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Areopagitica : a speech to the Parliamen



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AREOPAGITICA;

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

T. HOLT WHITE, ESQ.

A R E O P A G I T I C A :

A

S P E E C H

TO

THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND,

FOR THE

LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING,

BY

JOHN MILTON;

*WITH PREFATORY REMARKS, COPIOUS NOTES, AND EXCURSIVE
ILLUSTRATIONS,*

BY

T. HOLT WHITE, ESQ.

To which is subjoined,

A TRACT

SUR LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE,

IMITÉ'

DE L'ANGLAIS DE MILTON,

PAR

LE COMTE DE MIRABEAU.

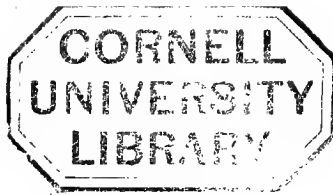
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PREFATORY REMARKS.

MILTON begins a letter to a learned Athenian with informing him, that from boyhood he had been devoutly attached to the study of every circumstance connected with Greece, and above all with Athens*. That this was not a cold nor barren admiration of Grecian laws and usages is proved by the eagerness which he manifested to transplant them into his native country. Warmed with this fair idea, and as a step toward realizing it, he availed himself of an opportunity to submit to the ruling authorities, whether they should not refine our own "high tides and solemn festivals," so as to render them instrumental to purposes of general improvement, and one mean for conveying instruction to the public. This refinement was to have for its model the Panathenæa, and other stated celebrations among the

* "Cum sim à pueritiâ totius Græci nominis, tuarúmque in primis Athenarum cultor," &c. *Leonardo Philaræ.*

Greeks. He had learnt the memorable efficacy with which *Panegyries*, or festal conventions of the citizens, had co-operated with their popular form of Government on the ingenious and illuminated inhabitants of Attica in the formation of the Athenian character ; he therefore allowed to his fancy somewhat more than an imaginary range, when he intimated a wish to occupy by festive observances of a similar description the anniversary intervals our ancestors gave up to pleasurable relaxation, and thus to turn their festivities and diversions to moral advantage. It was in the exordial Section to the second Book on Church Government, that he pointed out to those who then guided the public councils this course for the improvement of the occasion which offered itself.

Since all his Biographers have either overlooked or disregarded this intellectual feature, I will extract the entire passage. We gain from it an insight of the curious plans for national amelioration to which he at one time resigned his imagination : “ 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 Govern-*
“ *ments 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 awhile since, the provocations
“ of Drunkenness and Lust, but such as may
“ inure and harden our Bodies by martial
“ exercises to all warlike skill and perform-
“ ance; 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 inticements to the love and prac-
“ tice of Justice, Temperance, and Forti-
“ tude, instructing and bettering the Nation
“ at all opportunities, that the call of Wisdom
“ and Virtue may be heard every where, 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. Whe-
“ ther this may be not only in Pulpits, but

“ after another persuasive method, *at set and*
“ *solemn Panegyries, 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.” Such were the elevated prospects that opened to MILTON’S view. In his expansion of heart, now the fortune of war inclined to the side of the Parliament, and his hopes were fresh, it should appear that he looked forward not without a fond anticipation of succeeding in these high aims. The publication of his AREOPAGITICA, when more than twelve months had elapsed after this energetic aspiration for the glories of *Solon’s* Republic, evince it to have been no loose nor transient thought, springing up for a moment and then dying away. On the contrary, to assimilate our customs and establishments as nearly as the different dispositions, and the diversity in the forms of society and manners would permit, to those in the free States of Greece during the effulgence of their meridian splendour, was a consummation that had taken a rooted possession of his mind, and which he encouraged

the pleasing expectation might be accomplished.

Many, it is to be presumed, will pause before they assent to the opinion, that if these speculations had ripened into act, they would have been found congenial to the more staid temperament of the English, and in consequence that they would have failed in producing the beneficial results which from the example of the Grecian Commonwealths he had promised to himself from their adoption. However that be, thus much is certainly to be regretted, that the indifference with which this suggestion was received has deprived the world of letters of some emanations from MILTON'S Muse, which doubtless would not for sublimity of conception have suffered by a comparison with the Lyre of Greece in its severer and didactic moods. For he further disclosed, in the introductory Chapter I have just cited, that he had revolved in his thoughts poetical compositions in the very spirit of those which bore away the prize at the Olympic Games and at the periodical celebrations at Delphi. Had events induced him to have bestowed a positive shape and being

on these musings, it was in his contemplation to have impressed them, like his *AREOPAGITICA*, with the stamp and seal of Attic genius.

He balanced in these meditations between the dithyrambic boldness of Pindaric song, and Tragedy, “full of wise saws,” as she spoke in Greece: “whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein *Sophocles* and *Euripides* reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation,”—“Or, *if occasion shall lead*, to imitate those magnificent Odes and Hymns wherein *Pindarus* and *Callimachus* are in most things worthy.”—“These abilities (he presently afterward proceeds), 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 inbreed 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.” In these passages we perceive the fine touches of an ardent imagination bent on improving the moral condition of Society by every means within the compass of his

ability. But the spirit of the times did not answer to the spirit of the Bard. The season was gloomy, and unpropitious to the cultivation of the ornaments and elegancies of a polished nation. Few, very few, of that party who gained the lead at this juncture, had minds enlarged enough to comprehend how festival assemblages of the People could be made subservient to public instruction. Beside, Poetry had no charms for them: "museless and unbookish," they decried it, and discountenanced heathen Learning; while Stage-Poetry and all representations of a theatrical nature were doubly offensive to their bigotry. Of these men, much the greater part was notoriously deficient in the attainments likely to dispose them to assist his elated expectations. When urging these topics on their consideration, he might have addressed them not unaptly in the very words of the Sibyl to *Æneas*:

"Via prima salutis,

"Quod minime rêris, Graiâ pandetur ab urbe."

Their *beau idéal* of the best form of Government would have been drawn from quite a different quarter; I mean from the Hebrew Theocracy.

The popular Preachers, the demagogues of these stormy times, teemed with zeal, and the memories of Richard *Baxter*, and of Edmund *Calamy*, and of many more, ought to be always held in reverence for their dauntless, invincible, and exemplary constancy under sufferings, brought on them by their resistance to the civil and religious tyranny of the Stuarts. They were at the same time (the exceptions are rare) of a low size as to scholarship, and in general devoid of knowledge out of their peculiar and narrow track, with minds absorbed in designs to advance the exclusive aggrandizement of their own Sect. Too many among them, when for a while they had the ascendancy, panted to rear on the ruins of *Laud's* a priestly superstructure of their own, as heavily oppressive to the laity as the overweening hierarchy of which this Primate flattered himself he should have become the founder, when he expressed a hope to see *the day that no Jack Gentleman in England would stand before a Clergyman with his hat on.*

To put down absolutely and completely all public pastimes and recreations was with a number of the non-conforming enthusiasts

a point of Conscience, grounded on preposterous and, I believe, very pernicious-notions. A fast day with Pulpit Lectures voluminous as *Manton's*, would, in the conception of Philip *Nye* and Obadiah *Sedgewick*, and their brethren, contribute more to the edification of the People, than holydays for sports and games with choral Odes and Hymns full of the purest Morality in strains the most sublime. It was our Poet's complaint, that in his day Sermons were vended in such numbers as well nigh to thrust all other Books out of circulation. His endeavour to impart to the Puritans his own liberal and juster conviction of the important benefits to be extracted from the Drama was of course not listened to, or listened to with coldness and disapprobation. They heard with averted ears his tribute of praise on the lofty grave Tragedians who inculcate the duties of life.

“ In Chorus or Iambic ; Teachers best
 “ Of moral Prudence, with delight receiv'd
 “ In brief sententious precepts.”

Par. Reg.

Not all the exhortations to the practice of

Virtue, so thickly strown over the tragic scenes of *Euripides*, partly perhaps by the hand of *Socrates*, would in the opinion of *Prynne* atone for the original sin of a stage-play. To talk of the ethics of the Stage to him or to his followers was lost labour. In fact, two Ordinances were passed in 1647 for the total suppression of Plays and Interludes.

Notwithstanding MILTON'S various and strong claims on the veneration of his country, it can have been the fate of few, perhaps of no man, who, thrown upon a period of civil discord, has acted in a conspicuous station, to have been maligned by posthumous detraction in the same degree. Not easily, nor soon, were his labours in the parliamentary cause forgotten or forgiven by those who held contrary opinions. This hostility to his memory continued virulent beyond the common measure of political virulence. So late as the middle of the last century, if we may place implicit reliance on *Baron*, "many high-church Priests and "Doctors laid out considerable sums to "destroy the Prose-works of MILTON; and "purchased copies of his particular writings

“for the infernal pleasure of consuming “them*.” It is of daily occurrence, that the conspiracy of an adverse party against living merit, while the passions are agitated by the struggle, seldom fails to be commensurate to acts performed or apprehended to its disservice. But these bigots must have persisted to “hate with a most operative “hatred,” from a conscious dread that his mighty spirit survived him and still spoke in his writings. Or, could their enmity originate in chagrin that so great a Name was to be counted among their opponents? I am at a loss to devise any other ascribable motives for the merciless rancour which would not allow him to rest in peace for years after he had been laid asleep in the grave; a rancour which time has yet been hardly able to subdue. With how sensitive a prudery in politics, nearly all the eulogists of his poetry, from *Fenton* downward, have been anxious to redeem their praise by entering circumspect protests against his tenets in civil and religious affairs, it is not a little amusing to observe. But the candour which accom-

* Preface to *Εικονοκλαστης*. 4to, 1756.

panied T. *Warton* throughout his critical labours on different writers, would, without considering the filial gratitude which he owed to his poetical forefather, forbid the unworthy suspicion, that he wilfully discredited MILTON by any reflection that he deemed to be unfounded, though their utter contrariety of opinion as to the most eligible forms of ecclesiastical and temporal policy occasionally incited him to splenetic ebullitions, which would have been better repressed. It was in a moody moment, and under this influence, that this ingenious Critic breaks out — “No man was ever so disqualified to turn “*Puritan* as MILTON.” We meet with an ample refutation of all such reproach in his recorded endeavour to establish festival entertainments for the People, and other public institutions, imagined on the same principles which the Grecian legislators had experienced to have been a very effective auxiliary in raising Greece to her unexampled height of greatness. If further confirmation were wanted, more facts of the same tendency are at hand. In the Tract which gives occasion to these notices, it again appears how far he was before those persons with

whom he is here injuriously ranked. He there states, that *he dared be known to think Spenser a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas.* When therefore Mr. *Warton* charged him in addition with the adoption of “*unpoetical principles*” the accusation was equally groundless. The current of general opinion, I admit, then drove in this direction; we have seen that MILTON set himself individually to stem it.

He can no more be said to have deserted Poetry than *Locke* can be said to have deserted Philosophy, because this great Writer for a season dedicated himself to assert the right of private judgment in religious concerns, and to justify the People’s expulsion of *James* from the throne. In the stead of such light and air-built surmises, we must require unobjectionable testimony before it will enter our belief, that he, who published to the world the interesting anecdote in the history of his own mind which now follows, would ever have harboured a thought incompatible with a love for Poetry. He introduced this digressive narration to show, that if he had sought for praise by the ostentation of Talents and Learning, he would never have

written, till, in pursuance of the plan which he had marked out for himself, he had completed to his satisfaction the full circle of his private studies*. To demonstrate this, he appeals to the character of the work by which he first appeared as an authour—a disquisition on Ecclesiastical Government. Left to his free choice, he tells the reader, that he should have selected a subject purposely; some subject which would have admitted “time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art; even to the perfection of a faultless picture.” After enforcing these arguments to prove, that he was impelled into the service of the Anti-prelatical Party by the mandate of Conscience, and did not enlist in it to gratify any personal considerations, nor without repugnance, he pro-

* He repeats much the same in his *Defensio Secunda*:
 “Equidem tacere diu, et posse non scribere, quod nunquam potuit Salmasius, didiceram; eaque in sinu gestabam tacitus, quæ si tum proferre libuisset, æquè ac nunc, inclaruisse jamdudum poteram: sed cunctantis famæ avidus non eram, ne hæc quidem, nisi idoneâ datâ occasione unquam prolaturus; nihil laborans etsi alii me quæcunque nôssem scire nesciebant; non enim famam sed opportunitatem cujusque rei præstolabar.”—*Pr. W.* II. 330. edit. 1738.

ceeds, “ Lastly, I should not choose this
 “ manner of writing wherein knowing myself
 “ inferior to myself, led by the genial power
 “ of Nature to another task*, I have the
 “ use, as I may account it, but of my left
 “ hand. And though I shall be foolish in
 “ saying more to this purpose, yet since it
 “ will be such a folly, as wisest men going
 “ about to commit, have only confest and so
 “ committed, I may trust with more reason,
 “ because with more folly, to have courteous
 “ pardon. For although a Poet, soaring in
 “ the high region of his fancies, with his
 “ garland and singing robes about him,
 “ might without apology speak more of him-

* Compare what he wrote to *Oldenburg* in 1654: “ Ad
 “ alia ut me parem, nescio sane an nobiliora aut utiliora
 “ (quid enim in rebus humanis asserendâ Libertate nobilior
 “ aut utilius esse possit?) siquidem per valetudinem et hanc
 “ luminum orbitatem, omni senectute graviolem, si denique
 “ per hujusmodi Rabularum clamores licuerit, facile induci
 “ potero: neque enim iners otium unquam mihi placuit, et
 “ hoc cum Libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, di-
 “ versis longe, et amœnioribus omnino me studiis intentum,
 “ ad se rapuit invitum; ita tamen ut rei gestæ quando id
 “ necesse erat, nequaquam pœniteat: nam in vanis operam
 “ consumpsisse me, quod innuere videris, longe abest, ut
 “ putem.” *Epist. Fam.*

“ self than I mean to do ; yet for me sitting
 “ here below in the cool element of Prose,
 “ a mortal thing among many readers of no
 “ empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge
 “ unusual things of myself, I shall petition to
 “ the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me.
 “ I must say therefore, that after I had from
 “ my first years, by the ceaseless diligence
 “ and care of my Father*, whom God
 “ recompence, been exercised to the Tongues,
 “ and some Sciences, as my age would
 “ suffer, by sundry Masters and Teachers
 “ both at home and at the schools, it was
 “ found, that whether aught was imposed
 “ me by them that had the overlooking, or
 “ betaken to of mine own choice in English,
 “ or other tongue, prosing or versing, but
 “ chiefly this latter, the style, by certain
 “ vital signs it had, was likely to live. But
 “ much later in the private Academies
 “ of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort,

* Again, in the *Defensio Secunda*, he says, “ Pater me
 “ puerulum humaniorum literarum studiis destinavit; quas
 “ ita avide arripui, ut ab anno ætatis duodecimo vix unquam
 “ ante mediam noctem a lucubrationibus cubitum disce-
 “ derem; quæ prima oculorum perniciës fuit:” &c.
Pr. W. II. 331. *ed.* 1738,

“ perceiving that some trifles which I had in
“ memory, composed at under twenty or
“ thereabout (for the manner is, that every
“ one must give some proof of his Wit and
“ and Reading there) met with acceptance
“ above what was looked for, and other
“ things which I had shifted in scarcity of
“ Books and conveniences to patch up
“ among them, were received with written
“ encomiums, which the Italian is not for-
“ ward to bestow on Men of this side the
“ Alps, I began thus far to assent both to
“ them and divers of my friends here at
“ home; and not less to an inward prompt-
“ ing which now grew daily upon me, that
“ by labour and intent Study, (which I take
“ to be my portion in this Life) joined with
“ the strong propensity of Nature, I might
“ perhaps leave something so written to after-
“ times, as they should not willingly let it
“ die*.”

Sufficient has been said in these preceding remarks to satisfy all who read them, that in taking on him for the Speech before us

* Prefatory Section to the second Book on “the Reason
“ of Church Government urged against Prelaty.”

the office of an Athenian Rhetor, he was acting consistently. Not contented to rest in speculation, he was experimentally illustrating his recommendation, "to call Anti-quity from the old schools of Greece." In this way making manifest his own readiness to contribute a full contingent toward introducing into his native land customs and institutions, which might contest the superiority with those of Athens in her golden age of liberal Arts and Science, of Philosophy, Elocution, and Poetry. For those whom he describes in the work under review, "as the "Men who professed the study of Wisdom "and Eloquence" in that city, the *Ῥητορες*, seem to have been of two orders. The larger number, as *Pericles* and *Demosthenes*, with his enlightened Co-rival, mixed personally in the Debates of the assembled Citizens: others, declining any share in the administration of the Commonwealth, neither filled any employment of public trust, nor spoke in the public Meetings. Like *Isocrates*, and *Aristides* the Sophist, and others, instead of being practically eloquent, they discussed the interests of the State in writing, and so offered their advice to their fellow-

citizens on measures of importance, and sometimes by the same means counselled foreign Potentates and foreign Nations. It was to designate *Dio Chrysostom* as belonging to the class of Politicians who abstracted themselves from active business and from official eminence, or state-dignities, that in this Speech our Authour styles him “a “*private* Oratour.” His mind was tenacious of this youthful attachment to Greece: it betrays itself continually. With all his fondness for Grecian Philosophy and Literature, *Cicero* has nowhere given a more emphatic testimony of grateful acknowledgement toward Athens, as the preceptress in civilization, than MILTON’S commendation, that it was she who had humanized the western world: “to her polite Wisdom and Letters “we owe that we are not yet Goths and “Jutlanders,” is his forcible phrase. It cannot, indeed, but be evident to the most inattentive observer, how constantly he cherished the memory of her departed œconomy while drawing out a prospectus for the right Education of ingenuous youth. This would have been clear, though we did not know that he had told his Athenian Friend

Philaras, that his acquisitions in classic Learning, such as they were, he ascribed chiefly to a sedulous cultivation of the Greek Writers in the early part of life*. He even sighed for the expulsion of the Turks, and the independence of Greece, with the re-establishment of Grecian Liberty; wherefore in the same Letter he breathes this earnest wish—

“ Quod si mihi tanta vis dicendi accepta ab
 “ illis et quasi transfusa inesset, ut exercitus
 “ nostros et classes ad liberandam ab Ottomannico
 “ tyranno Græciam, Eloquentiæ patriam, excitare
 “ possem, ad quod facinus egregium nostras
 “ opes pene implorare videris, facerem pro-
 “ fecto id quo nihil mihi antiquius aut in vo-
 “ tis prius esset. Quid enim vel fortissimi
 “ olim Viri, vel eloquentissimi gloriosius aut
 “ se dignius esse duxerunt, quam vel sua-
 “ dendo vel fortiter faciendo ἐλευθεροῦς καὶ ἀυ-
 “ τονομοῦς ποιῆσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας? Verum et

* “ Quâ ex urbe cum tot Viri disertissimi prodierint, eorum
 “ potissimum scriptis ab adolescentiâ pervolvendis, didicisse
 “ me libens fateor quicquid ego in Literis profeci.”—And of
 the praise this Correspondent had given to his first *Defensio*,
 he says, “ et ipsa Græcia, ipsæ Athenæ Atticæ, quasi jum
 “ redivivæ, nobilissimi alumni sui Philaræ voce, applau-
 “ sere.”—*Pr. W.* II. 341, ed. 1738.

“ aliud quiddam præterea tentandum est,
 “ meâ quidem sententiâ longe maximum, ut
 “ quis antiquam in animis Græcorum virtu-
 “ tem, industriam, laborum tolerantiâ, an-
 “ tiqua illa studia dicendo, suscitare atque
 “ accendere possit.” — (*Epist. Fam.*) In
Iconoclastes, he glanced at this desired re-
 suscitation of the Greeks oncé more. *Charles*,
 he complains, had demanded and the Par-
 liament had granted him a larger sum of mo-
 ney than would have “ bought the Turk out
 “ of Morea, and set free all the Greeks.”
 (*Sect. 10*)—Without any doubt, both Letters
 and Poetry sustained no slight loss by the
 sudden termination to his travels before he
 had visited Greece and Sicily.

The primordial seeds of *Paradise Lost* are
 still in existence as the elements of a Tra-
 gedy, which he once projected to have
 wrought up with the machinery of the Athe-
 nian Stage. In the same rude and indi-
 gested mass, “ *Moses πρόλογίζει.*” From an-
 other of these *disjecti membra Poetæ*, we find
 that he purposed to introduce the Christian
 Virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity, for su-
 pernatural agents; on the authority, as I
 suppose, of *Æschylus*, who impersonated

Force and Strength in his scene. The part of the Chorus was to have been supplied by Angels. Recollections of antient Greece seem to have been rarely absent from his thoughts. In the long list he left behind him of incidents gathered from our early Annals, singular and eventful enough to furnish arguments for dramatic story, there is the subsequent memorandum for a close parallel with *Homer's* Hero in the *Odyssey*: “ A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in “ *Alfred's* reigne, especially at his issuing out “ of Edilingsey on the Danes, whose actions “ are *well like those of Ulysses.*” The same impulse gave birth in after life to *Samson Agonistes*. This production of his riper years he moulded professedly and punctiliously to Grecian proportions: whence any Man unacquainted with the language of his originals, may, as it has been remarked by one well qualified to judge*, form to himself a much juster idea of the beauties and perfections of the Greek Tragedians than from Translation.

We ought to regard him in this rhetorical exercise as scarcely less studious of these fa-

* Gilbert *West*.

vourite standards of excellence. In a copy which he presented of this together with several of his minor pieces in prose and verse to the Bodleian Library, where the volume still remains, he with his own hand entitled it “*AREOPAGITICA, sive de Libertate Typographiæ Oratio.*” He revived this title for his written Speech, that it might carry on its exterior a conspicuous token of its lineage. It was to announce technically the specific style of Athenian Oratory which he now imitated, or rather emulated; and who will controvert his success in this deliberative species of Elocution, as distinguished from those harangues which were entirely for popular effect? or who will deny, that he has borne himself with the mien of a Pleader before the Judges of Areopagus?

“*Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora gerebat.*”

Few, I conceive, will refuse this performance the praise of a strong adumbration of the senatorial diction at Athens. If my situation as its Editor have not warped my judgment, this composition is by no means inferior to its immediate copy, in force and perspicuity; neither can I perceive in *Isocrates* the same

warmth and vigour of Thought, which pervades and animates the English Oration. “Cela ne s’apelle pas imiter, c’est jouter contre son Original* ;” as *Gray* in *the Bard*, and *Campbell* in *Lochiel’s Warning*, with *Horace’s* Prophecy of *Nereus*. To say nothing of the important matter it contains, we shall unquestionably risk little chance of contradiction if we aver, that he has transfused into his native idiom the dignified forms and phraseology of Attic Oratory, and has given us the most authentic and happy exemplar of its grave energy that our own or any modern language has to boast.

These strictures will serve to place in a primary and unobserved point of view one among his inducements for writing this *Isocratic* “Discourse.” When enumerating the labours for which he intermitted more congenial and pleasing studies ; labours to which he had tasked himself in the service of Truth and Liberty ; he states, that he had it in contemplation to exhibit in an English dress a true specimen of the *Areopagitic* style. “Postremò de *Typographiâ liberandâ*, ne “veri et falsi arbitrium, quid edendum,

* *Boileau*.

“ quid premendum, penès paucos esset, eosque
 “ ferè indoctos, et vulgaris iudicii homines,
 “ librèrum inspectioni præpositos, per quos
 “ nemini ferè quicquam quod supra vulgus
 “ sapiat, in lucem emittere, aut licet aut
 “ libet, *ad justæ orationis modum Areopagiticam*
 “ *scripsi.*” (*Pr. W. II. 333, ed. 1738.*)—For
 purposes not dissimilar, the admirable Sir
 William Jones sketched after one of *Plato’s*
 Dialogues the outline for his own celebrated
 and prosecuted Dialogue, an analysis of the
 eternal principles of free Government, ac-
 commodated to unlettered minds by simple
 and familiar illustrations.

It might perhaps be received as a funda-
 mental axiom in this science, that no well-
 policied State can tolerate the confusion of
 the legislative with the judicial or executive
 functions. With our illustrious line of coun-
 trymen, to whose Wisdom, Firmness, and
 Virtue we are indebted for the Liberties of
 England, the praise lies of being the first
 who held out to other Nations the pattern of
 a political organization, which for the most
 part kept these authorities asunder, and
 which they distributed and adjusted so hap-
 pily in a Constitution of three Estates, as to

render them wholesome restraints to moderate or over-rule the exorbitancies of each other. The accumulation of various and discordant Powers in the same Body, as well as the right of the Citizens to exercise a legislative voice personally in public assemblies; instead of delegating their power to a selected part in a full and free Representative, properly so called, were among the capital errors which destroyed the Republics of ancient times.

In this respect, the policy of the great Athenian Law-giver was radically vitious, when he re-established, if he did not erect, the national Council of Areopagus. For, while in its ordinary course of procedure partaking more, I apprehend, of a judicial than of any other denomination of magistracy, the *Areopagitæ* seem to have been also the depositaries of a transcendental jurisdiction over the highest departments of State. There appears to have been lodged with them a plenitude of authority extending so far that it must have bordered on absolute Power, if it had not been liable to be instantly counter-vailed by the Decrees of the Citizens; but whose active and direct interposition in

their aggregate capacity was uncertain in the issue, and sometimes hazardous. In addition to the management of the public Treasure, to the charge of the established Religion, to their juridical and censorial Duties, and to their Prerogative of pardoning Offences, and dispensing Honours and Rewards, it should seem as if the Council of Areopagus had been entrusted with a *Dominium eminens* over the integral parts which constituted *Solon's* Polity. The antient Expositor whom H. *Stephens* cites is expressly of this opinion in the extract I have given from one of his Diatribes on *Isocrates*, in a preliminary Note on the meaning which MILTON annexed to AREOPAGITICA. But the effort of this Rhetor to "persuade the Parliament of Athens to change the form of "Democratie" is in itself convincing evidence, that an *eminent dominion*, a sort of *visitorial* power, in this particular was committed to their care. We need not look further. An Athenian Citizen, we may be reasonably assured, would have directed his "Discourse" on the expediency of a renovated order of things in their Commonwealth to the *Men of Athens*, and not to these

Δικασται, had it not been within their acknowledged, if not exclusive province; to take cognizance of and to rectify the disorders which time and abuses might conspire to introduce into the subsisting Government. Yet I do not recollect to have seen that these elevated Functionaries were to act as a Senate of Revision for the amendment of the forms which composed their constitutional compact adverted to by any of the Writers on the Republican Legislatures of Greece. Neither does *Meursius*, who has an express and elaborate work *De Senatu Areopagitico*, take notice that any authority of this kind was vested in them*. He barely

* While writing these Remarks, I have been unable to procure *Sigonius* or *Postel*. The late Sir William *Young*, and the learned Sir William *Drummond*, are silent on this head, in their Treatises.

In the *Recherches sur L'Aréopage*, par M. l'Abbé de *Canaye*, it is said, "L'Aréopage, humilié par Dracon, reprit " sous Solon toute son ancienne splendeur; il luy rendit le " premier rang, et pour le venger, ce semble de l'injustice " de Dracon, il luy confia l'inspection générale des Loix : " Σολων δε αυτοις προκατεστησε την εξ αρειου παγου βουλην, " dit Pollux; et selon Plutarque, την ανω βουλην επισκοπον " παντων και φυλακα των νομων εκαθισεν." — *Memoires de Litterature*; VII. 180.

and casually intimates their extensive powers, but I cannot find that he vouches any precedent of such an exercise of them.

The main scope of *Isocrates'* Areopagitic Speech was to demonstrate the wisdom of restoring his fellow Citizens to their proper Rights by superseding the tyrannical Oligarchy who then exercised an usurped dominion over Attica, in order to reinstate the more democratical system which *Solon* instituted, and *Clisthenes* restored, after the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ*, and at the same time gave by various regulations additional weight to the collective body of Citizens.

Strenuous on the one hand, that these grievances should be redressed, the Patriot Sage was watchful on the other, lest the constitutional Democracy should degenerate into the misrule of a licentious Populace. He proceeds therefore to recommend an enlargement of the functions of these supreme Guardians of the State, whom he conjures to exert their tutelary inspection as the appointed *Custodes Morum* of the whole Community. Above all things, he urges, that the rising generation should be habitually trained

up to Virtue, and exhorted to a generous devotion to the common weal. Accordingly, the venerable Reformer entreats this consistory of Censors, the Fathers of the Country, to exert their vigilance in correcting the depravity then but too prevalent among the Youth of Athens, through the neglect into which the antient and severer discipline had fallen.

Well we know, that MILTON was neither insensible to the melodious flow of the Greek Rhetorician, nor regardless of the polished perfection of his style. What however, we may safely conclude, most endeared to him the Writings of “the old Man eloquent” (so he is called in the Poet’s Xth *Sonnet*) were the sentiments he advanced in support of free, equal, and popular Government, based on the broad and only stable foundation, a general integrity of Morals: truths which are carefully inculcated in this encomium on Athenian manners during earlier and better days of the Republic. This was enough to give it a high value in the estimation of one through whose breast the ardours of Liberty glowed with no common fervency.

It bears so strongly on the present subject,

that it would be a culpable omission to pass over entirely in silence the well judged choice which MILTON manifested in his discriminated use of “the Attic Masters of moral Wisdom and Eloquence,” to take an expression from his own pen. Ever true to the principles which actuated the Parliament in their opposition to the King’s violations of the Law and the Constitution, he industriously avoided all such matters as might appear derogatory to their signal deserts, or which might loosen the hold that they possessed on the public affections: therefore while he deemed this particular measure highly exceptionable, by agreeing to it they did not forfeit his confidence. Still less would he induce others to regard them with alienated or distrustful looks. Consistently with this disposition toward them, it was his endeavour to win the favour of the two Houses of Parliament to the Press;—to expostulate with them amicably, not to offend them by any sullen remonstrance, while he was deprecating the mischievous effects which must ensue to Learning and to Freedom, if they did not revoke the Ordinance

which they had improvidently issued*. To this end he proposed to himself to colour his work after a finished piece of the rhetorical art by a celebrated "Master;" whose proper praise is refined Elocution and dispassionate Discussion. In consequence, an urbanity,

* All his counsels to them are in the same conciliatory tone of respect. Of this, the conclusion of the Address to the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines, which he prefixed to his first work concerning Divorce, is another example: "I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of Wisdom to answer solidly, or to be convinced. I crave it from the Piety, the Learning, and the Prudence which is housed in this place. It might perhaps more fitly have been written in another tongue; and I had done so, but that the esteem I have of my Countries judgment, and the love I bear to my native language to serve it first with what I endeavour, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish Readers. And perhaps also here I might have ended nameless, but that the address of these lines chiefly to the Parliament of England might have seem'd ingrateful not to acknowledge by whose religious Care, unwearied Watchfulness, couragious and heroick Resolutions, I enjoy the peace and studious leisure to remain,

" The Honourer and Attendant of

" their noble Worth and Virtues,

" JOHN MILTON."

both in thought and expression, graces his *AREOPAGITICA*. There is in it nothing imperative, nothing criminatory; not a page is disfigured by asperity of sentiment, or even harshness of diction. Where his argument exacted from him animadversion in the exposure of their inconsistency, and of the intriguing practices to which the enemies to an open Press had recourse to afford some ostensible pretence for this parliamentary revival of the Star-chamber's Imprimatur, he introduced it obliquely. The little is equally indirect, that there is of reproof or reproach of personal assailants; some of whom, after he had been their solicited and very valuable assistant against mitred Episcopacy, were recently transformed into his persecutors.

Isocrates, said *Philip* of Macedon, in a well chosen and significant metaphor, fences with a foil—*Demosthenes* fights with a sword. To *Demosthenes*, therefore, the Antagonist of *Salmasius* and his coadjutors recurred for aid, when their exacerbations had sharpened the edge of debate to a keen encounter, and, heated with emotion at the outrages which he and the popular Party had endured, he

gave free vent to his ebullitions of resentment. It may be too freely, though he was repelling clamorous and foul invective against himself and his Compatriots. Yet it is not for us who contemplate with Epicurean calmness the tempestuous commotion of passions and interests, public and private, in which the part MILTON bore among the Master-spirits of the age was of no ordinary kind; it is not, I say, for us to be forward to exclaim, would that he had given these Calumniators their rebuke in terms of less vehemence! True it is, that had he done so, he would better have consulted his own dignity, as well as that of the Cause which he maintained; but in reality it is matter for regret rather than for surprise, that such scurrilous upbraidings, such envenomed maledictions, should have chafed him, and that he at times talked the imbittered language which anger dictates*.

Toland relates of him, that he “studied “*Plautus* the better to rail at *Salmasius*.”

* Take the following by way of specimen of the gross scandals heaped on him. It is by *P. du Moulin*, who made his court by it, and was afterward appointed one of the

(*Vindicius Liberius*, &c. p. 8.) The correctness of this assertion is greatly to be questioned, if we were to understand by it any thing further than that he looked over the colloquies of altercation in that Comedian as a nomenclature, whence he could cull out a competent stock of opprobrious epithets in

Chaplains to *Charles II.*, and Prebendary of Canterbury. *In impurissimum Nebulonem Johannem MILTONUM Parricidarum et Parricidii Advocatum.*

- “ Talem modo patiére *Salmasi* manum,
 “ Corripere nř te fœtidum et tótum luem
 “ Abominetur : tum levitate nubilâ
 “ Fortasse validum nebulo fallas impetum.
 “ Quid faciat ingens te vacuo *Salmusius*
 “ Tenebrione, tam minuta, tam nihil.
 “ Quem prensat incassum ultio, nuspiam invenit.
 “ Ten’ sterquiliniũ, ten’ cucurbitæ caput,
 “ Ausum Monarchas rodere, ten’ *Salmasios* ?
 “ Nunc mus elephantum, rana pardum verberet,
 “ Opicus leonis vellicet sorex jubas,
 “ Insultet urso simia, musca milvio,
 “ Sacrum scarabæi concacent avem Jovi,
 “ Ipsumque merdis inquinent albis Jovem.” &c. &c.

Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum, adversus Parricidas Anglicanos ; p. 179. Hagæ Comitum, 12mo. 1652.

What wonder, that in the fulness of his indignation he should have lashed the demerits of his adversaries with an unsparing hand ?

legitimate Latinity. That he furnished himself with his most formidable weapons of offence from a very different armoury could be put beyond controversy.

No man (as *Dryden* has also observed) has more copiously translated *Homer's* Grecisms than the Authour of *Paradise Lost*, and of a like critical attention to his metrical modes a modern Writer has remarked, that none conversant with both Poets can read either without being reminded of the other. The breaks and pauses, which thus decided *Cowper** to pronounce the varied versification of MILTON'S "rhyme-unfettered" verse to be Homeric collocations, are not, I think, more apparent than that when about to vindicate the Commonwealth's-men he shaped his course and regulated his method after the great Prototypes of Eloquence; the first in rank as the first in order of time. To write as they would have spoken or composed in corresponding situations was his anxious am-

* And see a remarkable instance confirmatory of this opinion in Auditor *Benson's* Letters concerning Poetical Translations and *Virgil's* and MILTON'S Arts of Verse, p. 47. 8vo. 1739.—*Bentley* said that MILTON had *Homer* by heart.

bition. Sir Philip *Sydney** had declared his dislike to the literal copyists of phrases and figures from *Demosthenes* and *Tully*, suggesting that a free and liberal plan of Imitation which would preserve their characteristics and complexion should be attempted: that which he had in idea and in wish, MILTON was the earliest among us to reduce into practice. For, while engaged on the *AREOPAGITICA* and the *Defensiones*, he set before him the eloquence of classic erudition, and reflected its image as in a faithful mirror. Not quite so avowedly in the latter instances as in the first; neither, as in *Samson Agonistes*, taking the entire design; and in no piece following the turns of thought, or of phrase, or the structure of sentence, with a servile or pedantic adherence. Without treading often in the footsteps of his guides, he pressed forward after them in the same track;

“ And when he would like them appear
 “ Their garb but not their cloaths did wear.”

The fashion and texture the same, though of a different material. Imitative counterparts

* Defence of Poesie.

on a general principle, such as these, are not unlike *Dryden's* emulous trial of skill, in the angry parley and reconciliation of *Dorax* and *Sebastian*; in which he ventured to measure his strength with *Shakspeare*, and has acquitted himself so ably, that we could hardly hesitate to assign them an equal portion of praise had the wordy contest between *Brutus* and *Cassius* not the further merit of priority of production: for if *Dryden*, I venture to add, must here give way, he gives way only because he was the junior to *Shakspeare* by birth.

The justification of the People of England was to MILTON a spirit-stirring theme; while with the diffusive means of mental intercourse afforded by the art (I had almost said the divine art) of Printing he figured to himself Europe for his auditory. The exordium of his reply to *More's*, or speaking more correctly, to *du Moulin*, the Son's, bitter attack of his first *Defensio* gives no obscure intimation of the cast of his Elocution when a political Controvertist writing in a classical tongue. He there yields the place to the primitive Fathers of Rhetoric; but challenges a high precedency over their sub-

jects of Discussion for the cause of the Parliament. Let him speak for himself in his own lofty tone*. “ Devoted from an early age to
 “ the study of polite Learning, and conscious
 “ that I was always less remarkable for strength
 “ of Constitution than for vigour of Intellect,
 “ I left to others the fatigues of a Camp, in
 “ which the robust frame of a private Soldier
 “ would enable him easily to excel me, and
 “ entered on pursuits in which I might ex-
 “ ert myself with a fairer promise of success ;
 “ that instead of offering the weakest part of
 “ my nature to the disposal of my Country,
 “ and the promotion of this excellent Cause,
 “ I might bring to them all the weight in my
 “ power by the exercise of what in me is
 “ best, and, so that I used it wisely, most
 “ availing. This then was the conclusion I
 “ formed ; if GOD have been pleased to en-
 “ trust to some the achievement of such no-

* “ Nam cùm ab adolescentulo humanioribus essem studiis, ut qui maximè deditus, et ingenio semper quàm corpore validior, posthabitâ castrensi operâ, quâ me gregarius quilibet robustior facile superâsset, ad ea me contuli, quibus plus potui ; ut parte meâ meliore ac potiore, si saperem, non deteriore, ad rationes patriæ, causamque hanc præstantissimam, quantum maximè possem momentum accederem. Sic itaque existimabam, si illos DEUS res gerere tam præclaras voluit,

“ ble actions, it must likewise have been his
 “ will that others should record them in lan-
 “ guage which might become their dignity,
 “ and that Reason (our only just and natural
 “ safeguard) should be summoned to the de-
 “ fence of that Truth which had been first
 “ defended by arms. Whence it arises, that
 “ I could look with admiration upon the
 “ Men who have stood invincible in battle,
 “ and yet utter no complaint that a different
 “ province has been assigned to me : nay, I
 “ feel proud of the distinction, and, more-
 “ over, offer up repeated thanks to the Di-
 “ vine Disposer of bounties, that I sustain
 “ a part in these events which is more likely
 “ to raise the envy of others than to occasion
 “ in me the slightest repining. Unwilling to
 “ boast of myself, I would not indeed hazard
 “ a comparison with the least distinguished

esse itidem alios à quibus gestas dici pro dignitate atque or-
 nari, et defensam armis veritatem, ratione etiam, (quod
 unicum est præsidium verè ac propriè humanum) defendi
 voluerit. Unde est, ut dum illos invictos acie viros admiror,
 de meâ interim provinciâ non querar; immò mihi gratuler,
 et gratias insuper lafgitori munerum cœlesti iterum summas
 agam obtigisse talem, ut aliis invidenda multò magis, quàm
 mihi ullo modo pœnitenda videatur. Et me quidem nepini
 vel infimo libens confero; nec verbum de me ullum insolent-

“ among them. Yet as often as I recollect
 “ that I am the advocate of a Cause in itself
 “ the most noble, as well as universal in its
 “ interest ; and at the same time that I have
 “ been called by the voice and judgment of
 “ the People to the highly honourable task
 “ of defending those who have vindicated
 “ themselves, I cannot but feel an irresistible
 “ impulse to a bolder and more elevated
 “ language than the opening of a question
 “ may justify, and aspire to an Eloquence
 “ worthy the grandeur of the occasion. For
 “ in proportion, that I am unquestionably in-
 “ ferior to the illustrious Orators of An-
 “ tiquity, not in the energies of speech
 “ alone, but in the very powers of expression
 “ (having to complain of the unavoidable
 “ disadvantage of employing a foreign
 “ tongue) in the same proportion do I sur-

*tius facio: ad causam verò omnium nobilissimam, ac cele-
 berrimam, et hoc simul defensores ipsos defendendi munus
 ornatissimum ipsorum mihi suffragiis attributum atque ju-
 diciis quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi vix temperare,
 quin altiùs atque audentiùs quàm pro exordii ratione insur-
 gam; et grandius quiddam, quod eloqui possim, quæram:
 quandoquidem oratores illos antiquos et insignes, quantum
 ego ab illis non dicendi solùm sed et loquendi facultate, (in
 extraneâ præsertim, quâ utor necessariò, linguâ, et persæpe*

“ pass every Writer of every age in the pe-
 “ culiar dignity of the subject. Such indeed
 “ has been the expectation it has raised, and
 “ so far has its fame travelled, that I feel
 “ myself at this instant, not in the Rostrum
 “ or in the Forum, at Rome or at Athens,
 “ surrounded merely by one People, but as it
 “ were in the presence of nearly all Europe,
 “ seated in attentive judgement before me,
 “ again addressing this like my former De-
 “ fence to every public Assembly where the
 “ wisest Men meet together to deliberate
 “ on the affairs of Cities and of Nations.
 “ Methinks I seem to journey over tracts
 “ of continent and wide-extended regions,
 “ beholding numberless and unknown faces
 “ that bear the impression of sympathy and

mihi nequaquam satisfacio) haud dubiè vincor, tantùm omnes
 omnium ætatum, materiæ nobilitate et argumento vincam.
 Quod et rei tantum expectationem ac celebritatem adjecit,
 ut jam ipse me sentiam non in foro aut rostris, uno duntaxat
 populo, vel Romano, vel Atheniensi circumfusum; sed at-
 tentâ, et confidente quasi totâ penè Europâ, et judicium
 ferente, ad universos quacunq̃ue gravissimorum hominum,
 urbium, gentium, consessus atque conventus, et priore
 defensione, dixisse, et hac rursus dicturum. Jam vi-
 deor mihi, ingressus iter, transmarinos tractus et porrectas
 late regiones, sublimis perlustrare; vultus innumeros atque

“ favour; on one hand, the hardy strength
 “ of the German, who detests slavery, on
 “ the other, the lively and ingenuous Frank,
 “ open in disposition as in name; here, the
 “ stedfast valour of the Spaniard; there, the
 “ firm and discreet magnanimity of the
 “ Italian — pass in review before me.
 “ Wherever, in fine, free, generous; and
 “ high-minded spirits prudently conceal or
 “ openly avow themselves, there I look for
 “ the silent approbation of some, and the
 “ undisguised welcome of others; there
 “ some will meet me with eagerness and
 “ applause, while others, subdued by Truth,
 “ surrender themselves at length to its
 “ power. Surrounded by such a force,
 “ collected from the extremity of Spain to
 “ the remotest confines of India, I seem to

ignotos, animi sensus mecum conjunctissimos. Hinc Germanorum virile et infestum servituti robur, inde Francorum vividi dignique nomine liberales impetus, hinc Hispanorum consulti virtus, Italorum inde sedata sui que compos magnanimitas ob oculos versatur. Quicquid uspiam liberorum pectorum quicquid ingenui, quicquid magnanimi aut prudens latet aut se palàm profitetur, alii tacitè favere, alii apertè suffragari, accurrere alii et plausu accipere, alii tandem vero victi, dedititios se tradere. Videor jam mihi, tantis circumseptus copiis, ab Herculeis usque columnis ad extremos Li-

“lead back, as if from a vast distance, Liberty, long a fugitive and an exile, to her home among the Nations.”

With MILTON'S facilities of access to the originals of Greece, it was natural for him to profit of the bold and cogent style by which they communicated to popular Meetings the persuasion of their minds*. To assist him in conveying a forceful meaning at this important crisis, Athens would have had strong attractions for him, if his early bias had not drawn him, as usual, to his favourite resorts. Whither could he have gone for assistance better suited to the nature and end of these labours?

It may still be allowed, that it is possible he might have run his eye over *Plautus* in quest of such angry and scornful appellations as *Curculio*, *Balatro perditissimus*, and

beri Patris terminos, Libertatem diu pulsam atque exulem, longo intervallo domum ubique gentium reducere.”

Defensio Secunda.

* “I cannot say, that I am utterly untrained in those rules which best Rhetoricians have given, or unacquainted with those examples which the prime Authours of Eloquence have written in any learned tongue.”

Apology for Smectymnus, Sect. 11.

too many beside, to hurl back on his adversary, whom *he* accuses of having gleaned from the self-same Play-writer the choicest morsels of scurrility in the *Regii Sanguinis Clamor*: “Hic Salmasii carnifex quasi sit, “Syri Damæ filius, Lorarios invocat et “Cadmum; veratro deinde ebrius, totam, “quicquid, ubique est, Servulorum et Bal- “lionum sentinam, *ex Indice Plautino* evo- “mit;” &c. (*Pr. W. II. 326. ed. 1738.*) Hence a fair presumption arises, that *Toland* misremembered this passage, and was inaccurate as to its import. At any rate, I take this to be the extent of our Authour’s obligation to the Roman Comedian. I cannot discern a solitary sentence in the Defences of the English People which should incline any one to assent to more.

Without this explanation the depreciating tendency of this relation must work a prejudice in the public estimation against these controversial productions much to their disfavour, as if they contained nothing beyond verbal argumentation, and the contradictory asseverations, the vituperative declamation, and the endless recriminations of political contention. Such misrepresentation by lowering them in general apprehension to

a mere tissue of polemic, disgustful, and repulsive acrimony, must have contributed to deter very many from opening them. There can be little hesitation, but that this was through carelessness of expression. An able Scholar, he himself the Writer of a Latin Philippic, and a zealous friend to the Liberties of England, *Toland* would not have acquiesced in the injurious impression which his incautious statement must create while unexplained. *Hobbes* was devoted to absolute Government, and held alike in aversion the religious tenets of *Salmasius* and MILTON; yet he possessed too much Learning himself to deny their respective writings the praise of superiour compositions. They are, he took occasion to observe, very good Latin both, and hardly to be judged which is the better*.

I forbear to substantiate the fact by bringing parallelisms immediately under view, as they would swell this part of these preliminary strictures to a disproportionate size. At the same time, it is proper to state that, were this the fit place for such comparisons, they would afford lucid proof that his oratorical compositions in Latin are no tame nor

* In his *Behemoth*.

doubtful representations of the Eloquence which “shook the arsenal and fulmin’d over Greece.” They display the same fervid imagination invigorated by an internal sentiment of sincere conviction, that Justice was on the side which he had taken in the national quarrel.

The Conqueror of *Æschines* in their far-famed contest concerning the golden Crown decreed to him by the Senate, on the proposal of *Ctesipho*, has scarcely thrown the tomahawk of indignant invective with more desperate skill. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that they might be considered as a medium through which a Reader whose acquirements in the antient Languages have not extended beyond the Latin, might gain no very inadequate idea of the pointed interrogation, the impetuous sallies, the vollied sarcasms, by which *Demosthenes* struck down and crushed his Competitor for Popularity and the palm of Eloquence. Sure I am that a recent perusal of them brought out vividly in my mind passages in the Greek whose vestiges had nearly faded away. Yet how many who have hung with admiration over the volumes of the “Oratours renown’d

“ in Athens and free Rome ” would refuse to look at MILTON’S politico-classical pages! But to the AREOPAGITICA.

In August 1644, his “ Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,” then newly published, had been inveighed against from the Pulpit by a fanatical Preacher before the Parliament, who exhorted the two Houses to vote their reprobation of it; and the Assembly, or Convocation of non-conforming Divines, procured the Authour to be summoned before the House of Lords: that House dismissed him however without its suppression. Attacks on the Freedom of Discussion like these, and in his own case, must have been additional incentives for him to comply with alacrity when importuned to stand forward the Champion of intellectual Liberty. The Tract before us appeared in the November following; and certain passages should be regarded as levelled at these petulant adversaries. But throughout this address to the Lords and Commons, he is evidently anxious to be understood to controvert this Ordinance under an entire confidence, that they would hearken to the voice of Truth, and had been surprised into this ill-advised pro-

cedure, thus adroitly showing that he had no desire to impute to them motives which might shake the public confidence reposed in their integrity and good intentions.

Dryden impeached the Defence of the English People as having been in part purloined from *Buchanan's Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos*. Whether this accusation be well grounded, or whether *Dryden* was willing to mistake for plagiarism the natural, and, it is most likely, unavoidable coincidence of sentiment between two masterly Writers, discussing the grounds and reasons of free Government under predilections similar, and equally strong, it would be foreign to my undertaking to collate their respective works for the purpose of ascertaining. Here it will be sufficient to remark, that no such charge can be preferred against our Authour for the ensuing pages. In proclaiming the doctrine that no Writing ought to be subjected to censure previous to publication, MILTON appears, at least so far as my enquiries have reached, to have the merit of being the earliest in any country who formally asserted the Rights of the Press against the usurpation of a Licenser: a proud, an illustrious

distinction which the breath of Calumny can never tarnish.

Not adverting to this circumstance, a late Poet Laureate hastily imputed that as a fault in this Oration which such a situation prescribed. He therefore qualified the liberal praise he bestowed on it by excepting some "tedious historical digressions." I have never met with an Editor, who, for throwing his mind back to the Authour's time, and reading a work in the full spirit in which it was written, can be set in competition with Mr. *Warton*. Consequently, it is an occurrence extremely rare to discover in the very miscellaneous matter of his Annotations a confused or imperfect perception of the passage which he is considering, through inattention to the existing circumstances of the Writer's day. These "historical digressions" are, I agree with him, dilated: that they would be superfluous in a Publication in the decline of the eighteenth century is likewise allowed. "The date is out of such prolixity." But the tasteful Critic happened to overlook, that the informed class of the community was at that time much less numerous than it is at present; and that the

Liberty of the Press was to MILTON and to his contemporaries a topic of discussion altogether new. It followed, that it was incumbent on him to open it considerably more in detail than would at this time be requisite. Then how was he to develop the reasoning satisfactorily without some pre-lusive strictures of historical investigation? In regard to their political Education, the Public, we should remember, were still in their infancy, and it was indispensable to initiate them in the rudiments. Without something of this nature they could not have understood, or would not have acknowledged, the principle. It is somewhere remarked by Lord *Bacon* of *Luther*, that finding "his own solitude," and in no ways aided by contemporary opinion, the Father of religious Reformation was forced to awaken all Antiquity, that he might call it to his succour and "make a party against his own time." For a like reason, MILTON began with showing, that "no Nation or well-instituted State, if they valued Books at all, did ever use this way of Licensing."

The darkness then prevalent, that is comparatively with the brighter days, and the wider

spread of intellectual light which we enjoy, induced Writers of every description to be full and circumstantial, and to exercise little discrimination in selecting. Our Poets were slow in learning the art to blot; and not unfrequently lost themselves in expansion. Few Prose-writers had any fear, that they could oppress their subject, or weary their Readers. Most of them heaped together all they could amass; like *Burton* and *Hakewill*. Of this rambling manner and of the protracted digressions of the age, *Waterhous*, in his Commentary on *Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ* affords many a tedious specimen, and *Whitelock's* "Notes upon the King's Writt for choosing Members of Parliament," are full as desultory and trying to the patience. Not only so, parallels drawn from the Greek and Roman Writers then passed for precedents, from which arguments of great force might be deduced. Now the case is greatly altered. They would inevitably disparage any modern production, as an idle and ambitious vanity to display that sort of reading, of which it would at this day be an affront to suppose any man above the common level, ignorant. Even the

Courts of Law did not reject them. Sir Edward *Coke* had as little suspicion that he was wandering from his object while illuminating, as he fancied, the pages of his *Institutes* with loose quotations from *Virgil*, *Tacitus*, and *Tully*, as he had in the extraneous paragraph to show the existence of Parliaments among the Israelites, in his Chapter which treats on our high Court of Parliament.

A similar inadvertency to the ruling persuasion would have raised a smile in this perspicacious Commentator, where MILTON vouches seriously the quotations of *St. Paul* from the Heathen Poets to justify himself for his studies in Pagan Learning. But with a fanaticism equivalent to that of the Mahometans, who believe their Koran to be also ordained as a complete moral and civil code for the regulation of human affairs, our Scripture was at that time taken by multitudes for the direction of conduct, and for the government of life in all its various relations, as well secular as religious. The motive for this appeal is therefore easy to be understood. The appeal was powerful when every doubtful case was to be resolved by the application of a text from holy writ.

Men in those days were so familiarized to walk by this sacred rule, that *Waller*, the Poet, in objection to the Bill to enforce the burial of the Dead in woollen shrouds, cited to the House of Commons the Evangelist who has recorded that *Christ was buried in linen*.

Since the *AREOPAGITICA* was written off on the spur of a present occasion, and, as well as unpremeditated, was on a topic where none had gone before him, it is clearly certain, that *MILTON* could only have drawn from the stores of Knowledge he had already accumulated. *Felix tanto argumento ingenium, felix tanto ingenio argumentum*. Accidentally called forth, he was more fortunate in his subject than *Somers*, *Locke*, and *Hoadley* were in their refutations of the claim arrogated by our Scottish Dynasty to unconditional submission on the part of the People, and to their own immunity from human jurisdiction.

