

Milton, J.

## *Areopagitica*

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this purity of Christian knowledge. Nor shall we then need the mon-sieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youth into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over back again transformed into mimics, apes and kickshaws.<sup>o</sup> 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 pass, 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, healthful and moderate I suppose is out of controversy. Thus, Master Hartlib, you have a general view in writing, as your desire was, of that which at several times I had discoursed 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 mentioned, but this, to such as have the worth in them to make trial, for light and direction may be enough. Only I believe that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in<sup>o</sup> that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses;<sup>o</sup> yet I am withal persuaded that it may prove much more easy in the assay<sup>o</sup> than it now seems at distance, and much more illustrious; howbeit, not more difficult than 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.

### *Areopagitica*

A SPEECH FOR

## THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

Τοῦλευθερον δ' ἐκείνο. Τίς θέλει πόλει  
 χρηστόν τι βούλευμ' ἐς μέσον φέρειν ἔχων;  
 καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρηζων λαμπρός ἐσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων  
 σιγᾷ τί τούτων ἐστ' ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

—*Euripid. Hicetid.*

'This is true liberty, when free-born men,  
 Having to advise the public, may speak free,  
 Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise;  
 Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace:  
 What can be juster in a state than this?'

—*Euripid. Hicetid.*

They who to states<sup>o</sup> and governors of the commonwealth direct their speech, high court of parliament, or wanting<sup>o</sup> such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good, I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean<sup>o</sup> endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds; some with doubt of what will be the success,<sup>o</sup> others with fear of what will be the censure;<sup>o</sup> some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost<sup>o</sup> expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, far more welcome than incidental<sup>o</sup> to a preface.

Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless if it be no other than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their country's liberty; whereof this whole discourse proposed will be a certain testimony, if not a trophy.<sup>o</sup> For this is not the liberty which we 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 considered and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty attained that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest, by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery,<sup>o</sup> it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God, our deliverer; next, to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, lords and commons of England. Neither is it in God's esteem the diminution of his glory when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy magistrates; which if I now first should begin to do, after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise ye.

Nevertheless, there being three principal things without which all praising is but courtship and flattery: first, when that only is praised

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 ascribed; the other, when he who praises, by showing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him<sup>o</sup> who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal, that whom I so extolled I did not flatter, hath been reserved 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 covenant 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 kind of praising; for though I should affirm and hold by argument that it would fare better with truth, with learning and the commonwealth, if one of your published orders, which I should name, were called in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, whenas private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with public advice than other statist<sup>o</sup> have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial<sup>o</sup> parliament and that jealous haughtiness of prelates and cabin counsellors<sup>o</sup> that usurped of late, whenas they shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted order than other courts, which had produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endured the least signified dislike at any sudden proclamation.

If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, lords and commons, as what your published order hath directly said that to gainsay,<sup>o</sup> I might defend myself 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 than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian stateliness. And out of those ages to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him<sup>o</sup> who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then established. Such honour was done in those days to men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus

did Dion Prusaeus,<sup>o</sup> a stranger and a private orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict; and I abound with other like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude,<sup>o</sup> so much must be derogated<sup>o</sup> as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel; and how far you excel them, be assured, lords and commons, there can no greater testimony appear than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys 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.

If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to show both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment, which is not wont to be partial to yourselves, by judging over again that order which ye have ordained 'to regulate printing: that no book, pamphlet or paper shall be henceforth printed unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed.' For that part<sup>o</sup> which preserves justly every man's copy to himself, or provides for the poor, I touch not; only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful<sup>o</sup> men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other cause of licensing books, which we thought had died with his brother quadragesimal<sup>o</sup> and matrimonial<sup>o</sup> when the prelates expired,<sup>o</sup> I shall now attend with such a homily as shall lay before ye, first, the inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loath to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever 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 suppressed. 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 hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made both in religious and civil wisdom.

I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth to have a vigilant eye how books demean 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 do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose

progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth;° and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, *God's image*; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss 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 public men, how we spill° that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression,° a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence,° the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence while I oppose licensing, I refuse not the pains to be so much historical as will serve to show what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the inquisition,° was caught up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.

In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus the books of Protagoras° were by the judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory for a discourse begun with his confessing not to know 'whether there were gods, or whether not.' And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduced by name, as was the manner of *vetus comoedia*,° whereby we may guess how they censured libelling; and this course was quick° enough, as Cicero° writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other atheists and the open way of defaming, as the event° showed. Of other sects and opinions, though tending to voluptuousness and the denying of divine providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus,° or that libertine school of Cyrene,° or what the Cynic impudence° uttered, was ever questioned by the laws.

Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar, Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy Chrysostom,° as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author, and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon.

That other leading city of Greece, Lacedaemon,° considering that Lycurgus° their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility; it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war. There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apothegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus° out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldiery ballads and roundels could reach to; or if it were 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.

Thus much may give us light after what sort of books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages trained up only to a military roughness, resembling most the Lacedaemonian guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve tables° and the Pontific College° with their augurs° and flamens° taught them in religion and law; so unacquainted with other learning that when Carneades and Critolaus with the Stoic Diogenes coming ambassadors to Rome took thereby occasion to give the city a taste of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no less a man than Cato the Censor, who moved it in the senate to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such Attic babblers out of Italy.° But Scipio° and others of the noblest senators withstood him and his old Sabine austerity,° honoured and admired the men; and the Censor himself at last, in his old age, fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous.° And yet at the same time Naevius and Plautus, the first Latin comedians, had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon.° Then began to be considered there also what was to be done to libellous books and authors; for Naevius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation; we read also that libels were burnt and the makers punished by Augustus.

The like severity, no doubt, was used if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in books the magistrate kept no reckoning. 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 himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satirical sharpness or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus by any order prohibited. And for matters of state, the story of Titus Livius,° though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar, of the other faction. But that Naso° was by him banished in his old age for the wanton poems of his youth was but a mere covert° of state over some secret cause; and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, that we may not marvel if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been 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,° whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been more severe than what was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted and condemned in the general councils, and not till then were prohibited or burnt by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius° and Proclus,° they met with no interdict that can be cited, 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, scrupled more° the books of heretics than of gentiles.° And that the primitive councils and bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed already by Padre Paolo,° the great unmasker of the Trentine council. After which time the popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with; till Martin the Fifth, by his bull,° not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for about that time



Wyclif and Huss,<sup>o</sup> growing terrible, were they who first drove the papal court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo X<sup>o</sup> and his successors followed, until the Council of Trent<sup>o</sup> and the Spanish inquisition, engendering together, brought forth or perfected those catalogues and expurging indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb.

Nor did they stay in<sup>o</sup> matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate they either condemned in a prohibition, or had it straight 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 St Peter had bequeathed them the keys<sup>o</sup> of the press also out of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three glutton friars. For example:

Let the chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing.

Vincent Rabbata, Vicar of Florence.

I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the Catholic faith and good manners: in witness whereof I have given, &c.

Nicolo Cini, Chancellor of Florence.

Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed. Vincent Rabbata, &c.

It may be printed, July 15.

Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia, Chancellor of the Holy Office in Florence.

