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JOHN MILTON PROSE

MAJOR WRITINGS ON LIBERTY, POLITICS, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION

EDITED BY
DAVID LOEWENSTEIN

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For Barbara Lewalski and in Memory of Norman T. Burns



Figure 1 Portrait of Milton at age 62 by William Faithorne; from *The History of Britain* (1670). By permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

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mimics, apes & Kicshoes.¹¹² But if they desire to see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience, and make wise observation, they will by that time be such as shall deserve the regard and honour of all men where they passe, and the society and friendship of those in all places who are best and most eminent. And perhaps then other Nations will be glad to visit us for their breeding, or else to imitate us in their own Country.

Now lastly for their diet there cannot be much to say, save only that it would be best in the same house; for much time else would be lost abroad, and many ill habits got, and that it should be plain, healthfull, and moderat I suppose is out of controversie. Thus Master Hartlib, you have a generall view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at severall times I had discourst with you concerning the best and Noblest way of

Education; not beginning, as some have done from the cradle, which yet might be worth many considerations, if brevity had not been my scope, many other circumstances also I could have mention'd, but this to such as have the worth in them to make triall, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himselfe a teacher; but will require sinews almost equall to those which Homer gave Ulysses,¹¹³ yet I am withall perswaded that it may prove much more easie in the assay, then it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious: howbeit not more difficult then I imagine, and that imagination presents me with nothing but very happy and very possible according to best wishes; if God have so decreed, and this age have spirit and capacity enough to apprehend.

The end.

¹¹² Kicshoes: fantastical, frivolous persons.

¹¹³ Ulysses, a renowned archer, possessed a legendary bow that only he could string.

AREOPAGITICA; A SPEECH OF MR. JOHN MILTON

PREFATORY NOTE

Milton published *Areopagitica* unlicensed and unregistered in November 1644, a response to Parliament's Licensing Order of June 1643, which required that appointed officers examine books before their publication. During the Personal Rule of Charles I (1629–40), when the king had dispensed with Parliament, there had been strict censorship; censorship, however, collapsed with Parliament's abolition of the Court of Star Chamber (the court of law maintaining royal authority during the Personal Rule) in July 1641. The Long Parliament did try to introduce a system of censorship – the Licensing Order of 1643 was one attempt to do so – but it did little to diminish the great outpouring of print during these years of the English Revolution. As Milton addresses Parliament in the form of an oration, he challenges it to seize the great historical moment to further reform and shows a keen awareness of the capacity of print to fuel political and religious debate with "much arguing, much writing, [and] many opinions." He is likewise acutely aware of the power of print to influence ideas in a more radical direction and to contribute to the making of free citizens. The tract conveys the sense of excitement about the possibility for national renewal generated by the voicing of new political and religious ideas during the upheavals of the early 1640s. Simultaneously, it expresses Milton's keen sense of authorship: the power of the visionary writer to help forge, by means of his own controversial writing, the godly English nation during a period often characterized by heady expressions of apocalyptic exhilaration.

Milton takes his title from The Seventh Oration of Isocrates, which was entitled *Aeropagiticus*. Isocrates (436–338 BC) was an influential Athenian rhetorician, who was unable to speak in public and instead wrote out his speeches. Isocrates' *Aeropagiticus* advocated that the dwindling juridical powers of the council of Areopagus should be restored to govern all aspects of civic life. Milton, however, speaks for liberty and only qualified censorship (he rejects pre-publication censorship). In Milton's text Parliament becomes the English Areopagus, analogous to the ancient council of Athens. The tract's title also evokes Ares, the god of war, and likely recalls St Paul's speech before the Areopagus in Acts 17:19–31 as he stands in the midst of Mars' hill and urges his audience not to be superstitious, idolatrous, or ignorant, and to seek the Lord.

This dense piece of imagistic prose is a major text in the history of censorship, in the history of religious toleration, and in the writing of the English Revolution. It is also a central text in Milton's own career as a visionary writer: as Milton presents himself as a prophet writing on behalf of the English nation, he engages with crucial epistemological issues (for example, the knowledge of good and evil) in ways that anticipate his great epic, *Paradise Lost*. The vivid, robust, and nuanced prose of *Areopagitica* eloquently articulates issues of temptation, trial, conflict, the importance of choice, and the testing of virtue in ways that are distinctly Miltonic.

The copy-text used here is from the Thomason Collection in the British Library: Thomason / E.18[9]; Wing, M2092.

AREOPAGITICA;
A
SPEECH
OF
Mr. JOHN MILTON
For the Liberty of VNLICENC'D
PRINTING,
To the PARLAMENT of ENGLAND

Τούλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρηστὸν τι βούλευμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων;
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾷ. τί τούτων ἔστιν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

*This is true Liberty when free born men
Having to advise the public may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserv's high praise,
Who neither can nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State then this?*

Euripid. Hicetid.¹

LONDON,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.

¹ Milton translates from Euripides, *The Suppliant Women* (lines 438–41), words spoken by Theseus, king of Athens, in a speech about freedom versus the hostile effects of a tyrant on a city.

They who to States² and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parlament, or wanting such accesse in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the publick good; I suppose them as at the beginning of no meane endeavour, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes: Some with doubt of what will be the successe, others with feare of what will be the censure: some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speake. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these formost expressions now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this addresse thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface. Which though I stay not to confesse ere any aske, I shall be blamelesse, if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their Countries liberty; whereof this whole Discourse propos'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a Trophey. For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attain'd, that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery,³ it will bee attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God our deliverer, next to your faithful guidance and undaunted Wisdome, Lords and Commons of England. Neither is it in Gods esteeme the dimi-

nution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy Magistrates; which if I now first should begin to doe, after so fair a progresse of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation⁴ upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardiest, and the unwillingest of them that praise yee. Neverthelesse there being three principall things, without which all praising is but Courtship and flattery, First, when that only is prais'd which is solidly worth praise: next when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascrib'd, the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actuall perswasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium*;⁵ the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserv'd opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best cov'nant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising; for though I should affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisht Orders which I should name, were call'd in, yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your milde and equall Government, when as private persons are hereby animated to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice, then other statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a

² Heads of state.

³ Milton compares the godly revolt against Charles I and the power of the bishops with the impotence of Rome to shed tyranny under its emperors and popes.

⁴ The Long Parliament met in November 1640, four years before Milton published his tract.

⁵ The Royalist Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich and Exeter (1574–1656), briefly praises Parliament in *Modest Confutation of a Slandorous and Scurrilous Libel* (1642), but Milton criticizes his praise as disingenuous in his *Apology Against a Pamphlet*.

trienniall Parliament,⁶ and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates and cabin Counsellours that usurpt of late,⁷ when as they shall observe yee in the midd'st of your Victories and successes⁸ more gently brooking writt'n exceptions against a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake ostentation of wealth, would have endur'd the least signifi'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus farre presume upon the meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatnesse, Lords and Commons, as what your publisht Order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend my selfe with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* statelines.⁹ And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Goths* and *Jutlanders*,¹⁰ I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of *Athens*,¹¹ that perswades them to change the forme of *Democracy* which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those dayes to men who profest the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Siniories¹² heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had ought in publick to admonish the State. Thus did *Dion Prusæus* a stranger and a privat

Orator counsell the *Rhodians* against a former Edict,¹³ and I abound with other like examples, which to set heer would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude,¹⁴ so much must be derogated, as to count me not equall to any of those who had this priviledge, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as your selves are superior to the most of them who receiv'd their counsell: and how farre you excell them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons, there can no greater testimony appear, then when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeyes the voice of reason from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your Predecessors.¹⁵

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both that love of truth which ye eminently professe, and that uprightness of your judgement which is not wont to be partiall to your selves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd to regulate *Printing. That no Book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth Printed, unlesse the same be first approv'd and licenc't by such, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed.*¹⁶ For that part which

⁶ Parliament's Triennial Act of February 1641 sought to curb the king's power to summon and dismiss Parliament by declaring that the king should summon Parliament at least every three years.

