses and desires of ourselves, and others, in that behalfe, rejected, discountenanced and opposed, and onely a corrupt closure endeavoured with the King, on tearmes, serving onely to his interest, and theirs that promoted the same;

And being thereupon (for the avoidance of the evil thereof, and to make way for some better settlement) necessitated to take extraordinary wayes of remedy (when the ordinary were denied:) Now to exhibit our utmost endeavors for such a settlement, whereupon we, and other Forces, (with which the Kingdome hath so long beene burthened above measure, and whose continuance shall not be necessary for the immediate safety and quiet thereof) may with comfort to our selves, and honesty towards the publique, disband, and returne to our homes and callings; and to the end mens jealousies and fears may be removed concerning any intentions in us to hold up our selves in power, to oppresse or domineer over the people by the sword; And that all men may fully understand those grounds of Peace and Government wherupon (they may rest assured) We shall for our parts acquiesce; We have spent much time to [28] prepare, and have at last (through the blessing of God) finished a Draught of such a settlement, in the nature of an Agreement of the People for Peace amongst themselves; Which we have lately presented to the Honourable the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and doe herewith tender to the people of this Nation.

We shal not otherwise commend it, then to say, It contains the best and most hopeful Foundations for the Peace, & future wel Government of this Nation, that we can devise or think on, within the line of humane power, and such, wherein all the people interested in this Land (that have not particular interests of advantage & power over others, divided from that which is common and publique) are indifferently and equally provided for, save where any have justly forfeited their share in that common interest by opposing it, and so rendred themselves incapable thereof (at least) for some time: And we call the Consciences of all that reade or hear it, to witnesse, whether wee have therein provided or propounded any thing of advantage to our selves in any capacity above others, or ought, but what is as good for one as for another: And therefore as we doubt not but that (the Parliament being now freed from the obstructing and perverting Councils of such Members, by many of whom a corrupt compliance with the Kings Interest hath beene driven on, and all settlement otherwise hath hitherto beene hindred) Those remaining worthy Patriots to whom we have presented the Agreement, will for the maine allow thereof, and give their seale of Approbation thereby; So we desire and hope, That all good People of *England* whose heart God shall make sensible of their, and our common concernment therein, and of the usefulness and sutablenesse thereof to the publique ends it holds forth, will cordially embrace it, and by subscription declare their concurrence, and accord thereto, when it shall be tendred to them, as is directed therein; wherein, if it please God wee shall finde a good Reception of it with the people of the Nation, or the Well-affected therein, We shall rejoyce at the hoped good to the Common-wealth, which (through Gods mercy) may redound therefrom, and that God hath vouchsafed thereby to make us [28b] instrumentall for any good settlement to this poor distracted Country, as he hath formerly made us for the avoiding of evill. But if God shall (in his Righteous Judgement towards this Land) suffer the people to be so blinded as not to see their own common good and freedome, endeavoured to be provided for therein, or any to be so deluded (to their own and the publique prejudice) as to make opposition thereto, whereby the effect of it be hindred, we have, yet, by the preparation and tender of it discharged our Consciences to God, and duty to our native Country in our utmost endeavours for a settlement, (to the best of our understandings) unto a just publique interest; And hope we shall be acquitted before God and good men, from the blame of any further troubles, distractions, or miseries to the Kingdom, which may arise through the neglect or rejection thereof, or opposition thereto.

Now whereas there are many good things in particular matters which our own Reasons & observations or the Petitions of others have suggested, and which we hold requisite to be provided for in their proper time and way (as the setting of moderate Fines upon such of the Kings party, as shal not be excepted for life, with a certain day for their coming in and submitting, and an Act of pardon to such as shall come in and submit accordingly, or have already compounded, The setling of a Revenue for all necessary publique uses, in such a way

as the people may be most eased, The assigning and ascertayning of securities for Souldiers Arrears; and for publique Debts and Damages. The taking away of Tithes, and putting that maintenance which shall be thought competent for able Teachers to instruct the people, into some other way, lesse subject to scruple or contention, the clearing and perfecting of Accompts for all publique Monies, the relieving of prisoners for Debt; the removing or reforming of other evils or inconveniencies in the present Lawes, and Administrations thereof, the redresse of abuses, and supplying of Defects therein, the putting of all the Lawes and proceedings thereof into the English tongue, the reducing of the course of Law to more brevity and lesse charge, the settling of Courts of Justice [29] and Record in each County or lesse Divisions of the Kingdome, and the erecting of Courts of Merchants for controversies in trading, and the like.) These and many other things of like sort being of a particular nature, and requiring very particular and mature consideration, with larger experience in the particular matters then we have, and much Caution, that by taking away of present Evills greater inconveniences may not ensue for want of other provisions in the room thereof, where it is necessary; and we (for our parts) being far from any Desire or thought to assume or exercise a Law-giving, or Judiciall power over the Kingdome, or to meddle in any thing save the fundamentall settling of that power in the most equall and hopefull way for Common Right, Freedom, and Safety (as in this Agreement) and having not meanes nor time for, nor the necessitie of some present generall settlement admitting the delay of, such a consideration, as seems requisite in relation to such numerous particulars, we have purposely declined the inserting of such things into this Agreement. But (as we have formerly expressed our desires that way, so) when the matters of publique Justice, and generall settlement are over, we shall not be wanting (if needfull) humbly to recommend such particulars to the Parliament, by whom they may more properly, safely, and satisfactorily be provided for, and we doubt not but they will be so, such of them, at least, as are of more neare and present concernment, by this Parliament, and the rest by future Representatives in due time.

And thus we recommend for present the businesse of this Agreement without further addition to the best consideration of all indifferent and equall minded men, and commit the issue thereof (as of all our wayes and concernments) to the good pleasure of the Lord, whose will is better to us then our own, or any inventions of ours, who hath decreed and promised better things then we can wish or imagine, and who is most faithfull to accomplish them in the best way and season.

*By the appointment of his Excellency Thomas Lord  
Fairfax, and his Generall Councill of Officers.*

John Rushworth Secretary.

#### ***Endnotes***

- [1] Memorandum, *That the Commissioners for the respective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, are to returne a Computation of the number of Subscribers in the severall Parishes unto the Trustees herein named before the end of April next, at such place, and in such forme as the said Trustees, or any five or more of them shall direct.*

7. [Several Hands], *An Agreement Prepared for the People of England and the Places Therewith Incorporated* (20 January 1649) [↪](#)

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**Title ID:** T.328 1649-01-20 [Several Hands] *An Agreement Prepared for the People of England and the Places Therewith Incorporated* (20 Jan. 1649).

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*Full title*

An Agreement prepared for the people of England and the places therewith incorporated, for a secure and present peace, upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety also, a declaration of the General Council of Officers, concerning the same : with a petition of His Excellency and the said General Council, presented therewith, Saturday, January 20, 1649.

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*An Agreement prepared for the people of England and the places therewith incorporated,  
for a secure and present peace, upon grounds of common right, freedom and safety also, a  
declaration of the General Council of Officers, concerning the same : with a petition of  
His Excellency and the said General Council, presented therewith, Saturday, January 20,*

Die Sabbathi; 20. Januarii. 1649.

*Lieutenant General Hammond, Colonel Okey, and other Officers of the Army, this day  
presented a Petition to the House, with a Draught of the Agreement of the People: The  
Petitioners being called in, Mr Speaker, by Command of the House, gave them this Answer.*

GENTLEMEN,

YOU the Officers of the Army, sent by the Lord General, and the Officers of the Army, unto this House with this *Petition*: The House hath read your *Petition*, and for the *Agreement*, presented therewith, the House hath commanded me to tell you, They have resolved to take the same into their Consideration, with what possible speed the necessity of the present weighty and urgent affairs will permit. They have commanded me likewise to tell you, They find these good Affections and serious Representations made in your *Petition*, that they have Ordered it to be printed. I am likewise commanded to tell you, That this House doth take notice of your faithful and great Services to the Kingdom, in standing in the Gap for their Preservation; And commanded me to give hearty Thanks to the Lord General, and the Officers of the Army, for these good Services, and the good Affections you have herein expressed; And I do, in their Name, give the hearty Thanks of this House to the Lord General, and to you, and the rest of the Officers of the Army, for their good Affections, great Services, and cordial Expressions.