Sure they have a conceit,<sup>o</sup> if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that which they say Claudius<sup>o</sup> intended, but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp:

Imprimatur,<sup>o</sup> if it seems good to the reverend master of the Holy Palace,

Belcastro, Vicegerent.

Imprimatur,

Friar Nicolo Rodolphi, Master of the Holy Palace.

Sometimes five imprimaturs are seen together, dialogue-wise, in the piazza of one title page, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven<sup>o</sup> reverences, whether the author, who stands by in

perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge.° These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies° that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains with the goodly echo they made, and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly imprimatur, one from Lambeth House,° another from the west end of Paul's°, so apishly romanizing that the word of command still was set down in Latin, as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it would cast no ink without Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enough to spell such a dictatory presumption English.

And thus ye have the inventors and the original of book licensing ripped up and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors elder or later, nor from the modern custom of any reformed city or church abroad; but from the most anti-Christian council and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb: no envious Juno° sat cross-legged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea? But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Rada-manth° and his colleagues ere it can pass the ferry backward into light,° was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity° provoked and troubled at the first entrance of reformation sought out new limbos and new hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so illfavouredly imitated by our inquisiturient bishops and the attendant minorites,° their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts when ye were importuned the passing it, all men who knew the integrity of your actions and how ye honour truth will clear ye readily.

But some will say, what though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good. It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to

use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of reformation, I am of those who believe it will be a harder alchemy than Lullius<sup>o</sup> ever knew to sublimate<sup>o</sup> any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel and Paul,<sup>o</sup> who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek poets, and one of them a tragedian; the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived when Julian the Apostate,<sup>o</sup> and subtlest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning; for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts<sup>o</sup> by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii<sup>o</sup> were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Christian grammar.

But, saith the historian Socrates,<sup>o</sup> the providence of God provided better than the industry of Apollinarius and his son by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning, and thought it a persecution more undermining and secretly decaying the church than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocletian.<sup>o</sup> And perhaps it was the same politic drift that the devil whipped St Jerome<sup>o</sup> in a lenten dream for reading Cicero; or else it was a phantasm bred by the fever which had then seized him. For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastised the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial, first, to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurrile Plautus, whom he confesses to have been reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies

without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of *Margites*,<sup>o</sup> a sportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of *Morgante*,<sup>o</sup> an Italian romance much to the same purpose?

But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius,<sup>o</sup> far ancients than this tale of Jerome, to the nun Eustochium, and besides, has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was, about the year 240, a person of great name in the church for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics by being conversant in their books, until a certain presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man, loath to give offence, fell into a new debate with himself what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words: 'Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright and to examine each matter.' To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to<sup>o</sup> that of the apostle to the Thessalonians:<sup>o</sup> 'Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.'

And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author:<sup>o</sup> 'To the pure all things are pure'; not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, whether of good or evil: the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are, some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision<sup>o</sup> said without exception, 'Rise, Peter, kill and eat', leaving the choice to each man's discretion. 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 evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction;<sup>o</sup> 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. Whereof what better witness can ye expect I should produce than one of your own now sitting in parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr Selden,<sup>o</sup> whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite<sup>o</sup> reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read and collated are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.

I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of

man's body (saving ever the rules of temperance), he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds, as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue 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 tabled<sup>o</sup> the Jews from heaven, that omer, which was every man's daily portion of manna, is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather than issue out<sup>o</sup> of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under a perpetual 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 heretofore were governed only by exhortation. Solomon<sup>o</sup> informs us that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he nor other inspired author tells us that such or such reading is unlawful; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, than what was wearisome.

As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St Paul's converts, 'tis replied the books were magic, the Syriac<sup>o</sup> so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the magistrate by this example is not appointed; these men practised the books,<sup>o</sup> another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed upon Psyche<sup>o</sup> as an incessant labour to cull out and sort asunder were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil; that is to say, of knowing good by evil.

As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil? 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 warfaring<sup>o</sup> Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed,<sup>o</sup> that never

sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal 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 trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental° whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas),° describing true temperance under the person of Guyon,° brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.

Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity, than by reading all manner of tractates, 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 reckoned. First is feared the infection that may spread; but then, all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itself; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely,° it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus; in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader; and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal *keri*, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual *chetiv*.° For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria,° and that Eusebian book of evangelic preparation° transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the gospel. Who finds not that Irenaeus, Epiphanius,° Jerome, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion?

Nor boots it to say 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 instil 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 called his Arbiter,° the master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo,° dreaded and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him, for posterity's sake, whom Harry VIII named in merriment his vicar of hell.° By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio° eastward, or of Canada westward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely.

But, on the other side, that infection which is from books of controversy in religion is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned than to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by Papistical book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that clergy; and indeed all such tractates, whether false or true, are as the prophecy of Isaiah° was to the eunuch, not to be 'understood without a guide'. But of our priests and doctors how many have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists,° 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 merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute.

Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance, which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine cannot be suppressed 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 whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed), and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting; I am not able to unfold how this cautelous° enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up° the crows by shutting his park gate.

Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books, and dispreaders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land the grace of

infallibility, and uncorruptedness? And again, if it 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 restrained will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgment of Aristotle<sup>o</sup> not only, but of Solomon,<sup>o</sup> and of our Saviour,<sup>o</sup> not vouchsafe 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 than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.

'Tis next alleged we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ 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 useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines which man's life cannot want.<sup>o</sup> The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify<sup>o</sup> and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear; but hindered forcibly they cannot be by all the licensing that sainted inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promised to deliver next: that this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almost prevented<sup>o</sup> me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who, when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her. It was the task which I began with to show that no nation or well instituted state, if they valued books at all, did ever use this way of licensing; and it might be answered that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered.

To which I return that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since who suggested such a course; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgment 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,<sup>o</sup> which no city every yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgomasters,<sup>o</sup> which they who otherwise admire him wish had been rather buried and excused in the genial cups of an academic night-sitting.<sup>o</sup> By which laws he seems to tolerate no kind of learning but by unalterable decree, consisting most of prac-



tical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no poet should so much as read to any private man what he had written until the judges and law keepers had seen it and allowed it; but that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own magistrates both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron Mimus<sup>o</sup> and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy; 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, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependence to many other provisos there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and so neither he himself, nor any magistrate or city, ever imitated that course, which, taken apart from those other collateral injunctions, must needs be vain and fruitless.

For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond<sup>o</sup> labour—to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric.<sup>o</sup> There must be licensing 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. It will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to examine all the lutes, the violins and the guitars in every house; they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also and the balconies must be thought on; there are shrewd<sup>o</sup> books with dangerous frontispieces set to sale: who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers? The villages also must have their visitors<sup>o</sup> to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebec<sup>o</sup> reads, even to the balladry and the gamut<sup>o</sup> of every municipal fiddler; for these are the countryman's *Arcadias*,<sup>o</sup> and his Montemayors.<sup>o</sup>

Next, what more national corruption for which England hears ill<sup>o</sup> abroad than household gluttony? Who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting?<sup>o</sup> And what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunkenness is sold and harboured? Our garments

also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober work-masters, to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation<sup>o</sup> of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country? Who shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what presumed, and no further? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a state.

