

**MILTON'S PROJECTED EPIC
ON THE RISE AND FUTURE GREATNESS
OF THE BRITANNIC NATION**

TOGETHER WITH A REPRINT OF THE ANONYMOUS
PAMPHLET ENTITLED

**GREAT BRITAIN'S RUIN PLOTTED
BY SEVEN SORTS OF MEN, 1641**

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A Hitherto Unexploited Source of Milton's *Of Reformation*.

While looking through the collection of pamphlets in the British Museum belonging to the period of Milton's activity as a contributor to this kind of literature, the present writer came across an anonymous publication bearing the following title: *Great Britain's Ruin Plotted by Seven Sorts of Men*, London 1641 (= *GBRPI*). A faithful reproduction of the full text, together with notes, is given at the end of this treatise. A brief study of its contents at once revealed a very close connection with at least three of Milton's political writings, notably his first effort in this line, viz. *Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it*, London 1641. However, in the course of further researches into this problem the fact emerged that this "discovery" had been anticipated by that indefatigable investigator, Alfred Stern, who mentions the above-quoted pamphlet in his biography of Milton as possibly connected with the latter's *Of Reformation*. But he in no way followed up his suggestion, which seems to be the reason why other workers in the same field, who rely chiefly on Masson's standard work, have entirely overlooked that hint. Stern says: „Die Wogen der streitenden Ansichten gingen hoch, als Milton, etwa Ende Mai oder Anfang Juni 1641, die erste seiner flammenden Flugschriften über die Frage der Kirchenverfassung auf den literarischen Markt warf. Der Buchhändler Thomas Underhill, bei dem sie erschien, war als Verleger von Pamphleten der radikalen puritanischen Partei wohl bekannt. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß unter seiner Firma gleichfalls im Jahre 1641 eine kirchenpolitische Streitschrift herauskam, die nicht nur in ihrer ganzen Tendenz, sondern auch in ihrer äußeren Form die größte Ähnlichkeit mit Miltons Broschüre hat, ohne daß es mir möglich wäre, genauer anzugeben, welche der beiden Schriften zuerst erschienen war. Beide haben die Form eines an einen Freund gerichteten Briefes..." (*Milton und seine Zeit*, Leipzig 1877, 2. Buch, p. 57).

Stern, in writing his biography of the great Puritan, was principally concerned in glorifying his own political ideals, which

were those of the British Liberalism of his time; Milton was to him no more than the peg on which to hang his enthusiastic praise of parliamentarism, and he may, moreover, have disliked the idea of having to represent his idolized hero as dependent on the production of an obscure pamphleteer.

The author of *GBRPl* represents himself, on the title-page, as "a true-hearted well-wisher to Great Britain's happiness", and as of "Christian and true English parentage" (p. 3); he is a private person, leading a life of retirement (p. 2). It seems very doubtful that his identity, as well as that of his "friend", the addressee, who must have been a member of the Long Parliament, will ever be revealed. His division of the "plotters" into seven classes is most illuminating. His chief interest is in religious controversy, whereas the other factors underlying the then prevailing unrest, finance and foreign relations, are kept in the background. He certainly was in much closer touch with realities than Milton who, strong in desultory book-learning, wastes his energy to small purpose in historical disquisitions and in twisting patristic passages to his particular purpose. As the names of the members of the Long Parliament to whom the pamphlet is to be presented, as far as they could be identified, are those of determined opponents of episcopacy, it may be safely inferred that its author belonged to the same faction. His views must have been very advanced indeed, for he recommends the "Independent ways" of the Puritans in New England as a possible model to be imitated by the English Protestants (p. 26).

The Relations between *GBRPl* and *Of Reformation*.

In order to evaluate the part — if any — played by the anonymous pamphlet in the history of Milton's authorship, it is necessary to ascertain the exact nature of their interrelations.

A. Common External Features.

- (1) Both were published in 1641, and anonymously.
- (2) Both are addressed "to a friend" unknown, who need not be the same person. It might even be suggested that Milton's friend was the author of *GBRPl*.

- (3) Both were printed for Thomas Underhill, the same who published Vane's Root and Branch speech for the extirpation of episcopacy (Masson II, p. 239).

B. *Common Internal Features.*

Both the anonymous author and Milton are concerned with the problem of Church Government. They equally demand the abolition of episcopacy, recommending the substitution of the system developed by the "best reformed churches" on the continent, i. e., Presbyterianism. The strongest proofs of interrelation, however, must be looked for not so much in the matter of contents as in that of "parallel word-constellations" and of style. "A constellation of words is a grouping-together, within the limited space of a comparatively few lines, of a number of significant words; two such constellations in two different text are said to be parallel if they contain identical words, and if they prove similar in general character" (quoted from the present writer's *Further Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost*, Tartu 1934, p. 13). The more closely Milton's "sources" are investigated, the more the importance of this peculiar feature of his method of composition impresses itself on the student. The fact that such parallel word-constellations exist as between *GBRPl* and *Of Reformation* speaks strongly in favour of Milton being the borrower.

I.

GBRPl

(1) The opening passage was utilized by Milton in the middle of his text:

"Sir, Whiles I look on the Lady of Islands, I mean Great Britain, and see her clothed with the *mourning weed* of so many sad, strange, and dishonourable accidents which have

Of Reformation

"O, *sir*, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, in a *mourn-*

fallen out in these latter times, mine eyes run water, and my head is a fountain of *tears*" (p. 1).

(2) After a short introductory paragraph, the author continues as follows:

"*Sir*, In my *retiredness*, methinks I have discovered the plot of Britain's ruin ... together with the contrivers of it and their principles..." (p. 2).

"...but at last considering these present halcyon days, wherein *the kingsfisher* begins to make his nest upon the waters..." (p. 3).

(3) The following passage

ing weed, with ashes upon her head, and *tears* abundantly flowing from her eyes to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity..." (Robert Fletcher's edition of the *Prose Works*, 1835=Fl, p. 14a).

Milton begins his text as follows:

"*Sir*, Amidst those deep and *retired* thoughts... I do not know of any thing more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider first the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred, but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the church in these latter days" (Fl 1a).

"Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to inquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief causes have been, that have still hindered our uniform consent to the rest of the churches abroad, at this time especially when *the kingdom* is in a good propensity thereto, and all men in prayers, in hopes, or in disputes, either for or against it" (Fl 2b).

on the parallel passage in *Of Reformation*, because it explains who are meant by the hitherto mysterious "locusts":

"Their Jesuits (*those infernal locusts* which have come out of the bottomless pit)..." (p. 9).

(4) In a paragraph dealing with the motto "no bishop, no king", one reads:

"... for my part I have ever took a *king* for a beam of the deity cast into an angle of the earth, and that judgment and *justice* make the throne stable, ruling according to law is the greatest honour and safety of a prince... methinks it is a disparagement to the crown to be supported by bishops; sure I am *Solomon's throne* was supported by lions; and for ceremony to support bishops, it seems such a sandy *foundation*, that with a violent storm the foundation may be washed away, and the whole building may easily fall" (p. 15).

"O let them not bring about their damned designs that stand now at the entrance of the *bottomless pit*, expecting the watchword to open and let out *those* dreadful *locusts* and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of *infernal* darkness..." (Fl p. 21a).

Speaking about "this worthy motto, no bishop, no king", Milton also alludes to King Solomon's throne; the "sandy foundation" is replaced by the similar figure of the "house of court-cards":

"But what greater debase-ment can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and steadfast height rests upon the unmovable *foundations* of *justice*, and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependence of subsisting, or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelacy, which want but one puff of the king's to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards? . . .

... seeing that *the throne* of a *king*, as the wise king *Solomon* often remembers us, 'is established in *justice*'..." (Fl 13a/b).

(5) The following extract illustrates the use of a peculiar stylistic device which is handled much more effectively by Milton than by his rather pedestrian model:

“But *now*, *Sir*, I cannot but pause, being transported with such high *thoughts*, and designs; but are not we the tools and instruments to serve divine providence?” (p. 22).

(6) There is to be observed a certain similarity in the sequence of thoughts in the passages contrasted under this head: the English and the Scotch are implored to form a close union; if they do this, all other Protestant churches will join them, and their combined forces will destroy the enemy, convert the Jews and Mohammedans, and establish a kind of world rule:

“... who knows, but God hath humbled us in the eyes of the world, to raise us to higher honour, and that the northern glory, I mean the Scots, and we should be near a breach, to make way for a stronger, and nearer union? Bones broken and well set are stronger afterwards, so the Scots and we with our brethren in Ireland, may with more constant, and cordial union, advance the glory of our

In both pamphlets, the context is very similar. The word “thoughts” serves as a kind of signal to draw attention to the parallelism:

“O, *sir*, I do *now* feel myself inwrapped on the sudden in those mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous *thoughts*, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not . . .” (Fl 20b).

Milton deviates from his model in one characteristic detail: in obedience to his pacifist tendencies he repudiates the application of force:

“Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland [be ever forgotten] . . . Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits . . . yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye . . .” (Fl 16b/17a).

God, our king, and country,
to make their names famous
amongst Christians, Jews, and
Mohammedans; the blood of
Richard I., and Edward I., is
not wholly lost amongst us . . ."
(p. 27).

II.

*GBRPI**The Reason of Church-Govern-
ment*

The conception that men are the "instruments" of God is transformed by Milton into the idea that men have been lent their talents to use them in the service of the giver:

"But now, Sir, I cannot but pause, being transported with such high thoughts, and designs; but are not we the tools and instruments to serve divine providence? Doth not creation, redemption, and the constant benignity of God's providence engage us to serve God in his highest and greatest ends? Is there any part of the world where God hath ground better furnished with men of *parts*, learning, *tongues*, arts, sciences, brave and noble resolutions, ancient, and renowned valour, and honourable achievements, than in these British Isles? Hath God so honoured and qualified Great Britain, with such sufficiency and eminency in all things? And shall not Great Britain reach

The peculiar use of the plural "parts" forms the most outstanding link between the two parallel passages:

"But this I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for

out its virtues to serve her lord and master in his greatest and highest designs? Well, Sir, let us not be discouraged, let us do, *quantum in nobis*, for our God hath often honoured himself by the weakest instruments" (p. 22).

thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hast the diligence, the *parts*, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that *tongue* was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice..." (Fl 42a f.).

III.

GBRPI

Areopagitica (1644)

The passage from which the following lines are taken is a famous one and has often been quoted as an especially brilliant example of the "purple patches" adorning Milton's otherwise somewhat dreary prose. It was no doubt inspired, both as to contents and stylistic character, by the extract from *GBRPI* reprinted opposite. The fact that Milton was influenced by the anonymous pamphlet in the writing of *Areopagitica* leads to the conclusion that the parallelisms in *Of Reformation* are also to be explained as borrowings by Milton, and that,

“But now, Sir, I cannot but pause, being transported with such high thoughts, and designs; but are not we the tools and instruments to serve divine providence? Doth not creation, redemption, and the constant benignity of God’s providence engage us to serve God in his highest and greatest ends? Is there any part of the world where God hath ground better furnished with men of parts, learning, tongues, arts, sciences, brave and noble resolutions, ancient, and renowned valour, and honourable achievements, than in these British Isles? Hath God so honoured and qualified Great Britain, with such sufficiency and eminency in all things? And shall not Great Britain reach out its virtues to serve her lord and master in his greatest and highest designs? Well, Sir, let us not be discouraged, let us do, *quantum in nobis*, for our God hath often honoured himself by the weakest instruments” (p. 22).

therefore, priority must be assigned to *GBRPl* as against *Of Reformation*:

“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 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 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 reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and convincement” (Fl 115b).

The Date of Publication of *GBRPI*.

In order to account for the unquestioned interdependence of *GBRPI* and *Of Reformation*, it has so far been assumed that in this matter Milton was the "borrower", his literary habit of building up his text by the aid of "parallel word-constellations" being abundantly attested. This theory would be immensely strengthened if it could be proved that the anonymous pamphlet was published before Milton's. Both came out in 1641; but, unfortunately, nothing absolutely certain can be ascertained as to months or days. Masson, after carefully weighing all the available evidence, arrived at the conclusion that "it was not till very late in May, or, more probably, early in June, that the pamphlet [*Of Reformation*] appeared" (II, 235). Looking through *GBRPI* for internal evidence, one finds at least one allusion to a contemporary event which makes it possible to fix a *terminus post quem*. The author speaks of "the near union lately made with the brave, ingenious, and warlike Hollander" (p. 27), which can only be interpreted as a reference to the betrothal of Princess Mary to Prince William of Orange, which took place on May 2, 1641. This event is referred to as having happened "lately", so that one is justified in assuming that the pamphlet was written and published shortly after this event, probably within the month of May.

One cannot be as sure about a *terminus ante quem*. Too little seems to be known concerning the relations between the "managers", i. e., the leading elements in the Puritan faction of the Long Parliament, and the Scottish army to enable one to say what the author means by his reference to "the near breach" with the Scots (p. 27). There may have been some connection with the "army plot" mentioned by Clarendon in the third book of his *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, the fear of which "lay at the basis of the Ten Propositions which, on June 24, Pym carried in the Lower House, and which were accepted almost as readily by the Lords" (*Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 293). The quarrel must, however, have been settled by August 10, at the latest, when the Act of Pacification was ratified, by which the Scotch were granted a donative of £ 200,000 as a compensation for their losses and expenditure. An earlier *terminus ante quem* is suggested by the following consideration: the author inveighs against "innovating prelates with their officers, whether arch-

bishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, commissaries, officials, etc.", such as those "which manage jurisdiction ecclesiastical, whether excommunications, visitations, synods, corrections, and other courts, *ad collectionem nummorum non ad correctionem morum*" (p. 7). He could hardly have made this remark in this form, without any qualification, after June 8, for on that day, "bills abolishing the Court of High Commission and . . . the Court of Star Chamber . . . were passed by the Lower House . . .; a month later they received the royal assent" (*Camb. Mod. Hist.*, IV, 291). If this argument is held valid, June 8 would be the date before which publication must have taken place. Thus the anonymous pamphlet would be at least contemporary with, and probably anterior to, Milton's *Of Reformation*, so that to suggest that the latter was influenced by the former is a thoroughly reasonable proposition.

Poet or Pamphleteer?

One of the most cherished inventions of the originators of the neo-Puritan Milton legend is the suggestion that Milton, after his return from Italy, reluctantly turned from poetry to prose, actuated by the sole desire to serve his country — or rather the Puritan faction in the state. Thus E. Legouis, following in the wake of convention, as is the unfortunate habit of the compilers of compendious text-books, writes on this subject as follows: "Tous ses grands rêves de poète vont être suspendus pendant vingt ans. On ne peut exagérer la grandeur du sacrifice et c'est à cela qu'il faut mesurer la noblesse de son âme" (Legouis & Cazamian, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, 3me édition, p. 569). This piece of fiction is somewhat modified by E. M. W. Tillyard, who suggests that Milton wrote his early pamphlets with the same zest as he was wont to put forth in his pursuit of poetry. He says: "These elements [i. e., literary ambition, patriotism, and a distinctly Renaissance mentality] common to the last poems of Milton's youth [i. e., *Ad Patrem*, *Lycidas*, *Epitaphium Damonis*] and the earliest group of pamphlets make us feel that the Milton of the prose is far from being a temporary intruder on the poet with his garland and singing robes about him, but a man with the same basic aims, the same hopes of poetic fame to be realized quickly"

(*Milton*, 1934, p. 119). Miss Rose Macaulay even contends that Milton, being "a born fighter", "threw himself into the battle with ardent, if unconscious zest", and that "he no doubt enjoyed helping his friends the Puritans and the great cause, annoying the bishops, fighting in this stirring battle, and using for missiles the fruits of his ecclesiastical and historical researches" (*Milton*, 1934, p. 65).