⁷ The advisers to Charles I who counseled the king during the years he avoided summoning the Parliament (e.g., during the Personal Rule: 1629–40).

⁸ Parliament won a great victory at Marston Moor in July 1644, yet its forces had failed to defeat the king.

⁹ The Huns were a nomadic Asian people who conquered the Goths in the 4th century and threatened the Roman Empire in the 5th century. Scandinavians had a reputation for arrogance in England; hence Milton's jibe at "Norwegian stateliness."

¹⁰ Goths were Germanic tribes who assailed Europe in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th centuries; Jutes were a Low Germanic tribe that invaded England and settled there in the 5th and 6th centuries. Both tribes were considered barbarians.

¹¹ Isocrates addressed the popular assembly called the ecclesia in *Areopagiticus* (c. 354).

¹² Siniories: lordships, domains.

¹³ Dion Chrysostom (c. AD 40–c. 111), also known as Dio Prusa, was a Greek orator and philosopher who condemned the tyranny of the Roman emperor Domitian and was supported by his enlightened successors Nerva and Trajan.

¹⁴ Milton refers to Aristotle's theory (*Politics*, VII, vii) that a cold climate dampened the intellect; cf. *Paradise Lost*, IX, 44–6.

¹⁵ For a similar address to Parliament, see William Walwyn's *The Compassionate Samaritane* (1644), a plea for liberty of conscience and warning about the effect of the Licensing Order of 1643.

¹⁶ The Licensing Order passed by Parliament on June 14, 1643 required licensing, signature, copyright, and import control on all printed material in addition to the rights of the Parliament to search for and seize materials and to arrest and imprison

preserves justly every mans Copy¹⁷ to himselfe, or provides for the poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretenses to abuse and persecute honest and painfull Men, who offend not in either of these particulars.¹⁸ But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadragesimal* and *matrimonial*¹⁹ when the Prelats expir'd,²⁰ I shall now attend with such a Homily, as shall lay before ye, first the inventors of it to bee those whom ye will be loath to own; next what is to be thought in generall of reading, what ever sort the Books be; and that this Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be suppress. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindring and cropping the discovery that might bee yet further made both in religious and civill Wisdome.²¹

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively,

and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.²² And yet on the other hand unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Booke; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalmd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd life of man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdome, and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence,²³ the breath of reason it selfe, slaies an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing, I refuse not the paines to be so much Historicall, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out

authors and printers. The Stationers' Company, who traditionally controlled printing, was restored as the administrator and enforcer of censorship, thereby serving the political needs of the government. The Licensing Order essentially reestablished the longstanding regulations of printing that had briefly been lifted by the collapse of the court of Star Chamber in 1640.

¹⁷ Copy: copyright.

¹⁸ The second paragraph of the Licensing Order forbids the printing of any texts without the author's permission. The Licensing Order also disallows the printing or reprinting of a text to save the author or his/her dependants from poverty without the license or consent of the Stationers.

¹⁹ *quadragesimal*: pertaining to the forty days of Lent and referring to permission (dispensation) to break the customary Church of England fast. *matrimonial*: refers to the bishops giving permissions to marry without publishing of the banns.

²⁰ The bishops rapidly lost power along with their patron and protector Charles I when Parliament seized control of the government, although episcopacy was not formally abolished until October 1646.

²¹ cf. Henry Robinson, *Liberty of Conscience* (1644), for a similar argument.

²² Sown by Cadmus, legendary founder of Thebes, who slays a dragon and is instructed by Athena to sow half its teeth; the armed men that sprang up killed each other, with the exception of five, who became the ancestors of the Thebans.

²³ The first four elements are earth, water, air, and fire; the fifth is ethereal, the constituent of the heavenly bodies. See *Paradise Lost*, III, 714–19.

of the *Inquisition*,²⁴ was caught up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

In *Athens* where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of *Greece*, I finde but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of; those either blasphemous and Atheisticall, or Libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Iudges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt, and himselfe banisht the territory for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know whether there were gods, or whether not.²⁵ And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comædia*, whereby we may guesse how they censur'd libelling.²⁶ And this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes,²⁷ to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd. Of other sects and opinions though tending to voluptuousnesse, and the denying of divine providence they tooke no heed. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*,²⁸ or that libertine school of *Cyrene*,²⁹ or what the *Cynick* impudence utter'd,³⁰ was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the

writings of those old Comedians were suppress, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Aristophanes* the loosest of them all, to his royall scholler *Dionysius*, is commonly known, and may be excus'd,³¹ if holy *Chrysostome*, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing Sermon.³² That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, considering that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of *Jonia* the scatter'd workes of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from *Creet* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes,³³ the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wonder'd how muselesse and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they dislik'd all, but their owne *Laconick*³⁴ *Apothegms*, and took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of their City,³⁵ perhaps for composing in a higher straine then their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to: Or if it were

²⁴ The *Inquisition* became a distinct ecclesiastical tribunal in 1231, when Pope Honorius III made it part of ecclesiastical criminal law. In 1478, Ferdinand and Isabella appointed Torquemada to be the first Grand Inquisitor and supported an aggressive *Inquisition* in Spain.

²⁵ *Protagoras* (c. 490–420 BC), a celebrated Greek philosopher and teacher of rhetoric. His famous doctrine was "the human being is the measure of all things." In a treatise on the gods, he disavowed any ability to know whether they existed; Milton refers to the ancient tradition of his condemnation for impiety and flight from Athens.

²⁶ Milton assumes that Athenian playwrights abandoned the vituperative personal lampoons popular in the Old Comedy on account of legislation, but in fact scholars have found that there was only one law that briefly prohibited it from c. 440–437 BC.

²⁷ Cicero (leading Roman orator, statesman, and philosopher, 106–43 BC), *On the Nature of the Gods*, I, xxiii; see also *Prolusion VI*, note 12.

²⁸ *Epicurus* (341–270 BC), Greek philosopher who taught that the wise conduct of life was obtained through the senses; happiness consists in attaining tranquility of mind achieved through a better understanding of nature and avoiding pain and unsatisfied desire. For Epicurus pleasure is identical with the good.

²⁹ *Aristippus*, an associate of Socrates, founded a school of philosophy in the Greek colony of *Cyrene* that advocated pleasure as the chief end of life.

³⁰ *Diogenes of Sinope* (c. 412/403–325 BC), a Cynic philosopher, was infamous for his insolence as a principle of conduct.

³¹ An anonymous *Life of Aristophanes* established the tradition that *Plato* recommended his plays to *Dionysus*, the tyrant of *Syracuse* (c. 367–356 BC).

³² *St John Chrysostom* (c. 347–407), bishop of Constantinople, archbishop of Antioch, and influential church father, was a famous preacher; his name means "golden mouthed" in Greek.

³³ *Lycurgus*: semi-legendary Spartan lawgiver. *Thales* (c. 7th century BC) was a poet and musician; in his *Life of Lycurgus*, *Plutarch* wrote that *Lycurgus* brought him to Sparta, which is unlikely because *Thales* is estimated to have lived two centuries later than *Lycurgus*.

³⁴ *Laconick*: Spartan and thus terse.

³⁵ *Archilochus* (c. 7th century BC), Greek lyric poet and writer of lampoons; later classical writers claimed that his poems were suppressed in Sparta because of their licentiousness and that he was expelled from the city for expressing unheroic sentiment.

for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste.³⁶ Thus much may give us light after what sort Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, resembling most the *Lacedæmonian* guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve Tables,³⁷ and the *Pontifick* College³⁸ with their *Augurs*³⁹ and *Flamins*⁴⁰ taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other learning, that when *Carneades*⁴¹ and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick* *Diogenes* comming Embassadors to *Rome*, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their Philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no lesse a man then *Cato* the Censor,⁴² who mov'd it in the Senat to dismissee them speedily, and to banish all such Attick babblers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio*⁴³ and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old *Sabin* austerity; honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Censor himself at last in his old

age fell to the study of that whereof before hee was so scrupulous. And yet at the same time *Nævius* and *Plautus* the first Latine comedians had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*.⁴⁴ Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be don to libellous books and Authors; for *Nævius* was quickly cast into prison for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his recantation: We read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punish't by *Augustus*.⁴⁵ The like severity no doubt was us'd if ought were impiously writt'n against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in Books, the Magistrat kept no reckning. And therefore *Lucretius* without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by *Cicero* so great a father of the Commonwealth; although himselfe disputes against that opinion in his own writings.⁴⁶ Nor was the Satyricall sharpnesse, or naked plainnes of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any order prohibited.⁴⁷ And for matters of State, the story

³⁶ In *Andromache*, *Euripides* (c. 485–c. 406 BC) questions the chasteness of Spartan girls who notoriously participated in nude gymnastic exercises with Spartan youths.