To sequester out of the world into Atlantic<sup>o</sup> and Utopian polities which never can be drawn into use will not mend our condition, but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there<sup>o</sup> mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness for certain are the bane of a commonwealth; but here the great art lies to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years were to be under pittance,<sup>o</sup> and prescription, and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what gramercy<sup>o</sup> to be sober, just or continent?

Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing; he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions.<sup>o</sup> We ourselves 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 create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue? They are not skilful considerers of human things who imagine 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 universal thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from

a covetous man all his treasures, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point.

Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue: 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 pours out before us even to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature by abridging or scanting those means which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue 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 evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evil-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling or conversing, may be fitly called 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 oftener, but weekly, that continued court-libel<sup>o</sup> against the parliament and city, printed, as the wet<sup>o</sup> sheets can witness, and dispersed among us for all that licensing can do? Yet this is the prime service a man would think wherein this order should give proof of itself. If it were executed, you'll say. But certain, if execution be remiss 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 frustrate, behold a new labour, lords and commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicensed books already printed and divulged,<sup>o</sup> after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of custody till they have been 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 useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials<sup>o</sup> to make expurgations and expunctions,

that the commonwealth of learning be not damnified.° In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid 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 Seville,° which I know ye abhor to do.

Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or uncatechized 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 aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

Another reason whereby to make it plain that this order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of books whether they may be wafted° into this world 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 behooves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journeywork,° a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable, unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoined the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down° at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition which I cannot believe how he that values time and his own studies, or is but of a sensible° nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking, who doubtless took this office up looking on it through their obedience to the parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlaborious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their license are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those who now possess the employment by all evident signs wish themselves well rid 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 press corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to show, 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 offered to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates, upon every least breath of a motion to remove pluralities<sup>o</sup> and distribute more equally church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning 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<sup>o</sup> 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 itself, 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 published labours advance the good of mankind; then know that so far to distrust the judgment and 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 schism, 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 escaped the ferula<sup>o</sup> to come under the fescue<sup>o</sup> of an imprimatur? if serious and elaborate<sup>o</sup> writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered<sup>o</sup> without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, 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 than a fool or a foreigner. 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 confers with his judicious friends; after all which done, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this, the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, 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, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings and expense of Palladian oil<sup>o</sup> to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of bookwriting; and if he be not repulsed or slighted, must appear in print like a puny<sup>o</sup> with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety that he is no idiot or seducer; it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning.

And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy as to have many things well worth the adding come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers, and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed, and many a jaunt will be made ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; meanwhile either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than 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<sup>o</sup> licenser, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader, upon the first sight of a pedantic license, will be ready with these like words to ding<sup>o</sup> the book a quoit's distance<sup>o</sup> 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 licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment?' 'The state, sir,' replies the stationer—but has a quick return: 'The state shall be my governors, but not my critics; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author. This is some common stuff'; and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon<sup>o</sup> that 'such authorized books are but the language of the times'. For though a licenser should happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy<sup>o</sup> of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already.

Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, come to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox<sup>o</sup> himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash;<sup>o</sup> the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such ironmoulds<sup>o</sup> as these shall have authority to gnaw 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 than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast 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 written 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 judgment which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty<sup>o</sup> capacities, how good soever; much less that it should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets, and statutes, and standards.<sup>o</sup> We must not think to make a staple commodity<sup>o</sup> of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broadcloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines,<sup>o</sup> not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters,<sup>o</sup> but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges?

Had anyone written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write but what were first examined by

an appointed officer whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident<sup>o</sup> and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious 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 licenser? That this is care or love of them we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness is used 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 doors 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 proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented<sup>o</sup> with such an unprincipled, unedified and laic<sup>o</sup> rabble, as that<sup>o</sup> the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the ministers, when such a low conceit<sup>o</sup> is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser; that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vended in such numbers, and such volumes as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable should not be armour enough against one single enchiridion<sup>o</sup> without the castle of St Angelo<sup>o</sup> of an imprimatur.

And lest some should persuade ye, lords and commons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your order are mere flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their learned men (for that honour I had) and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that



nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo°, grown old, a prisoner to the inquisition for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatial yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty.

Yet was it beyond my hope that those worthies were then breathing in her air who should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgotten 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 learned men of other parts uttered against the inquisition, the same I should hear by as learned men at home uttered in time of parliament against an order of licensing, and that so generally that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy,° that he° whom an honest quaestorship had endeared to the Sicilians was not more by them importuned against Verres than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions 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 learning.

That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is: that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves 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 than silenced from preaching shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning; and will soon put it out of controversy that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing.

That those evils of prelaty which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged 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 diocese of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure° too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late cried down the sole

ordination of every novice bachelor of art,<sup>o</sup> and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parishioner, shall now at home in his private chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books and ablest authors that write them. This is not the covenants and protestations<sup>o</sup> that we have made! This is not to put down prelaty; this is but to chop an episcopacy;<sup>o</sup> this is but to translate the palace metropolitan<sup>o</sup> from one kind of dominion into another; this is but an old canonical sleight of commuting our penance.<sup>o</sup> To startle thus betimes<sup>o</sup> at a mere unlicensed pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle,<sup>o</sup> and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting.

But I am certain that a state governed 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 restrained by a discipline imitated from the prelates, and learned by them from the inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men, who cannot but discern the fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while bishops were to be baited down, then all presses might be open; it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of parliament, 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 episcopal arts begin to bud again; the cruse of truth must run no more oil;<sup>o</sup> liberty of printing must be enthralled again under a prelatial commission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullified; and, which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the prelates might remember<sup>o</sup> 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 enhances their authority,' saith the Viscount St Albans;<sup>o</sup> 'and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.' This order, therefore, may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily show how it will be a stepdame to truth: and first, by disenabling 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 compared in Scripture<sup>o</sup> to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a

perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth; and if he believe things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly° so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some would gladlier post off to another than the charge and care of their religion. There be, who knows not that there be? of Protestants and professors° who live and die in as errant and implicit faith° as any lay Papist of Loreto.°

A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries° he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do? 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 toiling, and to find himself out some factor° to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; some divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys, 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 become a dividual° moveable, and goes and comes near him according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped and sumptuously laid to sleep; rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced brewage, and better breakfasted than he° whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves 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 publicans° that have the tunaging and poundaging° of all free-spoken truth, will straight give themselves up into your hands, make 'em and cut 'em 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 staunch and solid piece of framework 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<sup>o</sup> minister who has his reward and is at his Hercules' pillars<sup>o</sup> 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,<sup>o</sup> the gatherings and savings of a sober graduateship, a harmony and a catena,<sup>o</sup> 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-fa,<sup>o</sup> by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously, a little bookcraft and two hours' meditation might furnish him unspeakably<sup>o</sup> 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.<sup>o</sup> But as for the multitude of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St Thomas<sup>o</sup> in his vestry, and add to boot St Martin and St Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plentifully to refresh his magazine.<sup>o</sup> But if his rear and flanks be not impaled,<sup>o</sup> if his back door be not secured by the rigid licenser 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 flock be seduced who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence which must then be used do not make us affect<sup>o</sup> 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 than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily 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 sound? Christ<sup>o</sup> urged it as wherewith to justify himself that he preached in public; yet writing is more public 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 disinured by this course of licensing towards the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers 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 merchandise, truth: nay, it was first established and put in practice by anti-Christian 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*<sup>o</sup> by the prohibition of printing. '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 appurtenances 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<sup>o</sup> wherein we contemplate can show us till we come to beatific vision, 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 straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story<sup>o</sup> goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces 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 master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature<sup>o</sup> of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding

and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies<sup>o</sup> to the torn body of our martyred saint.