The reference to his antiquarian propensities certainly is most apposite in this context. But the desire to display his historical learning was but of minor importance in comparison with his extraordinary and never to be satisfied craving for fame. As such fame, he felt clearly, was only to be obtained through the composition of a great poem, he never relaxed in his efforts to achieve this grand purpose. It has been remarked by the present writer in another connection that Milton's *History of Britain* grew — as a very inferior "second best" — out of his attempt at a great national epic (see *Further Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost*, Tartu, 1934), and there exist good reasons for assuming a similar origin for his *History of Moscovia* (see *Studies concerning the Origin of Paradise Lost*, Dorpat, 1924). Exactly the same remark may be made about the early pamphlets. There is to be found ample proof for such an assertion in Milton's own words. He did not feel at his ease in "the cool element of prose" (Fl. 43a). "I should not have chosen this manner of writing," he says in the same place, "wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand." Hence the aridness of the large wastes of his prose, relieved only here and there by those proverbial "purple patches" — written with his right hand — most of which unquestionably are intruders from another sphere, being easily recognizable as "items from his poetic repertory" (*Further Studies*, p. 23). In the introduction to his edition of *Of Reformation* (*Yale Studies in English*, LIV, 1916, p. LXIX), the editor, W. T. Hale, very aptly remarks: "In conclusion, one fact must be acknowledged in regard to Milton's prose: while it is a prose of purple patches, there are many patches that are drab. Many passages delight and charm and uplift us, but there are more that are unpleasant and uninteresting."

The cruel fact is that his ambitious and elaborate plans did not prosper. His journey to Italy had been undertaken as a last

and desperate attempt at forcing the genius within him to manifest itself in the country of his admired models, Virgil and Tasso. But his hopes did not materialize: he had come back empty-handed, but still revolving magnificent plans in his mind. He had kept his minor poems from publication, or given them to the world anonymously, so that it might yet be possible for him to take the world by surprise with some astounding masterpiece — to “burst out into sudden blaze”, and thus to attain that “fair guerdon”, the coveted laurel crown of a national poet (*Lycidas*, ll. 73/4). When, finally, in 1645, he decided to give his collected poems to the world, he must have done so because he had begun to despair of ever accomplishing his greater designs. When he had returned to London from his Italian tour, nothing had been decided: the question both of subject and of form remained unsettled. In his *The Reason of Church-Government*, published in 1641, he speaks at great length of the state of his mind regarding these matters. The most important passage is here reprinted: “Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art: and lastly, what king or knight, before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey’s expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories; or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic

image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commending that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnificent odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable" (Fl 43b f.).

If he now turned his hand to the writing of pamphlets, he did so half-heartedly. The Long Parliament had met on November 3, 1640, and the Puritan faction was now in a position to raise its voice unafraid of ecclesiastical censorship. "The Puritan emigration to New England was suddenly and utterly suspended; 'the change', said Winthrop, 'made all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world'. The public discontent spoke from every Puritan pulpit, and expressed itself in a sudden burst of pamphlets, the first-fruits of the thirty thousand which were issued in the next twenty years, and which turned England at large into a school of political discussion" (J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, ch. VII, sec. VI). Writing, not from the point of view of the 19th century liberal, but from that of the contemporary royalist, Clarendon gives the following account of this phase of English history: "That it might appear that what was done within the Houses, was agreeable to those who were without; and that the same spirit reigned in Parliament, and people; all possible license was exercised in preaching, and printing any old scandalous pamphlets, and adding new to them against the Church..." (book III). Nothing was done to stop these outbursts; but, on the contrary, in the early months of 1641, "the licence of preaching and printing increased, to that degree, that all pulpits were freely delivered to the schismatical and silenced preachers, who till then had lurked in corners, or lived in New England; and the presses at liberty for the publishing the most invective, seditious, and scurrilous pamphlets, that their wit and malice could invent. Whilst the ministers of the state, and judges of the law, like men in an ecstasy, surprised and amazed with several apparitions, had no speech or motion; as if, having

committed such an excess of jurisdiction (as men upon great surfeits are enjoined for a time to eat nothing) they had been prescribed to exercise no jurisdiction at all" (*ib.*).

In the face of this feverish activity, Milton did not wish to be left behind. He, too, was eager to display his "zeal" for the good cause, and to be in at the expected death, lest he be overlooked at the distribution of the spoils. He does not leave the world in doubt as to his motives. "For me," he writes in *The Reason of Church-Government* (1641), "I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good. For if I be, either by disposition or what other cause, too inquisitive, or suspicious of myself and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that should the Church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discouragement and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest; what matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hast the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other ear: slothful, and ever to be set light by, the church hath now overcome her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldst take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: but wherefore thou? Where canst thou shew any word or deed of

thine which might have hastened her peace? Whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to say or do any thing better than thy former sloth and infancy; or if thou darest, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thyself, out of the painful merits of other men; what before was thy sin is now thy duty, to be abject and worthless. These, and such like lessons as these, I know would have been my matins duly, and my even-song. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others, that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs" (Fl 42a). It is, perhaps, not too daring to suggest that it was the appearance of *GBRPl* that woke up Milton to the urgency of the situation.

Thirteen years later, in his *Defensio Secunda* (1654), posing before the learned world as the great defender of liberty, Milton gave a somewhat different account of his pamphleteering days. Intent on representing himself to his foreign audience in the most favourable light possible, he suppressed the fact that he had never really abandoned his poetic plans. "Deinde eodem itinere, quo prius," he writes, "...in patriam revertor... Ipse, sicubi possem, tam rebus turbatis et fluctuantibus, locum consistendi circumspiciens, mihi librisque meis, sat amplam in urbe domum conduxī; ibi ad intermissa studia beatulus me recepi... Ut primum loquendi saltem coepta est libertas concedi, omnia in episcopos aperiri ora... Ad haec sane experrectus, cum veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus, ad liberandam servitute vitam omnem mortalium, rectissime procedi, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores et instituta republicae emanaret, cum etiam me ita ab adolescentia parassem, ut quid divini, quid humani esset juris, ante omnia possem non ignorare, meque consulissem equando ullius usus essem futurus, si nunc patriae, inmo vero ecclesiae totque fratribus evangelii causa, periculo sese objicientibus deessem, statui, etsi tunc alia quaedam meditabar, huc omne ingenium, omnes industriae vires transferre" (Fl 719b f.).

No doubt, more confidence is to be placed in the contemporary account than in the highly coloured self-laudation of the *Defensio Secunda*, designed for continental consumption chiefly.

The Course of Milton's Epic Plans.

During his stay at Horton (1632—38) at the latest, Milton must have begun to plan an English historical epic. It was then that he searched the chronicle of Geoffrey of Monmouth for a suitable hero (J. H. Hanford, *The Chronology of Milton's Private Studies, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXXVI, no. 2, 1921, p. 265). He selected King Arthur, whom he mentions by name in his poem addressed to Mansus (1639):

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,
 Phoebaeos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,
 Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
 Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
 Magnanimos Heroas, et (O modo spiritus adsit)
 Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!
(Mansus, ll. 78—84),

and in his *Epitaphium Damonis* (1639/40):

Ipsē ego Dardānias Rutupina per aequora puppes
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniae,
 Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iogernen;
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus . . . (ll. 162—68).

In 1641, the subject of King Arthur was still occupying his attention, as appears from the passage from *The Reason of Church-Government* quoted above (p. 15). But there is to be observed an important change in the poet's attitude. He now stresses the "Christian" character of his protagonist, and confesses himself in doubt as to "what king or knight, before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero" (Fl 43b).

Milton had inherited from his immediate predecessors the Renaissance spirit of the Elizabethans; his *Comus* and *Lycidas*, e. g., are wholly pagan in character, though in the latter a few Christian elements are superficially and strangely mixed up with the essentially Greek mythology. Even in his *Paradise Lost*, an ostensibly Christian performance, he was to continue the practice employed here. Thus, speaking of Paradise, he says:

The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
Led on the eternal spring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered — which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world — nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle,
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye . . .

(IV. 264—79).

All this proves beyond controversy that Milton cannot have been a true Puritan at heart; for all "fiction", especially if of pagan origin, as opposed to "facts", was abhorrent to the true type (H. Schöffler, *Protestantismus und Literatur*, Leipzig 1922, pp. 1—45). Milton now felt more clearly than ever before that if he wished to be listened to, he must change his methods. Hence the emphasis placed upon the "Christian" character of the hero; hence his final choice of a biblical subject for his *magnum opus*. Knowing that poetry and not prose was his strong point, he began to plan, in the turmoil of the eventful year 1641, a significant compromise with public taste as it then prevailed. He conceived the scheme of a national epic on a vast scale which was to deal with facts only, the facts of British history, past, present, and future. He sets out the details of this project in a somewhat magniloquent passage at the end of *Of Reformation*. Some of the implications contained in that statement have already been dealt with in the present writer's *Further Studies*. But it is

necessary to return to this subject once more, and to review the whole matter in the new light thrown upon Milton's activities by the anonymous pamphlet *GBRPI*. The gist of the poet's announcement is that he is planning a poem on the Rise and Future Greatness of the Britannic Nation. But he woefully misjudged the nature of the Puritan attitude towards poetry. From a passage in *The Reason of Church-Government* it appears that he actually proposed to himself to supplement the functions of the thundering pulpit by the public recitation of suitable poetic compositions. He certainly tried to make his fantastic proposal acceptable to those then in power. Speaking of his poetic faculties, he says: "These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation: and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflexes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane, which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters, who having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consi-

tence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one; do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour. But because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body, without some recreating intermission of labour and serious things, it were happy for the commonwealth, if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious law cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes; that they might be, not such as were authorized a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful incitements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard everywhere, as Solomon saith: 'She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates.' Whether this may not be, not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn paneguries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way, may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction; let them in authority consult" (Fl 44a f.).

Methods that had worked in ancient Greece and Rome, perhaps, and were still effective in the "signories" of Italy from where Milton had but recently returned, were not applicable to the temperamental climate of "two-and-fifty degrees of northern latitude" (*Areopagitica*, Fl 104a). Characteristically enough it is Satan whom Milton selects to provide an illustration of the unappreciated art of public rhetoric:

She [i. e., Eve] scarce had said, though brief, when
now more bold
 The Tempter, but, with show of zeal and love
 To man, and indignation at his wrong,
 New part puts on, and, as to passion moved,
 Fluctuates disturbed, yet comely, and in act
 Raised, as of some great matter to begin.

As when of old some orator renowned
 In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
 Flourished, since mute, to some great cause addressed,
 Stood in himself collected, while each part,
 Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue
 Sometimes in highth began, as no delay
 Of preface brooking through his zeal of right . . .

(*Par. Lost*, IX, 664—76).

Milton had refused to enter the Church, and thus obtain access to the pulpit. There is no evidence to show that he succeeded in entering by the backdoor on the strength of the grant of a lectureship under the Puritan regime, a longing for which is imputed to him in Hall's *Modest Confutation against a Scandalous and Seditious Libel*, 1642 ("a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, contents you", p. 21; compare *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, 1642, Fl 91b). He now craves another platform from which to address his countrymen. "But were it the meanest under-service" he says, "if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions: till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared" (*The Reason of Church-Government*, Fl 45a). It is one of the many tragedies in Milton's career that, for whatever reasons, opportunities for public speaking should have been utterly denied him.

No one seems to have taken his proposals for the delivery of "glorious and lofty hymns" seriously. To have made them at all, clearly proves how little he was acquainted, in his seclusion, with the conditions of the life around him. Whenever political or religious propaganda had been directed at the populace in the

shape of "art", it had been in the form of the "writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters." Thomas Cromwell, who was Henry VIII.'s Vicar-General or Viceregent from 1535 to 1540, had made "a deliberate attempt to capture so powerful an engine as the stage in the interests of Protestantism . . . For once the theologian and the *histrion* laid aside their ancient antagonism, and not in school and college refectories only, but in every inn-yard and on every village green, the praises of the pure gospel were sung, and Pope and priests were derided in play, at the bidding of the wily Privy Seal" (E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, I, 242). In the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth, too, encouraged this form of controversy. "During the Christmas of 1558, the court and the streets were full of masks, in which cardinals, bishops, and abbots were held up to derision as crows, asses, and wolves." There were "anti-Catholic plays at hostels and taverns" in the following spring (*ib.* 243). Milton had attempted something in the same vein in his deplorably coarse and scurrilous *In Quintum Novembris* (1625); but what he now offered, under the influence of his Italian impressions, was completely out of place, and acceptable to no one.

The New Light on Milton's Plans for a National Epic.

In his sketch of the plot of his projected epic, given at the end of *Of Reformation*, Milton speaks of "locusts" as threatening the safety of the British Nation. The discovery of Milton's indebtedness to *GBRPI* at last makes it possible to identify these hitherto obscure enemies with the Jesuits, and thus to realize more definitely the fact that the most outstanding feature of his plan is its anti-Roman bias. Viewed in this light, Milton's purpose assumes a definite shape. By dwelling upon the dangers — real or imaginary — threatening from what he represented as a foreign enemy, he was put in a position to appeal to the patriotic instincts of his countrymen, and to strike at the hateful Anglican hierarchy at the same time. Those scholars who assume that the Puritan movement was largely inspired by economic motives will not be at a loss to give reasons for Milton's attitude. It is well to remember, before reading the following quotation, that Milton was

the son of a scrivener, i. e., something between a banker and a money-lender, and that the son lived on the income derived from the fortune his father had been able to accumulate: the poet was most decidedly a beneficiary of the new economic order, a capitalist *pur sang*, to whom, on his own confession, "ease and leisure" were given "out of the sweat of other men" (*The Reason of Church-Government*, Fl 42b). "The age of Elisabeth" writes R. H. Tawney, "saw a steady growth of capitalism in textiles and mining, a great increase of foreign trade and an outburst of joint-stock enterprise in connection with it, the beginning of something like deposit banking in the hands of the scriveners, and the growth, aided by the fall of Antwerp and the government's own financial necessities, of a money-market with an almost modern technique — speculation, futures, and arbitrage transactions in London. The future lay with the classes who sprang to wealth and influence with the expansion of commerce, and whose religious and political aspirations were, two generations later, to overthrow the monarchy" (*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 1926, pp. 176 f.). This new class of business men had, of course, no use for the economic implications of the canon law. Quite naturally they wanted the establishment of a suitable "morality". "Though the assertion of the traditional economic ethics continued to be made by one school of churchmen down to the meeting of the Long Parliament, it was increasingly the voice of the past appealing to an alien generation. The expression of a theory of society which had made religion supreme over all secular affairs, it had outlived the synthesis in which it had been an element, and survived, an archaic fragment, into an age to whose increasing individualism the idea of corporate morality was as objectionable as that of ecclesiastical discipline by bishops and archdeacons was becoming to its religion" (*ib.* pp. 175 f.). In their determination to overthrow the old order, the Puritans were becoming more and more exasperated: "The Puritan tradesman had seen his business ruined by a monopoly granted to a needy courtier, and cursed Laud and his Popish soap. The Puritan goldsmith and financier had found his trade as a bullion-broker hampered by the re-establishment of the ancient office of Royal Exchanger . . . The Puritan money-lender had been punished by the Court of High Commission, and railed at the interference of bishops in temporal affairs" (*ib.* p. 237).