To hinder our Forefathers from embracing the "bowstring maxim" of Passive Obedience, these powerful Vindicators of revolutionary principles entered the lists against *Filmer* and his disciples, and we must never

refuse them the honour eminently their due for having overthrown and brought into lasting contempt the favourite doctrine of *James* that "*Prayers and Tears*" were all that God permitted Subjects to interpose to the will and pleasure of any one whose brow was encircled with an hereditary Crown. Now that the question of a divine Right of Succession to the Throne is, by the recognition of the Compact between our King and the People, no longer a problem with us, the writings for and against the patriarchal hypothesis have outlived their importance, and remain on the shelf with their dust undisturbed, but by him, who in an abundance of leisure is curious to learn what pleas could have been set up on behalf of this enormous folly. MILTON'S defence of unrestricted Publication may confidently lay claim to a duration of practical utility far more extended. It can never cease to have its value on political considerations, till this natural and constitutional* Right ceases to be an

* I say *natural and constitutional* after Bishop *Hayter*, who reasons thus: "the Liberty of the Press is connected with natural Liberty.

"The Liberty of the Subject being now generally ad-

object of jealousy or hatred with those who may bear rule over us. A political millenium, the signs and prognostics of the times in which we live forbid us to believe fast approaching.

“mitted to be founded in the Reservations made in that
 “Compact, which originally cemented Society, supposeth
 “the use of Speech.

“The Men who first gave up their natural Rights for the
 “benefits of Society, must have stickled hard for the faculty,
 “which promoted and facilitated the conjunction; and most
 “certainly, they never entered into a compact, that, if at
 “any time the gift of Speech should be grossly abused by
 “any number of Men, a whole Nation would submit to be
 “deprived of the use of it.

“Whatever they cannot be supposed to have given up re-
 “mains a natural Right, and is a part of those Rights, which
 “constitute the Liberty of the Subject.

“British Liberty consists in the power of asserting, by Re-
 “presentatives, those natural Rights which were reserved as
 “the Liberty of the Subject, at the first institution of So-
 “ciety. It would be an act of sedition, as well as an ab-
 “surdity, to insinuate that this power is ever likely to be
 “perverted, to the destruction of any natural Right thus re-
 “served: so close is the alliance between the Liberty of the
 “Press and the Liberty of a British Subject.

“We may judge, from this view of the case, how greatly
 “those learned Men are mistaken, who deny the constitu-
 “tional existence of the Liberty of the Press, because the
 “Press is not co-eval with Magna Charta. The Use and
 “Liberty of Speech were antecedent to that great Charter of

Succeeding advocates for the Freedom of Printing have copied not unfrequently as well as largely from this Oration. Among others, Mathew *Tindal* writing in 1698 against Mr. *Pulteney's* Bill to provide, with other restrictions on the Press, that no unlicensed Newspaper should be in circulation*, transcribed from it without scruple, with little alteration and without acknowledgement. It is not unlikely he was apprehensive, that the name of MILTON would have been detrimental to the cause for which he was ably and anxiously contending! for the first Edition of the Prose-works in a collected form, which came out in the same year, bears in the title-page that it was printed at *Amsterdam*. It was, we must infer from this air of concealment, a Re-publication too obnoxious for a London Bookseller

“ British Liberties; and Printing is only a more extensive
“ and improved kind of Speech.”

*An Essay on the Liberty of the Press, chiefly as it
respects personal Slander; p. 6. 1754.*

Hayter was, I believe, one of the present King's Preceptors, and was translated from Norwich to London in 1761.

* *Tindal's* Continuation of *Rapin*: I. 350.—*Ralph*: II. 717.

to avow. The same reason constrained Mr. *Trenchard* about the same time to resort to this precaution in printing his excellent *History of Standing Armies*: as did the Printers of *Montesquieu's* works in France till the Constituent Assembly met in 1789. Just as the late Mr. *Wilkes*, when early in this reign he presented the Public from his private Printing Press with a translation of *Boulanger's* Theologico-political Research into the Origin and Progress of Despotism, deemed it prudent to screen himself behind the same subterfuge.

So dark was the cloud of prèjudice which eclipsed the lustre of MILTON's name; and that too after the Revolution of 1688. Happily it has passed away. We begin to make some retribution for slight and neglect: his Prose has at length forced itself so far into notice that it is read, and sometimes quoted.

Suum cuique decus Posteritas rependet. The gradually accumulating suffrages of succeeding ages are an unerring indication of transcendent merit: as a monument reared by the public voice after the lapse of a century would be a surer testimony of departed

excellence than any erection to commemorate the eminent dead immediately following upon their decease. But there have been few, very few, who after their names had been decried like MILTON'S; nay, few whose names had only been in abeyance, as it were, for so long a term of probation who could establish by general consent a claim to posthumous honours.

It is gratifying to find that amid the obloquy and detraction, in which through the turn of times MILTON spent his declining years, he consoled himself with a sure and certain hope of ultimate renown. For reasons sufficiently obvious, *Bacon* when looking forward to "a life beyond life" in the minds of future generations, bequeathed his fame to *foreign* nations. MILTON had only to appeal from the temper of the day:

" At ultimi nepotes,
 " Et cordatior ætas,
 " Judicia rebus æquiora forsitan
 " Adhibebit, integro sinu.
 " Tum, livore sepulto,
 " Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet."

A prophetic anticipation*. Perhaps, his

* " Such honourable visions bring,
 " As sooth'd great MILTON'S injur'd age,

fortitude drew additional vigour from the depression he then experienced. He could not but know, that a hasty reputation, springing from contemporaneous praise was often a forced and sickly product: in not a few instances, little better than an artificial flower, and of as short and fleeting a date. While he must have been equally sensible that Fame when of tardier growth and well-ripened reserves itself in store for a late posterity.

“ Our monarch Oak, the patriarch of Trees,
“ Shoots rising up and spreads by slow degrees:”

whereas tropical vegetation, under the rays of a vertical sun, is as transitory as it is rapid.

The inclination which has started up, and is visibly gaining ground among us, to cultivate a general acquaintance with the elder Authours of our own Nation is highly creditable to the reigning pursuits in Literature. We should vainly search the Continent in quest of Writings more deserving a diligent

“ When in prophetic dreams he saw
“ The race unborn with pious awe
“ Imbibe each Virtue from his heavenly page.”

Akenside.

perusal than some we have to boast as dignifying our Island toward the close of the sixteenth and through the next century.

In confirmation of this opinion, I might exhibit a long scroll of no vulgar names: I will enumerate no more than *Raleigh*, *Bacon*, *Selden*, and MILTON. Where can we receive fuller lessons on the grand examples and lights which History holds forth for the conduct of Nations than are to be found in the volume of *Raleigh* and his learned Assistants? And *Bacon*, who deposed the Stagyrite after his prescriptive sway over the Schools, now has his eminent services toward the advancement of true Philosophy acknowledged at home and abroad by the warmest votaries to the Writers of classical Antiquity. While *Selden*, for scholarship only not universal, and for his indefatigable researches into the original constitutions of the State, must be consulted and venerated as a Sage, to whom Learning and the Liberties of England are alike and largely indebted. Neither will MILTON, in scope and reach of Thought, nor in wide extent of Knowledge, and least of all in a devoted attachment to the supreme interests of the

human race, be found second to any who could be named, though he be estimated without regard to the deathless offspring of his Muse. Beside that several of his pieces are on the cardinal principles of our national policy in Church and State, and written at an epocha the most momentous of any in the annals of Britain, the energies of his unwearied intellect, his vast and various acquisitions, his disinterested and fearless search after Truth;—all combine with his elevation of sentiment, and uniform rectitude of intention, to give a deep and lively interest to every disquisition to which he applied himself. So that it is inexcusable in an English Gentleman, who feels it to be due to his station to attain a competent proficiency in the History and in the Literature of his native Country, to allow any portion of so great a Writer's works to be unknown to him: "*Quæ etiam si Orator non sis, et sis ingenuus Civis Romanus, tamen necessaria est.*"

No circumstance can contribute to make this path to liberal and useful information more attractive and consequently more frequented than to clear away those obstruc-

tions to a Reader's easy progress which have grown up in a series of years and overspread many places once sufficiently obvious. To remove, for so much, these discouragements is the Editor's hope in the present Republication. Occasional explanation of uncommon words and phrases, and of allusions to particular circumstances which through the intermediate distance of time are become obscure, and will seldom be understood without a key; as well as notices on personal touches, which have lost their point from age, must be always convenient.

Perhaps there is no English Authour of the same standing who demands glossarial and explanatory comment more frequently than MILTON. He was of "amplitude of mind to greatest deeds:" while with him Genius and Industry, by a rare felicity, walked hand in hand. Blessed with this character of mind he was never remiss when he believed, that it might be conducive to the general welfare to exercise his thoughts and his pen on temporary topics; and if, as in this defence of an unlicensed Press, the theme were of permanent and vital importance, he was a spec-

tator of the striking and extraordinary scenes continually passing before him, of a complexion much too ardent for his thoughts to escape all tinge from them, which now darkening his sense renders elucidation acceptable. Exclusive, moreover, of phraseology which the mutations of language have made obsolete, he delighted in recondite meanings and in far-sought illustration. Sometimes, it may be, in ostentation of the intellectual wealth he possessed ;

“ His was the treasure of two thousand years :”

sometimes possibly forgetting how few have arisen so intimately conversant with Letters, sacred and profane, as himself, or to whom the whole range of human Science was equally familiar.

“ He knew each lane, and every alley green,
“ Dingle or bushy dell of this wide wood,
“ And every bosky bourne from side to side,
“ His daily walks, and ancient neighbourhood.”

THOMSON'S PREFACE.

THERE is no need of a Preface to recommend this admirable Defence of the best of human Rights, to any one who has ever heard of the divine MILTON; and it is impossible to produce better Arguments, or to set them in a more convincing, awakening Light.

Is it possible that any free-born Briton, who is capable of thinking, can ever lose all sense of Religion and Virtue, and of the dignity of human Nature to such a degree, as to wish for that universal Ignorance, Darkness, and Barbarity, against which the absolute Freedom of the Press is the only preservative? For what else spreads Light, or diffuses Knowledge through the World? But it seems, as a sense of the value of Health is sometimes lost in the midst of its full enjoyment; so Men, through a habit of Liberty, may become insensible of its inestimable worth: otherwise would not

every one awake, rouse himself, and say, when the most dear and valuable of all the Privileges, that Government is designed to protect, is menaced, that he will sooner part with Life itself, than with that Liberty, without which Life is not worth the having: that he will sooner suffer his eyes to be put out, than his Understanding to be extinguished. We are told in History, of a¹ People, that after they had been inured to Slavery, were in a panick fear, when their Liberty was offered to them. And this terrible effect of Slavery ought to make every Lover of Mankind tremble at the Thoughts of any steps or approaches toward the diminution of Liberty. “For without it,” as *Homer* has told us, “Men soon cease to be Men: “they soon cease to be rational Creatures².”

¹ *We are told in History of a People, &c.*] The Cappadocians; see *Strabo*; p. 815. fol. *Amstel.* 1707.

² *For without it, as Homer has told us, Men soon cease to be Men: they soon cease to be rational creatures.*] *Thomson*, we must conjecture, intended a paraphrase on the following couplet,

*Ημισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνονται εὐρύβοπα Ζεὺς

*Ἀνέρος, εὐτ' ἂν μιν καλὰ δούλιον ἤμαρ ἔλθῃσιν.

Odys. xvii. 322.

At least he approaches nearer to this than to any other passage

Now without the absolute unbounded Freedom of Writing and Publishing, there is no Liberty; no shadow of it: it is an empty sound. For what can Liberty mean, if it does not mean, the Liberty of exercising, improving and informing our Understandings? "A People have Liberty," said a truly good King of England, "when they are free as Thought is free³." "What is it that makes a City,

which my mind recurs to in *Homer*; who, contrary to the practice of the dramatic Poets of Greece, scattered his γνῶμαι, or sententious thoughts, with a sparing hand.

This generous distich, for the important truth it inculcates, has been cited by a succession of Writers from *Plato* to *Franklin*; so often that, compressed into a single line, it has almost become a proverbial adage.

³ *A People have Liberty*, said a truly good King of England, when they are free as thought is free.] A lofty sentiment, which resembles so strongly the style of a popular Orator in our own day, that we should never expect to meet with it in the Will of an Anglo-Saxon King. To *Alfred*, it has, however, been ascribed by most of his Biographers, and has passed on *Tyrrel*, *Hume*, and others of our national Historians as authentic. I find it to originate in the misconception, or perhaps in the license, of the Translator of this curious record into Latin; see *App. II.* of *Wise's* Edition of *Sir J. Spelman's* Latin Life of *Alfred*: or *Asser's* Life of *Alfred*: "Et mecum tota nobilitas West Saxonice gentis pro recto jure consentiunt; quod me oportet dimittere eos ita liberos, sicut in homine cogitatio ipsius consistit." - p. 80. 8vo. 1722. *Oxon.*

According to *Tyrrell* (*Hist. of England*; I. 310. fol. 1698.) this Translation was made by *Asser Menevensis*. Whoever was

“ (said the good *Alcæus*⁴, a Poet, whose Muse
 “ was always sacred and faithful to the best of

the Translator, the original text affords no colour for this flash of eloquence. In an edition of this antient document printed at the Clarendon Press, under the care of Sir Herbert *Croft*, the passage stands thus: 7 ic biððe on ȝoðer naman. 7 on hir halȝna. ꝥ minȝa maȝa nan. ne ȝrȝeapȝa ne ȝerpenca nan. nænig cȝpeliȝ þapa þe ic forȝealb. 7 me perȝ-ȝeaxena þitan to rihte ȝeþehton þæt ic hi mot lætan ȝpa ꝥeo ȝpa þe ope ȝpaðer ic wille. ac ic for ȝoðer luȝan. 7 for minȝe ȝaple þeapȝe. wȝlle ꝥ hȝ ȝȝn heopa ȝweolȝer wȝrðe. 7 hȝna cȝner. 7 ic on ȝoðer lipȝender naman beoðe þæt hȝ nan man ne brocie. ne mið forȝ manunȝe. ne nuð nænigum þingum. ꝥ hȝ ne motan ceoȝan ȝwȝlcne mann ȝwȝlce hȝ wȝllan : (p. 24. 4to. 1788.) *Manning* rendered this closely as follows : “ And I beseech, in God’s name, and in his “ Saints’, that of my Relations none, nor of my Heirs none do “ obstruct, none of the freedom of those that I have redeemed, “ And for me the West Saxon Nobles as lawful have pro- “ nounced that I them may leave either free or bond whether “ I will. But I, for God’s love, and for my Soul’s advantage, “ will that they be of their freedom masters, and of their will, “ and I, in God the living’s name intreat that them no Man do “ not disturb, neither by money-exactions, nor by no manner “ of means, that they may not choose such Man as they will.”

I have collated this extract with the original MS. in Saxon, which belonged to the late Mr. *Astle*, and I found it to be correct. We therefore ought to construe this humane direction in the Will of our venerated Lawgiver to mean that he had obtained a license from the Nobles for the manumission of his Bondmen; without which it could not by the Laws of the Saxons have been valid. The reason of which, as it is assigned by Bishop *Squire*, was, that “ though their Lords, without “ doubt, might give up their private claim to them, as their

“ causes) it is not walls and buildings; no, it is
 “ being inhabited by Men: by Men, who know

“ Slaves; yet none but the public, i. e. the voice of the whole
 “ nation, could admit them to the privileges of the native
 “ Freemen.” *An Enquiry into the Foundation of the English
 Constitution; &c. p. 120. (n.) edit. 1753.*

By a Law of *William the Conqueror* a Villein was to be emancipated with much ceremony in full County Court: “ Et
 “ prohibemus ut nullus vendat hominem extra patriam: Si qui
 “ vero velit servum suum liberum facere, tradat eum Vicecomiti
 “ per manum dextram in pleno comitatu, quietum illum cla-
 “ mare debet a jugo servitutis suæ per manumissionem, et os-
 “ tendat ei liberam viam, et portas, et tradat illi libera arma,
 “ scilicet, lanceam, et gladium deinde liber homo efficitur.”
Leges Anglo-Saxonica; by Wilkins; p. 229. fol. 1721. Neither
 under the feudal system could the manumission of his
 immediate Owner set a Villein completely free: it was required
 to be ratified by the superiour Lord.

It is well worthy of remark, that our Patriot King and Presi-
 dent *Washington* were embarrassed alike by legal difficulties in
 the testamentary enfranchisement of their Slaves. Ten centu-
 ries divided them. *Tendimus in Latium.* Yet how tardy in
 some respects has been the advance of human institutions to-
 ward Liberty and Justice.

“ Alas! how faint,

“ How slow, the dawn of Beauty and of Truth

“ Breaks the reluctant shades of Gothic night

“ Which yet involve the Nations!”

⁴ *Said the good Alcæus, &c.] This fragment of the Lesbian
 Bard has come down to us in an Oration by Aristides: see v. 2.
 p. 207. of Jebb's edit. 4to. 1722.*

It is also preserved, as a literary Friend pointed out to me,

“ themselves to be Men, and have suitable notions
“ of the dignity of human nature : by Men, who
“ know what it is alone that exalts them above the
“ Brutes.” Can we be either virtuous or religious,
without the free use of our Reason ; without the
means of Knowledge ? And can we have Know-
lege, if Men dare not freely study, and as freely
communicate the fruits of their studies ? What is
it that distinguishes human Society from a brutish
herd, but the flourishing of the Arts and Sciences ;
the free Exercise of Wit and Reason ? What can
Government mean, intend, or produce, that is
worthy of Man, or beneficial to him, as he is a
rational creature, besides Wisdom, Knowledge,
Virtue and Science ? Is it merely indeed that we
may eat, drink, sleep, sing and dance with secu-

by a Scholiast on *Sophocles* ; *Ædip. Tyrann.* v. 56. This swelling sentiment appears indeed to have been a favourite topic for Oratours when addressing the Athenian Citizens : see *Thucydides* ; p. 462. *Hudson's edit.* : *Themistocles'* hortatory Speech when *Xerxes* invaded Attica ; *Corn. Nep. Vit. Themist.* : and see likewise *Plutarch* ; *Rualdi Edit.* I. 52.

A talent for Poetry was, I think, not one of the most eminent endowments of the late Sir William *Jones's* gifted and admirably-cultivated mind ; yet elevated by a congenial spirit he has happily caught “ *Alcæus'* manly rage ” in a paraphrastic imitation of the foregoing relic ; over which the public eye could never tire ; and, had the limits of the page allowed me room, I should gladly have inserted it.

riety that we choose Governours, subject our selves to their administration, and pay taxes? Take away the Arts, Religion, Knowledge, Virtue, (all of which must flourish, or sink together) and in the Name of Goodness, what is left to us that is worth enjoying or protecting? Yet take away the Liberty of the Press, and we are all at once stript of the use of our noblest Faculties: our Souls themselves are imprisoned in a dark dungeon: we may breathe, but we cannot be said to live.

If the end of Governours and Government is not to diffuse with a liberal unsparing equal hand, true rational happiness; but to make the bulk of Mankind beasts of burden, that a few may wallow in brutish pleasures; then it is consistent Politicks, to root out the desire and love of Light and Knowledge. Certain Scythian Slaves, that they might work the harder, had only their eyes destroyed. But to extinguish human Understanding, and establish a kingdom of darkness, is just so far more barbarous than even that monstrous cruelty, as the Mind excels the Body; or as Understanding and Reason are superior to Sense. Cardinal *Richlieu* says⁵, in his Political Testament, “ That Subjects

⁵ *Cardinal Richlieu says, &c.*] This is, I suppose, a very loose translation, probably from memory, of the beginning of this States-

“ with Knowledge, Sense and Reason, are as mon-
 “ strous as a Beast with hundreds of eyes would
 “ be; and that such a Beast will never bear its
 “ burden peaceably. Whence he infers, it is im-
 “ possible to promote despotic Power, while Learn-
 “ ing is encouraged and extended. The People
 “ must be hood-winked, or rather blinded, if one

man's Section *du Peuple*. “ Tous les Politiques sont d'accord que
 “ si les Peuples étoient trop à leur aise, il seroit impossible de
 “ les contenir dans les Regles de leur Devoir; leur Fondement
 “ est qu'ayant moins de connoissance que les autres ordres de
 “ l'Etat beaucoup plus cultivez, ou plus instruits, s'ils n'étoient
 “ retenus par quelque nécessité, difficilement demeuroient-ils dans
 “ les Regles qui leur sont prescrites par la Raison et par les Loix.

“ La Raison ne permet pas de les exempter de toutes
 “ Charges, parce qu'en perdant en tel cas la marque de leur
 “ Sujction, ils perdroient aussi la mémoire de leur Condition, et
 “ que s'ils étoient libres de Tributs, ils penseroient l'être de
 “ l'Obeissance. *Il les faut comparer aux Mulets qui étant accou-
 “ tumez a la Charge, se gâtent par un long repos plus que par le
 “ travail; mais ainsi que ce travail doit être modéré, et qu'il
 “ faut que la charge de ces Animaux soit proportionnée a leurs
 “ forces:” &c. Tom. 1. p. 185. 8vo. 1740.*

Certainly, the Cardinal may claim the merit of speaking out
 as to the rule of action with all arbitrary Governments.—The
 authenticity of this Testament has been a subject of contro-
 versy between *Voltaire* and other French writers; a ques-
 tion of little moment. We may be assured that *Richlieu*, in
 common with other Ministers of despotic Kings, acted on these
 principles, whether he had the honesty or the effrontery to
 avow them.

“ would have them tame and patient drudges. In
 “ short, you must treat them every way like Pack-
 “ horses or Mules, not excepting the bells about
 “ their necks, which by their perpetual jingling,
 “ may be of use to drown their cares.” Now this
 is plain dealing, and consistent Politicks. But to
 talk of Liberty and free Government, publick Good
 and rational Happiness, as requiring limitations on
 the Press, and Licensers of Books, is as absurd, as
 to speak of Liberty in a dungeon, with chains on
 every limb. *Hobbes* too was consistent with him-
 self, and advises those, who aim at absolute domi-
 nion, to destroy all the antient Greek and Latin
 Anthours⁶; because if those are read, principles of

⁶ *Hobbes too was consistent with himself, and advises those who aim at absolute dominion, to destroy all the antient Greek and Latin Authors; &c.*] Subtle as this Metaphysician was he may on this head be “ confronted with self comparisons.” Both the Authour of *Oceana* and *Dryden* have preserved his well-founded apophthegm, that “ a Man was always against Reason, if Reason was against him.” And when *Hobbes* (p. 140. *Works*; fol. 1651.) doubts not “ but if it had been a thing contrary to any Man’s right of Dominion, or to the interest of men that have Dominion, that the three Angles of a Triangle should be equal to two Angles of a Square; that Doctrine should have been, if not disputed, yet by the burning of all books of *Geometry*, suppressed, as far as he whom it concerned was able:”—he incautiously discloses why he breathed a

Liberty, and just sentiments of the Dignity and Rights of Mankind must be imbib'd. But can there be more glaring bare-faced nonsense than to

wish for the extermination of antient Learning. *Præpandere lumina Mentis* is a Motto which never could be borne by the Writer of the Leviathan.

Had MILTON not deviated from the established opinions in Church and State, should we not ere now have seen the hue and lineaments of his character drawn in contrast with those of his celebrated Contemporary? The fervent Piety which distinguished by far the most sublime of Christian Poets, was directly opposite to the skepticism of *Hobbes*. Their contrariety in many other features was not less striking: in their lives and in their opinions they were as unlike as *Boyle* to *Bolingbroke*.

When the rising troubles at home prognosticated the approach of civil War, MILTON then travelling over classic ground, and bending his course toward Greece with all her strong attractions for a Scholar and a Poet, abruptly hastened back to England, thinking no sacrifice too great for the support of his Country's Liberty: "In Siciliam quoque et Græciam trajicere volentem
" me, tristis ex Angliâ belli civilis nuntius revocavit: Turpe
" enim existimabam, dum mei cives domi de Libertate dimica-
" rent, me animi causâ otiosè peregrinari." *Pr. W.* II. 332. *ed.* 1738. And he laid out the better part of his Life in vindicating it.

The Philosopher of Malmesbury deserted his country and fled to Paris that he might live in safety. "His whole Life (as his Biographer relates) was governed by his fears;" of the Clergy more especially, whom the latitude of his speculations had raised up against him. MILTON's manly spirit

say, "That the very support of a free Constitution
 "requires the extinction of the Press;" that is, the
 extinction of the only means of knowing what we

set him above all such apprehensions. Having given offence while at Rome by his open profession of the Protestant Faith, though warned that the English Jesuits were plotting against him in case he should return to that City, yet not at all daunted, he went thither the second time with a determination not to begin any discourse about Religion; at the same time, when attacked he defended his own at the Papal See as freely as before. "I never (says he) shrunk from the
 "avowal of my tēnets." *ibid.* p. 332. *Hobbes* must have laughed at such inflexible Probity; for he inculcated that every one should profess the religion of the Magistrate. Not so MILTON: who refused to enter into the Church because it was his belief that "he who took Orders must subscribe
 "Slave." *ibid.* I. 62.

Again; MILTON in office under *Cromwell* gave him open and uncourtly counsel, and after the Protector had engrossed the powers of the State, he exhorted him never to desert the principles which he had professed, laying before him the aggravated enormity of his crime, if he should become a Tyrant, and betray the cause he had defended in Parliament and in the field; (see the close of the 2nd *Def.*). But *Hobbes*, like *Spinoza*, as if there was no distinction between Force and Justice, accounted Right to be the consequence of Power, and held that whatever a man can do, it is lawful for him to do. *Hobbes* at Paris therefore wrote in support of *Cromwell's* usurpation.

This hardened advocate for despotism and Pensioner of *Charles II.* strove to degrade Mankind in their very nature to a

are as Men and Christians : what our Natures are capable of : what is our just happiness, and how we ought to be treated by our Governours : that is, by those whom we have entrusted with the management of our interests and concerns.

I hope it will never be this Nation's misfortune to fall into the hands of an Administration, that do not from their Souls abhor any thing that has but the remotest tendency toward the erection of a new and arbitrary jurisdiction over the Press : or

level with the beasts of the field : for no other reason (said *Clarendon* truly) than that they might be fit to wear the chains he had provided for them. How repugnant this to MILTON'S Doctrine ; who makes the Angel Raphaël say authoritatively to Adam,

“ Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part ;
 “ Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
 “ Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou
 “ Dismiss not her.

P. L. VIII. 561.

And who after the Restoration, filled with indignant sorrow, lamented, that “ when GOD hath decreed Servitude on a sinful
 “ Nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of Government are alike unable to avoid
 “ it.” (*Hist. of Britain. b. v. c. 1.*)

In a word, MILTON'S name was a horroure at the Court of *Charles II.* and the portrait of *Hobbes* was in his cabinet.

can otherwise look upon any attempt that way, than as the greatest impiety, the cruellest, the wickedest, the most irreligious thing that can be imagined. Would it not be sacrilegiously robbing God of the only worship he delights in, the worship of the Heart and Understanding? Can there be Religion or Virtue without Reason, Thought, and Choice? Or can Reason, Thinking, Knowledge and Choice, subsist without the only conceivable means of making Men wise and understanding, rational, and virtuous? What is the Kingdom of Christ? Doth not our Saviour delight in calling it Light, and a Kingdom of Light? And what did he come to destroy but the Kingdom of Darkness? And can there be a Kingdom of Light, without the Liberty, the unconstrained Liberty of diffusing Light and Knowledge? What is the Reformation, or what does it mean but the Liberty, the absolute and perfect Liberty, of correcting and refuting errors, and of undeceiving Mankind? What is it that we call **PROTESTANTISM**, but a resolution stedfastly and undauntedly to oppose all encroachments upon rational Liberty, the Liberty of the Judgment and Understanding; and to maintain it as our most valuable

treasure, our greatest and noblest Privilege, in comparison of which, all other Rights are mean and trifling, and hardly deserve the name of blessings and advantages? A free Protestant Country, without the Liberty of the Press, is a contradiction in terms; it is free Slavery, or inchained Liberty. Light and Darkness are not more opposite than Liberty and the deprivation of the means of being rational.

Who, that loves Mankind, is not sorry, that any thing is ever published tending to confound Men's Understanding, mislead their Judgments, or deprave their Morals? But is there any more likely method for Sense to prevail against absurdities, than leaving her at full liberty to paint them in their native colours? Can Truth be better armed against Error than with the mighty blade of uncontroled Reason? Or Virtue more surely triumph over Immorality, than by the vigorous execution of the truly wholesome Laws purposely framed for her support?

I hate all Calumny and Defamation, as I hate the corruption of heart, from which alone it can proceed; and do with the utmost zeal detest those profaners of Liberty, who pretending to be friends

to it, have recourse to such black diabolical methods. But I take the Laws already in force among us, to be a more than sufficient preservative (at least as far as human Prudence is able to provide) against all the abusive overt-acts, I am now expressing my abhorrence of: And as such we have reason to esteem them very valuable securities of our Liberties and Reputations. But because wicked things are publish'd, must there be no publishing? I know it is objected that there is a medium between an absolute Liberty of the Press, and an absolute suppression of it. Which I admit; but yet aver the medium (by which either Licensing, or nothing at all is meant) is far worse on all accounts, than either extreme. For though we are indeed told, that Licensors would serve us with wholesome goods, feed us with food convenient for us, and only prevent the distribution of poison; sure such cant was never meant to impose on any, but those who are asleep, and cannot see one inch before them. Let no true Briton therefore be deceived by such fallacious speeches, but consider the necessary consequences which must follow, and he will soon find that it is as the flattering language of the strange Woman

[in the Book of Proverbs] who with her fair smooth tongue, beguileth the simple, and leadeth them as an ox to the slaughter. That plausible and deceitful language leadeth indeed into the chambers of Darkness and Death. But this subject is fully handled in the excellent Treatise subjoin'd. I will only propose to the consideration of all Lovers of Religion, Virtue, Science, and Mankind, the few following Queries; and every one ought methinks to propose them to himself every day of his Life, as making a fundamental Catechism. For if the Truths, which these contain, are not fundamental, Man is not a Man, but a beast; Religion and Virtue are empty names.

1. What is our most valuable part, or what is it that maketh us capable of Religion, Virtue, and rational Happiness? Is it not our Reason or Understanding?

2. What then is the noblest Privilege that belongs to Man? Is it not the free exercise of his Understanding, the full use of all the means of advancing in Virtue, and Knowledge?

3. What is it then that is, and must be, the chief end of Government to encourage and promote? Is it not Knowledge, Virtue, and Religion?

4. And can Knowledge, Virtue, or Religion be promoted, if the only means of promoting them are taken away? For what are the means of promoting them, but the Liberty of Writing and Publishing, without running any risque but that of being refuted or ridiculed, where any thing advanced chances to labour under the just imputation of Falshood or Absurdity?

THOMSON.

CURSORY OBSERVATIONS,

BY

THE PRESENT EDITOR,

ON

THE INVENTION OF THE ART OF PRINTING.

IN the meagre Life of *Thomson* prefixed by *Murdoch* to his Edition of this Poet's Works, it is unnoticed that *Thomson* was an Editor of the *AREOPAGITICA*. A fact we may conclude from their silence to have been equally unknown to the Earl of *Buchan*, and to his other Biographers; who appear to have been also ignorant, that the Translation into English of "the Commentaries of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus*, by *James Thomson*, "Gent." 8vo. 1747, was by the hand of the Poet; as my Informant was told by Mr *Floyer Sydenham*.

In 1738, a translation of *Cromwell's* Manifesto against the Spaniards, which was drawn

up in Latin by MILTON, and first printed in 1655, was published by *Millar*, who was *Thomson's* Publisher. To this Pamphlet, his *Britannia* was appended. As I conjecture, he rendered this State-Paper into English, and republished this poetical invective with a hope to assist, like *Glover*, in exciting a national clamour for a Spanish War: then a leading object of the Parliamentary Party in opposition with whom he had associated himself.

Thomson's reprint of this Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing came out not long after the Act had passed requiring all dramatic Writings to be licensed by the Chamberlain of the King's Household, prior to their representation in a Theatre: without any doubt it was this Statute which suggested the propriety of this republication at that juncture.

The importance of the subject will always stamp a value on this spirited Preface, while, as an original composition in prose by the Poet of the Seasons it is matter for literary curiosity.

Is it not singular that *Thomson* should nowhere have touched on the Art of Printing

in the expanded poem which he entitled *Liberty*? This fell within the scope of that work much more aptly than the episode on *Pythagoras* and his Philosophy, or than the geographical outline of the Roman Empire. The natural, the necessary, the close alliance between Knowledge and Freedom would have fully justified its introduction. A fair occasion offered, which it is surprising an Editor of MILTON'S Vindication of an open Press should overlook, when after deploring the prostration of the human mind in the dark ages, he sings in animated strains the return of the presiding Goddess of his Poem bringing Science and the Arts in her train. This groupe has in some sort relieved the general languor of that piece; to which a well-fancied transition descriptive of the manifold benefits accruing to Mankind from the unobstructed enjoyment of this invention might have still further conduced.

The expression of Thought by the Voice is in its nature a very limited faculty, and of transient effect; while oral Narration is so vague that Facts disfigured by colloquial Tradition soon grow obscure, as well as more doubtful in authority at every repeti-

tion, and should they not degenerate into Fable, are if once forgotten irretrievably lost. Accordingly, to embody the conceptions of Mind, and thus to confer on them a material existence with an extension beyond the power of Speech, is among the first endeavours of Man, as soon as he has raised himself above animal Life. The aboriginal inhabitants of the northern Continent of America, who are not yet arrived at the pastoral stage in the progress of amelioration, preserve their simple annals by Hieroglyphics, natural and symbolical, graven on tablets of birch-bark among some tribes; in others, they obtain a short-lived memory for their transactions by the varied arrangement of beads. The imperfections and the inadequacy of all such rude, yet elaborate, attempts to give the operations of Intellect a tangible habitation and to delineate articulated breath, could not but have been painfully felt in the earliest dawnings of the social state. If it had not been for the exception of the Chinese, we should have rashly pronounced, that while *ignorant of the secret of Letters*, Mankind could never approach the pale of Civilization; and that an

expedient so apt as a literal character to render Thought and Sound visible and permanent must speedily and inevitably have brought all arbitrary and occult signs into disuse.

The ability of describing the images of Sense, and of conveying to the mind of others through the eye, the abstractions of the Understanding by written words, is indeed a wonderful acquirement. How forcibly the Polytheists of Egypt and of Greece were struck with the incalculable benefits of alphabetic writing, they showed by venerating the inventor as a Divinity: in acknowledgement, under the names of *Thoth* and of *Hermes*, to that individual who had contributed in a larger measure than any other to the well-being of his fellow-creatures. As, through a similar impulse of gratitude for the good received, divine honours were paid in Greece and Italy to the inventress of the Loom and of the Plow, and to those who first taught the use of Grain and the culture of the Vine and Olive*.

* It is rather extraordinary, that they who have thought, that the construction of an Alphabet was above human ingenuity, and that it must have sprung immediately from a

After the near advances made toward Printing both by the Greeks and Romans, when they stamped Inscriptions on their Coins, branded Letters on Malefactors, and impressed marks on their Cattle, it seems surprising that whole revolutions of ages should have passed away before any similar method was thought of to multiply copies of a Manuscript. The transition from these practices was easy to the compendious process by which Books are printed, and, now at least, it appears to be very obvious. At

divine communication, should not have adverted to the single signs which we have taken from the Arabian *Scavans* for the purposes of calculation.

These numerical ciphers, as simple in their power as boundless in their operation, approach to a universal character. The Chinese with the Swan Pan are the only exception to their use among civilized Nations.—How did the Commissariate of a Roman Army keep their accounts with Letters for numerals?

I once mentioned to the late Mr. Gilbert *Wakefield*, whom I had the honour to call my friend, and who had published an ingenious Essay in support of the opinion, that we owe verbal Writing to a direct Revelation from the Deity, whether these numerical figures did not militate against his persuasion? He put my objection by in the way we all do an argument, which we are unprepared to confute, when started against a favourite hypothesis.

last, in an auspicious hour, this want was supplied by the aid of moveable Types, and the mechanism of a Press; a contrivance which has increased the opportunities of Knowledge many thousand fold.—In Christendom we shall neither erect Temples, nor raise Altars to the inventor of Typography. But his merit will not be over-rated, if we place him among the foremost in the file of benefactors to the human race.

Not long after the revival of Letters, *Francis I.* having one day called on the Printer, *Robert Stephens*, as a mean of proclaiming his fostering care of Literature, would not permit his presence to delay the correction of a Proof Sheet from the Press. The memory of this royal Patron of Scholars deserves to be held in as much estimation to the full for this courteous attention to the interests of Learning, as his Rival *Charles V.* for the homage he did to the fine Arts in stooping for the Pencil which *Titian* had let fall.

The contrariety of emotion which would have agitated the projectors of the Alembic and of the Printing Press, at the instant their sagacity was rewarded with success, would

present not an incurious contemplation, had it been possible for them to have foreseen the wide-spread and opposite effects of their respective discoveries. *This* was eagerly perverted into a perennial spring of liquid fire, which year by year shortens with lingering anguish the existence of thousands and of tens of thousands, ill-atoning for this unceasing destruction of human Life by the medicinal properties it may possess. *That* has proved itself to be the primary organ in promoting our nearest interests and most elevated pursuits. It undeniably makes one exception, I trust there are many more, to the reflection which sprang from the morbid melancholy of our great Moralist, that *human advantages are more susceptible of evil than of good*, through the wayward propensities of our nature to misuse them.

Of the innumerable illustrations which crowd into the recollection, none would mark the kindly influences of the Press more strongly than the uniformity of manners and of customs continued down from the highest antiquity in the eastern quarter of the globe. Strangers to this inestimable acquisition, or where it is known in part an alphabetic cha-

racter not being in use, the Asiatics have remained nearly stationary from the time our Forefathers ran naked in the woods with painted skins, fed on acorns, and offered human sacrifices to idols. Neither is it, that the Printing Press has so largely contributed to the preeminence of the Nations of the West which alone renders *Coster*, or *Faust*, or *Guttemberg*, or whoever originally suggested the idea, or facilitated the design, an object of lasting gratitude. The Printing House ought supremely to be regarded with reverence as the *Officina Libertatis*, the laboratory of human Liberty; the operative means by which Mankind are at length, and now, let us hope, rapidly gaining a just sense of their own Rights, and of the Duties of their Rulers.

To enlarge on the indissoluble connexion between Knowledge widely diffused, and political Freedom, and on their reciprocal dependence, would be mis-spending time. Volumes written out by the hand, would of necessity continue so rare and so costly that the wealthy alone could procure them. The Style and the Pen therefore too often failed to preserve the multitudinous applications of

the intellectual principle, and never could generally disseminate them. But this superlative art brought Books within the reach of almost all the classes in Society, and excited a spirit of ardent enquiry among them. The extended circulation of Knowledge communicated a new and vigorous impulse to the public mind. It now felt powers which had hitherto lain dormant ; in exercising them, it gradually shook off the load of rubbish which had overwhelmed it during the co-existing domination of Monkery and Feudality. From this epocha, the tide of improvement in human affairs set in with a steady and accelerated course. So steady as to have now nearly worn away the most formidable obstructions ; and latterly so accelerated as to induce some who perceive distinctly the capacity for many and great improvements in social Man to aspire after his Perfectability : the hope of a visionary but praiseworthy enthusiasm. But while shut out by the labour and expence of transcription from the means of Instruction, a vast proportion of every community must have lived their days in the darkest ignorance. In this benighted state, without the services of Typography:

feudal Tyranny might still have attached the mass of the European population to the glebe*, and Superstition still have propagated by the fagot the adoration of consecrated baubles and holy wafers †. If there had been only Copyists, *Buchanan* would have maintained to little purpose, that the ruling passion of *Cato Uticensis* was the sole foundation of all legitimate Magistracy from the King to the most subordinate Peace-officer ‡. *Locke*, unless he could have set the Compositor to work in the stead of Amanuen-

* "Non potuit ire aliubi."

Domesday Book; Hantescire; passim.

† "Nam, simul ac Ratio . . . cœpit vociferari

"

" Diffugiunt Animi terrores; mœnia mûndi

" Discedunt

" Nec Tellus obstat, quin omnia despiciantur,

" Sub pedibus quæquomque infra per inane geruntur."

‡ "Non sibi, sed toti, genitum se credere, mundo."

Pharsalia: II. 383.

If it can ask no higher praise, it is always amusing to trace the tradition of a thought from one mind to another, and to observe the various applications in its progress. *Cicero* caught this moral sentiment from the Founder of the Academy: "ut ad Archytam scripsit Plato, non sibi se soli natum. [Homo] meminerit, sed Patriæ, sed suis, ut per exigua para

ses, would never have become the Preceptor of Nations in the two hemispheres. To small avail comparatively would this Sage have inculcated the Duty of Toleration to the doctrines of every religious Communion, or have promulgated the leading axioms in the science of civil Government, as founded on popular Right. That Liberty of Conscience is a natural Right; that the Religion of every Man ought to be left to God and himself: that all Men are born free and with equal Rights: that Society is founded in the consent of the Majority: that the Liberty of Man in Society is to be under no legislative Power, other than what is established by Consent: that the legislative, being only a fiduciary Power there remains in the People a supreme Power

“*ipsi relinquatur.*—2; 14. *de Finib.*—And there is a similar thought in *Plutarch*; in *Vit. Lycurg.*

This, we see, *Lucan* afterward took up in drawing the character of his Hero; then to convey a just idea of the rightful tenure by which all Magistracy is holden, *Buchanan* paraphrased the verse above by—“*Reges non sibi sed Populo creatos.*” *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*; p. 8. *Op. Omn.* l. 4to. *Ruddiman. edit.*

Is there not in this natural application of a maxim in Morality to the principles of Government an eminent illustration that political science is no more than a branch of Ethics? A truth of inestimable importance.

to remove or alter the legislative when they act contrary to the Trust reposed in them:— These and other principles scarcely less invaluable might have amused the leisure and warmed the philanthropy of the Speculatist, unassisted by the Printer, they could never have worked their way into the general belief, so as to have become motives of action to numbers any-wise competent to effective purposes. Neither, when oppressions past endurance had driven a Nation to arms, and they were victorious in this appeal to Heaven in a Trial by Battel, did there exist, before the era of Printing, a safe and sure means of registering for public inspection any instrument of covenanted Liberties; nor of transmitting such evidence of common Right for a late posterity to have in their remembrance. A transcript of the Charter from *Henry I.* to the People of England was reposed, as a precaution against the danger of spoliation, among the muniments of the principal Monasteries of the realm. Yet at the re-affirmance and enlargement of our constitutional Freedom by the national Convention at Runningmede, Cardinal *Langton* thought himself fortunate to have recovered a solitary

copy of this venerable roll. Very little more than a century had elapsed when all the other records of these stipulated Rights had disappeared. Who can doubt that these documents had been wilfully destroyed? The numerous and well-stored Libraries of later times form safer archives. From these conservatories of Knowledge the memorials of History are, with the seeds of every Science, dispersed over an immeasurable tract, and put beyond the power of human extirpation. Their diffusion can only be compared to the infinite progression of high numbers; a diffusion which ensures their endless duration: by the same means that we may observe in the order of Nature, whose economy it is to regard the increase and multiplication of the species for its preservation rather than to attend to the fate of the individuals who compose it.

P R E F A C E

TO

EDITION IN 1772*.

THERE is a period in the progress of human designs, which, as it is regarded with negligence or with policy, will ensure their destruction or their success. The Lion is endued by Nature with

* This Edition with the Dedication and the Preface I have heard ascribed to Archdeacon *Blackburne*; but I have not been able to learn that there is any authority for this opinion. If he were the Editor, his Family are ignorant of the circumstance.— Was it the Rev. Richard *Baron*, who reprinted MILTON's enlarged Edition of the *Ἐικονοκλάστης*, and who assisted in the 4to. Edition of the *Prose Works*? It is far from unlikely that *Baron*, if then living, was the Editor; or that if it were not he, some one else was employed by Mr. *Hollis* for this purpose; as I find the *AREOPAGITICA* enumerated in a list of Books for the use of the Swedes published in this year, 1772, by this Gentleman on occasion of the royal Revolution which had recently taken place in that Country (*Mem. of T. Hollis*, p. 659); who says (p. 656), “let the brave worthy Swedes read the *AREOPAGITICA*, and get franker.”

the means of mischief—weapons of dreadful execution; but deprive him, while he is yet young, of his teeth and his nails—disarm him while he is within your reach—and he will never rise to be the terror of the forest, or the tyrant of the field.

Impressed with a conscious sense of this proposition, I now take up the pen in the cause of my Country. The season of danger ought to be the season of alarm; and when a secret blow is aimed at the State by the cunning or the ambitious, no honest individual, who is aware of it, will be idle. On the present occasion, therefore, be it my business, as it is my duty, to unveil the foes of Public Freedom, and drag them to the public altar.

It is apprehended, and with good reason, that a design is now ripening *to restrain the Liberty of the Press*. The character of our present Ministry makes the existence of such a design probable, but their conduct carries it almost beyond a doubt. So daring an attempt is indeed worthy of that enterprising spirit which has already controverted Elections, and ridiculed the complaints of twelve millions of Subjects. It is well known that this

scheme has been long adopted, but adopted only in prospect; the execution of it was reserved for this season and this P——t: accordingly hints have been given, inuendoes thrown out, and whispers circulated, that the Press is grown luxuriant and wanton, and requires cropping.

This laudable business has been ushered into the world by a *Publication*, which may be considered as the prologue to the tragedy which is intended to follow. On Thursday the 30th day of January last (as if Freedom was doomed to bleed on the same day with Virtue*) a Pamphlet was published, entitled, “*Reasons against the intended Bill for laying some restraint upon the Liberty of the Press, wherein all the arguments yet advanced by the promoters of it are unanswerably answered.*” The tendency of this Pamphlet is obvious to the most superficial observer, It is written in a strain of continued irony; and, while it *seems* to be the keen foe of the errors of Administration, it is in truth their warmest advocate. It is replete with that oblique and uncouth raillery which is always aiming at humour, but never reaches it; and though

* The day on which the Royal Martyr suffered.

it is neither satirical nor witty, it well serves to show that Dullness can sometimes be as malicious as Wit.

Such is its tendency, and such its character. However, the powers of this masked battery are too circumscribed and feeble to annoy the palladium of Freedom, by playing against it; if it possesses any importance, it is acquired only by its being in disguise. The keenness of its ridicule or the force of its reasoning could never give it consequence sufficient to merit a reply, were it not shielded under very powerful protection; for from very good authority I inform the Public, *That it was published under the immediate patronage of C. J————n, Esq.* This Gentleman—the flower of the Cabinet, and the epitome of the Treasury-Bench—ever able, ever willing to lend a good hand to a bad purpose—this Gentleman (I say) kindly gave his parental bosom to foster, nourish, and warm this bantling into life.

A destructive measure cannot be too early crushed—a task worthy of the AREOPAGITICA of MILTON. This exalted Genius, when an ill-advised Parliament, in times of political rage and civil dissension, had imposed an illicit restraint upon the

Press, drew forth his Eloquence and his Pen in the cause of Freedom—and conquered. The importance of this triumph was the best panegyric on the powers which effected it; but when Liberty is the prize, what will not Genius encounter and surmount? :

I will not promise myself such a signal victory in our days. Parliaments, which in former times were but novices in the mystery of political intrigue, are now become familiar with the tricks of State, and can laugh at Justice as unconcernedly as the Lawyers in Westminster-Hall. Corruption is a thriving weed; and has often found the warmest hotbed in a Senator's heart.

However, the AREOPAGITICA is an admired performance, and has been always esteemed by learned men a master-piece of argument as well as of composition. It is indeed connected with that close argumentation which chains the attention always to the subject, and is diversified with such agreeable and happy observations on Men and Books as Genius and Taste only could produce. The success of this piece was admirable. The men who were wounded by its doctrines became converts to its truth. There is a remarkable instance of this,

Soon after the first publication of the *AREOPAGITICA*, one *Mabbot*, a Licenser of the Press, was so sensibly struck by the force of its arguments, that he applied to the Council of State to move the House of Commons that he might be discharged from his office. He gave the following reasons :

I. “ Because many thousand of scandalous and
 “ malignant Pamphlets have been published with
 “ his name thereunto, as if he had licensed the
 “ same (though he never saw them) on purpose (as
 “ he conceives) to prejudice him in his reputation
 “ among the honest party of this nation.

II. “ Because that employment (as he con-
 “ ceives) is unjust and illegall, as to the ends of its
 “ first institution, viz. to stop the Presse for pub-
 “ lishing any thing that might discover the cor-
 “ ruption of Church and State in the time of
 “ Popery, Episcopacy, and Tyranny; the better
 “ to keep the People in ignorance, and carry on
 “ their popish, factious, and tyrannical designs, for
 “ the enslaving and destruction both of the Bodies
 “ and Souls of all the free People of this nation.

III. “ Because Licensing is as great a mo-
 “ nopoly as ever was in this nation, in that all
 “ men’s judgments, reasons, &c. are to be bound

“ up in the Licenser’s (as to Licensing): for if the
 “ Author of any Sheete, Booke, or Treatise, writ
 “ not to please the fancy and come within the
 “ compass of the Licenser’s judgment, then he is
 “ not to receive any stamp of authority for pub-
 “ lishing thereof.”

A Committee of the Council of State being satisfied with these and other reasons of M. *Mabbot*, concerning Licensing, the Council of State reports to the House; upon which the House ordered,
 “ That the said M. *Mabbot* should be discharged
 “ of licensing Books for the future*.”

But though the AREOPAGITICA breathes throughout that noble spirit of free Enquiry and civil Liberty which is entirely worthy of the mighty mind of MILTON, I am aware that a change of time, of politics, and even of manners, may make some part of it not appear so applicable to this as it was to the last century. We know that the aspect of the times is always varying; and that revolving ages carry along with them fashions in Literature as well as in dress:

Manners with fortunes, humours turn with climes,
 Tenets with Books, and principles with times.

* *Parliamentary Register*, 1649.

The quaint and formal Literature of *Elizabeth's* days has been known to be despised by the graver and more uncouth scholastic Learning of the first *Charles's* reign; which again, in its turn, has been treated with the utmost contempt by the airy and classical wits of *Charles* the Second's Court. But though part of MILTON's reasoning may appear obsolete, and part unnecessary, still enough will remain behind to convince the unprejudiced and impartial Reader. However, as some new reasons have been offered by the advocates of the *Impri-matur* in favour of it, and lest even a cranny should be left for a Minister to escape through, I beg the Reader's attention for a few moments longer, whilst I cursorily examine the reasons they have urged in defence of so despotic a measure.

“First (say they), this unrestrained Liberty of “the Press is dangerous to Religion.” Indeed! my Lords of the Treasury!—But this conscientious obstacle comes with a double grace from the opposers of the Clerical Petition. Are ye at last become the gracious guardians of those principles which in your hearts ye despise? or has the Spirit at length beamed in light upon Souls where light never shone before?—For shame! my Lords;

will ye never forsake inconsistence? Dæmons have trembled, and Jews have been converted; but when the cause of Religion is echoed from the Treasury-Bench, Perfidy is at hand, and we ought to look about us.—But, seriously, wherein is the danger to Religion? Freedom of Speech and Freedom of Conscience have always gone hand in hand; and while these two blessings remain free and unrestrained, Religion will never withdraw her beams, or diminish in her lustre. We have heard indeed—our ancestors felt it, and one half of Europe still feels it—We have heard, that in countries where every new Book must be stamped with an *Imprimatur*, the severest despotism and the darkest ignorance unite to involve the wretched inhabitants in slavery and error; but it is a doctrine equally strange as new, that liberal sentiment and free enquiry should check Devotion, or extinguish the flame of Religion and Virtue. This argument is important and extensive enough to fill many pages with a discussion of it; but as MILTON has treated of it with the true spirit of historical disquisition, I refer the Reader to his observations, which he will find in their proper place.

“Secondly, it is dangerous to Government.”—

There is a nakedness in this assertion which detects itself. It is not dangerous to Government. On the contrary, an unlicensed Press is the guardian of Freedom and of the Constitution. I appeal to the opinions of Legislators, to the page of History, to the experience of ages. It will not avail them to adduce the continual dissatisfaction of the People with the servants of Government, as a proof of the evil tendency of unlicensed Printing: this, indeed, is the only security of the State. The British Government, established with wonderful judgment on the basis of two opposing systems, the Republican and the Monarchical, must always derive the security of its existence from an equal exertion of these powers for the good of the whole. There is an equality, a precision, a watchfulness, which must be preserved between them, on which the public safety entirely depends. They must be always jealous of each other, or they are undone. Hence it is, that they live in continual opposition; hence, that civil dissention is the faithful guardian of civil Liberty; hence, that the Constitution of Britain, like the boisterous element that surrounds the Isle, must live in tempest, or not live at all. But the kingly branch of the State, having all the

executive power in their own hands, have the most frequent, the most easy opportunities of encroaching on the Republican; which they in their turn must check. Now, how is this to be done? The former, commodiously seated within the circumference of a single room, whether in Council or in Cabinet, can consult in a firm and undivided body how to extend the interests of Tyranny, or to do the business of Corruption: but the case is otherwise with the People.—Dispersed over all the kingdom, as their property or their interest leads them; and separated from consulting each other by unsurmountable obstacles, when a blow is aimed at their Laws, or an insult at their Liberties, what means of information or redress have they? None, but the PRESS. This, and this only, is the bright star of the People. This is the great national trumpet, which rouses the kingdom from end to end, from side to side. This is the mighty thunderbolt of the People, which hurls its fury on a Minister's head, or can make a guilty throne tremble to the centre.—But I am imprudent in my zeal. While I am writing the panegyric of the Free Press, I am in fact reciting those advantages which make it obnoxious to its enemies.