Hen: Scobel, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

***AGREEMENT Prepared for the People of England, And the places therewith  
Incorporated,***

***For a secure and present PEACE, upon Grounds of Common Right Freedom and Safety.  
Also, a DECLARATION of the General Council of Officers, concerning the same. With a  
PETITION of his Excellency and the said General Council, presented therewith,  
Saturday, January 20. 1648. To the Honorable the COMMONS of ENGLAND in  
PRLIAMENT assembled. Here tendred to the Peoples Considerations, and in due time for  
their Subscriptions.***

By the Appointment of the Generall Council of Officers of the Army.

Signed, JOHN RUSHVVORTH, Sec'

LONDON, Printed for John Partridge, R. Harford, G. Calvert, and G. Whittington.  
MDCXLIX.

[3]

***To the honorable the Commons of ENGLAND in Parliament assembled;***

***The humble Petition of his Excellency Thomas Lord Fairfax, and the General Council of  
Officers of the Army and his Command, concerning the Draught of An Agreement of the  
People, by them framed and prepared.***

IN our late Remonstrance of the 18 of November last, we propounded (next after the matters of publike Justice) some Foundations for a general settlement of Peace in the Nation; which we therein desired might be formed and Established in the nature of a generall

Contract or Agreement of the People; and since then, the matters so propounded being wholly rejected, or no consideration of them admitted in Parliament (though visibly of highest Moment to the Publique) and all ordinary Remedies being denied, we were necessitated to an extraordinary way of Remedy, whereby to avoyd the mischiefs then at hand, and set you in a condition (without such obstructions or diversions by corrupt Members) to proceed to matters of publique Justice and general Settlement. Now as nothing did in our own hearts more justifie our late undertakings towards many Members in this Parliament, [4] then the necessity thereof in order to a sound Settlement in the Kingdom, and the integrity of our intentions to make use of it only to that end, so we hold our selves obliged to give the People all assurance possible, That our opposing the corrupt closure endeavoured with the King, was not in designe to hinder Peace or Settlement, (thereby to render our employments, as Souldiers, necessary to be continued,) and that neither that extraordinary course we have taken, nor any other proceeding of ours, have been intended for the setting up of any particular Party or Interest, by or with which to uphold our selves in Power and Dominion over the Nation, but that it was and is the desire of our hearts, in all we have done, (with the hindering of that imminent evil, and destructive conjunction with the King) to make way for a settlement of the Peace and Government of the Kingdom upon Grounds of common Freedom and Safety: And therefore, because our former Overtures for that purpose being only in general terms, and not reduced to a certainty of particulars fit for practise might possibly be understood, but as plausible pretences, not intended really to be put into[5] effect, We have thought it our duty to draw out those generals into an intire frame of particulars, ascertained with such circumstances as may make it effectively practicable: And for that end, while your time hath been taken up in other matters of high and present Importance, we have spent much of ours in preparing and perfecting such a draught of an Agreement, and in all things so circumstantiated, as to render it ripe for your speedier consideration, and the Kingdoms acceptance and practise (if approved:) And so we do herewith humbly present it to you.

Now to prevent misunderstanding of our intentions therein, We have but this to say, That we are far from such a spirit, as positively to impose our private apprehensions upon the judgments of any in the Kingdom, that have not forfeited their Freedom, and much lesse upon your selves: Neither are we apt in any wise to insist upon circumstantial things, or ought that is not evidently fundamental to that publique Interest for which You and We have declared and engaged; But in this Tender of it we humbly desire,

*1. That whether it shall be fully approved by You and received by the People (as it now stands) or not, [6] it may yet remain upon Record, before you, a perpetual witness of our real intentions and utmost endeavors for a sound and equal Settlement; and as a testimony, whereby all men may be assured, what we are willing and ready to acquiesce in, and their jealousies satisfied or mouths stopt, who are apt to think or say, We have no bottom.*

*2. That (with all expedition which the immediate and pressing great affairs will admit) it may receive your most mature Consideration and Resolutions upon it; not that we desire either the whole, or what you shall like in it, should be by your Authority imposed as a Law upon the Kingdom, (for so it would lose the intended nature of An Agreement of the People,) but that (so far as it concurs with your own judgments) it may receive Your Seal of Approbation only.*

*3. That (according to the method propounded therein) it may be tendred to the People in all parts, to be subscribed by those that are willing, (as Petitions, and other things of a voluntary nature, are) and that mean while, the ascertaining of those circumstances, which it refers to Commissioners in the several Counties, may be proceeded upon in a way preparatory to the practise of it: And if upon the Account of subscriptions (to be returned by those Commissioners in April next) there appear to be a general or common Reception of it*

*amongst the People, or by the well-affected of them, and such as are not obnoxious for Delinquency, it may then take place, and effect according to the Tenor and Substance of it.*

WHITEHALL Jan. 15. 1649.

*And Your Petitioners shall pray, &c. By the Appointment of his Excellency, and the general Council of Officers of the Army. Jo: RUSHVVORTH Secr'.*

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***AN AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, And the places therewith INCORPORATED,***

***For a secure and present Peace, upon Grounds of Common Right, Freedom and Safety.***

HAVING by our late labors and hazards made it appear to the world at how high a rate we value our Just Freedom, And God having so far owned our cause as to deliver the Enemies thereof into our hands, We do now hold our selves bound in mutuall duty to each other to take the best care we can for the future, to avoyd both the danger [8] of returning into a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another War: For as it cannot be imagined, That so many of our Country men would have opposed us in this Quarrell, if they had understood their own good, so may we hopefully promise to our selves, That when our Common Right and Liberties shall be cleared, their endeavors will be disappointed, that seek to make themselves our Masters, since therefore our former oppressions, and not yet ended troubles, have been occasioned, either by want of frequent National Meetings in Council, or by the undue or unequal Constitution thereof, or by rendering those meeting uneffectual. We are fully agreed and resolved (God willing) to provide, That hereafter our Representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for time, nor be unequally constituted, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended.

***In Order whereunto We Declare and Agree;***

1. That to prevent the many inconveniencies, apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in supream Authority, this Present Parliament end and dissolve upon, or before the last day of *April*, in the year of our Lord. 1649.

2. That the People of *England* (being at this day very unequally distributed, by Counties, Cities and Burroughs, for the Election of their Representatives) be indifferently proportioned: And to this end, That the Representative of the whole Nation shall consist of four hundred persons, or not above; and in each Conuty, and the places thereto subjoynd, there shall be chosen, to make up the said Representative at all times, the several unmbers here mentioned; *VIZ.*

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- In the County of *Kent*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder particularly named) ten. 10
- The City of *Canterbury*, with the Suburbs adjoining, and Liberties thereof, two. 2
- The City of *Rochester*, with the Parishes of *Chathan*, and *Strowd*, one. 1
- The Cinque Ports in *Kent* and *Sussex*, *viz. Dover, Rumney, Hyde, Sandwich, Hastings*, with the townes of *Rye* and *Winchelsey*, three. 3
- The County of *Sussex*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein (except *Chichester* and the Cinque Ports) eight. 8
- The City of *Chichester*, with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof, one. 1
- The County of *Southampton*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, eight. 8

- The City of *Winchester*, with the Suburbs and Liberties thereof, one. 1
- The County of the town of *Southampton*, one. 1
- The County of *Dorset*, with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein (except *Dorchester*) seven. 7
- The Town of *Dorchester*, one. 1
- The County of *Devon*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder particularly named, twelve. 12
- The City of *Excester*, two. 2