³⁷ twelve Tables: the basic foundations of Roman law; see *Prolusion VII*, note 17.

³⁸ The Pontifical College organized all religious rites in ancient Rome in addition to managing the intricate Roman calendar and all public engineering projects.

³⁹ Priests who consulted omens before public acts and events.

⁴⁰ Fifteen priests subordinate to the Augurs, who each served different gods and attended to the sacrificial fires daily. See also *Of Reformation*, note 7.

⁴¹ *Carneades* (c. 213–129 BC), a Sceptic philosopher who established the Third Academy at Athens. Athens sent him on an embassy to Rome with *Critolaus* and *Diogenes* to request remission of a fine for demolishing *Oropus* in 155 BC; during his visit, he made speeches that alternatively proved and disproved the existence of justice, prompting *Cato* to condemn his philosophy as subversive.

⁴² *Marcus Porcius Cato* (c. 234–149 BC) became a rigorous Roman Censor in 184 BC after a successful military career; *Plutarch* recounts this anecdote in *Cato the Censor*.

⁴³ *Scipio the Younger* or *Scipio Aemilianus* (c. 185–129 BC), Roman patron of the arts and Greek culture. See also *Prolusion VI*, note 29. The Sabines were an ancient people of central Italy.

⁴⁴ *Nævius* produced satiric plays in Rome from about 235–204 BC; he was imprisoned for attacks on important aristocrats and forced to recant; then exiled for repeating his offense. *Plautus* (c. 254–184 BC) was the most popular Roman comic dramatist of his time, and often borrowed plot structures from Greek "New Comedy" whose practitioners included rival Athenian playwrights *Menander* (c. 342–291 BC) and *Philemon* (c. 361–263 BC).

⁴⁵ Milton's source for this observation about Emperor *Augustus Caesar* (63 BC–AD 14) is *Tacitus, Annals*, I, lxxii.

⁴⁶ In *De rerum natura*, *Lucretius* defends Epicurean philosophy; the book was dedicated to the Roman praetor *Memmius*. Although *St Jerome* wrote that *Cicero* edited *Lucretius* in his chronicle of *Eusebius*, many scholars doubt this on account of his repeated attacks on Epicureanism in his works.

⁴⁷ *Lucilius* (c. 180–102 BC), Latin satirical poet who established a tradition of vituperative satire which included outspoken criticism of authors and men in public life. *Catullus* (c. 84–c. 54 BC), Roman poet whose poems included satires and political lampoons, including verses lampooning *Julius Caesar*. *Horace*, *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* (65–8 BC), Roman poet: his satiric poems mocked vice in general rather than contemporary political figures.

of Titus Livius, though it extoll'd that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppress by Octavius Caesar of the other Faction.⁴⁸ But that Naso was by him banisht in his old age, for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret cause: and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in.⁴⁹ From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if not so often bad, as good Books were silenc'd. I shall therefore deem to have bin large enough in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the Emperors were become Christians,⁵⁰ whose discipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more severe then what was formerly in practice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the Emperor.⁵¹ As for the writings of Heathen authors, unlesse they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited,⁵² till about the year 400. in a Carthaginian Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles,

but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no furdur, but leaving it to each ones conscience to read or to lay by, till after the yeare 800. is observ'd already by Padre Paolo the great unmasker of the Trentine Council.⁵³ After which time the Popes of Rome engrossing what they pleas'd of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgements, burning and prohibiting to be read, what they fanciesd not; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with: till Martin the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of hereticall Books;⁵⁴ for about that time Wicklef and Husse growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting.⁵⁵ Which cours Leo the 10. and his successors follow'd, untill the Councell of Trent, and the Spanish Inquisition engendring together brought forth, or perfered those Catalogues, and expurgung Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author, with a violation wors then any could be offer'd to his tomb.⁵⁶

⁴⁸ According to Tacitus (*Annals*, IV, 34), Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BC–AD 17), the Roman historian, lavished praise on Pompey, Augustus' political rival.

⁴⁹ Ovid, Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC–AD 17), urbane Roman poet whose works were highly influential during the Renaissance, may have been banished from Rome on account of a scandalous intrigue with Augustus' granddaughter, Julia.

⁵⁰ Constantine, the first Christian emperor, ruled from AD 306–333; Milton often refers to him critically in *Of Reformation*.

⁵¹ Milton's discussion of the efforts of councils and popes to suppress the spread of heresy has been drawn from Paolo Sarpi, *The Historie of the Council of Trent*, trans. Nathaniel Brent (1620), 472–3; see also *Of Reformation*, note 140.

⁵² Porphyry (c. AD 233–c. 305), Neoplatonist philosopher who studied in Rome with Plotinus (the chief proponent of Neoplatonism), wrote a treatise entitled *Against the Christians*, which was burned in the 5th century. Proclus (AD 412–485), Athenian Neoplatonist philosopher who defended paganism and opposed Christianity.

⁵³ The Council of Trent, crucial to the Counter-Reformation, met often between 1545 and 1563 to respond to Protestant theology and the growing numbers of Protestants, to address issues of reform within the Catholic Church, and to reaffirm Roman Catholic doctrine.

⁵⁴ Martin V, Otto Colonna, was pope from 1417 to 1431. Here Milton deviates from Sarpi's account, because Sarpi had only seen the bull in its abridged and more innocuous form; Milton, however, had access to the complete bull, which sought to excommunicate all suspected heretics, in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

⁵⁵ John Wyclif or Wycliffe (d. 1384), the great 14th-century religious reformer and scholar at Oxford; he is known for his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation and for advocating the translation of Scripture into English. Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415) was a Bohemian reformer who spread Wyclif's heretical doctrines throughout Europe and was burned for heresy in July 1415.

⁵⁶ Leo X, Giovanni de' Medici, pope from 1513 to 1521. His bull of 1515 decreed all writings were subject to censorship; he also excommunicated Luther (1520). Pope Paul IV issued the first *Index of Prohibited Books* and the *Index of Expurgations* from books that were otherwise permissible in 1559.

Nor did they stay in matters Hereticall, but any subject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, pamphlet, or paper should be Printed (as if S. Peter had bequeath'd them the keys of the Presse also out of Paradise) unlesse it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example:

Let the Chancellor Cini be pleas'd to see if in this present work be contain'd ought that may withstand the Printing.

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and finde nothing athwart the Catholick faith and good manners: In witnesse whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolò Cini Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allow'd that this present work of Davanzati may be Printed,⁵⁷

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be Printed, July 15.

Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia
Chancellor of the holy office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomlesse pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would barre him down. I feare their next designe will be to get into their custody the licencing of that which they say Claudius intended,⁵⁸ but went not through with. Voutsafe to see another of their forms the Roman stamp:

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend Master of the holy Palace,

Belcastro Vicegerent.

Imprimatur

Friar Nicolò Rodolphi Master
of the holy Palace.

Sometimes 5 *Imprimaturs* are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n reverences,⁵⁹ whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shall to the Presse or to the sponge. These are the prety responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies⁶⁰ that so bewicht of late our Prelats, and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from Lambeth house, another from the West end of Pauls;⁶¹ so apishly Romanizing, that the word of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latine: or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous, and formost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption English. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall of Book-licencing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or politie, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Ancestors elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed City, or

⁵⁷ *On the English Schism* by Bernardo Davanzati (1529–1606) was reissued in Florence in 1638 with the permissives to print which Milton reproduces here.