When the public interest is betrayed by crafty

or wicked men, the Press can and ought to sound the alarm, and point out to the People their danger: but this Liberty can never operate against Government, so as to produce any violent effects, without very violent causes. A great and admired Philosopher, whose opinion is always respectable when he does not treat of Religion, speaks here to the purpose. "This Liberty of the Press," says he, "is attended with so few inconveniencies, that
" it may be claimed as the common Right of Man-
" kind, and ought to be indulged them in almost
" every Government. We need not dread from
" this Liberty any such ill consequences as fol-
" lowed from the harangues of the popular Dema-
" gogues of Athens and Tribunes of Rome. A
" man reads a Book or Pamphlet alone and coolly.
" There is none present from whom he can catch
" the passion by contagion. He is not hurried
" away by the force and energy of action; and
" should he be wrought up to ever so seditious
" a humour, there is no violent resolution pre-
" sented to him by which he can immediatly vent
" his passion. The Liberty of the Press, therefore,
" however abused, can scarce ever excite popular
" tumults or rebellion. And as to those murmurs
" or secret discontents it may occasion, it is better

“ they should get vent in words, that they may
 “ come to the knowledge of the Magistrate before
 “ it be too late, in order to his providing a remedy
 “ against them. Mankind, it is true, have always
 “ a greater propension to believe what is said to
 “ the disadvantage of their Governours, than the
 “ contrary : but this inclination is inseparable from
 “ them, whether they have Liberty or not. A
 “ whisper may fly as quick, and be as pernicious
 “ as a Pamphlet: nay it will be more pernicious,
 “ where men are not accustomed to think freely,
 “ or distinguish between Truth and Falshood*.”

But, thirdly, the great hinge on which these Reformers of the Press turn their favourite scheme is, “ the publication of Scandal.” If by the suppression of Scandal they mean the suppression of Satire, whether pointed at private or public vices, they are aiming at a point which they never will, never can effect. If there are culprits in morality, there will be correctors too: and while Wit can brandish his pen, or Satire her lash, let Folly expect no quarter.

But here the point they aim at is impracticable. Supposing that they lock up the babbling tongue

* *Hume's Essays, Vol. I. p. 13, 8vo. edit.*

of the Press, can they lock up the tongues of individuals? Satire, confined in the narrow channel of private ridicule, cuts through every thing in its course; and, like the pestilential air pent up in close recesses, will rage with collected force, and burst with a louder explosion. How ineffectual the most rigorous Licensing, in the most despotic States, is to stop the tongue of Scandal, let Pasquin and Marforio witness at Rome; and let the lampoons of Versailles, and the epigrams of Paris, bear testimony in France. How much less equal then to this task would be the boasted reformation in Britain, where Freedom of Speech is deemed the brightest jewel in the Constitution; and where every man is accustomed to speak what he thinks, and to think what he pleases!—Ridiculous policy! When Folly plays her anticks in a grave masque, the scene is doubly laughable.

I do not indeed deny, that Defamation is often, very often, ill-directed, and then always becomes a real grievance. I am no advocate for the satire that wounds the virtuous, the helpless, or the innocent. I know, too, with how much tenderness, respect, and even veneration, characters of exalted trust both in Church and State ought to be treated:

these are obligations which ought always to be binding on Society: but an infringement of all these obligations at once will not be sufficient to justify a restraint on the Freedom of the Press. These abuses have their ample remedies. If individuals are injured by the Press, the Courts of Law are open to their complaints, and willing to redress them. The Laws in force against Libelling and Defamation are replete with all the rigour which Justice or Severity could exact, and are within every one's reach. Why then should the Press be restricted to obviate abuses which the Law is already amply authorized to remedy?— I repeat it, I have a respect for private reputation, and I hold public characters sacred: but if any false reverences for Power and Authority should exempt the conduct of those intrusted with them from being canvassed by the Public, or scrutinized by any member of the community, adieu to that boasted Constitution which has existed, for ages, the envy and admiration of the whole world.

“ Fourthly (say our Licensers), in *Elizabeth's*
“ time the Press was not so wanton of its power,
“ nor so liberal of its abuse, and yet the Govern-

“ment was both happy and flourishing, nor did
 “the People murmur: Why might it not be so
 “now?”—For very obvious reasons, my Lords—
Cecil is not at the Treasury-board, *Coke* is not
 in the Court of King’s Bench, nor is *Elizabeth*
 on the throne. In truth, this argument could
 furnish a very extensive field for disputation;
 and the discussion of it would be a keen
 and continued satire on modern Ministers and
 modern Legislation. In these days, my Lords,
 in these happy days, the Queen of England was
 at once the sovereign of her People, and the
 guardian of their Laws. The public money was
 expended solely in public uses, and the offices
 of State were not set up to sale. Parliaments
 were sincere, and Elections were held sacred:
 There was but one instance of Bribery in the
 whole reign, when a candidate gave FOUR POUNDS
 to be returned to Parliament*, for which he was

* This was taken from Sir Edward *Coke*. His words are remarkable: “Thomas Long gave the Maior of Westbury four
 “pound to be elected Burgesse, who thereupon was elected.
 “This matter was examined and adjudged in the House of Com-
 “mons, secundum legem et consuetudinem Parliamenti, and the
 “Maior fined and imprisoned, and Long removed: for this cor-
 “rupt dealing was to poyson the very fountain itself.” 4 *Inst.* 23.

fined, expelled, and doomed to eternal shame. Honesty was the best recommendation to abilities, and abilities to office; places of trust were not held in reversion, and the public honour was not converted into a public jest. Her subjects gave her their hearts, and she freely gave her's in return. Hence she soon made them happy at home, and dreadful abroad. She never patched up a Convention, and she always presided at public treaties. In these blessed times, what cause had the Press to complain? If the Queen ever played the tyrant, it always terminated in the good of her subjects. She treated them as a Parent does her Children, and chastised them only to make them more happy. Ye see then, to have murmured against this reign would be to have murmured against Happiness. To have complained when there was no cause of complaint, would have argued a weakness and a wantonness for which Englishmen are not remarkable.—Let our Reformers now step home, and compare the picture of the sixteenth century with our own time: the contrast is rather striking, and may soften even the unfeeling heart of a Minister.

These are the chief of their arguments—But lest these should be found insufficient to carry their favourite Imprimatur into a Law, they have prudently provided a *corps de reserve*, which, if necessary, may be played upon the enemy as an after-game. It is the interest of tyrannic men to be cunning too, and they are in the right: but it shall not avail them in the present instance. “No man (say they) ought to write what he would be ashamed to own; therefore no man ought to write what he would be ashamed to subscribe. If ye will make us no other concessions, let every Author put his name to his Book, Pamphlet, or Paper, and we are satisfied.”

There is an air of candour in this argument which renders it deceitful, and the plausibility with which it bespeaks the attention, makes it the more dangerous. Whether we view it respecting the effect it would necessarily have on polite or on political Learning, it is despotic and dangerous, and subversive of Truth and Ingenuity, of Enquiry and Freedom. Will the timid and youthful Genius, whose modesty is yet unwounded, and whose fears are usually

numerous in proportion as his abilities are great, venture his name, his reputation, his pride, in a fickle and unfriendly world, whose mercy he has never felt, and whose good nature he has never experienced? Will he lean his fond expectations on that faithless prop, which has often proved deceitful to Genius unsheltered and unpatronized? Undoubtedly he will not. He will rather retreat from that world which he dreads, and languish away his life in obscurity and silence. It is thus that *Newton*, the father of new Systems and Worlds, would have pined away in obscurity, and left the world in darkness; and had not one of his friends, more bold than himself, given his discoveries to the world, he would never have set his name to that divine Philosophy, which has since done honour to human nature, and crowned himself with immortality.

But in politics, the mischief of such a mandate would be unbounded. It would be at once gagging the mouth of Truth and fair investigation. Books, Pamphlets, Letters, Essays

—all must come forth curbed, bound, and fettered, and guarded with all the caution and quaintness of a lease or a deed of settlement. If an obnoxious truth is to be told to the Public concerning a Minister, and the Authour is obliged to subscribe it, will not this Minister, assuming all the surly port and pride of power, point his thunder at the unprotected Authour, *let slip his dogs of war*, and hunt him down through all the quirks and labyrinths of court-law, and state intrigue? What is it, in fact, but showing the Minister where to aim his fury, and giving him a lash wherewith to scourge the obnoxious and the innocent? Will a man for his own sake; or, if he has friends, family, and endearing connections in life, still more for their sake; venture to expose his interest, his property, and perhaps his life, to the mercy of a powerful and revengeful Minister, who probably has all the treasure and laws of the nation in his own gripe? He will not, if he is prudent. Mercy indeed, we are told, is sometimes seen at Court; but she never extends her hand to any but culprits.

of consummate guilt, the felons, the robbers, and murderers, of Newgate.

But what more is necessary to be said? MILTON will finish what I have begun. I entreat the Reader's candour for detaining him so long from the arguments of so enlarged a mind; and it is my excuse, while it is my pride, that I only fight under the shield of so great a name.

Let us hear no more, then, of these illiberal innovations, which would disgrace the ignorance and barbarous rage of the middle ages. If our Ministers have not resolved to reduce us once more to a level with the savages of the North, or with the slaves of the South of Europe, let them never attempt to establish Laws which would shackle every generous power of the Soul, and give the last blow to Learning and Freedom. Shall Britons, nurtured in the soil of Liberty, bred under her wings, our bosoms glowing with all the brilliant principles of her unshackled nature, prepared alike to deeds of Virtue or of Danger; shall we stoop to truckle at a Licenser's levee, and be tamely robbed of those immunities which elevate us above the other nations of the world?—Forbid

it Freedom, Virtue, public Spirit! and if such an attempt is made, I warn the heedless abettors of it to beware of the consequences. A similar measure was proposed to Parliament in the reign of king *William*, but they wisely rejected it. Should it be revived in the present reign, if our Parliament bear any respect to free-speaking, free-writing, to themselves—*they* will reject it too.

“ It is a very comfortable reflection to the
“ lovers of Liberty, that this peculiar privilege
“ of *Britain* is of a kind that cannot easily
“ be wrested from us, but must last as long
“ as our Government remains, in any degree,
“ free and independent. It is seldom, that
“ Liberty of any kind is lost all at once.
“ Slavery has so frightful an aspect to men
“ accustomed to Freedom, that it must steal
“ upon them by degrees, and must disguise it-
“ self in a thousand shapes, in order to be re-
“ ceived. But, if the Liberty of the Press ever
“ be lost, it must be lost at once. The general
“ Laws against Sedition and Libelling are at pre-
“ sent as strong as they possibly can be made.
“ Nothing can impose a farther restraint, but

“ either the clapping an Imprimatur upon the
“ Press, or the giving to the Court very large
“ discretionary powers to punish whatever dis-
“ pleases them. But these concessions would be
“ such a bare-faced violation of Liberty, that they
“ will probably be the last efforts of a despotic
“ Government. We may conclude, that the
“ Liberty of Britain is gone for ever when these
“ attempts shall succeed*.”

* HUME's *Essays*, Vol. I. p. 14. 8vo. edit.

A
LIST OF THE EDITIONS
OF
THE AREOPAGITICA,
KNOWN TO THE EDITOR,
which have been published separately
FROM
MILTON'S PROSE-WORKS.

Small Quarto, *Lond.* 1644; original Edition.

Octavo, *Lond.* 1738; *Thomson's* Edition.

Octavo, *Lond.* 1772; with a smart ironical Dedication to *C. Jenkinson*, Esqr. the late Earl of *Liverpool*.

Octavo, *Lond.* 1792. This was edited by *James Losh*, Esqr.

A sort of an abridgement of the AREOPAGITICA was published in 1693, small 4to, under the title of "Reasons humbly offered for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing. To which is subjoin'd, the

“just and true Character of Edmund *Bohun*, the
 “Licenser of the Press. In a Letter from a Gen-
 “tleman in the Country, to a Member of Parlia-
 “ment.” No other notice is taken of MILTON than
 by subscribing the initials I. M. It was also re-
 printed with the “Tractat of Education,” at the
 end of Archdeacon *Blackburne’s* Remarks on *John-*
son’s Life of MILTON; 12mo, 1780; at the ex-
 pense of the late Mr. Brand *Hollis*; and again in
 a Volume of Tracts, edited by Mr. *Maseres*, in
 1809.

And the celebrated *Mirabeau* published a Tract,
sur la Liberté de la Presse, imité de l’Anglois, de
 MILTON. It is for the most part a translation from
 the AREOPAGITICA; and I have reprinted it at the
 end of the present Publication. It may be con-
 ductive to the honour of our Country, by leading
 Foreigners to a better acquaintance with all the
 works of the finest character England has pro-
 duced. I do not say it’s noblest Poet: but the
 truth is, that between him and *Shakspeare*, it is a
 question rather of preference than of comparison.

COMMENDATORY TESTIMONIES.

THIS Discourse [AREOPAGITICA] was written at the time when the Parliament was passing an Ordonance, that no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper, should be printed, unless the same was first approv'd and licens'd by such as should be thereto appointed. Upon which MILTON argues with his usual strength and boldness; &c.—*The Thoughts of a Tory Author concerning the Press; p. 8, 8vo. 1712**.

* I have a strong persuasion, that this anonymous piece was by *Addison*. The vein of easy irony which runs through it strikes me as much in his manner; though it carries palpable marks of a hasty performance, to answer a sudden call. Compare likewise what is said, in *p. 2*, with one of the arguments which he at the same time urged in the *Spectator* (No. 451) against the restrictions on the Press then recently moved in Parliament: added to which *A. Baldwin*, the Publisher of the *Spectator*, also published the Pamphlet in question. It was so very unusual for the *Spectator* to venture a stricture on the political occurrences of the passing day, that having deviated in this instance from his regular course is of itself a circum-

Our divine Authour speaks like himself in his AREOPAGITICA. I shall with pleasure transcribe two or three passages. RICHARDSON; *Life of MILTON.*

His [MILTON's] Apology for the Liberty of the Press is in all respects a Master-piece. WARBURTON; *in a Letter to Birch; M.S. Brit. Mus.*

In 1644, he [MILTON] published his AREOPAGITICA, or Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the desire of several learned Men, and is, perhaps, the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that Liberty which is the basis and support of all other Liberties, the Liberty of the Press. Bishop NEWTON; *in the Life prefixed to his Editions of MILTON's Poetical Works.*

This piece, as well as that upon Education, is written with greater purity and less affectation of style, than his first works in Prose, and it is the stance sufficient to indicate that Addison was not slow to oppose every infringement on the Freedom of the Press.

strongest vindication, that ever appeared in [any] age or language, of the Liberty of the Press, which is the basis of all other. BIRCH; *in his revised Life of MILTON, prefixed to the Quarto Edition of the Prose-Works.*

This matchless Speech composed of noblest Learning, Wit, and Argument, was republished in 1738, with an excellent Preface by *Thomson*, Authour of *Liberty, a Poem, and other Works.* *Thomas HOLLIS; M. S. Note to the AREOPAGITICA.*

All Governments have an aversion to Libels. This Parliament, therefore, did by Ordinance restore the Star-Chamber practice; they recalled the Licensers, and sent forth again the Messenger. It was against the Ordinance, that MILTON wrote that famous Pamphlet called AREOPAGITICA. *Lord CAMDEN; in giving Judgement in Entick v. Carrington.*

In November 1644, MILTON published his famous Speech, for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing, against this Ordinance: And among the

glosses, which he says were used to colour this Ordinance, and make it pass, he mentions "the just retaining of each Man his several Copy; which GOD forbid should be gain-said." *Mr. Justice WILLES; in delivering his Opinion in Millar v. Taylor.*

MILTON addressed his noble Tract, intitled AREOPAGITICA, to an antimonarchical Parliament, from which he expected the reformation of all the errors and encroachments of the late kingly and prelatical Government. He was above the little dirty prejudices or pretences, that they might be trusted with power, only because he approved of the Men, or depended upon their favour to himself. He had his eye only on the Cause, and when the Presbyterians deserted that, he deserted them, not out of humour, as this rancorous Biographer [Samuel Johnson] would insinuate; but because they fainted in the progress of that work to the completion of which, their first avowed principles would have led them. Would Dr. Johnson have chosen to have submitted his works to the Licensers appointed by such a Parliament? or would he venture to expostulate with the powers

In being on any point of literary privilege, wherein he should think them essentially wrong, with that generous and honest Freedom, that MILTON exhibits in this incomparable Tract? No, he sneaks away from the question, and leaves it as he found it. *Archdeacon BLACKBURNE; in his Remarks on Johnson's Life of MILTON.*

The AREOPAGITICA——some tedious historical digressions, and some little sophistry excepted, is the most close, conclusive, comprehensive, and decisive vindication of the Liberty of the Press that has yet appeared, on a subject on which it is difficult to decide, between the licentiousness of Skepticism and Sedition, and the arbitrary exertions of Authority. *Laureate WARTON; in his Edition of MILTON'S Poems on several Occasions.*

Had the Authour of the Paradise Lost left us no composition but his AREOPAGITICA, he would be still entitled to the affectionate veneration of every Englishman, who exults in that intellectual light, which is the noblest characteristic of his country, and for which England is chiefly indebted to the Liberty of the Press. Our constant advocate for

Freedom, in every department of life, vindicated this most important Privilege with a mind fully sensible of its value; he poured all his heart into this vindication, and, to speak of his work in his own energetic language, we may justly call it, what he has defined a good Book to be, “the
“precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed
“and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond
“life.”

His late Biographer, instead of praising MILTON for a service so honourably rendered to Literature, seems rather desirous of annihilating its merit, by directing his sarcastic animosity against the Liberty of the Press. It seems not more reasonable, says *Johnson*, to leave the Right of Printing unrestrained, because Writers may be afterward censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our Laws we can hang a thief.

This is servile sophistry; the Authour's illustration of a thief may be turned against himself. To suffer no Book to be published without a License is tyranny as absurd as it would be to suffer no traveller to pass along the highway without producing a certificate that he is not a robber. Even

bad Books may have their use, as MILTON observes, HAYLEY ; *in his Life of MILTON.*

MILTON, in his most eloquent address to the Parliament, puts the Liberty of the Press on its true and most honourable foundation, Lord ERSKINE ; *in his Defence of Thomas Paine.*

The Liberty of the Press was about this time [1738] thought to be in danger ; and MILTON's noble and nervous Discourse on this subject, entitled AREOPAGITICA, was reprinted in an Octavo Pamphlet, with a Preface written by Thomson, the Poet. Dr. WARTON ; *in his Edition of Pope's Works.*

Against the apostate Patriots, who betrayed their Cause with the sanctity of prophaned Religion, MILTON advanced as the Champion of free Discussion ; and the effect of his zeal, in this instance, for the interests of genuine Liberty, has received the unanimous acclamation of the world. A strong cause was never more powerfully defended, and Truth in the AREOPAGITICA is armed by Reason and by Fancy, with weapons which are effective

with their weight and edge, while they dazzle us with their brightness.

This masterly and eloquent composition is opened with the most conciliatory address; and its arguments, which are individually strong, derive so much force from their mutual support, in a close and advantageous array, as to be absolutely irresistible, and imperiously to compel our conviction. *Charles SYMMONS, D. D.; in his Life of MILTON.*

Among these the Reader will find the excellent Tract of the celebrated John MILTON, on the Liberty of the Press, entitled AREOPAGITICA. *Cursor Baron MASERES; in the Preface to a Volume of miscellaneous Essays and Tracts which he re-edited.*

AREOPAGITICA: A Tract the most weighty in matter, and the most flowing in style of all MILTON's prose compositions. *John PEARSON, Esqr.; in his Review of Lord Selkirk's Objections to a Reform in the Representation of the People.*

The subject had been discussed with singular

energy and eloquence by MILTON, in his AREOPAGITICA, written against the Presbyterians, who had contended for the Freedom of the Press, when it was under the control of the episcopal Church; but rising afterward into power, they turned apostates to their own principles, and abusing their ascendancy in Parliament, procured an Order to be published, June 13, 1643, for restraining the Press, and placing "this formidable engine under the same control, of which they had lately indignantly complained*." But, notwithstanding the excellence and authority of MILTON'S work, the subsequent restraints on the Press, the great object of the Revolution, namely, the security and extension of Liberty, and the particular tenor of the Act of Toleration, rendered the publication of the other Tracts now reviewed seasonable and pointed. And though Licensers and Imprimaturs have been, since that period, confined to Oxford; yet repeated attempts made to restrain it, and frequent prosecutions of Authours and Publishers, in subsequent and recent times, evince the propriety

* Dr. *Symmons's* Life of MILTON, p. 213, edit. 1806:

and even necessity of often recalling the public attention to the equity, policy, and wisdom of watching the insidious designs, or resisting the more open attacks of Ministers of State against the Liberty of the Press. It should be also considered, whether the arguments which apply against preventing, do not hold good against punishing, the publications of Opinions, that, with or without reason, may be thought pernicious?

Dr. *Johnson*, speaking of MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA, says, "the danger of such unbounded Liberty (of unlicensed Printing), and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of Government, which *human understanding* seems unable to solve." Let us then have recourse, replies a judicious Writer, to a *divine understanding* for the solution of it: "Let both the tares and the wheat grow together till the harvest, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them*." *Joshua TOULMIN, D.D. in an Historical View of*

* *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esqr. vol. II. p. 551.*

*the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England,
from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen
Anne.*

In the latter of these years, he also issued from the Press his *AREOPAGITICA*, or Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing, the most splendid of his Prose-Works in English. *William GODWIN; Lives of Edward and John Philipps.*

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ARGUMENT
OF
MILTON'S AREOPAGITICA.

EXORDIUM.—The Ordinance of Parliament against printing unlicensed Books. The plan and order of this Discourse. The great influence of Books on all public affairs. The ill consequences of suppressing good ones. A view of the methods taken by ancient Common-Wealths, to restrain the publication of pernicious Books: in Athens; in Lacedæmon; in Rome. How far, and in what manner, the publication of dangerous Books was restrained, under the Roman Emperors, after they were become Christians. The Popes began to prohibit the reading of Books that they disliked, about the year 800. At last, about the time of the Council of Trent, they ordained that no new Book should be printed till it had been approved

by a Licenser. The Bishops, in imitation of the Popes, introduced this custom of Licensing into England. (2) Of the effect of reading all sorts of Books, and whether it does most good or harm. The Liberty of choosing what Books to read, as well as that of choosing what meats to feed on, ought to be left to every Man's own discretion. An examination of what *Plato* says upon this subject in his Book *de Republica*. (3) The Ordinance against printing Books without a License is not sufficient to prevent the printing of seditious Books, though that was the principal reason for making it. To make it effectual, it must be formed completely upon the model of the Licensing Ordinances of the Inquisition. These restraints upon the Liberty of the Press will neither prevent the growth of Sects and Schisms, nor contribute to the amendment of the manners of the People. It is almost impossible to find persons properly qualified to be Licensers, that will undertake the Office. (4) The Ordinance against printing Books without a License is a great discouragement to Learning and learned Men. This restraint is an indignity offered to the whole People of England, by supposing them to be so ignorant, weak, and unsteady, as to be in danger of being

led astray, by every new Book that is published. It is also a disgrace to the Ministers by supposing them not to have so instructed their flocks as to make them proof against the influence of bad Books. The learned Men of Italy lamented the restraints upon the Liberty of the Press which they laboured under, and considered it as the cause of the low state of Learning among them. That the like complaint is now generally made by the learned Men of England. This restraint upon Printing is a species of Tyranny similar to that which the People suffered under the late Bishops. It is owing to the pride and persecuting spirit of some of the Presbyterian Clergy. ✓ The preventing the Publication of new Opinions is a hindrance to the knowlege of the Truth, and of the grounds on which it is built. A description of a luxurious rich Man indolently resigning himself in matters of Religion to the direction of a Clergyman. A general-outward conformity, arising from Ignorance and Indolence, and attended with an indifference in matters of Religion, will be the consequence of this restraint upon the Liberty of the Press, among the Laity. And the Clergy will grow ignorant of the true grounds of Religion. We ought never to

desist from our inquiries after Truth, from a vain opinion that we have completely attained to it. The English Nation was always remarkable for their love of Knowledge, and their diligence in the pursuit of Truth. A description of the zeal and eagerness with which the vast number of people then in London were studying and examining the Doctrines of Religion. Diversity of opinions will arise hence, but ought not to be esteemed an evil. The great tranquillity of the People in London, though in a time of war and danger, and their earnest application to the business of Reformation, are proofs of their confidence in their Leaders, the two Houses of Parliament, and a strong presage of a final victory. A fine and just compliment to the Parliament. The late worthy Lord *Brook* was of opinion that different Sects of Religion ought to be tolerated. It is more particularly fit at this time, while the Reformation of Religion is yet in agitation and incomplete, to permit Men to publish their Thoughts without restraint. Many Things are in their nature indifferent, and a difference in opinion concerning them ought to be permitted. Truth is to be discovered, but by slow degrees, by the free communication of the Thoughts of learned

and industrious Men to the Public. Several of the Presbyterian Ministers themselves, did eminent service to the Public, at the beginning of this Parliament, by publishing bold, but useful Books, without Licenses, in contempt of the Laws concerning Licensing then in being. The Order of Parliament, next before the present one, was the properest Regulation that could be made concerning the Liberty of the Press.

MASERES.

A R E O P A G I T I C A

* THIS distinctive epithet he adopted from *Isocrates*, who inscribed ΑΡΕΙΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ Λόγος on one of his Orations. The concluding member of the passage relative to the present work which I have, in the Prefatory Remarks, quoted from MILTON'S *second Defence* — “ ad justæ Orationis modum *Areopagiticam* “ scripsi ” — appears to be decisive of the sense he affixed to ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΑ; that he applied it to the level and unvarnished diction which the Pleaders before that high Council were restricted to by a standing rule. At the same time it ought not to be dissembled, that this construction differs widely from the interpretation of the latest Editor of *Isocrates*. M. *Auger* determines roundly, that it was so called — “ ob nihil aliud quam “ quod ibi multa mentio fit *Areopagitici Senatûs.*” *Op. Om.* II. 88. Parisiis; 1782.

The Abbé's intimate acquaintance with this branch of classical Knowledge is, I believe, admitted by Scholars without hesitation. Still, I greatly question whether we have in this the correct acceptance, and suspect that it is but little worthy of attention. In the first place, it is easy for the Reader to ascertain for himself, that we meet with no such frequent mention of *Areopagus* in the Greek text as will authorize *Auger's* assertion, that it thence acquired the title. The name occurs, I think, but twice throughout the Oration. Next, it is contradictory to the explanations that gained the sanction of H. *Stephens* in his third Diatribe on this Writer, which are all far more plausible: “ ΑΡΕΟΠΑ-
 “ ΓΙΤΙΚΑ oratio aliud nomen (quod sciam) non habet: sed tan-
 “ tum *αρειοπαγίτικὸς λόγος* à Græcis itidem vocatur. Interpres
 “ senatoriam sive censoriam, aut de corrigendâ et ordinandâ re-
 “ publicâ, dici posse existimat. Scopus enim ejus, et summa

“ est, οτι δεῖ τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν καὶ ἀναρχίαν ἀνελόντας μετα-
 “ λαμβάνειν δημοκρατίαν. Existimatur autem vocata fuisse
 “ Areopagitica hæc Oratió, quod ab Isocrate in ipso Areopago
 “ habita fuerit: *sed fieri etiam potest* (meo quidem iudicio) *ut*
 “ *a dignitate et præstantia nomen hac consequuta sit: tanquam*
 “ *digna quæ vel in medio Areopago haberetur.* Sic de Oratione
 “ quæ Archidamus inscribitur, creditum est a quibusdam, sic
 “ esse dictam quod Archidamo conveniens esset, ac digna quæ
 “ ab eo apud Lacedæmonios haberetur.” *Fol.* 1593.

The precise purport of Isocrates' designation seems to be involved in a perplexity which it will not be required of an Editor of the English AREOPAGITICA to disentangle: his option is not hard to make. The last exposition of *H. Stephens* comes the nearest to that which MILTON recognizes; who by the *Areopagitic mode* must have intended to characterize the chastened and argumentative declamation he chose upon this occasion, because the most decorous modification of style in which to address the “ States and Governours of the Commonwealth;” especially when he was contending against an Order which they had recently promulgated, and which he was urging them to rescind.

That skilful Critic believed the Rhetor to have devised this superscription to apprise the Athenian Public, that his exertion merited for its tenour and its importance to have been delivered before their supreme Tribunal. This seems preferable to the interpretation of *Wolfius*, which is, that it was thus denominated because read to them; since it contains no internal proof, and there has not been transmitted down to us any extrinsic evidence that this Oration was actually recited in the Senate House. For all that we can infer from the succeeding words of *Plutarch*, or whoever it was that wrote the Life of *Isocrates*, is, that these political prologues were repeated, some by himself and some by others, in the Διατριβῆ, or gra-

tuitous School for Students in Philosophy and Rhetoric, which he had opened at Athens. Διατριβὴν δὲ συστήσαμενος, ἐπὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γραφεῖν ἅ διανοηθεῖη, ἐτραπέτο· καὶ γραφῶν τὸν τε πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, καὶ τινὰς ἄλλας τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, τοῦ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀνεγίνωσκεν, τοῦ δὲ ἑτεροῖς παρεσκευάζεν· ἡγουμένος, οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰ δεόντα φρονεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας προτρέψασθαι. It is, moreover, a construction less forced, than the learned Abbé's novel and arbitrary assumption.

The lively sympathies which agitated the aggregate Assemblies of the Athenians, and at times rose to turbulence and tumult, were remarkably opposite to the austerity thrown over the proceedings of this Tribunal, as well as to the imposing ceremonials it observed. Of this, the singular and in all probability salutary regulation, which I have had occasion to mention in another place, is an example; that in the pleadings before this venerable judicature, all the amplifications of Eloquence and even the embellishments of figurative Language were repressed, because of the liability of rhetorical aggravation by influencing the Imagination to operate disadvantageously to the dispensation of Justice. From the sedate deportment which the Areopagites affected in every circumstance and situation of life, the more effectually to inspire reverential submission to their decrees and adjudications, *Ἀρεοπαγιτής* grew to be proverbially taken for any Person noted for a grave demeanour, whether he were a member of this Body, or nothing more than a private Citizen. It would slide by an easy association into this sense: the transition of meaning to any oratorical composition which was written conformably to the rule imposed on all who spoke before the *Areopagita* was to the full as obvious and as pertinent.

A R E O P A G I T I C A ;

A

S P E E C H

O F

M R. J O H N M I L T O N

F O R

T H E L I B E R T Y O F V N L I C E N C ' D P R I N T I N G ,

T O

T H E P A R L A M E N T O F E N G L A N D .

Τόλεύθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, εἴ τις θέλει πόλει
Χρησόν τι βάλειμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁ χρήζων, λαμπρὸς ἔσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγᾶ, τί τέτων ἔστιν ἰσαίτερον πόλει;

EURIPID. HICETID.

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

EURIPID. HICETID.

L O N D O N ,

P R I N T E D I N T H E Y E A R E , 1 6 4 4 .

FOR
THE LIBERTY
OF
UNLICENC'D PRINTING.

THEY who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth¹ direct their Speech, High Court of Parliament! or wanting such accesse in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the publick good; I suppose them as at the beginning of no meane endeavour, not a little

¹ *They who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth—*] Again, in his Translation of *Psalm lxxxii.*

“ God in the great assembly stands
“ Of Kings and lordly *States.*”

One sense of this word then was, a *Personage of rank and power, a Ruler*: “ I can do nothing without all the *States* of *Arcadia*: what they will determine I know not.”—*Sidney's Arcadia*; p. 426, fol. 1655. And Ben *Jonson*, satirically: “ There's a letter sent me from one o' th' *States*, and to that purpose; he cannot write his Name, but that's his Mark.”—*Volpone*; A. iv, S. 1.

alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes²: some with doubt of what will be the successe, others with feare of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speake. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I enter'd, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these formost expressions now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this addresse thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power

² *Not a little* alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes:] He means that such men write under the impulse of a *high mental excitement*. What he intended more expressly appears where *Adam* contrasts his evenness of mind previously to the creation of *Eve*, with his rapturous emotions on beholding her transcendant beauty.

“ Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
 “ My story to the sum of earthly bliss,
 “ Which I enjoy; and must confess to find
 “ In all things else delight indeed, but such
 “ As, us'd or not, *works in the mind no change*,
 “ Nor vehement desire; these delicacies
 “ I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
 “ Walks, and the melody of birds: but here
 “ Far otherwise, transported I behold,
 “ Transported touch; here *passion* first I felt,
 “ Commotion strange! in all enjoyments else
 “ Superiour and *unmov'd*; here only weak
 “ Against the charm of Beauty's powerful glance.”

Par. Lost, VIII, 521.

What Poet has surpassed MILTON in descriptions of female Beauty, and its power? I know of none.

within me to a passion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface³. Which though I stay

³ *The thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface.*] He repeated this thought in the opening to the *Defensio Secunda*: “quoties animum refero, fateor me mihi
“vix temperare, quin aliùs atque audentiùs quàm pro exordii
“ratione insurgam.”

It is observable, that on every occasion MILTON bent the utmost force of his mind to the object before him. Writing familiarly to his early friend *Diodati*, he describes very forcibly the impetuosity with which his ardour in composition urged him forward to the completion of any work he took in hand. “Meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla
“ferme illius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam
“quo feror, et grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam.”—*Pr. W.* II, 567, *ed.* 1738.

Yet while his thoughts were full of life and his fancy warm, on some points enthusiastic, his spirit was indefatigable; neither did his rectitude of judgment often desert him.

The use of the word *passion* to denote any *mental perturbation* had not yet become antiquated. At the commencement of MILTON'S Tract, *Of Reformation*, &c. he says, “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,” &c.—*ubi sup.* I. 1.

Marlow's beautiful Ballad is entitled “The *passionate* Shepherd to his Love;” in the same sense *Shakspeare* has,

“’Twas Ariadne, *passioning*
“For Theseus’ perjury, and unjust flight.”

III. 271. *Johns. & Steev. ed.* 1793.

A judicious Critic, commenting on “High actions and high *passions* best describing,” (a verse in *Par. Reg.*) conceives that “*High actions* refer to Fate and Chance, the arguments and incidents of Tragedy; *high passions* to the *peripetiu*, or change of Fortune, which included the *παθος*, or affecting part.” See

not to confesse ere any aske, I shall be blamelesse, if it be no other, then the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish and promote their Countries Liberty; whereof this whole Discourse propos'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a trophy⁴. For this is not the Liberty which we

Mr. Dunster's Note in his Edit. of *Par. Reg.* p. 223, 4to. 1795. Is not this an overstrained interpretation? Need we dive so deep for the meaning? I apprehend it floats on the surface, and that our text concurs with the authorities I have produced to prove, that by "*high passions*" the Poet intended generally the *impassioned emotions of the mind*. Neither should we, I think, ascribe to "*high actions*" any larger extent of signification than *heroic deeds*.

⁴ *This whole Discourse propos'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a trophy.*] Did our Authour by *Trophy* anticipate a triumph of his work over the Parliament's Order? Or, are we to seek for a covert sense? Thus to use words is no very unfrequent practice with him. If so; he intended only to say, that this Speech would prove a *memorial*. The latter construction coincides with the following passage in his Tract, *Of Reformation, &c.* "This is the *Trophy* of their Antiquity, and "boasted Succession through so many ages." (p. 76. 4to. 1641.) And probably also with the epilogistic verses to his Book of Elegies, when declaring that he had weaned himself from amatory sing-song, and the lighter parts of poetry, with which in maturer life he thought that he had squandered the vacant hours of his earlier days :

"Hæc ego, mente olim læva, studioque supino,
"Nequitiaë posui vana *Trophæa* meæ."

His meaning, then, is that this Oration would be—"an undeniable *testimony* to the Liberty enjoyed under the Parliament, though he would not assume so far as to call it a work durable

can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill Liberty attain'd, that wise men looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a steepe disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles as was beyond the manhood of a *Roman* recovery, it will bee attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of GOD our deliverer, next, to your faithfull guidance and undaunted wisdom, Lords and Commons of *England!* Neither is it in GOD's esteeme the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men and worthy Magistrates; which if I now first should begin to doe, after so fair a progresse of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligation upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardiest, and the unwillingest of them that praise yee. Neverthelesse there being three principall things, without which all praising is but

“ enough for a *monument* by which it should be perpetuated to
“ after-times.”

There is the same thought in his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*: “ Ego quæ eximia, quæ excelsa, quæ omni laude
“ propè majora fuere, iis *testimonium*, prope dixerim *monumen-*
“ *tum*, perhibui, haud citò interiturum.” *Pr. W. II. 349, edit.*
“ 1738.

courtship and flattery, First, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise: next, when greatest likelihoods are brought that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascrib'd; the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actuall perswasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him⁵ who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant *Encomium*; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I so extoll'd I did not flatter, hath been reserv'd opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best Cov'nant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your pro-

⁵ *Rescuing the employment from him, &c.]* i. e. from *Hall*, Bishop of Norwich. In the controversy with the Non-conforming Divines, who under the anagrammatic signature of *Smectymnuus* wrote conjointly against our hierarchical establishment, the Bishop had spoken of the proceedings of the Parliament with cold and faint approbation, such as left scarcely room for a doubt of his secret and sinister bent. This faltering and penurious praise accorded so little with MILTON'S earnest persuasion of their merits as to call forth, on his part, a glowing panegyric. See *Pr. W. I.* 121. *ed.* 1738.

To this recorded testimony of his fidelity to the Parliamentary cause, he is appealing with a just confidence, as vindicating him from all suspicion that he was a *Malignant*, because now controverting the propriety of one of their "Orders."

ceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising: for though I should affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with Truth, with Learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publisht Orders which I should name, were call'd in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your milde and equall Government, when as private persons are hereby animated to thinke ye better pleas'd with publick advice, then other Statists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a trienniall Parliament⁶, and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates and cabin Counsellours⁷ that usurpt of late, when as

⁶ See ILLUSTRATION A.

⁷ Cabin counsellours—] That is, chamber-councillors, or counsellors who are assembled by the King in a private chamber as it were in the *cabin* of a ship, to give him advice in matters of state. MASERES.

This was said unadvisedly. The context—"Prelates and "cabin Counsellours that *usurpt of late*"—determines that MILTON pointed sarcastically at *Laud* and at *Strafford* and the other Individuals associated with them, who composed the Committee of Council, to whose care *Charles*, previously to the meeting of the Long Parliament, committed the principal management of public affairs, or to speak in the language of to-day, they were the King's *Cabinet Ministers*; of whom *Clarendon* says, "these persons made up the Committee of State, which "was reproachfully after called the *Junto*, and enviously then "in the Court, the *Cabinet Council*.—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, I. 233, 8vo.

MILTON appears to have shunned French terms; therefore it

they shall observe yee in the midd'st of your victories and successes more gently brooking writt'n exceptions against a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake ostentation of wealth⁸, would have endur'd the least signifi'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus farre presume upon the meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatnesse, Lords and Commons⁹! as what your publisht Order hath

was that he wrote *cabin* for *cabinet* here, as in Εἰκονοκλάστης: "They would not stay perhaps the Spanish demurring, and "putting off such wholesome acts and counsels, as the Politic *Cabin at Whitehall* had no mind to." p. 30, 8vo. 1690.

⁸ *Other Courts which had produc't nothing worth memory but the weake ostentation of wealth,*] This I take to be an allusion to the imposing pomp which the Court of Star-Chamber displayed on particular days. In "A Discourse concerning the "High Court of Star-Chamber," printed in *Rushworth*, it is observed that, "It was a glorious sight upon a Star-day, when "the Knights of the Garter appear with the Stars on their Garmments, and the Judges in their Scarlet."—*Hist. Collect.* II. 473.

⁹ *The meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatnesse, Lords and Commons!*] *Civil* retains here its Latin idiom: "cum sic hominis natura generata sit, ut habeat quiddam innatum "quasi *civile* atque popolare, quod Græci πολιτικὸν vocant."

Cicero; de Fin. Bon. & Mal: lib. 5, sect. 23.

And *gentle* then meant *well-born*, or of *no vulgar rank*:

"Be he ne'er so vile
"This day shall *gentle* his condition."

Shakespeare; Hen. V. A. 4. S. 3.

Again; "There is every dayes experience of Gentlemen

directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend my selfe with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride¹ of a *Hunnish* and *Norwegian* statelines. And

“born, that are sordid and mean in nature, and of Plebeians
 • “by birth that are *genteel’d* in disposition.”—*A Commentary on Fortescue De Laudibus Legum Angliæ; by E. Waterhous, Esq. p. 529. fol. 1663.*

¹ *The old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride, &c.]* By *humanity* we are to understand *courtesy, politeness*, a Latin sense; the same as in the acknowledgments he addressed in *Cromwell’s* name to the Count of Oldenburgh for a set of German Horses which that Prince had presented to the Protector:—“*cùm quòd essent ipsæ singulari erga me humanitate ac benevolentia refertæ.*”—*Pr. W. II. 434. ed. 1738.*

Humane was to convey a similar sense in *Par. Lost, II. 109.*

“Belial, in act more graceful and *humane.*”

But the Commentators, from *P. Hume* downward, have passed it over, as if they considered it to stand there in the acceptation now received among us.

The Athenians, with a vanity common to every People pre-eminent in the arts of cultivated life, regarded all nations but the Greeks as strangers to civilization. With them he who was not a Greek was comprehended under the general appellation of *Barbarian.*

In this large sense it was that *Cato*, the Censor, while vehement in his opposition to the introduction of Grecian Literature at Rome, warned his Son, “*quandocumque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet. Tum etiam magis, si medicos suos huc mittet. Jurarunt inter se, barbaros necare omnes medicinâ. Et hoc ipsum mercede faciunt, ut fides iis sit, et facile disper-*

out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet *Goths* and *Jutlanders*, I could name him who from his private house wrote that Discourse to the Parliament of *Athens*, that perswades them to change the forme of *Democracy* which was then establisht². Such

“ dant. Nos quoque dictitant *barbaros*; et spurcius nos, quam “ alios opicos, adpellatione foedant.”—*Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 39, cap. 7.*

MILTON, then, sets “the elegant humanity of *Greece*” in opposition to “*barbarick* pride” with exact propriety. Of this propriety, *Warburton*, who thought highly of the *AREOPAGITICA*, and imitated it, seems to have been unaware; for when copying this passage, he gave these phrases a different construction. This was in his “*Enquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and “ Miracles, as related by Historians;*” where he remarks, “We “ justly pride ourselves in imitating the free Manners and *elegant “ Humanity of Greece* and *Rome*; rather than the *barbarous In- “ quisitorial Spirit of a Spanish or Italic Hierarchy.*”—*Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian; p. 96, 8vo. 1789.*

² *I could name him who from his privat house wrote that Discourse to the Parliament of Athens, that perswades them to change the forme of Democracy which was then establisht.]*

He took this immediately from *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*; who had said of *Isocrates*, “*Ἡ τις ἐκ αὐτῶν θαυμάσειε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆ ῥήτορος; ὃς ἐτόλμησε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ πολιτείας Ἀθηναίοις, ἀξιῶν μεταβῆσθαι μὲν τὴν τότε καθεστῶσαν δημοκρατίαν; ὡς μεγάλα ἐλάπτυσαν τὴν πόλιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐδεῖς ἐπεχειρεῖ λέγειν.*—*De Antiquis Oratoribus Commentarii; p. 83. 1781. Mores's edit.* At the same time he might have also remembered *Cicero*. “*Exstitit igitur jam senibus illis, quos paulo ante “ diximus, Isocrates, cujus domus cunctæ Græciæ quasi ludus “ quidam patuit, atque officina dicendi, magnus orator, & per- “ fectus magister, quamquam forensi luce caruit, intraque pa-*

honour was done in those dayes to men who profest the study of wisdome and eloquence not only in their own Country, but in other lands, that Cities and Siniories heard them gladly, and with great respect³, if they had ought in publick to admonish

“ rietes aluit eam gloriam, quam nemo quidem, meo iudicio est “ poeta consecutus.”—*De Clar. Orat. s. 32.* MILTON forbore to “ name him,” lest he should afford opportunity for the invidious remark, that he had made a proud comparison in placing himself by the side of a Professor of Rhetoric the most consummate that Athens ever saw.

We learn from the Oration wherein *Isocrates* urged *Philip* to mediate a general peace among the Grecian States, and in confederacy with them to turn their united arms against the Persian Monarch; and the same again from one of those he is thought to have composed for recital at a Panathenaic commemoration, that organic impediments, and a stridulous voice, disqualified him for a public speaker: from this cause, instead of assisting personally at their deliberative Assemblies, this renowned Teacher of Eloquence, like some others, gave his counsel to the Athenians in the same mode by which MILTON now “ admonishes” the Parliament—in the form of a Speech, supposed to have been spoken.

³ [Cities and Siniories heard them gladly, and with great respect.] What *Dionysius* of Halicarnassus, and after him *Hieronymus Wolfius*, relate concerning the celebrity of *Isocrates* and his political writings seems to have afforded the hint for this statement. “ Εχων δὲ πολλὰς αὐτῆ καὶ ἄλλης διεξιέναι λόγους, πρὸς πόλεις τε καὶ δυνάστας καὶ ἰδιώτας γραφεύτας, &c.—*De Antiquis Oratoribus Commentarii*; p. 89. *Mores's edit.* 1781. And *Wolfius*: “ Et “ ipse apud Græciæ principes ac reges, —celebris et gratus “ fuit: & plerasque orationes vel ad maximas Græciæ civitates, “ vel ad reges & principes scripsit.”—*De Vita Isoc.*

We must not forget that *Cities* is here used by MILTON in the Latin signification; for an independent community living under

the State. Thus did *Dion Prusæus*, a stranger and a privat Orator⁴, counsell the *Rhodians* against a

free Government. *Signiories*, in one of its senses, was, we may suppose, an honorary appellation equivalent to *States*, as already explained in a note on the first sentence of this Oration. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that *Signiory* was the style and title of honour for the supreme magistracy in the Italian Republics. Agreeably to which, *Harrington* proposed for his imaginary Commonwealth—"that the Duke with six " Counsellors be the *signiory*." *Works*; p. 529. fol. 1747. And *Howell* entitled the first Section of his *Survey of Venice*, "Of the Republic or *Signiory* of Venice."

In *Shakspeare*, this meaning of *Signiory* has not hitherto been explained.

—"to him put

"The manage of my *State*; as, at that time,

"Through all the *Signiories* it was the first,

"And *Prospero* the *prima Duke*."

Tempest, A. i. S. 2.

Prospero is speaking of the Republics, into which so considerable a portion of Italy was in the middle ages parcelled out.

Thus when *Othello* says,

"My services which I have done the *Signiory*,"

he makes precisely the same boast, as when he afterward observes that he had "done the *State* some service;" and this line determines the word to mean the same as in my text, and in the quotation from the *Tempest*,

⁴ *Dion Prusæus*, a stranger and a privat Orator—] *Dio* or *Dion* was a Rhetorician, and a Heathen Philosopher; he was called *Prusæus* from *Prusa*, a town in Bithynia, his birth-place. For his eminence in Literature, he was favoured by *Nerva*, and *Trajan* bestowed marks of peculiar grace on him. *Fabric. Bibliot. Græc.* III. 305. *Hamburg.* 1717. The splendid elegance of his Orations obtained for him the high-sounding surname of *Chrysostom*. From this appellation he has by some

former Edict: and I abound with other like examples, which to set heer would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude⁵, so much must be derogated, as

Writers been confounded with *John Chrysostom*, the eloquent Preacher; to whom our Authour hereafter gives the epithet of *holy* to discriminate them.—Why MILTON denominated him “a *privat Orator*,” I have explained in the Prefatory Remarks.

⁵ *Those naturall endowments haply not the worst, for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude.*] It stands “worst” in all the Editions, that have been in my hands, but the context makes it, I think, manifest, that MILTON wrote “haply not the worse.”

The apprehension that the ungenial Climate of his native country might be detrimental to his poetical talent, is not unfrequently expressed in our Authour’s writings: yet if he seriously entertained the fancy, that the scale of Genius is graduated by degrees of Latitude, his lavish encomium hereafter in this Tract on the proud pre-eminence of the English in mental qualifications is much at variance with that opinion. It is where he beseeches the Parliament to beware of what they do by placing the Press under an *Imprimatur*—“*Lords and Commons of England! consider what Nation it is whereof ye are and whereof ye are the Governors: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse; not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to.*”

Montesquieu has dedicated more than one Book of his work on *Laws* to the effects of Climate upon the character of Nations. But may we not with more truth attribute their diversity to the predominancy of moral rather than of physical causes? And think that *Gray* went on surer grounds in ascribing a superiour efficacy to the wise institutions resulting from free Governments than to the influence of Soil and the temperature of the Air?

to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior, as your selves are superior to the most of them who receiv'd their counsell: and how farre you excell them, be assur'd, Lords and Commons! there can no greater testimony appear, then when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeyes the voice of reason, from what quarter soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your Predecessors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both that love of Truth which ye eminently professe, and that uprightnesse of your judgement

See the sketch of his Ethical Poem, in which he projected to show, that a full development of Intellect may under due culture be the growth of every Country.

“ How rude soe'er the exterior form we find,
 “ Howe'er Opinion tinge the varied Mind,
 “ Alike, to all the kind, impartial Heav'n
 “ The sparks of Truth and Happiness has giv'n.”

Works; by Mason: p. 195, 4to.

By the way, it is singular enough, that *Gray's* first Editor, himself a Poet, should not have perceived that his Authour, in the proemial lines to the exquisite fragment he left of this philosophical work, was emulating the majestic march of *Dryden*. In his own disposition of the Similies in this exordium, a disposition which *Mason* would disturb, he is pacing in the very footsteps of his great predecessor.

which is not wont to be partiall to your selves; by judging over again that Order which ye have ordain'd to regulate Printing: *That no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper shall be henceforth printed, unlesse the same be first approv'd and licenc't by such, or at least one of such as shall be thereto appointed.* For that part which preserves justly every mans Copy to himselfe⁶, or provides for the Poor, I touch not, only wish they be not made pretenses to abuse and persecute honest and painfull men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother *quadragesimal* and *matrimonial* when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily⁷, as shall lay before ye, first the

⁶ *For that part which preserves justly every Mans Copy to himselfe, &c.] See this Order in Ruslworth's Hist. Collect. V. 335.*

Lord *Mansfield*, in the Case of Literary Property, laid considerable stress on this passage, as an authority of weight for the Judgement he was pronouncing in favour of Copyrights:

“The single opinion of such a Man as MILTON, speaking after much consideration upon the very point, is stronger than any inferences from gathering acorns, and seizing a vacant piece of ground; when the Writers, so far from thinking of the very point, speak of an imaginary state of Nature before the invention of Letters.”—*Holiday's Life of Lord Mansfield; p. 232.*

Our Authour could not have ventured to expect that his Tract would be cited from the Bench in such terms of praise by a Chief Justice of England.

⁷ *That other clause of Licencing Books, which we thought had dy'd with his brother quadragesimal and matrimonial, when the Prelats expir'd, I shall now attend with such a Homily,] Quad-*

inventors of it to bee those whom ye will be loath to own; next, what is to be thought in generall of reading, what ever sort the Books be; and that this

ragesimal:—however quaintly the word now sounds, we must not impute this Latin synonyme for the English Adjective *lenten* to MILTON as a pedantic intrusion of his own on our language. I find it in *The Ordinary*, one of *Cartwright's Comedies*:

“ But *Quadragesimal* wits and fancies leane
“ As ember weeks.”

p. 49, 12mo. 1651.

Quadragesimal Licenses, I conclude to have been the permissions which, even subsequently to the Reformation, were granted for eating white Meats in *Lent*, on Ember Days, and on others, which were appointed by Act of Parliament for Fish-Days. “ Queen Elizabeth used to say that she would never eat Flesh in *Lent* without obtaining *License* from her little black Husband,” (*Walton's Life of Hooker*: p. 209. ed. 1807) as she called Archbishop *Whitgift*.

During the inter-regnum, Marriages were by an Ordinance of Parliament solemnized before a civil Magistrate, and without a license. I copy the form of a Certificate on the occasion from the original, now before me. “ Sussex.—These are to certifie
“ those whom it may concerne that *Thomas Holt* of Petersfield
“ in the County of Southton Clerk, and *Charity Shirley* of Kird-
“ ford in the County of Sussex, Spinster, were married at Plai-
“ stow in the Parish of Kirdford on the one and twentieth of
“ May by Richd. Knowles Esqr. one of the Commissioners
“ for the Peace in the said County of Sussex.

(L. S.)

RICH. KNOWLES.

“ In the presence of
“ WILLM. MILLWOOD,
“ JOHN BEATON.”

MILTON'S allusion must have been to this practice.

Homily is here in its original signification—a *Discourse*, or *Discussion*; Ὁμιλία; see ὉΜΙΑΟΣ, in *Steph. Thes. Græc.*

Order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be suppress. Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement of all Learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might bee yet further made both in religious and civill Wisdome.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as Men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of Life in them to be as active as that Soule was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.] I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, GODS Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills Reason it selfe, kills the Image of GOD, as it were in the eye. Many a Man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the

precious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a Life beyond Life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a Life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected Truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse. We should be wary therefore what persecution we raise against the living labours of publick men, how we spill that season'd Life of Man preserv'd and stor'd up in Books; since we see a kinde of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall Life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of Reason it selfe, slaies an Immortality rather than a Life^s. But

^s — *if it extend to the whole impression, a kinde of massacre whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elementall life, but strikes at that ethereall and fift essence, the breath of Reason it selfe; slaies an Immortality rather than a Life.*]

It is far from unlikely, that this passage floated on Lord Shaftesbury's mind, while remarking that *Hobbes* "acted in the "spirit of *Massacre*" by recommending "the very extinguishing of Letters," and the extirpation of Greek and Roman Literature (*Characteristics*; I. 50. 12mo.). The noble Authour well subjoins, "by this reasoning it should follow, that there "can never be any tumults or deposing of Sovereigns at Constantinople or in Mogul." But the Writer of the *Leviathan* had witnessed the instructive lessons taught by antient Learning to *Neville* and *Harrington*, to *Sydney* and *MILTON*. This it was that made him desirous of its extermination.