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- The Town of *Plymouth*, two. 2
- The Town of *Barnstaple*, one. 1
- The County of *Cornwall*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, eight. 8
- The County of *Somerset*, with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, eight. 8
- The City of *Bristol*, three. 3
- The Towne of *Taunton-Deane*, one. 1
- The County of *Wilts*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein (except *Salisbury*, seven. 7
- The City of *Salisbury*, one. 1
- The County of *Berks*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, except *Reading*, five. 5
- The Town of *Reading*, one. 1
- The County of *Surrey*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except *Southwarke*, five. 5
- The Burrough of *Southwarke*, two. 2
- The County of *Middlesex*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, except such as are hereunder named, four. 4
- The City of *London*, eight. 8
- The City of *VWestminster*, and the *Dutchy*, two. 2
- The County of *Hartford*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein, six. 6

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- The County of *Buckingham* with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, six. 6
- The County of *Oxon*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are here undernamed) four. 4
- The City of *Oxon*, two. 2
- The University of *Oxon*, two. 2
- The County of *Glocester*, with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein (except *Glocester*) seven. 7
- The City of *Glocester*, two. 2
- The County of *Hereford*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therin (except *Hereford*) four. 4
- The Citie of *Hereford*, one. 1
- The County of *Worcester*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except *Worcester*) foure. 4
- The City of *Worcester*, two. 2
- The County of *Warwicke*, with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except *Coventrey*) five. 5
- The City of *Coventrey*, two. 2
- The County of *Northampton*, with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein (except *Northampton*) five. 5

- The Town of *Northampton*, one. 1
- The County of *Bedford*, with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein, foure. 4

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- The County of *Cambridge*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are here under particularly named) foure. 4
- The University of *Cambridge*, two. 2
- The Town of *Cambridge*, two. 2
- The County of *Essex*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except *Colchester*) eleven. 11
- The Town of *Colchester*, two. 2
- The County of *Suffolk*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder named) ten. 10
- The Town of *Ipswich*, two. 2
- The Town of *S. Edmonds Bury*, one. 1
- The County of *Norfolk*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except such as are hereunder named) nine. 9
- The City of *Norwich*, three. 3
- The Town of *Lynne*, one. 1
- The Town of *Yarmouth*, one. 1
- The County of *Lincoln*, with the Burroughs, Towns, and Parishes therein (except the City of *Lincoln*, and the town of *Boston*) eleven. 11
- The City of *Lincoln*, one. 1
- The Town of *Boston*, one. 1
- The County of *Rutland*, with the Burroughs, Townes, and Parishes therein, one. 1

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- The County of *Huntington*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *Leicester*, with the Burroughs, Townes and Parishes therein (except *Leicester*) five. 5
- The Town of *Leicester*, one. 1
- The County of *Nottingham*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein (except *Nottingham*) foure. 4
- The Town of *Nottingham*, one. 1
- The County of *Derby*, with the Burroughs, Townes, and Parishes therein except *Derby* five. 5
- The Town of *Derby*, one. 1
- The County of *Stafford*, with the City of *Lichfield*, the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein, six. 6
- The County of *Salop*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein (except *Shrewsbury*) six. 6
- The Town of *Shrewsbury*, one. 1
- The County of *Chester*, with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except *Chester*) five. 5
- The City of *Chester*, two. 2
- The County of *Lancaster*, with the Burroughs, townes, and Parishes therein (except *Manchester*) six. 6
- The town of *Manchester*, and the Parish, one. 1
- The County of *Yorke*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes, therein, except such as are here under named, fifteen. 15

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- The City and County of the City of *Yorke*, three. 3
- The Town and County of *Kingston upon Hull*, one. 1
- The town and Parish of *Leeds*, one. 1
- The County *Palatine of Duresme*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein, except *Duresme* and *Gateside*, three. 3
- The City of *Duresme*, one. 1
- The County of *Northumberland*, with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein, except such as are here under named, three. 3
- The Town and County of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, with *Gateside*, two. 2
- The Town of *Berwicke*, one. 1
- The County of *Cumberland*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *VWestmerland*, with the Burroughs, towns and Parishes therein, two. 2
- The Isle of *Anglesey* (with the Parishes therein) two. 2
- The County of *Brecknock*, with the Burroughs, towns, and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *Cardigan*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *Caermarthen*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *Carnarvon*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, two. 2

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- The County of *Denbigh*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, two. 2
- The County of *Flint*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, one. 1
- The County of *Monmouth*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, foure. 4
- The County of *Glamorgan*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, foure. 4
- The County of *Merioneth*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, two. 2
- The County of *Mountgomery*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, three. 3
- The County of *Radnor*, with the Burroughs and Parishes therein, two. 2
- The County of *Pembroke*, with the Burroughs, Towns and Parishes therein, foure. 4

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Provided, That the first or second Representative may (if they see cause) assigne the remainder of the foure hundred Representors, (not hereby assigned) or so many of them as they shall see cause for, unto such Counties as shall appear in this present distribution to have lesse then their due proportion. Provided also, That where any Citie or Burrough to which one Representor or more is assign'd shall be found in a due proportion, not competent alone to elect a Representor, or the number of Representors assign'd thereto, it is left to future Representatives to assigne such a number of Parishes or Villages neare adjoining to such City, or Burrough, to be joynd therewith in the Elections, as may make the same proportionable.

3. That the people do of course choose themselves a Representative once in two yeares, and shall meet for that purpose upon the first Thursday in every second May by eleven of of Clock in the morning, and the Representatives so chosen to meet upon the second Thursday in June following at the usuall place in Westminster, or such other place as by the foregoing Representative, or the Councill of State in the intervall, shall be from time to time appointed and published to the People, at the least twenty daies before the time of Election. And to continue their Session there or elsewhere untill the second Thursday in December following, unlesse they shall adjourne, or dissolve themselves sooner, but not to continue longer. The Election of the first Representative to be on the first Thursday in May, 1649. And that, and all future Elections to be according to the rules prescribed for the same purpose in this Agreement, viz.

1. That the Electors in every Division, shall be Natives, or Denizons of England, not persons receiving Almes, but such as are assessed ordinarily, towards the reliefe of the poore; not servants to, and receiving wages from any particular person. And in all Elections, (except for the Universities,) they shall be men of one and twenty yeares old, or upwards, and house-keepers, dwelling [15] within the Devision for which the Election is provided, That untill the end of seven years next ensuing the time herein limited, for the end of this present Parliament no person shall be admitted to, or have any hand or voice in such Elections, who hath adhered unto, or assisted the *King* against the *Parliament*, in any the late Warres, or Insurrections, or who shall make or joyn in, or abet any forcible opposition against this Agreement.

2. That such persons, and such only, may be elected to be of the Representative, who by the rule aforesaid, are to have voice in Elections in one place or other; provided, That of those, none shall be eligible for the first or second Representatives, who have not voluntarily assisted the *Parliament* against the *King*, either in person before the 14. of *June* 1645. or else in Money, Plate, Horse, or Armes, lent upon the Propositions before the end of *May* 1643. or who have joyned in, or abetted the treasonable Engagement in *London*, in the year 1647. or who declared or engaged themselves for a Cessation of Armes with the *Scots*, that invaded this Nation, the last Summer, or for compliance with the Actors in any the insurrections, of the same Summer, or with the Prince of *Wales*, or his accomplices in the Revolted Fleete. And also provided, That such persons as by the rules in the preceding Article are not capable of electing untill the end of seven years, shall not be capable to be elected until the end of 14. years, next ensuing. And we do desire and recommend it to all men, that in all times the persons to be chosen for this great trust, may be men of courage, fearing God, and hating covetousnesse, and that our [16] Representatives would make the best provisions for that end.