Moreover, the economic note is forcibly struck by Milton himself. The prelates, he exclaims, have "two leeches" that "still suck and suck the kingdom, their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered other where. This doubtless, that they ought to be many and overcostly, no true Protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dear-bought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altar-cloths . . .? Believe it, sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son" (*Of Reformation*, Fl 15a). He waxes quite eloquent when he thinks of the alleged waste of public money by the hierarchy: "But when they have glutted their ungrateful bodies, at least, if it be possible that those open sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stuffed their idolish temples with the wasteful pillage of your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you; will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had used her at his pleasure; will they but only hate ye, and so turn ye loose? No, they will not, Lords and Commons, they will not favour ye so much. What will they do then, in the name of God and the saints, what will these man-haters yet with more despite and mischief do?" (*The Reason of Church-Government*, Fl 52b). Again and again, Milton returns to the same subject, abandoning all restraint of language in his rage. Referring to the unhappy prelates, he calls them those "men that beg so devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own backs and bellies, that sue and solicit so eagerly, not for the saving of souls, the consideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their bishoprics, deaneries, prebends, and canonries: how can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading, whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath and loud stench of avarice, simony, and sacrilege, embezzling the treasury of the church on painted and gilded walls of temples, wherein God hath testified to have no delight, warming their palace kitchens, and from thence their unctuous and epicurean paunches, with the alms of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orphan, the widow?" (*Of Reformation*, Fl 20a). That

sentiments of this kind could be clothed in the garb of poetry he had already demonstrated in *Lycidas* (1637), by putting the following diatribe against the unspeakable prelates in the mouth of St. Peter, who, by a piece of unconscious self-irony on the part of the poet, is expressly introduced as the holder of the power of the keys (l. 110):

How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
 Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
 Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!
 Of other care they little reckoning make
 Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,
 And shove away the worthy bidden guest. (ll. 113—8).

Sentiments like these were indeed of power to influence the *petite bourgeoisie* of his time.

By the side of this universal economic root of Milton's aversion to all forms of ecclesiasticism, his personal idiosyncrasies remain to be considered. "Milton's Republicanism," says Samuel Johnson, a decidedly unprejudiced witness, writing before the forces of Whiggism had consolidated the neo-Puritan Milton legend, "was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence; in petulance impatient of control, and pride impatient of superiority. He hated monarchs in the State, and prelates in the Church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority" (*Life of Milton*). This personal element provided, no doubt, the strongest motive force behind Milton's literary activities at all times; and he must have suffered unspeakable torments because he could vent his passion only in prose of very unequal merit, as his poetic plans, in spite of all "musings", and the "highest hope and hardest attempting" (*The Reason of Church-Government*, Fl 43b) obstinately refused to assume definite shape.

The Style of Milton's Projected Epic.

Among the numerous reasons for Milton's failure — one of them being the growing Puritan distrust of the arts in general, and of fiction in particular — the peculiar bent of his poetic genius stands out above all others. His was not the gift of well-

planned and slow-moving narrative. Speaking of the authors he had studied in his youth and early manhood, he first mentions the "grave orators and historians"; "others", he goes on, "were the smooth elegiac poets, whereof the schools are not scarce, whom both for the pleasing sound of their numerous writing, which in imitation I found most easy, and most agreeable to nature's part in me, and for their matter, which for what it is, there be few who know not, I was so allured to read, that no recreation came to me better welcome" (*An Apology for Smectymnus*, 1642, Fl 80b). If this confession is accepted — and there is no reason to reject its implications — *Lycidas* would be his most typical production, a poem truly great and justly famous, to which the epithet "ecstatic" has been applied by the present writer (compare *Der andere Milton*, Bonn & Leipzig, 1920, pp. 98 ff., *Further Studies*, p. 48), in that in it the poet attempts, by concentrating his mind on remote and sublime ideas, to induce a trance of blissful, if brief, forgetfulness. In his early pamphlets, Milton again and again breaks out into a similar strain. In agreement with the temper of the public which these were to impress, these "purple patches" often take the form of prayers or "hymns in prose" (*Apology*, Fl p. 91). The passages of this kind have been characterized as "items from his poetic repertory", and one is, therefore, justified in regarding these impressive outbursts as having their roots in the grand project for a national epic which at that time claimed his chief attention. For this reason they may be taken to provide an idea, however remote, of what the poem would have been like if it ever had come to fruition. Bishop Joseph Hall, in his truculent reply to Milton's *Animadversions*, characterizes one of these prayers in a passage deserving to be quoted for several reasons: "The scraps and offal that remain of your libel, concerning Liturgy and Episcopacy; both which you have handled, as you esteem of them, unworthily and basely. Forsooth you would give the world to know these two things: First, that you are no Bishop; secondly, that you can pray *ex tempore*. Surely a man of strong parts, and a mortified ambition! It was thought of old, that the philosophers did therefore contemn and speak ill of riches and pleasures and high places, because they were never born to them, as the fox cursed the grapes that were out of his reach. But we will not think so uncharitably of you: a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, contents you. To the

first you make way, by a long, tedious, theatrical, big-mouthed, astounding prayer, put up in the name of the three kingdoms; not so much either to please God, or benefit the weal-public by it, as to intimate your own good abilities to her that is your rich hope" (*A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libel entitled Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus*, London 1642, pp. 21 f.). In spite of its length, the incriminated prayer is quoted below as it conveys the Miltonic ideology most perfectly: "In this age, Britons, God hath reformed his church after many hundred years of popish corruption; in this age he hath freed us from the intolerable yoke, of prelates and papal discipline; in this age he hath renewed our protestation against all those yet remaining dregs of superstition. Let us all go, every true protested Briton, throughout the three kingdoms, and render thanks to God the Father of light, and Fountain of heavenly grace, and to his Son Christ our Lord, leaving this Remonstrant and his adherents to their own designs; and let us recount even here without delay, the patience and long-suffering that God hath used towards our blindness and hardness time after time. For he being equally near to his whole creation of mankind, and of free power to turn his beneficent and fatherly regard to what region or kingdom he pleases, hath yet ever had this island under the special indulgent eye of his providence; and pitying us the first of all other nations, after he had decreed to purify and renew his church that lay wallowing in idolatrous pollutions, sent first to us a healing messenger to touch softly our sores, and carry a gentle hand over our wounds: he knocked once and twice, and came again, opening our drowsy eyelids leisurely by that glimmering light, which Wickliff and his followers dispersed; and still taking off by degrees the inveterate scales from our nigh perished sight, purged also our deaf ears, and prepared them to attend his second warning trumpet in our grandsires' days. How else could they have been able to have received the sudden assault of his reforming Spirit, warring against human principles, and carnal sense, the pride of flesh, that still cried up antiquity, custom, canons, councils, and laws; and cried down the truth for novelty, schism, profaneness, and sacrilege? whenas we that have lived so long in abundant light, besides the sunny reflection of all the neighbouring churches, have yet our hearts riveted with those old opinions, and so obstructed and benumbed

with the same fleshly reasonings, which in our forefathers soon melted and gave way, against the morning beam of reformation. If God had left undone this whole work, so contrary to flesh and blood, till these times; how should we have yielded to his heavenly call, had we been taken, as they were, in the starkness of our ignorance; that yet, after all these spiritual preparatives and purgations, have our earthly apprehensions so clammed and furred with the old leaven? O if we freeze at noon after their early thaw, let us fear lest the sun for ever hide himself, and turn his orient steps from our ingrateful horizon, justly condemned to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful judgment, O thou ever-begotten Light and perfect image of the Father! intercede, may never come upon us, as we trust thou hast; for thou hast opened our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions: thou hast done justice upon those that tyrannized over us, while some men wavered and admired a vain shadow of wisdom in a tongue nothing slow to utter guile, though thou hast taught us to admire only that which is good, and to count that only praiseworthy, which is grounded upon thy divine precepts. Thou hast discovered the plots, and frustrated the hopes, of all the wicked in the land, and put to shame the persecutors of thy church: thou hast made our false prophets to be found a lie in the sight of all the people, and chased them with sudden confusion and amazement before the redoubled brightness of thy descending cloud, that now covers thy tabernacle. Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walk through the midst of the sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks, which have long suffered a dimness amongst us through the violence of those that had seized them, and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their starry light; teaching the doctrine of Balaam, to cast a stumbling-block before thy servants, commanding them to eat things sacrificed to idols, and forcing them to fornication? Come, therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand, appoint thy chosen priests according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to press and pour out the consecrated oil in thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne. Every one can say, that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not

forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the heavens, and hast left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O perfect and accomplish thy glorious acts! for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God, thy nature is perfection: shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy us in the wilderness, though we deserve; yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settled peace in the church, and righteous judgement in the kingdom, then shall all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph to thee, standing on the shore of that Red sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnished present as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp, and sing thee an elaborate song to generations. In that day it shall no more be said as in scorn, this or that was never held so till this present age, when men have better learnt that the times and seasons pass along under thy feet to go and come at thy bidding: and as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages, since thou tookest the flesh; so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest: for who shall prejudice thy all-governing will? seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth! put on the visible robes of thy imperial majesty, take up that unlimited sceptre which thy almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed" (*Animadversions*, Fl 65 ff.).

This "astounding" prayer resembles in many respects the one at the end of *Of Reformation*, in which the epic programme is sketched in greater detail: here, too, Milton speaks of the frustrated plots of enemies, and, above all, he promises to take up a harp and sing "an elaborate song to generations". One is, therefore, entitled to conclude that this intended song would, if it had ever been executed, have been composed in the same dithyrambic

style in which these prayers are clothed. This style did not appeal to all of Milton's contemporaries; it was intensely disliked by Bishop Hall; Samuel Butler (1612—80), in his Pindaric Ode *Upon an Hypocritical Nonconformist*, seems to be glancing at productions of this kind when he writes:

He does not pray, but prosecute,
 As if he went to law, his suit;
 Summons his Maker to appear
 And answer what he shall prefer;
 Returns him back his gift of prayer,
 Not to petition, but declare;
 Exhibits cross complaints
 Against him the breach of Covenants,
 And all the charter of the Saints;
 Pleads guilty to the action, and yet stands
 Upon high terms and bold demands;
 Excepts against him and his laws,
 And will be judge himself in his own cause . . .
 But when his painful gifts h'employs
 In holding forth, the virtue lies
 Not in the letter of the sense,
 But in the spiritual vehemence,
 The power and dispensation of the voice,
 The zealous pangs and agonies,
 And heavenly turnings of the eyes . . . (sections VIII, IX).

The Prophetic Character of the Projected Epic.

It is not known what title the poet intended to give to his enterprise, but from the general tenor of his outline it may be conjectured that it was something like "The Rise and Future Greatness of the Britannic Nation". The opening lines of his programme present themselves more especially in the form of a prayer (the meaning of the italics will appear in the further course of the discussion):

"Thou, therefore, *that sittest* in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! next, thee, I implore, omnipotent King, *Redeemer* of that lost *remnant* whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and *everlasting Love!* and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace

of created things! One Tripersonal godhead! . . ." (*Of Reformation*, Fl 20b).

Blending the Old Testament with the New in doctrine, Milton here assumes the mantle of the prophet Isaiah, as becomes evident from certain verbal allusions. The expression "that lost remnant" is interpreted by Hale as follows: "Christ was born a Jew, after the ten tribes were lost." This can hardly be looked upon as satisfactory. The use of the word "remnant" distinctly points to the text of the prophet Isaiah, who uses it repeatedly to describe the few that are left of the Israelitic nation. This interpretation is supported by the appearance of similar analogies in the same context, notably the word "redeemer", also one of Isaiah's favourite words. In full harmony with Puritan practice, Milton here identifies the English people with Israel, of whom only a "lost", i. e., much endangered, "remnant" is left. But, as the prophet foretold, God will not desert his chosen people: he will send a "redeemer", Messiah, to console and deliver his flock that considered itself "lost". Messiah shall rule all nations; and the nations will subject themselves, not because of violent compulsion, but induced by love and gratitude. In support of this interpretation, a few quotations will be given:

Isaiah 1. 9 — Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a very small *remnant*, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

10. 20 — And it shall come to pass in that day, that the *remnant* of Israel, and such as are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth.

10. 21 — The *remnant* shall return, even the *remnant* of Jacob, unto the mighty God.

10. 22 — For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a *remnant* of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness.

11. 16 — And there shall be an highway for the *remnant* of his people, which shall be left, from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt.

37. 31 — And the *remnant* that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward:

37. 32 — For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a *remnant*, and they that escape out of mount Zion: the zeal of the Lord of hosts shall do this.

The force of this conception worked so strongly upon Isaiah's imagination that he called one of his sons "Mahar-shalal-hash-baz", which signifies "the *Remnant* shall return". The word "redeemer" is encountered in direct connection with "everlasting kindness (= love)" in *Isaiah* 54. 8: "In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment; but with *everlasting kindness* will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord, thy *Redeemer*."

The opening of Milton's prayer distinctly reminds one of the phraseology of *Isaiah* in 37. 16: "O Lord of hosts, God of Israel, *that dwellest* between the cherubims, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all kingdoms of the earth: thou hast made heaven and earth."

The influence of *Isaiah* is not confined to the opening lines; it pervades the whole epic scheme of the poet, as will be shown further down.

The Spanish Treason.

These opening lines are immediately followed by the exhortation that God might preserve "the church", i. e., the Church of England, which was then being invaded by the Puritan faction, from the attacks by the Catholics: "Look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs. that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded calamities" (Fl 20b f.). On the evidence of *GBRPI* it now appears that by "locusts" Milton

means the Jesuits. The locusts and scorpions, as well as the smoke that darkens the sun, in their connection with the bottomless pit, are unquestionable reminiscences of *Revelation* 9. 1, 2, 3: "And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of *the bottomless pit*. And he opened the *bottomless pit*; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the *sun* and the air were *darkened* by reason of the smoke of the pit. And there came out of the smoke *locusts* upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the *scorpions* of the earth have power."

The exhortation has to be considered together with the fourth paragraph further down: "And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us" (Fl 21a f.).

The two passages in combination contain a sinister prediction of an imminent assault from a most dreaded union of relentless criminals. "Thine enemies" stands for the English Catholics and their secret sympathizers, both those at home and those that have gone abroad to conspire, as Milton insinuates, against their own country. "The great whore" scurrilously describes the Papacy, and "that sad intelligencing tyrant" is meant for the king of Spain. As a matter of fact, these lines are based upon the words with which Camden, in his *Annales*, opens his account of the preparations leading up to the Armada enterprise: "Pontifex enim Romanus, Religiosi quidam Hispani, Angli nonnulli patria profugi Hispanum ad consilium debellandi Angliam, Lusitanico bello ante annos decem interruptum, jampridem revocaverunt" (compare *Further Studies*, pp. 14 f.).

In reality, no such danger existed at the time. But even if there was no truth in the assertion, yet it was excellent propaganda, calculated to scare the Puritans out of their wits, and to arouse their utmost fury. Milton thus deliberately revived the story of

the "Spanish Treason" which originated at the time of the Gunpowder Plot. It is the belief that the Catholics "in post-Reformation days were not good Englishmen, and were ever ready to play into the hands of any foreign foe, and chiefly the Spaniards" (John Gerard, *Traditional History and the Spanish Treason of 1601—3*, p. 8). The bogey of "Popery" was again and again invoked by the Puritan leaders to frighten the generality into the acceptance of their designs. "The very imagination" of Popery, Clarendon says, was apt to "intoxicate" all men, and to deprive them "of all faculty to examine and judge" (book II), so that "the Papists were the most popular commonplace, and the butt against whom the arrows were directed . . . tho seldom anything was after done, and no matter of moment, yet it served to keep up the fears and apprehensions in the people, of dangers and designs" (book IV).

The Church of Rome, there can be no doubt about it, was Milton's pet aversion, his *bête noire*. The reasons for this state of affairs have already been dealt with. The epithets he applies to her, though not of his own inventing, are not pleasant, to say the least. Perhaps it was a good thing for his reputation that the fates prevented him from exhibiting them in a poem written in the vernacular.