As now, so in *Par. Lost*, our Authour availed himself of

lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence,
while I oppose licencing⁹, I refuse not the paines

Aristotle's hypothesis, then very generally received, of four Elements which composed the material World, with a *fifth* Essence, peculiar to GOD and to the Soul of Man :

“ Swift to their several quarters basted then
“ The cumbrous *Elements*, Earth, Flood, Air, Fire,
“ And this *ethereal Quintessence* of Heaven
“ Flew upward,”—

III. 714.

The conceit of “ *slaying an Immortality* rather than a *Life*” is quite in the metaphysical style of that day ; and will be elucidated by the succeeding extract from *Bacon's Advancement of Learning* ; whence it is highly probable that he derived it. “ Some of the Philosophers which were least divine, and most “ immersed in the senses, and denied generally the Immortality “ of the Soul ; yet came to this point, that whatsoever motions “ the spirit of Man could act and perform without the organs of “ the body, they thought, might remain after Death, which were “ only those of the Understanding, and not of the affections, so “ immortal and incorruptible a thing did Knowledge seem unto them “ to be.” *Works* ; I. 35. 4to. 1765.

Donne and *Cowley* are under obligations to the same rich mine of metaphoric and philosophical imagery, which, however unfit, as was not unfrequently the case, they pressed into the service of Poetry.

⁹ *Lest I should be condemn'd of introducing licence, while I oppose Licencing—*] “ Condemn'd of” was once common. Thus *Lylie* ; “ That thou shouldest *condemne* me of rigor.” *Euphuus: The Anatomie of Wit. Signat D. 2. sm. 4to: 1636.* And it was still the language of the time. *May* writes, “ The King “ was not satisfied in conscience to *condemne* him of High-Trea- “ son.”—*Hist. of the Parliament, p. 63. 4to.* *Of* was heretofore used with much laxity ; as equivalent to *from, an, for, by, with, at, concerning, and among.* Sometimes it seems to have been merely expletory ; as hereafter in this Tract—“ What some

to be so much historical, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licencing crept out of the *Inquisition*, was caught up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our Presbyters.

“lament of.”—*Hurd* thought “Quench’d of hope” to be a Grecism.—*Works*; I. 84. 8vo. This might have been safely predicated if it had been found in MILTON. We may be assured that *Shakspeare*, whose phraseology it is, only availed himself of the licence of his day.

Scholars agree that the idioms of the Greek coalesce more aptly with our Language than with the Latin.

In *Sonnet XII*, MILTON says, of some Adversaries,

“ That bawl for Freedom in their senseless mood,
 “ And still revolt when Truth would set them free.
 “ Licence they mean when they cry Liberty;
 “ For who loves that, must first be wise and good.”

He was fond of this sentiment, and repeats it again and again through his writings. There is a shining sentence of the same tenour in his *Treatise Of Reformation, &c.* “ Well knows every
 “ wise nation that their Liberty consists in manly and honest
 “ labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the Marriage
 “ Bed, which in both sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes
 “ to loyall Enjoyments; and when the People slacken, and fall
 “ to loosenes and riot, then doe they as much as if they laid
 “ downe their necks for some wily Tyrant to get up and ride.”
p. 60. 4to. 1641.

And he protests much the same very early in the *Defensio secunda*—“ Quos non legum contemptus aut violatio in effrenatam licentiam effudit; non virtutis et gloriæ falsa species, aut stulta veterum æmulatio inani nomine Libertatis incendit, sed innocentiam vitæ, morumque sanctitas rectum atque solum iter, ad Libertatem veram docuit, legum et religionis justissima defensio necessario armavit.”

In *Athens*, where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of *Greece*¹, I finde but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheisticall, or libellous. Thus the Books of *Protagoras* were by the Iudges of *Areopagus* commanded to be burnt, and himselve banish't the territory for a Discourse begun with his confessing not to know *whether there were Gods, or whether not?* And against defaming, it was decreed that none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of *Vetus Comædia*², whereby we may guesse how they censur'd

¹ *In Athens, where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of Greece—*] He might remember the testimony of *Velleius Paterculus* to the pre-eminent distinction of Athens: “Una urbs Attica pluribus annis eloquentia, quam universa Grecia, uberiusque floruit; adeo ut corpora gentis illius separata sint in alias civitates, ingenia vero solis Atheniensium muris clausa existimes.”—*Hist. Rom. lib. I. in fine.*

Athens might not unaptly be described as the *punctum saliens in vitello orbis*.—*Pindar* is remarked by the same Historian to have been the only Greek writer of eminence who was not a native of *Attica*.

Of all the Grecian Republics, *Athens* was the most popular in its forms and in its administration. Such was *Florence* among the free States of *Italy*, and the liberal Arts and the Muses adorned that City as their favourite residence, in preference to *Venice* under an austere and jealous Aristocracy.

² *The Books of Protagoras were by the Judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himselve banisht the territory for a Discourse begun with his confessing not to know, whether there were Gods, or whether not? And against defaming it was decreed that*

Libelling: And this course was quick enough, as *Cicero* writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other Atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event shew'd. Of other sects and opinions though tending to voluptuousnesse, and the denying of divine Providence they tooke no heede. Therefore we do not read that either *Epicurus*; or that libertine school of *Cyrene*, or what the *Cynick*

none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comœdia, &c.] The first part of this passage is a translation from *Cicero*: "Protagoras—cùm in principio libri sic posuisset, "de Divis neque ut sint, neque ut non sint, habeo dicere, Atheniensium jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus, librique ejus "in concione combusti." &c. *De Nat. Deorum*: l. 1. s. 23.

"The Judges of *Areopagus*;" i. e. of *Mars's Hill*. Here is one among numberless instances of MILTON'S scrupulous attention to propriety of phrase: "the Judges of the *Areopagus*," would have been as solecistical as "the Judges of the Westminster Hall." Yet he defended an error similar to this in the writers of *Smectymnuus*; for which he was smartly attacked in a Tract intitled, "A modest Confutation of a slanderous and scurrilous Libell," &c. which was written in reply to one of his vindications of these anti-prelatical Ministers; where his Opponent says; "As you have censured the Remonstrants Poesie, so "in like manner you have justified a slip in the Smectymnuans "Philology; I mean, so weakly, not so maliciously, they mistook a Bench for a Judge; or rather the place for the men: "Arcopagi for *Areopagita*; and you make it good:" &c. p. 11. 4to. 1642.

By *Vetus Comœdia*, I conclude him to allude to these lines in *Horace*:

"Successit *vetus* his *Comœdia*, non sine multa
 "Laude: sed in vitium libertas excidit, et vim
 "Dignam lege regi." *Epist. ad Pisones*: v. 281.

impudence utter'd^s, was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comedians were suppress'd, though the acting of them were forbid; and that *Plato* commended the reading of *Aristophanes*⁴, the loosest of

³ *That libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynick impudence utter'd.]* The "*Cyrenaic rout*," as he somewhere styles them, were the followers of *Aristippus*, who placed the supreme good in sensual pleasure.—*Cynic impudence* is from *Diogenes Laertius*: "ἄλλως μὲν εὐτονος πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, αἰδήμων δὲ ὡς πρὸς τὴν ΚΤΝΙΚΗΝ ἘΝΑΙΣΧΥΝΤΙΑΝ." p. 164. fol. 1664.

⁴ *That Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, &c.]* This might be taken from *Petit, de Vita & Scriptis Aristophanis*; who says, "Quod autem magis mirandum, *Plato*, tantus *Socratis* propugnator, *Dionysio regi Syracusano*, statum reip. *Atheniensis*, & linguam ex optimo autore perdiscere cupienti, *Aristophanes Comædias misit*, ut ex iis linguam et ingenium *Atheniensium* simul cognosceret: quibus ille, licet *Siculus*, tantum profecit, ut *Olympiadis 103 anno primo* (qui illi ultimus vitæ fuit) *Tragædiam docuerit Athenis*; qua & victor evasit. *Quin & Antiochenus ille Johannes*, ab oris ubertate *Chrysostomus* cognominatus, *Constantinopoleos patriarcha*, fertur bonam partem suæ facundiæ, tum vehementiæ in corripiendis vitiis, maxime muliercularum, ex *Aristophanis* pæne quotidiana lectione hausisse; cum ut *Alexander olim Homeri* poëma, sic sanctus hic vir *Aristophanis Comædias* pulvillo subdere solitus fuerit."

MILTON seems to guard us against considering this anecdote of "*holy Chrysostom's*" fondness for the Plays of *Aristophanes* to rest on any solid foundation; and *Menage* expresses doubts still stronger. While vindicating himself for having been a reader of *Rabelais*, he remarks, in the *Avis au Lecteur*, prefixed to the second part of his *Observations sur la Langue Française*, that, "*Clément Alexandrin cite à toute heure Aristophane*. "*S. Jan Chrysostome le lisoit continuellement, & le mettoit la nuit sous son chevet, si on en croit Alde Manuce dans la Dédi-*

them all, to his royall scholler *Dionysius*, is commonly known, and may be excus'd, if holy *Chrysostome*, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the stile of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon*, considering that *Lycurgus* their Law-giver was so addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the first that brought out of *Ionia* the scattered workes of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from *Creet* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes⁵, the better to plant among

“cace des Oeuvres de ce Comique : car je ne say point d'auteur plus ancien qui ait fait mention de cette amitié de S. Jan Chrysostome pour les Comédies d'Aristophane.” *Paris*, 1676.

We may indeed well suspect this often-repeated story to be but a paraphrase of what *Diogenes Laertius* relates of *Plato* using the Mimes of *Sophon* for a pillow (In *Vit. Plat. Segm.* 18.) with a fresh application to this Father of the Church. To be sure it is whimsical, that such Plays should become the favourite volume of a Saint. But in 1498, the date of the Aldine Edition of the Greek Comedian, such a circumstance would be regarded as no slight recommendation of the Authour, and was, we may readily conceive, the inducement to its introduction into a dedicatory Epistle of the *Editio princeps* of *Aristophanes*.

⁵ *Lycurgus*—was so addicted to elegant Learning, as to have been the first that brought out of *Ionia* the scatter'd workes of *Homer*, and sent the Poet *Thales* from *Creet* to prepare and mollifie the *Spartan* surlinesse with his smooth songs and odes, &c.] This anecdote, so far as it regards *Lycurgus* and the Poemis of *Homer*, is to be found in *Ælian*; *Var. Hist.* l. 13. c. 14. But since that Authour is silent as to this mission of the *Cretan* Poet to *Sparta*,

them law and civility; it is to be wonder'd how muselesse and unbookish they were, minding

we may conclude it to be clear, that it was *Plutarch's* Life of the Lacedæmonian Law-giver, that *MILTON* had now in his recollection; the Biographer having related both these facts. Ἐνα δὲ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐκεῖ σοφῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν, χάριτι καὶ φιλία πείσας, ἀπεστείλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, Θαλήτα, ποιητὴν μὲν δαιμονία λυρικῶν μελῶν, καὶ πρόσχημα τὴν τεχνὴν ταύτην πεποιημένον, ἔργῳ δὲ, ἅπερ οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν νομοθετῶν διαπραττόμενον. λόγοι γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ ὠδαὶ πρὸς εὐπειθειαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀνακλητικοὶ διὰ μελῶν ἄμα καὶ ῥυθμῶν, πολὺ τὸ κόσμιον ἐχόντων καὶ καταστατικῶν ὧν ἀκροῶμενοι κατεπραῖνοντο λεληθότως τὰ ἤθη, καὶ συνωκιοῦντο τῶν ζήλων τῶν καλῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιχωριαζούσης τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακοθυμίας· ὥστε τρόπον τινὰ τῶν Λυκούργῳ προδοποιεῖν τὴν παιδευσιν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Κρήτης ὁ Λυκούργος ἐπὶ Ἀσίαν ἔπλευσεν, βουλόμενος (ὡς λέγεται) ταῖς Κρητικαῖς διαίταις, εὐτελέσιν ἄσσαις καὶ αὐστηραῖς, τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πολυτελείας καὶ τρυφάς, (ὡς περὶ ἰατρὸς σώμασιν ὑγιεινοῖς ὕπουλα καὶ νοσώδη) παραβαλὼν, ἀποθεωρῆσαι τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου ποιήμασιν ἐντυχῶν πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, παρὰ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς Κλεοφύλου διατηρουμένοις, καὶ κατιδὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς πρὸς ἴδονην καὶ φηκασίαν διατριβῆς τὸ πολιτικὸν καὶ παιδευτικὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀνάμειγμένον, ἐγράψατο προθύμως, καὶ συνήγαγεν ὡς δεῦρο κομιῶν. ἦν γὰρ τις ἤδη δόξα τῶν ἐπῶν ἀμαυρὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἐκέκτηντο δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ μέρη τινὰ σποράδην τῆς ποιήσεως ὡς ἔτυχε διαφερομένης· γνωριμὴν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος ἐποίησε Λυκούργος. *Op. Omp. I. 41. Rualdi Edit. fol. 1624.*

I have extracted this passage because some have confounded "the Poet Thales" with the Milesian Sage of the same name. Among others, the learned *Hofmann*, who in his *Lexicon Universale* states, that *Solon* sent the Lyric Poet of Crete to soften and refine the Spartans, whom (he says) the discipline of *Lycurgus* had rendered too rugged in their manners: see the article *THALES*. *Plutarch*, it is true, represents that a conference took place between the Athenian conditor *Legum* and the Sage before-

nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they dislik'd all, but their owne *Laconick Apothegms*, and took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of their City, perhaps for composing in a higher straine then their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to⁶: Or if it were for his broad verses,

mentioned, *Thales of Miletus*. But he has not recorded any further connection between them; and of the *Poet Thales* he makes no mention in the *Life of Solon*.

It is of importance to rectify any error in *Hofmann's* vast store-house of Learning; the merit of which is not so generally known as it deserves, unless more writers than I apprehend consult him, and unhandsomely conceal their obligations.

⁶ — took a slight occasion to chase *Archilochus* out of their City, perhaps for composing in a higher straine then their owne souldierly ballats and roundels could reach to.] The *Lacedæmonians*, some writers of antiquity say, banished *Archilochus* for an unpatriotic sentiment in a poem, wherein he had ventured to tell the Citizens of Sparta that it was better for a man to throw away his arms than to lose his life: but others assert it to have been for the indecent licentiousness of his verses that he was expelled the Republic. See *Commentatio de Vita & Scriptis Archilochi*, prefixed by *Liebel* to his Edition of this Poet's remains; *Sect. 6 & 17. Lipsiæ*; 1812.

Strictly, a *roundel* was a species of Sonnet which returned at the close to the same words with which it began. *Rondeau: Fr.* In the text by *Roundels* he meant *Songs*; as in *Chaucer's Legend of good Women*:

“ And many an Himpne, for your holy daies,
“ That highten balades, *rondels*, *virelaies*.”

p. 337, *Speght's edit.* 1687.

By “souldierly ballats and roundels” did he intend merely camp-ballads, or such national war-songs as the verses of *Tyr-tæus*?

they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste⁷. Thus much may give us light after what sort Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, resembling most the *Lacedæmonian* guise, knew of Learning little but what their twelve Tables, and the *Pontifick* College with their *Augurs* and *Flamins* taught them in Religion and Law, so unacquainted with other Learning, that when *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, with the *Stoick Diogenes* comming Embassadors to *Rome*, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no lesse a man then *Cato* the Censor⁸, who

⁷ *Euripides* affirms in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste.] The following is the passage to which he has reference :

“ Οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιτό τις,
“ Σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατιδων κόρη.” v. 595.

But we must not forget that this depreciating representation of the female character at Sparta, was to be recited before an Athenian audience; nor the keen rivalry that subsisted between the two States: each striving to outstrip the other in the race of glory, and to obtain a paramount influence in Greece.

In the succeeding sentence, *Birch* and *Maseres* read inaccurately, and to the injury of the sense, “ after what sort of Bookes.”

⁸ *When Carneades and Critolaus, with the Stoick Diogenes comming Embassadors to Rome, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a tast of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by*

mov'd it in the Senat to dismisse them speedily, and to banish all such *Attick* bablers out of *Italy*. But *Scipio* and others of the noblest Senators withstood him and his old *Sabin* austerity; honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before hee was so scrupulous⁹. And yet at the same time, *Nævius* and *Plautus*, the first Latine Comedians, had fill'd the City with all the borrow'd Scenes of *Menander* and *Philemon*. Then began to be consider'd there also what was to be don to libellous Books and Authors; for *Nævius* was quickly cast into prison for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the *Tribunes* upon his recantation: We read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punisht by *Augustus*¹. The like severity no doubt was us'd if

no lesse a man then Cato the Censor, &c.] This relation of *Cato's* dislike to the Athenian Embassadors was taken from *Plutarck's* Life of the Censor, see v. i. p. 349, *Edit. Rualdi, fol. 1624.*

MILTON, with his usual exactness, gives the discriminative epithet of *Stoic* to this *Diogenes*, lest incurious readers should mistake him for the founder of the Cynics, before whom he flourished many years.

⁹ *The Censor himself at last in his old age fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous.*] He took this from *Cicero, de Senectute*, who makes *Cato* say of himself—"ut ego feci qui Græcas litteras senex didici." c. 8. But the correctness of this statement has been questioned. See *Bayle, art. PORCIUS (Marcus)*. note I. *Des Maizeaux's Edit. 1737.*

¹ *Libels were burnt and the makers punisht by Augustus.*] There is in *Bayle*, a disquisition on this topic, under *CASSIUS SEVERUS*, note H.

ought were impiously writt'n against their esteemed Gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in Books, the Magistrat kept no reckning. And therefore *Lucretius* without impeachment versifies his Epicurism to *Memmius*, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by *Cicero*² so

² *Lucretius*—had the honour to be set forth the second time by *Cicero*.] The knowledge of this circumstance is derived from the following passage in the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*: “in suis versibus, duris quidem, sed valde Latinis, & Tullii limâ dignissimis.” Some writers have contended and perhaps more plausibly, that *St. Jerome* meant no more than that this poem for the purity of its language was deserving of *Tully's* revisal and correction: see *Bayle*, art. *LUCRETIUS*, note D.

Jerome's tale of his flagellation by the “tutoring apparition,” for his over-fond attention to *Cicero*, sufficiently indicates this Saint's enthusiastic admiration of the Roman Oratour; therefore it is not without a semblance of probability that this story rests on no better ground than an interpolation commendatory of *Tully*, in the free translation which *Jerome* made of the second book of this Chronology; of which *Cave* says that “not much of the work itself, and less of the original Greek; arriving to us, and most of what remains so alter'd and interpolated by *St. Jerome*, that it is hard to say which is his, and which *Eusebius's*.” —In *Vit. Euseb.* p. 329; as quoted in *Hewlett's Vindication of the Parian Chronicle*, p. 86. (n.)

It was a shrewd remark by *Voltaire*, that the atheism of *Lucretius* was printed *ad usum Delphini*, and he might have added that *Lucan* was the only Poet of any celebrity omitted in that body of Roman Classics. Hence perhaps the inducement to *Rowe* to give a new version of the *Pharsalia*. *May*, *Lucan's* earlier translator and continuator, probably entered with willingness on the office of Historiographer to our Commonwealth. Certainly no one could hope to earn the thanks of *Louis XIV.* by disseminating the republican principles of the Poet of Corduba. On the contrary, in an edition of *Suetonius's* Lives of the Cæsars,

great a Father of the Commonwealth; although himselfe disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satyricall sharpnesse, or naked plainnes of *Lucilius*, or *Catullus*, or *Flaccus*, by any order prohibited. And for matters of State, the Story of *Titus Livius*, though it extoll'd that part which *Pompey* held, was not therefore suppress by *Octavius Cæsar* of the other faction³. But that

Parisiis, 12mo. 1644, *e typographiâ regiâ*, the vignettes represent infant forms in the act of stabbing with daggers the Roman emblem of Liberty.

³ *The story of Titus Livius, though it extoll'd that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppress by Octavius Cæsar of the other faction.*] The Decades in which this portion of Roman History was narrated, not having reached modern times, it must, I conclude, have been the argument which *Tacitus* put into the speech of *Crementius Cordus* to the Senate when arraigned for having praised *Brutus*, and styled *Cassius the last of the Romans*, that MILTON derived his knowledge of the moderation shown by *Augustus* toward *Livy* and his work. "*Titus Livius, eloquentiæ ac fidei præclarus imprimis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret: neque id amicitiae eorum offecit.*" *Annal.* iv. 34.

MILTON latinized continually, both in his English poetry and English prose; so that it may well bear a doubt, whether he annexed here to *Faction* the deteriorating idea we now represent by this word? or, whether he did not rather employ it in the favourable import of *Factio*,—to signify a *Party*? like *Bacon*: "The *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the rest of the Nobles of the Senate, which they called *Optimates*, held out awhile against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*: but when the Senate's authority was pulled down, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soone after brake. *The Faction or Party* of *Antonius* and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time." *Works*, I, 516, 4to. 1765.

Naso was by him banisht in his old age, for the wanton Poems of his youth, was but a meer covert of State over some secret cause: and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor call'd in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if

And in his nephew John *Philépps's* defence of him against an anonymous Opponent, a work written under MILTON's eye, it is said, " Neque te quicquam ex verbis ejus lucratum esse censisses, quamvis quod dixisse eum falso accusas, *factionem* rempubl. dixisset; *factionem* enim tam in bonam quam in malam partem olim dici vel pueris notum est." *Pr. W.* II. 396, ed. 1738.

I lean to the more laudable meaning. The stronger MILTON's aversion to the usurpation of the Cæsars, the less probability is there that he had it in his thoughts to stigmatize *Pompey*. As little as that *Raleigh* meant to bring any odium on himself by saying, when under the hands of the executioner, " I was one of the contrary *Faction*;" in his denial of any taunt to *Essex*, as that nobleman was leading to the scaffold. Thus, too, Ben. Jonson:

" With such a deal of monstrous and forc'd action,
" As might make Beth'lem a *Faction*.

Prologue to Volpone.

i. e. " make Bedlam a party;" and *Shakspeare*, *Henry VI.* part 3, A. 5, S. 3:

" Her *faction* will be full as strong as ours."

Evidently, it is in close connection with this sense, that we are to understand it in *Par. Lost*, II. 900.

" They around the flag
" Of each his *Faction*."

A use unobserved by the Commentators on either of these Poets.

not so often bad, as good Books were silenc'd. I shall therefore deem to have bin large enough in producing what among the Ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on. //

By this time the Emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I doe not finde to have bin more severe then what was formerly in practice. The Books of those whom they took to be grand Hereticks were examin'd, refuted, and condemn'd in the generall Councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the Emperor. As for the writings of heathen Authors, unlesse they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of *Porphyrius* and *Proclus*, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a *Carthaginian* Council, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles⁴, but Heresies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupl'd

⁴ Gentiles.] *Selden's* explanation of this word is curious: "In the beginning of Christianity, the Fathers writ *contra Gentes*, and *contra Gentiles*, they were all one: but after all were Christians, the better sort of people still retain'd the name of *Gentiles*, throughout the four provinces of the Roman Empire; as *Gentil-homme* in French, *Gentil-homo* in Italian, *Gentil-huombre* in Spanish, and *Gentil-man* in English: and they, no question, being Persons of Quality, kept up those Feasts which we borrow from the *Gentils*; as Christmas, Candlemas, May-day, &c. continuing what was not directly against Christianity, which the common people would never have endured." *Table Talk*; p. 44, 12mo. 1716.

more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councils and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no furdor, but leaving it to each ones conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observ'd already by *Padre Paolo*, the great unmasker of the *Trentine Council*⁵. After which

⁵ *Padre Paolo, the great unmasker of the Trentine Council.*] *Father Paul* was the name assumed by *Pietro Sarpi* on professing himself of the religious Order *dei Servi*.

Following this rule of designating foreigners by the literal appellations of their native country, MILTON retained the Latin form in *Titus Livius, Flaccus*, &c. Unaware, it should seem, of the authority of so great a scholar, two eminent Writers of our own time have revived the practice, and vindicated its propriety: (*Gibbon*, pref. to the concluding vols. of his History; and *Roscoe*, pref. to Hist. of *Leo X.*) And surely in the instances where this mode can be pursued without incurring the imputation of singularity, it is to be preferred to forcibly detorting proper names to the genius of another language. In this practice, the French have egregiously erred against propriety: I believe beyond any nation of Europe; *ex. gr. Dionysius, Denys; Stephanus, Etienne; Forum Julienne, Frejus; Rotamagus, Rouen; Acqua sexta, Aix*; and other misnomers without number. The Greeks in transubstantiating *Hormuz* into *Oromazes*; *Kosroes* into *Cyrus*; and *Shirshah* into *Xerxes*; and perhaps *Chemmis* into *Cheops*, did not disguise these names more affectedly.

It is pleasant to observe our Authour in the heat of polemical disputation stiffly defending an example, by the association of Anti-prelatical Ministers who wrote under the anagram of *Smectymnuus*, contrary to his own practice. He thus combats the criticism on them; "If in dealing with an outlandish name, they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh foreign termination, so they kept the radical word, they did no more than the elegantest Authors among the Greeks,

time the Popes of *Rome* engrossing what they pleas'd of political rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fansied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with: till Martin the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading⁶ of hereticall Books; for about that time *Wicklef* and *Husse* growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours *Leo* the 10, and his successors follow'd⁷ untill the

“Romans, and at this day the Italians, in scorn of such a servility use to do.”—*Pr. W. I. 77. fol. 1738.*

Concilii Tridentini eviscerator was the inscription Sir Henry Wotton set under a portrait of Father Paul, of which he procured the painting during his diplomatic residence at Venice, and presented it in 1637 to Dr. Samuel Collins, Provost and Professour Regius of Divinity in Cambridge. This character of the determined opposer of the super-eminent dominion which the Pope arrogated to himself over the Potentates and States of his communion approaches so nearly to MILTON'S praise, that the resemblance may be more than accidental.

⁶ reading—] *Maseres* gives, with the appearance of much plausibility, “readers.”

⁷ *Wicklef and Husse growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papall Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours Leo the 10, and his successors follow'd]* *Terrible* had then a shade of meaning it has since lost; i. e. *formidable*: as again;

“————— Virgin majesty with mild

“And sweet allay'd, yet *terrible* to approach.”

Par. Reg. II. 159.

Council of Trent, and the Spanish Inquisition engendering together brought forth, or perfered those Catalogues, and expurging Indexes that rake through the entralls of many an old good Author,

And Lord *Herbert* of Cherbury: "Now their army seem'd terrible; both as it was reinforced by some Regiments of Suisse, and as the Inhabitants of Naples favour'd them." *Life and Reign of Henry VIII. p. 241. fol.*

So too Sir *Edward Walker*: "The gaining this place made the King and his Army terrible." *Historical Discourses; p. 128, fol.*

To *Sixtus IV.* posterity are indebted, Mr. *Roscoe* informs us, for the institution of Inquisitors of the Press, without whose License no work was suffered to be printed. (*Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; II. 22, 8vo.*) On which this Gentleman has justly observed, "In this indeed, he gave an instance of his prudence; it being extremely consistent, that those who are conscious of their own misconduct should endeavour to stifle the voice that publishes and perpetuates it."

When writing of the patronage afforded by the Popes to the restoration of letters, Lord *Bolingbroke* remarked, that they "proved worse politicians than the Muftis: that the Magicians themselves broke the charm by which they had bound mankind for so many ages." (*Letter VI. on the Study of History.*) This is pointed and brilliant without exaggeration; and he might have pursued his metaphor to add, but no sooner did the Roman Pontiffs take the alarm that the power of the Papal See would be endangered by the emancipation of the human mind from ignorance, than they sought by the black art of the Licenser to raise again the charm which they had heedlessly lent their aid to dissolve.

The Monks of Paris, as if prescient that general information would bring ruin on their craft, when the first specimens of printed books were exhibited in that Metropolis, pronounced them to be the handywork of the Devil, and caused the Venders to be sent to prison.

with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it strait into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, Pamphlet, or Paper should be printed (as if *S. Peter* had bequeath'd them the keys of the Presse also, out of Paradise)⁸,

⁸ The keys of the Presse also out of Paradise.] *Out* is the genuine reading. In *Toland's* edition *as well as* is substituted; and the successive Editors have continued this alteration implicitly. I do not see the necessity for any change: beside, *also as well as* borders closely on tautology. True it is, that there is now some obscurity from the meaning having been expressed too concisely in this parenthesis. But our Authour intended that the Church of Rome took on it to act, as if Peter had "out of Paradise" bequeathed to the Popes the keys of the Press; trusting to the Reader, from the conjunction "also" to supply the Power of the keys claimed by the Papal See, then a topic familiar to all. In the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, he expresses himself on this mystic symbol of power in the same brief phrase: "Let whoso will now listen, I want neither pall nor mitre, I stay neither for ordination [n]or induction, but in the firm faith of a knowing Christian, which is the best and truest endowment of the keyes, I pronounce," &c. (p. 32, 4to. 1644).

Disputes on the intention of *Jesus* in this gift of the Keys to *St. Peter* helped to fill many a volume of the great controversy which agitated Christendom during the conflict between the Popish and Protestant Communions.

It is remarkable that any one versed as *Toland* was in theological enquiries should have failed to discern the sense; if indeed it was he who vitiated the text.

In this sentence too, *gluttonous* has been printed for *glutton*; taking "glutton Friars," I suppose, for an omission at the Press;

unlesse it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example :

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

Vincent Rabatta, Vicar of *Florence*.

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

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of *Florence*.

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

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be printed, *July 15*.

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

but erroneously, as the succeeding authority is sufficient to show :

“ In pleasure some their *glutton* souls would steep.”

Dryden; Rel: Laici.

Whenever such silent and unauthorized departures from the original text occur, they should be pointed out and reprehended. They often mar the real sense; and at best, it is their direct and unavoidable tendency, by blending the modes and idioms of different ages, to render it more difficult to trace the historical progress of a Language. Of this I will give an illustration.

The quarto edition of Lord *Bacon's* Works, in 1765, reads—“ must be accommodated and palliated by diets and medicines.” I. 68. Whereas it is printed—“ must be accommodate and

Sure they have a conceit, if He of the bottomlesse pit⁹ had not long since broke prison, that this

“ palliate, &c.”—in the Edition of *the Advancement of Learning*, published at Oxford, in 1633, sm. 4to. see p. 174; as no doubt the Authour wrote it. *Ed* had not uniformly become the participial termination in *Bacon's* time.

⁹ He of the bottomlesse pit—] While the fashion continued among the English Literati of assimilating their “ Mother dialect” to Greek and Latin constructions, *He* had often the emphatic sense given it of *αυτος* and *ipse*. The dogmatic ΑΥΤΟΣ εφα of *Pythagoras's* disciples is enough known: I need not quote authorities. The succeeding example will establish the peculiar force of *ipse*: “ Alius filio, fratre alius, aut propinquo, aut amico interfectis, agere grates deis, ornare lauru domum, genua ipsius advolvi, et dextram osculis fatigare.—*Tacit An.* “ XV. 71.” On which a Commentator observes, (*Ernest. edit.* l. 857.) “ *Genua ipsius*—] i. e. *Neronis*: quod non notâssem, nisi Pichenam ad Deos retulisse viderem. Et est exquisitior ratio hujus pronominis pro nomine usurpandi cum ex oppositione intelligi ad quod referatur, potest opponuntur *Dii* et *ipse*. Sic sæpe Græce Auctor *Homerus Iliad. et init.* ψυχας—*αυτες*, ipsos “ i. e. corpora.”

I will add from *Virgil's Moeris*,

“ Carmina tum melius, cum venerit *ipse*, canemus;”

to which the celebrated Oratour Dr. *King* gave its full intonation before the University of Oxford, in his Jacobitical application of *Ipse*.

This idiom was early transplanted into the English tongue. Sir T. *Smith*, with no other intimation that it is St. *Paul* whom he is quoting, has, “ and (as *he* sayth) what reason hath the Pot “ to say to the Potter, why madest thou me thus?”—*De Republica Anglorum. The maner of Gouvernement or Policie of the Realme of England*, p. 11, 4to. 1583. And in *Par. Reg.* IV. 299.

“ In corporal pleasure *He*, and careless ease:”

meaning *Epicurus*. It is of very common recurrence in the

quadruple exorcism would barre him down. I feare their next designe will be to get into their custody the Licencing of that which they say *Claudius*¹ intended, but went not through with. Voutsafe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp :

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

Imprimatur

Friar *Nicolò Rodolphi*, Master of the holy Palace.

Sometimes 5 *Imprimaturs* are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their

Anatomy of Melancholy. For instance: " They themselues haue " all the dainties the world can afford, ly on downe beds with a " Curtisan in their armes: *Heu quantum patimur pro Christo*, as " he said."—*p.* 698. *ed.* 1632, where *Burton* adverts to a profane jest of Pope *Leo X.*'s—Thus *MILTON* again (*Par. Lost*, VI. 760), by way of eminence, without any further designation of the Messiah :

" *Hec* in celestial Panoplie all arm'd," &c.

p. 168, of *ed.* 1674.

So too (*ib.* IX. 130)

" And *him* destroy'd,

" Or won to what may work his utter loss,

" For whom all this was made."

i. e. *Man*; κατ' ἐξοχην.

It was a strange oversight for *Bentley* to take exception to a classical use of this Pronoun, and offer here an obtusion on the text.

¹ *Claudius*—] Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi.—*Sueton. in Claudio*.—*Note in the original Edition.*

shav'n reverences², whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shall to the Presse or to the sponge. These are the pretty Re-

² Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the Piatza of one Title-page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n reverences.] According to Blackwell, in his *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, "A Book in Spain must pass through six Courts, before it is published. I. It is examined by the *Examinador Synodal* of the Archbishoprick, commissioned by the *Vicario*. II. It goes to the Recorder of the Kingdom, where it is to be published, *Chronista de Castilla, Arragon, Valencia, &c.* III. If approved by them, it is licensed by the *Vicario* himself, attested by a *Notario*. IV. The Privilege must be had from his Majesty; and a *Secretary* countersigns. V. After it is printed, it goes to the *Corrector-General por fu Magestad*, who compares it with the licenced Copy, lest any thing be inserted or altered. And VI. The Lords of the *Council* tax it at so much a sheet. In *Portugal*, a Book has seven Reviews to pass before publication. I have smiled at some of their Title-Pages, bearing for the greater Security of the Buyer, *Com todas as licenças necessarias.*" p. 63, second edit. 1736.

Piatza, here signifies an open space; agreeably to its Italian and proper idiom. *Harrington* has it too in this strict acceptation for any area, or broad extent of ground surrounded with buildings. (*Works*; p. 227. fol. 1747.) So has *Howell*—"the *Piatza* of Saint Mark is the fairest and most spacious markett place of all the Townes of Italie, and bears the form of a Greek Γ" *A Survey of the Signiorie of Venice*: p. 36, fol. 1651. And *Davenant*: "The scene wholly changing, there appears a square *Piazza*, resembling that of Venice, and 'tis composed of Pallaces, and lesser Fabricks." *Works*; p. 399. fol. 1673. But now with us it has long since lost its native signification; so long, that *Johnson*, in his Dictionary, only explained *Piazza* by "a Walk under a roof supported by pillars." Probably the arcades or "arched walks" in Covent Garden having obtained this name, which would properly apply to the

sponsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewicht of late our Prelats and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made³; and besotted

compass of ground on which the market is kept, has contributed to give currency to this impropriety.

Ducking is making affected obeisance: see T. Warton's note on

“ Here be without *duck* or nod.”

Comus; v. 960.

And *Noy*, in his speech against *Prynne*: “ Who he means by “ his modern innovators in the Church, and by cringing and “ *ducking* to altars, a fit term to bestow upon the Church; he “ learned it of the Canters, being used among them.—*State Trials*; I. col. 420. *Hargrave's edit.*

We may well imagine to ourselves MILTON at Rome, eyeing their *shav'n reverences*, with a bent brow and a look full of scorn, while they were exchanging salutes with each other, in the places of public resort.

³ *These are the pretty Responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewicht of late our Prelats and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made.*] The parts in the Liturgy of the Church of England, which are recited in reciprocal succession by the Minister and the Congregation, such as the alternations of the Psalms, were called the *Responsories*. He enlarges on his dislike to them in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*; (*Pr. W. I. 128. ed. 1738.*) The “ goodly eccho” now grated on his ear. I. *Philipps*, or rather he himself under his Nephew's name, makes again an allusion to them in the *Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam Tenebrionis*: “ Siquid nos Carolum peccasse dicimus; tu “ verbis totidem, *velut amabaa canens lyturgica*, paria com- “ misisse Parlamentum accusas.”—*Cap. 12.*

The *Antiphonies* were the *Anthems* sung or chaunted by two responsive choirs, as in our Cathedrals: *Du Fresne*; *Gloss. ad scriptores medix & infimæ Græcitatæ in v. ANTIΦΩΝΑ*; and *Lyndwood's Constitutiones Provinciales*, &c. p. 251. note z. fol.

us to the gay imitation of a lordly *Imprimatur*, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of *Pauls*⁴; so apishly Romanizing, that the word

1679.—The more rigid of the Protestant Reformers were strenuously opposed to the continuation of any choral service. By MILTON, “the pealing organ” and the “full-voic’d Quire,” were in earlier life heard with strong emotions of delight. Now, with Church-Musick the recollection rose in his mind of the recent and grievous persecutions by the established Hierarchy of those among their seceding Brethren who withdrew further from the Romish Church than *they* believed it right to go.

⁴ *The gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth House, another from the west end of Pauls;*] Pursuant to the Decree of the Star-Chamber in 1637, concerning the Press, all Books of Divinity, Physic, Philosophy, and Poetry, were to be licensed either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, or by substitutes of their appointment. This document is in *Rushworth*; *Hist. Coll.* III. 306. *Appendix*; and is reprinted in the *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*; p. 641.

Before this Decree, according to *Rushworth*, “the licensing of all new Books was in the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his Substitutes and Dependants, who used that strictness, that nothing could pass the Press, without his or their approbation, but the Authors, Printers, and Stationers must run a hazard of ruin.” He adds, that this Decree was made in the Star-Chamber lest Printers should reprint old Books of Divinity formerly licensed; and that *Fox’s* Book of Martyrs, the Practice of Piety, with other works hitherto published by authority, were denied new Licences. *Hist. Coll.* II. 450.

And Sir Edward *Deering* complained to the Parliament in 1640, that “the most learned labours of our ancient and best Divines must be now corrected and defaced with a *Deleatur*, by the supercilious Pen of my Lord’s young Chaplain, fit (perhaps) for the technical arts, but unfit to hold the Chair of Divinity.” *ib. Hist. Coll.* IV. 55.

It should appear however to have been the course for works

of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latine: or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an *Imprimatur*; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous, and foremost in the atchievements of Liberty, will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption

of an historical nature to be submitted to the Secretary of State for his written sanction, previously to their being sent to the Printer. I find the following authoritative approbation prefixed, as the instrument of Licence, to *May's Poem, the victorious Reigne of King Edward the third*: "I have perused this Booke, and conceive it very worthy to be published.

"Io. Coke, Knight, Principall Secretary of State, *Whitehall*
"17. of November, 1634."

Whereas *Aleyn's* metrical *Historie of that wise and fortunate Prince, Henrie of that name the seventh*; (8vo. 1638.) the MS of which work, in compliance with this decree of the Star-Chamber, was laid before the Bishop of London's Chaplain, has the word of command set down in Latin. "Perlegi historicum hoc poema, dignumque judico quod Typis mandetur.—*Tho. Wykes R. P. Episc. Lond. Chapell. domest.*"

Under the Licensing Act of the 13th and 14th of *Charles II.* ch. 33, all Novels, Romances, and *Fairy Tales*, and all Books on Philosophy, Mathematics, Physic, Divinity, or *Love*, were to be licenced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or by the Bishop of London. "The Framers of this curious Act of Parliament, (observed the late Earl *Stanhope* not unhappily) no doubt, supposed that these Right Reverend Prelates were, of all the Men in the kingdom, the most conversant with all those subjects."—*The Rights of Juries defended*; p. 65. 8vo. 1792.

Englisht⁵. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall of Book-licencing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or Politie,

⁵ *Will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie presumption Englisht.*] In his *Tractat, Of Education*, MILTON speaks of "the ill habit which poor striplings get of wretched "barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom, with their un- "tutor'd Anglicisms, odious to be read." He was therefore ambitious of accommodating his English style to the constructions of the learned Languages. The adaptation of the Latin inversion which the text exhibits is however a form too succinct for a tongue where Articles are prefixed, as in ours, to supply the want of diversified terminations in the Cases of the Nouns. To say the best, it is unidiomatical and repugnant to the copious fluency of oratorical diction. We tolerate this classical dialect more easily in the scientific structure of blank verse; yet even there it often causes harshness and obscurity; as in the succeeding description :

" And now, their mightiest quell'd, the battle swerv'd,
 " With many an inroad gor'd; deformed Rout
 " Enter'd, and foul Disorder; all the ground
 " With shiver'd armour strown;"—

P. L. VI. 386.

To comprehend this passage rightly, we should bear in mind, that *Battle* stands here in a sense now disused—for the *main body* of the Satanic Host.

MILTON'S spirited remark that the English Language would afford no word to denote the Licenser's passport for the admittance of a manuscript to the Printing Office may be extended to *Sedition* and *Libel*; neither of which are terms of indigenous growth, and have both been grafted on the native stock of our Law.

or Church, nor by any Statute⁶ left us by our Ancestors elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed Citty, or Church abroad; but from the most Antichristian Councel, and the most tyrannous Inquisition that ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain^{6*} was no more stiff'd then the issue of the womb: no envious *Juno* sate cros-leg'd over the nativity of any mans intellectuall off-spring; but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies, but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the Sea. But that a Book in wors condition then a peccant soul, should be to stand before a Jury ere it be borne to the World, and undergo yet in darknesse the judgement of *Radamanth*⁷ and his Collegues, ere it can passe the ferry

⁶ *Nor by any Statute—*] *Selden* had said, in the Parliament which *Charles* called in 1628, “ there is no Law to prevent the “ printing of any Books in England, only a Decree in Star- “ chamber.” *The Proceeding and Debates of the House of Commons; taken by Sir Thomas Crew, p. 71. 12mo. 1707. Or, Rushworth; Hist. Collect, I. 655.*

^{6*} *The issue of the brain, &c.*] No doubt this passage was known to *Harrington*, and it might suggest to him the whimsical device by which he prevailed on the Lady *Cleypoole* to intercede with her Father to restore to him the manuscript of his *Oceana* which *Cromwell* had seized while under the Press.

⁷ *Radamanth—*] An observation from Sir Thomas *Smith* will account for the omission here of the *h* in *Rhadamanth*: “ *Quidam* “ *nimum græcissantes, h, è literarum tanquam senatu moverunt,* “ *alii relegerunt, nostra nihil interest: Græci semper in initio* “ *& ante vocales solas, habebant, nisi in ρ, cui semper ferè suū*

backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity provokt and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, sought out new Limbo's and new Hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned^s. And this was the rare morsell so officiously snatcht

“densum adiungebant spiritum, & rectè quidem in hac parte “græcissant nostri Walli:” &c.—*De recta & emendata Lingua Anglicæ Scriptione Dialogus*; p. 25. *Lutetiæ*. 1665.

As it is uniformly *rime* in MILTON'S prefatory Advertisement to *Par. Lost*, while it is printed with an *h* through the Poem, there has been a difference of opinion among the Annotators, whether he did not by this diversity intend to vary the meaning? But I, for one, entirely agree with Mr. *Todd*, that this word was there in the same sense spelt both ways. And the omission of this letter in my text, coupled with what Sir T. *Smith* observes, will show that this Orthography was in adherence to the practice of the Greeks. Hence obviously it was, that *Bentley*, in his Edition of *Par. Lost*, dropped the *h* in *rhyme*.

* *Sought out new Limbo's and new Hells wherein they might include our Books also within the number of their damned.*] The Papists gave the name of *Limbo* to Purgatory, and to the repository assigned in their Faith for the Souls of the Just, who lived before the advent of Christ, and to those of Infants who die unbaptized. This receptacle or conservatory for these departed Spirits was located in the centre of the Earth, and on the outward confines of Purgatory: in this subterranean region they were to await the day of doom. The reader may learn further particulars, under LIMBUS, in *Du Fresne*; *Gloss. ad. Script. Med. & Infim. Latinitatis*.

Phaer, in his version of the “fourth Booke of *Aeneidos*,” renders “*Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco*”—by—

“Diana damned had her head to lake of *Limbo-pit*.”

Signat. G. 4. sm. 4to. 1620.

up, and so ilfavourdly imitated by our inquisiturient Bishops, and the attendant Minorites their Chaplains⁹. That ye like not now these most certain Authors of this licencing Order, and that all sinister intention was farre distant from your thoughts, when ye were importun'd the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily¹.

⁹ *Our inquisiturient Bishops and the attendant Minorites their Chaplains.*] That is, “our *inquisitorial* Bishops and their *Friar-like* Chaplains.” The Franciscans were called *Friar-minors* or *Minorites*, because it was one of the rules of their Order, says *Du Fresne*,

“Nullus vocetur Prior, sed generaliter omnes vocentur *Fratres minores*.”—*Gloss. tom. 4. col. 792. Benedictine Edit.*

¹ *How ye honour Truth, will clear yee readily.*] When I cast my eye over the first Edition of this Oration, with a view to the present Republication, I thought that I discerned an intentional difference between our Authour's use of *ye* and *yee*; that he doubled the *e* where he gave this word an emphatical pronunciation; indifferently, whether it were the nominative or an oblique Case. But on confronting the respective passages, the distinction did not appear to me to be sufficiently preserved to justify particular notice. I am now disposed to believe this to have arisen from the Printer not having adhered with fidelity to the orthography of the Manuscript: having since found that the elder *Richardson* had drawn a like conclusion, from the same diversity through *MILTON's* own Editions of *Paradise Lost*, in the spelling of this and the other pronouns, “*He, We, Me, Ye*,” which are (he adds) with a double or a single *e*, as the Emphasis lies upon them, or does not.” *Life of Milton prefixed to Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost*; p. CXXXI. 8vo. 1734.

This will appear palpably in the following passage;

“*He* with his whole posteritie must dye,

“Dye *hee* or Justice must.”

Par. Lost. p. 67. 8vo. ed. 1674.

But some will say, What though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest Commonwealths through all ages, and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers, and oppressors of men were the first who tooke it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of those who beleeve, it will be a harder alchymy then *Lullius* ever knew², to subli-

And what will decisively ascertain, that these variations were not without a meaning, the same Biographer points out in the table of Errata to the first impression of this poem, a correction of the Press expressly to that effect. "Lib. 2. v. 414, for *we. r.* "*wee.*" I have not in my recollection any specimen which would exemplify more clearly the Poet's scheme, to mark emphasis by varied spelling, than the close of *Eve's* pathetic supplication to *Adam* to pardon her transgression, and not forsake her, as we find it printed in the only copies of authority: see *B. IX. v. 927.* of the original Quartos; and *p. 278* of the *8vo.* 1674.

" On *me* exercise not

" Thy hatred for this miserie befall'n,

" On *me* alreadie lost, *mee* then thy self

" More miserable; both have sin'd, but thou

" Against GOD onely, I against GOD and thee,

" And to the place of judgment will return,

" There with my cries importune Heav'n, that all

" The sentence from thy head remov'd may light

" On *me*, sole cause to thee of all this woe,

" *Mee, mee* onely just object of his ire."—

* *A harder alchymy then Lullius ever knew,*] i. e. Raymond *Lully*, who was an Hermetic Philosopher of high fame in his day, and a great adept in the occult sciences.

mat any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, untill I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in generall of reading Books, what ever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit, or the harm that thence proceeds?

Not to insist upon the examples of *Moses*, *Daniel* and *Paul*, who were skilfull in all the Learning of the Ægyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their Books of all sorts; in *Paul* especially, who thought it no defilement³ to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian; the question was, notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive Doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirm'd it both lawfull and profitable, as was then evidently perceiv'd, when *Julian* the Apostat⁴, and sottlest enemy to

³ *Paul thought it no defilement, &c.*] See ILLUSTRATION, B.

⁴ *When Julian the Apostat, &c.*] See *Juliani Opera*. p. 192, &c. part 2. 4to. Paris, 1630.

Whether this Imperial edict prohibited to the Christians the study of Pagan Learning altogether? or whether it went no further than to interdict the teaching of it in their seminaries? were questions which had exercised the pens of Men of Parts in England and in other Countries. There were difficulties on each side of the controversy. *Gibbon* reconciled the seeming contradictions. "The Christians (he observed) were *directly*

our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen Learning: for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to their shifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two *Apollinariii* were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues⁵, ev'n to the

“forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since “they would not frequent the Schools of the Pagans.” (*Hist. ch. 23 n. 89.*) But the remark originally belonged to *Warburton*: see his *Discourse of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem*; p. 26. (n.) 8vo, 1750.

⁵ *The two Apollinariii were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, &c.]*

To qualify himself for the defence of the anti-prelatical Party, MILTON had been not long before reading the ecclesiastical Historian *Socrates*, who furnished him with this anecdote, and he now remembered the following passage:

Ο μὲντοι τῆ βασιλευσ νομος, ος τοις χριστιανοις ελληνηκης παι-
θειας μετεχειν εκωλυε, τους απολλιναριους, ων και προτερον
εμνημονευσαμεν, φανερωτερους απεδειξεν· ιως γαρ αμφω ησηη
επιστημογες λογων, ο μεν πατηρ γραμματικων, σοφισικων δε ο
υιος, χρειωδεις εαυτοις προς τον παροντα καιρον τοις χριστιανοις
απεδεικνυον· ο μεν γαρ ευθυσ γραμματικος ατε, την τεκνην
γραμματικην χριστιανικω τυπω συνετατλε· τατε μωυσεως βιβλια,
δια τῆ ηρωικῆ λεγομενου μετρῶ μετεβαλε, και οσα κατα την
παλαιαν διαθηκην εν ιστοριας τυπω συγγεγραπται· και τῆτο μεν
σω δακτυλικω μετρῶ συνετατλε· τῆτο δε και τῶ της τραγωδιας
τυπω δραματικῶς, εξειργαζετο· και παντι μετρῶ ρυθμικῶ εχρητο,
οπως αν μηδεις τροπος της ελληνηκης γλωττης τοις χριστιανοις

calculating of a new Christian Grammar. But saith the Historian *Socrates*, the providence of GOD provided better then the industry of *Apollinarius* and his Son, by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it.⁴ So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of *Hellenick Learning*; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of *Decius* or *Dioclesian*⁶. And

ανηκοος η· ο δε νεωτερος απολλινάριος ην προς το λεγειν παρεσκευασμενος, τα ευαγγελια, και τα αποστολικά δογματα, εν τυπω διαλογων εξεθετο, καθα και πλατων παρ' ελλησιν· ετω μεν εν τω χριστιανισμω χριωδεις φανευτες, τε βασιλεως το σοφισμα δια των οικειων πονων ενικησαν· αλλ' η προνοια τε θεε κρεισσων εγενετο, και της τρωτων σπεδης, και της τε βασιλεως ορμης.—
Socrat. Hist. Ecclesiast. Lib. III. cap. 16. Parisiis. 1668.

One sense of *calculate* then was to *model* or *frame*.

⁶ *So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of Hellenick Learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church, then the open cruelty of Decius or Dioclesian.*] The same observation had been made by Lord *Bacon*. “Many of the antient Bishops and Fathers of the Church were excellently read and studied in all the Learning of the Heathen, insomuch, that the Edict of the emperor *Julianus* whereby it was interdicted unto Christians to be admitted in Schools, Lectures, or exercises of Learning, was esteemed and accounted a more pernicious engine and machination against the Christian faith, than were all the sanguinary prosecutions of his predecessors.” *Works*; I. 24. 4to. 1765.

We can scarcely doubt that *Bacon's Treatise of the Advancement of Learning* was well known to *MILTON*. These passages, like some other which I have brought together under view from the two Writers, bear an obvious similitude.

perhaps it was the same politick drift that the Divell whipt St. *Jerom*⁷ in a lenten dream, for reading *Cicero*; or else it was a fantasm bred by the feaver which had then seis'd him. For had an Angel bin his discipliner, unlesse it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianisms, and had chastiz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partiall; first, to correct him for grave *Cicero*, and not for scurrill *Plautus*⁸ whom he confesses to have bin

⁷ *The Divell whipt St. Jerom, &c.*] See ILLUSTRATION, C.

⁸ Scurrill *Plautus*—] Our Authour is not accustomed to curtail *scurrilous*. In the present instance there is a local propriety for it: *scurrilous* *Plautus* would have been a monotonous termination of these final and consecutive syllables. A curious example this to show the attention he paid to niceties of composition in this piece;—that he preserved the rhythmus of his sentences with the anxiety of an Athenian Rhetor.

When vindicating blank Verse against the *jingling sound of like endings*, he remarks, that this was “a fault avoided by the “learned Antients both in Poetry, and *all good Oratoury*.”

To escape from the same close recurrence of corresponding sounds in *Horace*; *Epist.* I. 2, 17.