3. That whoever, by the two rules in the next preceding Articles, are incapable of Election, or to be elected, shall assume to vote in, or be present at such Elections for the first or second Representative, or being elected shall presume to sit or vote in either of the said Representatives, shall incur the pain of confiscation of the moyety of his Estate, to the use of the publike, in case he have any estate visible, to the value of fifty pounds. And if he have not such an Estate, then he shall incur the pain of Imprisonment, for 3. months; And if any person shall forcibly oppose, molest, or hinder the people, (capable of electing as aforesaid) in their quiet and free Election of Representors, for the first Representative, then each person so offending, shall incur the penalty of confiscation of his whole Estate, both reall and personal; and (if he have not an Estate to the value of fifty pounds,) shall suffer imprisonment during one whole year without Baile, or Mainprize. Provided, That the Offender in each such case, be convicted within three Moneths next after the committing of his offence, And the first Representative is to make further provision for the avoyding of these evils in after Elections.

4. That to the end, all Officers of State may be certainly accomptable, and no factions made to mainetaine corrupt interests, no Member of a Conncell of State, nor any Officer of any Salary forces in Army, or Garrison, nor any Treasurer or Receiver of publique monies, shall (while such) be elected to be of a Representative. And in case any such Election shall be, the same to be void. And [17] in case any Lawyer shall be chosen of any Representative, or Council of State, then he shall be incapable of practice as a Lawyer, during that trust.

For the more convenient Election of Representatives, each County wherein more then three Representers are to be chosen, with the Townes Corporate and Cities, (if their be any) lying within compasse thereof, to which no Representers are herein assigned, shall be divided by a due proportion into so many, and such parts, as each part may elect two, & no part above three Representers; For the setting forth of which Divisions, and the ascertaining of other circumstances hereafter exprest, so as to make the Elections lesse subject to confusion, or mistake, in order to the next Representative, *Thomas Lord Grey of Grobey*, *Sir John Danvers*, *Sir Henry Holcraft* Knights, *Moses Wall* Gentleman, *Samuel Mayor*, *John Langley*, *William Hamkins*, *Abraham Babington*, *Daniel Taylor*, *Mark Hilley*, *Richard Price*, and Col. *John White*, Citizens of *London*, or any five, or more of them are intrusted to nominate and appoint under their Hands and Seales, three or more fit persons in each County, and in each City, and Borough, to which one Representor or more is assigned to be as Commissioners for the ends aforesaid, in the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, and by the writing under their Hands and Seals shall certifie into the Parliament Records, before the fourteenth day of *February* next, the names of the Commissioners so appointed for the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, which Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, for the respective Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, shall before the end of *February* next, by writing under their Hands and Seales [18] appoint two fit and faithfull persons, or more in each Hundred, Lath, or Wapentake, within the respective Counties, and in each Ward, within the City of *London*, to take care for the orderly taking of all voluntary subscriptions to this Agreement, by fit persons to be employed for that purpose in every Parish, who are to returne the subscriptions so taken to the persons that employed them, (keeping a transcript thereof to themselves) & those persons keeping like Tyanscripts to return the Originall subscriptions to the respective Commissioners, by whom they were appointed, at, or before the fourteenth of *Aprill* next, to be registred and kept in the County Records, for the said Counties respectively, and the subscriptions in the City of *London*, to be kept in the chief Court of Record for the said City. And the Commissioners for the other Cities and Boroughs respectively, are to appoint two, or more, fit persons in every Parish within their Precincts to take such subscriptions, and (keeping transcriptions thereof) to return the Originalls to the respective Commissioners by the said fourteenth of *Aprill* next, to be registred and kept in the chief Court within the respective Cities and Boroughs. And the same Commissioners, or any three, or more of them, for the severall Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, respectively, shall, where more then three Representors are to be chosen divide such Counties (as also the City of *London*) into so many, and such parts as are afore mentioned, and shall set forth the bounds of such divisions, and shall in every County, City, and Borough (where any Representers are to be chosen) and in every such division as aforesaid within the City of *London*, and [19] within the severall Counties so divided, respectively, appoint one certain place wherein the people shall meete for the choise of their Representors, and some one fit Person, or more, inhabiting within each Borough, City, County, or Division, respectively, to be present at the time and place of Election, in the nature of Sheriffes to regulate the Elections, and by Pole, or otherwise, clearly to distinguish and judge thereof, and to make return of the Person or Persons Elected, as is hereafter exprest, and shall likewise in writing under their Hands and Seales, make Certificates of the severall Divisions (with the bounds thereof) by them set forth, and of the certain places of meeting, and Persons, in the nature of Sheriffes appointed in them respectively, as aforesaid,[1] and cause such Certificates to be returned into the Parliament Records before the end of *April* next, and before that time shall also cause the same to be published in every Parish within the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs respectively, and shall in every such Parish likewise nominate and appoint (by Warrant under their hands and Seals) one Trusty Person or more, inhabiting therein, to make a true list of all the Persons within their respective Parishes, who according to the rules aforegoing are to have voyce in the Elections, and expressing, who amongst them are by the same rules [20] capable of being elected, and such Lift (with the said Warrant) to bring in, and return at the time and place of



Election, unto the Person appointed in the nature of Sheriffe, as aforesaid, for that Borough, City, County, or Division respectively; which Person so appointed as Sheriff, being present at the time and place of Election; or in case of his absence by the space of one houre after the time limited for the peoples meeting, then any Person present that is eligible, as aforesaid, whom the people then and there assembled shall chuse for that end, shall receive and keep the said Lists, and admit the Persons therein contained, or so many of them as are present unto a free Vote in the said Election, and having first caused this Agreement to be publicly read in the audience of the people, shall proceed unto, and regulate and keep peace and order in the Elections, and by Pole, or otherwise, openly distinguish and judge of the same: And thereof by Certificate, or writing under the hands and Seales of himself, and six or more of the Electors (nominating the Person or Persons duly Elected) shall make a true return into the Parliament Records, within one and twenty dayes after the Election (under pain for default thereof, or for making any false Return to forfeit one hundred pounds to the Publique use.) And shall also cause Indentures to be made, and interchangeably sealed and delivered betwixt himself, and six or more of the said Electors on the one part, and the Persons, or each Person Elected seyerally on the other part, expressing [21] their Election of him as a Representor of them, according to this Agreement, and his acceptance of that trust, and his promise accordingly to performe the same with faithfulness, to the best of his understanding and ability, for the glory of God, and good of the people.

This course is to hold for the first Representative, which is to proceede for the ascertaining of these Circumstances in order to future Representations. 4. That one hundred and fifty Members at least, be alwaies present in each sitting of the Representative, at the passing of any Law, or doing of any Act, whereby the people are to be bound; saving, That the number of sixty may make an House for Debates, or Resolutions that are preparatory thereunto.

5. That each Representative shall within twenty dayes after their first meeting appoint a Councell of State for the mannaging of Publique Affaires, untill the tenth day after the meeting of the next Representative, unlesse that next Representative think fit to put an end to that trust sooner. And the fame Councell to Act, and proceed therein, according to such Instructions, and limitations, as the Representative shall give, and not otherwise.

6. That in each intervall betwixt Bienniall Representatives, [22] the Councell of State (in case of imminent danger, or extreame necessity) may summon a Representative to be forthwith chosen, and to meet; so as the Session thereof continue not above fourscore dayes, and so as it dissolve, at least, fifty dayes before the appointed time for the next Bienniall Representative, and upon the fiftyeth day so proceeding, it shall dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.

7. That no Member of any Representative be made either Receiuer, Treasurer, or other Officer, during that imployment, saving to be a Member of the Councell of State.

8. That the Representatives have, and shall be understood, to have the Supream trust in order to the preservation and Government of the whole, and that their power extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other Person or Persons, to the erecting & abolishing of Courts of Justice, and publique Offices, and to the enacting, altering, repealing, and declaring of Lawes, and the highest and finall Judgement, concerning all Naturall or Civill things, but not concerning things Spirituall or Evangelicall; Provided, that even in things Naturall and Civill these six particulars next following, are, and shall be understood to be excepted, & reserved from our Representatives, viz.