⁵⁸ Claudius (10 BC–AD 54), Roman Emperor; Milton refers mockingly to licensing "Claudius intended" about the breaking of wind. In the margin, Milton quotes in Latin from Suetonius' *Life of Claudius*, xxxii: "He is even said to have thought of an edict by which he would allow the privilege of breaking wind quietly or noisily at table [*Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi*]."

⁵⁹ The licensers appointed by the Inquisition were generally Dominican monks, who shaved part of their heads upon entering the order.

⁶⁰ *responsories*: selections from the Psalms sung between readings during mass; *Antiphonies*: hymns sung in alternate parts by the choir.

⁶¹ *Lambeth house*: the chief residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; St Paul's is the cathedral church of the Bishop of London and his palace used to be located in its precincts. A decree of Star Chamber concerning printing (1637) determined that all books must be approved by the Archbishops of Canterbury and London.

books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evill substance; and yet God in that unapocryphall vision, said without exception, Rise *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each mans discretion.⁸³ Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occasions of evill. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. Wherof what better witnes can ye expect I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parliamt, the chief of learned men reputed in this Land, Mr. *Selden*, whose volume of naturall & national laws proves,⁸⁴ not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service & assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when God did enlarge the universall diet of mans body, saving ever the rules of temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular Law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tab'd the Jews from heaven, that Omer which was every mans daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many

meals.⁸⁵ For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivat under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which hertofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us that much reading is a wearines to the flesh;⁸⁶ but neither he, nor other inspir'd author tells us that such, or such reading is unlawfull: yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull, then what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. *Pauls* converts, tis reply'd the books were magick, the Syriack so renders them.⁸⁷ It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed: these men practiz'd the books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt.⁸⁸ It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World.⁸⁹ And perhaps this is that doom which *Adam* fell into of knowing good and evill, that is to say of knowing good by evill. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be

to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend, and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring⁹⁰ Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall⁹¹ whitenesse; Which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*, describing true temperance under the person of *Guyon*, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bow of earthly blisse that he might see and know, and yet abstain.⁹² Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human vertue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can

we more safely, and with lesse danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of tractats, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read. But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckon'd. First, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human learning and controversie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible itselfe; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely,⁹³ it describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against providence through all the arguments of *Epicurus*.⁹⁴ In other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that *Moses* and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv.⁹⁵ For these causes we all know the Bible it selfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as *Clement of Alexandria*,⁹⁶ and that *Eusebian* book of Evangelick preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel.⁹⁷ Who finds not that *Irenaeus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others discover more heresies then they well confute, and that oft for heresie which is the truer opinion.⁹⁸ Nor boots it⁹⁹ to say

⁸³ Acts 10:9–16.

⁸⁴ John Selden (1584–1654), *De jure naturali et gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebrorum* (1640), a weighty treatise reducing the minimal moral duties of humans to seven laws imposed by God; the passage Milton refers to is in the preface. The polymath Selden was a distinguished lawyer, historical and linguistic scholar; he was a member of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly.

⁸⁵ Omer: the ration of manna God ordered Moses to give each Israelite daily; see Exodus 16.

⁸⁶ Ecclesiastes 12:12.

⁸⁷ Acts 19:11–20. Syriack: branch of Aramaic into which some early versions of the Bible were translated.

⁸⁸ In Apuleius' 2nd-century Latin romance *The Golden Ass*, Venus orders Psyche to sort out a vast quantity of different intermixed grains in a single day; she is saved by ants who sort the grains for her.

⁸⁹ Genesis 3:5 and 22.

⁹⁰ The first edition has "wayfaring," but the context and imagery of the passage (with its emphasis on struggle) support "warfaring"; moreover, early presentation copies of the tract have the "y" crossed through and an "r" written above it.

⁹¹ excrementall: external, as in the nature of an excrescence.

⁹² John Duns Scotus (c. 1265–1308), Franciscan friar and influential scholastic philosopher. St Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225–74), Dominican friar, scholastic philosopher, and author of the *Summa Theologica*. Milton slightly misremembers the particulars of *Spencer's* allegorical epic *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596); the Palmer does not accompany Guyon, the knight of Temperance, to Mammon's cave. See *The Faerie Queene*, Book II, vii, 2 and viii, 3.

⁹³ nicely: i.e., fastidiously, with reserve.

⁹⁴ A reference to the popular conception of Epicureanism as a philosophy devoted to luxury and sensual pleasure. See note 28.

⁹⁵ By "Talmudist," Milton means a student of the Talmud, a compilation of traditional Hebraic commentaries on Scripture. "Chetiv" denotes a traditional textual reading from the Hebrew Old Testament; when a word in the Chetiv was considered unintelligible, obscene, or forbidden, an alternative word or euphemism, called a "Keri," was written in the margin of the text to be read instead. Milton's point is that Scripture contains many such lewd, dangerous, or blasphemous words, and should not be censored on that account.

⁹⁶ Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215), one of the early Greek Fathers of the Church. Milton probably refers to Clement's "exhortation" to the Greeks, which emphasizes the lewdness of pagan rites.

⁹⁷ The early church historian: see note 79. Here Milton refers to Eusebius' *Evangelical Preparation*.

⁹⁸ Irenaeus (c. 130–c. 200), bishop of Lyons, wrote *Against all Heresies* attacking Gnosticism's threat to the Church. Epiphanius (c. 315–403), bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, attacked every heresy known to him from the beginning of the Church in his *Panarion* ("Refutation of all the Heresies"). For St Jerome, see note 74.

⁹⁹ i.e., avails it.

for these, and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Master of his revels;¹⁰⁰ and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers.¹⁰¹ I name not him for posterities sake, whom *Harry* the 8. nam'd in merriment his Vicar of hell.¹⁰² By which compendious way all the contagion that foreine books can infuse, will finde a passage to the people farre easier and shorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eastward,¹⁰³ or of *Canada* Westward, while our Spanish licencing gags the English Presse never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of controversie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untoucht by the licencer.¹⁰⁴ It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc't by Papisticall book in English, unlesse it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy: and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophetie of *Isaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be understood without a guide.¹⁰⁵ But of our Priests and Doctors how many have

bin corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists,¹⁰⁶ and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the perusing of a namelesse discours writt'n at *Delf*, which at first he took in hand to confute.¹⁰⁷ Seeing therefore that those books, & those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppress without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people what ever is hereticall or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also doe without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous¹⁰⁸ enterprise of licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books & dispredders¹⁰⁹ both of vice and error, how shall the licensors themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the Land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptednesse? And again if it

¹⁰⁰ Gaius Petronius (d. AD 66) wrote the satiric Roman novel commonly called *Satyricon* and also served as the master of revels for Emperor Nero.

¹⁰¹ Pietro Aretino (1492–1557), Italian satirist from Arezzo infamous for his licentious wit and obscene sexual discourse.

¹⁰² Henry VIII called Sir Francis Bryan, courtier and cousin to Anne Boleyn, his "Vicar of Hell" after his response to the king's question about Henry's sexual interest in both Anne and her mother; anecdote relayed in Davanzati's *English Schism* (see note 57.)

¹⁰³ *Cataio*: a variant of "Cathay," an early modern name for China.

¹⁰⁴ i.e., in Milton's opinion such books ought to be untouched by the licencer; in fact, the Licensing Order did censor and suppress such texts.

¹⁰⁵ Acts 8:27–35.

¹⁰⁶ Jesuits, a Catholic teaching order; see *Of Reformation*, note 119. The Sorbonne was a highly influential theological school and center of scholastic teaching founded by Robert de Sorbon in 1252 for poor students at the University of Paris.

¹⁰⁷ While answering some anonymous tracts written against Calvin's position, the reformed Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius (1560–1609) questioned orthodox Calvinism and developed a critique of Calvinist Predestination.

¹⁰⁸ cautelous: crafty.