“*Rursus, quid Virtus, & quid Sapientia possit;*”

Bentley boldly advanced *rursum* into his text, which lection he would defend by observing—

“*Suavius hic sonat rursum, et evitatur homoeteleuton rursus, virtus.*”

Our Authour launched a sarcasm at *Hall*, the Satirist, for an offensive negligence of this kind. “The Remonstrant when he “was as young as I, (says MILTON) could

“Teach each hollow grove to sound his love,
“Wearying Echo with one changeless word.

reading not long before; next, to correct him only, and let so many more antient Fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies without the lash of

“ And so he well might, and all his auditory beside, with his
“ *teach each.*” — *Pr. W. I. 191. ed. Toland.*

We learn from himself that he possessed an ear cultivated to fastidiousness. His words well merit transcription. “ This
“ good hap I had from a careful Education to be inur’d and sea-
“ son’d betimes with the best and elegantest Authours of the
“ learned Tongues, and thereto brought an Eare that could
“ measure a just cadence and scan without articulating; rather
“ nice and humourous in what was tolerable than patient to read
“ every drawling Versifier.” *ubi sup. I. 186.*

A Scholar of high qualifications has confirmed the Poet’s representation of himself. “ There is no kind or degree of Harmony
“ of which our Language is capable (observes *Dr. Foster*), which
“ may not be found in numberless instances thro’ MILTON’S
“ writings; the excellency of whose Ear seems to have been
“ equal to that of his Imagination and Learning.” *Essay on
the different Nature of Accents and Quantity; p. 67. sec. Edit.*

Strange! that any one so alive to musical and poetical numbers should have chosen to enumerate the preeminent accomplishments of *Eve* in a line to which it would not be easy to find a parallel for harshness throughout the ample range of English Poetry:—

—— “ what she wills to do or say,
“ Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best.”

P. L. VIII. 549.

To this verse I could never reconcile myself. Surely the subject called for the most mellifluous modulation. It was not so that *Homer* described *Penelope*. To represent her resplendent Beauty, he combined the sweetest and most flowing sounds (*Odys. XVII. 36.*), as a Critic of Antiquity has remarked. We are less offended with a succession of these Superlatives, when he is recounting the propensities of an evil Spirit:—

such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that *Basil* teaches how some good use may be made of *Margites* a sportfull Poem, not now extant, writ by *Homer*; and why not then of *Morgante* an Italian Romanze much to the same purpose⁹? But if it

“ Belial, the dissolutes Spirit that fell,
 “ The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
 “ The fleshliest Incubus,—

Par. Reg. II. 150.

Did he think that by this he gave superiour effect through Emphasis? It is observed by some one, I think it is *Hurd*, that when *Donne* or *Ben Jonson* had anything better than ordinary to say, they were sure to use their roughest and hardest versification.

How he could have admitted these, and other harsh combinations is stranger still to all who recollect his recorded fondness for the Italian Poets (*Epist. Fam. Benedicto Bonmatthæo Florentino.*), and his intimate knowlege of the softness and delicate fluency which reigns through the most harmonious of the living Languages in Europe. An attainment we should expect to have necessarily induced disgust at the dissonance we sometimes meet with in his Poetry. I am inclined to believe that he must in such instances have formed for himself some scheme of metrical modulation of which we are unaware; a peculiar system, but on what principle he constructed it, it is difficult to discover. If *Dryden* had not professed that in the *Religio Laici* he was imitating the looser and unpolished versification which *Horace*, *numerosus Horatius*, affected in his Epistles, we should have been at a loss to account for the flatness there so perceptible in many lines of a Poet, who retuned *Chaucer* in heroic Couplets of the finest tone that the English Language can boast.

⁹ *Margites a sportfull Poem; not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not then of Morgante an Italian Romanze much to the same purpose?*]

In this opinion as to the Writer of the *Margites*, MILTON fol-

be agreed we shall be try'd by visions, there is a vision recorded by *Eusebius* far ancients than this

lowed the Antients; but we ought (it seems) to look on it as a supposititious piece. A single word in the minute fragments which remain detects the error; as I learn from Mr. *Payne Knight's Analytical Essay on the Greek Alphabet*. "With confidence we may (says this Gentleman) pronounce the *Margites* to have been a forgery, though there are only four lines of it extant, and three of those are quoted by Plato and Aristotle: but in these we have a compound verb with the augment on the preposition (*ἡμισαλο*) which Homer's Grammar did not admit." p. 30. 4to. 1791.

Il Morgante Maggiore a burlesque and satirical poem by Luigi *Pulci* is the work our Authour here intends. *Voltaire* professed to have doubts of what was *Pulci's* purpose, when paraphrasing passages from Holy Writ,—whether they were a profane travesty? or whether his parodies, though they now appear ludicrous, were not with innocent intentions? see his *Catalogue raisonné des Esprits Forts depuis le Curé Rabelais, jus-qu'au Curé Jean Meslier*.

Had MILTON suspected any irreligion to have lurked in this Poem, we may be assured he never would have spoken of it with complacency. The probability is, that this lively French Writer hazarded his remark *à tâtons*. It is incontestible that he had not seen *Petrarch's* Ode to the Fountain of Vaucluse in the original; of the first stanza of which he has nevertheless exhibited a poetical paraphrase. (*Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations: ch. 82.*) *Baretti*, who taxed him with not having read the *Morgante*, which he had criticized, would have been delighted with this anecdote: "Vous dites quelque part dans vos *Mélanges* de Litterature, que le Poëme de l'*Arioste* est une Continuation du Poëme de *Bojardo*. Celui qui vous a donné cette information ne vous a point trompé: mais il vous a trompé quand il vous a dit, que *Bojardo* ne fit que continuer le Poëme bizarrement intitulé, *Il Morgante Maggiore* de *Luigi Pulci*. Cela n'est pas vrai. Quoi qu'on trouve plusieurs Héros de même nom dans les deux Ouvrages, l'un n'est pas plus une Continuation de l'autre, que

tale of *Jerom* to the Nun *Eustochium*, and besides has nothing of a feavor in it. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*¹ was about the year 240, a person of great

“votre *Henriade* est une Continuation de vôtre *Candide* : Vous sauriez cela, si vous aviez lu ces Poëmes, comme vous pretendez avoir fait.”—*Discours sur Shakespeare, et sur Monsieur de Voltaire*; p. 146. 8vo. 1777.

Non nostrum munus tantas componere lites. But I must not pass it over that MILTON called *Pulci's* work a “*Romanze*” to distinguish that it was a poetical composition. The name dates its origin from the hybridous dialect in use, of which a large proportion was a corrupted Latin, when the first rude essays at Poetry after the overthrow of the Roman Empire were written. It was the primary signification of *Romance* through all the Countries where the Latin overpowered the vernacular Language. “The Spaniards (*Verstegan* remarks) call to this day such verses as they make in their Language, by the name of *Romances*: and so did the French also, as may appear by the title of the Poesie written in French by John *Clopinell* alias *Meung*, by him intituled, *Le Romant de la Rose*, and afterward translated into English by *Geffery Chaucer*, with the title of the “*Romant of the Rose.*” *A Restitution of decayed Intelligence*; p. 200. 4to. 1628.

MILTON is not singular in the use of *Romance* in the sense of a narrative Poem. It occurs more than once in *Puttenham's Arte of Poesie*; but being then quite new to the Language, he always adds an explanatory phrase; “*Romances or historical rimes.*” Our Authour, to apprize the Reader that he assigns it the same import as the Italians, retains their *z*. When he employed this word to denote the chivalrous tales in prose of the dark ages, he wrote it in the way then and still in use among us for this secondary and adventitious meaning.

¹ *Dionysius Alexandrinus, &c.*] What is contained in the following Note by *Meursius*, to his Edition of *Helladii Besantinoi Chrestomathia*, relates, I apprehend, to this *Dionysius Alexandrinus*: “*Dionysius Alexandrinus, Christianus: qui scripsit, Ἰπόμνημα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν Σολομῶντα.* Suidas, de eo.

name in the Church for Piety and Learning, who had wont to avail himself much against Hereticks by being conversant in their Books; untill a certain Presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new debate with himselfe, what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from GOD, it is his own Epistle that so avers it, confirm'd him in these words: Read any Books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter. To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the Apostle to the Thesalonians; Prove all things², hold fast that which

“ Διονύσιος, ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας· οὐ εὗρον ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλη-
 “ σιαστὴν Σολομώντα, λίαν εὐφραδέες. Hujus quoque esse puto
 “ Ennarrationem in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, quæ exstat in
 “ Bibliothecâ Augustanâ. Fortè etiam hic ipse, qui Episcopus
 “ postea factus: de quo, atque scriptis ejus, vide Eusebium,
 “ Hist. Eccles. lib. VI. cap. XLIV. XLV. XLVI. & Librum
 “ VII. totum. Item Nicephorum, Hist. item Eccles. lib. VI.
 “ cap. VI.”—p. 33. *Ultrajecti*. 1686. 4to.

² *Prove all things, &c.*] “ Try all things, hold fast that which
 “ is good, is a divine rule, coming from the Father of Light and
 “ Truth; and it is hard to know what other way men can come
 “ at Truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for
 “ it as for gold and hid treasure.” *Locke; Conduct of the Un-
 derstanding: S. 3.*

The Reasons why the Commons could not agree to the Clause which revived the old Printing Act, delivered at a conference with the Lords, 1695; and printed in the *Craftsman*, No. 281. (VIII. 213) are there said to have been drawn up by *Locke*.

is good. And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same Author; To the pure all things are pure³, not only meats and drinks, but all kinde of Knowledge whether of good or evill; the Knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the Books, if the will and conscience be not defil'd. For Books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evill substance; and yet GOD in that unapocryphall vision, said without exception; Rise *Peter*, kill and eat, leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best Books to a naughty mind are not unap-
 pliable to occasions of Evill. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoc-
 tion; but herein the difference is of bad Books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to fore-
 warn, and to illustrate. Whereof what better witnes can ye expect I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parliament, the chief of learned Men reputed in this land, Mr. *Selden*, whose volume of naturall and national Laws proves⁴,

³ *To the pure all things are pure, &c.*] *Epistle to Titus*; ch. I. v. 15.—There is a similar thought in *Par. Lost*. V. 117.

“ Evil into the mind of GOD or Man
 “ May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
 “ No spot or blame behind.”

⁴ *The chief of learned Men reputed in this Land, Mr. Selden,*

not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest. I conceive therefore, that when GOD did enlarge the universall diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of Temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity⁵.⁷ How great a vertue is Temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet GOD committs the managing so great a trust, without particular

whose volume of naturall and national Laws proves, &c.] The work referred to was entitled, "De Jure Naturali & Gentium, juxta disciplinam Hebræorum. fol. Lond. 1640." He speaks of it again in the 22nd ch. of the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce with very high praise. "Exquisite reasons"—this is a Ciceronian phrase: "Philosophorum verò exquisita quædam argu-menta." De Divinat. lib. 1. 3.

⁵ *When GOD did enlarge the universall diet of man's body, saving ever the rules of Temperance, he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity.]*

" But Knowlege is as food, and needs no less
 " Her Temperance over appetite, to know
 " In measure what the mind may well contain;
 " Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
 " Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind."

Par. Lost. VII. 126.

law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabl'd the Jews from Heaven, that Omer which was every man's daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin more then might have well suffic'd the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather then issue out of him, and therefore defile not, GOD uses not to captivat under a perpetuall childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of Reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were govern'd only by exhortation. *Salomon* informs us, that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; but neither he, nor other inspir'd Author tells us that such, or such reading is unlawfull: yet certainly had GOD thought good to limit us herein, it had bin much more expedient to have told us what was unlawfull, then what was wearisome. As for the burning of those Ephesian Books by St. *Pauls* converts, 'tis reply'd the Books were magick; the Syriack so renders them. It was a privat act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those Books which were their own; the Magistrat by this example is not appointed⁶: these men practiz'd the Books, another

⁶ *The Magistrat by this example is not appointed.*] That is, directed. An uncommon sense. It was, however, in use by contemporary writers. Thus *Clarendon*: "He made no haste to

might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and Evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably⁷; and the knowledge of Good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of Evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those

“ return upon the summons of the House, but sent to the King
 “ to know his pleasure; who, not thinking matters yet ripe
 “ enough to make any such declaration, appointed him to come
 “ away.—” *Hist: of the Rebellion*; I. 605. 8vo. 1807.

And in the *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*: “ He had appointed
 “ his wife, when she went away, to send him the Dutch Anno-
 “ tations on the Bible.”—p. 435. 4to. 1806.

⁷ *Good and Evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably.*] He had, it is not improbable, *Plutarch* in his thoughts:—

Ἀρμονίη Κόσμου ὡσπερ λυρῆς καὶ τόξου, καθ' Ἡράκλειτον καὶ
 καὶ Εὐριπίδην,

Οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο χωρὶς ἔσθλα καὶ κακά,
 Ἄλλ' ἔστι τις σύγκρασις, ὡς ἔχειν καλῶς.

De Iside & Osiride Liber; p. 114. *Cantab.* 1744.

“ The harmony of the World, like that of a harp (to use
 “ the expression of *Heraclitus*), is made up of discords, and
 “ consists in a mixture of good and evil, or, as *Euripides* has it,
 “ good and evil cannot be separated from each other, though
 “ they are so tempered as that Beauty and Order be the result.”
Squire's Trans.

MILTON might also bear *Homer* in mind:

Δοιοὶ γὰρ τε πίδαοι κατακείαται ἐν Διδῶς ὕδει
 Δώρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν ἕτερος δὲ, ἔδων.

Iliad; XXIV. 527.

It is evident by the phrase presently afterward in *Plutarch*—ου
 ΔΥΤΕΙΝ ΠΙΘΩΝ εἰς Ταμίας, &c. that this writer adverted to him.

confused seeds which were impos'd on *Psyche* as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of Good and Evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the world^s. And perhaps this is that doom which

^s *Those confused seeds which were impos'd on Psyche as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of Good and Evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the world.]* The story of *Psyche's* task is to be found in *Apuleius*: I add the curious description. "His editis, involat eam, vestemque plurifariam diloricat: capilloque discisso, et capite conquassato, graviter affligit, et, accepto frumento et hordeo et milio et papavere & cicere et lente et fabâ, commixtisque acervatim confusisque in unum grumulum; sic ad illam: Videris enim mihi tam deformis ancilla nullo alio, sed tantum sedulo ministerio amatores tuos promereri: jam ergo et ipsa frugem tuam periclitabor. Discerne seminum istorum passivam congeriem: singulisque granis rite dispositis, atque sejugatis, ante istam vesperam opus expeditum approbato mihi. Sic assignato tantorum seminum cumulo, ipsa cænæ nuptiali concessit." *Apuleii Metamorph: p. 398. Ed. Oudendorp. Lug. Batav. 1786.*

The allusion, which closes the latter sentence in the text, is to some monstrous birth recorded by the Father of Physic. Our *Autbour* has in *Εἰκονοκλάση* pointed out its origin. "Were they all born twins of *Hippocrates*; with him and his fortune, one birth, one burial? *Sect. 21.* There is the same concealed allusion in the Archangel's address to *Adam*:

"Since thy *original lapse*, true Liberty
 "Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells
 "TWINN'D, and from her hath no *dividual being*." r

Par. Lost. XII. 83.

In the last line some Editors have printed *twin'd*, but this

Adam fell into of knowing Good and Evill, that is to say of knowing Good by Evill⁹. As therefore the

passage in his AREOPAGITICA authenticates the original Reading. And *Shakspeare* might have been brought in its confirmation:—

“ *Twinn’d* brothers of one womb,
“ Whose procreation, residence, and birth,
“ Scarce is *dividant*.”

Timon of Ath.; A. 4. S. 3.

Two Twins—*Dryden* and *Pope* with other admired Writers have fallen into this palpable redundancy: and *Spenser* yet more solecistically. Of the Graces:

“ And ye *three twins* to light by Venus brought.”

Works; p. 149. fol. 1679.

It is to be wished, that the Editors of English Books of acknowledged reputation for style would mark the inadvertencies and hallucinations in their Authour’s diction, after the manner of the philological notices which *Hurd* has subjoined to the pages of *Addison*. This would assist to rectify and refine our Language: nothing would, I think, more effectually advance the cultivation of propriety. By these means, Phraseology and Idioms which ought to be avoided must strike many an eye which would never look for them in grammatical disquisitions; or which might pass for unobjectionable because franked by an accredited name.

⁹ *Perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing Good and Evill, that is to say of knowing Good by Evill.*] Thus, in *Par. Lost*. IV. 221.

“ Our death, the tree of Knowlege, grew fast by,
“ Knowlege of good bought dear by knowing ill.”

Lord *Bacon* declares that “ a Knowlege of the impostures “ and evils of every profession is incident to a Knowlege respecting the duties and professions.” *Essay; of Public Good*.

state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear without the knowledge of Evil? He that can apprehend and consider Vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian. ✓ I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd Vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat¹. Assuredly

¹ *He that can apprehend and consider Vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true wayfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd Vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.*]

The quintuple iteration of *and* might be to maintain the style of *Isocrates*, who is remarkable for a profusion of Copulatives; of which an example occurs in the flattery he addresses, in his *Areopagitic Oration*, to the national vanity of the Athenians. *Επισταμαι γαρ εν μεν τοις αλλοις τοποις, φυσεις εγξινομενας καρπων ΚΑΙ δενδρων ΚΑΙ ζων ιδεας εν εκασοις, ΚΑΙ πολυ των αλλων διαφερσας. Την δ' ημετεραν χωραν ανδρας ΚΑΙ τρεφειν ΚΑΙ φερειν δυναμενην, ου μονον προς τας τεχνας ΚΑΙ τας πραξεις ευφουεσας, αλλα ΚΑΙ προς ανδριαν ΚΑΙ προς αρετην διαφεροντας. Op. omn. II. 146. Edit. Auger.*

Baron, who saw the quarto Edition of the prose Works through the Press, unwarrantably changed "wayfaring," in the text into "warfaring." There was no need of emendation. "*Wayfaring*" is in opposition to "*cloister'd*." It is beside more consonant to Scripture, and therefore more likely to have come from

we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That Vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that Vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank Vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse²; which was the reason why our sage and serious Poet *Spencer*, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then

MILTON:—"the wayfaring men, though fools shall not err therein." *Isaiah*, ch. 35. v. 8.

Horace was also in his recollection:

"Paulum sepultæ distat inertię
"Celata Virtus." Od. IV. 9. 30.

And *Epist.* I. 1. 50.

"Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
"Cui sit conditio dulcis sine pulvere palmæ."

He had at the same time regard to one of *St. Paul's* allusions to these gymnastic exercises. "Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, &c. now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible." *1 Cor.* ch. 9. v. 24 and 25.

² But an excrementall whitenesse.] i. e. an adventitious or extrinsic whiteness; not consubstantial. The Physiology of former times denominated those adjuncts of the human Body excrementitious which were extraneous and superinduced; as the Hair, and the Nails. To imply that it was an adventitious appendage, when *Shakspeare's Autolycus* takes off the false Beard he had worn to disguise him, he says, "let me pocket up my pedler's excrement."

Scotus or *Aquinas*³, describing true Temperance under the person of *Guion*, brings him in with his Palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the Bowr of earthly Blisse that he might see and know, and yet abstain. ✓ Since therefore the knowledge and survey of Vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human Vertue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of Truth, how can we more safely, and with lesse danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity then by reading all manner of tractats, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of Books promiscuously read. ✱ But of the harm that may result hence three kinds are usually reckn'd. First,

³ *Our sage and serious Poet* Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher then Scotus or Aquinas, &c.] His saying—*I dare be known to think*—as it is evidence of the preponderance of the puritanical prejudices against Poetry, is deserving of notice. *Spenser* was more of a Platonist than his Commentators have shown, whence, I conclude, these epithets *sage and serious*, and this favourable comparison of the *Fairy Queen* for its moral tendencies over the School Learning of the Subtile and Angelic Doctors.

Of the invitations to pleasure in *Comus*, his biographical Critic observes, as “ what may recommend MILTON'S Morals, “ as well as his Poetry, they are so general that they excite no “ distinct images of corrupt enjoyment, and take no dangerous “ hold on the fancy.” This rare excellence might probably be traced to his fondness for the doctrines of *Plato*.

Had all *Johnson's* strictures on him been as just as this!

The “ Cave of Mammon,” and the “ Bower of earthly Bliss,” are described in the second Book of the *Fairy Queen*, Cantos 7, and 12.

is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human Learning and controversie in religious points must remove out of the world, yea the Bible it selfe; for that oftimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly⁴, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of *Epicurus*: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginall *Keri*, that *Moses* and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall *Chetiv*⁵. For these causes we all know the

⁴ *The Bible—describes the carnall sense of wicked men not unelegantly.*] An allusion, I apprehend, to the Hebrew Epithalamium, called *Solomon's Song*.

⁵ *Ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that Moses and all the Prophets cannot perswade him to pronounce the textuall Chetiv.*] To the same purpose in his second *Defensio* he replies to his antagonist, “ Non Prophetarum scripta tuam
“ turpiculi immò nonnunquam planè obscæni censuram effuge-
“ rint, quoties Masorethis et Rabinis, pro eo quod disertè scrip-
“ tum est, suum libet *Keri* adscribere. Ad me quod attinet,
“ fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθύρρημονα, quam cum
“ futilibus Rabinis ευσχήμονα esse.” *Pr. W*: II: 366. *ed.* 1738.

Keri—Chetiv—these were terms often employed by the Masoretic expounders of the Hebrew Scripture. *Godwin*, in his “ Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites used by the Antient Hebrews,” has explained their meaning: “ in the Hebrew text many words
“ are written with more, many with fewer letters, than they
“ are pronounced; many words written in the text which are
“ not pronounced, &c. In the margin the difference is express-
“ ed: whence the difference in the Text they term כתב *Chetib*,
“ *Scriptionem, the Writing*; the difference in the margin they

Bible it selfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited Books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as *Clement of Alexandria*, and that *Eusebian* book of Evangelick preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the Gospel. Who finds not that *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerom*, and others discover more Heresies then they well confute, and that oft for Heresie which is the truer opinion. Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen Writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human Learning⁶,

“ term קרי *Keri*, *Lectionem*, the Reading: because they do read “ according to that in the margin.” *Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites of the Hebrews*; p. 252. 4to. 1678. But an Authour often best explains himself, and an extract from the “ Apology for “ *Smectymnuus*” will furnish an apposite comment on the whole sentence in the *AREOPAGITICA*: “ GOD, who is the Authour both “ of Purity and Eloquence, chose this phrase as fittest in that “ vehement character wherein he spake. Otherwise that plain “ word might have easily been forborne: which the Masoreths “ and Rabbinical Scholiasts not well attending, have often used “ to blur the margent with *Keri* instead of *Ketiv*, and gave us “ this insulse rule out of their Talmud, that all words which “ in the Law are writ obscenely, must be changed to more civil “ words.”—*Pr. W.* I. 115. ed. 1738.

I am informed, that MILTON in spelling this word “ *Chetiv*,” instead of *Chetib*, conformably to its Etymon, followed the pronounciation of the German Jews; who pronounce one b like a v, and give to a double b, the proper sound of b.

⁶ *With whom is bound up the life of human Learning.*] Bound up signified involved, or wrapped up; as in *Clarendon*: “ The al- “ most inevitable hazards of the Prince’s Person, with whom his “ *Life is bound up.*” *Hist. of the Rebellion*: I. 22. 8vo. 1807.

that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to instill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choisest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that *Petronius* whom *Nero* call'd his *Arbiter*, the Master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of *Arezzo*⁷, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom *Harry* the 8. named in merriment his Vicar of Hell⁸. By which compendious way all

⁷ *As perhaps did that Petronius whom Nero call'd his Arbiter— and that notorious ribald of Arezzo—] “As perhaps did”—*this expression discovers that MILTON followed Justus Lipsius in thinking it questionable, whether Nero's *elegantia Arbiter*, and the Authour of the *Satyricon* were the same Person. *Lipsii ad Ann. Corn. Tacit. Liber Commentarius; p. 241. Anto. 1600. fol.*

That, as applied to *Petronius* and to *Pietro Aretino*, is emphatically contemptuous; to denote his abhorrence of their grossly licentious productions. We want in English a distinct word to express with adequate force, the *iste* of the Roman Oratours.

The sort of opprobrium with which our Authour would stigmatize *Aretine* by calling him, “that ribald,” may be learnt by a reference to RIBAUD in *Richelet's Dictionaire de la Langue Françoise, ancienne & moderne*; a work of much merit: or to a curious article by *Du Fresne*; *in v. RIBALDI*.

⁸ *I name not him for posterities sake, whom Harry the 8 nam'd in merriment his Vicar of Hell.]* In the first years of our Reformation, while the virulence of the controversy was at its height, it was natural for those with whom it was an article of Faith, that the Pope was the Anti-Christ of

the contagion that foreine Books can infuse, will finde a passage to the People farre easier and shorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of *Cataio* Eastward, or of *Canada* Westward⁹, while our Spanish Licencing

the Apocalypse, to pervert into *Vicar of Hell* his arrogated style of "Christ's Vicar" upon Earth:—even if it had not been the obvious policy of the Protestant Reformers to weaken with the vulgar-minded of all ranks, the veneration for the Papal See which such a title was calculated to impress. Henry VIII.'s contemporary, Bishop *Bale*, in "*A Breve Chronycle concernynge the Examynacyon and Death of Syr Johan Oldecastell*," calls his Holiness "*the Devyl's owne Vycar*;" (pref. p. 3. 8vo. 1729.) and the Court Poet *Cleavland*, in a ludicrous parody on the Litany, is equally irreverent to the Successor of St. Peter:

"From Colonel P[*ride?*], and the *Vicar of Hell*.

"*Libera nos*," &c.

Poems, p. 90. 12mo. ed. 1661.

But who was the minister to these courtly pleasures to whom MILTON alludes? I am unaware of any evidence for believing that either *Skelton*, or *Scogan*, or *Andrew Borde*, was the Person pointed at. Apparently it was some Man of inferiour note; since there need not have been any scruple to have named him "for posterities sake," had he been a well known character. Was it one *Gray*? what good "estimation (says *Puttenham*) did he grow vnto with the same King *Henry* [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Somerset, Protectour, for making "certaine merry *Ballades*, whereof one chiefly was, The hunte "is vp, the hunte is vp." *The Arte of English Poesie*. p. 12. edit. 1811. 4to.

⁹ *An Indian voyage, though it could be sail'd either by the North of Cataio Eastward, or of Canada Westward, &c.] Cataio or Cathay was the antient name for the grand division of the Chi-*

gags the English Presse never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of

nese Empire to the northward. "The search of Cathay, after China had been found, excited and misled our Navigators of the 16th Century, in their attempts to discover the north-east passage." (*Gibbon; Hist. ch. 64. n. 22.*)

In *Par. Lost* there is a latent and unobserved allusion to the fruitless result of these exploratory Voyages: X. 291.

"Mountains of ice, that stop the imagin'd way
 "Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
 "Cathaian coast."

The choice of *Cataio*, as better sounding than *Cathay*, might be brought for one instance of our Authour's solicitous attention to select euphonous words for this Oration: just as he preferred in his Poetry, *Danaw* to *Danube*; &c.

To support the diction in his Epic, he continually wrested our vernacular idiom full as far from all prescriptive forms of expression as its genius will admit, both in respect to phraseology and transposition. Another frequent part of his management was to elevate the tone of his blank verse by swelling words. He must have searched the maps with a curious eye in quest of sonorous and well-vowelled appellatives, like *Petsora*.

This artifice should have been more sparingly practised. His geographical digressions obtrude themselves too prominently, and disfigure the contexture of his Poem: while they are for the most part, extrinsic to the subject, and break the continuity of thought, like many of his illustrations from mythological Fable, and in consequence take from the spirit of the Poetry, by retarding the progress of the action.

We could have dispensed with the prolix and laboured specification of Cities, and Countries when the Angel *Gabriel* reveals the habitable world in a vision of Futurity to the view of the Father of Mankind. But probably our Poet would have alleged *Homer* as his authority for this muster-roll of proper names. He expatiates with far greater propriety in his enumeration of the Kingdoms of the Earth, which in the Wilderness the Tempter set in prospect before *Jesus*.

controversie in Religion, is more doubtfull and dangerous to the learned, then to the ignorant; and yet those Books must be permitted untoucht by the Licencer. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath bin ever seduc't by a papisticall Book¹ in English, unlesse it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy: and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophetie of *Isaiah* was to the *Eunuch*, not to be *understood without a guide*. But of our Priests and Doctors how many have bin corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and *Sorbonists*, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the People, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct *Arminius* was perverted meerly by the perusing of a namelesse discours writt'n at *Delft*, which at first he took in hand to confute². Seeing therefore that

¹ *Seduc't by a Papisticall book, &c.*] To supply the omission of a word dropped at the Press in the original Edition, *Toland*, *Thomson*, *Birch*, *Baron*, and *Maseres*, give *any*; but the particle *a* has at least equal propriety.

² *The acute and distinct Arminius was perverted meerly by the perusing of a namelesse discours writt'n at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute.*] *Bayle* relates the same circumstance: "Martin Lydius, Professor of Divinity at Franeker, judged him a proper Person to answer a Writing, in which the Doctrine of Theodore Beza, concerning Predestination, was opposed by some Ministers of Delft. *Arminius*, in compliance with his request, undertook to refute this Work; but, during the examination, and while he was ballancing the Reasons on both sides, he went over to the Opinion he was to refute, and even carried it farther than the Ministers of Delft."—Under ARMINIUS.

those books, and those in great abundance which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppress without the fall of Learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these Books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, from whom to the common people what ever is hereticall or dissolute may quickly be convey'd, and that evill manners are as perfectly learnt without Books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopt, and evill doctrine not with Books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also doe without writing, and so beyond prohibiting, I am not able to unfold, how this cautelous³ enterprise of Licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Park-gate. Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of Books, and dispredders both of Vice and Error, how shall the Licencers themselves be confided in, unlesse we can conferr upon them, or they assume to themselves above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility, and uncorruptednesse? And again, if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of

³ Cautelous—] *too circumspect, over suspicious.*

“Swear priests and cowards, and men *cautelous*.”
Shakspeare; Jul. Cæs.

the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best Book, yea or without Book, there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactnesse always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgement of *Aristotle* not only, but of *Salomon*, and of our Saviour, not voutsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good Books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, then a fool will do of sacred Scripture. 'Tis next alleg'd, we must not expose our selves to temptations without necessity, and next to that,³ not imploy our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such Books are not temptations, nor vanities; but usefull drugs and materialls wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong med'cins, which mans life cannot want. The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualifie and prepare these working mineralls, well may be exhorted to forbear, but hinder'd forcibly they cannot be by all the Licencing that Sainted Inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promis'd to deliver next, That this Order of Licencing conduces nothing to the end for which it was fram'd; and hath almost

prevented me⁴ by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster, then the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, to shew that no Nation, or well instituted State, if they valu'd Books at all, did ever use this way of Licencing; and it might be answer'd, that this is a piece of prudence lately discover'd. To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had bin difficult to finde out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a cours; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgement, that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. *Plato*, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the Book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making many edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters⁵, which they who otherwise

⁴ *Hath almost prevented me, &c.]* See ILLUSTRATION, D.

⁵ *Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Commonwealth, in the Book of his Laws, which no City ever yet receiv'd, fed his fancie with making edicts to his ayrie Burgomasters, &c.]* "Of high authority," i. e. *Reputation*; a Latin sense; so likewise *City* here, like *Civitas* with the Romans, involves the idea of a civil Constitution.

Dr. *Taylor* quotes the succeeding passage from *Athenæus* to show that *Plato's* code of Laws was held in no estimation by the Greeks. This *MILTON* probably had read and remembered.

admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the *genial* cups of an *Academick* night-sitting. By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of Learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own Dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man, what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and al-

Καὶ τοι γε ἔδει, καθάπερ τὸν Λυκοῦργον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὸν Σόλωνα τοὺς Αθηναίους, καὶ τὸν Ζάλευκον τοὺς Θουρίους, καὶ αὐτὸν [Πλάτωνα], εἴπερ ἦσαν χρήσιμοι, πείσαι τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτοῖς χρῆσασθαι—ὁ δὲ Πλάτων πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπος, τριῶν Αθηναίων γενομένων νομοθετῶν, τῶν γε δὴ γνωριζόμενων, Δράκοντος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, καὶ Σόλωνος, τῶν μὲν τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένειν τοὺς πολίτας, τῶν δὲ τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ προσκαταγελαῖν; “ (*Athen. l. XI. fin.*) Nam oportuit, quemadmodum Lycurgus Lacedaemonios, Solo Athenienses, et Zaleucus Thurius, ita et eum quoque [Platonem] si utiles fuissent, quibusdam Graecorum persuasisse, ut iis uterentur. Ineptum Platonem inde fuisse constat, quod, cum illustres apud Athenienses tres Legislatores fuerint, Draco, Solo, et ipse Plato, illorum leges Cives observarint, Platonis vero nihil fecerint atque irriserint.”—*Elements of the Civil Law*; p. 67. 4to. 3rd edit.

Stanley says otherwise, and he particularizes the countries who took him for their Law-giver.—*The Hist. of Philosophy*; p. 170. fol. 1700.

“*Fed his fancie*”—is *Virgil's* “*animum picturâ pascit inani.*” —By the “*genial cups of an Academick night-sitting,*” he alludes to the *Symposiac* nocturnal meetings, the festive *Conversazioni*, of Wits and Philosophers, the *Deipnosophists*, who resorted to *Plato's* Banquets at his retired residence among the olive-shades of *Academus*.

low'd it⁶; But that *Plato* meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was

⁶ *And there also enacts that no Poet should so much as read to any privat man what he had writt'n, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it.*] The words of *Plato* are Μηδέ τινα πολυῶν ἄδειν ἀδόκιμον μουσαν, μη κρίναντων τῶν ΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΩΝ, μηδ' ἂν ἡδίωι ἢ τῶν Θαμύρου τε και Ὀρφείωυ ὕμνων. "Nemo igitur audeat Musam, horum judicio non probatam canere, etiamsi Thamyrae Orpheique sit suavior." *Platonis Philosophi Quæ exstant*; VIII. 399. 8vo. 1785. *Bipontine Edition*. "Seene and allowed" stands as the License for Printing in the title-page to the first English Edition of Sir Thomas Smyth's valuable Tract, "*De Republica Anglorum*. The "maner of Government or policie of the Realme of England." sm. 4to. Lond. 1583.—*Allowed* meant *approved*: "Use such "speech as the Meanest should well understand, and the Wisest "best allow." *Ascham*; *The Schoolmaster*: p. 201. *Upton's edit.*—After all that has been written upon *Style*, perhaps the soundest advice is comprised in this sentence.—Again in *Fairefax*,

"he mustred all his Crew,
"Reprou'd the Cowards, and allow'd the Bould."

Godfrey of Bulloigne; b. 9. st. 13. fol. 1600.

It may, by the way, be observed, that this version of *Tasso* often reads with all the ease and spirit of an original. Sometimes, it must be confessed, at the expence of fidelity. May it not be said of *Fairefax*, that he is a solitary example of any one gaining high and permanent reputation as a Poet, by metrical Translation alone? At least, I can call no other instance to my mind.

I adduce the preceding quotations of *allowed* in this signification, because *Johnson* has not admitted that sense into his Dictionary: on the contrary, he has quoted from the *Bible*, "the Lord alloweth the righteous," as an authority for its meaning—"to justify, to maintain as right."

he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrats; both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of *Sophon Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*, books of grossest infamy⁷,

⁷ *Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expell'd by his own Magistrats, both for the wanton Epigrams and Dialogues which he made, and his perpetuall reading of Sophron Mimus, and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy.*] Before in his verses *de Idea Platonica quemadmodum Aristoteles intellexit*, he had apostrophized *Plato* for this inconsistency:

“ At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus,
 “ (Hæc monstra si tu primus inducti scholis)
 “ Jam jam poetas, urbis exules tuæ,
 “ Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus;
 “ Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.”

But any total interdiction of Poetry by *Plato* has been contested. See *Histoire de l'Academie des Inscriptions* (tom. II. p. 169.), that the founder of the Academy was not, as is commonly thought, an enemy to all Poetry without distinction; that he expressed no more than that every poetical work should be submitted to the examination of the Magistrate; so that it might not happen in his State, as daily happens with us (says the Abbé *Fraguier* after *Plato*,) for the Laws to speak one language while Poetry speaks another. This learned Frenchman supported his opinion by a deduction of passages from this philosophical Law-giver, chiefly taken from the Dialogues *de Republica* and *de Legibus*; and his conclusion is—“ que *Platon* n'excluoit “ pas plus de sa Republique toute poesie ni toute éloquence, “ qu'un prince excleroit tout or et tout argent de ses estats, parce “ qu'il n'y recevoit que de l'argent et de l'or tres-epurez.”

The original Edition of this Speech gives—“ *Sophon Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*,” and all the subsequent Editions conform to this reading. Should it be printed *Sophon's Mimes*?

and also for commending the latter of them, though he were the malicious Libeller of his chief friends,

as the succeeding passage from his *Apology for Smectymnus* might seem to imply :—“ Nor yet doth he tell us what a *Mime* is, “ whereof we have no pattern from ancient writers, except “ some fragments, which containe many acute and wise sentences. “ And this we know in *Laertius*, that the *Mimes of Sophron* “ were of such reckoning with *Plato*, as to take them nightly to “ read on, and after make them his Pillow.”—*Pr. W. I.* 107. *Edit.* 1738.

There was no such Greek Writer as *Mimus*. At the same time the emendation I have just offered is not absolutely required. This may be a descriptive addition, i. e. a Writer of *Mimes*; lest Readers might mistake him for a comic Poet of this name. See *Fabric. Biblioth. Græc.* I. 788. *Hamb.* 1718; and *Hofmanni Lexicon Universale; in v. SOPHRON.*—I should mention that the words alluded to in *Laertius* are—τα Σωφρονος του μιμογραφοῦ Βιβλια.

Where there are two persons of the same name, it is customary with MILTON to designate that which he intended by some discriminative epithet. *Publius Syrus* for his moral sentences obtained the same appellative. Still, to have identified *Sophron*, the writer of the *Mimes*, by the Adjective *Syracusan* on this occasion would have been preferable to *Mimus*, which stands awkwardly in the way it is introduced—“ *Sophron Mimus*, and *Aristophanes*.” And a considerable perplexity will yet remain to be unravelled. How are we to reconcile MILTON with himself? What (we have just seen) he had before called the “ acute and “ wise sentences of the *Mimes of Sophron*,” in this Oration he classes with the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, and proceeds to stigmatize them alike “ as Books of grossest infamy.” I would have it considered, whether in the AREOPAGITICA he meant to refer to the Comic Writer before-mentioned, and through inadvertency wrote *Mimus*? Yet this solution of the difficulty will hardly be thought admissible; since in both of these passages he specifies *Plato's* predilection for the works of *Sophron*. There must be some confusion of the two *Sophrons*. Or, did the same

to be read by the Tyrant *Dionysius*, who had little

Sophron compose Mimes of both descriptions? I confess my inability to unriddle the enigma by the Books within my reach.—*Fabricius* observes that *Suidas* has badly described them.

It is, however, extremely probable, that nothing satisfactory concerning these points is to be collected from any extant writings of the Antients: for Mr. *Twining* informs us, that “of the *Mimes of Sophron* we can acquire but a very imperfect idea, either from what is said of them in antient Authors, or from the fragments that are preserved in *Athenæus*, *Demetrius*, and others. It has even been long disputed among the learned, whether they were prose or verse; and, at last, it seems to be settled, that they were neither; a kind of compromise comfortable enough to the disputants on both sides; for if the fragments are something between verse and prose, they, who assert them to be either, are something between right and wrong.” See his *Translation of Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry*; p. 161. 4to. 1789. And in an additional remark of the same learned and clear-sighted Critic we have perhaps the cause assigned for MILTON'S contradiction of himself;—where he observes, “that, supposing what is related, of the fondness of *Plato* for the *Mimes of Sophron*, and of their having been his model in the *μιμησις προσωπων* of his own *Dialogues*, to be true, it may reasonably be inferred, that we ought by no means to confound them with the *Roman Mimes*, or to apply to them, as is too often done, all that is said of the latter by *Diomedes*, and other writers of that age. Such licentious and obscene trash would not, surely, have been found under the pillow of the moral and reforming *Plato*; and that, *ολω επι γηραος ουδω*, and, as some assert, even in the hour of death. In saying this, however, I do not forget, that delicacy is not to be sought for even in the strictest morality of antient times.” *ib.* p. 162.

So that MILTON might have here fallen into the same error of confounding for indecency *Sophron's Mimes* with those of the Roman Stage.

Tyrwhitt, in his Note on *Aristotle's* mention of the *Mimes of Sophron* and *Xenarchus*, has not entered upon this topic.

need of such trash⁸ to spend his time on? But that he knew this Licencing of Poems had reference and dependance to many other proviso's there set down in his fancied Republic, which in this world could have no place: and so neither he himself, nor any Magistrat or City ever imitated that cours, which tak'n apart from those other collaterall injunctions must needs be vain and fruitlesse. For if they fell upon one kind of strictnesse, unlesse their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour; to shut and fortifie one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulat Printing, thereby to rectifie manners, we must regulat all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightfull to Man. No musick must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and *Dorick*⁹. There must be licencing

⁸ *Dionysius*—had little need of such trash, &c.] See ILLUSTRATION, E.

⁹ *No song be set or sung, but what is grave and Dorick.*] i. e. solemn. MILTON remembered that *Plato* in his ideal Republic interdicted the Ionic and Lydian Music, as effeminate, and permitted the Doric and Phrygian: "ΑΛΛΑ κινδυνευει σοι ΔΩΡΙΣΤΙ λειπεσθαι και φρυγιστι." *De Repub.* I. 195. *Massey's Edit.*—*Lycidas* (v. 189.) warbles a "*Doric lay*;" more probably, I think, in the sense of *sad* or *mournful* than, as Mr. *Warton* suggests, "because *Theocritus* and *Moschus* had respectively written a "*Bucolic on the Deaths of Daphnis and Bion.*"

dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest¹; for such *Plato* was provided of: It will ask more then the work of twenty Licencers to examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and the Ghittarrs in every house², they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also and the *Balcone's* must be thought on; there are shrewd books with dangerous Frontispices set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty Licencers? The villages also must have their Visitors to enquire what Lectures the bagpipe and

¹ What by their *allowance* shall be thought honest.] i. e. by their *estimation*; for such I take to be its sense in this place, rather than *approbation*; which stands in the Variorum Edition of *Shakspeare* as the gloss on this word in *Hamlet's* lecture to the Players: "the censure of which one, must, in your *allowance*, o'er-weigh a whole theatre of others." XV. 175. *ed.* 1793.

And again in *Coriolanus*,

" Bastards, and syllables
" Of no *allowance*."

ib. XII. 138.

Where I cannot but think that *Johnson*, *Steevens*, and *Malone*, rove wide of the Poet's meaning. While to explain *allowance* by *estimation* will solve the difficulty of construction in each of these instances.

² To examin all the Lutes, the Violins, and Ghittarrs in every house—] Compare *Plato*, *de Repub.* l. 197. *Massey's edit.*—*Ghittar*, *Ghitarra. Ital.*

the rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every *municipal* fidler, for these are the Countrymans *Arcadia's* and his *Monte Mayors*³. Next, what more nationall corruption, for which

³ *The villages also must have their Visitors to enquire what Lectures the bagpipe and the rebbeck reads ev'n to the ballatry, and the gammuth of every municipal fidler, for these are the Countrymans Arcadia's and his Monte Mayors.] A Visitor was a presiding inspector.*

Thus Ben Janson :

— “ the superintendent
 “ To all the quainter Traffickers in Town,
 “ He is their *Visitor*, and does appoint,
 “ Who lies with whom.”

The Alchemist ; A. 2. S. 3.

But MILTON employs it here with a contemporaneous allusion which was not then lost on his readers. According to Sir Edward Walker, “ some of the Bishops were faulty in permitting “ to the bane of all Government, *Lectures* and weekly Sermons “ in populous Cities and Towns, where the *Lecturers* to please “ the silly Women, and to lead them after them, laden with “ divers Lusts, introduced new Forms, or rather no Forms, of “ Worship and Doctrine. *Historical Discourses ; p. 326. fol. 1705.*

Laud, on the other hand, had annual *Visitations* to examine narrowly how these Preachers carried themselves in the pulpit. See *Heylyn's Life of Laud ; p. 270, 271, and 345. fol. 1671.*

It is to this circumstance that also bears relation—“ the villages “ also must have their *Visitors* to enquire what *Lectures*, &c.” but this is too elleptical for posterity, though sufficiently intelligible when it was written.

Balladry occurs several times in *Marston*: see *the Metamorphosis of Pigmation's Image and certain Satyres ; p. 198, 199, and 228. Bowles's edit. 1764. 8vo.* and in all these places it

England hears ill abroad, then household gluttony ;
 who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting⁴? and
 what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that

denotes *Poetry of the lighter kind* ; as it likewise does, I recollect,
 somewhere in Ben Jonson,

“ To tax me with their senseless *Balladry*.”

But the peculiar spelling “ *Ballatry*,” may lead us to another
 interpretation. Unless it was in conformity to the scheme of
 regulating Orthography by the Pronunciation, I will not say, that
 MILTON, as his manner sometimes is to give words a capricious
 sense, did not by “ *Ballatry*” intend *dancing* : from the Italian,
ballare to *dance*, *ballato* and *ballata* ; whence our word *Ball*. So
 he wrote

———— “ midnight ball
 “ Or Serenate”—

(*Par. Lost*. IV. 767.)

after *Serenata*, not *Serenade*, like the French. *Bacon* mentions
 —“ *Tumblers, Funambuloes, Baladynes,*” &c.—in the *Ad-
 vancement of Learning* : p. 208. 4to ed. 1633.

This construction accords aptly with the context, which is
 then descriptive of the same rustic revelry as in *L'Allegro* :

“ When the merry Bells ring round,
 “ And the jocund *Rebecks* sound
 “ To many a youth and many a maid,
 “ *Dancing* in the chequer'd shade.”

v. 93.

The *Rebeck* seems (as *Warton* there remarked) to have been
 almost a common name for a *fiddle* ; and *municipal* meant *town*.
 For additional remarks on this passage, on the *Arcadia*, and on
 the *Diana* of *George of Montemayor*, see ILLUSTRATION, F.

⁴ *What more nationall corruption; for which England hears ill
 abroad, then household gluttony ; who shall be the rectors of our
 daily rioting ?]* *Hears ill*, meaning as in this place, *to be ill*

frequent those houses where drunk'nes is sold and harbour'd? Our garments also should be referr'd to the Licencing of some more sober work-masters, to see them cut into a lesse wanton garb. Who shall regulat all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country? who shall still appoint what shall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no furdur? Lastly, who shall forbid and separat all idle resort, all evill company? These things will be, and must be; but how they shall be lest hurtfull, how lest enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a State. To sequester out of the world into *Atlantick* and *Eutopian* Polities⁵, which never can

spoken of, is an idiom drawn from a classical source, and once in use among us, as I have shown in a *Review of Johnson's Criticism on the Style of MILTON's English Prose*, p. 33. (n.) Where I have remarked the same of *Rector* in this Latin sense.—See some historical notices in corroboration of the charge brought here against our Ancestors for “*household gluttony*,” in ILLUSTRATION, G.

⁵ *To sequester out of the world into Atlantick and Eutopian Polities, &c.*] By “*Atlantick Polities*” he refers to a work left incomplete by Lord Bacon, entitled the *new Atlantis*, after the name of the sunken Continent of which *Plato's* continuation of *Solon's* unfinished story has preserved the memory. MILTON now treats such imaginary Commonwealths as little better than romances. He spoke both of this, and of *Plato's* political institute, as well as of Sir T. *More's*, with greater respect in an *Apology for Smectymnuus*: “That grave and noble invention which “the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages, *Plato* in *Critias*, and our two famous countrymen, the one in his *Vtopia*, “the other in his new *Atlantis* chose, I may not say as a field, “but as a mighty Continent wherein to display the largenesse

be drawn into use, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of Evill, in the midd'st whereof GOD hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it *Plato's* Licencing of Books will doe this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of Licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrat; but those unwritt'n, or at least unconstraining laws of vertuous Education, religious and civill nurture⁶, which *Plato* there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every writt'n Statute; these they be which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all Licencing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissenes for certain are the bane of a Common-

“ of their spirits by teaching this our world better and exacter things, then were yet known, or us'd.” p. 10. 4to. 1642.

Why in the text there should be a deviation from the ordinary mode of spelling *Utopia*, I know not. The pronounciation is the same. Would he by this signify that he favoured the composition of this factitious Name from *eu* and *τοπος* rather than from *ou* *τοπος*?—It is perhaps to be regretted, that *Bacon* had not given to the world his idea of a perfect model of Government. But he shrunk, it may be suspected, from that part of his undertaking, for fear he might by giving offence at Court throw any obstacle in the way of his professional advancement. That he did not fulfil his intention, *Dr. Rawley*, the Editor of this and others of his posthumous pieces, attributes to his foreseeing that it would prove a long work, and that his desire of collecting “the natural History” diverted him from pursuing it. Yet I cannot but think *Bacon* was aware that this was tender ground, on which he did not like to venture.

⁶ *Nurture*.] See ILLUSTRATION, H.

wealth; but here the great art lies, to discern in what the Law is to bid restraint⁷ and punishment, and in what things perswasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and prescription, and compulsion, what were Vertue but a name⁸, what praise could be then due to well-doing, what grammercy to be sober⁹, just or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence for suf-

⁷ *In what the Law is to bid restraint, &c.*] This latinized use of *bid* is become obsolete: "Tullum—regem populus *jussit*." *Liv.* I. 22. A contemporary has this word in the same sense; "Unto him it did belong to *bid* holy-days, and to provide all "things necessary for publick sacrifices."—*Godwyn's Roman Antiquities*; p. 53. 4to. 1680.

⁸ *What were Vertue but a name,—*] "Aut Virtus nomen "inane est."—*Hor. L. 1. Ep. 17. v. 41.*

The thought was formed from the dying ejaculation of the second *Brutus*:

Ἦν τλῆμον Ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἄρ ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε
Ἦς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευσας βία.

See *Dion Cassius*; xlvii. 49.

⁹ *What grammercy to be sober, &c.*] *Johnson* passes this term over in his Dictionary as nothing more than "an obsolete expression of surprise, contracted from *grant me mercy*." Here it carries a different sense, and obviously signifies *great thanks*; literally from the French *grand merci*. "This childe is a good "boie, *gramercie rodde*."—*The Rule of Reason, containyng the Arte of Logike*: by *Thomas Wilson*. Fol. 36. sm. 4to. 1567. Again: "Syr I have thank for the shew that Ionys made you "and daily *gramercy*, and ye thaire prayer."—*Paston Letters*; II. 232. But their Editor adopted *Johnson's* erroneous explanation.

fering *Adam* to transgresse: foolish tongues! when GOD gave him Reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for Reason is but choosing; he had bin else a meer artificiall *Adam*, such an *Adam* as he is in the Motions¹. We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: GOD therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions

¹ When God gave him Reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for Reason is but choosing; *he had bin else a meer artificiall Adam, such an Adam as he is in the Motions.*] He transferred this thought into *Par. Lost*, where he dilates the argument:

“ Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
 “ Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
 “ Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
 “ Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
 “ Not what they would? What praise could they receive?
 “ What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
 “ When Will and Reason (*Reason also is Choice*)
 “ Useless and vain, of Freedom both despoil'd,
 “ Made passive both, had serv'd Necessity,
 “ Not me?”

III. 102.

And he again made Liberty coexistent with Reason:

“ But God left free the will; for what obeys
 “ Reason, is free.”

Ib. IX. 351.

A Puppet-play was formerly called a *Motion*: “He compass'd a *Motion* of the Prodigal Son,” says *Shakspeare* in the *Winter's Tale*, describing the vagrant life of *Autolycus*.

within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of Vertu? They are not skilfull considerers of human things, who imagin to remove Sin by removing the matter of Sin; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot from all, in such a universall thing as Books are; and when this is done, yet the Sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure; he has yet one jewell left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousnesse. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so: such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expell Sin by this means; look how much we thus expell of Sin, so much we expell of Vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high Providence of GOD², who though he command us Temperance, Justice, Continnence, yet powrs out before us ev'n to a profusenes all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then

² *This justifies the high Providence of God.]* A pious awe toward the ineffable Being who pervades and sustains the Universe, as well as submissive resignation to his Dispensations were feelings deeply-seated in MILTON's mind. They led him

affect a rigor contrary to the manner of GOD and of Nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which Books freely permitted are, both to the triall of Vertue, and the exercise of Truth? It would be better done to learn that the law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to Good, and to Evill. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing³. For GOD sure esteems

into this theme whenever the occasion offered. He makes the Chorus remind *Samson* under the misery that had befallen him,

“ *Just are the ways of God
And justifiable to Men.*”

v. 293.

And in the invocation with which he opens *Par. Lost* he implores the aid of the Divine Spirit,

“ That to the hight of this great argument
He may assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to Men.”

³ *A dram of well-doing should be preferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance of evill-doing.*] This sentiment agrees with that which is expressed by *Horace*, in the two following Verses :

“ *Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore ;
Tu nihil admittes in te formidine pœnæ.*”

MASERES.

It better agrees, I think, with the succeeding passage in *Cicero* :
“ *Quòd verò viros bonos jure civili fieri putas, quia legibus &
præmia proposita sint virtutibus, et supplicia vitiis; equidem
putabam virtutem hominibus (si modò tradi ratione possit) in-
stituendo & persuadendo, non minis et vi ac metu tradi: nam*

the growth and compleating of one vertuous person; more then the restraint of ten vitious. And albeit, what ever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing may be fitly call'd our Book⁴, and is of the same effect that writings are; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only Books, it appears that this Order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continu'd Court-libell against the Parliament and City⁵, printed, as the wet sheets can witnes, and dispers't among us, for all that Licencing can doe? yet this is the prime service a man would think, wherein this Order should give proof of it self. If it were executed, you'l say. But certain, if execution be

“ ipsum quidem illud, etiam sine cognitione juris, quàm sit bellum cavere malum, scire possumus.”—*De Orat. Lib. I. 58.*

⁴ *What ever thing we hear or see—may be fitly called our Book.]* One of *Sidney's* English Hexameters contains the same thought:

“ Thus both trees and each thing els, bee the books of a fancie.”