1. We doe not impower them to Imprest, or constraine any Person to serve in Forrainge Warre either by Sea or Land, nor for any Military Service within the KINGDOME, save that they may take order for the [23] the forming, training and exercising of the people in a military way to be in readinesse for resisting of Forraign Invasions, suppressing of sudden Insurrections, or for assisting in execution of Law; and may take order for the imploying and conducting of them for those ends; provided, That even in such cases none be compellable to go out of the County he lives in, if he procure another to serve in his room.

2. That after the time herein limited for the commencement of the first Representative, none of the people may be at any time questioned for any thing said or done in relation to the late Wars, or publick differences, otherwise then in execution or pursuance of the determinations of the present House of Commons, against such as have adhered to the King, or his interest against the people: And saving that Accomptants for publick monies received, shall remain accomptable for the same.

3. That no securities given, or to be given by the publick Faith of the Nation, nor any engagement of the publick Faith for satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall be made void or invalid by the next or any future Representatives; except to such Creditors, as have, or shall have justly forfeited the same; and saving, That the next Representative may confirm or make null, in part, or in whole, all gifts of Lands, Monies, Offices, or otherwise, made by the present Parliament to any Member or Attendant of either House.

4. That in any Laws hereafter to be made, no person, by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Patent, Degree or Birth, shall be priviledged from subjection thereto, or from being bound thereby, as well as others.

5. That the Representative may not give judgement upon any mans person or estate, where no Law hath before provided; save onely in calling to Accompt, and punishing publick Officers for abusing or failing their Trust.

6. That no Representative may in any wise render up, or [24] give, or take away any the Foundations of common Right, Liberty and Safety contained in this Agreement; nor levell mens Estates, destroy Propriety, or make all things common: And that in all matters of such fundamentall concernment, there shall be a liberty to particular Members of the said Representatives to enter their dissents from the *major* vote.

9. *Concerning Religion, we agree as followeth.*

1. It is intended, That Christian Religion be held forth and recommended, as the publike Profession in this Nation (which wee desire may by the grace of God be reformed to the greatest purity in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline, according to the Word of God.) The instructing of the people whereunto in a publick way (so it be not compulsive) as also the maintaining of able Teachers for that end, and for the confutation or discovery of Heresie, Errour, and whatsoever is contrary to sound Doctrine, is allowed to be provided for by our Representatives; the maintainance of which may be out of a publick Treasury, and wee desire not by Tithes. Provided, That Popery or Prelacy be not held forth as the publick way or profession in this Nation.

2. That to the publick Profession so held forth, none be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but onely may be endeavoured to be won by sound Doctrine, and the example of a good Conversation.

3. That such as professe Faith in God by Jesus Christ, (however differing in judgement from the Doctrine, Worship or Discipline publickly held forth, as aforesaid) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their Faith, and exercise of Religion according to their Consciences, in any place (except such as shall be set apart for the publick Worship, where we provide not for them, unlesse they have leave) so as they abuse not this liberty to the civill injury of others, or to actuall disturbance of [25] the publick Peace on their parts, neverthesse it is not intended to be hereby provided, That this Liberty shall necessarily extend to Popery or Prelacy.

4. That all Laws, Ordinances, Statutes, and clauses in any Law, Statute or Ordinance to the contrary of the Liberty herein, provided for in the two particulars next proceeding concerning Religion, be and are hereby repealed and made void.

10. It is agreed, That whosoever shall by Force of Armes, resist the Orders of the next or any future Representative (except in case where such Representative shall evidently render up, or give, or take away the Foundations of common Right, Liberty and Safety contain'd in this Agreement) shall forthwith after his or their such Resistance lose the benefit and protection of the Laws, and shall be punishable with Death, as an Enemy and Traitour to the Nation.

Of the things exprest in this Agreement, [2] The certain ending of this Parliament (as in the first Article) the equal or proportionable distribution of the number of the Representatives to be elected (as in the second) The certainty of the peoples meeting to elect for Representatives Bienniall, and their freedom in Elections with the certainty of meeting, sitting and ending of Representatives so elected (which are provided for in the third Article) as also the Qualifications of Persons to elect or be elected (as in the first and second particulars under the third Article) Also the certainty of a number for passing a Law or preparatory debates (provided for in the fourth Article) The matter of the fifth Article, concerning the Councill of State: and of the sixth, concerning the calling, sitting and ending of Representatives extraordinary: Also the power of Representatives to be, as in the eighth Article, and limited, as in the fixt, reserves next following the same. Likewise the second and third particulars under the 9th Article concerning Religion, and the whole matter of the 10th Article

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All these we do account and declare to be fundamentall to our common Right, Liberty and Safety; and therefore do both agree thereunto, and resolve to maintain the same, as God shall enable us. The rest of the matters in this Agreement, we account to be usefull and good for the publick, and the particular circumstances of numbers, times and places, expressed in the severall Articles, we account not Fundamentall, but we finde them necessary to be here determined for the making the Agreement certain and practicable, and do hold these most convenient that are here set down, and therefore do positively agree thereunto.

*A Declaration of his Excellency THOMAS Lord FAIRFAX, and his Generall Council of Officers:*

*Concerning the Agreement by them framed in order to Peace, and from them tendred to the People of ENGLAND.*

HAVING ever since the end of the first War longingly waited for some such settlement of the Peace and Government of this Nation, whereby the common Rights, Liberties and safety thereof, might in future be more hopefully provided for; and therein something gained, which might be accounted to the present age and posterity, through the mercy of God, as a fruit of their labours, hazards and sufferings, that have engaged in the common Cause, as some price of the blood spilt, and ballance to the publick expence and damage sustained in the War, and as some due improvement of that succeſſe and blessing God hath pleased to give them: And having not found any such Establishment assayed or endeavoured by those whose proper work it was: But the many addresses and desires of our selves, and others, in that behalf, rejected, [27] discountenanced and opposed, and onely a corrupt closure endeavoured with the King, on tearmes, serving onely to his interest, and theirs that promoted the same: And being thereupon (for the avoidance of the evil thereof, and to make way for some better settlement) necessitated to make extraordinary wayes of remedy (when the ordinary were denied) now to exhibit our utmost endeavours for such a settelement. Whereupon we and other Forces, (with which the Kingdome hath so long beene burthened above measure, and whose continuance shall not be necessary for the immediate safety and quiet therof) may with comfort to our selves, and honesty towards the publique, disband, and returne to our homes and callings; and to the end mens jealousies & fears may be removed concerning any intentions in us to hold up our selves in power, to oppresse or domineer over the people by the sword: And that all men may fully understand those grounds of peace and Government wherupon they may rest assured; we shall for our parts acquiesce. We have spent much time to prepare, and have at last (through the blessing of God) finished a Draught of such a settlement, in the nature of an Agreement of the People for Peace amongst themselves; Which we have lately presented to the Honourable the Commons now assembled in Parliament; and doe herewith tender to the people of this Nation: We shall not otherwise commend it, then to say, It contains the best and most hopefull Foundations for the Peace, and future well Government of this Nation, that we can devise or thinke on within the line of humane power, and such wherein all the people interested in this Land (that have not particular interests of advantage & power over others, divided from that which is common and publique, are indifferently and equally provided for, save where any have justly forfeited their share in that common interest by opposing it, and so rendred themselves incapable thereof (at lest) for some time. And we call the Consciences of all that read or hear it, to witnesse, whether we have therein provided or propounded an4y thing of advantage to our selves in any capacity [28] above others, or ought, but what is as good for one as for another: And therefore as we doubt not but that the Parliament being now freed from the obstructing and perverting Councils of such Members, by many of whom a corrupt compliance with the Kings Interest hath been driven on, and all settlement otherwise hath hither to been hindered) Those remaining worthy Patriots to whom we have presented the Agreement, will for the main allow thereof, and give their seal of Approbation thereby: So we desire and hope, That all good people of *England* whose heart God shall make sensible of their, and our common concernment therein, and of the usefulness and suitableness thereof to the publick ends it holds forth, will cordially embrace it, and by subscription declare their concurrence and accord thereto, when it shall be tendred to them, as is directed therein; wherein if it please God, wee shall finde a good Reception of it with the people of the Nation, or the Well affected therein; We shall rejoyce at the hoped good to the Commonwealth, which through Gods mercy may redound therefrom, and that God hath vouchsafed thereby to make us instrumentall for any good settlement to this poor distressed Country, as he hath formerly made us for the avoiding of evil. But if God shall (in his Righteous Judgement towards this Land) suffer the people to be so blinded as not to see their own common good and freedom, endeavoured to be provided for therein, or any to be so deluded (to their own and the publick prejudice) as to make opposition thereto, whereby the effect of it be hindred, we have, yet, by the preparation and tender of it discharged our Consciences to God, and duty to our native