¹⁰⁹ dispredders: i.e., dispersers.

be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea or without book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactnesse always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgement of *Aristotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, then a fool will do of sacred Scripture.¹¹⁰ 'Tis next alleg'd we must not expose our selves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not imploy our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but usefull drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working mineralls, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the licencing that Sainted¹¹¹ Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this order of licencing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster, then the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, To shew that no Nation, or well instituted

State, if they valu'd books at all, did ever use this way of licencing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had bin difficult to finde out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. *Plato*, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the book of his laws,¹¹² which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the genial cups of an *Academick* night-sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man, what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it: But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrats; both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of *Sophron Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*, books of grossest infamy,¹¹³ and also for commending the latter of them though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant *Dionysius*,¹¹⁴ who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licencing of Poems had reference and dependence

¹¹⁰ See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I, iii, 1095^a. The Book of Proverbs, attributed to Solomon, states: "Speak not in the ears of a fool: for he will despise the wisdom of thy words" (Proverbs 23:9). Jesus advises his followers to "give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine" (Matthew 7:6).

¹¹¹ A sarcastic reference to the official name of the Inquisition (in 1542): "The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office."

¹¹² See Plato, *Laws*, VII, 801.

¹¹³ Epigrams attributed to Plato are recorded by Diogenes Laertius (c. 3rd century AD) in his *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. According to Diogenes, Plato admired the dramatic sketches or mimes of *Sophron* (5th century BC) and the comic works of the Greek playwright *Aristophanes* (c. 450–386 BC).

¹¹⁴ See note 31.

to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he himself, nor any Magistrat, or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from those other collateral injunctions must needs be vain and fruitlesse. For if they fell upon one kind of strictnesse, unlesse their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*.¹¹⁵ There must be licencing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such *Plato* was provided of;¹¹⁶ It will ask more then the work of twenty licensors to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the *Balcone's* must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous Frontispices¹¹⁷ set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensors? The villages also must have their visitors to enquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck¹¹⁸ reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler,¹¹⁹ for these are the

Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*.¹²⁰ Next, what more Nationall corruption, for which England hears ill abroad,¹²¹ then houshold gluttony; who shall be the rector's¹²² of our daily rioting? and what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunk'nes is sold and harbour'd? Our garments also should be referr'd to the licencing of some more sober work-masters to see them cut into a lesse wanton garb. Who shall regulat all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this Country, who shall still appoint what shall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no funder? Lastly, who shall forbid and separat all idle resort, all evill company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be lest hurtfull, how lest enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* polities,¹²³ which never can be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midd'st whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* licencing of books will doe this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritt'n, or at least unconstraining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth,¹²⁴ the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute: these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licencing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissenes, for certain are

¹¹⁵ "Dorick" or Dorian music is defined as simple and solemn. See *Plato, Laws*, VII for permissible types of music and *Republic*, III for a definition of musical styles.

¹¹⁶ *Laws*, VII, 800-2.

¹¹⁷ The illustration adorning the first or title page of a book, cf. the "dangerous" frontispiece to *Eikon Basilike* (1649), which Milton would attack in *Eikonoklastes*.

¹¹⁸ rebbeck: an early form of the fiddle.

¹¹⁹ "Gammuth" is a variant of "gamut," the full range of musical notes.

¹²⁰ A reference to two popular prose romances: Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590, revised 1593), and Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (1559).

¹²¹ i.e., spoken of itself.

¹²² rector's: persons who have supreme control of any sphere.

¹²³ Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1627) and Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) are famous accounts of fictional ideal societies.

¹²⁴ *Plato, Republic*, IV, 424-33.

the bane of a Commonwealth, but here the great art lyes to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance,¹²⁵ and prescription, and compulsion, what were vertue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy¹²⁶ to be sober, just or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgresse, foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing;¹²⁷ he had bin else a meer artificial *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the motions.¹²⁸ We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagin to remove sin by removing the matter of sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all, in such a universall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewell left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousnesse. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expell sin by this means; look how much

we thus expell of sin, so much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the triall of vertue, and the exercise of truth. It would be better done to learn that the law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evill. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person, more then the restraint of ten vitious. And albeit what ever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call'd our book, and is of the same effect that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly that continu'd Court-libell¹²⁹ against the Parlament and City, Printed, as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers't among us, for all that licencing can doe? yet this is the prime service a man would think, wherein this order should give proof of it self. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if execution be remisse or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books. If then the order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc't books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn

¹²⁵ i.e., to dole out in small, regulated portions; a controlled pittance.

¹²⁶ grammercy: thanks.

¹²⁷ cf. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, III, ii.

¹²⁸ motions: puppet shows.

¹²⁹ *Mercurius Aulicus*, the weekly "intelligencer" of the king's party, and England's first official newsbook (forerunner of the newspaper), written mostly by Sir John Birkenhead, accomplished satirist and polemicist, and published at Oxford from January 1643 to September 1645.

them up into a list, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain that no forrein books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly usefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials, to make expurgations, and expunctions,¹³⁰ that the Commonwealth of learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when the multitude of books encrease upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation of their whole suspected *typography*. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*,¹³¹ which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitlesse and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions. The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will misse the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of books whether they may be wafted into this world,¹³² or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious;

there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing Journey-work,¹³³ a greater losse of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetuall reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable unlesse at certain seasons; but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition which I cannot beleieve how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostrill should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensors to be pardon'd for so thinking: who doublesse took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short triall hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their licence, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the employment, by all evident signs wish themselves well ridd of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Presse-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensors we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront, that can be offer'd to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities,¹³⁴ and distribute more equally Church

revenue's, that then all learning would be for ever dasht and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning¹³⁵ stood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love learning for it self, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht labours advance the good of mankind, then know, that so far to distrust the judgement & the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a scism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*?¹³⁶ if serious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a Grammar lad under his Pedagogue must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licencer. He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and conferrs with his judicious friends;

after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most comsummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian oyl*,¹³⁷ to the hasty view of an unleasur'd licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst, or slighted, must appear in Print like a punie¹³⁸ with his guardian, and his censors hand on the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot, or seducer, it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the author, to the book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licencing, while the book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The Printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; mean while either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author loose his accuratest thoughts, & send the book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licencer¹³⁹

¹³⁰ *expunctions*: the censor's excisions of controversial passages.

¹³¹ For the Council of Trent, see note 53. The model of Sevil, i.e., the Spanish Inquisition.

¹³² Perhaps a glancing reference to the river upon whose bank souls wait to be born into this world: *Phacdo*, 113 (suggested in CPW, II, 530).

¹³³ *Journey-work*: work done for daily wages; the work of a journeyman.

¹³⁴ *pluralities*: the holding of two or more livings concurrently by a single member of the clergy.

¹³⁵ A "tenth part of learning" alludes to the tithes paid to support the clergy, traditionally one-tenth of one's income.

¹³⁶ *ferular*: a cane or rod used for punishing children; *fescu(e)*: a stick used to point out the letters to children learning to read.

¹³⁷ Olive trees were sacred to Pallas Athena, the classical goddess of wisdom; "Palladian oyl" refers to olive oil burned in lamps during study, cf. "burn the midnight oil."

¹³⁸ *a punie*: a minor; a junior student.

¹³⁹ A slighting allusion to Archbishop Laud, who at his trial was accused of aspiring to the title of patriarch. See also *Of Reformation*, note 30.

to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement. When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be ready with these like words to ding¹⁴⁰ the book a coits distance¹⁴¹ from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State Sir, replies the Stationer,¹⁴² but has a quick return, The State shall be my governours, but not my criticks; they may be mistak'n in the choice of a licencer, as easily as this licencer may be mistak'n in an author: This is some common stuffe: and he might adde from Sir Francis Bacon, That such authoriz'd books are but the language of the times.¹⁴³ For though a licencer should happ'n to be judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office, and his commission enjoyns him to let passe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life time, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be Printed, or Reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd in the height of zeal, and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit, yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it,¹⁴⁴ they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity

be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licencer. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season.¹⁴⁵ Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have authority to know out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common stedfast dunce will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever, much lesse that it should not passe except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant without their manuall stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards.¹⁴⁶ We must

¹⁴⁰ ding: fling.

¹⁴¹ The distance to which a quoit (a flat disc of stone or metal thrown as an exercise of strength; the Greek or Roman discus) is thrown.