The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia; p. 82. fol. 1655:

⁵ *Do we not see, not once or oftner, but weekly, that continu'd Court-libell against the Parliament and City.]* No doubt he intended the “*Mercurius Aulicus*,” written by Sir John *Birkenhead*, which “ was printed weekly in one sheet, and sometimes more, in quarto; and was chiefly calculated to raise the reputation of the King's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule those who sided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occasionally.” *Art. BIRKENHEAD, in Biog. Brit. Note A. Kippis's Edit.*

remisse or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other Books? If then the Order shall not be vain and frustrat, behold a new labour, Lords and Commons! ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc'd Books already printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemn'd, and which not; and ordain that no forrein Books be deliver'd out of custody, till they have bin read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also Books which are partly usefull and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more Officials, to make expurgations, and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnify'd⁶. In fine, when the multitude of Books encrease upon

⁶ *This work will ask as many more Officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Commonwealth of Learning be not damnify'd.*] An *Official* was the name of the Officer in the Ecclesiastical Courts to whom the Bishops deputed the cognizance of spiritual offences. *Laud* had let them loose over the country. But the function of a Bishop was not, our Authour contends, in his *Tract Of Reformation, &c.* "To goe about circl'd with a "band of rooking *Officials*, with cloke bagges full of Citations, "and Processes to be serv'd by a corporalty of griffon-like Pro- "mooters, and Apparitors." p. 18. 4to. 1641.

He therefore could not have chosen a term more especially hateful to the public ear. Soon after the Long Parliament met, Sir Edward *Deering* presented a "Bill for the utter eradication "of Bishops, Deans, and Chapters; with all Chancellors, *Of-* "ficials and all Officers, and other Persons belonging to either

their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those Printers who are found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation of their whole suspected *typography*. In a word, that this your Order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly⁷ according to the model of *Trent* and *Sevil*, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though ye should condescend to this⁸, which GOD forbid; the

“ of them.”—*Clarendon; Hist. of Rebellion; I. 368. 8vo. 1807.* And in the *Ordinary*, a Comedy by W. Cartwright, (p. 79. 8vo. 1651.)

“ He answers me

“ In the small dolfull tune of a Country Wench

“ Examin’d by th’ *Officiall*,” &c.

In the latter part of the sentence from the text, MILTON paraphrases the formula of the Decree of the Roman Senate in times of urgent danger:—“ Darent operam Consules ne quid Res publica detrimenti caperet.”

⁷ *Ye must reform it perfectly, &c.] See ILLUSTRATION, I.*

⁸ *Though ye should condescend to this—] “ Agree to this.”* In like manner Sir Walter Raleigh; “ Hee easily allured them to “ *condiscend*, that Rivers and Grey, the King’s maternall Uncle “ and halfe brother, should bee severed from him.” *Pref. to the Hist. of the World.* And Lord Herbert of Cherbury;—“ con- “ straining the People of those parts to *condiscend* to a Treaty.” —*The Life and Reign of Henry VIII. p. 587. fol. 1682.* But perhaps in the above examples this word retains somewhat of its etymological import, to *climb*, or *mount*, *scando*. As seems likewise to be the case in the following:—“ This he not dreaming “ of their evil intention had *condiscended* to.”—*Mem. of Col. Hutchinson, p. 229. 4to.* Again: “ They agreed to surrender “ the City, upon this condition only, that their Governor and “ his Officers should march to Bristol which was *condiscended* “ unto.”—*Whitelock’s Mem. p. 164, fol. 1732.*

Order still would be but fruitlesse and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis'd in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing Books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixt for many ages, only by unwritt'n traditions? The Christian faith, (for that was once a schism) is not unknown to have spread all over *Asia*, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aym'd at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitionall rigor that hath bin executed upon Books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will misse the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every Licencer. It cannot be deny'd but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth, or death of Books, whether they may be wafted into this world, or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoovs him, there cannot be a more tedious and displeasing journey-work, a greater losse of time levied upon his head, then to be made the perpetuall reader of unchosen Books and Pamphlets, oftimes huge volumes. There is no Book that is acceptable unlesse at certain seasons;

but to be enjoyn'd the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition⁹ which I cannot beleeve how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostrill¹, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present Licencers to be pardon'd for so thinking: who doubtlesse took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short triall hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to sollicit their Licence, are testimony anough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the employment, by all evident signs wish

⁹ An imposition.] "A task." This term is still in use at Oxford for the literary exercise prescribed as a punishment for infringements on the discipline of the University.

¹ Of a sensible nostrill—] In imitation of

"minus aptus acutis

"Naribus."

Hor. Sat. I. 3. 29.

GLYD WHITE.

Such Anglo-Latian adulterations of our Language were once much in vogue. Unquestionably these classical affectations were vitious attempts to latinize our Teutonic tongue. But the apologetical observations I had to offer in reply to the accusation of Latinism in his English Prose, as brought against our Authour by Dr. Johnson, I expanded, and have already laid before the Public in a detached form.

themselves well ridd of it², and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Presse-corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of Licencers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or basely pecuniary. This is

² *Seeing therefore those who now possess the employment, by all evident signs wish themselves well ridd of it—*] Toland represents, that "such was the effect of our Author's AREOPAGITICA, that the following year *Mabbot*, a Licenser, offer'd Reasons against Licensing; and, at his own request, was discharged that office."—The Biographer was inaccurate as to the date. *Mabbot* continued in the office till 1649; and was then at his own desire discharged the employment: see Note to this quotation in *Hollis's Edit. of Toland's Life of MILTON*; p. 56. 8vo. 1761; Where too *Mabbot's* Reasons are given at length. As they contain some practical answers against a revival of an Imprimatur, and sustain *Toland's* account of the cogency of MILTON's vindication of an open Press, I will reprint them.—See ILLUSTRATION, K.

We may regret, that *Toland's* Biographical Memoir should not have been fuller, and written with more attention. Had he bestowed the time, it appears to have been within his power to have communicated considerably more information than he has given us: for he writes in a Letter to a Person of Quality in Holland that he was "conversant with many of MILTON's intimate Friends, and acquaintance; who, beside other informations, readily presented me with what Manuscripts of his, or any way relating to him, they had in their hands." *A Collection of several Pieces of Mr. John Toland*; I. 352. 8vo. 1726. by *Des Maizeaux*.

At the same time, every friend to Literature and to Liberty must willingly render his acknowledgements to *Toland's* memory for collecting and editing the political writings of *Harrington*, *Sydney*, and *MILTON*. These labours call for unqualified praise.

what I had to shew wherein this Order cannot con-
duce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront, that can be offer'd to Learning and to learned men. It was the complaint³ and lamentation of Prelats, upon every least breath of a motion to remove Pluralities, and distribute more equally Church revennu's, that then all Learning would be for ever dasht and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of Learning stood or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left him⁴. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mer-

³ *It was the complaint, &c.]* See ILLUSTRATION, L.

⁴ *Nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman, who had a competency left him.]* Ludlow relates an argumentative conversation on this question wherein he delivered with characteristic frankness an opinion similar to MILTON'S: "Dr. Earl accused the Parliament of endeavour-
"ing the destruction of Learning, which I desiring him to make
"appear, he told me that by abolishing Episcopacy we took
"away all encouragement to it; for that men would not send
"their sons to the university had they not some hopes that they
"might attain to that preferment. To this I replied, That it
"would be much more honest for such men to train up their
"children at the plow, whereby they might be certainly pro-
"vided with a livelihood than to spend their time and money to
"advance them to an office pretended to be spiritual and insti-
"tuted for spiritual ends upon such a sordid principle and con-
"sideration. . . Sir Francis [Doddington], as I conceive, ashamed

cenary crew of false pretenders to Learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study, and love Learning for it self, not for lucre⁵, or any other end, but the service of GOD and of Truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which GOD and good Men have consented⁶ shall be the reward of those whose publick labours advance the good of Mankind: then know, that so far to distrust the judgement and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in

“ of the Doctor's discourse put an end to the conversation.”—
Memoirs; p. 40. fol. 1751.

⁵ *Such as evidently were born to study, and love Learning for it self, not for lucre.*] On the contrary, the Poet Waller, in his Speech on behalf of Episcopacy as established, argued thus: “ If these great innovations proceed, I shall expect a flat and level in Learning too, as well as in Church-preferments: *Ho-nos alit Artes.* And though it be true, that grave and pious men do study for learning-sake, and embrace Virtue for itself; yet it is true, that Youth, which is the season when Learning is gotten, is not without ambition; nor will ever take pains to excel in any thing, when there is not some hope of excell-ing others in reward and dignity.” I give this as reprinted in Johnson's Biographical Preface to Waller.

⁶ *God and good Men have consented—*] that is, *agreed.* As in Spenser;

“ Such musick is wise words with time consented.”

F. Q. B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 2.

And Ben Jonson;

Dan.—“ How their Excuses meet !

Cle.—“ What a consent there is i' the Handles.”

Epicæne; A. 4. S. 6.

Learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him. What advantage is it to be a man over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only scapt the ferular, to come under the fescu of an *Imprimatur*? if serious and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the theam of a grammar Lad under his Pedagogue, must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing Licencer⁷. He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evill, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditats, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be

⁷ *Must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing Licencer.*] So afterward in this Speech, —“ *differencés* or rather *indifferences.*” —Such playing on words was much in vogue in our Authour's day; and if it had been observed to him that it was beneath the dignity of Oratory, he would probably have replied, that *Cicero* did not reject it; and would have vouched from him such *jeux de mots* as, “ *iidemque bustum in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam referant.*” —*Philip. prim. sect. 2.*

inform'd in what he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most consummat act of his fidelity and ripenesse, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of *Palladian oyl*, to the hasty view of an unleasur'd Licenser^s, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferiour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulst, or slighted, must appear in print like a Punie with his Guardian^s, and his censors hand on

^s. *Unlesse he carry all his considerat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence of Palladian oyl, to the hasty view of an unleasur'd Licenser.*] He has in *il Penseroso* a parallel image:

“ Or let my *Lamp* at midnight hour,
 “ Be seen in some high lonely Tow’r,
 “ Where I may oft *out-watch* the Bear.”

v. 85.

—“*expence of Palladian oyl*”—is an expression drawn from the Classics: “*Non deflebitur, ne & opera, & oleum philologiæ nostræ perierit: sed conferemus tranquillo animo.*”—*Cic. ad Atticum, Lib. 2. Epist. 17.*

I should, when it occurred in *p.* 40. have noticed, that when he says—“to the Press, or to the *Spunge*—” he is also speaking in classical diction: “*Nam tragædiam magno impetu exorsus, non succedente stylo, abolevit: quærentibusque amicis quidnam Ajax ageret? respondit, Ajacem suum in spongiam incubuisse.*” *Sueton. August. Lib. 2. 85.*

^s *Like a Punie with his Guardian*—] i. e. “like a *Minor*.”
 “This is (complained our Authour) the master-piece of a

the back of his title to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot, or seducer; it cannot be but a dishonor and derogation to the Author, to the Book, to the priviledge and dignity of Learning. And what if the Author shall be one so copious of fancie, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after Licencing, while the Book is yet under the Presse, which not seldom happ'ns to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one Book. The Printer dares not go beyond his licenc't copy; so often then must the Author trudge to his leav-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewd; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that Licencer, for it must

“ modern politician, how to qualifie, and mould the sufferance
 “ and subjection of the People to the length of that foot that is
 “ to tread on their necks, how rapine may serve it selfe with the
 “ faire, and honourable pretences of publick good, how the *puny*
 “ Law may be brought under the wardship and controul of lust
 “ [pleasure], and will.”—*Of Reformation, &c. p. 43. 4to. 1641.*

This word affords one proof, and others occur, of our Lexicographer, having occasionally inverted the right order, and shaped his explanation to make it square with the example he furnished to his valued Dictionary. The sole sense *Johnson* gives under PUNY, as a Substantive, is quite inferential, and widely stretched from its primary and literal signification; for it is “ A young unexperienced unseasoned *wretch*,” which is a constructive explication of the passage he adduces from *South's Sermons*: “Tenderness of heart makes a Man but a *Puny* in
 “ this Sin; it spoils the growth, and cramps the crowning
 “ exploits of this vice.”—*A puny* once signified a *youngster*.

Thus Ben *Jonson* in a copy of verses addressed to *Donne*:

“ Those that for claps doe write,

“ Let *punces*, porters, players praise delight.”

be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; mean while either the Presse must stand still, which is no small damage, or the Author loose his accuratest thoughts, and send the Book forth wors then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall¹. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a Doctor in his Book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches², all he

¹ *The greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall.*] By *Melancholy* he meant *mortification*, not *depression of spirits*: so *Hall*, in his *Chronicle*, of *Stanley's* disgust and discontent after having so largely contributed toward raising *Henry VII* to the throne: "Thys poynte argueth and proveth him at that tyme, " beyng moved with *melancholy* to beare no great good-will to " kyng Henry."

Again; *Burnet; Hist. of Reformation*; I. 131. fol. 1715. "Kearne on his way met the Bishop of Paris, coming back with " his *melancholick* account of his unprosperous negotiation. " When the King understood that he was used with so much " scorn and contempt at Rome, being also the more vexed, &c." So likewise, in the *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*; " At the reading of his Commission Col. Thornhagh shewed much discontent and was *melancholy* after it." p. 171. 4to.

Something like this must be the sense of this word in the succeeding verse of *Hoccleve*:

"*Malencolie* engendryth werre and stryf."

Poems; p. 48. 4to. 1796.

Notwithstanding his Editor, the late Mr. G. *Mason*, interpreted it to bear the modern meaning; see his *Glossary* to this Publication.

² *How can he be a Doctor in his Book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, &c.*] "A Doctor,"

delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal Licencer³, to blot or alter

i. e. a *Teacher*: “ For the ancient *Doctors*, he shewed, that in “ the fourth Century, St. Ambrose, Jerome, and St. Austin, the “ three great *Doctors* of that age, did not believe it.” *Burnet*; *Hist. of the Reform.* I. 155. fol. 1715.

Whenas—we have dropped the *as*, which though heretofore a common suffix was merely an expletive. *Where* and *There* had the same adjunct, and this redundancy is by many still retained in *as* yet, and *as* how.

³ *Under the correction of his patriarchal Licencer.*] Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury* in the *Life and Reign of Henry VIII* records (p. 386. fol. 1682,) that the King sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to *Francis* “ offering aid for a war in *Piedmont*, if he would suffer “ no more monies to go out of his Realm to *Rome*, and instead “ of the Pope to erect a *Patriarch*, which it seems was one of the “ private Articles treated betwixt them at the interview,” that had previously taken place between the two Monarchs. Baffled in his aim at the papal *Tiara*, that *Wolsey* should resolve by artful policy to effectuate a grand and rival separation from the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, of which independent Communion he might set himself at the head, comports well with his aspiring character and habitudes of intrigue. To this end, he might project to institute among the western Christians the title and office of the *Patriarchs* in the eastern Church. *Laud*, if fortune had proved so propitious that his restless ambition could have mounted to its topmost pitch, was accused of having speculated like the Cardinal-Minister, and, instead of remaining the Primate of all England, to have sighed for the dignity of *Patriarch* of our national Church. We therefore find it, in “ a “ true Delineation, or rather Parallel, between Cardinal *Wolsey*, “ Arch-bishop of *York*, and *Wm. Laud*, Arch-bishop of *Canter-* “ bury,” first printed in 1641, to be alleged that “ They both “ favored the See of *Rome* and respected his holinesse in it: “ the Cardinal did professe it publickly, the Arch-bishop did “ professe it privately. The Cardinal’s ambition was to be “ Pope: the Arch-bishop strove to be *Patriarch*: they both bid

what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement? When every acute Reader upon the first sight of a pedantick Licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the Book a coits distance from him, I hate a

“fairly for it; yet lost their aime: and far easier is it for Men
“to descend than to ascend.” *Somers's Tracts*; IV. 434. *Scott's edit.* Again; in the title-page to a copy of satirical Verses called *Lambeth Faire* written in 1641:

“These tricks and whimseys have been long conceal'd,
“But now the pack's laid open, al's reveal'd,
“The little *Patriarcke* frets and fumes to heare
“How cheap his knacks are sold in *Lambeth Faire*.”

Our Authour has more allusions to *Laud's* design. Among others, in his Tract, *Of Reformation, &c.* “whenever the Pope
“shall fall, if his Ruine bee not like the sudden down-come of a
“Towre, the Bishops, when they see him tottering, will leave
“him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, hee a *Patriarch-*
“*dome*, and another what comes next hand; as the French
“Cardinal [*Richlieu*] of late, and the *See of Canterbury*, hath
“plainly affected.” p. 9. 4to. 1641.

The Archbishop, moreover, was by far the most effective member of the Star-chamber when the Decree of that Court was issued to subject all Publications to an Imprimatur, and the Chaplains at *Lambeth-House*, with those at the *west end of Paul's*, were nominated among the Licensers.

Without the aid of the above historical illustration the text must be “dark and silent,” and the sense lost to many Readers. While some might erroneously conjecture, that in the epithet *patriarchal* there was involved a latent reference to Patriarchal Government, as our Authour's antagonist Sir Robt. *Filmer*, or more correctly Sir Robt. *Holborne* under *Filmer's* name, denominated the divine Right to the Crown, which these zealots for uncontrolled Prerogative contended, by analogy to the natural privileges of paternal authority, to belong indefeasibly to the reigning Family,

pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the Licencer, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgement? The State Sir, replies the Stationer; but has a quick return, the State shall be my Governours, but not my Criticks; they may be mistak'n in the choice of a Licencer, as easily as this Licencer may be mistak'n in an Author: this is some common stuffe; and he might adde from Sir *Francis Bacon*, That *such authoriz'd Books are but the language of the times*.*

* *He might add from Sir Francis Bacon, that such authoriz'd Books are but the language of the times.*] Where is it that *Bacon* has said this? or that which our Authour presently cites from him? I am not unread in *Bacon's* Writings: I have also requested some literary Friends to bear these two quotations in mind, but neither of them has come within our observation. If they should not be in his collected Works, as I am much inclined to believe is the case, they perhaps are to be found in a Tract on *Libels* by Lord *Bacon*, mentioned in the *Memoirs of T. Hollis* (p. 169.) My enquiries after this posthumous Publication have likewise been fruitless; and if any Gentleman having it in his possession would favour me with a sight of it, I should esteem the loan a peculiar obligation.

In an Apology for *Smectymnus* he again says, "the testimony of Sir *Francis Bacon* was not misalleged, complaining that "Libels on the Bishop's part were uttered openly." p. 27. 4to. first edit. And the very able and argumentative Writer of "another Letter to Mr. *Almon* in matter of Libel," quotes in his second Postscript (p. 12. 8vo. 1770.) to that Pamphlet, the following passage from Lord *Bacon's* Letters in opposition to *Coke's* doctrine: "the position that it is not material whether the Libel be true

For though a Licencer should happ'n to be judicious more then ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office, and his commission enjoyns him to let passe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased Author, though never so famous in his life time, and even to this day, come to their hands for licence to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his Book one sentence of a ventrous edge, utter'd in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictat of a divine Spirit?) yet not suiting with every low decrepit humor of their own, though it were *Knox* himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory Licencer. And to what an Author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what Book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance⁵, but shall forbear till a more convenient

“ or false, or whether the person that made it be of good or ill
 “ fame, is a proscription of Truth, and the provision of a sanc-
 “ tuary for weak and wicked men, who may be employed as
 “ Ministers or Judges.”

⁵ *Though it were Knox himself, the Reformer of a Kingdom that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash: &c:—And to what an Author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what Book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance.]* The latter part of this extract appears to be very

season. Yet if these things be not resented se-

applicable to the posthumous volumes of *Coke's Institutes*, and I am unacquainted with any work beside, the circumstances of which will tally with the whole. Parts II. III. and IV. were first printed in 1641, pursuant to an Order of the Commons' House of Parliament, made on the 12th of May in that Year. Sir Edward *Coke* died in 1634. The Oracle of our Law was now therefore "a deceased Authour, famous in his life-time," and who will deny, that his writings on the fundamental constitutions of English Polity and Jurisprudence were "of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht?"

I have a distinct recollection to have seen it charged on the Parliamentary Party, that they tampered with *Coke's Papers* before they sent them to the Press. This assertion was made in some Debate in Parliament not very long after the Restoration; unfortunately I am unable to recover the place. *Prynne*, in the title-page to his *Animadversions* on the fourth part of the *Institutes*, corroborates this accusation in a degree: for he states these Volumes of *Coke* to have been "reprinted (*with some disadvantage*) since his death." And what *Nicolson* observes on these harsh strictures by *Prynne* favours the same opinion. "The learned Authour (says the Bishop) is more severely re-flected on than he ought to have been for a posthumous Work, wherein we know not what injustice might be done him by the Publishers of his orphan-labours." *Eng. Hist. Library*; p. 199. fol. 1714. It is observable that MILTON refrains from entering into any particulars. Now, he would scarcely have had the forbearance to glance thus slightly had he aimed at the partizans of *Charles*. These facts taken in combination seem strong to identify the work alluded to.

It is material to notice further, that he tells us this was "*lately don*," lest it might be objected, that the three last Books of *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* were intended; which were a posthumous Publication, and also lie under the suspicion of having been garbled by the Non-conformists while in manuscript. As they, however, first appeared in print in 1648, the date destroys the supposition.—After all, I must add, that in a

riously and timely by them who have⁶ the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have authority to know out the choicest periods of exquisitest Books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death⁷, the more sorrow will

recent Biography of the Reformer of Scotland it is proved satisfactorily, that this first sentence from the text admits of a particular application to a mutilated republication at London of *Knox's History* in this very year. This circumstance perhaps renders it uncertain, whether the whole drift of this passage should not be confined to the same fact? The reader will judge. "In 1644, *David Buchanan published his edition of Knox's History at London*, in Folio, which was reprinted the same year at Edinburgh in Quarto. The editor prefixed a Preface concerning the antiquity of the Scots, and a Life of *Knox*, both of which were written by himself. He modernized the language of the History; but not satisfied with this, he also altered the narrative, by excluding some parts of it, and by making numerous interpolations." &c.—*Life of John Knox; by Thos. M'Crìe*, D. D. II. 356. sec. edit.

MILTON'S serio-comic Sonnet on the ill reception of his *Tetrachordon* shows, that he held in disesteem the Scottish Ministers then in London.

⁶ By them *who have*.] So, in *Εικονοκλάστης*: "the question hath bin all this while *between them two*." p. 61. *first edit*. This heretofore was not considered as ungrammatical: "That either of *them two*."—*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.* p. 159. *fol.* 1682. We still write *he himself*, instead of *he his self*; and they *themselves*, not *their selves*.

⁷ To know out the choicest periods of exquisitest Books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death.] Toland informs us, that the Licensor of *Paradise Lost* "would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary treason in the following lines;

belong to that haples race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let

——“ As when the Sun new ris'n
 “ Looks through the horizontal misty air
 “ Shorn of his beams, or from behind the Moon
 “ In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
 “ On half the nations, and with fear of change
 “ Perplexes monarchs.”

Life of MILTON, p. 121. Hollis's edit.

We should felicitate ourselves, that for England's glory, this now our *eternal possession* was not lost to mankind. How ill the immortal Bard could brook any regulator of his text, we may easily conceive. He must have put some restraint on his native independence of spirit, not to have given way to the impulse he could not but have felt to “ding” the Printer's Copy a “coit's distance from him” into the flames, when returned to him scored with objections, and a whole *Similé* excepted to by an Archbishop's Chaplain.

The apprehension of a like indignity must have deterred numbers from all commerce with the Press. Through the morbid sensibility so common among Authours, we have all witnessed with what hesitation and reluctance many bring themselves to submit their thoughts even to critical censure. The fear that his Manuscripts might be garbled, perhaps interpolated, in a posthumous publication, prompted Sir Matthew Hale to the resolve that “none of his Writings should be at the mercy of Licensers.” *Burnet's Life of Hale; p. 111. 12mo.*

Let me add a striking instance of the suppression of a *choice period* in an *exquisite Book*. *Xenophon* had put into the mouth of *Cyrus*, when making a hortatory speech to his Grecian auxiliaries, that they should be assured he would prefer *Liberty before all things he possessed, with the addition of many others.* *Εὐ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοιμῆν ἀν' ἀντιῶν ἐχῶ πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασιῶν.* Where *Spelman* observes, “whether *D'Ablancourt* found any difficulty in this sentence, or whether he was afraid of offending the tender ears of his Monarch with the harshness of it, I know not; but so it is, that he has

no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common stedfast dunce^s will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

“left out every syllable of this period.”—See *Spelman's Translation of the Anabasis*, I. 75: 8vo. This was under *Louis XIV.* We may be fully confident that he would never have harangued his Swiss Mercenaries in the same strain, that the Historian records this eastern Despot to have addressed the Ten Thousand; and perhaps a testimony so favourable to popular Governments would have been objected to by the Syndic; so that *D'Ablancourt's* version could not have appeared *avec Approbation et Privélege du Roi*, without this mutilation. But where is the extenuation for the respectable Biographer of Sir William Jones, who took on him to strike the following paragraph out of a Letter written by that excellent Man to Dr. Price?

“*Chrishna-nagur*, Sep: 14, 1790.

“When I think of the late glorious Revolution in France, I cannot help applying to my poor infatuated Country, the words which *Tully* formerly applied to Gaul, *ex omnibus terris Britannia sola communi non ardet incendio.*”—See *Memoirs of Sir William Jones; by Lord Teignmouth*; p. 341. 4to, that this sentence is there omitted.

^s *A common stedfast dunce.*] i. e. “a fixed or confirmed “Dunce.” We meet with this Adjective in the same signification in *Spenser: F. 2. b. 2. c. 2. st. 8.*

“Transform'd her to a stone from *stedfast* Virgin's state.”

Again in the same *book. c. 7. st. 1.* a fixed star is called “a *stedfast* star.” It bears a kindred sense in *il Penseroso*; v. 31.

“Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,

“Sober, *stedfast*, and demure.”

And it may be added, that our Poet might have caught these rhymes and this peculiar combination from an antient Ballad quoted by Sir J. *Hawkins (Hist. of Music: III. 29.)*:

——“She is proper and pure

“Full *stedfast*, stabill and demure.”

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writt'n labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole Nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgement which is in England, as that it can be comprehended in any twenty capacities how good soever; much lesse that it should not passe except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant without their manuall stamp. Truth and Understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by Tickets, and Statutes, and Standards⁹. We must not think to make a staple

⁹ *Truth and Understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by Tickets, Statutes, and Standards.*] This allusion to the grants of Monopolies by the Crown to favoured individuals under colour of Prerogative is not unlike *Cowley's* contemporary mention of the same heavy Grievance, in his verses to the Lord *Falkland*:

“ How could he answer't, should the State think fit,
“ To question a *Monopoly of Wit* ?”

Whoever will look in the Tract intitled *Leycester's Commonwealth* (p. 65. ed. 1641.) at the enomeration of Patents of this nature granted by *Elizabeth* to that Favourite will be at no loss to conceive the public odium they must have brought on this arbitrary assumption of the Crown.

Acknowledgements for goods obtained on credit were then called *Tickets*. “ The Law (says *Waterhous* in his Commentary upon “ *Fortescue*) provides that Inns shall have present pay, and men “ not run in arrears or take from them on *Ticket*.” p. 453. fol. 1663. See too *Memoirs of Ludlow*; p. 325. fol. 1751. And

commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistins, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulthers, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges? Had any one writt'n and divulg'd¹ erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, mis-using and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudg'd him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annex'to

Heylin, speaking of the preparations made in 1638, by the Scottish Nation to claim their Rights at the point of the sword, relates that, they took "up arms and ammunition from the States United; with whom they went on *ticket*, and long days of "payment, for want of ready money."—*Hist. of the Presbyterians*; p. 429. fol. 1672.

This explanation clears away an obscurity in *Beaumont and Fletcher's Scornful Lady*: "I am but new come over, direct me "with your *ticket* to your Taylor, and then I shall be fine."—p. 70. *Works*; fol. 1679. These passages, indeed, throw reciprocal light on each other; and confirm *Johnson's* conjectural etymology of *Tick*.

Statutes are *Securities* given for debts contracted by the purchase of *Merchandize*. "The reason of which name is (as "*Blount* explains the word) because those Bonds are made according to the forms of certain *Statutes*."—*Glossographia*; p. 605. 8vo. 4th edit.

¹ *writt'n and divulg'd*—] i. e. *published*, in the technical sense: "This—was printed and carefully *divulged* over the kingdom." *Clarendon; Hist. of the Rebellion*; I. 1022. 8vo. 1807.

passe his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehended lesse then a disgracefull punishment. Whence to include the whole Nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectfull prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more, when as dettors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive Books must not stirre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people lesse then a reproach; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English Pamphlet, what doe we but censure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded People; in such a sick and weak estate of Faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a Licencer. That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those Popish places where the Laity are most hated and dispis'd the same strictnes is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither^a; whenas those corruptions which it seeks

^a Nor *that* neither—] There are sufficient authorities for this Anglicism, though not strictly correct. *Malone* took exception to a similar use of *neither*; see his Edition of *Dryden's* Prose Works, III. 260. But the above intensive sense of this word is a relic of the Anglo-Saxon idiom; in which two Negatives do not make an Affirmative. *Fortescue-Aland*, in his Notes to Sir John *Fortescue's* curious Treatise on "the Difference between an absolute and limited Monarchy; as it more particularly regards the English Constitution," remarks that,

to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion, it reflects to the disrepute of our Ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continually preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble³, as that the whiffe of every new Pamphlet

it was a "mode of the Saxons, as among the Greeks, to have "two Negatives in their negative proposition as, Ne eom ic na Eþyr, *I am not the Christ.*—Maresc. Evang. Joh. 1. 20.

"In imitation of which *Chaucer*, has *Ine said none ill.* Sometimes you will find the Saxons deny by three Negatives, as, "among the Laws of King *Æthelstan*, nan ꝛylb ꝛyþhta na lecge "nan ꝛceapeꝛ felle on ꝛylb; *Let no maker of Shields, lay any "Sheep Skin on my Shield.*—Inter Leg. *Æthelstan*. 15.

"Nay, sometimes they have used four Negatives to deny "more strongly, as, Ne nan ne doþꝛt of þam dæge hýne nan "þing mape axrgean; *Neither durst any Man from that day "ask him any more questions, speaking of our Saviour.*—Maresc. "Evang. *Matth.* 32. 46. *Hiches. Thes.* 58."—p. 15. 3d edit. 1724.

³ Laick rabble—] is precisely the *profanum vulgus* of *Horace*; the illiterate or "swainish multitude;" our Authour's phrase in another work. In the Latinity of the lower ages, "Laica Lingua" signified the *vulgar* tongue. (*Du Fresne; Gloss. med. & infim. Lat. in v. LAICA.*) "We have learnt (says *MILTON* in another Tract) the scornfull terme of *Laick*, the "secrating of Temples, carpets, and table-clothes, the railing "in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount Sinai in the Gos- "pell, as if the touch of a lay Christian who is never the lesse "Gods living Temple, could profane dead Judaisms." *The Reason of Church Government; p. 54. 4to. 1641.*

The "lay gents" is the term with the old Reporters of adjudged Cases, for the uninitiated in the mysteries of our Law.

should stagger them out of thir catechism, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Ministers when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turn'd loose to three sheets of paper without a Licencer, that all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other Books unsalable, should not be armor enough against one single *enchiridion*, without the Castle St. Angelo of an *Imprimatur*⁴.

⁴ *Not be armor enough against one single enchiridion, without the Castle St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.*] MILTON must from local knowlege have been well acquainted with the situation of the *Castle St. Angelo*; and no doubt he surveyed the Pope's State Prison with emotions that left no momentary impression on his mind. But it is extraordinary, that he should not have bestowed a thought on how few of his Readers would know that this Citadel, whose site was the mole of *Hadrian*, (see Plates 51 and 52 in the *Roma Æterna* of *Schenkius*) commanded the main access to Rome. The Historian tells us in his concluding Chapter, that "could the Romans have wrested from the Popes the *Castle of St. Angelo*, they had resolved by a public decree to "annihilate that monument of servitude." *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Yet without some such knowlege this far-fetched metaphor presents no determinate idea: to preserve the integrity of which we must moreover carry in mind that there is a double power couched under *Enchiridion*. MILTON delighted in enigmatical meanings. We are to understand it to signify both a *Manual* and a *Dagger*; which latter sense it appears by *E. Philipps's English Dictionary*, (*The New World of Words*, fol. 1706.) to have

And lest som should perswade ye, Lords and Commons! that these arguments of lerned mens discouragement at this your Order, are meer flourishes, and not reall, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their lerned men⁵, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of *Philosophic* Freedom, as they suppos'd England was, while themselvs did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which Lerning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had dampt the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous *Galileo* grown old, a prisner to the Inquisition⁶, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise then the

still retained from the Greek.—*Erasmus* sports with this word in the same way: alluding to his work, intituled "*Enchiridion Militis Christiani*," he writes—"Dedi *Enchiridion*—ille contra "dedit *gladiolum*, quo non magis adhuc sum usus quam ille "libro." *Life by Jortin*. I. 358. (n.) 8vo.

⁵ *I have sat among their lerned men, &c.*] See ILLUSTRATION, M.

⁶ *There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo grown old, a prisner to the Inquisition—*] Mr. *Hayley*; from the interest *Grotius* appears to have taken in the fate of *Galileo*, ingeniously conjectures, that *Grotius* might have warmly recommended MILTON on his departure from Paris for Italy to do every kind office in his power to the illustrious Precursor of Sir Isaac *Newton*, then suffering under Inquisitorial persecution. In the proportion that we scrutinize MILTON'S Writings with cri-

Franciscan and Dominican Licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelaticall yোক, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happines, that other Nations were so perswaded of her Liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope that those Worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgott'n by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among lerned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the same I shou'd hear by as lerned men at home utterd in time of Parliament against an Order of Licencing; and that so generally, that when I had disclos'd my self a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that He whom an honest *Quæstorship* had in-

tical minuteness, the higher we shall set his punctual accuracy. It is the prevalent though an unfounded notion, that this Astronomer was immured in a dungeon of the Holy Office for imparting to mankind his discoveries relative to the diurnal revolution of our own planetary orb on its axis. To admonish us therefore how vain to its possessor is the superiority of intellectual qualifications, "*Galileo's end*" has been paralleled in misfortune with the life of an eminent Scholar who oppressed by want passed many of his days in a prison. Our Authour is strictly accurate. The "*Tuscan Artist*" was, it is true, *put into circumscription and confine* for his heretical Philosophy; that is, he was "*a prisoner to the Inquisition;*" but not actually imprisoned. See Mr. *Todd's* "*Account of the Life and Writings of MILTON;*" p. 31. *sec. edit.*

dear'd to the *Sicilians*, was not more by them importun'd against *Verres*, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions⁷, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved thraldom upon Learning. That this is not therefore the disburdning of a particular fancie, but the common grievance of all those who had prepar'd their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch to advance Truth in others, and from

⁷ *I might say, if without envy, that He whom an honest Quæstorship had in dear'd to the Sicilians, was not more by them importun'd against Verres, then the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and perswasions, &c.] If without envy—after the Latin formulary—“absit invidia verbo.”—Recourse was before had to MILTON, when the faculties of an energetic and well-informed advocate were wanting to sustain the Antiprelatical Party on points of Learning against the defenders of our Hierarchy. Neither would the Commonwealthsmen, had he not stood high among the Writers of his time, have solicited the exertions of his pen to counteract the impression made on the public mind by the *Icon Basilike*; as they would also have sought some other vindicator of the trial and execution of *Charles*. These repeated applications to MILTON for assistance on emergent occasions are unequivocal demonstrations of the powers of his Prose-writings, and that they were not on their first appearance neglected, as Mr. *Warton* was far from reluctant to suggest. Men do not voluntarily trust their cause in hands which are regarded as feeble or inefficient. Tracts, moreover, were ascribed to him which unquestionably were not of his production. This was unlikely to have happened if his name as an Authour had been slighted.*

others to entertain it, thus much may satisfie. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the generall murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and Licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selvs, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each Book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better then silenc't from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guest what is intended by som but a second tyranny over Learning: and will soon put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing^s. That those

^s *Put it out of controversie that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing.*] He had through his Treatise "of Prelatical Episcopacy," maintained it to be "clear in Scripture, that a Bishop and Presbyter is all one both in Name and Office." *Pr. W. I. 37. ed. 1738.* And now, while reprehending the arbitrary tendency of the proceedings of the ruling Faction, he seizes the opportunity of touching with allusive pleasantry on the same doctrine.

MILTON was never incited to write merely by a desire of depressing one set of men or of exalting another. He put himself early and earnestly into the work of ecclesiastical Reformation: no sooner did he find that "new Presbyter was but old Priest writ large," than he broke off all further commerce with his coadjutors in the subversion of "Prelaty," and resolutely withstood their encroachments. He concurred with *Ludlow's* opinion, who complained that "there was a sort of Men, who were contented to sacrifice all civil Liberties to the ambition of the Presbyterian Clergy, and to vest them with a power as great or greater than that which had been declared intolerable in the Bishops before." *Memoirs; p. 73. fol. 1751.* For the same reason,

evills of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributivly charg'd upon the whole People, will now light wholly upon Learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large Dioces of Books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mysticall Pluralist⁹. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor

Selden and *Whitelock* opposed their application to Parliament for the power of Excommunication and of Suspension from the Sacrament. Both these eminent Laymen, though they favoured this Connection, knew too well the danger of power in a Priesthood, to lend their support on this occasion.

MILTON'S end was always one and the same. He carried himself very far above any idle or selfish attachment to the interest of this Sect or of that Party: dedicating his Life to the investigation of Truth, he was anxious only for the advancement of the general welfare.

The detriment to the People's Cause which ensued greatly through the confined views of the Presbyterian Clergy, when their Party had gained the predominancy, is much to be deplored. Their conduct estranged the popular Leaders from each other, or set them at variance, to the manifest advantage of their common enemy. These unhappy feuds were the prelude to the unconditional Restoration.

The Memoirs of Colonel *Hutchinson* exhibit a genuine and lively picture of the crosses and bickerings which the assertors of the Liberties of England, who did not belong to the prevailing Sect had to encounter.—How many while fighting by the side of the Roundheads, must have sighed to have *lived* in the quarters of the Cavaliers.

⁹ *A mysticall Pluralist.*] “A covert pluralist.” So *Clarendon*; “The Earl wrote a Letter,—in which he *mystically* ex-

of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, shall now at home in his privat chair assume both these over worthiest and excellentest Books, and ablest Authors that write them. This is not, Yee Covnants and Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy¹; this is but to

“pressed some new design to have been set on foot for corrupting the Army.” *Hist. of the Rebellion*; I. 424. 8vo.

And in Εἰκονοκλάστης; “He chooses therefore a more *mystical* way, a newer method of Antichristian fraud.” p. 155. *first edit.*

¹ *This is not, yee Covnants and Protestations that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty; this is but to chop an Episcopacy;*] If this be an exclamatory adjuration, is it not introduced awkwardly? It may be (I do not throw it out with much confidence) that *yee* is an error of the Press. Possibly, *ye* was written in MILTON's manuscript for *the*; and from this abbreviation, now obsolete, the Compositor's mistake in the original Edition, if there be one, might have arisen.

Cov'nants were the engagements which the Commons' House had drawn up for signature the year before, and ordered to be subscribed by the Members of both Houses of Parliament, and by the People. Beside this national test or pledge of fidelity enjoined by the Parliament, there were voluntary Covenants; by which the individuals of particular bodies mutually bound themselves to sustain “the good old Cause,” and to be faithful to each other. (*Mem. of Col. Hutchinson*; p. 143. 4to.) A parochial instrument of this nature may be seen in *Lysons's* “Environs of London,” extracted from the Parish Register of Wanstead in Essex.

To *protest* was formerly synonymous with to *declare*: “I will just beg leave to *protest* my Faith: I am not able to dispute,” said *Latimer* to the Prolocutor at the disputation at Oxford previously to his suffering. A *Protestation* or Declaration was in

translate the Palace *Metropolitan* from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old canonicall

1641 agreed to by the Lords and Commons on behalf of themselves and the Public; "whereby they obliged themselves to defend and maintain the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the Rights and Liberties of the People, to use their utmost endeavour to bring to condign Punishment all those who should by force or otherwise do any thing to the contrary, and to stand by and justify all such as should do any thing in prosecution of the said *Protestation*." *Ludlow's Memoirs*; p. 6. fol.

To this engagement MILTON refers, with his usual spirit and zeal for the public interest, while vindicating the temperance and regularity of his own habits: My "morning haunts (he rejoins upon a slanderous Adversary) are where they should be, at home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good Authors, or cause them to be read, till the attention be weary, or memory have its full fraught: then with useful and generous labours preserving the Body's health and hardiness; to render lightsome, clear, and not lumpish obedience to the Mind, to the cause of Religion and our Country's Liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound Bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than to see the ruin of our *Protestation*, and the inforcement of a slavish life." *Pr. W. I.* 109. ed. 1738.

To *chop* was to *change*; so again in *Tetrachordon*; "you are to limit it to that age, when it was in fashion to *chop* matrimonies." p. 67. *first edit.* Sailors still talk of the wind *chopping* when it veers to a new point.

I have never seen it observed, that MILTON throughout his writings against the established Hierarchy drew a perspicuous line of demarcation between Prelates and Bishops. Episcopacy, in part spiritual, and in part political, such as obtains with us, he held to be indefensible; and he was disinclined to much of the Ritual, as well as to much of our Church-Govern-

slight of *commuting* our penance. To startle thus betimes at a meer unlicenc't Pamphlet will after a while be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting. But I am certain that a State govern'd by the rules of Justice and Fortitude, or a Church built and founded upon the rock of Faith and true Knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in Religion, that Freedom of Writing should be restrain'd by a discipline imitated from the Prelats, and learnt by them from the Inquisition, to shut us up all again into the brest of a Licencer, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes

ment. At the same time he does not, I think, appear to have been an enemy to Bishops, as a higher order of the Christian Priesthood. If however he approved of an institution of this character with a superiority of jurisdiction for the maintenance of clerical discipline, he fulminates the heaviest censures against "*Pre-lat Lords,*" Bishops with "*Baronies and stately Preferments;*" in other words, who were invested with secular authority. This distinction may be presumed to have accorded with the disposition then prevalent: for even the Army, the bulk of whom aspired to the establishment of a Commonwealth, expressed their desire to retain an episcopal Government in the Church. They petitioned the Parliament not to abolish the office of Bishop altogether but to take away the "*co-ercive power and civil penalties.*" *Rushworth; Hist. Col. VII. 4.* And after the proscriptions of *Laud*, and the grievous tyranny of the "*Prelatical Commission,*" he who does not join in their detestation of these mitred Judges must indeed be enamoured of Cruelty in its most disgusting shape—cloathed in the mantle of Religion, and indulging its propensities under the much-abused name of Justice.

of this politic drift², and who are the contrivers?

² *Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift—*] Thomson's reprint of the AREOPAGITICA gives *finesse*. In Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, Ever-ill says, "You'll mar all by your *fineness*." On which Whalley makes the following observation: "Mr. Sympson imagines it should be *finesse*; but that word, I believe, came into use since our Authour's days. *Fineness* is the same with *shyness* or *coyness*; and that sense is not incongruous to the rest of the passage." *Works*; IV. 61. 8vo. 1756.

But this word formerly signified *crafty ingenuity, politic invention*; as now in this Oration; and is so applied by Sir W. Raleigh: "This politician studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some creatures of his own in their rooms. Against Alexander he went to work the ordinary way, by calumination and privy detraction. But for the supplanting of Taurion he used more *fineness*; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, &c. By such art he thought to have removed him, as we say out of God's blessing into a warm sun." *Hist. of the World*; p. 776. fol. 1677. A meaning this which better agrees than *coyness* or *shyness* with the name and character of *Meercraft*, the *Projector*, to whom the quotation from Jonson's Play is addressed.

Neither is the present the only place where MILTON's text has been vitiated to make this identical change: "This is the artificialest peece of *fineness* to perswade Men to be Slaves, that the wit of Court could have invented." *Εικονοκλάστης*; p. 35. 4to. first edit. 1649. It is likewise printed correctly in the 8vo. edit. p. 31. Amsterdam. 1690. and in Toland's Edit. of the *Pr. W.* II. 458. But in Birch's edit. I. 376. fol. 1738. it was altered to *finesse*, and subsequent Editions conform to this corruption. It is but seldom that an Editor is found too tenacious of his Authour's text. *Finesse*, it is highly probable, had not yet stolen into our Language; or if it had been then naturalized, still MILTON would have rejected it. He did not himself decline to borrow words occasionally from the Greek, the Latin, and the Italian: very rarely (if ever) did he condescend to draw on the French.

that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open ; it was the Peoples birth-right and priviledge in time of Parliament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name ; the Episcopall arts begin to bud again ; the cruse of Truth must run no more oyle ; Liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall Commission of twenty³ ; the privilege of the People nul-

³ *Liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelatical Commission of twenty.*] The following extract from the address to the Reader which Rich. Baxter prefixed to a Treatise on *the Nature of Covenants and Faith*, it is not unlikely might have been intended for a direct reply to MILTON. If not so, it is still curious to see the sort of reasoning by which the Presbyterian Party defended an Imprimatur. At the same time, it stands a lamentable example how far a man eminent for Talents and Probity, he himself a Nonconformist, and an unsubdued confessor for conscience-sake, when misled by a factious spirit could desert a principle it was his bounden duty to uphold.

Among the impediments to the progress of Knowlege, *Baxter* states, and without a blush, as the first, that “ Every ignorant, “ empty braine (which usually has the highest esteem of itselfe) “ hath *the Liberty of the Presse* whereby (through the common itch “ that pride exciteth in men, to seeme somebody in the world) the “ number of Bookes is grown so great, that they begin with “ many to grow contemptible ; and a man may bestow a great “ many yeares to find out the Authour’s weaknesse, and that “ his Books have nothing in them but common ; and so many “ must be tossed over before we find out those few that are “ cleare and solid, that much of our lives are spent in the dis- “ covery : and yet he is thought to scape well that only loseth

lify'd; and which is wors, the Freedom of Learning must groan again, and to her old fetters: all this the Parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelats might remember them⁴, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: *The punishing of wits enhaunces their authority*, saith the Vicount St. Albans⁵; and a *forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of Truth that flies up in the faces of them who seeke to tread it out.* This Order therefore may

“ his time and labour and gets no more hurt by them. Some
 “ think the Truth will not thrive among us, till every man have
 “ leave to speak both in Presse and Pulpit that please: GOD for-
 “ bid that we should ever see that day! If ten men's voyces be
 “ louder than one, then would the noyse of Errour drown the
 “ voyce of Truth: Ignorance is usually clamorous and loud, but
 “ Truth is modest, though zealous: One orthodox faithfull
 “ Teacher, would scarce be seen or finde room for the crowd of
 “ seducers: For the godly, compared with the ungodly, are
 “ not near so few as the men of clear understanding, in compa-
 “ rison of the ignorant: And they are most forward to speake,
 “ that know least.” *Caret Tit. 12mo. 1648.*

⁴ *The Prelats might remember them, &c.]* See ILLUSTRATION, N.

⁵ *The punishing of wits enhaunces their authority, saith the Vicount St. Albans.]* “ *Autority*” may be in the Latin sense for *Reputation*.—Lord Bacon translated this apophthegm from *Tacitus*: “ *Quò magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui præsentì potentia credunt exstingui posse etiam sequentis ævi memoriam.* “ *Nam contrà, punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas.*”—*Annal. l. IV. 35.*

prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step-dame to Truth: and first by disabbling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our Faith and Knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compar'd in Scripture to a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a Heretick in the Truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor sayes so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very Truth he holds, becomes his Heresie⁶. There is not

⁶ *A man may be a Heretick in the Truth; and if he beleevce things only because his Pastor sayes so, or the Assembly so determines without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very Truth he holds, becomes his Heresie.]*

Before theological Disputants gave it a technical appropriation to what each deemed the pravities of Heterodoxy in his opponent, *Ἀίρεσις* implied the opinion an individual had *taken up* on any subject; it bore no reference to its Truth nor to its Falseness; and as little to peculiar, or to perverted notions of religious belief. "In ista ipsa *αἱρέσει* metuo ne plus nervorum sit," &c. writes *Cicero*; *Epist. ad Div. l. 15. ep. 16.*

Our Authour now reverts to this original and absolute import; as *Ben Jonson* had previously:—"are you in that good *Heresie*? I mean *opinion*." *The Sad Shepherd*; *A. I. S. 5.*

The drift of this seemingly paradoxical reasoning is in simpler terms—"Though any man's religious opinions happen to be orthodox, still are they *heretical* when adopted without his own examination of their proper evidence." Consult further his Treatise "of Civil Power in ecclesiastical Causes," where *MILTON*

any burden that som would gladlier post off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be ? of Protestants and Professors⁷ who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of *Loretto*. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his

draws this distinction a second time, and opens his meaning more clearly : *Pr. W. I.* 549. *ed.* 1738.

But is not this recurrence to the original acceptation, when it has been superseded by an accidental application, injudicious and faulty ? It looks too much like an ambitious display of Learning. Thus to give a word a twofold signification ; to set it in opposition with itself ; now to be understood in its radical, and now in an acquired sense, savours more of conceit than of argument. Surely we should avoid every practice which adds to the instability or to the uncertainty of Language ; and such fluctuations, since they render the meaning of words precarious and indefinite, must needs lead to ambiguity.

⁷ *Protestants and Professors.*] They who affected a sauctimonious observance of religious duties were then called *Professors*. This the examples following abundantly ascertain :

“ A Diocese in which there were as many strict *Professors* of Religion (*commonly called Puritans*) as in any part of England.” *May; Hist. of the Parl.* p. 55. 4to. And Fr. *Quarles*:

“ There’s many Libertines, for one *Professour*,

“ Nor doe *Professors* all professe aright

“ ’Mong whom there often lurks a Hypocrite.”

Divine Poems ; p. 67. 12mo. 1630.

Again ; it is related in the *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, that his Father left him “ at bord in a very religious house, where “ new superstitions and pharisaical holiness, straining at gnatts “ and swallowing camels, gave him a little disgust, and was “ awhile a stumbling block in his way of purer *profession*, when “ he saw among *professors* such unsuitable miscarriages.” p. 32. 4to. 1806.

profits, finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he doe? fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolv's to give over toying, and to find himself out som factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs; som Divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole ware-house of his Religion, with all the locks and keyes into his custody; and indeed makes the very person of that man his Religion; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his Religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him⁶, according as that good man frequents

⁶ *His Religion is now no more within himself, but is becom a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him.] Dividual is divisible:*

“ Twinn'd, and from her hath no *dividual* being.”

Pur. L. XII. 85.

Again, in *Beaumont and Fletcher*, X. 24. edit. 1778.

—“ true love 'tween maid and maid may be

“ More than in sex *dividual*.”

Here *Seward*, thinking *dividual* destroyed the sense, gave *individual*; and so made the text speak just the reverse of what the dramatic Poets intended. *Individual* is *inseparable*, *indivisible*, as in *Tetrachordon*: “ His Tautology also of *indissoluble* and “ *individual*, is not to be imitated.” p. 20. 4to. 1645.

the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his Religion comes home at night, praises, is liberally supt, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the Malmsey, or some well spic't bruage, and better breakfasted⁹ then He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Jerusalem*; his Religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his Religion.

⁹ *After the Malmsey, or some well-spiced bruage, and better breakfasted.*] Ben Jonson had characteriz'd the Puritan Minister, *Zealot of the Land Busy's* sumptuous fare at his Patroness's by much the same sort of description:—"fast by the teeth i' the cold Turkye-pye i' the Cupboard, with a great white Loaf on his left hand, and a *Glass of Malmsey* on his right." *Bartholomew Fair*. A. 1. S. 6.

From MILTON'S representation of the usual morning repast in a family of staid and sanctimonious manners, we may gather the improved habits of life as to Temperance which have taken place since his days. Such beverage if now set at all on the Breakfast Table is only for the Fox-hunter before he goes out to the chase.

Spiced Liquors for a long space of time were among the luxuries of our Ancestours. *Froissart*, as I recollect, mentions, that the Black Prince after the Battle of Poitiers, among other courtesies presented his prisoner, the King of France, with a cup of *Wine and Spices*. And a Poet, our Authour's contemporary, asks,

"What though some have a draught
 "Of Cloves and Nutmegs, and in Cinnamon sail?
 "If thou hast wherewithall to *spice a draught*,
 "When griefs prevail."

Herbert; the Temple, p. 131. 12mo. 1641.

Another sort there be, who 'when they hear, that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and settl'd; nothing writt'n but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n Truth¹; will strait give themselves up into your hands, mak'em and cut'em out what Religion ye please: there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes, that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream². What need they torture their heads with

¹ *Through the custom house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n Truth.*] Johnson explains a *Publican* to be a toll-gatherer. If he had said a collector of Taxes, he would have been more correct: "In all places Men that are grieved with payments to the Public, discharge their anger upon the *Publicans*; that is to say, *Farmers, Collectors, and other Officers of the Public Revenue.*"—*Hobbes; Works*; p. 140. fol. 1651.

The levying of *Tunnage and Poundage* on merchandize by royal authority alone was a Grievance which had been condemned at the moment of their Dissolution by a tumultuary Vote of the House of Commons who sate for a short time in 1629.