Country in our utmost endeavours for a settlement, (to the best of our understandings) unto a just publick interest; and hope we shall be acquitted before God and good men, from the blame of any further troubles, distractions or miseries to the Kingdom, which may arise through the neglect or rejection thereof, or opposition thereto. and whereas there are many good things in particular matters which our [29] own Reasons and observations or the Petitions of others have suggested, and which we hold requisite to be provided for in their proper time and way (as the setting of moderate Fines upon such of the Kings Party as shall not be excepted from life, with a certain day for their coming in and submitting, and an Act of Pardon to such as shall come in and submit accordingly, or have already compounded. The settling of a Bevenue for all necessary publick uses, in such a way as the people may be most eased. The assigning of a free & ascertaining of securities for Souldiers arrears, and for publick Debts and Damages. The taking away of Tithes, and putting that maintainance which shall be thought competēt for able Teachers to instruct the people, into some other way, lesse subject to scruple or contention, the clearing and perfecting of Accompts for all publique Monies, the relieving of prisoners for Debt; the removing or reforming of other evils or inconveniencies in the present I aws, and Administrations thereof, the redresse of abuses, and supplying of Defects therein, putting of all the Laws and procedings thererf into the English tongue, the reducing of the course of Law to more brevity and lesse charge, the settling of Courts of Justice and Recordin each County or lesse Divisions of the Kingdom, and the erecting of Courts of Merchants for controversies in trading, and the like.) These and many other things of like sort being of a particular nature, and requiring very particular and mature consideration, with larger experience in the particular matters then we have, and much Caution, that by taking away of present Evils greater inconveniences may not ensue for want of other provisions in the room thereof, where it is necessary and we (for our parts) being far from any Desire or thought to assume or exercise a Law-giving, Judiciall power over the Kingdome, or to meddle in any thing save the fundamental settling of that power in the most equall and hopefull way for Common Right, Freedom, and Safety (as in this Agreement) and having not meanes nor time for, nor the necessity of some present general settlement, admitting the delay of such a consideration, as seems requisite in relation [30] to such numerous particulars, we have purposely declined the inserting of such things into this Agreement. But (as we have formerly expressed our desires that way, so) when the matters of publique Justice, and generall settlement are over, we shall not be wanting (if needfull) humbly to recōmend such particulars to the Parliament, by whom they may more properly, safely, and satisfactorily be provided for, and we doubt not but they will be so, such of them at lest as are of more neare and present concernment by this Parliament, and the rest by future Representatives in due time.

And thus we recommend for present the businesse of this Agreement without further addition to the best consideration of all indifferent and equall minded men, and commit the issue thereof (as of all our ways and concernments) to the good pleasure of the Lord, whose will is better to us then our own, or any inventions of ours, who hath decreed and promised better things then we can wish or imagine, and who is most faithfull to accomplish them in the best way and season.

*By the appointment of the generall Councill of Officers.*  
JOHN RUSHWORTH, Secretary.

*FINIS.*

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*Endnotes*

[1] *Memorandum*, That the Commissioners for the respective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, are to return a Computation of the number of Subscribers in the severall Parishes unto the Trustees herein named before the end of *April* next, at such place, and in such forme as the said Trustees, or any five, or more of them shall direct.

[2] The form of subscription for the Officers of the Army.



8. John Lilburne, William Walwyn, Thomas Prince, Richard Overton, *An Agreement of the Free People of England* (1 May 1649). "The Third Agreement of the People." ↩



**Title ID:** T.191 [1649.05.01] John Lilburne, William Walwyn, Thomas Prince, Richard Overton, *An Agreement of the Free People of England* (1 May 1649). "The Third Agreement of the People."

**Estimated Date of Publication:** 1 May 1649.

**Thomason Tracts Catalogue Information:** TT1, p. 740, E.571/10.

*Full title*

John Lilburne, William Walwyn, Thomas Prince, Richard Overton, *An Agreement of the Free People of England. Tendered as a Peace-Offering to this distressed Nation. By Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, Master William Walwyn, Master Thomas Prince, and Master Richard Overton, Prisoners in the Tower of London, May the 1. 1649.*

Matth. 5.verse 9. Blessed are the Peace-makers for they shall be called the children of God.

London, Printed for Gyles Calvert at the blackspread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls, 1649.

The Tract contains the following parts:

1. A Preparative to all sorts of people

## 2. The Agreement it self

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[1]

*A Preparative to all sorts of people.*

IF AFFLICTIONS make men wise, and wisdom direct to happinesse, then certainly this Nation is not far from such a degree thereof, as may compare if not far exceed, any part of the world: having for some yeares by-past, drunk deep of the Cup of misery and sorrow. We blesse God our consciences are cleer from adding affliction to affliction, having ever laboured from the beginning, of our publick distractions, to compose and reconcile them: & should esteem it the Crown of all our temporal felicity that yet we might be instrumentall in procuring the peace and prosperity of this Common-wealth the land of our Nativity.

And therefore according to our promise in our late *Manifestation* of the 14 of Aprill 1649. (being perswaded of the necessitie and justnesse thereof) as a Peace-Offering to the Free people of this Nation, we tender this ensuing Agreement, not knowing any more effectuall means to put a finall period to all our feares and troubles.

[2]

It is a way of settlement, though at first much startled at by some in high authority; yet according to the nature of truth, it hath made its own way into the understanding, and taken root in most mens hearts and affections, so that we have reall ground to hope (what ever shall become of us) that our earnest desires and indeavours for good to the people will not altogether be null and frustrate.

The life of all things is in the right use and application, which is not our worke only, but every mans conscience must look to it selfe, and not dreame out more seasons and opportunities. And this we trust will satisfie all ingenuous people that we are not such wilde, irracionall, dangerous Creatures as we have been aspersed to be; This agreement being the ultimate end and full scope of all our desires and intentions concerning the Government of this Nation, and wherein we shall absolutely rest satisfied and acquiesce; nor did we ever give just cause for any to beleeeve worse of us by any thing either said or done by us, and which would not in the least be doubted, but that men consider not the interest of those that I have so unchristian-like made bold with our good names; but we must bear with men of such interests as are opposite to any part of this Agreement, when neither our Saviour nor his Apostles innocency could stop such mens mouthes whose interests their doctrines and practises did extirpate; And therefore if friends at least would but consider what interest men relate to, whilst they are telling or whispering their aspersions against us, they would find the reason and save us a great deale of labour in clearing our selves, it being a remarkable signe of an ill cause when aspersions supply the place of Arguments.

We blesse God that he hath given us time and hearts to bring it to this issue, what further he hath for us to do is yet only knowne to his wisdom, to whose will and pleasure we shall willingly submit; we have if we look with the eyes of frailty, enemies like the sons of Anak, but if with the eyes of faith and confidence in a righteous God and a just cause, we see more with us then against us.

JOHN LILBURN. WILLIAM WALWYN.  
THOMAS PRINCE. RICHARD OVERTON.

From our causelesse captivity in the Tower  
of London, May 1. 1649.