¹⁴² The Stationers' Company formally urged Parliament to strictly enforce the ordinance for licensing the press in 1643. See also note 16.

¹⁴³ Francis Bacon (1561–1626), English writer, philosopher, and politician. From *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (see Francis Bacon, ed. Brian Vickers, OUP, 1996, p. 5).

¹⁴⁴ John Knox (c. 1514–72), an influential leader in Scotland's 1560 reformation, a fierce opponent of Mary, Queen of Scots, and a prolific writer.

¹⁴⁵ The identity of the book remains uncertain: Milton may refer to Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* from which some passages were excised in the 1644 edition, or it may refer to the jurist Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England*, Part II of which was widely known to be mutilated when Parliament authorized its re-publication in 1641. (See CPW, II, 534.)

¹⁴⁶ Charles I infamously abused commodity monopolies. "Tickets" probably refer to certificates of trading prerogatives, but may mean official permissions of any kind.

not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulter,¹⁴⁷ but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges. Had any one writt'n and divulg'd erroneous things & scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annext to passe his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended lesse then a disgracefull punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectfull prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stirre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people lesse then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in such a sick and weak estate of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licencer.¹⁴⁸ That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the Laity are most hated and dispis'd the same strictnes is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should

hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continuall preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincip'l'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiffe of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of thir catechism, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unsalable, should not be armor enough against one single *enchiridion*,¹⁴⁹ without the castle St. Angelo of an *Imprimatur*.¹⁵⁰

And lest som should perswade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of lerned mens discouragement at this your order, are meer flourishes, and not reall, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their lerned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of *Philosophic* freedom, as they suppos'd England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which lerning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damp't the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a prisner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the Franciscan and Dominican licensors thought.¹⁵¹ And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelaticall yolk, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my

¹⁴⁷ 1 Samuel 13:19–20. *coulter*: plough-blades.

¹⁴⁸ The image is of a tube for administering medicine.

¹⁴⁹ A pun; "enchiridion" refers to 1) a handbook or manual and 2) a dagger (Greek).

¹⁵⁰ The Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome was used for centuries as a papal prison, fortress, and stronghold.

¹⁵¹ Galileo (1564–1642), Italian astronomer and inventor of the telescope, was placed under a form of house arrest near Florence by the Inquisition from 1632 until his death; he was, however, permitted to have visitors, and Milton met him on his tour of Italy in 1638. This passage is the only evidence for Milton's visit.

hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among lerned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I should hear by as lerned men at home utter'd in time of Parlament against an order of licencing; and that so generally, that when I had disclos'd my self a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest *questorship* had indear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd against *Verres*,¹⁵² then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon lerning. That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selvs, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching,¹⁵³ shall come now to silence us from

reading, except what they please, it cannot be guest what is intended by som but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing.¹⁵⁴ That those evils of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees¹⁵⁵ were distributively charg'd upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large dioces of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mysticall pluralist. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner,¹⁵⁶ shall now at home in his privat chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covnants and Protestations that we have made,¹⁵⁷ this is not to put down Prelaty, this is but to chop¹⁵⁸ an Episcopacy, this is but to translate the Palace *Metropolitan*¹⁵⁹ from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old canonical slight of *commuting* our penance. To startle thus betimes at a meer unlicenc't pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle¹⁶⁰ of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that freedom of writing should be restrain'd by a discipline imitated from the

¹⁵² The Sicilians entrusted the prosecution of Gaius Verres, a corrupt Roman propraetor in Sicily 73–71 bc, to Cicero, who served as a quaestor (magistrate) in Sicily in 75 bc.

¹⁵³ i.e., godly preachers in Laudian England.

¹⁵⁴ cf. the concluding line of Milton's "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament": "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ Large" (with "Priest" being etymologically a contracted form of Latin *presbyter*, an elder).

¹⁵⁵ Sees: seats of bishops of particular dioceses; territories under the jurisdiction of bishops.

¹⁵⁶ Under the Episcopal system of church government, only bishops had the right to ordain priests and to exercise jurisdiction over religious matters in their sees.

¹⁵⁷ The Scots' National Covenant in February 1638 and the Solemn League and Covenant between England and Scotland in 1643 established official resistance first in Scotland and then in the English Parliament to the efforts of Charles I to impose Episcopal government and liturgy on the Scots.

¹⁵⁸ chop: change or exchange.

¹⁵⁹ Metropolitan: the power or property of an archbishop.

¹⁶⁰ conventicle: a religious meeting of any sect whose services were banned by the established church.

Prelats, and learnt by them from the Inquisition to shut us up all again into the brest of a licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down,¹⁶¹ then all Presses might be open; it was the peoples birth-right and priviledge in time of Parlament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopall arts begin to bud again, the cruse of truth must run no more oyle,¹⁶² liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullify'd, and which is wors, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters; all this the Parlament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: *The punishing of wits enhaunces their auctority*, saith the Vicount St. Albans, and a forbiidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seeke to tread it out.¹⁶³ This order therefore may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step-dame to Truth: and first by disabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well

as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain;¹⁶⁴ if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretick in the truth; and if he beleve things only because his Pastor sayes so, or the Assembly so determines,¹⁶⁵ without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladlier post off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Protestants and professors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto.¹⁶⁶ A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries¹⁶⁷ he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he doe? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolves to give over toyling, and to find himself out som factor,¹⁶⁸ to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; som Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole ware-house of his religion, with all the locks and keyes into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him,

¹⁶¹ baited down: may refer to the condition of bears during bear-baiting (the sport of setting dogs to attack a bear chained to a stake).

¹⁶² A reference to 1 Kings 17:9–16, where the prophet Elijah miraculously causes a cruse (a small pot) to pour out a never-ending supply of oil.

¹⁶³ Viscount St Albans is Sir Francis Bacon. The passage is taken from *An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England* (Francis Bacon, p. 5) and is a partial quotation from Tacitus *Annals*, iv, 35.

¹⁶⁴ Psalm 85:11.

¹⁶⁵ Presbyterian leaders governed from the Westminster Assembly of Divines called by Parliament in 1643 to reform the church.

¹⁶⁶ A popular shrine of the Virgin near Ancona, Italy often visited by Roman Catholic pilgrims who believed that angels conveyed Jesus' family home to the cathedral in 1291.

¹⁶⁷ mysteries: professions.

¹⁶⁸ factor: someone who buys and sells for another; a mercantile agent.

gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, praises, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey,¹⁶⁹ or some well spiced bruege, and better breakfasted then he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Jerusalem*,¹⁷⁰ his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaveth his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled; nothing written but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans¹⁷¹ that have the tuning and the poundage of all free spoken truth,¹⁷² will strait give themselves up into your hands, make them & cut them out what religion ye please; there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly, and so unalterably into their own purveying. These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtless a stanch and solid piece of frame-work, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence even among the Clergy themselves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial Minister, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* pillars¹⁷³

in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English concordance and a *topic folio*,¹⁷⁴ the gatherings and savings of a sober graduation, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*,¹⁷⁵ treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks and means, out of which as out of an alphabet or sol fa¹⁷⁶ by forming and transforming, joining and dis-joining variously a little book-craft, and two hours meditation might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reckon up the infinite helps of interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear.¹⁷⁷ But as for the multitude of Sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading *St. Thomas* in his vestry, and added to boot *St. Martin*, and *St. Hugh*, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made:¹⁷⁸ so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit provision, having where so plentifully to refresh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled,¹⁷⁹ if his back do be not secured by the rigid licencer, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his stock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised

¹⁶⁹ malmsey: a rich sweet wine.

¹⁷⁰ Jesus, hungry on his way to Jerusalem, was disappointed to find a fig tree along the way devoid of fruit. See Mark 11:12-14.

¹⁷¹ Publicans: tax collectors.

¹⁷² Tonnage and poundage was a customs tariff traditionally paid to the king; Parliament refused to grant the king the proceeds of this tax without their consent in 1641.

¹⁷³ Classical tradition held that Hercules, in undertaking one of his labors, erected two pillars, one on each side of the Straits of Gibraltar.