² *There be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes, that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream.*] After the industry with which political enmity has widely propagated that MILTON felt no sympathy in the affections of social life, it behoves his admirers to remove this aspersion on his memory. The more so, since Johnson has given currency to the persuasion that he was of unamiable manners and a recluse; "an acrimonious and surly Republican," who was destitute of, the milder virtues. San-

that which others have tak'n so strictly, and so unalterably into their own pourveying? These are

guine, not to say enthusiastic, in his complexional temperament, it is not reasonable to believe that MILTON was of an austere or repulsive demeanour; and he possessed by far too much native dignity, to be Pharisaical. With all his eager appetite for Knowlege, and habitudes of severe Study, he did not keep entirely aloof from the festal board. This was no part of his doctrine; neither was it his practice to sequester himself altogether from the world. Far otherwise: He taught,

“ For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,
 “ And disapproves that Care, tho' wise in show,
 “ That with superfluous burden loads the day,
 “ And when GOD sends a chearful hour refrains.”

So he says in the Sonnet on his own loss of sight; and this is not the tone of a man who regarded the intercourses of society with sourness or disdain; nor the language of one who held back from it as incompatible with the close application of a devoted Scholar.

None of his Vindicators have dwelt on this traite of character, which Edward *Philipps* attests very quaintly: “ Once in three weeks or a month, he would drop into the society of some young Sparks of his acquaintance, the chief whereof were Mr. Alphry, and Mr. Miller, two Gentlemen of Grays Inn, the Beau's of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days; with these Gentlemen he would so far make bold with his Body, as now and then to keep a Gaudy-day.” *Life prefixed to the Transl. of Letters of State; p. 20, 1694.*

By this transient glimpse which his Nephew and Pupil, his only Biographer who had a personal knowlege of him, affords us of the immortal Bard in his hours of convivial indulgence, we view him in a new and pleasing light; while it makes clear, that the forcible and eloquent language in the text was a spontaneous and unexaggerated sally, not a feigned effusion to suit the

the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the People. How goodly, and how to be wisht were such an obedient unanimity as this? what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtles a stanch and

occasion of the argument.—Who among the Lyric Poets has given a warmer colouring to festive delights?

At the same time, this passage helps to show that the late T. Warton imputed “a natural severity of mind” to MILTON unjustly, if he made use of this phrase in a sense distinct from that of the elder *Richardson*, who had before observed that the Poet “had a gravity in his temper, not melancholy, or not till the latter part of his Life, not sour, morose, or ill-natur’d; but a *certain severity of Mind*, a Mind not condescending to “little things.” *Life prefix’d to Notes and Remarks on Par. Lost.* p. 15. 8vo. 1734.—Still I should have preferred in both these instances, because it would have been unequivocal, to have characterized the Authour of *Paradise Lost* as endowed with an elevation of Thought which could but ill stoop to levities. MILTON’s self-control and temperate habits enhance his merit in a high degree; as they were the result of a resolution, formed soon after he arrived at manhood, to “spend his years in the search of civil and religious knowlege.”—*Pr. W. L.* 135. *ed.* 1738.

———“all *his* study bent

“To worship GOD aright, and know his works
“Not hid, nor those things last, which might preserve
“Freedom and Peace to Men.”

P. L. XI. 577.

Let me add, that he probably shadowed his own regulated forbearance in the closing couplet of another poetical address. He is inviting a Friend to appoint a place where they might sometimes meet and pass a winter’s day together in colloquial enjoyment, and elegant festivity, when he concludes,

“He, who of those delights can judge, and spare
“To interpose them oft, is not unwise.”

solid peece of frame-work, as any January could freeze together³.

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n

³ *How goodly, and how to be wish't were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtless a stanch and solid peece of frame-work, as any January could freeze together.] I wish we could read frost work. It is not easy to explicate a satisfactory meaning out of "frame work," as it stands here.*

There is in his Tract against "*Prelaty*," a splendid amplification of this reasoning from the dead repose of a forced Conformity. For nervous imagery and the masculine elegance of its style, it has not often been surpassed. "Do they [the Prelates] keep away Schism? if to bring a numb and chill stupidity of Soul, an unactive blindness of Mind upon the People by their leaden Doctrine, or no Doctrine at all; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their Courts, be to keep away Schism, they keep away Schism indeed: and by this kind of Discipline all Italy and Spaine is as purely and politically kept from Schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, 'tis I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter night as well vaunt itself against the Spring, I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down all pestilent vapours; yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hide-bound frost: but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the Earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the Sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of Prelates; for that other, if it kept down any thing which is good within the Earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest." *B. 1. ch. 6.*

among the Clergy themselves: it is no new thing never heard of before, for a *parochiall* Minister, who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a *topic folio*, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduatship⁴, a *Harmony* and a *Catena*, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinall heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks and means; out of which, as out of an alphabet or sol fa⁵, by forming and transforming, joyning and

⁴ To finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduatship, &c.] A *topic folio* comprehended more than we now express by a *folio Common-place*. In his *Artis Logicæ plenior institutio*, &c. our Authour explains the phrase: "Argumentorum itaque inventio *Topica* Græcè nominatur; quia *τοπες* continet, i. e. locos unde argumenta sumuntur, viamque docet et rationem argumenta bene inveniendi, suo nimirum ordine collocata; unde vel ad genesin expromantur, vel in analysi explorentur, inventorumque simul vim atque usum exponit."—*Cap. 2.*

While resident at the University, when only not a boy, he vented a complaint similar to that he is stating above: "Sane apud nos, quod sciam, vix unus atque alter est, qui non Philologix, pariter & Philosophix, prope rudis et profanus, ad Theologiam devolet implumis; eam quoque leviter admodum attingere contentus, quantum forte sufficiat conciunculæ quoquo modo conglutinandæ, & tanquam tritis aliunde pannis consuendæ: adeo ut verendum sit ne sensim ingruat in Clerum nostrum sacerdotalis illa superioris sæculi Ignorantia."—*Epist. Fam. III.*

⁵ *Sol fa*—] The name of two Notes in the Gammut, which was given them by Guido *Aretino*, the inventor of this musical notation; from the initial Syllables of two verses in a Latin Hymn.

WOODS.

dis-joyning variously a little book-craft, and two hours meditation might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps⁶ of

⁶ *Not to reck'n up the infinit helps.*] MILTON'S Orthography gave Pronunciation the preference over Etymology. He, accordingly, put the apostrophed mark, or wholly sunk the *o*, where it is inarticulately pronounced, as above in *reck'n* and elsewhere in *prisner*, &c. And the same with other Vowels, where there is the same failure of an express enunciation; e. gr. *med'cin*, *ordnary*, *cov'nant*. A slovenly mode of utterance but too common among us, and which confounds all our Vowels in the same indistinct sound.

The spelling of *infinit* without the supplemental *e* exemplifies his general scheme; as it also explains why in some instances he added this as a servile Letter to the end of a word. In this Oration *infinit* is printed like *opposit*, *obdurat*, *Senat*, *Prelat*, and many more, as it is spoken. This was the rule likewise prescribed to the Printers of his own Editions of *Par. Lost*, except when in accommodation to the measure the last Syllable is to be produced, then to denote it to be long an *e* was appended. As;

“ Be *infinitely* good, and of his good
“ As liberal and free as infinite.”

p. 97. of *8vo. edit.* 1674.

That these variations were not fortuitous is clear:

“ Through the infinite Host, nor less for that.”

ib. p. 143.

“ For which to the *infinitely* Good we owe.”

ib. p. 175.

In these instances, where he placed the accent on the middle Syllable, he subjoined the *e*. So we find on system an adscitious *e* to the closing word of the Verse, to show that there ought to be a rest on the last Syllable, that it might, I suppose,

interlinearies, breviaries, *synopses*, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons

answer to the final Spondee of Latin Hexameters. Thus,

“ The bond of Nature drew me to my owne,
“ My *own* in thee, for what thou art is mine.”

ib. p. 242.

Again ;

“ When in orbes
“ Of circuit inexpressible they stood
“ *Orb* within *orb*, the Father infinite.”

ib. p. 134.

The omission of this *e* was further to “ perform the effect” of accentual notation ; and therefore it is that these Editions exhibit “ Proserpin” (P. L. IV. 269.), “ Nectarin,” (*ib.* 332.) and “ Maritim,” (*ib.* XI. 398.), because contrary to the authority of custom, the metre constrains the *ictus* in these words to be thrown back to the middle Syllable.

It is extraordinary, that none of *Bentley's* antagonists should have urged this laboured exactitude of Spelling in refutation of his hypothesis that there was an Editor of the original Edition of Par. Lost, who beside typographical faults, had foisted in several of his own verses. The phantom must have instantly faded before this objection.

Where the *e* was not subsidiary to the written representation of the vocal breathing, but was entirely surd, he discarded it : for example ; *judg*, *fescu*, *revenu*, *shon*, *wors*. In such cases to have retained the superfluous Letter might have misled as to the use to which it was applied in other places.

S, as interpolated in *Island*, and the intercalary *g* in *foreign*, were retrenched by others as well as by MILTON. We see that *Chaucer* spelt to the sound ; and this seems to have been the rule most attended to by our Forefathers ; though it was the opinion of *Gibbon*, that Languages gradually lose sight of Etymology and come to be regulated by Pronunciation.

As written words are but the signs of sound, Letters wholly mute should be regarded as a defect. The motive therefore

ready printed and pil'd up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. *Thomas* in his vestry, and adde to boot St. *Martin*, and St. *Hugh*⁷, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of Pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazin. But if his rear and flanks be not impal'd⁸, if his back dore be not secur'd by the rigid Licencer, but that a bold Book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinells

with our Authour might have been the benefit of Foreigners; as with the mode of pronouncing Latin and Greek which he wished to have introduced.—The French have so many quiescent Letters as to make too much of their Language merely Language to the eye.

⁷ *Our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and adde to boot St. Martin, and St. Hugh, &c.*] This appears to convey a reflection on some Preachers who had converted the Vestry-room into a warehouse and place of sale for their Sermons. But I am unable to designate the individuals by name.

⁸ *If his rear and flanks be not impal'd—*] He has this last word in *Par. Lost.* VI. 553.

“ *impal'd* ”

“ On every side with shadowing squadrons deep.”

i. e. *defended* or *surrounded*. But from what follows presently afterward in my Text, I am inclined to think it is there in a different acceptation, and that he would now have the Reader understand him as meaning, *guarded with the valli*, the *stakes* or *palisadoes*, which the Romans made use of to strengthen their entrenchments.

about his receiv'd opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduc't, who also then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And GOD send that the fear of this diligence which must then be us'd, doe not make us affect the lazines of a licencing Church !

For if we be sure we are in the right, and doe not hold the Truth guiltily, which becomes not⁹, if

⁹ *If we be sure we are in the right, and doe not hold the Truth guiltily, which becomes not.] We have a development of what is meant by the expression "holding the Truth guiltily," in the succeeding extract from his latest Publication: "With good and religious Reason, therefore all Protestant Churches with one consent, and particularly the Church of England, in her thirty nine Articles (Artic. 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere), maintain these two points, as the main Principles of true Religion; that the Rule of true Religion is the word of God only; and that their Faith ought not to be an implicit Faith, that is, to believe, though as the Church believes, against or without express authority of Scripture. And if all Protestants as universally as they hold these two Principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many Debates and Contentions, Schisms and Persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the common adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true Protestant can persecute or not tolerate his fellow Protestant, though dissenting from him in some opinions; but he must flatly deny and renounce these two his own main Principles, whereon true Religion is founded; while he compels his Brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit Faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his Brother's Soul. Whether by rash belief, or outward conformity: for whatsoever is not of Faith, is Sin." Of true Re-*

we our selves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the People for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout; what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound. Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justifie himself, that he preacht in publick; yet writing is more publick then preaching; and more easie to refutation, if need be, there being so many whose businesse and profession meerly it is, to be the champions of Truth; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth, or inability?

Thus much we are hinder'd and dis-inur'd by this cours of Licencing toward the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the Licencers themselves in the calling of their Ministry, more then any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

ligion, Haresie, Schism, Toleration; and what best means may be us'd against the growth of Popery; p. 4. 4to. 1673.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse and detriment that this plot of Licencing puts us to, more then if som enemy at sea should stop up all our hav'ns and ports, and creeks; it hinders and retards the importation of our richest marchandize, Truth: nay, it was first establisht and put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery¹ on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle falshood; little differing from that policie wherewith the Turk upholds his *Alcoran*, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confest, we are to send our thanks and vows to Heav'n, louder then most of Nations, for that great measure of Truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the Pope, with his appertinences the Prelats: but he

¹ Put in practice by Antichristian malice and mystery—] *Mystery* first denoted the associated fraternity of any trade, or handicraft occupation. Afterward, this term shared the fate of the cognate terms, *Craft*, and *Art*, degenerating into an ill sense. It seems now to have expressed *wily contrivance, tricking management*. This may be exemplified from *Clarendon*: "They found it much easier to transact any thing contrived and framed by such a Committee, than originally offered and debated in either House, before the *mystery* was understood." *Hist. of the Rebellion*; I. 604. 8vo. 1807.

Again, in *Par. Reg.*

—"so apt, in regal arts,

"And regal *mysteries*."

III. 248.

By which he glanced, we may infer, at the *artes & instrumenta regni*, which *James I.* facetiously phrased *King-craft*.

who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attain'd the utmost prospect of Reformation, that the mortall glasse wherein we contemplate, can shew us², till we come to *beatific* vision, that man

² *The utmost prospect of Reformation, that the mortall glasse wherein we contemplate, can shew us.*] Our Authour had not in mind merely *St. Paul* to the Corinthians (1 *Ep.* 13. 12.) "For now we see through a *glass* darkly." He thought also of the magical Mirrours which are of not unfrequent recurrence in the fictions of the Romance-writers. Lord *Bacon* has the same allusion: "I do find therefore in this enchanted *glass* four idols, or false appearances of several and distinct sorts." *Works*; I. 388. 4to. 1765. In *Il Penseroso* (v. 113.) he particularizes "the virtuous Ring and *Glass*" presented to Canace, among the wonders related by *Chaucer* in the story of *Cambuscan* :

" This Mirrour eke, that I have in min hond,
 " Hath swiche a might, that Men may in it see,
 " Whan ther shal falle ony adversitee
 " Unto your regne, or to yourself also,
 " And openly, who is your frend or fo.
 " And over all this, if any lady bright
 " Hath set hire herte on any maner wight,
 " If he be false, she shal his treson see,
 " His newe love, and all his subtiltee
 " So openly, that ther shal nothing hide."

Canterbury Tales; *Tyrwhitt's edit.* I. 424. *Oxford.* 1798.

That famous adept in the occult arts, *Cornelius Agrippa*, was a practiser of these fantastic illusions. In a *Glass* of the same deceptive kind, he set before the Earl of *Surrey*, while travelling on the Continent, the fair *Geraldine*, then in England, ill, reclining on a couch, and reading one of the Sonnets this Nobleman bad addressed to her. See *Drayton's England's Heroicall Epistles: Poems.* p. 226. fol. 1613.

More concerning these representations, which vie with the exhibitions of the German *Illuminati*, might be gleaned with little pains from our old Poetry, and old Plays. The instances

by this very opinion declares, that he is yet farre short of Truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on³: but when He ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the *Ægyptian Typhon* with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good *Osiris*, took the virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces, and scatter'd them to the four winds⁴.

I have brought will amply suffice to elucidate the obscurity of MILTON's phrase.

³ *Truth—was a perfect shape most glorious to look on—*] He is alluding to the Beauty of Virtue. *Shape* was then synonymous to *Form*. “The *Shapes* make as though they would resist, but are all driven in,” was one of the original Stage-directions in *Comus*. In the text he seems to have had *Cicero* in his thoughts: “Habes undique expletam et perfectam, Torquate, formam Honestatis:” *De Fin. Bon. et Mal.* II. 15. And he adverts again a little further on to *Plato's* *Εἶδωλον*, of which the Roman Philosopher writes to his Son, that it was a *Form so lovely, that if it were visible it would be sure to excite affection*: “Formam quidem ipsam, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem honesti vides: quæ si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret sapientiæ.”—*De Off.* I. 5.

⁴ *As that story goes of the Ægyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the Virgin Truth, hew'd her lovely form into a thousand peeces, and scatter'd them to the four winds.*] See *Plutarch's* very curious Treatise on *Isis & Osiris*.

MILTON appears to have caught his application of this apologue from the mystical meaning that Writer elicited out of this fable: Ἐλληνικὸν γὰρ ἡ Ἰσις ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ Τυφῶν πολεμῖος τῆ Θεῶ,

From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that *Isis* made for the mangl'd body of *Osiris*, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons! nor ever shall doe, till her Masters second comming; he shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of lovelines and perfection⁵. Suffer not these licencing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking⁶, that

και διαγνοιαν και απατην τετυφωμενος, και διασπων και αφανιζων τον ιερον λογον, ογ η Θεος συναγει και συντιθησι, και παραδιδωσι τοις τελουμενοις Δειωσεως.—*Plutarchi de Iside et Osiride Liber: p. 4. Cantab. 1744.* This Bishop Squire rendered as follows: “For Isis, according to the Greek interpretation of the word, signifies Knowledge; as does the name of her professed adversary Typho, Insolence and Pride, a name therefore extremely well adapted to one, who, full of ignorance and error, tears in pieces and conceals that holy doctrine, which the Goddess collects, compiles and delivers to those, who aspire after the most perfect participation of the divine nature.”

It is, I see, unnoticed that Stanza XXIV of the *Hymn on Christ's Nativity* is also formed from this Egyptian Tale.

⁵ *An immortall feature of lovelines and perfection.*] See ILLUSTRATION, O.

⁶ *Disturbing them that continue seeking.*—] The true force and propriety of *seeking* is not perceived by those who are unaware that there then existed a class of Religionists, not inconsiderable in numbers, whose imaginations, bewildered in the maze of theological controversy, were unable to settle in any existing mode of belief, and assumed, oddly enough, for a Chris-

continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyr'd Saint. We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the Sun it self, it smites us into darknes. Who can discern those planets that are oft *Combust*⁷, and those stars of brightest mag-

tian congregation, a distinctive appellation of the sceptical School of Grecian Philosophers, Ζητητικοί, *Seekers*.

Bishop *Burnet* remarks on the founder of this Sect, the younger Sir Henry *Vane*, that, "he set up a form of Religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his Party were called *Seekers*, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations."—*Hist. of his Own Time*; I. 164. fol. 1724.

The Sonnet which MILTON addressed to *Vane*, indicates that they were on terms of Friendship. Can he by—"continue to do our obsequies"—be thought to profess himself of this persuasion?

⁷ The Sun it self, it smites us into darknes. *Who can discern those Planets that are oft Combust,*—] This peculiar phenomenon, the darkness occasioned by the too vivid impression of light on the organs of sight, again afforded our epic Poet an image highly poetical; while with a grandeur truly Miltonic he hymns the glory in which the Deity was insphered.

" Thee Author of all Being,
 " Fountain of Light, thyself invisible
 " Amid the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
 " Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st
 " The full blaze of thy beams, and, through a Cloud
 " Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,
 " Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
 " Yet dazzle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim
 " Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes."

P. L. III. 374,

Gray transplanted the thought into his *Progress of Poesy*, but

nitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning? The light which we have gain'd, was giv'n us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge^s. It is not the unfrocking of a

for one I cannot coincide with Dr. *Johnson*, that it was happily imagined: to my apprehension this application of it, to the immortal Bard's blindness appears more worthy an imitator of *Cowley*.

It was the advice of Sir Henry *Wotton*, "by no means to build too near a great neighbour; which were, in truth, to be as unfortunately seated on the Earth, as Mercury is in the Heavens, for the most part ever in *combustion* or *obscurity*, under brighter beams than his own." *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*.

^s *By it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge.*] Thus, in the noble Sonnet on his own blindness, addressed to his Pupil, *Cyriac Skinner*,

— "still bear up and steer
" Right onward."

The general tenour of the text reminds me of an energetic exhortation in his *Reason of Church Government*: "If God come to trie our constancy we ought not to shrink, or stand the lesse firmly for that, but passe on with more steadfast resolution to establish the Truth though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of GOD: but sects and errors it seems GOD suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true Fortitude and undaunted Constancy in the Truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed with more honour and alacrity. For if there were no opposition where were the triall of an unfaigned goodnesse and magnanimity? Vertue that wavers

Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the *Presbyterian* shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd⁹, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that *Zuinglius* and *Calvin* hath beacon'd up¹ to us, that

“ is not Vertue, but Vice revolted from it self, and after a while
“ returning.”—*p.* 28. 4to.

⁹ *The rule of Life both economicall and politicall be not lookt into and reform'd.*] MILTON was at this time strenuously occupied with endeavours to prepare the public mind for a Law on the Liberty of Divorce. It was an object near to his heart, and he now glances at it by the word *economical*, i. e. *domestic*. In the Address prefixed to his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, he calls a Marriage between persons ill-assorted to each other, “ an *economical* misfortune.” With a similar sense, *Quarles*: “ The *economical* part (the object whereof is private Society) “ teacheth first *the carriage of the Wife to her Husband.*”—*Divine Poems*; *p.* 86. 12mo. 1630.

¹ *Zuinglius and Calvin* hath beacon'd up—] So before, “ the
“ bag-pipe and the rebbeck reads”—&c. *And, Par. L. II.* 495.

“ Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.”

This idiom, a Verb in the singular Number with more than one nominative Case, is peculiar but classical;

“ *Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum.*”

Æn. II. 313.

“ *Mater sæva Cupidinum,*

“ *Thebanæque jubet me Semelæ Puer.*

Horat. Carm. I. XIX. 1.

“ *Quo bruta tellus, et vaga flumina,*

“ *Quo Styx, et invisi horrida Tænari*

“ *Sedes, Atlanteusque finis*

“ *Concutitur.*”

Ib. XXXIV. 9.

This mode, if it were undoubtedly correct, it would, I think,

we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppress which is not found in their *Syntagma*². They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those sever'd peeces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up Truth to Truth as we find it (for all her body is *homogeneous*, and proportionall) this is the golden rule in *Theology* as well as in *Arithmetick*, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forc't and out-

be better not to follow, since the practice must increase the letter *s*, which is unfortunately so multitudinous in our Language as to make it by far too sibilant.

² *All must be suppress which is not found in their Syntagma.* Though now gone out of use, this word was inserted in the English Dictionaries of the time; and is to be found in *Marvell*; who speaking, in his celebrated Tract the *Rehearsal transposed*, of the invention of moveable Types, says ironically—"a bulky Dutchman,—contriving those innumerable *syntagmes* of alphabets, hath pestered the world ever since," &c. *Works*; II. 7. 4to. MILTON, I apprehend, adheres to the Greek idiom, of which *Isocrates'* Areopagitic Oration affords an apt example: "Τὸ μὲν οὖν ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ τῆς πολιτείας τοιοῦτον ἦν αὐτοῖς."—(*Op.* I. 324. *ed. Batt.* 1749.) "Such was their *System* of *Polity*."

ward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and Commons of England! consider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, suttle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to³. Therefore the studies of Learning in her deepest Sciences have bin so ancient, and so eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgement have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of *Pythagoras*, and the *Persian* wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland⁴. And that wise and civill Roman, *Julius*

³ *A Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, suttle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to.*] This lofty panegyric bears no slight resemblance to what *Voltaire* wrote in praise of the mental qualifications and intellectual activity of the English Nation: “Les Italiens ces peuples ingénieux ont craint de penser, les Français n’ont osé penser qu’à demie, et les Anglais qui ont volé jusqu’au Ciel, parce qu’on ne leur a point coupé les ailes sont devenus les precepteurs de nations. Nous leur devons tout depuis les loix primitives de la gravitation, depuis le calcul de l’infini et la connaissance précise de la lumière si vainement combattues, jusqu’à la nouvelle charue, et à l’insertion de la petite vérole, combattues encore.”—*Ode sur la Mort de Madame de Barceith, avec une Lettre, par Mons. de Voltaire.*

⁴ *Writers of good antiquity, and ablest judgement, have bin perswaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian*

Agricola, who govern'd once here for *Cæsar*, prefer'd the naturall wits of Britain, before the labour'd studies of the French⁵. Nor is it for nothing

Wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland.] Was the elder *Pliny* his authority for this statement relative to the origin of "the Persian wisdom?" "*Britannia hodieque eam attonite celebrat tantis caerimoniis, vt dedisse Persis videri possit. Adeo ista toto mundo consensere quanquam discordi, et sibi ignoto.*"—*Nat. Hist. l. 30. c. 4.*

But this Writer's reflection in the latter sentence, on the agreement of customs among nations not known to each other is unfounded, as to this particular application: for the similarity between numbers of radical words in the Persian Language and the Teutonic Dialects, affords the surest and convincing evidence of considerable intercourse having subsisted at some remote period, perhaps in their primæval history, between the inhabitants of that country and the hordes who peopled northern Europe.

"The old Philosophy of this Iland" was that taught by the Druids. Of which an ingenious but fanciful Philologist, Mr. *Cleland*, does not hesitate to avow it as his opinion that "a just examination would, in all probability, restore to the British Druids the honor of the sublimest and usefulest discoveries issuing from the gloomy depths of their groves, and of their simple but awful cells of instruction, most likely, ages before the real or fabulous siege of Troy. So that, without even straining facts or words, what Cicero alledged to have been only matter of opinion, as to Athens, was literally true as to Britain: 'Unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges, jura, leges ortæ, atque in omnes terras distributæ putantur.'"—*The Way to Things by Words, and to Words by Things; p. 68. 8vo. 1766.*

Lipsius, however, doubted, according to *Selden*, whether *Pythagoras* received the doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls "from the Druids, or they from him? because in his travels he conversed as well with Gaulish as Indian Philosophers."—*Notes on the first Song of Drayton's Poly-olbion; p. 14. fol.*

⁵ That wise and civill Roman, *Julius Agricola*, who govern'd once here for *Cæsar*, prefer'd the naturall wits of Britain, before

that the grave and frugal *Transilvanian* sends out yearly from as farre as the mountainous borders of *Russia*, and beyond the *Hercynian* wildernes, not their youth, but their stay'd men, to learn our language, and our *theologic* arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heav'n, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this Nation chos'n before any other, that out of her as out of *Sion* should be proclaim'd and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all *Europ*? And had it not bin the obstinat perversnes of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of *Wicklef*, to suppress him

the labour'd studies of the French.—*The grave and frugal Transilvanian sends out yearly, &c.*] “ Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta namque, ut homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent: hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus ex-truerent, laudando promptos, et castigando segnes. ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat. Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor, et frequens toga. paullatimque discessum ad delimita vitiorum, porticus, et balnea, et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.” *Tacitus*; II. 491. edit. *Ernesti*. 1752.

This description of the successful results arising from *Agri-cola's* conciliatory administration of Britain fully warrants the application to him of the epithets “ wise and *civil*,” that is, *politic*.

I have not a sufficient acquaintance with our ecclesiastical History to give an explanation of the annual mission from Transylvania to this Country, mentioned above.

as a schismatic and *innovator*, perhaps, neither the *Bohemian Husse* and *Jerom*, no, nor the name of *Luther*, or of *Calvin* had bin ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had bin compleatly ours. But now, as our obdurat Clergy have with violence demean'd the matter⁶, we are become hithertø the latest and the backwardest Schollers, of whom GOD offer'd to have made us the teachers. Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the generall instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly expresse their thoughts, GOD is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his Church, ev'n to the reforming of Reformation it self: what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and, as his manner is, first to his English-men⁷? I say as his manner is, first to us,

⁶ *With violence demean'd the matter.*] i. e. managed it. So in the *Paston Letters*; "Ye charge of ye Reule demesnyng and "governance and also of nourture of ye Kings persone." III. 4.

⁷ *What does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and, as his manner is, first to his English-men?*] That the English People stood eminently high in the divine favour was deeply impressed on MILTON'S belief. This was a tenet congenial alike to his Piety and to his Patriotism. Almost at the commencement of his earliest prose-work he advances, that "England 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 *Evangelick Trumpet to the Nations,*" &c. *Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*: p. 6. 4to. 1641. He falls again into the same track of Thought in the dedicatory Address of his *Doct. and Disc. of Divorce* to the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines; where he pursues it through a deduction of historical examples:—"It would not be the first, or se-

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 Liberty⁸, en-

“ cond time, since our ancient Druides, by whom this Island
 “ was the Cathedrall of Philosophy to France, left off their Pa-
 “ gan Rites, that England hath had this Honour vouchsaft from
 “ Heav’n to give out Reformation to the world. Who was it
 “ but our English Constantine that baptiz’d the Roman Em-
 “ pire? Who but the Northumbrian Willibrode, and Wini-
 “ fride of Devon with their followers, were the first Apostles of
 “ Germany? Who but Alcuin and Wicklef our Countrymen
 “ open’d the eyes of Europe, the one in Arts, the other in Reli-
 “ gion? Let not England, forget her precedence of teaching
 “ Nations how to live.”—2nd Ed. 1644.

One of his Contemporaries treats such a supposition as chimerical, in a remarkable passage, the phraseology of which leaves cause to conjecture that he hinted at MILTON. “ If I
 “ (said Algernon Sydney) should be so much an Englishman, as
 “ to think the will of God to have been more particularly revealed
 “ to our Ancestors, than to any other Nation, and that all of them
 “ ought to learn from us, yet it would be difficult to decide many
 “ questions that may arise.”—*Disc. concerning Government, ch.*
3. sect. 18.

We should regret to think that either of these inlightened, stedfast and hardy Assertors of their Country’s Liberty had at any time regarded the other with an unfriendly eye.—MILTON acknowledges with distinguishing praise the services which Sydney, among other “ Patrons of the People,” had rendered to the common Cause:—“ Huitlochium, Picheringum, Striclandium, Sidnamum, atque Sidneium (*quod ego illustre nomen nostris semper adhesisse partibus lator*) Montacutium, Laurentium, summo ingenio ambos, optimisque artibus expolitos; aliosque permultos eximiis meritis cives, partim senatorio jam pridem munere, partim militari operâ insignes.”—*Pr. W. II.* 346. *ed. 1738.*

⁸ *A City of refuge, the mansion-house of Liberty.] Cicero was in his recollection:—“ quæ una in omnibus terris domus*

compast and surrounded with his protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth⁹, then there be pens and heads there, sitting

“est virtutis, imperii, dignitatis.”—*De Orat. l. 1. s. 45.* He styles Germany, *Libertatis ferè domicilium*, in his *Defensio secunda*.

⁹ *The shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth.] Thus Chaucer; Cant. Tales; v. 2121.*

“Som wol ben armed in an habergeon,
 “And in a brest-plate, and in a gipon;
 “And some wol haue a pair of plates large.”

On which *Tyrwhitt* observed, by a pair of plates “*armour for the breast and back*” was intended. There is not, however, sufficient precision in this explanation to insure a clear conception of the Poet's meaning. It might be equally applied to the *chain-armour* or *coat of mail* worn in battle by our Forefathers. Modern Writers confound them. A passage in *Samson Agonistes* marks the difference:—

“the hammer'd cuirass,
 “Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail.”

v. 133.

The Military had not yet thrown off Armour altogether. *Cromwell's* own Regiment of Horse were Cuirassiers: of whom *Whitelock* says—“being well arm'd within, by the satisfaction of their own Consciences, and without, by good *iron arms*, “they would as one Man, stand firmly, and charge desperately.” *Memorials; p. 72. ed. 1732.*

These Cuirassiers bore a principal part in winning the victory at Marston Moor; yet they with the other parliamentary forces, Men who possessed too much self-respect to allow themselves to be called *common Soldiers*, as if they were mere mercenaries, and in consequence were styled *Privates*, as *Ludlow* informs us, afterward fell so far from principle that they overturned the authority of the Parliament, engrossed the powers of Govern-

by their studious lamps, musing,⁷ searching, revolving new notions and idea's¹ 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 conviction. What could a man require more from a Nation so pliant and so prone to seek after Knowledge. What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soile, but wise and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing People, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies. We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are ment and became the oppressors of their Country. A memorable lesson!

“ Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?

“ Barbarus has segetes ?”

¹ *Revolving new notions and ideas.*] These two words *Bolingbroke* observes are commonly used as if they were synonymous. He adds that *Locke* and even Bishop *Berkeley* has used them so; and then goes into some elaborate reasoning to show, how we may avoid this confusion of Language, if we conceived *ideas* to be particular in their nature, and general only in their application, and *notions* to be general in their nature, and particular only by their application; *Philosophical Works*; I. 116. 8vo. *Mallet's edit.*

MILTON, ever scrupulous in verbal accuracy, distinguishes them as having definite meanings. *Idea* which ought only to signify something of which we can form an image in the mind, has by colloquial use now nearly lost its correct sense. For a detailed history of this word consult the Bishop of Worcester's (*Stillingfleet's*) Answer to *Locke's Letter*; p. 31. 8vo. 1697. To which I add, that it is said *Petrarch* first introduced this word from *Aristotle* into a modern Language.

white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for Opinion in good men is but Knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding which GOD hath stirr'd up in this City. What some lament of, we rather should rejoyce at, should rather praise this pious forwardnes among men, to reassume the ill deputed care of their Religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and som grain of charity might win all these diligences to joyn, and unite into one generall and brotherly search after Truth; could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition² of crowding free Consciences and Christian Liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and

² *This Prelaticall tradition—]* *Tradition* as well as *prelatical* is used opprobriously. As in *an Apology for Smectymnuus*: "The invincible warrior Zeale shaking loosely the slack reins drives over the heads of Scarlet *Prelats*, and such as are insolent to maintaine *traditions*, brusing their stiffe necks under his flaming wheels."—*p. 23. 4to. 1642.* After the Council of Trent had decreed that *Traditions* were of equal authority with the Scripture, this word acquired an ill sound among Protestants. Hence it was that Ben Jonson made *Ananias*, a zealous Minister, say,

"*Ana.* I hate *Traditions* :

"I do not trust them—*Tri.* Peace.

"*Ana.* They are *Popish*, all."

The Alchemist; A. 3. S. 2.

worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a People, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of Truth and Freedom, but that he would cry out as *Pirrhus* did, admiring the Roman docility and courage, if such were my *Epirots*³, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a Church or Kingdom happy. Yet these are the men cry'd out against for schismaticks and sectaries; as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building⁴, some

³ *He would cry out as Pirrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage, if such were my Epirots, &c.*] “ Sed bello et pace, foris et domi, omnem in partem Romana virtus tum se approbavit: nec alia magis, quam Tarentina victoria ostendit populi Romani fortitudinem, senatus sapientiam, ducum magnanimitatem. Quinam illi fuerunt viri, quos ab elephantis primo proelio obtritos accepimus? omnium vulnera in pectore: quidam hostibus suis immortui: omnium in manibus enses: et relictæ in vultibus minæ: et in ipsâ morte irabat. Quod adeo *Pyrrhus miratus est, ut diceret, O quam facile erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis!*”—*Lucius Annæus Florus*; l. 1. c. 18.

⁴ *While the Temple of the Lord was building, &c.*] We meet with the same liberal sentiment inculcated by the same scriptural metaphor in Sir William Waller's *Vindication*. “ Some may be intitled Episcopians, some Presbyterians, and some Independents; and yet all be Israelites indeed, belonging to the same election of Grace, and (as it is written of the Novatian faction and the orthodoxe Christians of that time) they may all jointly contribute materials to the building up of our Temple.”—p. 228.

There is a marginal reference to *Socrat. Hist. l. 2. c. 30. I*

cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber, ere the house of GOD can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world; neither can every pece of the building be of one form; nay, rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes⁵ that are not vastly disproportionall arises the goodly and the gracefull symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. Let us therefore be more considerat builders, more wise in spirituall architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seems come, wherein *Moses* the great Prophet may sit in Heav'n rejoycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfill'd, when not only our sev'nty Elders, but all the Lords People are become Prophets. No marvell then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in

do not find the place alluded to in that Chapter. MILTON, however, is very likely to have availed himself of some such passage in the Ecclesiastical Historian, a part of whose narrative he has before in this Oration used argumentatively.

⁵ Brotherly dissimilitudes—] i. e. "a sort of family-like-ness." A parody of *Ovid's* conceit:

—"Facies non omnibus una,

"Nec diversa tamen: qualem decet esse sororum."

Met. II. 14.

goodnesse, as *Joshua* then was, envy them⁶. They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The Adversarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not⁷ the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches: nor will beware untill he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill united and unweildy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that sollicitude, honest perhaps, though over timorous, of them that vex in

⁶ *Some good Men—envy them.*] Here *envy* means simply—*bear ill will*: So *Bacon*; “The King having tasted of the *envy* “of the People for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet.” *Works*; III. 20. 4to. 1765. And *Burnet*; “He had the Legates “between him and the *Envy* or odium of it.”—*Hist. of Reformation*; I. 59. fol. 1715.

⁷ *The Adversarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when they have brancht themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool! he sees not, &c.*] This Adversary was the Church of Rome; which placed its main reliance on the numerous and discordant Sects into which the Protestants were split. It is remarked by *Burnet*, “that the “Papists insulted, upon this division among the Protestants; “and said, it was impossible it should be otherwise, till all “returned, to come under one absolute obedience.”—*Hist. of the Reformation*; part 3. p. 306. fol. 1715.

Fool! was then a word of emphasis; but a less odious and unseemly appellation than it has since become. It was an exclamatory expression, and imitated from the *Νηπιος* of the Greeks.

this behalf, but shall laugh in the end, at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to perswade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg'd and blockt about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls and suburb trenches⁸; that then the People, or the

⁸ *When a City shall be as it were besieg'd and block't about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor'd to be marching up ev'n to her walls and suburb trenches ;] By "suburb trenches" he refers to the line of communication which the Parliament had recently caused to be made round London and its Suburbs. The recollection that this passage is descriptive of the agitation in London two years before; at the time Charles drew his army from Oxford to possess himself of the Capital and was foiled at Brentford; heightens its spirit. It was well understood, while the consternation this hostile movement must have occasioned was fresh in every one's memory. The Poet's fine Sonnet "when the Assault was intended to the City," was composed under this imminent expectation of the royal forces sacking London. The Parliament's Historiographer has recorded with much animation, the enthusiasm of the Inhabitants in throwing up these works of circumvallation in the summer following for the future safe-guard of the Metropolis: "London was then altogether unfortified, no Works were raised; nor could they, if their Enemies (who were then Masters of the field) had come upon them, have opposed any Walls, but such as old Sparta used for their Guard, the hearts of courageous Citizens. But at that time London began her large intrenchments; which encompassed not onely the City, but the whole Suburbs on every side, containing about twelve miles in circuit. That great work was by many hands compleated in a short time, it being then a custome every day to go out by thousands to digge, all Professions,*

greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak'n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform'd, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, ev'n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discourst or writt'n of, argues first a singular good will, contentednesse and confidence in your prudent fore-

“ Trades, and Occupations, taking their turnes; and not onely
 “ inferiour Tradesmen, but Gentlemen of the best quality,
 “ Knights, and Ladies themselves, for the encouragement of
 “ others, resorted daily to the Workes, not as Spectators but
 “ assisters in it; carrying themselves, Spades, Mattoks, and
 “ other instruments of digging, so that it became a pleasing
 “ sight at London, to see them going out in such order and
 “ numbers, with Drums beating before them; and put life into
 “ the drooping people (being taken for an happy Omen) that,
 “ in so low a condition, they seemed not to despaire.”—*The History of the Parliament of England; p. 214. edit. 1812.*

What MILTON proceeds to observe of *the reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, things not before discourst or writt'n of*, I apprehend to have been a complimentary allusion to the regular conferences just set on foot of Persons attached to the pursuit of experimental, or, as it was then called, the new Philosophy. “ We did (says Dr. Wallis) by agreement, divers of us, meet weekly in London, on a certain day, to treat and discourse of such affairs.....Our business was, precluding matters of Theology and State-affairs, to discourse and consider of Philosophical inquiries, and such as related thereunto; as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Staticks, Magneticks, Chymicks, Mechanicks, and natural Experiments.” See Dr. Wallis's *account of some Passages of his own Life*, in the Publisher's Appendix to his Preface to Peter Langsoy's *Chronicle; CLXI. &c. Works of T. Hearne: III. 1810.*

This association for the promotion of physiological and scientific enquiries was the germ whence the Royal Society sprang.

sight, and safe government, Lords and Commons! and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieg'd by *Hanibal*, being in the City, bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon *Hanibal* himself encampt his own regiment⁹. Next, it is a lively and cherfull presage of our happy succeſſe and victory. For as in a Body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rationall faculties, and those in the acutest, and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety¹, it argues in what good plight and constitution the Body is; so when the cherfulness of the People is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and

⁹ *Who when Rome was nigh besieg'd by Hanibal, being in the City, bought that peece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hanibal himself encampt his own regiment.*] “*Minuere etiam spem ejus et aliæ, parva magnaque, res: magna illa, quod, quum ipse ad mœnia urbis Romæ armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supplementum Hispaniæ profectos audivit: parva autem, quod per eos dies eum forte agrum, in quo ipse castra haberet, venisse, nihil ob id deminuto pretio, cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo superbum atque indignum visum, ejus soli, quod ipse bello captum possideret, haberetque, inventum Romæ emptorem; ut, extemplo vocato præcone, tabernas argentarias, quæ circa forum Romanum tunc essent, jussit venire.*”—*Liv. Hist. XXVI. 11.*

¹ *Pertest operations of wit and subtlety.*] i. e. “*liveliest operations, &c.*”

“*Trip the pert Fairies and the dapper Elves.*”—*Comus.*

safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversie, and new invention, it betok'ns us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, but casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of Corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again², entring the glorious

² *Casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of Corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again.*] A classical metaphor:

“Anguibus exuitur tenui cum pelle vetustas,”

is a line I have read in some Roman Poet. MILTON probably drew the thought from some Writer who has explained, why among the Antients a Serpent was symbolical of the medical Science; which had, we may conjecture, its origin from the vulgar error, that the annual process of changing their slough endued these animals with renovated vigour. He might remember *Macrobius*: “Ideo ergo simulacris eorum junguntur figuræ draconum; quia præstant ut humana corpora velut infirmitatis pelle deposita, ad pristinum revirescunt vigorem, ut virescunt dracones per annos singulos pelle senectutis exuta, propterea et ad ipsum solem species draconis refertur.” *Satur.* I. 20. Though he was hardly unmindful of *Virgil's* comparison of *Pyrrhus* and his newly burnished armour to a Snake fresh in his vernal rejuvenescence. (*Æn.* II. 471. &c.)

It must be left to opinion, since I am not prepared with an example of the word, in the sense I suggest, to confirm my persuasion, that where *Hamlet* in his Soliloquy says, “When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,” i. e. *envelope, wrapper*, the dramatic Bard had in his mind a metaphor nearly allied to MILTON'S; a turn of thought of the same tenour as another in the *Merchant of Venice* —

“while this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close it in.”

A. 5. S. 1.

What is the meaning of *coil*, if my suggestion be not allowed? Let those who dislike this interpretation supply one more appo-

waies of Truth and prosperous Vertue destin'd to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes³ at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long abused

site before they dissent from it. None but a perfunctory Reader will subscribe to *Warburton's* gloss—"turmoil, bustle."

Since writing this the succeeding passage has fallen in my way: "the body of Prince Arthur is said to have been well coiled and well cered, and conveniently dressed with spices."—See *Miscellaneous Pieces* at the end of *Leland's Collectanea*, v. 5. p. 374. 2d edit. as quoted in *Archæologia*; III. 401.

This is all but decisive that my conjecture is well-grounded.

³ *Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazl'd eyes, &c.*] *Warburton* did not refuse sometimes to weave into his own pieces a splendid patch, which he had silently taken from the looms of others. A conspicuous instance occurs in his "Inquiry into the Causes of Prodigies, &c." when passing, in the concluding paragraph of that Tract, an eulogium on the University of Oxford. "Methinks (says he) I see her, like the mighty Eagle, renewing her immortal youth, and purging her opening sight, at the unobstructed beams of our benign meridian sun; which some pretend to say had been dazzled and abused by an inglorious pestilential meteor; while the ill-affected birds of night would, with their envious hootings, prognosticate a length of darkness and decay."—*Tracts by Warburton, &c.* p. 140. 8vo. 1739.

The first glance convinces us that this passage was fashioned upon the text above.

In the fierce dispute between Bishop *Lowth*, and the Authour of the Divine Legation of *Moses* demonstrated, which, to confess the plain truth, must have been carried on more to the

sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance;

amusement than to the edification of the by-standers, *Lowth* fastened on this flourish of his Antagonist's pen, and treats it as nothing short of bombast. He thus roughly addresses him:—
 “ You no sooner touched upon the subject, than you took fire
 “ at the bright idea : rapt in the spirit of prophetic enthusiasm,
 “ your *Musa pedestris* immediately got on horseback, and
 “ mounted on her Pegasus away she went in this high prancing
 “ style:

“ Majorque videri

“ Nec mortale sonans.”

Letter to the R. R. Author of the Divine Legation of Moses; p. 66. 8vo. 1766. 3d edit.

Lowth then proceeds to cite the quotation I have made from *Warburton*, and in order to exhibit it with a burlesque air he has disingenuously printed it, so as to give the appearance of his opponent affecting the inflation of blank verse :

“ Tant de fiel entre-t-il dans l'ame des Devots !”

The Bishop of *Gloucester* might have indulged in one of his biting sarcasms by informing the Writer of the celebrated *Prelections on Hebrew Poesy* that the Authour of *Paradise Lost* was his pattern, who was himself indebted to *Pindar* for the original of this impressive imagery. *Akenside* has likewise imitated the self-same passage in his fine Ode on *Lyric Poetry*.

On this trickery in the letter-press, *Warburton* must have preserved a discreet silence, since he had himself employed the same typographical perversion to excite a smile at the elevated and measured diction in which the *Characteristics* were composed. See Note on v. 488. B. IV. of the *Dunciad*. *Pope's* Editor however could not have laid claim to originality in this detractive device. That merit or demerit belongs to Bishop *Berkeley*, who had made use of this identical disguise with the same design of depreciating *Shaftesbury's* high and rhetorical strain of expression : see *Alciphron*; I. 315. 8vo. 1732.

The artifice was unworthy of these eminent men ; but alas ! how few embroiled in Controversy can preserve temper or fair-dealing !

while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms⁴.

⁴ Purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heav'nly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amaz'd at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticat a year of sects and schisms.] In the narrative of St. Paul's Conversion, it is recorded, that "there fell from his eyes as it had been scales, and he received sight forthwith." *Acts; ch. 9. v. 18.*—It has been thought that the touches of MILTON'S hand are visible in the Preface to *E. Philipps's Theatrum Poetorum*, 12mo. 1675; the following passage is perhaps some confirmation of this opinion: "the scales and dross of his barbarity purging off by degrees." p. 11.

Emendatory Criticism is always perilous. Had not *unscaling* been authorized, and perhaps suggested, by this scriptural use, would it not have looked like a specious conjecture, that it was a misprint for *unsealing*? a word current in a similar sense among the writers of that age. And with the greater semblance of probability, since *muing*, another term in Falconry, immediately precedes it. To this reading the quotations that follow would have given a considerable degree of plausibility.

"Are your Eyes yet unseal'd?"

Ben Jonson; Works; p. 240. fol. 1692.

that is, *unclos'd*. And *Shakespeare; Ant. and Cleop. A. 3. S. 11.*

"But when we in our viciousness grow hard,

"(O misery on't!) the wise Gods seal our eyes."

"A noise of Musicians anciently signified a concert or company of them."—(See the *Variorum Shakspeare; IX. 74. ed. 1793.*) Our Authour employs the phrase *whole noise* with much the same import as *Horace's*

"*Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus.*"

What should ye doe then? should ye suppress all this flowry crop of Knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this City? should ye set an *Oligarchy* of twenty ingrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel⁵? Beleeve it, Lords and Com-

I must not forget, that in this flight of Eloquence, MILTON kept in view a Simile in *Pindar's* second Olympiad:

— σοφος ο πολ-
λα ειδως φυα.
μαθοντες δε λαβροι
ΠΑΓΓΛΩΣΣΙΑ ΚΟΡΑΚΕΣ ΩΣ
ΑΚΡΑΝΤΑ ΓΑΡΝΕΟΝ
ΔΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΡΝΙΧΑ ΘΕΙΟΝ.
p. 60. ed. *Benedict.* 1620.

μείλαφρασις.
Sapiens est qui multa no-
vit naturæ solertia. Qui au-
tem disciplina usi sunt vehe-
mentes garrulitate, velut
corvi, irrita clamant adver-
sus avem Divinam.

The Scholiast interprets the Grecian Bard to have characterized his Detractor *Bachylides* under this similitude.

⁵ *When we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel.*] There is a strenuous passage to the same purport in his address to *Cromwell*. “Tum si liberè philosophari volentibus permiseris, quæ habent, sine magistelli cujuscpiam privato examine, suo periculo in lucem proferre: ita enim maximè veritas effluerit; nec semidoctorum semper sive censura, sive invidia, sive tenuitas animi, sive superstitio aliorum inventa, omnémque scientiam suo modulo metietur, suoque arbitrio nobis impertiverit. Postremò si ipse neque verum neque falsum, quicquid id est, audire metueris: eos autem minimè omnium audieris, qui sese liberos esse non credunt, nisi aliis esse liberis, per ipsos non liceat; nec studiosius aut violentius quicquam agunt, quàm ut fratrum non corporibus modò sed conscientiis quoque vincula injiciant; pessimámque omnium tyrannidem, vel pravaram consuetudinum vel opinionum suarum & in rempublicam & in ecclesiam inducant; tu ab eorum

mons! they who counsell ye to such a suppressing, doe as good as bid ye suppress your selves; and I will soon shew how. If it be desir'd to know the immediat cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assign'd a truer then your own mild, and free, and human government; it is the Liberty, Lords and Commons! which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchast us; Liberty which is the nurse of all great wits⁶; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlightn'd our spirits like the influence of Heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now lesse capable, lesse knowing, lesse eagarly

“ parte semper steteris, qui non suam tantummodo sectam aut
 “ factionem, sed omnes æquè cives, æquali jure liberos esse in
 “ civitate arbitrantur oportere. Hæc sicut satis Libertas non
 “ est, quæ quidem à magistratibus exhiberi potest, is mihi am-
 “ bitionis atque turbarum, quam Libertatis ingenuæ studiosior
 “ videtur; præsertim cum agitatus tot factionibus populus, ut
 “ post tempestatem, cum fluctus nondum resederunt, statum il-
 “ lum rerum optabilem atque perfectum, ipse non admittat.”—
Pr. W. II. 347. ed. 1738.

The whole strain of this address is excellent, as well for its matter as its style, and of itself decisive that he never bent a courtier's knee to the Protector, as *Johnson* more than insinuated.

⁶ *Liberty which is the nurse of all great wits; &c.] Literally from Longinus: “ΘΡΕΨΑΙ τε γαρ, φησιν, ικανη τα φρονηματα των ΜΕΓΑΛΟΦΡΟΝΩΝ η ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, και επελπισαι και αυια διωθειν το προθυμον της προς αλληλους εριδος και της περι τα πρωτεια φιλοτιμιας.”—Περι ΤΨΟΥΣ; p. 144. 4to. 1722. Pearce.*

pursuing of the Truth, unlesse ye first make your selves, that made us so, lesse the lovers, lesse the founders of our true Liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formall, and slavish, as ye found us; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have free'd us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things⁷, is the issue of your owne Vertu propagated in us; ye cannot suppress that, unlesse ye reinforce an abrogated and mercilesse law, that Fathers may dispatch at will their own Children. And who shall then stick closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes

⁷ *Our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things.] Erected is elevated, animated, elated. "Tali oratione graviora metuentes composuit, erexitque."*
—*Tacit. Hist. IV. 74.*

So in the *Memoirs of Sir John Berkley*, "what with the encouraging messages which his Majesty had from the Presbyterian Party and the City of London, his Majesty seemed very much *erected.*"—*Maseres's select Tracts relating to the Civil Wars, &c. p. 368. 1815.* Did it require support, these examples of *erected* might be brought in aid of Mr. *Horne Tooke's* happy derivation of *alert* from *erigere*. The gradations of which corruption are most ingeniously and undeniably traced out in the *Diversions of Purley*. II. 24. To arrive at this Etymology was a process in which there are few Philologers who would not have despaired of success.

Exact is also after the Latin, and signifies *perfect*. We have had before in this Speech—"that your Order may be *exact* and "not deficient." It is in this sense that *Philipps* in the *Theatrum Poetarum* called his Uncle, "the *exactest* of Heroic Poets."

up armes for Cote and Conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt⁸. Although I dispraise not the defence

⁸ *Not he who takes up armes for Cote and Conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt.*] The raising of pecuniary aids by County assessments under the pretext of clothing new levies of Men, and for *conducting* and subsisting them on the march till they had joined the Corps to which they were attached, was one of the dormant exactions which *Charles* revived a short time after his accession; as he did Ship-money and commutations for Knighthood; and as he issued Privy Seals for extortions under the name of Benevolences. We learn from *Clarendon*, that Petitions were presented to the Long Parliament, soon after it met "against Lords Lieutenants of Counties, and their Deputy-Lieutenants, for having levied money upon the country, for *conducting* and *clothing* of soldiers."—*Hist. of the Rebellion*; I. 279. 8vo.

And that *Conduct* imports what I have just suggested, the succeeding extract from the *Northumberland Household Book* clearly establishes: "Here begyn the ordure how the per-
"sones shall be ordured and rayted for their condeth money,
"which shall goe forwardes with my Lord to the warre at any
"tyme that the Kynge co'mandeth his Lordship from the places
"they come froo to the place where my Lord shall abide." See the *Antiquarian Repertory*; IV. 351. 1809.