*The Agreement it selfe thus followeth.*

After the long and tedious prosecution of a most unnaturall cruell, homebred war, occasioned by divisions and distempers amongst our selves, and those distempers arising from the uncertaintie of our Government, and the exercise of an unlimited or Arbitrary power, by such as have been trusted with Supreme and subordinate Authority, wherby multitudes of grievances and intolerable oppressions have been brought upon us. And finding after eight yeares experience and expectation all indeavours hitherto used, or remedies hitherto applyed, to have encreased rather then diminished our distractions, and that if not speedily prevented our falling againe into factions and divisions, will not only deprive us of the benefit of all those wonderful Victories God hath vouchsafed against such as sought our bondage, but expose us first to poverty and misery, and then to be destroyed by forraigne enemies.

And being earnestly desirous to make a right use of that opportunity God hath given us to make this Nation Free and Happy, to reconcile our differences, and beget a perfect amitie and friendship once more amongst us, that we may stand [3] clear in our consciences before Almighty God, as unbyassed by any corrupt Interest or particular advantages, and manifest to all the world that our indeavours have not proceeded from malice to the persons of any, or enmity against opinions; but in reference to the peace and prosperity of the Common-wealth, and for prevention of like distractions, and removall of all grievances; We the free People of England, to whom God hath given hearts, means and opportunity to effect the same, do with submission to his wisdom, in his name, and desiring the equity thereof may be to his praise and glory; Agree to ascertain our Government, to abolish all arbitrary Power, and to set bounds and limits both to our Supreme, and all Subordinate Authority, and remove all known Grievances.

*And accordingly do declare and publish to all the world, that we are agreed as followeth,*

I. That the Supreme Authority of England and the Territories therewith incorporate, shall be and reside henceforward in a Representative of the People consisting of four hundred persons, but no more; in the choice of whom (according to naturall right) all men of the age of one and twenty yeers and upwards (not being servants, or receiving alms, or having served the late King in Arms or voluntary Contributions) shall have their voices; and be capable of being elected to that Supreme Trust, those who served the King being disabled for ten years onely. All things concerning the distribution of the said four hundred Members proportionable to the respective parts of the Nation, the severall places for Election, the manner of giving and taking of Voyces, with all Circumstances of like nature, tending to the compleating and equall proceedings in Elections, as also their Salary, is referred to be settled by this present Parliament, in such sort as the next Representative may be in a certain capacity to meet with safety at the time herein expressed: and such circumstances to be made more perfect by future Representatives.

II. That two hundred of the four hundred Members, and not lesse, shall be taken and esteemed for a competent Representative; and the major Voyces present shall be concluding to this Nation. The place of Session, and choice of a Speaker, with other circumstances of that nature, are referred to the care of this and future Representatives.

III. And to the end all publick Officers may be certainly accountable, and no Factions made to maintain corrupt Interests, no Officer of any salary, Forces in Army or Garison, nor any Treasurer or Receiver of publick monies, shall (while such) be elected a Member for any Representative; and if any Lawyer shall at any time be chosen, he shall be incapable of practice as a Lawyer, during the whole time of that Trust. And for the same reason, and that all persons may be capable of subjection as well as rule.

III. That no Member of the present Parliament shall be capable of being elected of the next Representative, nor any Member of any future Representative shall be capable of being chosen for the Representative immediately succeeding: but are free to be chosen, one Representative having intervened: Nor shall any Member of any Representative be made either Receiver, Treasurer, or other Officer during that employment.

V. That for avoyding the many dangers and inconveniences apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in Authority; We Agree, that this [4] present Parliament shall end the first Wednesday in August next 1649, and thenceforth be of no power or Authority: and in the mean time shall order and direct the Election of a new and equall Representative, according to the true intent of this our Agreement: and so as the next Representative may meet and sit in power and Authority as an effectuall Representative upon the day following; namely, the first Thursday of the same August, 1649.

VI. We agree, if the present Parliament shall omit to order such Election or Meeting of a new Representative; or shall by any means be hindered from performance of that Trust:

That in such case, we shall for the next Representative proceed in electing thereof in those places, & according to that manner & number formerly accustomed in the choice of Knights and Burgesses; observing onely the exceptions of such persons from being Electors or Elected, as are mentioned before in the first third, and fourth Heads of this Agreement: It being most unreasonable that we should either be kept from new, frequent and successive Representatives, or that the supreme Authority should fall into the hands of such as have manifested disaffection to our common Freedom, and endeavoured the bondage of the Nation.

VII. And for preserving the supreme authority from falling into the hands of any whom the people have not, or shall not chuse, We are resolved and agreed (God willing) that a new Representative shall be upon the first Thursday in August next aforesaid: the ordering and disposing of themselves, as to the choice of a speaker, and the like circumstances, is hereby left to their discretion: But are in the extent and exercise of Power, to follow the direction and rules of this agreement; and are hereby authorised and required according to their best judgements, to set rules for future equall distribution, and election of Members as is herein intended and enjoyned to be done, by the present Parliament.

VIII. And for the preservation of the supreme Authority (in all times) entirely in the hands of such persons only as shal be chosen thereunto—we agree and declare: That the next & al future Representatives, shall continue in full power for the space of one whole year: and that the people shall of course, chuse a Parliament once every year so as all the members thereof may be in a capacity to meet, and take place of the foregoing Representative: the first Thursday in every August for ever if God so please; Also (for the same reason) that the next or any future Representative being met, shall continue their Session day by day without intermission for four monthes at the least; and after that shall be at Liberty to adjourn from two monthes to two months, as they shall see cause untill their yeer be expired, but shall sit no longer then a yeer upon pain of treason to every member that shall exceed that time: and in times of adjournment shall not erect a Council of State but refer the managing of affairs in the intervals to a Committee of their own members, giving such instructions, and publish them, as shall in no measure contradict this agreement.

IX. And that none henceforth may be ignorant or doubtful concerning the power of the Supreme authority, and of the affairs, about which the same is to be conversant and exercised: we agree and declare, that the power of Representatives shall extend without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons,

1. To the conservation of Peace and commerce with forrain Nations.

2. To the preservation of those safe guards, and securities of our lives, limbes, liberties, properties, and estates, contained in the Petition of Right, made and enacted in the third year of the late King.

[5]

3. To the raising of moneys, and generally to all things as shall be evidently conducing to those ends, or to the enlargement of our freedom, redress of grievances, and prosperity of the Commonwealth.

For security whereof, having by wofull experience found the prevalence of corrupt interests powerfully inclining most men once entrusted with authority, to pervert the same to their own domination, and to the prejudice of our Peace and Liberties, we therefore further agree and declare.

X. That we do not impower or entrust our said representatives to continue in force, or to make any Lawes, Oaths, or Covenants, whereby to compell by penalties or otherwise any person to any thing in or about matters of faith, Religion or Gods worship or to restrain any person from the profession of his faith, or exercise of Religion according to his Conscience, nothing having caused more distractions, and heart burnings in all ages, then persecution and molestation for matters of Conscience in and about Religion:

XI. We doe not impower them to impresse or constrain any person to serve in war by Sea or Land every mans Conscience being to be satisfied in the justness of that cause wherein he hazards his own life, or may destroy an others.

And for the quieting of all differences, and abolishing of all enmity and rancour, as much as is now possible for us to effect.

XII. We agree, That after the end of this present Parliament, no person shall be questioned for any thing said or done in reference to the late Warres, or publique differences; otherwise then in pursuance of the determinations of the present Parliament, against such as have adhered to the King against the Liberties of the people: And saving that Accomptants for publick moneys received, shall remain accomptable for the same.

XIII. That all priviledges or exemptions of any persons from the Lawes, or from the ordinary course of Legall proceedings, by vertue of any Tenure, Grant, Charter, Patent, Degree, or Birth, or of any place of residence, or refuge, or priviledge of Parliament, shall be henceforth void and null; and the like not to be made nor revived again.

XIII. We doe not impower them to give judgment upon any ones person or estate, where no Law hath been before provided, nor to give power to any other Court or jurisdiction so to do, Because where there is no Law, there is no transgression, for men or Magistrates to take Cognisance of; neither doe we impower them to intermeddle with the execution of any Law whatsoever.