Besides being "the great whore", Rome is a "crafty adulteress" (Fl 95a) and an "idolatrous mother" (Fl 94b); nothing is "more blasphemous" than Popery (Fl 265b). Rome is "antichrist" (Fl 37a); antichrist's "chief kennel" is at Rome (Fl 15a). In fact, hell-mouth is at Rome. This conclusion follows from the identification of the "locusts" with the Jesuits: eager for the destruction of the Britannic Empire, they are waiting at the gates of the bottomless pit, i. e., at Rome, to be let out at the decisive moment to do their sinister work. The Jesuits are the most dangerous of all. They are "indeed the only corrupters of youth and good learning", a piece of information Milton says to have picked up in Italy (Fl 14a). Fear and hatred of the Church of Rome pursued him throughout his life as a sort of obsession. He became quite unreasonable in his zeal. When, in 1672, the Declaration of Indulgence seemed likely to bring about the emancipation of Roman Catholicism in England, he once more turned pamphleteer and published, in 1673, one year before his death, *Of True Re-*

ligion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration. Much concerned at "the increase of Popery" (Fl 562a), he finds that the latter "is not to be tolerated either in public or in private" (Fl 564a). Even liberty of conscience is to be denied the Papists: "If they say", he writes, "that by removing their idols, we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on Scripture..." (Fl 564b). It is somewhat sad to find that these should be the words of the very same man who, on a famous occasion, pathetically exclaimed: "Give me liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties" (*Areopagitica*, Fl 117a), and who, on yet another occasion, solemnly declared that "this liberty of conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all men dearest and most precious", should be protected by the commonwealth (*The Ready and Easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, Fl 450a).

The Messianic Character of Milton's Projected Epic.

In the paragraph that follows the exposition concerning the imminent danger from the Roman conspiracy, Milton outlines the plot of the epic under contemplation:

"O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations (1), and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace, and terms of covenant with us (2); and having first wellnigh freed us from antichristian thralldom, didst build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years (3) hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada(4), and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her

concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast (5)" (Fl 21a).

Milton's plan is clearly based upon the Puritan conception of the favoured position of the English race: the English are God's chosen people, the "lost remnant", which is the special care of Providence. "The publication of the *Authorized Version* of the Bible in 1611 had set men thinking of the treasure that had fallen into their hands, and very many now read persistently the one book upon which they looked as the guide to salvation. This dwelling on one authority upset the balance of mind of many whose reading was thus limited; and men learned to identify themselves with the conquering, exterminating children of Israel, and to look upon all who opposed them in politics or church doctrine as men of Belial, Moabites, Amalekites and other adversaries of Israel and of God, and as their own personal enemies, to be overthrown at any cost and by any means of force or fraud. But, as Dante says finely of another sect,

Their meditations reach not Nazareth"

(W. F. Smith, in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, VIII, 78).

God has made a covenant (2) with the English Puritans, as foretold by the prophet Isaiah: "Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting *covenant* with you, even the sure mercies of David" (55. 3). Just as the Israel of the Old Testament had been conducted through manifold tribulations, ordained by Providence for its punishment and purification, in the same manner the English had suffered five bloody inundations (1), i. e., as has been demonstrated elsewhere (*Further Studies*), the nation had undergone five invasions by foreign enemies, each being followed by the sword of civil war. Brutus and his Trojans came first, next Caesar and the Romans, who were in turn followed by the Anglo-Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans.

The turning-point had come with the introduction of the reformation into England in the reign of Henry VIII; the nation was freed of antichristian thralldom, i. e., the supremacy of the Pope was rejected. God made a covenant with the English (2), and the sixth intended invasion, the Armada attempt, was averted (4). But the enemy did not own himself defeated: the Gunpowder Plot, that horrible and damned blast (though it never

came off), was set afoot, but happily frustrated (5). England, however, did by no means enjoy perfect peace. During the last eighty years (3), the different religious factions had been quarrelling among themselves, and that faction which Milton regarded as the sole exponent of the truly reformed and orthodox church had not yet gained a complete victory. There were still dangers threatening, both from within and without. Milton has this situation in mind when he continues as follows: "O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne" (Fl 21a).

With this peroration, Milton has brought his historical scheme down to the time of writing. Filled with exalted Messianic hopes, he next outlines his conception of the glorious future that will be the destiny of the Britannic Nation. The "Spanish Plotters" are still revolving their sinister designs:

"And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us" (Fl 21a f.).

Hale, in his edition of *Of Reformation*, supplies a number of biblical allusions in illustration of the Old Testament style of the above passage; thus "take counsel together" is compared with *Psalms* 31.13; 71.10; 94.21; "let them decree" with *Isaiah* 10. 1 and *Proverbs* 8. 15; "let them gather themselves" with *Psalms* 56. 6; 94. 21; "for thou art with us" with *Psalms* 46. 7—11. The last-mentioned reference is particularly apposite: "The Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah. Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolation he hath made in the earth. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he

breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire."

By building up his plot on the basis of the Messianic idea, Milton no doubt hoped to win the approval of his prospective public, and thus to satisfy his craving for fame and a concomitant reward. The strength of the visionary notion that the Puritans were the modern Israelites is aptly illustrated by an incident reported by Clarendon. On January 4, 1642, the king had gone down to the House of Commons to arrest five of its leading members, who managed to escape to the City, however. Next day, the king visited the City to persuade the authorities to surrender the accused. "And in his passage thro the City, the rude people flocked together, and cried out, *Privilege of Parliament, Privilege of Parliament*; some of them pressing very near to his own coach; and amongst the rest one calling out in a very loud voice, *To your tents O Israel*" (book IV). This biblical quotation was also used as the title of a "seditious pamphlet", about which the king had to complain to Parliament (Clarendon, book V). The reference is to *I. Kings* 12. 16: "So when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto their tents."

Just as the Israel of the Old Testament withdrew from their allegiance to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, in the same manner the Puritans threatened to desert Charles I. in order to establish a new form of government.

The Glorious Future of the Britannic Nation.

Milton proposed to paint the future destiny of his nation in the most brilliant colours. Although he was prone to use the language of war when threatening defeat to the enemies of the chosen people, he was a convinced pacifist at heart. In *Paradise Lost*, basing his vocabulary on an account of the cruelties perpetrated by Ivan the Terrible in his conquest of Livonia (see *Studies*, p. 36), he contrasts the unanimity that prevails among the "Spirits damned" with the constant warring among the nations of the human race:

O shame to men! Devil with devil damned
 Firm concord holds; men only disagree
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heavenly grace, and, God proclaiming peace,
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:
 As if (which might induce us to accord)
 Man had not hellish foes enow besides,
 That day and night for his destruction wait!

(II. 496—505).

It is true that Milton addresses his countrymen as "this great and warlike nation"; but he predicts that they will gain pre-eminence among the peoples of the earth not by the force of arms; but, on the contrary, this noble position will be reached as the result of victory in a peaceful contest: his Britons shall be acknowledged by all as leaders in the arts and virtues of peace at the approaching millennium. In uttering this prophecy predicting the imminent return of Christ in person, Milton adopted, for the purpose of imparting greater fervour to his style, a belief then current among the "Fifth Monarchy Men". Ephraim Pagit (1575?—1647), in his *Heresiography* (1645), speaking of the "Millenaries" or "Chiliasts", describes these as "a heresy frequent at this time; they look for a temporary kingdom of Christ, that must begin presently and last 1,000 years. Of this opinion are many of our Apocalyptical men, that study more future events than their present duty" (quoted by Masson, III, 125). Milton's wording is based on certain passages in the New Testament; Hale in his annotations refers to *Matthew* 24. 30: "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."

Milton promises to produce his grand epic on the occasion of the final victory of the Puritan cause, and he cannot refrain from dwelling upon his personal ambitions by expressing a hope that he will not be forgotten at the distribution of the spoils:

"Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the

fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most christian people at that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected king, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth: when they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever" (Fl 21b).

The "scramble at the shearers' feast" (*Lycidas*, l. 117) for "national honours and rewards" must have played an important part in the Puritan Rebellion. Samuel Butler devotes a whole canto of his *Hudibras* (part III, canto II) to this unsavoury subject. The opening lines of "The Argument" to the latter, though written on the events that followed the death of Cromwell, are too good and too apposite to the present occasion to be missed here:

The Saints engage in fierce contests
About their carnal interests,
To share their sacrilegious preys
According to their rates of grace . . .

The exposition of Milton's ambitious programme, which began with prayer, winds up in startling contrast with an altogether terrible denunciation of all opponents:

"But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them,) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the dispiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for

ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most under-foot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition" (Fl 21b).

This elementary exhibition of hatred and revengefulness agrees badly with Milton's repudiation of the use of force as recommended to his countrymen. This pacifist attitude is all the more remarkable as in this matter he is at complete variance with the author of *GBRPL*. The latter, too, sketches a plan for the future conduct of the British. Reminding them of the military prowess of their forbears, notably Richard I., Edward I., and the Crusaders (p. 27), he recommends a close union with all the Protestant nations for the destruction of the forces of Rome, and the erection of the kingdom of heaven throughout the world (p. 25). As against such designs Milton, probably in direct opposition to *GBRPL*, addressing the English and the Scotch, urgingly exclaims: "Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state: then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations" (*Of Reformation*, Fl 17a).

The projected and much discussed League of Protestant Nations never materialized, the main obstacle being the commercial rivalry between England and the United Provinces, with whom the perfect Puritan, preferring profits to proselytes, could never see eye to eye. In *Of Reformation*, Milton recommends the strengthening of the "knots of confederacy" with "all Protestant princes and Commonwealths", especially between the English and the Dutch, "though their merchants bicker in the East Indies" (Fl 14a/b). As Cromwell's secretary, Milton repeatedly had to appeal to Protestant solidarity in letters addressed to the

Kings of Sweden and Denmark, to the Elector of Brandenburg, the United Provinces, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Republic of Danzig. As late as 1673, one year before his death, when religion had long ceased to be a major factor in international politics, he called upon all Protestants to unite more firmly "against the common adversary" (*Of True Religion, etc.*, Fl 563b).

Traces of Milton's Plan in his Works.

From the foregoing discussion it appears that Milton's epic plan provided for a plot as set out below :

I. The Five Bloody Inundations.

- (1) Brutus and his Trojans arrive in Great Britain and pacify the Country.
- (2) The Roman Invasion and Subsequent Rule.
- (3) The Anglo-Saxon Settlement.
- (4) The Danish Incursions and Colonization.
- (5) The Norman Conquest.

II. The Introduction of the Reformation (foreshadowed by Wyclif) under Henry VIII., and the Struggles, both Internal and External, resulting from it; followed by —

- (1) The Defeat of the Armada.
- (2) The Frustrated Gunpowder Plot.

III. The Glorious Future of the Britannic Nation as Leader of the World, under the Rule of Christ Returned for the Millennium.

The Five Bloody Inundations.

The successive invasions of Great Britain are described in the *History of Britain* with the appropriate commentary (see *Further Studies*, where this matter is treated at greater length). Of these five invasions, Milton took the greatest interest in the first. Very early in his career he seems to have contemplated the writing of a separate epic on the coming of the Trojans and on their position as the founders of the Britannic Nation. By enlarging on this subject, he would have been able to establish

for his own nation an origin similar to that of Imperial Rome, whose praises the great Virgil had sung (see *Further Studies*, pp. 8 ff.). There is evidence of Milton's acquaintance with Geoffrey of Monmouth in *Il Penseroso* (*Studies* p. 68); and in *In Quintum Novembris* (anno aetatis 17), he characterizes the British as "Troy-sprung" in the very second line:

Jam prius extrema veniens Iacobus ab arcto
 Teucrigenas populos, lateque patentia regna
 Albionum tenuit... (ll. 1—3).

This poem on the origins of the Britannic race was to have been composed in the form of the epic of chivalry. Fragments of the materials collected for this purpose are traceable — apart from the *History of Britain* — in *Paradise Lost* (see *Studies*, pp. 47 ff.); they may be discovered more particularly in the passages subjoined, which are here quoted in illustration of the heroic style of Milton's unsuccessful venture:

Anon they move
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
 Of flutes and soft recorders — such as raised
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battle, and instead of rage
 Deliberate valour breathed, firm, and unmoved
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
 Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
 From mortal and immortal minds. Thus they,
 Breathing united force with fixèd thought,
 Moved on in silence to soft pipes that charmed
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil. And now
 Advanced in view they stand — a horrid front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
 Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,
 Awaiting what command their mighty Chief
 Had to impose. He through the armèd files
 Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
 The whole battalion views — their order due,
 Their visages and stature as of gods;
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength,
 Glories: for never, since created Man,
 Met such embodied force as named with these,
 Could merit more than that small infantry

Warred on by cranes — though all the giant brood
 Of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mixed with auxiliar gods; and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son,
 Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
 And all who since, baptized or infidel,
 Jostled in Aspramont, or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond,
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore
 When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 By Fontarabbia. (I. 549—87).

But, first, whom shall we send
 In search of this new World? whom shall we find
 Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet
 The dark, unbottomed, infinite Abyss,
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight
 Upborne with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast Abrupt. ere he arrive
 The happy Isle? What strength, what art, can then
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick
 Of Angels waking round? Here he had need
 All circumspection: and we now no less
 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send
 The weight of all, and our last hope, relies. (II. 402—16).

In his old age, Milton came to frown upon the style of the epic of chivalry which he had affected in earlier life, and which he had admitted into those parts of *Paradise Lost* which are based on uncompleted schemes, notably books I, II, and VI. Compliance with the general taste rather than the love of warlike deeds had been responsible for his having ever contemplated the production of an heroic epic of the orthodox type. Long after the fervour of youth had evaporated, the aging poet felt compelled to repudiate much of his earlier work, including parts of *Paradise Lost* itself, as appears from the opening lines of book IX:

No more of talk where God or Angel Guest
 With Man, as with his friend, familiar used
 To sit indulgent, and with him partake
 Rural repast, permitting him the while
 Venial discourse unblamed. I now must change
 Those notes to tragic — foul distrust, and breach
 Disloyal, on the part of man, revolt

And disobedience; on the part of Heaven,
 Now alienated, distance and distaste,
 Anger and just rebuke, and judgment given,
 That brought into this World a world of woe,
 Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery,
 Death's harbinger. Sad task! yet argument
 Not less but more heroic than the wrath
 Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
 Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
 Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused;
 Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
 Perplexed the Greek, and Cytherea's son:
 If answerable style I can obtain
 Of my celestial Patroness, who deigns
 Her nightly visitations unimplored,
 And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
 Easy my unpremeditated verse,
 Since first this subject for heroic song
 Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late,
 Not sedulous by nature to indite
 Wars, hitherto the only argument
 Heroic deemed, chief mastery to dissect
 With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
 In battles feigned (the better fortitude
 Of patience and heroic martyrdom
 Unsung), or to describe races and games,
 Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,
 Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
 Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
 At joust and tournament; then marshalled feast
 Served up in hall with sewers and seneshals:
 The skill of artifice or office mean;
 Not that which justly gives heroic name
 To person or to poem!

(IX. 1—41).

The Introduction of the Reformation and the Resulting Struggles.

A clear conception of Milton's attitude towards the reformation may easily be gained through the study of his prose works. On its actual introduction into England under Henry VIII. he has very little to say, there being in this matter not much to brag about: "Henry VIII. was the first that rent this kingdom from the pope's subjection totally; but his quarrel being more about supremacy, than other faultiness in religion that he regarded, it

is no marvel if he stuck where he did" (*Of Reformation*, Fl 3a). To Milton, Wyclif was the first reformer; by suppressing him, the bishops prevented England from becoming the shining cradle of the reformation. For the British are indeed God's chosen people: "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 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 Wickliff, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerom, no nor the name of Luther or of Calvin had ever been known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers" (*Areopagitica*, Fl 115b).