¹⁷⁴ topic folio: a commonplace book.

¹⁷⁵ Harmony: a collection of passages from different works on the same subject, such as the four gospels, arranged to show agreement in divergent accounts. Catena: a "chain" of passages to support a doctrinal point.

¹⁷⁶ sol fa: a musical scale.

¹⁷⁷ interlinearies: glosses or translations; breviary: summary.

¹⁷⁸ St Martin refers to the church of St Martin le Grand, London; the passage points to a London locale where much merchandise was sold.

¹⁷⁹ impaled: protected, fenced in.

and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be used, do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing Church.

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privately from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be found. Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preached in publick;¹⁸⁰ yet writing is more publick than preaching; and more easy to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose business and profession merely it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability?

Thus much we are hindered and disinured¹⁸¹ by this course of licensing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensors themselves in the calling of their Ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open, the incredible loss, and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to, more than if some enemy at sea should stop up all our havens and ports, and creeks, it hinders and retards the

importation of our richest Marchandise, Truth: nay it was first established and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falsehood; little differing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing.¹⁸² 'Tis not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our thanks and vows to heaven, louder than most of Nations, for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences the Prelates: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate, can shew us, till we come to beatific vision,¹⁸³ that man by this very opinion declares, that he is yet far short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the *Aegyptian Typhon* with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good *Osiris*,¹⁸⁴ took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand peeces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that *Isis* made for the mangled body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do, till her Masters second coming;¹⁸⁵ he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing

¹⁸⁰ John 18:19-20.

¹⁸¹ dis-inured: prevented from practicing.

¹⁸² The printing of the Koran was not allowed in Turkey until the 18th century.

¹⁸³ 1 Corinthians 13:12: "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face."

¹⁸⁴ Osiris was the Egyptian god of male fertility in nature and god of the dead, brother and husband of Isis, Egyptian fertility goddess. Osiris had been murdered and his body cut in pieces by his brother Set (identified with the Greek god Typhon); Isis collected and buried his mangled remains. Many of Milton's readers would have been familiar with Plutarch's version of the Egyptian myth of Isis and Osiris in his *Moralia*.

¹⁸⁵ i.e., the Second Coming of Christ.

prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies¹⁸⁶ to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun it self, it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft *Combust*,¹⁸⁷ and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evning or morning. The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever staring on,¹⁸⁸ but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*¹⁸⁹ hath beacon'd up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meeknes, nor can convince, yet all must be suppress which is not found in their *Syntagma*.¹⁹⁰ They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissever'd peeces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth.

To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneal*, and proportionall) this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetick*,¹⁹¹ and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forc't and outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, suttile and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest Sciences have bin so ancient, and so eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of *Pythagoras*, and the *Persian* wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland.¹⁹² And that wise and civill Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæsar*,¹⁹³ preferr'd the naturall wits of Britain, before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal *Transilvanian* sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of *Russia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes,¹⁹⁴ not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language, and our *theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heav'n we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us.

¹⁸⁶ *obsequies*: rites of veneration.

¹⁸⁷ *Combust*: burned up (as it were) by the sun in or near conjunction, seemingly distinguished by the sun's light.

¹⁸⁸ *staring on*: i.e., standing still, from the Latin *stare*.

¹⁸⁹ Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) began preaching that the gospels had the utmost religious authority in 1519; in 1522 he published his first theological work attacking the pope, the mass, pilgrimages, monasticism, and clerical celibacy. His reformist ideas quickly became popular in Switzerland, making him one of the founders of the radical Reformation. The great Genevan reformer John Calvin (1509–64) published his highly influential *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536.

¹⁹⁰ *Syntagma*: a body of doctrine arranged in a systematic treatise.

¹⁹¹ The Rule of Proportion was often called the "golden rule" of arithmetic.

¹⁹² *Pythagoras*, the 6th century BC Greek philosopher, mathematician, and mystic. Milton refers to the belief that his philosophical doctrines (e.g., the doctrine of reincarnation or the transmigration of souls), supposed by Pliny the Elder to have originated in Persia, were actually invented by the people of ancient England.

¹⁹³ *Julius Agricola* (AD 40–93), Roman general and governor of Britain (AD 77–84); his governorship was recorded by the Roman historian Tacitus in *Agricola* (pub. AD 98).

¹⁹⁴ Transylvania was independent from 1541 to 1683, and in the 17th century it was a Protestant realm. *Hercynian wildernes*: the largest forest in Germany.

Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion*¹⁹⁵ should be proclam'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*. And had it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wicklef*, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the *Bohemian Husse* and *Jerom*,¹⁹⁶ no nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin* had bin ever known:¹⁹⁷ the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest Schollers, of whom God offer'd to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the generall instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation it self: what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his English-men; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City; a City of refuge,¹⁹⁸ the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and idea's wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of

reason and convincement. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge. What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile, but wise and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies. We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already.¹⁹⁹ Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which God hath stirr'd up in this City. What some lament of, we rather should rejoyce at, should rather praise this pious forwardnes among men, to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity might win all these diligences to joyn, and unite into one generall and brotherly search after Truth; could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Roman docility and courage,²⁰⁰ if such were my *Epirots*, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy.

¹⁹⁵ Mt Zion in Jerusalem represents the ancient city itself, the mount of its famous temple, and center of Hebrew religion.

¹⁹⁶ Wyclif (or Wycliffe) and Hus, see note 55. Jerome of Prague (d. 1416), Czech religious reformer and follower of Hus who advocated and advanced Wyclif's heretical doctrines and strengthened the reform movement at Prague university; he was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake.

¹⁹⁷ Martin Luther (1483–1546), German Augustinian monk who taught biblical exegesis at the University of Wittenberg, initiated the Reformation when he posted 95 theses critiquing the Roman Catholic church in 1517 and became one of the most influential European reformers; he published a translation of the Bible in German. For Calvin, see note 189.

¹⁹⁸ See Numbers 35.

¹⁹⁹ John 4:35.

²⁰⁰ *Pirrhus* (318–272 BC), king of Epirus in Greece, defeated the Romans at Heraclea (AD 280), though he suffered heavy losses.

Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismatics and sectaries; as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrationall men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber,²⁰¹ ere the house of God can be built.²⁰² And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every peece of the building be of one form; nay rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spirituall architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders, but all the Lords people are become Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodnesse, as *Joshua* then was, envy them.²⁰³ They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The adversarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time.²⁰⁴ Fool! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches: nor will beware untill he see our small divided maniples²⁰⁵ cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildly brigade. And that we are to hope bet-

ter of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps though over timorous of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end, at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inrodes and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls,²⁰⁶ and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration,²⁰⁷ things not before discourst or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentednesse and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon *Hanibal* himself encampt his own regiment.²⁰⁸ Next it is a lively and cherfull presage of our happy succeesse and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rationall faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cherfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the

solidest and sublimest points of controversie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatall decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prosperous vertue destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks:²⁰⁹ Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing²¹⁰ her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance;²¹¹ while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye doe then, should ye suppress all this flowry crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this City, should ye set an *Oligarchy* of twenty ingrossers over it, to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel? Beleeve it, Lords and Commons, they who counsell ye to such a suppressing, doe as good as bid ye suppress your selves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer then your own mild, and free, and human government; it is the liberty, Lords and Commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchast us, liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlightn'd our spirits like the influence of heav'n; this is that

which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now lesse capable, lesse knowing, lesse eagerly pursuing of the truth, unlesse ye first make your selves, that made us so, lesse the lovers, lesse the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formall, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your owne vertu propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unlesse ye reinforce an abrogated and mercilesse law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children.²¹² And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct, and his four nobles of *Danegelt*.²¹³ Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequall to suppress opinions for the newnes, or the unsutableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord *Brook*.²¹⁴ He writing of Episcopacy, and

²⁰¹ Milton puns on schism, which literally means to rend or cut.