XV. And that we may remove all long settled Grievances, and thereby as farre as we are able, take away all cause of complaints, and no longer depend upon the uncertain inclination of Parliaments to remove them, nor trouble our selves or them with Petitions after Petitions, as hath been accustomed, without fruit or benefit; and knowing no cause why any should repine at our removall of them, except such as make advantage by their continuance, or are related to some corrupt Interests, which we are not to regard.

We agree and Declare,

XVI. That it shall not be in the power of any Representative, to punish, or cause to be punished, any person or persons for refusing to answer to questions against themselves in Criminal cases.

XVII. That it shall not be in their power, after the end of the next Representative, to continue or constitute any proceedings in Law that shall be longer then Six months in the final determination of any cause past all Appeal, nor to continue the Laws or proceedings therein in any other Language then English, nor to hinder any person or persons from [6] pleading their own Causes, or of making use of whom they please to plead for them.

The reducing of these and other the like provisions of this nature in this Agreement provided, and which could not now in all particulars be perfected by us, is intended by us to be the proper works of faithful Representatives.

XVIII. That it shall not be in their power to continue or make any Laws to abridge or hinder any person or persons, from trading or merchandizing into any place beyond the Seas, where any of this Nation are free to Trade.

XIX. That it shall not be in their power to continue Excise or Customes upon any sort of Food, or any other Goods, Wares, or Commodities, longer then four months after the beginning of the next Representative, being both of them extreme burthensome and oppressive to Trade, and so expensive in the Receipt, as the moneys expended therein (if collected as Subsidies have been) would extend very far towards defraying the publick Charges; and forasmuch as all Moneys to be raised are drawn from the People; such burthensome and chargeable wayes, shall never more be revived, nor shall they raise Moneys by any other ways (after the aforesaid time) but only by an equal rate in the pound upon every reall and personall estate in the Nation.

XX. That it shall not be in their power to make or continue any Law, whereby mens reall or personall estates, or any part thereof, shall be exempted from payment of their debts; or to imprison any person for debt of any nature, it being both unchristian in it self, and no advantage to the Creditors, and both a reproach and prejudice to the Commonwealth.

XXI. That it shall not be in their power to make or continue any Law, for taking away any mans life, except for murther, or other the like hainous offences destructive to humane Society, or for endeavouring by force to destroy this our Agreement, but shall use their uttermost endeavour to appoint punishments equall to offences: that so mens Lives, Limbs, Liberties, and estates, may not be liable to be taken away upon trivial or slight occasions as they have been; and shall have speciall care to preserve, all sorts of people from wickedness misery and beggery: nor shall the estate of any capitall offender be confiscate but in cases of treason only; and in all other capitall offences recompence shall be made to the parties damnified, as well out of the estate of the Malifactor, as by loss of life, according to the conscience of his jury.

XXII. That it shall not be in their power to continue or make any Law, to deprive any person, in case of Tryals for Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate from the benefit of witnesses on his or their behalf; nor deprive any person of those priviledges, and liberties, contained in the Petition of Right, made in the third yeer of the late King Charls.

XXIII. That it shall not be in their power to continue the Grievance of Tithes, longer then to the end of the next Representative; in which time, they shall provide to give reasonable satisfaction to all Impropriators: neither shall they force by penalties or otherwise any person to pay towards the maintenance of any Ministers, who out of conscience cannot submit thereunto.

XXIV. That it shall not be in their power to impose Ministers upon any the respective Parishes, but shall give free liberty to the parishioners of every particular parish, to chuse such as themselves shall approve; and upon such terms, and for such reward, as themselves shall be willing to contribute, or shall contract for. Provided, none be chusers but such as are capable of electing Representatives.

XXV. That it shall not be in their power, to continue or make a law, for any other way of Judgments, or Conviction of life, limb, liberty, or estate, but onely by twelve sworn men of the Neighborhood; to be chosen in some free way by the people; to be directed [7] before the end of the next Representative, and not picked and imposed, as hitherto in many places they have been.

XXVI. They shall not disable any person from bearing any office in the Common-wealth, for any opinion or practice in Religion, excepting such as maintain the Popes (or other forraign) Supremacy.

XXVII. That it shall not be in their power to impose any publike officer upon any Counties, Hundreds, Cities, Towns, or Borroughs; but the people capable by this Agreement to chuse Representatives, shall chuse all their publike Officers that are in any kinde to administer the Law for their respective places, for one whole yeer, and no longer, and so from yeer to yeer: and this as an especial means to avoyd Factions, and Parties.

And that no person may have just cause to complain, by reason of taking away the Excise and Customs, we agree,

XXVIII. That the next, and all future Representatives shall exactly keep the publike Faith, and give full satisfaction, for all securities, debts, arrears or damages, (justly chargeable) out of the publike Treasury; and shall confirm and make good all just publike Purchases and Contracts that have been, or shall be made; save that the next Representative may confirm or make null in part or in whole, all gifts of Lands, Moneys, Offices, or otherwise made by the present Parliament, to any Member of the House of Commons, or to any of the Lords, or to any of the attendants of either of them.

And for as much as nothing threateneth greater danger to the Common-wealth, then that the Military power should by any means come to be superior to the Civil Authority,

XXIX. We declare and agree, That no Forces shall be raised, but by the Representatives, for the time being; and in raising thereof, that they exactly observe these Rules, namely, That they allot to each particular County, City, Town, and Borrough, the raising, furnishing, agreeing, and paying of a due proportion, according to the whole number to be levied; and shall to the Electors of Representatives in each respective place, give Free liberty, to nominate and appoint all Officers appertaining to Regiments, Troops, and Companies, and to remove them as they shall see cause, Reserving to the Representative, the nominating and appointing onely of the General, and all General-Officers; and the ordering, regulatng, and commanding of them all, upon what service shall seem to them necessary for the Safety, Peace, and Freedom of the Common-wealth.

And in as much as we have found by sad experience, That generally men make little or nothing, to innovate in Government, to exceed their time and power in places of trust, to introduce an Arbitrary, and Tyrannical power, and to overturn all things into Anarchy and Confusion, where there are no penalties imposed for such destructive crimes and offences,

XXX. We therefore agree and declare, That it shall not be in the power of any Representative, in any wise, to render up, or give, or take away any part of this Agreement, nor level mens Estates, destroy Propriety, or make all things Common: And if any

Representative shall endeavor, as a Representative, to destroy this Agreement, every Member present in the House, not entering or immediately publishing his dissent, shall incur the pain due for High Treason, and be proceeded against accordingly; and if any person or persons, shall by force endeavor or contrive, the destruction thereof, each person so doing, shall likewise be dealt withal as in cases of Treason.

And if any person shall by force of Arms disturb Elections of Representatives, he shall incur the penalty of a Riot; and if any person not capable of being an Elector, or Elected, shall intrude themselves amongst those that are, or any persons shall behave themselves rudely and disorderly, such persons shall be liable to a presentment by a grand Inquest [8] and to an indictment upon misdemeanor; and be fined and otherwise punish'd according to the discretion and verdict of a Jury. And all Laws made or that shall be made contrary to any part of this Agreement are hereby made null and void.

Thus, as becometh a free People, thankfull unto God for this blessed opportunity, and desirous to make use thereof to his glory, in taking off every yoke, and removing every burthen, in delivering the captive, and setting the oppressed free; we have in all the particular Heads forementioned, done as we would be done unto, and as we trust in God will abolish all occasion of offence and discord, and produce the lasting Peace and Prosperity of this Common-wealth: and accordingly do in the sincerity of our hearts and consciences, as in the presence of Almighty God, give cleer testimony of our absolute agreement to all and every part hereof by subscribing our hands thereunto. Dated the first day of May, in the Yeer of our Lord 1649.

*JOHN LILBURN.*  
*WILLIAM WALWYN.*  
*THOMAS PRINCE.*  
*RICHARD OVERTON.*

April 30. 1649.

*Imprimatur. GILBERT MABBOT*

FINIS.

*London, Printed for Gyles Calvert at the black spread-Eagle at the West end of Pauls.*