The same idea had already been expressed at the beginning of *Of Reformation* in a passage pressing for a further and more complete purgation of the Church of England of practices inherited from the mother church: "The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath of times led me into a serious question and debatement with myself, how it should come to pass that England (having had this grace and honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all christendom) should now be last, and most unsettled in the enjoyment of that peace, whereof she taught the way to others; although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns; yet methinks the precedency which God gave this island, to be first restorer of buried truth, should have been followed with more happy success, and sooner attained perfection; in which as yet we are amongst the last: for, albeit in purity of doctrine we agree with our brethren; yet in discipline, which is the execution and applying of doctrine home, and laying the salve to the very orifice of the wound, yea, tenting and searching to the core, without

which pulpit preaching is but shooting at rovers; in this we are no better than a schism from all the reformation, and a sore scandal to them: for while we hold ordination to belong only to bishops, as our prelates do, we must of necessity hold also their ministers to be no ministers, and shortly after their church to be no church. Not to speak of those senseless ceremonies which we only retain, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Rome, and serving merely, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true grace is extinguished, or as an interlude to set out the pomp of prelaticism" (Fl 2 b).

The attempts made from the outside at interfering with the internal development are victoriously repulsed under the guidance of a benevolent Providence. Not only the Armada enterprise, but also the Gunpowder Plot are viewed in this light. Milton must have spent much labour in the elaboration of the story of the Armada, as the materials collected by him for the epic treatment of this subject were utilized by him later on in the composition of *Paradise Lost*, notably in book VI, Satan and his crew taking the place of the Spaniards, and the English figuring as the faithful Angelic Host (see *Further Studies*). In book VI, the story of the war in heaven is told in retrospect. The action, which ends with the expulsion of the enemy, is continued, by the device of plunging the reader *in medias res*, at the very beginning of *Paradise Lost*. In the first two books, the Satanic crew are shown as recovering from their overthrow: they at once begin to devise means for revenge and the recapture of heaven. These circumstances permit of the conclusion that Milton was here thinking of the preparations for the Gunpowder Plot: when he wrote of the "secret conclave", he had before his mind's eye the picture of Lucifer plotting with the Pope, the King of Spain and the General of the Jesuits, which formed the background to representations of Guy Fawkes placing barrels of explosives in the cellar of the Parliament House for the destruction of King and Parliament. The use of the word "conclave" is most significant in this respect:

But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began. (I. 792—8).

Was it by this devious path that Satan got into *Paradise Lost*? Books I and II would thus form another link between Milton's epic plans and the economy of *Paradise Lost*. An examination of Milton's separate treatment of the Gunpowder Plot story will confirm this inference.

His youthful Latin poem, *In Quintum Novembris*, has, in general, not received from Miltonists the attention which it fully deserves, because, perhaps, it fails to exhibit its author in the light in which the neo-Puritans have decreed him to be seen. William Cowper (1731—1800) refused to translate it: "The poems on the subject of the Gunpowder Treason" he says, "I have not translated, both because the matter of them is unpleasant, and because they are written with an asperity, which, however it might be warranted in Milton's day, would be extremely unseasonable now." Masson, however, suffered from no such scruples, for he prints, in his second volume, a spirited rendering of the original Latin into English hexameters.

It was one of the many charming features of the religious controversies arising out of the reformation movement to associate the opponent with the forces of evil. More particularly, the Papacy was represented as the devil's agency on earth. Thus, there was published in London in 1642, on behalf of the Puritan faction, a pamphlet entitled *The Papists' Petition to their Diabolical Centre of Impiety, the Pope* (British Museum Collection of Pamphlets, 1641—2, no. 12), in which the English Catholics are made to address their spiritual head as their "Right Honourable and adored Politician, grand Pluto his ensign-bearer, here upon earth" (p. 3). *In Quintum Novembris* was unquestionably inspired by one of the representations, described above, that adorned the printed accounts of the attempted outrage. Milton represents Satan as approaching the Pope, who is described as "regum domitor, Phlegetontius haeres" (l. 74), in his sleep, himself disguised as a Franciscan friar. He admonishes the Pope to avenge the destruction of the Armada. The plan of the Gunpowder Plot is then suggested as a sure means of regaining control of the British dominions. The English Catholics will not refuse to lend their aid:

Protinus ipse igitur quoscunque habet Anglia fidos
 Propositi factique mone: quisquamne tuorum
 Audebit summi non iussa facessere Papae? (ll. 122—4).

The confusion caused by the destruction of King and Parliament will give the foreign enemies a chance to establish their power in England:

Perculososque metu subito, casuque stupentes,
Invadat vel Gallus atrox, vel saevus Iberus. (ll. 125/6).

Acting upon the Satanic advice, the Pope goes to the cavern where "the two bullies of Rome", Murder and Treason (pugiles Romae, l. 155; Phonos et Prodotes, l. 152) have their abode, the twin-birth of Discord (l. 142). He charges them with bringing about the destruction of the leading men of the British nation:

Finibus occiduis circumfusum incolit aequor
Gens exosa mihi; prudens Natura negavit
Indignam penitus nostro conjungere mundo.
Illuc, sic jubeo, celeri contendite gressu,
Tartareoque leves diffilentur pulvere in auras
Et rex et pariter satrapae, scelerata propago;
Et quotquot fidei caluere cupidine verae
Consilii socios adhibete, operisque ministros. (ll. 157—64).

The news of the plot, however, is spread about by Fame, and the plans of the conspirators are frustrated.

In passing, it might be worth while to draw attention to the "photophobic" character of *In Quintum Novembris*, which it shares with books I and II of *Paradise Lost*. In this respect, the Latin poem more particularly resembles *Comus* (see the present writer's *The Secret of John Milton*, 1925, passim). The real action begins with nightfall:

Reddiderant dubiam jam sera crepuscula lucem,
Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,
.
.
.
Et mendicantum series longissima fratrum;
Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia caeci,
Cimmeriis nati in tenebris vitamque trahentes. (ll. 54—60).

It continues throughout the night, and ends in the gloom of the monsters' cavern.

Besides the common feature of the plotting of revenge, further correspondences between *In Quintum Novembris* and *Paradise Lost* may easily be pointed out. In the cavern, Murder and Treason, together with other personified horrors — Stratagem,

Strife, Calumny, Fury, and Fear — eagerly greet the visitor. Similarly, Satan meets at “hell-mouth” the awful shapes of Sin and Death, to whom a fantastic descent is attributed (II. 648 ff.). In the beginning of *In Quintum Novembris*, Satan is represented as flying over England; it is with harrassing grief that he views the prosperity and piety of its inhabitants, and he resolves to destroy their happiness and to establish his rule over them. Similar feelings are uttered by him at the sight of the first pair:

O Hell, what do mine eyes with grief behold?
 Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
 Creatures of other mould — Earth-born perhaps,
 Not Spirits, yet to Heavenly Spirits bright
 Little inferior . . .

Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest gates . . . (IV. 358—82).

At the sight of the newly created sun, he expresses his despair “in sighs” (IV. 31), thus paralleling his conduct when surveying the fields and towns of England:

At simul hanc, opibusque et festa pace beatam,
 Aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,
 Quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina veri
 Sancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit
 Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur . . . (II. 31—5).

But God, watching the doings of Satan from above, only “laughs” at his malignant designs:

Interea longo flectens curvamine caelos
 Despicit aetherea Dominus qui fulgurat arce,
 Vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae,
 Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri. (II. 166—9).

With which passage may be compared:

O father, what intends thy hand, she cried,
 Against thy only son? What fury, O son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
 Against thy father's head? And know'st for whom?
 For Him who sits above, and laughs the while
 At thee, ordained his drudge to execute
 Whate'er his wrath, which He calls justice, bids . . .
 (II. 727—33).

Conclusion.

Satan — of Gunpowder Plot fame — was, no doubt, to have played an important part in the projected epic, just as he does in the photophobic parts of *Paradise Lost*, because the employment of this figure enabled the poet to provide for an action going on largely in a grateful twilight illumination. After what has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapters, the expectation may be expressed that a comprehensive reference to Milton's efforts towards the composition of a grand National Epic will figure in any future treatise dealing with his literary activities. The present treatise is largely composed of extracts. The author considered himself justified in copying them out for three principal reasons:

- (1) To let the authorities speak for themselves.
- (2) To convey a suggestion of what the grand epic would have been like, both in style and subject matter, if the poet had been able to complete it.
- (3) To draw attention to the supreme importance of Milton's earlier prose works for the study and appreciation of his poetic efforts.

What would have been the reception of a poem executed on the lines as foreshadowed by the poet? As to his contemporaries, it would have appealed to a small minority of his countrymen only, namely, the more turbulent section of the Puritan element. At the Restoration, its existence in cold print might have cost him his head. To the Englishman of to-day, Milton's fanatical anti-Catholicism would be unintelligible; his Messianic message might be more to his liking. To support this view, one more quotation may serve: "In Cromwell's day the idea that the English were in some ways a chosen people — the Messianic business — was white-hot in the faction, but was ridiculous in the eyes of educated men who concerned themselves with foreign politics. The cultivated Englishman of the seventeenth century was a European. To-day the Messianic idea of the English as one of a Chosen Race may not be so fanatical but is certainly more widespread and Europeans are foreigners" (Hilaire Belloc, in a review of John Buchan's *Oliver Cromwell*, *London Mercury*, November 1934, pp. 63 ff.).

VERBATIM REPRINT OF THE ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET

GREAT BRITAIN'S RUIN PLOTTED
BY SEVEN SORTS OF MEN

LONDON 1641

WITH NOTES APPENDED

**GREAT
BRITTANS
RVINE PLOTTED
BY SEVEN SORTS
OF MEN:**

Discovered [sic] and counter-plotted:

In which

Is contained a Probable way
for the happy and peaceable composing
*of all the distempers of the time, with
Articles for the finding out of
Scandalous Ministers.*

Commended in a Letter to a Friend, and now
*recommended to the Honourable PARLIA-
MENTS Consideration.*

By a true-hearted well-wisher to great
BRITTANES happinesse.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Vnderhill*, and are to be
sold at the signe of the Bible in Wood-
street, M.D.C.XLI.

(1)

A Letter to a private Friend.

Sir,

Whiles I looke on the Ladie¹⁾ of Islands, I mean great *Britaine*, and see her clothed with the mourning weed of so many sad, strange, and dishonourable accidents which have fallen out in these latter times, mine eyes run water, and my head is a Fountain of teares. So that one while the unhappie occurrences of State doe (2) make me desire a sequestred and contemplative life, that I may with freedome bewaile the sinne and dishonour of our Nation; another while I seem transported with zeal for God his Church, and glory of our Nation; pressed in spirit with renewed thoughts of indignation against the instruments of this present distraction.

Sir, In my retirednesse, mee thinkes I have discovered the plot of *Britains* ruine (as you may perceive by the insuing discourse) together with the contrivers of it and their principles.

Afterwards I shall propound unto you the way for the Counterplot, which may be wel contrived in these times, suiting that high and honourable Court²⁾ of Parliment, whose wisdome is sufficiently able to discover the ill intentions of enemies to Church and State, and provide meanes of prevention seasonably.

Sir, When I looke on that illustrious Assembly, I consider it as a well constituted bodie, having right symetrie in all parts, the humours well tempred, so that there is no feare of any excessive predominancie of one above an other; their senses internall and externall active, fancie nimble, intellect profound and serious, memory strong and retentive, besides their hearing, seeing, tasting, smelling, and feeling very good and quick; so that it seemes presumption for one that moves in the inferiour orbes to present objects to such accurate and high intelligences; Yet *Sir*, whiles passion, judgement, sense of mine own insufficiencie, together with loyalty to my God, (3) King, and Countrey, struggle thus

in the wombe of my conceptions, I am at a stand, and almost resolving to dash my thoughts in the shel, and crush them in their *embrio*, but at last considering these present Halcyon dayes, wherein the Kings-fisher³) begins to make his nest upon the waters, I cannot but promise my selfe serenitie in bringing forth my conceptions, especially having so fair opportunity to put them to nurse, and education in your bosome, whose wisdome, learning, tendernesse, and particular faithfulness, I value as sufficient obligations of trust and confidence.

Neverthesse Sir, it is not mine intentions, so to confine my conceit unto your private acquaintance and tuition, but if it find favour in your eyes you may present it to the view of Sr. *Edward Deering*, Sr. *Walter Earle*, Sr. *William Bruerton*, Sr. *Nathaniell Barnardiston*, Mr. *Pim*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *St. John*, Mr. *Purphry*⁴), or others of the Commons house, whose names are precious with mee, and their minds so stored with the grounds of all true nobility, that I doubt not but they will know how to give a favourable acceptance, or else to pardon the errours of well intended fancie.

In the mean time I commit the tuition and administration of my conceptions to your selfe, if you see cause, to strike them *in cunabulis* afore they bee presented to any further view, yet be pleased to give them a burial, beseeming such as are discended of one of your faithful friends, of Christian and true English parentage.

(4) In my discourse I shall describe, first the Plot, secondly the Counterplot; in the Plot I have considered the Plot it selfe, the Contrivers, the Principles.

First for the Plot it is *Mahomets*, the introduction of a new forme of government; wherein *Mahomet* borrowed à *Judais* [sic], à *Gentibus*, à *Christianis*, from the Jew, from the Gentile, from the Christian, so our last yeeres have borrowed in their imaginarie forme from three severall Places, *Sodome*, *Egypt*, *Babylon*: From *Sodome*, pride, idlenesse, fulnesse of bread, inordinate lusts, intemperance, &c. From *Egypt*, cruelty, oppression, tyrannie over Gods Israell, and ruling in Church and State without any rule, but will, like *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*. From *Babylon* the Marchandize of Gold, Silver, precious stones, and Pearles, *Revel.* 18. 12, besides these, Beasts, Sheepe, Horses, Charriotts, slaves, and soules of men, *vers* 13⁵). without question Sir, *Sodome*, *Egypt*,

Babylon, or *Rome*, were the presidents⁶) or coppies of our latter times, according to which they have drawn upon our State, to the life, the Atheisme of *Sodome*, the tyranny of *Egypt*, the idolatry of *Rome* or *Babylon*. A most hellish device to squeeze the Juice of three such vicious governments into this of ours, which before the late times of degeneration was the fame and glory of the whole World. The truth of this will appeare by the voluminous Testimonies of the grieved partie, before the high and honourable court of Parliament⁷).

Secondly, the Contrivers of the plot, whom I (5) shall referre to these seven heads. First the scandalous Minister; Secondly the corrupt Magistrate; Thirdly the innovating Prelate with his officer; Fourthly the professed Papist; Fifthly the Popish Protestant; Sixthly the rigid Arminian; Seventhly the Libertine.

First, the scandalous Minister⁸), I meane such as preach very seldome, and then very coldly, happily farr above the capacite of the hearer, or if hee preach often, his preaching and practice crosse the one the other, hee preacheth against swearing, and yet is a common swearer himselfe, against drunkennesse, and yet is a common drunkard himselfe, at leastwise a common bibber, an intimate friend and ordinary acquaintance of the common Tospots, making the Sackshop the chiefe place of Studie and contemplation; accounting those the finest fancies which are begot over a sparkling cup, and those divine raptures which are occasioned by exhalations drawne from the good Ale and Sack; my meaning is not *Sir*, to wound any moderate man, who upon just occasion of businesse may looke into a Tavern, or sometimes to expresse humanity or courtesie to a friend may sometimes take or give a cup of wine, provided it be inoffensively carried, in regard of time, persons, or companie, place, moderation, and the like. Such only I intend *Sir*, who delight more in chirping companie in the Ale-house or Tavern, then they doe in Communion with the Saints⁹), or their Wives and (6) Families at home; that account their own houses prisons, and taverns paradices, whose defaults in this kind, such Ministers own wives, and Tavern Boyes are best able to discover.