We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those planets that are oft combust,<sup>o</sup> and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament where they may be seen evening or morning? The light which we have gained was given us, not to be ever staring on, 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 economical<sup>o</sup> and political, be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius<sup>o</sup> and Calvin have beacons 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 meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their syntagma.<sup>o</sup> They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces 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 homogeneous, and proportional), this is the golden rule<sup>o</sup> in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and commons of England, consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse,<sup>o</sup> 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 been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and ablest judgment have been persuaded that even the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old philosophy of this island.<sup>o</sup> And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agricola,<sup>o</sup> who governed once here for Caesar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French.

Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hyrcanian wilderness,<sup>o</sup> not their youth, but their staid men,

to learn our language and our theologic arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending<sup>o</sup> towards us. Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wyclif to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Huss and Jerome,<sup>o</sup> no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned<sup>o</sup> the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers.

Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his church, even to the reforming of reformation itself; what does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen? 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, the mansion-house<sup>o</sup> of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates<sup>o</sup> and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation: others as fast<sup>o</sup> 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 soil but wise and faithful labourers to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already.<sup>o</sup> 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 stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness 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 some grain of charity might win all these diligencies to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth, could we but forego this prelati- cal 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 Pyrrhus<sup>o</sup> did, admiring the Roman docility and courage, 'If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a church or kingdom happy.'

Yet these are the men cried 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 irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber ere the house of God can be built. 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 piece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure.

Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come wherein Moses, the great prophet, may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish<sup>o</sup> of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy elders, but all the Lord's people, are become prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour: when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not the firm root out of which we all grow, though into branches; nor will beware, until he see our small divided maniples<sup>o</sup> cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps, though overtimorous, 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 persuade me.

First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up, even to her walls and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more than at other times, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity and admiration,° things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular good will, contentedness, and confidence in your prudent foresight and safe government, lords and commons; and from thence derives° itself 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 besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment.

Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational 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 cheerfulness 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 controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined 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;° methinks I see her as an eagle mewing° her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble° would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city, should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers° over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again when we shall know nothing but what is

measured to us by their bushel? Believe it, lords and commons, they who counsel ye to such a suppressing do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us; liberty which is the nurse of all great wits: this is that which hath rarefied and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven; this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal<sup>o</sup> 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 freed 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 own virtue propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law,<sup>o</sup> that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye and excite others? Not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct,<sup>o</sup> and his four nobles<sup>o</sup> of Danegelt.<sup>o</sup> Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities,<sup>o</sup> 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 advised then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal<sup>o</sup> to suppress opinions for the newness or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one<sup>o</sup> of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the Lord Brooke. He writing of episcopacy, and 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 honoured regard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to his<sup>o</sup> last testament who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of

God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is,° by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus,° with his two controversial faces, might now not insignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine° were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse 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,° framed and fabricked 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 hidden treasures',° early and late, that another order shall enjoin us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle° ranged, scattered 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 licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, and 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 and bound, 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, until she be adjured into her own likeness.

Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one? What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain

shadow else is the abolition of 'those ordinances, that handwriting nailed to the cross'?° What great purchase is this Christian liberty° which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord.° How many other things might be tolerated in peace and left to conscience had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy 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 linen decency° yet haunts us. We stumble, and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover, any enthralled piece of truth out of the grip of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of 'wood and hay and stubble'° forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than 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 precious stones': it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares,° the good fish from the other fry; that must be the angels' ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind—as who looks they should be?—this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent and more Christian, that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners, no law can possibly permit that intends not to unlaw itself; but those neighbouring 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'.°

In the meanwhile, if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving reformation which we labour under, if truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so jesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to do so worthy a deed, and not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself:

whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplaussible than many errors; even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do 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 do 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<sup>o</sup> a kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general 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 than common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further, and go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening 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 confined 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 man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies and outward callings of men, planting our faith one while in the old Convocation House,<sup>o</sup> and another while in the chapel at Westminster, when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized is not sufficient without plain convincement and the charity of patient instruction to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify 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 Seventh himself there, with all his liege toms about him, should lend them voices from the dead to swell their number.

And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience; if not for their sakes yet for our own? Seeing no man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways 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, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God

hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests nor among the Pharisees, and we, in the haste 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 commonly forejudge them ere we understand them, no less than woe to us while, thinking thus to defend the gospel, we are found the persecutors!

There have been not a few since the beginning of this parliament, both of the presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed 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 persuaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses<sup>o</sup> gave to young Joshua, nor the countermand which our Saviour<sup>o</sup> gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is; if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the church by this let<sup>o</sup> of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade and execute the most Dominican part<sup>o</sup> of the inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves, whom the change of their condition hath puffed up, more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves have done in that order<sup>o</sup> published next before this, 'That no book be printed, unless the printer's and the author's name, or at least the printer's be registered'. Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner<sup>o</sup> will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while; and was the immediate image of a Star Chamber decree<sup>o</sup> to that purpose made in those very times when that court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer.<sup>o</sup> Whereby ye may guess what kind of state prudence, what love of the people, what care of religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order so well consti-

tuted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted<sup>o</sup> there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolizers in the trade of bookselling; who, under pretence of the poor in their company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy<sup>o</sup> (which God forbid should be gainsaid), brought divers glosing colours<sup>o</sup> to the house, which were indeed but colours,<sup>o</sup> and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours; men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier escape abroad, as the event<sup>o</sup> shows. But of these sophisms and elenches<sup>o</sup> of merchandise I skill not: this I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident;<sup>o</sup> for what magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of printing be reduced into the power of a few? But to redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement<sup>o</sup> more than others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a virtue (honoured lords and commons) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.

### *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*

PROVING THAT IT IS LAWFUL, AND HATH BEEN HELD SO THROUGH ALL AGES, FOR ANY WHO HAVE THE POWER TO CALL TO ACCOUNT A TYRANT, OR WICKED KING, AND AFTER DUE CONVICTION TO DEPOSE AND PUT HIM TO DEATH, IF THE ORDINARY MAGISTRATE HAVE NEGLECTED OR DENIED TO DO IT. AND THAT THEY WHO OF LATE SO MUCH BLAME DEPOSING, ARE THE MEN THAT DID IT THEMSELVES.

If men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny of custom from without and blind affections within, they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vicious rule by which they govern themselves. For indeed, none can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom but licence, which never hath more scope or

234 *embattling*. Preparation for battle.

*Cyrene and Alexandria*. North African centres of Hellenistic learning.

*Plato*. In *Laws*, Book i.

*these*. The Athenians.

*gown*. Peacetime professions (after legal and clerical garb).

*weapon*. The sword.

*prove and heat*. Test and exercise.

*single*. Simple, unaided (i.e. without weapons).

*descant*. Improvisations.

*symphony*. Consort; the entire company of performers.

*out*. Mistaken.

235 *cherish*. Foster.