²⁰² The stones for Solomon's Temple were cut at the quarry so as not to disturb the sacred site; this scriptural detail was used as justification for religious conformity, which Milton overturns here to defend toleration of different Protestant sects. See 1 Kings 5-6 and 2 Chronicles 2:5-9.

²⁰³ Numbers 11:27-9.

²⁰⁴ Royalist propaganda emphasized the growing divisions among the parliamentary supporters.

²⁰⁵ *maniples*: subdivisions of the Roman legion.

²⁰⁶ During the civil wars, London and its suburbs were often threatened by nearby royalist strongholds and attacks; for example, in November 1642 the royalist army advanced to Turnham Green (now part of west London).

²⁰⁷ *admiration*: wonder, astonishment.

²⁰⁸ The great Carthaginian general, Hannibal (247-182 BC), fought for many years in Italy but was ultimately unable to defeat Rome.

²⁰⁹ Milton compares the rousing English nation to Samson waking from sleep and prepared to fight the Philistines (see Judges 16:14).

²¹⁰ *muing*: old spelling for mewing, a term for moulting, i.e., when a bird sheds its feathers.

²¹¹ A medieval tradition passed down through bestiaries (moralizing treatises about animals) described old eagles flying into the sun and then plunging into a fountain that restored their plumage and gave them renewed youth.

²¹² Milton refers to the Roman law giving fathers absolute power over their children; it was abolished in AD 318.

²¹³ *cote and conduct*: taxes levied to pay for the clothing and transportation of army recruits; *nobles*: coins worth six shillings and eight pence. *Danegelt*: an annual tax imposed at the end of the 10th century to raise money for defense against the Danes. Charles I attempted to raise money by reviving these taxes without permission of Parliament.

²¹⁴ Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke (1608-43), parliamentary army officer and religious writer, was killed in the battle of Lichfield; Milton refers to his *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacy, which is exercised in England* (1641). His writings reveal him to be an open minded intellectual with an interest in broad toleration of Protestants, including sympathy for radical separatists.

by the way treating of sects and schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with Ye, so full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples,²¹⁵ I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscall'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of Gods Ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves. The book it self will tell us more at large being publisht to the world, and dedicated to the Parlament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusall.

And now the time in speciall is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Janus* with his two *controversal* faces might now not unsignificantly be set open.²¹⁶ And though all the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth,²¹⁷ so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*,²¹⁸ fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements.

What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, *to seek for wisdom as for hidd'n treasures* early and late,²¹⁹ that another order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute. When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battell raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please; only that he may try the matter by dint of argument, for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of licencing where the challenger should passe, though it be valour anough in shouldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licencings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, & do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who spake oracles only when he was caught & bound,²²⁰ but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Micaiah* did before *Ahab*, untill she be adjur'd into her own likenes.²²¹ Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes then one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike her self. What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand writing nayl'd to the crosse,²²² what great purchase is this Christian liberty which *Paul* so often boasts of.²²³ His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or

regards it not, may doe either to the Lord.²²⁴ How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisie to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us.²²⁵ We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to suppress, and our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and stubble* forc't and frozen together,²²⁶ which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church then many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation, or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and pretious stones*: it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares,²²⁷ the good fish from the other frie; that must be the Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpats all religions and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or maners no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it self but those neighboring differences, or rather

indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of Spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace.²²⁸ In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpfull hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him before others, or but seem'd at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited²²⁹ us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to doe so worthy a deed? and not consider this, that if it come to be prohibited then truth it self; whose first appearance to our eyes bea'd and dimm'd with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplauble then many errors, ev'n as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard, but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a Kingdome²³⁰ with strong and healthfull commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing; but yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common industry not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain funder and goe on, some new enlightn'd steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of Gods enlightning his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as

²¹⁵ John 14:27.

²¹⁶ Janus, Roman god of doorways and gates and of beginnings in general, was represented by a double-faced head looking in opposite directions; his temple was opened in times of war.

²¹⁷ Ephesians 4:14-15.

²¹⁸ Presbyterianism.

²¹⁹ Proverbs 2:4-5 and 8:11.

²²⁰ Proteus was a Greek sea god with the power of assuming different shapes. See Homer's *Odyssey*, IV, 384-93.

²²¹ 1 Kings 22:1-36.

²²² Colossians 2:14.

²²³ Galatians 5:1.

²²⁴ Romans 14:6.

²²⁵ Archbishop Laud enforced his strict uniformity of ceremonial rites for the sake of "decency."

²²⁶ 1 Corinthians 3:10-13.

²²⁷ Matthew 13:24-30, 36-43.

²²⁸ Ephesians 4:3.

²²⁹ bejesuited: to work upon by, or subject to, Jesuits; cited by the *OED* as the first use of the word "bejesuit."

²³⁰ Haggai 2:7.

man chooses, lest we should devote our selves again to set places, and assemblies, and outward callings of men; planting our faith one while in the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster;²³¹ when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd,²³² is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no though Harry the 7. himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead,²³³ to swell their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismaticks, what witholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we doe not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberall and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confesse the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, ev'n for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the speciall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests, nor among the Pharisees,²³⁴ and we in the hast of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we com-

monly forejudge them ere we understand them, no lesse then woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors.

There have bin not a few since the beginning of this Parliamt,²³⁵ both of the Presbytery and others who by their unlicen't books to the contempt of an *Imprimatur* first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day: I hope that none of those were the perswaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua,²³⁶ nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young John,²³⁷ who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicen't, be not enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will perswade, and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequall distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition hath puft up, more then their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Presse, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better then your selves have done in that Order publisht next before this, that no book be Printed, unlesse the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers be register'd.²³⁸ Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be

the timeliest and the most effectuall remedy,²³⁹ that mans prevention can use. For this *authentic* Spanish policy of licencing books, if I have said ought, will prove the most unlicen't book it self within a short while; and was the immediate image of a Star-chamber decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the Starres with *Lucifer*.²⁴⁰ Whereby ye may guesse what kinde of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisie it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may beleve those men whose profession gives them cause to enquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old *patentees* and *monopolizers* in the trade of book-selling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his severall copy, which God forbid should be gainsaid, brought divers

glosing colours to the House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours, men who doe not therefore labour in an honest profession to which learning is indetted, that they should be made other mens vassalls. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs*²⁴¹ of marchandize I skill not: This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident; for what Magistrate may not be mis-inform'd, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduc't into the power of a few; but to redresse willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) answerable to Your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatest and wisest men.

The End.

evidence of Parliament's evolving licensing system: one in August 1642 prohibiting printing "false or scandalous" materials in regard to Parliament. In March 1643 arrest and imprisonment were added to the punishments listed in the previous order. See CPW, II, 160-1.

²³⁹ The executioner confiscated all the copies held by the printer, all the distributed copies he could find, and burned them; he also administered additional punishments that had been ordered, such as ear-cropping and nose slitting.

²⁴⁰ The Court of Star Chamber, increasingly used by Charles I to deal ruthlessly with his political opponents during his years of rule without Parliament, was abolished in July 1641; censorship had collapsed with its abolition. The court derived its name from the stars painted on the ceiling where it met in Westminster.

²⁴¹ *Elenchs*: sophistical arguments, fallacies.

²³¹ Since the reign of Henry VIII, convocations were held in the Chapter-house at Westminster; however, the Presbyterian Assembly of Divines at Westminster met in Henry VII's chapel.

²³² The Assembly of Divines sought to create new canons or ecclesiastical laws, as well as a Directory of Worship (to replace the Elizabethan Prayer Book).

²³³ Henry VII was buried in the Chapel at Westminster.

²³⁴ An important Jewish religious group at the time of Christ, the Pharisees emphasized strict obedience to the Mosaic Law.

²³⁵ The Long Parliament assembled on November 3, 1640 and deprived the king of much of his absolute powers in 1641.

²³⁶ Moses rebukes his servant Joshua for wishing to silence other prophets in Numbers 11:27-9.

²³⁷ Luke 9:49-50.

²³⁸ Here Milton quotes from the Order of January 29, 1642, which prohibits printers from printing or reprinting "without the name and consent of the Author." As Ernest Sirluck notes, he ignores other orders that followed this order and that are