Besides these such also I reckon amongst scandalous Ministers as doe fill their Neighbours eares, and eys, with obscaen & wanton words and carriages, making lascivious ribaldry the fittest musique at a table-meeting, *Tom Trinkilo*¹⁰) was never more acted to the

life, then by many of these, who go under the name of the Angells of the Church of *England*, and by their mimicall, apish, and ridiculous carriages, seek to please the humour of the brave sparks and gallants of our times.

Lastlie such also are scandalous ministers as are carried with bitter and malicious spirits, against the strict and more exact practise of Religion, which can scarcely forbear to disgorge their foule stomacks in the pulpit against them who walke closer with God⁽¹⁾) then themselves, which can finde more Rhetorike to advance ceremonie then substance, which can finde no honestie in a man that practises in all the maine points of Religion, if tender in conscience⁽²⁾) about a ceremony, but copious and full in testimony of a good fellow, a boone companion, a common swearer, if zealous only in matter of ceremony, such as cannot suffer a pious conscientious man to passe without a jeere, nay haply persecute him, out of his parish, if he conform not in folio⁽³⁾) to all indifferent ceremonies, such bitter spirits as these give great offence, whiles they arrogate the (7) names of Christs Ministers, and Ambassadors, and in their lives shew neither humility, nor supernaturall charitie and love of their Master: These and such like are they which pull downe more by their practice then they build up by preaching. These are the watchmen on the wall which meeting with the Spouse of Christ pluck her vaile from her, wound & buffet her, *Cant.* 5. 7.⁽⁴⁾)

Secondly, the corrupt Magistrate, such I meane as buy, and therefore must sell Justice, which makes the face of his prince, not the laws, the rules of Justice, which in a tryall consider more the person then the cause, such as delays or hastens an hearing according to his satisfaction of the sense of feeling, such as wry⁽⁵⁾) Justice upon a great mans letter, or private information that the person before him is a Puritan, as if he that were a Devill should not have his due.

Thirdly, innovating Prelates with their Officers, whether Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Commissaries⁽⁶⁾), Officialls⁽⁷⁾), &c. such are they which manage jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, whether Excommunications, Visitations⁽⁸⁾), Synods⁽⁹⁾), Corrections, and other Courts, *ad collectionem nummorum non ad correctionē morum*. They rather visite mens purses then their persons, spinning their Cannons and Articles⁽²⁰⁾) like the Spider his web, where little flies are caught but great

ones breake through, these are such as have learned in these latter times, the art of commutation, they had rather have a hundred commutations then one publique satisfaction (8) and acknowledgment. They will connive, dispencc, and what not, so that they may have Dr. *Argent*²¹⁾ to make the motion; Lords, Knights, Gentlemen and others, may whore, bee drunk, and what not, so that the fat of their sins may come *ad culinam Episcopi*, to the Bishop and their Officers Kitchin. Such I suppose are our corrupt Prelates as know how only (if they preach at all) to speak *placencia*²²⁾, to sow pillowes under the arme-holes²³⁾ of Prince and People, such as use Rhetorike to screw Prerogative as high as Tyranny, and conclude as much to belong to the King in way of command as to God Almighty.

But, O wonder of ages, I meane our gracious King, whom God hath preserved so, that hee hath no more beene poisoned with Episcopall flatterie.

Examine all ages, was there ever president for so many suspensions²⁴⁾ in these Christian Churches, as by our late²⁵⁾ Bishops? was there ever such a fire kindled as in these our days by Prelates, to the hazard of three Kingdomes at once? were there ever Prelates and their officers so grosse for notorious lusts, for oppression, extortion, rasing fees, picking advantages, preaching seldome or never? Were there ever any Bishops since the time of *Edward* the sixth, and the reformation in those days, that have brought us so far back to a violent necessity of such usages as might more neerely conforme us to the Romish Religion and Ceremonies²⁶⁾, bowings, ducking, cringings, Ima-(9)ges, &c. These *Sir* and such like are they who have improved all opportunities and diligence to discourage and supplant all Schollers in the Universities, and Ministers in their severall Diocesses, who have been orthodox²⁷⁾ and industrious, Queene *Elizabeths* Protestants²⁸⁾, if moderate about the ceremonies, and have planted right men (as they call them) in the roome of Orthodox and Pious men, haply learned, but ambitious, Simonicall, scandalous, and inclining to all Romish corruption, whereunto their Ecclesiasticall Patrons, I mean the Bishops, have invited them, either by their precepts or examples. These *Sir* and the like are those who are the innovating Prelates, and have *quantum in illis* brought ruine upon Church and State, and laid the Plot for an universall alteration of both.

Fourthly, The professed Papist, I mean such whether convict or not convict as acknowledg the Popes supremacie, never come to our Churches, admire their Popish priests, especially their Jesuites (those infernall Locusts which have come out of the bottomelesse pit²⁹) as their holy fathers, such as account Protestant Heretiques, and it a sacred point of devotion to kill Protestant Princes, though in a barbarous, base, and trecherous way, such as serve God by Images, and account ignorance the mother of devotion, costly, unnecessary, and uncommanded ceremonies the glory of the Church. These are they who are fallen into the great conspiracie (10) against great BRITAINES prosperitie.

Fifthly, the Popish Protestants, I mean such as are excessively charitable concerning the professed Papist, they love not to come to Church oftener then the lawes enforce, if the State will give them leave they will conforme to any Popish usage, and are indeed Papists in every point but Supremacie, and priests mariages, and in these likewise in their judgments they are very favourable to the Romish way.

Sixthly, The rigid Arminian³⁰), who accounts no Doctrine sublime but what advances his own opinion about predestination, free-will, falling from grace, and the like.

These account all men unsound, not rightly informed, or very dunces, that are not of their opinion, these finde no musique in a Sermon, where the Minister gives not a touch upon the Arminian string.

These pretend the advancing of good life by their doctrine, while in the meane time if you observe them generally, there are none more dissolute, proud, vaine, and scurrilous, then they that prate most in the Arminian cause.

Seventhly, the Libertine³¹), such I understand to be the swearer, drunkard, whore-master, profaner of the Sabbath, scorner & despiser of others, following no calling but their sinful lusts, harsh and cruell in their dealings, as though God had granted them a charter to doe what they list, for these and the like doth the land morne, many are the (11) Princes thereof, and a fruitfull land doth God make barren, for the sin of the inhabitants that dwell therein.

Sir, I can never looke on these seven sorts of men, but I call to mind that *Septemfluus Amnis* the River *Nilus* which swel'd and overflowed all EGYPT.

Yet if it please his Majestie, and this high and honorable Court of Parliament, that three sorts of the seven, *viz.* the scandalous Minister, the innovating Prelate with his Officer, together with the rigid Arminian be well disciplined, you shall observe the other foure, the corrupt Magistrate, the professed Papist, the popish Protestant, and the Libertine presently brought in by the power of the Gospel, and if it please his Majesty with the Parliament to plant in the rooms of the scādalous Ministers and Arminians, approved ministers for doctrine and life, it would be a true piece of policie beyond the Bishop-craft practised in these later times for the advancing of their Hierarchie.

And if it so please the wisdom of the State to bestow the Lands and Impropriations belonging to the Bishops and great Churches (besides what shall be thought fit to settle on the Crown) upon Ministers conscientious, industrious, able, and learned, where meanes is most wanting, to make some provision for Ministers widowes and children, as they doe in the French Churches, to maintain Schollers in the Universitie, and enlarge Schoole-masters allowance, I dare con- (12) fidently undertake, that learning would not bee discouraged, but the present generation would pray, and posterity for ever would rise up to praise God for such a blessed King and such a happie Parliament.

In the meane time, *Sir*, Three discouragements whisper in my eares, all pretending that this alteration is not safe nor fecible³²).

Ob. 1. First, if Ecclesiastical government be altered, why may not the civil also be desired to be altered upon the same terms? *Ans.* First, there is more general grief, and desire of alteration in the Ecclesiastical government then in the Civil. Secondly, the conscience is more concerned in the one then in the other, the purse is pinched in the one, the conscience in the other; examine this wel you shall find something worth notice. Thirdly, the Scripture seemes to prescribe more for Ecclesiasticall government then Civill, leaving all Nations to libertie for their severall lawes, provided none crosse his³³) own eternall commands.

Ob. Secondly doth not reason require a levell in the Commonwealth as wel as a parity in Ecclesiasticall dignities? *Ans.* I am confident no moderate wise man would desire such a levell as to have all Ecclesiasticall grounds ly in a flat, high Mountaines are fitter for barren *Wales*, then fruitfull *England*, little hills doe not disparage the most fruitfull grounds. If some Minister have one,

some two, some three hundred pounds *per annum*, haply more, such hills will not be com- (13) plained of, only let the Mountains be throwne into the Seas, I meane the greater promotions, then shall the little hills skip like lambs, when the World is more equally divided one graine of faith may remove these Mountaines into the midst of the Sea.

Ob. 2. Secondly the Church may bee called the younger sister of the common-wealth, there was a Common-wealth in *Israel* before the Priesthood of *Levie*, Commonwealths were before Apostles, Pastors, or Teachers, seniority usually gives dignitie, though *Rachell* the younger sister was faire and more admired by *Jacob*, yet *Leah* the elder sister was preferred, for it was the custome of the Countrey (said *Laban*)³⁴.

Thirdly much advantage may come by levelling the Church, but unconceivable mischief by levelling the Common-wealth, sandy Hills may be easily levelled, high stonie Rocks cannot without difficultie. *Verbum sapienti.*

Ob. 3. Thirdly the King will not easily consent? *Ans.* *Sir*, I fear it not, never was better King upon the Throne then our gracious Sovereigne, never any more deeply engaged to maintain Episcopacie, but I am confident that God who hath given him a gracious heart, will give him a discerning spirit, to see the evil consequences of degenerate Episcopacie by the cleere information of his great Counsell.

Sir, excuse me for that my *Remora*³⁵) hath stayed my ship a little longer among the projectors then (14) I did intend, I will now come to the principles by which they have wrought.

First no ceremony no Bishop, no Bishop no King, a principle it is true, which (it may bee) pleased the palate of a wise man, but as it hath beene used and applyed it hath opened a gap to destruction, schisme, ruine, and danger.

It hath beene used as though a King could not rule without the help of a Bishop, whereas Kings swayed their scepters before the Episcopal dignitie was ever knowne in the World, and as like themselves as ever since, and as though a Bishop could not subsist without a ceremonie, whereas the Bishops of the Apostles and primitive times (as they were then called) had few or no ceremonies at all. The further you come from Christ, the Apostles, and primitive times, the more ceremonies you shall finde, in *Augustines* time there were but few in comparison of after times,

yet he complains of a Judaisme, and multitude of ceremonies, above that which is meet, that in a few hundred yeers were crept into the Church.

I conceive the Apostles and primitive Bishops were more pious, more conscientious, more industrious, and did more good, in feeding and governing the Church of God then our late Bishops, and yet they used few or no ceremonies in comparison. *Sir*, these *Septemvirated* conspirators if you observe, have all admired this principle, witness their inordinate zeal for the ceremonies as though there were no Religion but in the (15) practice of these; have not the laws of God, I meane the expresse morall Commandements, beene slighted and neglected, the breaches of it easily dispenced withall? The fundamentall lawes of the Kingdome shaken, while these ungodly projectors have advanced their Ceremonies and Canons? for my part I have ever tooke a King for a beame of the Deity cast into an angle of the Earth, and that Judgment and Justice make the throne stable, ruling according to Law is the greatest honour and safety of a Prince, and therefore God requires by *Moses*, that the King shall read in the book of the Law night and day³⁶); there are two sorts of Lawes, Gods owne Lawes, and the fundamentall lawes of a Kingdome or State, the King is to see the execution of both these, and it is most safe to preserve them with all tendernesse, so that if a King have a care of these, he may bee sufficiently supported without the help either of Bishop or Ceremonie; methinks it is a disparagement to the Crowne to bee supported by Bishops; sure I am *Solomons* throne was supported by Lyons³⁷); and for Ceremonie to support Bishops, It seemes such a sandy foundation, that with a violent storme the foundation may be washed away, and the whole building may easily fall. Goe through all the seven sorts of men whom I have charged for the conspirators of State, you shall hardly finde a man but working a great deale of trouble, by vertue of this principle; I will close all with crossing and thwarting of the proverb, A King may be (16) without a Bishop, and an Apostles Bishop without a Ceremonie.

The second principle, that a papist is much honester then a puritan, and much more to bee favoured; a damnable principle according to the intencion and application of it, and of the effects that have followed in this Kingdome. No question *Machiavil*, *Ignatius*, or the Devill began to apply this old Hereticall name

in such an extended and generall way. For in these latter times every man that subscribed unto the Doctrine of the Church, if he was tender in matter of ceremonie hath beene reputed a Puritan³⁸), nay, every man that will not sweare, be drunk, wanton, scoffe and jeere others, he is a puritan, though conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, so that the late projectours have united together in this principle and by it have much advanced their designes: upon this ground, the Papist hath beene cherished as the honestest man, men of most refined life, and exact godlinesse and have shewed forth eminent vertue in practice, have beene brow-beaten, discountenanced, and persecuted, drunkards have beene the good Sonnes of the Church, temperate men the stubborne children of their mother; *O Tempora, O Mores*, what strange times were we fallen into, when light was called darknesse, and darknesse light, sweet sower, and sowre sweet, good evill, and evill good, when the wicked shall bee justified for a reward, and the righteousnesse of the righteous shall be taken away from them³⁹)? This (17) principle hath beene followed with such hellish zeal that Religion and Vertue are almost bereft of life and sense, for this principle hath put out the eyes, cut off the legges and hands of Religion and Vertue, Help Lord for faith and truth are almost perished, and discouraged for looking amongst the sonnes of men.

Thirdly, libertie is sweet, a principle which is acknowledged most true, provided it be not extended in longitude and latitude above the true naturall dimensions of it; If it had beene stretched no further then Gods service it had beene perfect freedome, but let it be onely understood of the satisfaction of the carnall will and sensuall appetite then liberty is dangerous, and of bad consequence. Now *Sir*, survey seriously the latter times, you shall observe the scandalous Minister, the corrupt Magistrate, the innovating Prelate and his Officers, the professed Papist, the Popish Protestant, the rigid Arminian, and the Libertine, all sayling in one and the same channell of carnal libertie, and crying out, *Te, te, nos poscimus omnes*, all of them with one consent desire libertie, not freedom of conscience in indifferent & undetermined things, for this you shall scarce have one hand amongst them, but libertie to sin, to have their lusts, their heterodox and unsound opinions, libertie to cast off the bonds of truth. This principle doth cement their affections one to an other, and unite

them more strongly against all divine obedience, and hath hetherto made the late conspiracies against Church and State more formid- (18) dable and dreadfull. These and the like diabolicall principles our late projectors have mannaged with what faithfulnessse they can, against the God of order, the law of charitie, the rules of piety, so that the beautie of these glorious Islands by these and the like devises is much defaced and obscured. *Sir*, having thus surveyed these Projectors and their principles, methinks it seemes our dutie, and the dutie of all good Christians and true *English* hearts, to Petition unto the high and honourable Court of Parliament against these, as underminers of State happinesse, either for their reformation, or else punishing or discountenancing of them; for so long as these have publique encouragement in our State, neither can religion be secured, nor the throne and tranquility of the Kingdome well established.