*concoction*. Digestion.

*covert*. Cover.

*to shed away*. To desert (because of sickness), alluding to difficulties in the army at the time Milton was writing.

*unrecrutable*. Incapable of recruiting.

*twenty . . . list*. i.e. the size of the company is deliberately kept small and the roster padded with false names while the colonel embezzles the pay of both the real and non-existent recruits. *delusive*. Calculated to deceive.

*commodities*. Commodious arrangements.

*try*. Ascertain, determine.

236 *kickshaws*. From Fr. *quelques choses*, somethings; fantastical, frivolous, Frenchified persons.

*in*. With.

*Ulysses*. See *Od.*, xxi for the bow that Odysseus alone could string.

*assay*. Practice.

*Areopagitica*. As part of the consolidation of Parliamentary and Presbyterian power, the Licensing Order of 1643 had reinstated pre-publication censorship of the sort mandated by the Star Chamber during the years of Charles I's personal rule. Milton's 1644 response takes its title from the *Areopagite Discourse* (c.355 BC) of Isocrates, a text written in the form of an oration and directed to the Athenian Court of the Areopagus, urging it to reclaim its former powers to control education and censor behaviour. While the formal model—that of the classical oration, loosely followed by Milton—might support the mainstream Christian-humanist tradition that has read *Areopagitica* as a document of political liberalism, the particular Isocratean example will obviously also support more recent views (such as those of J. Illo in *Radical Perspectives in the Arts*, ed. L. Baxandall, or



F. Barker in *The Tremulous Private Body*) that stress the limits of the argument—that although it opposes pre-censorship, it approves censorship after publication, and that, moreover, its toleration does not extend to Roman Catholic writings. The liberal notion that the tract affirms the rights of the individual is seriously complicated by Barker and by the brilliant reading of C. Kendrick in *Milton: A Study in Ideology and Form*, who demonstrates that the essay's claims of autonomous subjectivity are themselves deeply involved in social and political formations. Although few readers may be prepared to accept the arguments of H. Rapaport in *Milton and the Postmodern* linking Milton's political views to totalitarianism rather than to liberalism, such arguments offer important correctives to the older criticism of Arthur Barker (*Milton and the Puritan Dilemma*), George F. Sensabaugh (*That Grand Whig Milton*), and A. S. P. Woodhouse (*Puritanism and Liberty*).

237 *states*. Both governing bodies and heads of state.

*wanting*. Lacking.

*mean*. Ordinary.

*success*. Outcome.

*censure*. Judgment.

*foremost*. Prefatory.

*incidental*. Naturally likely to occur.

*trophy*. Monument to a victory.

*beyond . . . recovery*. i.e. beyond the power of the simple Roman virtues—honesty, courage, frugality—to achieve; but also, the use of *Roman* in conjunction with the 'tyranny and superstition' of the previous line implies the corruption of the classical ideals through the papacy, and the consequent association of Romanness with episcopacy.

238 *him*. Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich (compare *Apology*), who, although a royalist, praised Parliament in the *Humble Remonstrance* (1641).

*statists*. Politicians.

*triennial*. By an Act of 1641, Parliament was to meet at least every three years, rather than by royal summons.

*cabin counsellors*. Cabinet ministers: the reference is to Charles I's exclusive reliance on his advisers; no parliaments had been summoned between 1629 and 1640.

*as . . . gainsay*. i.e. in arguing against the Licensing Act.

*him*. Isocrates.

239 *Dion Prusaëus*. Greek rhetorician (d. c. AD 117).

*not . . . latitude*. Cf. similar attitudes towards the effect of the English climate on creativity in *PL*, ix. 45, *RCG*, p. 170.

*derogated*. Subtracted.

239 *that part*. The provisions that no book could be registered without its owner's consent, thereby preserving copyright, and that books registered for the benefit of the poor could not be reprinted without permission.

*painful*. Painstaking.

*quadragesimal*. Lenten; the reference is to the right of bishops to give individual dispensations from dietary restrictions during Lent.

*matrimonial*. Referring to the episcopal authority to exempt marriages from the required publication of the marriage banns.

*when . . . expired*. The 1642 Bishops Exclusion Bill excluded bishops from the House of Lords; Presbyterianism was not established by law until 1645.

240 *dragon's teeth*. Sown by Cadmus, mythical founder of Thebes; an army sprang from them: see Ovid, *Met.*, iii. 101-30.

*spill*. Destroy.

*whole impression*. Entire edition.

*fifth essence*. The quintessence, the spiritual component beyond the four material elements.

*inquisition*. Papal suppression of heretical books has a long history; it became widespread under Torquemada, who was made Grand Inquisitor in 1478. Books were licensed in England by the Privy Council from 1538 on; licensing was administered by the Stationer's Company. Charles I's 1637 Star Chamber decree was the most recent and extensive English censorship document before the 1643 order.

*Protagoras*. Sophist of the fifth century BC.

*Vetus comoedia*. The Old (Greek) Comedy, as written e.g., by Aristophanes.

*quick*. Vital, vigorous.

*Cicero*. In *On the Nature of the Gods*, i. 23.

*event*. Outcome.

*Epicurus*. Founder of Epicureanism, which taught that the highest good was to be found in pleasure.

*libertine . . . Cyrene*. Founded by Aristippus, a student of Socrates, who equated virtue with pleasure; cf. *PR*, iv. 276 ff.

*Cynic impudence*. Exemplified by Diogenes, who claimed that the reason he carried a lamp in daylight was that he had yet to see a real man—the Spartans being children and the Athenians women.

241 *Chrysostom*. St John Chrysostom (c.347-407), Greek Church Father.

*Lacedaemon*. Sparta.

*Lycurgus*. The supposed founder of Sparta; Milton draws on Plutarch's life.

*Archilochus*. Satiric poet of the seventh century BC.

*broad*. Plainspoken, satiric.

241 *promiscuous conversing*. Spartan men and women exercised together in the nude (conversing = socializing).

*Andromache*. ll. 595-601:

No Spartan girl

Could ever live clean if she wanted.

They're always out on the street in scanty outfits,

Making a great display of naked limbs.

In those they race and wrestle with the boys too—

Abominable's the word. It's little wonder

Sparta is hardly famous for chaste women.

(tr. J. F. Nims)

*twelve tables*. Of the ancient Roman laws.

*Pontific College*. Supreme religious institution of ancient Rome.

*augurs*. Priests who interpreted omens.

*flamens*. Sacrificial priests.

*Cato . . . Italy*. In 155 BC; Cato's distaste is at least partly understandable: Carneades had attempted to illustrate sceptical methodology by delivering a lecture on the nature of justice, and on the following day, delivering another demolishing his own argument.

*Scipio*. Scipio the Younger (d. 129 BC), commander and patron of the arts.

*Sabine austerity*. Cato grew up on a Sabine farm and often secluded himself there.

*scrupulous*. Dubious, full of scruples.

*Naevius . . . Philemon*. Comic dramatists of the first and second centuries BC who imitated the Greek New Comedy.

242 *Lucretius . . . Memmius . . . Cicero*. *De Rerum Natura* is addressed to the praetor Memmius; Cicero, who argued against many of Lucretius's ideas, was said nevertheless to have edited the poem.

*Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus*. Satiric (and in the case of Catullus, sexually explicit) authors; [Quintus Horatius] Flaccus is Horace.