Its true, whiles we looke upon the numbers of these confederates, upon their strength (for they look like the sons of *Anak*) or upon their union, for they seem like the scales of a Whale which a sword cannot pierce and divide easily, they render themselves to our eyes like the *Moabites* and *Amonites* to *Jehosaphat* ⁴⁰) in a very terrible forme, and for our parts wee seeme a little flock of sheepe, and like grassehoppers ⁴¹) in comparison: Yet mee thinks (under correction of your better judgement, unto whom I render my selfe as a learner) there is hope in *Israel* concerning this thing provided the countermine be wel wrought and managed, I shall therefore crave your assistance to make up by your mature thoughts (19) what is wanting in my conceit of a Counterplot.

THE COVNTERPLOT.

Sir, there is no better Counterplot to the workers of iniquity then for the opposite side to worke contrarily, to countermine errors with truth, unrighteousnesse with righteousnessse, uncharitablenessse with charitie, violence with moderation, and all sinne with a sincere practice of pietie. This for a generall will hold as the great mine which the Church of God is to raise against the enemies of it.

But besides this there are three particular mines which I conceive are most fitting at this present, to raise against the aforementioned confederate projectors against great *Britain*.

The first a well managed Commission, the second is a well constituted and ordered Church-assembly, the third is a right frame of Ecclesiasticall government. First a well managed Commission, I understand by that, first Commissio- (20) ners chosen by the house of Commons, approved by the House of Lords, which shall bee no parties nor delinquents as far as can bee discerned, these chosen out of every Shire or Dioces. If the Shire be barren of able and sufficient men, then to appoint strāgers rather then delinquents, and those qualified with integritie, wisdome and resolution.

Secondly when the Commissioners are thus chosen for both the houses, to move his Majesty for sufficient authority for the managing of the said commission. That the Commissioners may bee enabled to give oaths, to call before them any parties offending or others for witnesses as they shall see cause, and to have as large power to punish contempts, non aparences, or abuse of the Commissioners, as the Archbishops Visitors were wont to have, in their Metropolitically visitations.

Thirdly, when the Commissioners are thus chosen and armed with authority, then to have a booke of Articles according to the tenour of what I shall propound in the latter end of the discourse, and the said Commissioners to have power to admonish, to enjoine recantation, and to deprive Ministers, or else to return their names into the House of Commons to bee censured there, and haply it might conduce well to the worke, to have a Register⁴²⁾ allowed to the Commissioners for every Shire or Diocesse, and some small fee to be paid to the said Commissioners (21) towards the charges of the said Commissioners and Register, by every delinquent, as in like cases hath beene allowed in Bishops visitations.

Secondly a well constituted assembly or Synod⁴³⁾, I meane an assembly of godly, orthodox, learned, wise, and well tempered Divines, gathered by the singular prudence and providence especially of the House of Commons, which haply might be done most opportunely, when the commission hath first discovered the innovating Prelates, the scandalous Minister, Arminians, and

Popish Protestants within these Churches, and disabled them from judging, advising, or determining in any Church affaires till their reformation be eminent and well noted in the World.

In an assembly or Synod thus constituted, me thinkes *Sir* it would doe well to have the Doctrine of the Church well determined and explained, so that in matter of Doctrine wee might consent with all Protestant Churches, and (if it were possible) that an agreement might bee laboured for betwixt us and the Southern and Eastern Churches, and al Churches to be accounted Christian, which shall be found to agree in matter of Doctrine; who knowes but the singular industry and wisdome of such a well constituted assembly, may fetch in the *Asian, African, European,* and *American* Churches into greater unitie and brotherly correspondencie, and haply to the incredible strength of the Christian party against (22) all sworne enemies of Christ Jesus, Nay, who can tell but that such a reconciliation wrought in matter of doctrine may be a speciall meanes to undermine the walls of *Babylon*⁴⁴), to bring under the *Mahumetan*, and to render the Lord Christ as a more acceptable *Messias*, to his old and forsaken people the *Jews*. But now, *Sir*, I cannot but pause, being transported with such high thoughts, and designes; but are not wee the tools and instruments to serve divine providence? Doth not Creation, Redemption, & the constant benignitie of Gods providence engage us to serve God in his highest and greatest ends? Is there any part of the World where God hath ground better furnished with men of parts, Learning, Tongues, Arts, Sciences, brave and Noble Resolutions, Ancient, and Renowned Valour, and Honourable Atchievements, then in these *British* Isles? Hath God so honoured and qualified Great *Britain*, with such sufficiencie and eminencie in all things? And shall not Great *Britain* reach out its Vertues to serve her Lord and Master in his greatest and highest Designes? Well, *Sir*, Let us not be discouraged, let us do, *quantum in nobis*, for our God hath often honoured himselfe by the weakest Instruments.

Secondly, I desire the old boundaries and meeres⁴⁵), between actions necessary, and indifferent, may be searched out, well viewed, restored, and determined; the losse of Meere stones often- (23) times occasioneth quarrels betwixt nearest Neighbours, and dearest Friends, for many hundred yeeres by-past, the Meer-stones betwixt necessity and indifferency have beene (for the

most part) lost and buried under ground, so that necessity hath encroached upon indifferencie⁴⁶⁾, or indifferencie upon necessitie.

Heavens help us in this, for in earth wee could never find, for many hundred yeers, men of such moderate and temperate spirits as would allow necessitie and indifferencie their owne, without wrong to the one side.

Sir, I professe, I would not have God to lose one foot of his own ground, nor the Conscience its Christian privilege, neither yet the Magistrate the least due that God allows him; only I could wish it well determined in a competent and impartiall Church Assembly.

First, whether the Conscience be tyed to obedience in any thing, but what God requires in his Word, by way of precept, or naturall and necessary inference, and whether it be fit to strain an inference too far and too curiously?

Secondly, whether all things be not indifferent, wherein the Scripture hath not determined, and the Conscience free to use them or refuse?

Thirdly, whether the libertie of Conscience in indifferent things was not purchased by Christ?

Fourthly, If it bee the Churches priviledge (24) what man, or civill Magistrate hath power to take away my priviledge by Christ, without my own consent, testified by my selfe, or others trusted in my behalfe?

Fifthly, whether a Nationall Synod (after the Church is well purged) be not a fit way to conclude our libertie in indifferent actions, especially there being some to represent the people (haply a Committee of the House of Commons, assisting in the Worke) for the finding out of the bounds of indifferent actions, and the prescribing Laws concerning them?

Sixthly, whether any such assembly may make any Law for indifferent actions, but with a Protestation of Revocation upon inconveniences observed, and generall scandals?

Seventhly, whether charitie be not as necessary together with other generall Rules, *Phil.* 4. 8.⁴⁷⁾ and as order or subjection to Magistracie, and how these can be all managed without crossing, or violence to some side?

But now (mee thinks) whiles I looke into the Arke⁴⁸⁾, I cannot but tremble and cry out with the Apostle, *O the depth*⁴⁹⁾;

these are *arcana Ecclesiæ*, or fitter for a well constituted Synod, then for any particular, or private person to search into them, neither are they fit to be discussed in such a Synod without singular moderation, charitie, humilitie, profound judgement, and integritie.

And now *Sir*, I have done with my second Myne, which being well wrought, will blow (25) up many of the above-named Conspirators. Only *Sir*, Let us encourage the work to the utmost for the reconciliation of all Christians in matter of doctrine, who knows but that God, Great *Britains* Lord, will account the *Indies* too mean a recompence for her faithfulness in erecting the Kingdome of Christ through the World, and making the light of the Gospel more glorious? Sure I am, the opportunitie for the West *Indies*⁵⁰⁾ is fairer then ever, for my part I dare undertake to cleere it, and for neerer Kingdomes⁵¹⁾, who knows but they may say to us, as those in the Prophecie of *Zacharie*, *Wee will goe with you, for God is with you*⁵²⁾.

Thirdly, A good frame of Church-government, which may represent the new *Jerusalem*, comming downe from Heaven, wherein the Lambe may bee the light⁵³⁾, and that unerring Truth of Gods Word the only Rule whereby to work this frame of building.

Sir, I am confident, wee shall never be free from scandalous Ministers, *Arminians*, Innovators, and Popish Protestants, till a new frame of Government be determined, which may more certainly finde out, discover, and suppress the Enemies of God and his Church, then this of ours.

Sir, my meaning is not to assigne any particular forme or way for Church-government, that is fitter for a Nationall Synod, then my self, only into your bosome I dare vent my conceit in (26) some generals⁵⁴⁾; I wish the three severall Governments to be well surveyed, the Episcopall, the Presbyteriall, and the Independent ways in *New England*, to refine them all in a Church Assembly, And wherein all or any of them may conforme us, more neerly to the Word, and sute with the disposition and necessitie of our church, so much, *Sir*, desire we may follow in any one or all of them, but where these severall Governments, or any of them, do crosse the Word, and are inconsistent with the present and distracted condition of our Church, I humbly pray to God Almighty,

they may be reprobate, so that Christ only may rule in his Church, according to his commission from his Father.

Sir, I believe you will find upon the examination of the three severall Governments, some thing worthy of admiration, and imitation, in every one of them; None of the three Governments but may have their severall defects or superfluities, one out of all would doe well, yet so as nothing be taken but what agrees with the Word.

Sir, by this time, I am afraid I have spent your patience, but if you please well to consider the premises, you shall haply finde some Gold, though much drosse; some sparks of Vertue, and such notions as being cast abroad, in the World, may beget some Noble and brave thoughts in the minds of our Nation; though I give but hints, profound heads can make larger (27) commentaries, your judgment I know is able to fan away the chaff, and so keep the pure grain to your self.

Sir, It were damnable presumption in mee to thinke the Parliament should be bound to my directions, *per omnia*, yet if such or the like ways were held, I doubt not, but Great *Britain* would be the wonder of Ages, and a great contributor to the greater light and glory of all *Christian* Churches in the World; who knows, but God hath humbled us in the eyes of the World, to raise us to higher honour, and that the *Northerne* glory, I mean the *Scots*, and wee should be neere a breach, to make way for a stronger, and neerer Union? bones broken and well set are stronger afterwards, so the *Scots* and we with our brethren in *Ireland*, may with more constant, and cordiall Union, advance the glory of our God, our King, and Countrey, to make their names famous amongst *Christians*, *Jewes*, and *Mahumetans*; the bloud of *Richard* the First, and *Edward* the First, is not wholly lost amongst us, neither of our Progenitours, whose names were terrible as far as the *Holy Land*; the neer Union lately made with the brave, ingenious, and warlike *Hollander*⁵⁵), I look on as the first-fruits of a greater Union, and a Reconciliation in Doctrine and affections amongst *Christians* through the whole World.

Sir, I know you are active, Let us stir and set forward Gods great works in the World; who (28) knows what God would have done? haply in the midst of these great designes, the distressed *Palsgrave*⁵⁶) unto whom our Nation owes much for neernesse in bloud, may be relieved: mistake me not, let all be deliberately surveyed, my end is not *movere quieta, sed quietare motum*.

Sir, wee are all Gods tools to work with all, let him be the end of all, wee may wish and will, but the Kingdome, power, and glory is Gods, let him have the honour unto all Eternitie. *Amen.*

(29)

**Articles concerning the Ministers
of *England.***

First, whether is your Minister a drunkard, a swearer, an unclean person, an obscœne and scurrilous discourser, & cōmon railer against the best men of life and conversation, if tender about Ceremonies; Is he an Intimate, constant, and familiar friend of notorious and common drunkards, swearers, or the like, or a violent and bitter persecutor of men of good life, if hee can pick the least advantage against them in matter of Church Discipline or Ceremonies, or doe you know him habited in any notorious and vile sins expressly against the Laws of God and man? two or three witnesses, upon oath, but men without iust disparagement, will be sufficient in any case.

Secondly, whether is not your Minister ve- (30) hemently suspected or famed for those or the like notorious offences, as are mentioned in the first Articles?

Thirdly, Whether is your Minister notoriously insufficient, and unable for his function?

Fourthly, Whether is your Minister a Pluralist and Non-resident?

Fiftly, Whether doth your Minister preach constantly and painfully with all plainesse and faithfulness for the common use of the hearer, if he doe not, what you conceive is the reason?

Sixtly, Whether is your Minister a professed *Arminian*, or popishly affected, a *Socinian*⁵⁷, &c. or is he one that hath been not only passive but active in the late Innovations in the Church, verie violent in advancing bowings to the Altar, setting up of Images, &c.

Seventhly, Whether is your Minister, a cold, lukewarme, and negligent Preacher?

(31)

Articles concerning Archbishops, Bishops, Chancelors ⁵⁸), Deans, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials, Prebends ⁵⁹), Canons, Advocates ⁶⁰), Registers, Proctors ⁶¹), Apparitors ⁶²), &c.

First, whether are these or any of them Drunkards, swearers, unclean persons, wantons, Revellers, Incestuous, or guiltie of any notorious sinne against the Laws of God and this Kingdome, have any of them been Oppressors, Extorters, and raisers of fees, kept people in their Courts, rather to pick their purses, then correct their vices, have they sought advantages against men, and have they punished and persecuted rather men scrupulous about a Ceremonie, then common Drunkards, notorious Swearers, &c.

Lastlie, have they or anie of them abused the Censures of the Church, and not exercised them against notorious Offenders, but rather otherwise.

FINIS.

Notes.

- (1) The word *lady* is here used as the feminine designation corresponding to *lord*; compare *Arcades*, ll. 104/5:

Here ye shall have greater grace,
To serve the *lady* of this place.

- (2) The appellation *Court* was formerly applied to Parliament. The *New English Dictionary* gives quotations ranging from 1450 to 1662.
- (3) *Kingsfisher* is an older form (1440—1797) of modern *kingfisher* (1658—).
- (4) Sir Edward Deering, generally spelt Dering (1598—1644), antiquary and politician, sat in the Long Parliament. On May 27, 1641, he moved the first reading of the Root and Branch Bill for the total extirpation of episcopacy. On October 12, he proposed that a national synod should be called to settle the question of church-government.

Sir Walter Earle could not be identified.

Sir William Bruerton, evidently a misspelling or variant of Breton (1604—61), parliamentary commander, was a member of the Long Parliament, with strong Puritan views.

Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, or Bernardiston (1588—1653), member of the Long Parliament, a determined supporter of the Puritan faction and opponent of Charles I.

John Pim, generally spelt Pym (1584—1643), the acknowledged leader of the Long Parliament. He is said to have believed that the attempt of Charles I. to set up an arbitrary government was closely connected with a Roman Catholic plot to destroy Protestantism in England. From a moderate reformer he turned into an advocate of the complete abolition of episcopacy.

John Hambden, generally spelt Hampden (1594—1643), was a member of the Long Parliament, and developed into a zealous supporter of the Root and Branch Bill.

Oliver St. John (1598?—1673), chief justice; as a member of the Long Parliament he worked in close cooperation with Pym and Hampden. He is said to have drawn up the Root and Branch Bill. One of the leaders of the Independents.

Purphry, evidently a misspelling for (William) Purefoy (1580?—1649), one of the regicides. As a member of the Long Parliament he consistently opposed the policy of the king.

- (5) *Revelation* 18. 12, 13: "The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble. — And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense,

and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men."

- (6) Obsolete spelling of *precedent*.
- (7) The reference is to the petitions presented to the Long Parliament in the early months of 1641 against the government of the Church. "Petitions [were] presented by many parishioners against their pastors, with articles of their misdemeanours and behaviours; most whereof consisted, 'in their bowing at the name of Jesus, and obliging the communicants to come up to the altar' (as they enviously called it) that is to the rails which enclosed the communion-table 'to receive the sacrament'. All which petitions were read with great delight, and presently referred to the Committee about Religion... and then both petition and articles were suffered to be printed and published... that the people might be inflamed against the clergy; who were quickly taught, to call all those against whom such petitions and articles were exhibited (which were [sic] frequently done by a few of the rabble, and meanest of the people, against the sense and judgment of the parish) *the Scandalous Clergy*; which appellation was frequently applied to men of great gravity and learning, and the most unblemished lives" (Clarendon, book III).
- (8) The epithet *scandalous* was applied by the Puritan zealots to all clergymen who did not conform to the ideal type of minister as developed in "the best reformed churches" on the continent. Ministers were expected to lay stress on preaching, to discountenance the ceremonies prescribed in the liturgy, and to live according to the strict Puritan code. Writing about the agitations going on in London during the debates on the Bishops' Exclusion Bill (October 1641), Clarendon reports as follows: "But the virulence against them still increased; and no churches frequented, but where they were preached against, as anti-Christian; the presses swelled with most virulent invectives against them; and a sermon was preached at Westminster, and afterwards printed, under the title of 'The Protestation Protested', by the infamous Burton, wherein he declared, 'That all men were obliged by their late protestation, by what means soever, to remove both bishops and the Common Prayer-Book out of the Church of England, as impious and Papistical': whilst all the learned and orthodox divines of England, were looked upon under the notion of Scandalous Ministers; and if the meanest, and most vicious parishioner they had, could be brought to prefer a petition against either of them to the House of Commons (how false soever) he was sure to be prosecuted as such" (book IV).

The "infamous Burton" is Henry B. (1578—1648), who had been condemned to the loss of his ears on a previous occasion, but had been liberated from life-imprisonment by the Long Parliament.

- (9) *Saint* — in biblical usage, one of God's chosen people; one of the elect according to the Calvinistic doctrine.
- (10) *Trinkilo*, no doubt a corrupt form of *Trinculo*, the name of the drunken "jester" in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. This passage will have to be included as a new item among the Shakespeare Allusions. Milton, perhaps in-

spired by *GBRPI*, also uses the same word to describe clergymen as acting the parts of drunkards on the stage. Defending himself against the accusation of being a frequenter of theatres, he writes: "But since there is such necessity to the hearsay of a tire, a periwig, or a vizard, that plays must have been seen, what difficulty was there in that? when in the colleges so many of the young divines... have been seen so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds; prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, their grooms and mademoiselles" (*Apology for Smectymnuus*, Fl 80a).

- (11) Compare *Genesis* 5. 22: "And Enoch walked with God after he begat Methuselah three hundred years, and begat sons and daughters."
- (12) On the grounds of "tenderness of conscience", the Puritans objected to the use of ceremonies and of the Book of Common Prayer in the Church of England.
- (13) *in folio* = in full.
- (14) *The Song of Solomon* 5. 7: "The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my veil from me."
- (15) *to wry* = to pervert.
- (16) *commissary* = an officer exercising spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the representative of the bishop in parts of his diocese.
- (17) *official* = the presiding officer or judge of an archbishop's, bishop's, or archdeacon's court.
- (18) *visitation* = visit by ecclesiastical person (or body) to examine into the state of a diocese, parish, religious institution, etc., involving payment of a fee.
- (19) *synod* = an episcopal or archidiaconal visitation, involving payment of fees.
- (20) *articles* = indictment drawn up in articles.
- (21) *argent* = a silver coin, hence generally money, cash, etc.; *Dr. Argent* = facetious name of a lawyer, a D.C.L.(?).
- (22) *placencia* = suavity, pleasantness; of post-classical Latin origin; compare obsolete English *placency*.
- (23) *to sew pillows under people's arm-pits, elbows, etc.* = to give a sense of false security; compare *Ezekiel* 13. 18: "... Woe to the women that sew pillows to all armholes..."
- (24) *suspension* = the censure of the eldership, by which one is for a time deprived of the communion of the sacraments.
- (25) *late* = recent in date; in recent times.
- (26) Some of the practices objected to are mentioned in the following resolution adopted by the Long Parliament about the middle of 1641: "That the standing of the communion-table in all churches should be altered"; the rails (which in most places had been set up for the greater decency) 'should be pulled down; that the chancels should be levelled, and made even with all other parts of the church; and that no man should presume to bow at the name of Jesus:..'" (Clarendon, book IV).

- (27) *Orthodox*, in the Puritan sense, i. e., upholding what the Puritans believed to have been the faith and practice of the early Christians in "primitive times".
- (28) In the 17th century, "Protestant" was primarily used in opposition to "Papist"; it is still so used in Ireland.
- (29) Among the numerous and richly varied unflattering epithets with which the Jesuits were branded by their opponents in the 16th and 17th centuries the Plagues of Egypt occupy a prominent place. The Jesuits were particularly frequently compared to locusts and scorpions, as appears, e. g., from the following exhortation: "O jhr schwartzen Bestien / O jhr schwartze Reuter / O jhr Castilianisch schwartzen Bestien / O jhr Mordbrüder / vnd grewliche Hewschrecken / jhr vergiffte Scorpionen / vnnd Höllische Syndici / O jhr Belials-Gesellen / vnd Lucifers Söhne/..." (*Variorum Discursuum Bohemicorum Nervus . . . Continuatio VII*, 1619, quoted by Richard Krebs, *Die politische Publizistik der Jesuiten und ihrer Gegner in den letzten Jahrzehnten vor Ausbruch des 30jährigen Krieges* (Hallesche Abhandlungen zur Neueren Geschichte, Heft 25) 1890, p. 234).
- (30) *Arminian*, (alleged) follower of Arminius (Jacob van Herman, or Hermanson, 1560—1609), a Dutchman. He modified the strict Calvinistic doctrine of predestination by teaching that the mercy of God was not confined to the chosen few only. Proceeding on the assumption that Calvinism was the true faith, the Puritans used the term "Arminian" as equivalent to "heretic", and consequently accused the Anglican clergy of "Arminianism". Their animosity was directed more particularly against Archbishop Laud, although the latter's views concerning sacramental efficiency would have been denounced as superstitious by Arminius himself. The meaning of the term is best illustrated by a quotation from Clarendon: "Though the nation generally, as was said before, was without any ill talent to the Church, either in the point of the doctrine, or the discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called innovations, and were easily persuaded, that any thing of that kind was but to please the Papists. Some doctrinal points in controversy had been, in the late years, agitated in the pulpits with more warmth and reflections, than had used to be; and thence the heat, and animosity increased in books pro and con upon the same arguments: most of the popular preachers, who had not looked into the ancient learning, took Calvin's word for it, and did all they could to propagate his opinions in those points: they who had studied more, and were better versed in the antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils, and the ecclesiastical histories, with the same heat and passion in Preaching and writing, defended the contrary. But because in the late dispute in the Dutch churches, those opinions were supported by Jacobus Arminius, the divinity professor in the University of Leyden in Holland, the latter men we mentioned, were called Arminians; though many of them had never read a word written by Arminius. Either side defended,

and maintained the different opinions as the doctrine of the Church of England ... And yet that party here, which could least support themselves with reason, were very solicitous, according to the ingenuity they always practise to advance any of their pretences, to have the people believe, that they who held with Arminius did intend to introduce popery; and truly the other side was no less willing to have it thought, that all who adhered to Calvin in those controversies, did in their hearts likewise adhere to him with reference to the discipline, and desired to change the government of the Church, destroy the bishops, and set up the discipline that he had established at Geneva; and so both sides found such reception generally with the people, as they were inclined to the persons; whereas, in truth none of the one side were at all inclined to popery, and very many of the other were most affectionate to the peace and prosperity of the Church, and very pious, and learned men. The archbishop had, all his life, eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of, and thereupon for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which no body believed him to be ..." (book I).

- (31) Compare Milton's description of the "Libertine": "... the second sort of those that may be justly numbered among the hinderers of reformation, are libertines; these suggest that the discipline sought would be intolerable: for one bishop now in a diocese, we should then have a pope in every parish. It will not be requisite to answer these men, but only to discover them, for reason they have none, but lust and licentiousness, and therefore answer can have none. It is not any discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remissness of discipline that they seek. Episcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkish and Jewish rigour against whoring and drinking; the dear and tender discipline of a father, the sociable and loving reproof of a brother, the bosom admonition of a friend, is a presbytery, and a consistory to them" (*Of Reformation*, Fl 10b).
- (32) *fecible*, an obsolete spelling of *feasible*.
- (33) *his*, i. e., God's.
- (34) Compare *Genesis* 29. 26: "And Laban said, it must not be done in our country, to give the younger before the first-born."
- (35) *remora*, the sucking-fish, believed by the ancients to have the power of staying the course of any ship to which it attached itself; hence in a figurative sense = hindrance.
- (36) The command referred to was not given to Moses but to Joshua, Moses' successor; compare *Joshua* 1. 1, 7, 8: "Now after the death of Moses the servant of the Lord it came to pass, that the Lord spake unto Joshua the son of Nun, Moses' minister, saying ... Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses my servant commanded thee: turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest. — This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth;

- but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then thou shalt make the way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success."
- (37) Compare *I. Kings* 10. 18, 19, 20: "Moreover the king [Solomon] made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold. — The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays. — And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps; there was not the like made in any kingdom."
- (38) The term "Puritan" was originally used in derision or contempt. It seems to have been derived from French *puritain*, a rendering of medieval Latin *puritanus* which translates the self-given name of the *καθαρῶν*. *Puritan*, therefore, originally signified "heretic". In England, the term was originally applied to those within the Church of England who demanded a more complete reformation on Calvinistic lines; afterwards to the Presbyterian Party and all those that were opposed to episcopatism, such as the Independents, Baptists, etc. Compare the following passage which Milton added in 1650 to his text of *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* of 1649: "And that they be not what they go for, true ministers of the Protestant doctrine, taught by those abroad, famous and religious men, who first reformed the church, or by those no less zealous, who withstood corruption and the bishops here at home, branded with the name of Puritans and Nonconformists..." (Fl 242b).
- (39) Compare *Isaiah* 5. 20, 23: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! ... Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!"
- (40) Compare *II Chronicle* 20. 1: "It came to pass after this also, that the children of Moab, and the children of Ammon, and with them other beside the Ammonites, came against Jehoshaphat to battle."
- (41) Compare *Numbers* 13. 33: "And there we saw the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants; and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight."
- (42) *register* = registrar.
- (43) This proposal was realized in the setting up of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, which met for the first time on July 1, 1643. A demand for the calling of such a synod was contained in the Grand Remonstrance (November 1641), and this was granted by the king on December 23. In the Remonstrance, the Commons declared: "That they meant to have a general synod, of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines, of this island... who, assisted by some from foreign parts, professing the same religion, should consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church; and present the result of their consultations to the Parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed: that they would provide a competent maintenance for conscientious and preaching ministers, throughout the king-

dom: that they intended to reform and purge the fountains of learning, the two universities; that the streams flowing from thence might be clear and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole land" (Clarendon, book IV).

- (44) *Babylon* stands, of course, for the Church of Rome, which is thus placed outside the Christian community.
- (45) *meer(e)*, *mere*, or *mear* = boundary, landmark.
- (46) The meaning of the word *indifferency* may be gathered from the following passage contained in the king's Reply to the Grand Remonstrance: "As for matters of ceremony... he would, in tenderness to any number of his loving subjects, be willing to comply with the advice of his Parliament, that some law should be made for the exemption of tender consciences from punishment or prosecution for neglecting such ceremonies; and in such cases, which by the judgment of most men are held to be matters indifferent, and of some to be absolutely unlawful" (Clarendon, book IV).
- (47) *Philippians* 4. 8: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."
- (48) Possibly an allusion to *Revelation* 11. 18, 19: "And the nations were angry, and thy wrath is come, and the time of the dead, that they should be judged, and that thou shouldest give reward unto thy servants the prophets, and to the saints and them that fear thy name, small and great; and shouldest destroy them which destroy the earth. — And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail."
- (49) Compare *Romans* 11. 33: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"
- (50) This allusion to the possible acquisition of the West Indian islands, at the expense of Spain, no doubt, and as a reward for piety, clearly brings out the economic aspect of the English Puritanism. That certain members, at least, of the Long Parliament entertained plans tending in this direction, is proved by the fact that, in September 1641, the committee that was to transact the business of the House of Commons during the impending recess was charged, among other matters, with considering the framing and constituting of a West Indian Company (Clarendon, book IV). Spain was no longer in exclusive possession of these then highly valued islands whose fabled wealth attracted the naval adventurers of many European nations. A French West Indian Company had been formed in 1625, and several English settlements had already been established (St. Christopher, 1615; St. Eustatius, 1625; Barbados, Tobago, Ste. Croix, Nevis, 1628; Antigua and Montserrat, 1632).

- (51) The allusion is, no doubt, to a projected alliance with the United Provinces and the Protestant Princes on the continent.
- (52) Compare *Zechariah* 8. 22, 23: "Yea, many people and strong nations shall come and seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. — Thus saith the Lord of hosts: In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you."
- (53) Compare *Revelation* 21. 1, 2, 23, 24: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. — And John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband... And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it: for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof. — And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour to it."
- (54) *some generals* = something that is general.
- (55) A reference to the betrothal of Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I., to Prince William of Orange, May 2, 1641.
- (56) In 1613, Friedrich V., Elector Palatine, had married Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and sister of Charles I. After the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, he was, in 1619, elected king of Bohemia by the Protestant estates of that dominion of the Hapsburgs. In consequence of the disastrous battle of the White Hill, near Prague, he was forced to leave his kingdom. His patrimony, the Palatinate, was also threatened. Both James I. and Charles I. failed to assist the electoral family effectively, although the English Parliament on several occasions voted money for the purpose of raising armies. Friedrich V. died in 1632. His son, Karl Ludwig, after the complete loss of the Palatinate and several attempts at reconquest, retired to England in 1640, where, despairing of his cause, he devoted himself to scientific studies. His defeat was felt as a disgrace to the English Protestants who seem to have still entertained hopes of being able to restore him to his former possessions and dignity. — England was not represented in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648. Karl Ludwig had to rely on the support of Sweden and Brandenburg, and it was owing to their efforts that it was at last agreed that the Upper Palatinate and the fifth electorate should remain in Bavarian hands, while the Lower Palatinate, together with a newly created eighth electorate, was assigned to Karl Ludwig and his descendants.
- (57) *Socinian* = follower of Faustus Socinus (1539—1604), antitrinitarian sectary. Unitarian ideas found acception in England as early as the reign of Henry VIII., and furnished numerous martyrs. Antitrinitarianism became a tendency among certain sections of the Anglican clergy, in spite of violent persecution.

- (58) *chancellor* (of a bishop or diocese) = a law officer who acts as vicar-general for the bishop, and holds courts for him to decide on cases tried by ecclesiastical law.
- (59) *prebend* = prebendary.
- (60) *advocate* = the secular defender or "patron" of a church or religious house.
- (61) *proctor* = agent for the collection of tithes and other church dues.
- (62) *apparitor* = an officer of an ecclesiastical court.

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A close study of *GBRPl* will reveal a large number of subtle correspondences existing between its text and Milton's early pamphlets beyond those pointed out in the present treatise.

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The biblical quotations are all taken from the *Authorized Version*, the *Geneva Bible* being, unfortunately, not available — the worst of living at 57 degrees of northern latitude. Comparison with the Geneva text will, no doubt, reveal many further literal parallelisms.

In the Notes to *GBRPl*, fifteen passages are quoted. Of these, the majority, ten in number, are from the Old Testament:

Genesis 5. 22
Genesis 29. 26
Numbers 13. 33
Joshua 1. 1, 7, 8
I. Kings 10. 18, 19, 20
II. Chronicle 20. 1
The Song of Solomon 5. 7
Isaiah 5. 20, 23
Ezekiel 13. 18
Zechariah 8. 22, 23

Of the five passages quoted from the New Testament, three are from *Revelation*, and two from the Epistles of St. Paul:

Revelation 11. 33
Revelation 18. 12, 13
Revelation 21. 1, 2, 23, 24

Romans 11. 33
Philippians 4. 8

The Gospels are not represented.