*story of Titus Livius*. Livy's *History* which, according to Tacitus, took Pompey's side (the section has not survived).

*Naso*. Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso).

*covert*. Cover, pretext.

*emperors . . . Christians*. Constantine, the first avowedly Christian emperor, reigned AD 306-37.

*Porphyrius*. His *Against the Christians* was ordered to be burned by Constantine.

*Proclus*. Fifth-century neo-Platonist.

*scrupled more*. Had more scruples about.

*gentiles*. Non-Christians.

- 242 *Padre Paolo*. Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), whose *Historie of the Council of Trent* (tr. 1620) is a main source for Milton.

*bull. Inter cunctas*, a bull of 1418.

- 243 *Wyclif and Huss*. John Wyclif and John Huss, precursors of the Protestant reformation.

*Leo X*. Pope from 1513 to 1521.

*Council of Trent*. Met from 1545 to 1563 to reformulate Roman Catholic doctrine and practices in response to the Reformation. It authorized the *Index of Prohibited Books* first issued in 1559, along with an *Index of Expurgations* from books otherwise allowed.

*stay in*. Stop with.

*keys*. Cf. Matt. 16: 19, 'And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

*conceit*. Idea.

*Claudius*. In the margin, Milton cites Suetonius on Tiberius' plan to issue an edict legalizing farting at table, '*Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi?*'

*Imprimatur*. Let it be printed.

*shaven*. Alluding to the tonsure.

- 244 *sponge*. eraser.

*responsories . . . antiphonies*. Responsive parts of church services.

*Lambeth House*. London residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

*Paul's*. St Paul's cathedral, near which the Bishop of London resided.

*Juno*. Juno tried to hinder Alcmena from giving birth to Hercules by commanding the goddess of childbirth to attend her in her labour with her legs crossed (in Milton's account, Juno performs the action herself); see Ovid, *Met.*, ix. 281-323.

*Radamanth*. One of the judges in the classical underworld.

*backward into light*. i.e. rather than across the river Acheron into Hades.

*mysterious iniquity*. The papacy, which reformers identified as the whore upon whose forehead 'Mystery' is inscribed in Rev. 17: 5.

*minorites*. Comparing Anglican chaplains to the Friars Minor.

- 245 *Lullius*. Raymond Lull (c. 1234-1315), famous alchemical theorist.

*sublimate*. Transform base metals into precious ones: technical alchemical language.

*Paul*. 1 Cor. 15: 33 quotes a Euripidean fragment that had become proverbial, cited also in the Preface to *SA*; Milton's other examples are Acts 17: 28 (from Aratus) and Titus 1: 12 (from Epimenides).

*Julian the Apostate*. Emperor from 361 to 363, who renounced Christianity.

*shifts*. Stratagems.

245 *Apollinarii*. Apollinaris of Alexandria and his son, who wrote grammars and rhetorics based on the Bible.

*Socrates*. Socrates Scholasticus (c.385-440), a Church historian.

*Decius or Diocletian*. Roman emperors who persecuted the Christians.

*Jerome*. St Jerome (c.340-420), translator of the Bible into Latin; his eighteenth epistle, addressed to Eustochium, is the source of the incident recounted here, in which the angel doubts Jerome's faith because of his devotion to Cicero.

246 *Basil*. . . Margites. Basil the Great (c.330-79), whose *On the Right Use of Greek Literature* suggests general principles of reading; *Margites* was a mock-heroic poem, of which only fragments survive, ascribed to Homer.

*Morgante*. A romance by Luigi Pulci (1481).

*Eusebius*. Church historian (c.264-340), who reports the incident about Dionysius Alexandrinus, a mid-third-century bishop of Alexandria.

*answerable to*. In accordance with.

*Thessalonians*. 1 Thess. 5: 21.

*author*. Paul; Titus 1: 15 is cited.

*unapocryphal vision*. Acts 10: 9-19, in which Peter is permitted to eat foods forbidden by Old Testament dietary restrictions; it is 'unapocryphal' in contrast with the vision of Dionysius Alexandrinus just discussed.

*concoction*. Digestion.

*Selden*. John Selden (1584-1654), historian, lawyer, and antiquarian; Milton draws on his *De Jure Naturali et Gentium juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum* (1640).

*exquisite*. Choice.

247 *tabled*. Provided food for their tables, i.e. manna (see Exod. 16).

*issue out*. Cf. Matt. 15: 17-20 and Mark 7: 15, 'There is nothing from without a man, that entering into him can defile him: but the things which come out of him, these are they that defile the man.'

*Solomon*. Eccles. 12: 12.

*Syriac*. The Syriac version of Acts 19: 19.

*practised the books*. Practised what the books taught.

*Psyche*. Venus, jealous of Psyche's love for her son Cupid, imposed on her the task of separating seeds; see Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, iv. 6.

*warfaring*. Texts read 'wayfaring', hand-corrected in presentation copies to 'warfaring'. The emendation has the support of Eph. 6: 11, 'Put on the whole armour of God', and of such texts as Erasmus's, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* and Spenser, *FQ*, I. i. 1-2.

*unbreathed*. Unexercised (to the point of breathlessness).

248 *immortal garland*. Cf. Jas. 1: 12, 'the crown of life,' or 2 Tim. 4: 8, 'a crown of righteousness'; see *Comus*, l. 973.

248 *excremental*. Superficial, as an excrescence or outgrowth, not inherent.

*Scotus or Aquinas*. Duns Scotus or St Thomas Aquinas, as representative medieval philosophers.

*Guyon*. In *FQ*, ii. 7, Guyon faces Mammon without the Palmer, who does, however, accompany him to the Bower of Bliss (ii. 12). The error about the Cave of Mammon has been discussed from a thematic point of view by E. Sirluck (*MP*, 48 [1950]) and has recently, thanks to H. Bloom's discussion in *A Map of Misreading*, served as a touchstone for Milton's relation to Spenser; see J. Guillory, *Poetic Authority*; J. Goldberg, *Voice Terminal Echo*.

*promiscuously*. Indiscriminately.

*nice*ly. Fastidiously.

*Talmudist* . . . *chetiv*. A Talmudist is a student of the Jewish commentaries on the Old Testament, in which a '*keri*' in the margin provides an alternative word to be read in place of the text ('*chetiv*') that is forbidden, either because it is too holy—e.g. the name of God—or blasphemous.

*Clement of Alexandria*. Church Father (second century AD), whose *Hortatory Address to the Greeks* describes lascivious pagan rituals in great detail.

*Eusebian* . . . *preparation*. For Eusebius, see above, p. 246. His *Evangelical Preparation* is similarly detailed about obscene pagan practices.

*Irenaeus, Epiphanius*. Church Fathers whose works detail and argue against heretical beliefs.

249 *criticisms*. Fine points.

*Petronius*. Author of the obscene classic *Satyricon* (d. AD 66).

*Arbiter*. Tacitus (*Annals*, xvi. 18-19) reports that Nero called Petronius '*arbiter elegantiarum*' (stylistic adviser).

*ribald of Arezzo*. Pietro Aretino (1492-1557), author of lewd and satiric works.

*vicar of hell*. Sir Francis Brian, Anne Boleyn's cousin, whose scurrility and blasphemy were said to have earned Henry VIII's esteem.

*Cataio*. Cathay, China.

*Isaiah*. In Acts 8: 27-35, Philip expounds a passage from Isaiah for the benefit of a eunuch.

*Sorbonists*. Roman Catholic scholars at the Sorbonne.

*distinct*. Acutely discriminating.

*Arminius*. Jacob Hermanns (1560-1609), who, answering a Calvinistic tract, argued for the election of those among the fallen who would subsequently answer God's call; Milton came to hold the Arminian belief that divine foreknowledge did not foreclose freedom of the human will; cf. *CD*, I. 4.

*cautelous*. Tricky, crafty.

*pound up*. Impound (and hence keep out).

250 *Aristotle. Ethics*, i. 3, where knowledge is said to be unavailable to those controlled by their passions.

*Solomon. Prov.* 23: 9, on the futility of educating fools.

*Saviour. Matt.* 7: 6, on casting pearls before swine.

*want.* Be without.

*qualify.* Modify.

*prevented.* Anticipated.

*Plato . . . laws.* Milton seems to consider Plato's *Laws* to be as utopian as his *Republic*. Book 7 of the *Laws* legislates censorship.

*airy burgomasters.* Fictitious governors.

*academic night-sitting.* Plato's school was the Academy; the *Symposium* depicts such a learned drinking party.

251 *Sophron Mimus.* A popular writer of the fifth century BC.

*fond.* Foolish.

*Doric.* According to Plato (*Republic*, 399), a manly and militaristic musical mode.

*shrewd.* Depraved.

*visitors.* Ecclesiastical censors.

*rebec.* A three-stringed violin.

*gamut.* Range of notes.

*Arcadias.* Imitations of Sidney's pastoral romance.

*Montemayors.* Alluding to Jorge de Montemayor, author of the Spanish romance *Diana*.

*hears ill.* Is ill spoken of.

*rioting.* Excesses, indulgences.

252 *conversation.* Socializing.

*Atlantic.* Referring to Atlantis, the mythical island depicted in Plato's *Critias* and *Timaeus*.

*Plato there.* See *Republic*, 424-33; *Laws*, 643-4.

*pittance.* Rationing, allowance.

*gramercy.* Merit, approbation.

*motions.* Puppet shows.

253 *court-libel.* The 'Court Mercury' (*Mercurius Aulicus*), an anti-Parliament newspaper published 1642-5.

*wet.* Newly printed.

*divulged.* Made public.

*officials.* A term applied to ecclesiastical judges.

254 *damnified.* Injured.

254 *perfectly*. Completely.

*Seville*. Headquarters of the Spanish Inquisition.

*story*. History.

*wafted*. Conveyed.

*mean*. Inconsiderable.

*journeywork*. Day labour, hackwork.

*would not down*. Could not be swallowed.

*sensible*. Sensitive.

255 *pluralities*. The practice of holding more than one Church living.

*competency*. Sufficient income.

*ferula*. Schoolmaster's rod.

*fescue*. Schoolmaster's pointer.

*elaborate*. Produced through labour.

*uttered*. Published.

256 *Palladian oil*. Lamp oil consumed in the course of work honouring Pallas Athena, goddess of wisdom.

*puny*. Minor, schoolboy.

*patriarchal*. Paternal, but also alluding to the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy.

*ding*. Fling.

*quoit's distance*. The distance that the ring is thrown in the game of quoits.

*Bacon*. Cited from *A Wise and Moderate Discourse Concerning Church-Affairs* (1589; pub. 1640; Spedding, *Bacon*, i. 78).

*jeopardy*. Uncertainty.

257 *Knox*. John Knox, the Scottish reformer, whose *History of the Reformation in Scotland* was censored in a 1644 edition.

*dash*. Line drawn through an offending word.

*ironmoulds*. Discolourations, ink-stains.

*twenty*. Thirty-four licensers were in fact appointed by Parliament; 'twenty' may mean 'a large number'.

*tickets* . . . *standards*. Authorizations and restrictions (cf. 'mark and license', below).

*staple commodity*. Merchandise whose sale is controlled by royal authority.

*Philistines*. The Philistines forbade the Israelites to forge tools or weapons (see 1 Sam. 13: 19-20).

*coulters*. Iron blades on ploughs.

258 *diffident*. Lacking in faith, distrustful.

*frequented*. Associated.



- 258 *laic*. Irreligious.  
*as that*. As if.  
*conceit*. Opinion.  
*enchiridion*. The word means both knife and handbook.  
*St Angelo*. Castel Sant' Angelo in Rome, a papal prison.
- 259 *Galileo*. Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) spent his last years under arrest in a villa near Florence; Milton visited Italy in 1638-9. Galileo is the only contemporary named in *PL* (i. 288).  
*envy*. Ill will.  
*he*. Cicero, who had been quaestor (chief treasury officer) of Sicily and prosecuted Verres, a subsequent praetor (chief judge) of Sicily, who was charged with extortion and cruelty.  
*cure*. Parish.
- 259-60 *sole . . . art*. The bishops claimed the exclusive authority to ordain ministers and only ordained university graduates for whom ecclesiastical appointments had first been provided.
- 260 *covenants and protestations*. Various proclamations issued by Parliament, including the Solemn League and Covenant declaring union with the Scottish Presbyterians.  
*chop an episcopacy*. Exchange one episcopacy for another.  
*palace metropolitan*. Residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury.  
*commuting our penance*. Taking payment in lieu of imposing penance, one of the charges against Laud.  
*To startle thus betimes*. One who is so quickly alarmed.  
*coventicle*. Meeting of dissenters.  
*cruse . . . oil*. Alluding to 1 Kgs. 17: 16, in which a widow's jar (cruse) of oil is inexhaustible.  
*remember*. Remind.  
*Viscount St Albans*. Bacon in the text above (p. 256), quoting Tacitus.  
*in Scripture*. E.g. Ps. 85:11, Prov. 18:4, Eccles. 1:5.
- 261 *assembly*. The Westminster Assembly, which advised Parliament on the religious settlement.  
*professors*. Those who declare their faith.  
*implicit faith*. Faith based simply on authority.  
*Loreto*. A shrine supposed to contain the house in which Mary conceived Jesus.  
*mysteries*. Trades, occupations.  
*factor*. Agent.  
*commendatory*. Recommendation, certification.

261 *dividual*. Separable.

*he*. Jesus, see Matt. 21: 17-19, Mark 11: 11-14.

*publicans*. Tax collectors.

*tunaging and poundaging*. Tunage was a tariff (originally on each *tun* of wine; subsequently on the value—not the weight—of any goods) that Charles I claimed authority to collect without parliamentary approval. (The term is usually, incorrectly, modernized to 'tonnage'.)

262 *parochial*. Both a minister of a parish and narrow-minded.

*Hercules' pillars*. Limits (of aspiration), alluding to the pillars Hercules set at the westernmost end of the Mediterranean to mark the extent of his travels, and hence the limits of the ancient world.

*topic folio*. Commonplace book.

*harmony . . . catena*. Books reconciling scriptural passages and the commentaries of the Church Fathers; the passages were drawn together under themes and topics (their 'uses, marks, and means').

*sol-fa*. Musical scale.

*unspeakably*. Ineffably.

*interlinearies . . . gear*. Further shortcuts to learning, including interlinear translations, abridgements, and summaries.

*our . . . Thomas*. Churches as stockhouses for books may be meant, or traditional associations between churches and trade (e.g. St Hugh was patron of shoemakers, although there was no London church named after him).

*magazine*. Storehouse.

*impaled*. Protected by stakes (pales).

*affect*. Adopt.

*Christ*. John 18: 19-20, answering the high priest.

263 *Alcoran*. The Koran.

*glass*. Cf. 1 Cor. 13: 12, 'For now we see through a glass darkly; but then face to face.'

*that story*. Of the dismemberment of Osiris, and Isis's attempt to collect his scattered limbs; see 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity', ll. 213-20, and Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris (Moralia, v)*.

*feature*. Shape.

264 *obsequies*. Rites and services, usually funeral.

*combust*. Burned up; i.e. invisible because of their proximity to the sun.

*economical*. Domestic.

*Zuinglius*. Ulrich Zwingli (1481-1531), founder of Protestantism in Zurich.

*syntagma*. Systematic doctrine, collection of treatises.

- 264 *golden rule*. Both the rule of mathematical proportion, and Matt. 8: 12, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'

*discourse*. Reason, discussion.

*Pythagoras . . . island*. John Selden, in his commentary on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1613, p. 14), credits Lipsius with the suggestion that Pythagoras learned about metempsychosis from the Druids.

*Agricola*. Roman proconsul in Britain, AD 78-85. The reference is to Tacitus' *Agricola*, xxi.

*Hyrceanian wilderness*. German forests.

- 265 *propending*. Inclining.

*Jerome*. Jerome of Prague (d. 1416), a disciple of Wyclif and Huss.

*demeaned*. Conducted.

*mansion-house*. Chief residence.

*plates*. Armour.

*fast*. Steadfastly.

*we . . . already*. Cf. John 4: 35, 'Say not ye, There be yet four months, and then cometh harvest? behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields: for they are white already to harvest.'

- 266 *Pyrrhus*. Third-century BC king of Epirus, who expressed his admiration for the Romans after he had defeated them. The passage quoted is from Florus' *Epitome*, i. 18.

*wish*. Num. 11: 29. 'Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.'

*maniples*. Bands of soldiers.

- 267 *admiration*. Provoking wonder.

*derives*. Conducts.

*his*. Livy (*History*, xxvi. 11) tells how Hannibal was discouraged to find the Roman morale so strong that his invasion had not reduced the price of land, even of the field where his army was encamped.

*strong man . . . locks*. Like Samson, although the awakening occurs after he has been shorn: 'And he awoke out of his sleep, and said, I will go out as at other times before, and shake myself' (Judg. 16: 20).

*mewing*. Renewing (lit. moulting). Medieval bestiaries report that the eagle moults and renews its sight by flying into the sun.

*gabble*. Chatter.

*engrossers*. Monopolists, with a pun on its other meaning, scribes.

- 268 *formal*. Tied to forms.

*law*. An ancient Roman law (abolished in AD 318) gave fathers the power of life and death over their children.

*coat and conduct*. Taxes on clothing and troop movement that Charles I attempted to exact.

268 *nobles*. Coins; the noble was worth 6s. 8d. (33 p.).

*Danegelt*. Ship money, a tax in support of the navy originally raised to forestall a Danish invasion. Charles's attempt to revive it without parliamentary sanction met with widespread protest.

*just immunities*. From such illegalities as Charles's imposition of taxes without parliamentary approval.

*unequal*. Unjust.

*one*. Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke (1608–43), a member of the House of Lords who died leading a parliamentary army; he was author of *A Discourse Opening the Nature of that Episcopacie, which is Exercised in England* (1641).

*his*. Jesus?; e.g. John 14: 21.

269 *the time in special is*. This is the particular moment (because the Westminster Assembly was meeting and Parliament was in session).

*Janus*. The gatekeeper god, whose two faces looked forward and back (hence 'controversial'); the doors of his temple in the Roman forum stood open in time of war.

*winds of doctrine*. Citing Eph. 4: 14.

*discipline of Geneva*. Calvin's doctrine, an essential model for English Presbyterianism.

*'to seek . . . treasures'*. Paraphrasing Prov. 2: 4 'if thou seekest her [wisdom] as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures . . .'

*battle*. Battalion, army.

*Proteus*. A metamorphic sea god with the gift of prophesy. In *Od.*, iv. 384 ff. Menelaus describes how he captured and bound Proteus so that he could not change his shape and compelled him to reveal what the hero must do to return home.

*Micaiah*. See 1 Kgs. 22: 1–36.

270 *'those ordinances . . . cross'*. Paraphrasing Col. 2: 14, 'Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.'

*Christian liberty*. A Pauline concept; e.g. Gal. 5: 1, 'the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free'; compare the discussion of law and liberty in Romans, esp. the consideration of indifferent matters in Rom. 14: 1–13, the 'doctrine' alluded to below; see CD (p. 723 ff.).

*he . . . Lord*. See Rom. 14: 1–13.

*linen decency*. Alluding to the bishops' justification of ceremonial garb.

*'wood . . . stubble'*. Citing 1 Cor. 3: 12, on the materials each person brings to 'God's building'; the passage is also cited below ('gold . . . stones').

*wheat from the tares*. Alluding to the parable in Matt. 13: 24–30, 36–43.

*'the unity . . . peace'*. Citing Eph. 4: 3.

271 *shakes*. Cf. Hag. 2: 6-7, 'For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth . . . and I will shake all nations.'

*Convocation House*. The chapter-house in Westminster Abbey; the Long Parliament moved powers of convocation from it to the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey.

272 *Moses*. Num. 11: 29, cited above.

*Saviour*. Luke 9: 50, 'he that is not against us is for us.'

*let*. Obstruction.

*Dominican part*. The Inquisition's licensers were usually Dominican friars.

*order*. Of 29 Jan. 1642.

*fire and the executioner*. Condemned books were burned by the executioner, who also inflicted whatever corporal punishment had been ordered for the author or printer (commonly ear-cropping or nose-slitting).

*Star-Chamber decree*. Of 1637; the Star Chamber was abolished in 1641.

*Lucifer*. Alluding to Isa. 14: 12, 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!'

273 *doubted*. Suspected.

*copy*. Copyright.

*glosing colours*. False interpretations (promulgated by the Stationers).

*but colours*. Merely superficial.

*event*. Outcome.

*sophisms and elenches*. Fallacious arguments and refutations.

*equally almost incident*. Almost as likely to occur.

*advertisement*. Notification.

*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. In Jan. 1649, Charles I was tried by a Rump Parliament (so called because all Royalist and Presbyterian supporters had been forcibly ejected from it in 'Pride's Purge', when on 6 Dec. 1648 Colonel Pride entered the House with troops and took control); the trial proceeded despite protests by the House of Lords, the king, prelates, and presbyters that it was clearly illegal and opposed to Scripture, and that the reconstituted House of Commons was itself an illegal body. Milton wrote *TKM* at this time, and it appeared within weeks of the execution of Charles I on 30 Jan. It was, of course, necessary for Milton to make the best case possible for the Independent cause, but it is important to observe that the account he gives here does not address what would have been, to the opposing side, the crucial issue: the question of the legality of the tribunal by which the king was tried, and of the new Parliament. By Mar. 1649, Milton had been appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues by the new government, a commonwealth in which kingship and the House of Lords had been abolished. Milton's official job involved translation and