We learn from *Puttenham*, that *Conduct* came early into our language: "Ye have also this worde *Conduict*, a French word,
"but well allowed of vs, and long since vsuall, it soundes
"somewhat more than this word (leading) for it is applied onely
"to the leading of a Captaine, and not as a little boy shoulde
"leade a blinde man, therefore more proper to the case when
"he saide, *conduict* of whole armies."—*The Arte of English Poesie*; p. 122. edit. 1811.

The military adventurers, like Sir John *Hawkewood* (*Morant's* "Hist. and Antiq. of Essex;" II. 288), who in the 15th and 16th centuries hired out their bands of followers to the different States of Italy, must, I imagine, have derived their name of *Condottieri*, from the same root.

Nat. *Bacon* affords all the further information that is requisite

of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the Liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to Conscience, above all Liberties.

for duly comprehending the allusion to this antiquated and unconstitutional mode of Taxation: "All plunder or spoil committed by the Soldiers in the *Conduct* was to be satisfied by the *Conductor* or Commander that received their Pay, or Charges for their *Conduct*. And although the Charges for *Conduct* had formerly de facto been defrayed sometimes by the County by virtue of Commissions that issued forth, both for the raising and *conducting* of them; yet this was no rule, nor did Edward the Third claim any such duty, but disclaimed it; and ordained by Act of Parliament, That both the Pay and *Conduct-money* should be disbursed by the King, from the time of their departure from their several Counties."—*Discourse of the Laws and Government of England; part 2. p. 59. fol. Bohun's edit.*

Danegelt was a Tax assessed on every Hide or Plow-land throughout England, to equip and maintain a naval force, able to keep the British Seas and Isles secure from the Danes. Too lucrative to expire with the occasion, the irregular practice afterward in early periods of issuing Writs to levy Ship-Money by colour of the regal Prerogative grew out of this ancient imposition. When *Charles* attempted to raise money under these Writs, the Counsel on the part of the Crown in *Hampden's* Case relied on it as a precedent: the Solicitor General (*Littleton*) sagely and seriously arguing, that "after the Conquest, *Danegelt* is supposed to be released by the Conqueror, because he dreamed he saw the Devil dancing upon the *Danegelt*; but the Black Book saith it was paid in the Conquerors time."—*State Trials; III. 931. Svo. edit.*

Would that the Tax-masters of modern times were as easily conscience-struck as the Norman Invader!

It was therefore to the recent opposition to the payment of Ship-Money that MILTON adverted by the mention of this obsolete but analogous burden on the Land-Owners—*Danegelt*.

What would be best advis'd then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newnes, or the unsutableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say; I only shall repeat what I have learnt from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious Lord, who had he not sacrific'd his life and fortunes to the Church and Commonwealth, we had not now mist and bewayl'd a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument⁹. Ye know him, I am sure; yet I for honours sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook. He, writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge¹, which I

⁹ Patron of this argument.] An *Advocate*, in the signification of *Patronus*; as in the opening paragraph of the *Dialogue on Orators* which is ascribed to *Tacitus*: "horum autem temporum diserti, caussidici, et advocati, et patroni, et quidvis potuit, quàm oratores vocantur." And accordingly our Authour; "tum quidem in illo viro, vel facundiam vel constantiam nemo desideret, non patronum, non amicum, vel idoneum, magis et intrepidum, vel disertationem alium quisquam sibi optet." I quote these sentences because Mr. *Hayley* in translating the last of them erroneously rendered *patronum*, a *Patron*; conceiving, I conclude, that it ought to be interpreted in the acceptation that word now bears among us, and not an *Advocate* or *Pleader of Causes in Courts of Justice*, which was *Bradshawe's* profession, whom MILTON is commending. See *Pr. W.* II. 337. ed. 1738. It is far from unfrequent in this Latin import with our Writers of that age.

¹ His vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge.] "His fervent wish, or aspiration:." "Nec Vespasiano adversus

know will ever be of dear and honour'd regard with ye, so full of meeknes and breathing charity, that next to his last testament, who bequeath'd love and peace to his Disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peacefull. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be mis-call'd, that desire to live purely, in such a use of GODS Ordinances, as the best guidance of their Conscience gives them, and to tolerat them, though in some disconformity to our selves. The Book it self will tell us more at large², being publisht to the

“Galbam votum, aut animus.”—*Tacit. Hist. l. 1. s. 10.* James Howell intitled an adulatory copy of Verses, “The Vote, or a Poem Royal, presented to his Majesty for a New-year’s Gift; by way of Discourse, ’twixt the Poet and his Muse: 1641.” And the word occurs with this acceptation in Ben Jonson, and in Beaumont and Fletcher.

² The Book it self will tell us more at large—] This work was intitled “a Discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacie, which is exercised in England. By the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke: 4to. 1641. Lond.”

MILTON was happy to commemorate in his pages the virtues of a Nobleman who had lain down his life for the public Cause; and who was (says the Historian of the Civil War) “a Man as much lamented by the Parliament as any that ever fell on that side, and as much honoured for his Piety, Valour, and Fidelity.”—*May; Hist. of the Parliament: p. 210. 4to.*

The sentiments favourable to religious Liberty which gave particular occasion for this high-wrought panegyric are to be found in the second Section, Chapters six and seven. In 1661, another Edition of Lord Brooke’s tract was published in duodecimo, without the name of the Authour, and the Dedication to the Parliament omitted.—Horace Walpole, who I suspect not

world, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of *Janus*, with his two *controversal* faces, might now not unsignificantly be set open³. And though all

to have seen either Edition, remarks of these animadversions on Episcopacy, that "Antony *Wood* says his Lordship was assisted " therein by some Puritanical Ministers. MILTON, a better " judge, commends it for breathing the spirit of Toleration— " which was not the spirit of the Puritans."—*Lord Orford's Works*. I. 358. If by *Puritans* Mr. *Walpole* meant the Presbyterian Persuasion, he was correct. *Cromwell* and the Independents allowed a perfect freedom as to religious opinions.

There is an original Portrait of Lord *Brooke*, in Warwick Castle.

³ *And now the time in special, is by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discussing of matters in agitation. The Temple of Janus, with his two controversial faces, might now not unsignificantly be set open.*] *Heylyn*, speaking of the censure passed by the House of Commons on *Mountague's* work, for its leaning toward Popery, says that " this gave great animation to the opposite Party ;" who would " not lose the opportunity of a *Parliament-time* (when the Press is open to all comers) for publishing their Books against him."—*Life of Laud*; p. 148. fol. 1671.

" His two *controversal* faces;" *Jani bifrontis imago*. But MILTON by *controversal*, I am afraid, at the same time indulged in one of his conceits.—It is worthy of remark, that *Gibbon* has raised a serious doubt, whether there ever was in fact a " Temple of Janus" at Rome. The accomplished Historian supposes the *Porta triumphalis* to have been what, through the obscurity of the intervening distance of time, Scholars have mis-

the windes of doctrin were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by Licencing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the wors, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clearer Knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of other matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of *Geneva*, fram'd and fabric't already to our hands. Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy, and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise Man to

taken for a Temple. The reasons which he assigns to show that this is a vulgar error, carry, it must be allowed, a considerable degree of weight. After a luminous statement of objections to the received opinion, he proceeds, "Je connois trop le danger des propositions exclusives, pour assurer que l'expression, *Temple de Janus*, n'est point en usage parmi les écrivains des bons siècles; mais Je vois que Tite Live, Horace, Suetone et Pline, le designent toujours par la dénomination simple et propre de Janus Geminus, ou de Janus Quirini, ou Quirinus. Virgile, qui décrit tous les anciens usages avec le feu d'un poète, et la précision d'un antiquaire, a introduit parmi ses Latins cette ancienne institution. Il n'y employe jamais le mot *temple*, dans le tems qu'il décrit ces portes de la guerre. (*Æneid*, VII. 608.)"—*Miscell. Works*. II. 392. 4to. The solution this Authour gives to the meaning of *Numa's* institution—that the gates of *Janus* were to be kept open during War, and to be closed in time of Peace, is, if not absolutely convincing, at least ingenious and extremely plausible. *ib.* II. 396.

use diligence, *to seek for Wisdom as for hidd'n treasures* early and late, that another Order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath bin labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of Knowledge, hath furnisht out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battell raung'd, scatter'd and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to sculk, to lay ambushments, to keep a narrow bridge of Licencing where the challenger should passe⁴, though it be valour anough in souldiership, is but weaknes and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the

⁴ The advantage of wind and sun—narrow bridge of Licencing where the challenger should passe, &c.] On the morning of the Battle of Lutzen, *Gustavus Adolphus* thanked God that he had *both Wind and Sun to favour him*. But MILTON owed this train of imagery to the lasting impression made on his warm fancy by his youthful reading in the Romances of Knight Errantry. Thus, in the *Chronicle of the Cid*: "The judges placed them fairly, each in his place, so that *neither should have the sun in his eyes*." (p. 11. 4to. 1808.) Where a Note by Mr. *Southey*, on *Partieronles el sol*, informs us, that "The phrase is remarkable, and may best be rendered by explaining it. Many battles, in what the Spaniards call the days of the Shield and Lance have been lost because the conquer'd army had their faces toward the Sun. Equally *without favour distributed to them the Sun*, is the way which Antony Munday expresses this."

Ariosto notes particularly the narrowness of the Bridge built

Almighty? she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licencings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that Error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old *Proteus* did, who spake Oracles only when he was caught and bound⁵, but then rather she turns

by Rodomonte; his description of which I will give in *Harrington's* version.

“ But makes a *Bridge* where Men to row are wont,
 “ And though the same were strong, and of great length,
 “ Yet might two horses hardly meet a front,
 “ Nor had the sides a raile or any strength,
 “ Who comes this way he meanes shall bide a bront,
 “ Except he have both corage good and strength,
 “ For with the armes of all that this way come,
 “ He means to bewtifie faire Isbel's toome.”

Orl. Fur. b. 29. st. 37. fol. 1607.

⁵ *Proteus*—spake Oracles only when he was caught and bound, &c.] We now know from himself, that in the desultory and multifarious studies of his early years, *Warburton* was a diligent reader of the publications which appeared during the period of the civil War. His curiosity led him in course to an eager perusal of *MILTON's* prose Writings; and this passage in my text evidently hung on his mind when later in life he said of *Aristotle*,—“ By his Categories, he not only conquered Nature, but kept her in tenfold chains: Not, as Dulness kept the Muses in the *Dunciad*, to silence them; but as *Aristæus* held *Proteus* in *Virgil*, to deliver Oracles.” See his *Note on v. 653, of Pope's Essay on Criticism*. The Bishop's strong expression “the *Hall-mark* of Orthodoxy” was but a concentration of a former sentence in this Speech: “we must not think to make a staple commodity of all the Knowledge in the land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloth and wool packs.” And it is an apposite example of the definition he has himself given of

herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as *Mi-*

Wit, which he thought "to consist in using strong metaphoric images in uncommon yet apt allusions." *Divine Legation of Moses: B. 4. S. 4.*—Perhaps this comes nearer to the truth than either *Dryden's*, or *Addison's*, or *Pope's* Definition.

In his "Enquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and Miracles," beside other palpable imitations I have pointed out, he embraced our Authour's opinion of the influences of Climate on Genius; and in the Preface to his Edition of *Shakspeare*, we can readily track impressions which the piece in our hand had left on his recollection. But *Warburton* caught from it something still better than particular turns of thought, or its nervous and masterly strain of expression. He who remembers his manly Dedication of the *Divine Legation of Moses* to the Free-thinkers, [will readily agree that it was impregnated by MILTON'S spirit; and that in its complexion it bears an indisputable resemblance to the principles of the AREOPAGITICA. For the Bishop of *Gloucester's* attestations to the justice and importance of allowing the widest scope to Discussion are of a description the most enlarged and liberal. With a full and just confidence in his own qualifications and in the competency of Truth to maintain itself, he there exclaims in a passage well worthy of transcription, "but let me not be misunderstood; here are no insinuations intended against Liberty: for surely, whatever be the cause of this epidemic folly, it would be unjust to ascribe it to the Freedom of the Press, which wise men have ever held one of the most precious branches of national Liberty. What, though it midwifes, as it were, these brain-sick births; yet, at the same time that it facilitates the delivery, it lends a forming hand to the mishapen issue: for, as in natural bodies, become distorted by suffering in the conception, or by too strait imprisonment in the womb, a free unrestrained exposition of the parts may, in time, reduce them nearer to their natural rectitude; so crude and rickety notions, enfeebled by restraint, when permitted to be drawn out and examined, may, by the

caiah did before *Ahab*, untill she be adjur'd into her own likenes. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes then one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike her self? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of *those ordinances, that hand writing nayl'd to the crosse*⁶? what great purchase is this Christian

“reform of their obliquities, and the correction of their virulency, at length acquire health and proportion. Nor less friendly is this Liberty to the generous advocate of Religion: for how could such a one, when in earnest convinced by the evidence of his cause, desire an adversary whom the Laws had before disarmed; or value a victory, where the Magistrate must triumph with him? Even I, the meanest in this controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great Jewish Lawgiver, did not I know that the same Liberty of Thinking was impartially indulged to all.”—To see *Warburton* with his athletic powers of Mind step out of his proper sphere of action, the dusty fields of theological Controversy, to arrange *Pope's* exquisite Versification anew, calls up to one's Fancy the image of a hard-handed Chairman adjusting the folds of an elegant Woman's drapery.

With the same elevated and consistent sentiments, *MILTON* entreated the States of Holland to rescind their prohibition of *Salmasius's Defensio Regia*: “*Idque ego ab Illustrissimis Hollandiæ Ordinibus peterem, ut eam è fisco protinus dimissam, (neque enim Thesaurus est,) pervagari, quo velit, sinant.*” *Def. pro Populo Anglicano; Pref. Erasmus* was not gifted with such equanimity. He hesitated a wish for a Law to restrain the Press: see his *Life* by *Jortin*; I. 286. 8vo.

⁶ The abolition of those ordinances, that hand-writing nayl'd to the Crosse.] “*Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.*”—*Paul to the Colossians; ch. 2. v. 14.*

Liberty which *Paul* so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or regards it not, may doe either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to Conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief strong hold of our hypocrisie to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us⁷. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from ano-

⁷ *The ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us.*] In his work of *Reformation touching Church Discipline* he writes of our hierarchical establishment—"they bedeckt it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure *Linnen*," &c. p. 3. 1641. 4to. and presently afterward—"terming the py-bald frippery and ostentation of Ceremony's *decency*."

This quaint expression was therefore to imply that the Presbyterian Party, now they were become powerful and prevailing, carried themselves as inconsistently as if they should desire to adopt the Surplice and Clerical vestments retained at the Reformation by the Episcopal Church; not without pertinacious opposition from that as well as from many other of the reformed Persuasions; whose zeal could not endure that a remnant of the paraphernalia of Popery should be employed in the service of Christian Worship.

Burton has described this antipathy to papistical habiliments, by a whimsical figure: "No, not so much as degrees some of them will tollerate, or Vniuersities, all humane learning, hoods, habits, cap, and surplesse, such as are things *indifferent* in themselves, and wholly for ornament, *decency*, or distinction sake, they abborre, hate, and snuffe at, as a stone-horse when he meets a Beare."—*The Anatomy of Melancholy*; p. 677. *cd.* 1632.

ther, though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to suppress, and our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of Truth out of the gripe of Custom^s, we care not to keep

^s *Our backwardnes to recover any enthrall'd peece of Truth out of the gripe of Custom.*] He opens his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, which he addressed to the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines, with a well-written and animated expansion of this thought: "If it were seriously ask'd, and it would be
 " no untimely Question, renowned Parliament, select Assem-
 " bly, who of all Teachers and Masters that have ever taught,
 " hath drawn the most Disciples after him, both in Religion and
 " in Manners? it might be not untruly answer'd, Custom.
 " Though Vertue be commended for the most perswasive in her
 " Theory, and Conscience in the plain demonstration of the
 " Spirit finds most evincing; yet whether it be the secret of
 " Divine Will, or the original Blindness we are born in, so it
 " happens for the most part, that Custom still is silently receiv'd
 " for the best instructor. Except it be, because the method is
 " so glib and easy, in some manner like to that Vision of Eze-
 " kiel, rowling up her sudden book of implicite Knowledge, for
 " him that will, to take and swallow down at pleasure; which
 " proving but of bad nourishment in the concoction, as it was
 " heedless in the devouring, puffs up unhealthily a certain big
 " face of pretended Learning, mistaken among credulous Men
 " for the wholesome habit of soundness and good constitution,
 " but is indeed no other than that swoln visage of counterfeit
 " Knowledge and Literature, which not only in private mars
 " our Education, but also in public is the common climber into
 " every Chair, where either Religion is preach'd, or Law re-
 " ported, filling each estate of Life and Profession with abject
 " and servile principles, depressing the high and heav'n-born
 " spirit of Man, far beneath the condition wherein either God
 " created him, or Sin hath sunk him. To pursue the Allegory,
 " Custom being but a meer face, as Echo is a meer voice, rests
 " not in her unaccomplishment, until by secret inclination she
 " accorporate herself with Error, who being a blind and ser-

Truth separated from Truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality⁹, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of *wood and hay and stubble* forc't and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a Church then many *subdichotomies* of petty schisms. Not that I can think well of every light separation; or that all in a Church is to be expected *gold and silver and pretious stones*: it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other frie; that must be the

“pentue body without a head, willingly accepts what he wants, and supplies what her incompleatness went seeking. Hence it is, that Error supports Custom, Custom countenances Error: and these two between them would persecute and chase away all Truth and solid Wisdom out of human Life, were it not that God, rather than Man once in many ages, calls together the prudent and religious Counsels of Men, deputed to repress the incroachments, and to work off the inveterate blots and obscurities wrought upon our minds by the subtle insinuating of Error and Custom; who with the numerous and vulgar train of their Followers, make it their chief design to envy and cry down the industry of free Reasoning, under the terms of Humour and Innovation; as if the womb of teeming Truth were to be clos'd up, if she presume to bring forth aught that sorts not with their unchew'd notions and suppositions.”

⁹ *A rigid externall formality.*] “An outward pharisaical attention to ceremonies.” He has rightly warned the Parliament just before that the People will “grow ignorant, brutish, and formal,”—*addicted to forms*, if they become “oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous.”

Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpats all religions and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat¹, provided first that all cha-

¹ *So itself should be extirpat—*] i. e. "extirpated." An abscission strong to confirm MILTON's curious observance of Euphony in this Oration, in order to preserve its Isocratic character. Extirpated followed by provided would have been a chiming iteration that must hurt a nicely critical ear; he therefore dropped the regular termination of this Participle. In like manner, to avoid a displeasing sameness of sound in the final Syllables, he wrote "scurril (not scurrilous) Plantus" as I have before noted. He worked up this piece with the miniature touches of a poetical composition. For the same reason, he has cut off the last syllable of *adorn'd*,

"Made so *adorn* for thy delight the more."

P. L. VIII. 576.

And in B. II, a similar retrenchment occurs, for the convenience of the measure:

"In thoughts more *elevate*, and reason'd high."

v. 558.

So too he has in *Par. Reg. instruct* and *suspect*, for *instructed* and *suspected*.

We ought not however with some of the Annotators to treat these amputations as his own arbitrary licence. Such abbreviations of the Participle passive once were by no means unffrequent; alike in Poets and Prose-Writers:

"Hath so *exasperate* the King, that he."

Macbeth; A. 3. S. 6.

And,

"Than now the English bottoms have *waft* o'er."

King John; A. II. S. 1.

But the use of such truncated Participles was now gradually

ritable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against Faith or Maners² no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw it self: but those neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak³ of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt *the unity of Spirit*, if we could but find

wearing away. I can recollect but a single instance in *Waller*. It is in one of his earlier Poems, and for the sake of a rhyme:

“ So fresh the wound is, and the grief so vast,
“ That all our art and power of speech is *wast*.”

Poems, &c. ; p. 111, 12mo. 1645.

In regarding our Authour's use of *extirpate, elevate, instruct, &c.* as a detraction of the termination of our Participle in *ed*, I have deferred to the opinion of *Cowper* and *Dunster*; at the same time, it would, I think, be more accurate to consider him as adhering to the antient mode of speech, before the Verb, to distinguish its Participle, had acquired this additional syllable. He adhered to it in this instance for the sake of Euphony; just as I have elsewhere shown the more probable motive for MILTON'S revival in his Poetry of antiquated words to have been for metrical accommodation.

² *Faith or Maners*—] Through this Speech he uniformly employs *Manners* where at this day we should say *Morals*. So in the scriptural translation of the Grecian Apophthegm quoted by *St. Paul*; “ Evil communications corrupt good *manners* :” (ἡθῆ). 1 *Cor.* 15. 33.

William of Wykeham's motto, “ *Manners makyth Man*,” is not understood by all who repeat it.

³ *Those neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of.*] See ILLUSTRATION, P.

among us *the bond of peace*. In the mean while, if any one would write, and bring his helpfull hand to the slow-moving Reformation which we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him⁴ before others, or but seem'd at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us that we should trouble that man with asking licence to doe so worthy a deed? and not consider this, that if it come⁵ to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then Truth it self; whose first appearance to our eyes, blear'd and dimm'd with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplaussible then many errors; ev'n as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to⁶. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard, but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound, and true Knowledge is kept at dis-

⁴ *If Truth have spok'n to him.*] “The Scribes that were of the Pharisees part arose and strove, saying, we find no evil in this man: but *if a Spirit or an Angel hath spoken to him,* let us not fight against God.”—*The Acts*; ch. 23. v. 9.

⁵ If it come—] See ILLUSTRATION, Q.

⁶ *To see to.*] A phrase formerly in use for *to regard*; so in *the Arte of Rhetorike*, by T. Wilson: “As in speaking of one that is well knowen to bee nought, to saie emong all men that are *seen too*, there is one that lacketh his rewarde.....Whiche of you al dare saie or can saie that ever you sawe him dronken, if then these be true, ought not suche to be *sene to*: and re-warded accordingly.”—*Caret. Tit. Fol. 75. 1560.*

tance from us ; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when GOD shakes a Kingdome with strong and healthfull commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing : but yet more true it is, that GOD then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more then common industry, not only to look back and revise what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain furdur and goe on, some new enlighten'd steps in the discovery of Truth. For such is the order of GODS enlightning his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is GOD appointed and confin'd⁷, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak ; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote our selves again to set places, and Assemblies, and outward callings of men ; planting our faith one while in

⁷ *Neither is GOD appointed and confin'd, &c.*] In a preceding annotation (p. 60.) I have shown that to *appoint* was to *direct*. It now expresses the same ; as it does in *Whitelock*: " some of the Scots commissioners themselves, encouraged, if not *appointed*, the printing of this Book."—*Memorials* ; p. 201. *edit.* 1732. And in *Samson Agonistes* ; v. 373.

" *Appoint* not heav'nly disposition, Father ;
 " Nothing of all these evils hath befall'n me
 " But justly."

Though *Warburton's* explanation in this latter instance is to *arraign, summon to answer*. But he was unprepared with any example to justify this assertion. He probably minuted this gloss down on the margin without much consideration.

the old Convocation House, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster; when all the Faith and Religion that shall be there canoniz'd^s, is not sufficient without plain convincement, and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of Conscience, to edifie the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the Spirit, and not in the letter of human trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made; no, though *Harry* the 7. himself there, with all his leige tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead, to swell

^s *Planting our Faith one while in the old Convocation-House, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster; when all the Faith and Religion that shall be there canoniz'd, &c.]* The Assembly of Divines nominated by the Members of the Parliament for the settlement of a new scheme of Church-worship, was holden in the Chapter-House belonging to Westminster Abbey. They were now met. Some Laymen sate with them; among others, *Charles's Nephew, the Count Palatine, and Selden, Maynard, and Whitelock.* Our Authour, in one of his Tracts, mentions his having attended their discussions. In an age like this, teeming with disputative Theology and Fana-ticism, their deliberations attracted no small share of the public attention, and were, I doubt not, deemed by numbers of an importance not at all subordinate to the Debates in the neighbouring Houses of Parliament. After some of the Presbyterian Preachers had been loud in their censures of his first work on Divorce, MILTON to his next on that vexatious difficulty in Legislation prefixed an appeal to this Assembly conjointly with the Parliament, in a strain of energetic eloquence.

By *canoniz'd*, he meant *decreed as sound Doctrine*; from the barbaro-Greek Verb KANONIZEIN, "*Sancire, Canones vel "Leges Ecclesiasticas edere."* *Du Fresne; Gloss. ad Script. med. & infim. Græc. fol. Lugd. 1688. in v.*

their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what witholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we doe not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examin the matter throughly with liberall and frequent audience; if not for their sakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted Learning, but will confesse the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts are able to manage, and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom GOD hath fitted for the speciall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests, nor among the Pharisees, and we in the hast of a precipitant zeal shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them; no lesse then woe to us, while thinking thus to defend the Gospel, we are found the persecutors!

There have bin not a few since the beginning of this Parliament⁹, both of the Presbytery and

⁹ *Parlament*—] Then so spelt by many Writers; either as more consonant to the Pronunciation, generally the rule with

others, who by their unlicenc't Books to the contempt of an *Imprimatur* first broke that triple ice

our Authour and with others of that day, or in conformity to the derivation, to which Sir Edward Coke gave his sanction, "because every Member of that Court should sincerely and "discreetly *parler la ment.*" 1 *Inst.* 110. a.—It is seldom that *Coke's* Etymologies are rational. Chief Baron *Atkins* however applied himself to show that he had not erred in this particular instance; *Parliamentary and Political Tracts*; p. 33. 8vo. 1734. I must add to little purpose. Perhaps the best excuse for *Coke* on this occasion would be what we may suppose to have been his covert motive;—that he favoured it with an intent to fortify the Freedom of Spéech in Parliament. A Privilege to which *James I.* bore such hostility, that in Council he tore with his own hand from the Journals of the Commons' House their Protestation which *Coke* conjointly with *Noy*, *Selden*, and *Glanville* had drawn up in assertion of this rightful claim.

Without question Etymology is often the safest guide to the true signification of a word. But *Coke*, *Whitelock* and others among the earlier writers on the Laws of England etymologized, like some of the Greek Philosophers; to bring a term to the sense they wanted it to bear, rather than to trace out its real root. A late very acute Philologer gave into an opposite perversion, and pushed it to an extreme which led me, and others, to suspect that he sometimes was practising on the credulity of his hearers. The Authour of the *Diversions of Purley*, after a signification had been fixed by consent and custom, would wrench it in construction from its received and actual acceptation back to its strict and etymological meaning: yet surely the *jus et norma loquendi* ought always to govern. Mr. *Horne Tooke* would have done well to have borne in mind the observation of an Authour whom he always praised highly: "Words having "naturally none of their own, carry that signification to the "hearer that he is used to put upon them; whatever be the "sense of him that uses them."—*Locke*; *the Conduct of the Understanding.* Sect. 35.

clung about our hearts¹, and taught the People to see day: I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that *Moses* gave to young *Joshua*, nor the countermand which our Saviour gave to young *John*, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicenc't, be not enough² to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to GOD their testy mood of prohibiting is; if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of Licencing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade, and execute the most *Dominican* part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequall distribution in the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves; whom the change of their condition hath puft up, more then their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

¹ *Broke that triple ice* clung about our hearts.] *Horace* dictated this in part—

“ *Illi robur, & æs triplex*

“ *Circa pectus erat,*”—

Carm. I. 3. 9.

MILTON has, I think, more frequent recollections of that Poet than of *Virgil*. Doubtless he felt the charm of *Virgil's* numbers, but he was not content to take *Homer* at second hand; to copy a copier; to be the shadow of a shade.

² *Enough*—] See ILLUSTRATION, R.

And as for regulating the Presse, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better then your selves have done in that Order publisht next before this, that no Book be printed, unlesse the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers be register'd^s. Those which otherwise

^s *That Order publisht next before this, that no Book be printed, unlesse the Printers and the Authors name,—be register'd.*] The original Edition of this Speech carries manifest marks of typographical inaccuracy, through haste or negligence. There seems to be just ground for believing, that it passed thro' the Press to the Public without having been submitted to the inspection of a Licenser. No Imprimatur is prefixed to any of the various copies that have fallen under my observation; neither the Printer's, nor the Publisher's Name is given. Yet the first Edition of his smaller Poems, which appeared about the same time, has the Printer's name, and it is stated in the title-page, as in the earliest genuine Edition of *Waller's* Poems of the same year, to have been "printed and published according to Order." If the AREOPAGITICA came out clandestinely, it no doubt issued from some obscure printing House, which circumstance would account for incorrectness in the letter-press. The same omission of an Imprimatur is observable in the different Tracts our Authour wrote on the Liberty of Divorce. A doctrine against which the Men who now took the lead in public affairs were very vociferous in their hostility. Here was "fruit for those holy Parrots to peck at." They made it their business to impede even discussion upon this topic, and his having professed and diffused opinions on it adverse to theirs, exposed him to detraction. Of this detraction *Clement Walker* affords a pertinent specimen: "There is lately come forth a Booke of *John Melton's* (a Libertine that thinketh his Wife a Manacle, and his very Garters to be Shackles and Fetters to him: one that *(after the Independent fashion)* will be tied by no obligation to Gov or Man, wherein he undertaketh to prove," &c. — *Anarchia An-*

come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectually remedy, that mans prevention can use. For this *authentic* Spanish policy⁴ of licencing Books, if I have said ought, will

glicana: or the History of Independency. By Theodorus Verax. p. 196. 4to. 1649. These malevolent aspersions were to usher in some pungent strictures upon MILTON'S treatise on "the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates." Walker and his Associates had not very long before undergone the mortification of having the reins of Power snatched from their grasp by the Independents, the Sect whom MILTON favoured.

This and the bitterness of these remarks corroborate the suspicion that this Writer was eager to stigmatize his publications on the subject of Divorce, *in invidiam*; not from having formed any well considered opinions on the question itself. A question perhaps the most problematical of any in the science of Legislation. The object we may conclude to have been rather to raise public scandal, against MILTON, because, after their dereliction of principle, he would no longer hold converse with the Ministers of the Presbyterian Connection. His just and open reclamations against their political ambition, their inconsistency in respect to Pluralities, and their intolerant temper, in course exposed him to much of their ill-will, and to many calumnies.

⁴ Authentic Spanish policy.] *Authentic—proper to, peculiarly belonging to: as in Par. Lost. IV. 719.*

—"him who had stole Jove's authentick fire."

Again, by *Danyel*,

"Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,
 "In aged accents, and vntimely words:
 "Paint shadowes in imaginary lines,
 "Which well the reach of their high wits records;
 "But I must sing of thee and those faire eyes,
 "'*Autentique* shall my verse in time to come,

prove the most unlicenc't Book it self within a short while; and was the immediat image of a Star-chamber Decree to that purpose made in those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the Starres with *Lucifer*⁵. Whereby ye may guesse

- “ When yet th' vnborn shall say, loe where she lyes,
 “ Whose beautie made him speake that els was dombe.
 “ These are the Arkes, the Tropheis I erect,
 “ That fortifie thy name against old age,
 “ And these thy sacred vertues must protect,
 “ Against the Darke and times consuming rage.
 “ Though th' error of my youth they shall discouer,
 “ Suffice they shew I liu'd and was thy louer.”

Delia: Contayninge certayne Sonnets: with the complaint of Rosamond; Signat. G. 3. sm. 4to. 1592.

The poetical Reader will thank me for inserting the whole. How superior on the comparison with *Shakspeare's* are the Sonnets of this Poet.

⁵ *Those very times when that Court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fall'n from the starres with Lucifer.]* Lord Somers, speaking of the Star-Chamber, said that “ it was set “ up in the third of Henry VII in very soft words. To punish “ great Riots, to restrain offenders too big for ordinary Justice, “ or, in the modern phrase to preserve the public Peace; but “ in a little time it made this Nation tremble, England would “ never agree with those Courts, that are mixed of State and “ Justice; Policy soon gets the better of Justice.”—*Minutes of Lord Somers's Speech in the House of Lords on the Bill for abolishing the Privy Council of Scotland.—Hardwicke State Papers; as quoted in Hardy's Life of Lord Charlemont; p. 404. 4to.*

The opprobrious Sentences of the Star-Chamber in the cases of *Prynne*, *Leighton*, and *Bastwick*, are notorious. But after there had been strong manifestations of popular indignation the records of its judgements were purposely destroyed: it is not therefore so generally known that the punishments on other oc-

what kinde of State Prudence⁶, what love of the People, what care of Religion, or good Manners there was at the contriving; although with singular

casions were equally merciless. The terror they had struck through the country is shown in an anecdote of himself related by Ben Jonson during his visit to *Drummond* of Hawthornden. "He was accused by Sir James Murray to the King, for writing something against the Scots in a Play called *Eastward Hoe*, and voluntarily imprisoned himself with *Chapman* and *Mars-ton*, who had written it among them: it was reported, that they should have their Ears and Noses cut. After their Delivery he entertained all his Friends, there were present *Camden*, *Selden*, and others. In the middle of the Feast his old Mother drank to him, and shewed him a Paper, which she designed (if the Sentence had past) to have mixed among his drink, and it was strong and lusty Poison, and, that she was no Churl, she told she designed first to have drunk it herself." —*Works of Drummond*; p. 224. fol. 1711.

This tribunal was in 1641 suppressed by the Parliament in a single day. But its heinous barbarities, especially after *Laud* gained the ascendancy, had sown the seeds of bitterness; and ultimately turned Cathedrals into Stables. If we overcharge we ought to expect a recoil. However, it redounds highly to the credit of the national character that the reaction for such flagitious cruelties did not extend further than to *Laud* and *Strafford*.

MILTON in the latter part of this passage is an echo to *Isaiah*; *ch.* 14. *v.* 12. "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the Morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the Nations!"

⁶ State Prudence—] means as before (*p.* 75.) *policy* or *political science*; after the Latin. *Harrington* has a Chapter on "antient and modern *Prudence*," in which he apprizes the Reader, that "by antient *Prudence* he understands the policy of a Commonwealth, and by modern *Prudence* that of King, Lords and Commons."—*p.* 237. *fol.* *Toland's edit.* And *Waller*, complimenting *Charles II.* on his improvements in

hypocrisie it pretended to bind Books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may beleeeve those men whose profession gives them cause to enquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old *Patentees* and *Monopolizers* in the trade of book-selling; who under pretence of the Poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his severall copy, (which GOD forbid should be gainsaid), brought divers glosing⁷ colours to the

St. James's Park, with a courtly allusion, as I suppose, to the States of Holland:

“Of antient *Prudence* here he ruminates,
“Of rising Kingdoms, and of falling States.”

Works; p. 212. 4to.

Compare too in the Dialogue in *Marvell* between *Britannia* and *Raleigh*,

“With her the *Prudence* of the Antients read.”

Works; III. 320. *Thompson's edit.*

⁷ Glosing—] *Thomson* and *Baron* misunderstood this word, and printed “glossing;” but “glosing,” or “glozing” is, with an exuberance of authority, proved to have signified *deceitful*, in *T. Warton's* Note on—“words of *glozing* courtesy”—*Comus*; v. 161.

Some of *Homer's* Commentators have complained, that his sense has suffered by a vitiated Orthography. We in like manner have to state, that the accentual combinations of our own Epic Bard have been injured by the modernized Spelling. To comprehend fully the rhythmus of his blank Verse, the Reader should have it restored to its primitive integrity. Beside, the original Orthography is at times a guide to the correct acceptation of his meaning. A reprint therefore of *MILTON's* revised

House, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours: men who doe not therefore labour in an honest profession to which Learning is indetted, that they should be made other mens vassalls. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order⁸, that having power in their hands, malignant Books might the easier scape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs*⁹ of marchandize

Edition of *Paradise Lost*, which should exhibit his Text unimpaired by orthographical variations is a desirable publication. To exemplify this, I will show the effect of one failure in the literal observance of the authentic copies:

—“the sport and prey
“Of racking whirlwinds.”

II. 182.

Thus it is given in the original Quartos, and in his last Edition; p. 33. 8vo. 1674. So *Shakspeare* has, “the racking clouds;” which *Steevens* rightly interprets by “the clouds in rapid tumultuary motion.” X. 251. edit. 1793. But in the recent Editions of *Par. Lost* it is printed wracking, and this interpolation of the mute Letter *w* conveys another idea to the mind; and so materially changed as to have misled *Johnson* to explain the word by “to rock, to shake;” and to cite this corruption as an authority in his Dictionary, under “to WRACK.”

For this and other philological notices as minute I may securely take shelter under Mr. *Porson's* remark, who once observed to me, that the objectors to verbal Criticism were men content to think, that they could understand a sentence without knowing the sense of all the words in it.

⁸ *Procuring by petition this Order.*] See ILLUSTRATION, S.

⁹ *These Sophisms and Elenchs*—] *Johnson* has not given a correct explanation of this latter word. An *Elench* (ελεγχω)

I skill not : This I know, that errors in a good Government and in a bad are equally almost incident ; for what Magistrate may not be mis-inform'd, and much the sooner, if Liberty of Printing be reduc't into the power of a few ? but to redresse willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a vertue (honoured Lords and Commons !) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatest and wisest men.

signified in the Schools, *a fallacious answer to a sophistical position*. It was previously in our language. " The more subtile forms of *Sophisms* and *Illaqueations*, with their *Redarguations*, " which is that which is termed *Elenchs*."—*Bacon; Of the Advancement of Learning*. p. 200. 4to. 1633.

FROM some passages in the early part of this Oration, incurious Readers might be led to conclude hastily, that there were topics on which MILTON conceived Discussion ought not to take an unrestrained course. It is incumbent on us therefore to bear in our recollection, that in this series of persuasive argument to convince the

Parliament, that they should not have reduced the intellect of the Public to the standard of an individual's judgment, he exhibits the skill of an Advocate by no means indisposed to avail himself of the privileges annexed to that situation. We are also to recollect, that he was the first who wrote in behalf of unlicensed Printing; a circumstance which will plainly account for all such admissions. He anticipated what would be objected to him, if he were to contend for a scope more extended: he yielded a Pawn to gain a Queen. To contest the prevention of all publication of Opinions not allowed by a Licenser was his meritorious task: living in the nineteenth century, it should be ours to consider, whether it be in any case advisable to punish Opinions?

The opposers of all judicial inquisition on the productions of Mind may now employ at London or Philadelphia arguments, which would effectually injure any efforts to unshackle the Presses of Madrid or Moscow. For the narrations of History too often warn the practical friends to the enlargement of Liberty, that premature struggles to elevate

a nation above the pitch for which it is prepared endangers the portion of public good which might otherwise be obtained. “Nos autem, quoniam leges damus liberis populis ; accomodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum, quem probamus, civitatis statum.” (*Cicero.*) It would have been, therefore, highly injudicious in his day to have done full justice to the principle. In a more enlightened æra he would have lain claim to a larger measure of Freedom. But he viewed Man as he then was in Society, and would not pursue objects, which were in his time unattainable.

MILTON accounted Reason the noblest gift of GOD to Man, and was far, far indeed, from a slavish Thinker; nor on any subject did he ever seek the suppression of Truth. His own speculations were as hardy as his range of research was extensive. This unreserved utterance of sentiment he practised fearlessly as the occasion called him out, on political, religious, and domestic questions alike; neither need it be doubted, that the Authour of the *AREOPAGITICA* would have lent a willing hand to-

ward removing every impediment which retarded the march of Knowledge, and have been well satisfied, that this right should be guaranteed to all in its amplest extent.

“ Pessimè enim vel Naturâ, vel Legibus comparatum foret, si arguta Servitus, Libertas muta esset; et haberent Tyranni qui pro se dicerent, non haberent qui Tyrannos debellare possunt. Miserum esset, si hæc ipsa Ratio, quo utimur DEI munere, non multo plura ad homines conservandos, liberandos, et, quantum Natura fert, inter se æquandos, quàm ad opprimendos et sub unius imperio malè perhendos argumenta suppeditaret.” *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*

Not only so, but acknowledging the ability of Truth to support itself, he consistently contended, that Opinion ought to be left at large. “ Though all the winds of doctrine (he exclaims with sincere and fervid Eloquence) were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew

“ Truth put to the worse in a free and open
 “ encounter? Her confuting is the best
 “ and surest suppressing.” He then surely
 saw, that though Opinions may be pernicious,
 the *Discussion* of them can never be
 mischievous to the community; and therefore,
 that Actions alone ought to be under the
 direction and control of the Magistrate.

While he draws, as we have just seen, to
 his conclusion with a vindication of free
 Inquiry on every circumstance of reformation
 in the acts of the constituted authorities; because
 he knew well that to keep the body-politic in a
 healthful and vigorous state, there must be an
 unobstructed circulation of Thought;—the life-
 blood to all social existence.

So much was requisite to set MILTON above
 all suspicion, that he would have cramped the
 stretch of the human brain, or have had the
 exertions of Reason circumscribed. In truth,
 he rather deserves our praise and admiration
 for mental powers, which could perceive and
 develop principles highly liberal for those
 times, and so far before the prevailing temper
 of the age. A Writer of the same date with
 himself, certainly no timid Rea-

soner, and living in a Republic, did not contend for a wider latitude*.

It was once my purpose to have carried on these observations to show, that for a Press to be *free*, it is not sufficient that it be *open*; as *Blackstone* and others after him have stated. My various notices on this Defence of unrestricted Publication having however, after all my expunctions, accumulated to a number that threatens it with the fate of the Vestal Virgin, whom the Gauls overlaid by the presents which they heaped on her, I shall now only add, that the surest criterion of the nature and character of a Government will always be found in the degree of Freedom in Discussion tolerated under it. They who claim obedience by no other obligation than fear can never be favourable to the Press. But a well-constituted and therefore a well-administered Government invites a rigorous scrutiny into its conduct; a bad Govern-

* *Spinoza*; see his *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*; or Theological and Political Discourses, to prove that the Liberty of Philosophizing may be allowed without any prejudice to Piety, or to the Peace of the Commonwealth; particularly *ch.* 20.

ment invariably represses or eludes investigation. It was not without a meaning, that the most judicious of Poets, after displaying with the illuminations of his Genius, the heroic deeds of this world, and the bliss and splendour of Heaven, before he unfolded the horrors of the infernal Shades, solicits an *Imprimatur* from the Powers of Darkness :

“ *Dî, quibus imperium est animarum, Umbræque silentes,*
 “ *Et Chaos, et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,*
 “ *Sit mihi fas audita loqui.*”

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ILLUSTRATION, A.

(Referred to in p. 7.)

The magnanimity of a triennial Parliament.]
Triennial—not in the modern appropriation to a Parliament's duration; but with a reference to the Act passed in 1641, to enforce the sitting of a Parliament at the least once in every three years. The declaratory Statutes of *Edward III.* for holding Parliaments annually, or oftener, if need were, had fallen into desuetude, or rather had by Court-Lawyers been explained away in early times from the palpable enactment, in order to leave their meeting wholly in the breast of the King. By these means, *Charles* did not for twelve years together suffer a Parliament to assemble, and when, through his illegal exactions, his arbitrary impressions and commitments by the Council, with other tyrannical practices, the general voice rose high against the Dissolution of the Parliament which met in the fourth year of his reign, he issued a Proclamation, denouncing it as criminal for any person so much as to speak of calling another.

No empty threat, while the enormous censures of the Star-Chamber subsisted in full activity.

Such extravagant stretches of the regal Prerogative of course incited the Parliamentary Leaders of the People's Party in England to insist on a legislative provision that their meetings in future might not be precarious, nor so unfrequent. In 1640 a young nobleman, the Lord *Digby*, introduced and carried a Bill that a Parliament should never again be intermitted above three years at furthest, after the example of the Scottish Patriots, who according to Mr. *Laing* (see his valuable *Hist of Scotland*; I, 173, 8vo. 1800.) had recently wrung from *Charles* his assent to a Law to prevent the discontinuance of their Parliaments for a longer term. Yet *Clarendon* is express to the contrary. His words are: "the King at his last being in Scotland had, according to the precedent he had made here, granted an Act for triennial Parliaments in that kingdom." *Hist. of the Rebellion*. (I omitted to note down the Volume and Page.)

Public business did not yet require a regular Session annually.—As one measure to reconcile the country to his usurpation, *Cromwell* promised a convocation of Parliament once every three years.

ILLUSTRATION, B.

(Referred to in p. 49.)

Paul—thought it no defilement to insert into holy Scripture the sentences of three Greek Poets, and one of them a Tragedian.] The Apostle cited the

Cretan *Epimenides*, in his Epistle to *Titus*, 1, 12: an hemistic from *Aratus* in *Acts*, 17, 28: and in *1 Cor.* 15, 33, an apophthegm to be found in the fragments of *Euripides*; the passage referred to more particularly in the text: from which Writer, by the word "*Tragedian*" it is to be inferred that our Authour believed it to have been taken. But surely *evil communications corrupt good manners* is a proverbial sentiment likely to float in popular conversation. *Grotius*, and the best Commentators, however, think that Saint *Paul* borrowed it from *Menander*, as *Newton* has observed in a Note on MILTON'S prelusive strictures to apologize to his contemporaries for having thrown the story of *Samson* into a dramatic form. There, after pleading nearly in the words above of my text, the example of this Saint's quoting from a dramatic Poet, he presently proceeds, "This is mentioned
" to vindicate Tragedy from the small esteem, or
" rather infamy, which in the account of many it
" undergoes at this day, with other common Inter-
" ludes." So indiscriminate was the horror of the Puritans at the sinfulness of Stage-Plays, however moralized! they were not (we see) to be tolerated in any shape. Our poetical Antiquaries in addition accuse them of having, through their fanatic contempt for profane Learning, destroyed whatever fell into their hands of the early Poetry of their native tongue. It is not unlikely. Zealots of every persuasion are much the same at all times,

and in all places. *Laud* was guilty of similar spoliation. This keen Curator of the Press is known to have consigned to the flames, whole impressions of English Poems. The M.S.S. of the Poets of ancient Greece found as little favour with the Greek Priests at Constantinople. Possessed with the same preposterous detestation of polite Letters, these "holy Vandals" were eager to burn all they could procure. We have to thank this bigotry for the destruction of the inestimable remains of *Philemon*, *Sappho*, *Bion*, *Alcæus*, with others, and above all of *Menander*.

This I learn from the succeeding extract—*ex Petri Alcyonii libro priore de Exilio*; which I give as *Baxter* exhibits it among the Prolegomena to his Edition of *Anacreon*. "Audiebam etiam puer
 " ex Demetrio Chalcocondylâ, Græcarum rerum pe-
 " ritissimo, sacerdotes Græcos tantâ floruisse aucto-
 " ritate apud Cæsares Byzantanos (ut integrâ
 " eorum gratiâ) complura de veteribus Græcis
 " Poëmata combusserint, imprimisq; ea ubi
 " Amores, turpes Lusus et Nequitia Amantum
 " continebantur; atque ita Menandri, Diphili,
 " Apollodori, Philemonis, Alexis fabellas, et Sap-
 " phûs, Erinnæ, Anacreontis, Mimnermi, Bionis,
 " Alcmanis, Alcæi carmina intercidisse: tum pro
 " his substituta Nazianzeni nostri Poëmata, quæ
 " etsi excitant animos nostrorum hominum ad
 " flagrantio rem Religionis cultum, non tamen
 " verborum Atticorum Proprietatem et Græcæ

“Linguæ Elegantiam edocent: Turpiter quidem
 “Sacerdotes isti in veteres Græcos malevoli fue-
 “runt, sed Integritatis, Probitatis, et Religionis
 “maximum dedêre testimonium.”—And see too
Fabric. Bibl. Græc. I. 679. *Hamb.* 1718.

We must indignantly regret this irreparable injury to classical Learning; and may suspect that the motive to such havoc might not have been purely spiritual. Perhaps the vanity of Authourship co-operated in instigating to this irretrievable loss. Gregory *Naxianzen* might be desirous that no evidence should survive to future times that his Christianized Anacreontics were immediately from the Grecian Lyrics. It is remarkable, that *Alcionio* himself, having obtained possession of the sole extant copy of *Cicero's Treatise de Gloria*, should have been taxed with having destroyed the M. S. to conceal his plagiarism, after having transcribed largely from it into his work above quoted concerning *Exile*. (*Bayle; au Mot, ALCYONIUS.*)—*Aristotle* has been suspected of the same fraudulent practice, after availing himself of the writings of his predecessors.

And the ensuing extract from the very ingenious M. *Raynouard's Eléments de la Grammaire de la Langue Romane avant l'an 1000*, will show the narrow escape of *Livy's* mutilated History from perishing totally through Monkish superstition. “Cet illustre pontife [*Grégoire I^{er}*]
 “apprenant que *Didier*, évêque de *Vienne*, don-

“ nait des leçons de l’art connu alors sous le nom
 “ de grammaire, lui en fit de vifs reproches :

“ Nous ne pouvons, écrivait-il, rappeler sans
 “ honte que votre fraternité explique la grammaire
 “ à quelques personnes ; c’est ce que nous avons
 “ appris avec chagrin, et fortement blâmé
 “ Nous en avons gémi. Non, la meme bouche
 “ ne peut exprimer les louanges de Jupiter et celles
 “ du Christ. Considérez combien, pour un prêtre,
 “ il est horrible et criminel d’expliquer en public
 “ des livres dont un laïque pieux ne devrait pas se
 “ permettre la lecture. Ne vous appliquez donc
 “ plus aux passe-temps et aux lettres du siècle.

“ Le dédain pour la littérature latine, qu’exaltait
 “ encore la haine pour le paganisme, porta Gré-
 “ goire-le-Grand à faire brûler tous les exemplaires
 “ de Tite-Live qu’il put découvrir. Saint Antonin
 “ raconte cette action comme honorable à la mé-
 “ moire du pontife romain.

“ Ce zèle, trop ardent sans doute, l’entraîna dans
 “ une erreur que j’appellerai celle de son siècle ;
 “ mais quel nom donner au vœu du professeur de
 “ Louvain, Jean Hessels, qui s’écrie à ce sujet :
Heureux, si DIEU envoyait beaucoup de Grégoires !
 p. 14. 8vo. Paris 1816.

ILLUSTRATION, C.

(Referred to in p. 52.)

The Divell whipt St. Jerom in a lanten dream,

for reading Cicero; or else it was a fantasm bred by the fever which had then seised him.] It was to deter the high descended *Eustochium* from reading the writers of pagan Rome, as a sinful occupation, that St. *Jerome* related to his favourite Disciple this dream of his sick bed. After asking her, “*Quid facit cum Psalterio Horatius? cum Evangeliiis Maro? cum Apostolo Cicero?*” he proceeds, “*Referam tibi meæ infelicitatis historiam. Quum ante annos plurimos domo, parentibus, sorore, cognatis, et quod his difficilium est, consuetudine lautioris cibi, propter cœlorum me regna castrassem, et Jerosolymam militaturus pergerem, Bibliotheca, quam mihi Romæ summo studio ac labore confeceram, carere non poteram. Itaque miser ego lecturus Tullium, jejunabam. Post noctium crebras vigiliis, post lachrymas, quas mihi præteritorum recordatio peccatorum ex imis visceribus eruebat, Plautus sumebatur in manus. Si quando in memet reversus, Prophetas legere cœpisssem, sermo horrebat incultus. Et quia lumen cæcis oculis non videbam, non oculorum putabam culpam esse, sed solis. Dum ita me antiquus serpens illuderet, in media fermè quadragesima medullis infusa febris, corpus invasit exhaustum: et sine ulla requie (quod dictum quoque incredibile sit) sic infelicia membra depasta est; ut ossibus vix hærerem. Interim parantur exequiæ, et vitalis animæ calor, toto frigescente jam corpore, in solo tantum tepente*

" pectusculo palpitabat : quum subito raptus in
 " spiritu, ad tribunal judicis pertrahor ; ubi tantum
 " luminis, et tantum erat ex circumstantium clari-
 " tate fulgoris, ut projectus in terram, sursum
 " aspicere non auderem. Interrogatus de condi-
 " tione, Christianum me esse respondi. Et ille qui
 " præsidebat : Mentiris, ait, Ciceronianus es, non
 " Christianus. Ubi enim thesaurus tuus, ibi et
 " cor tuum. Illico obmutui, et inter verbera (nam
 " cædi me jusserat) conscientiæ magis igne tor-
 " quebar, illum mecum versiculum reputans : In in-
 " ferno autem quis confitebitur tibi ? Clamare autem
 " cœpi et ejulans dicere : Miserere mei, Domine, mi-
 " serere mei. Hæc vox inter flagella resonabat. Tan-
 " dem ad præsentis genua provoluti qui astiterant,
 " precabantur ut veniam tribueret adolescentiæ, et
 " errori locum pœnitentiæ commodaret ; exacturus
 " deinde cruciatum, si Gentilium litterarum libros
 " aliquando legissem. Ego qui in tanto constrictus
 " articulo, vellem etiam majora promittere, deje-
 " rare cœpi, et nomen ejus, obtestans, dicere :
 " Domine, si umquam habuero codices sæculares,
 " si legero, te negavi. In hæc sacramenti verba
 " dimissus, revertor ad superos ; et mirantibus
 " cunctis, oculos aperio, tanto lachrymarum imbre
 " perfusus, ut etiam incredulis fidem facerem ex
 " dolore. Nec vero sopor ille fuerat, aut vana
 " somnia, quibus sæpe deludimur. Testis est
 " tribunal illud, ante quod jacui ; testis judicium
 " triste, quod timui : ita mihi numquam contingat

“ in talem incidere quæstionem, livalentes habuisse
 “ scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum, et tanto
 “ dehinc studio divina legisse, quanto non ante
 “ mortalia legeram.” *Hieron. Op. tom. 4. sec.*
Pars. p. 42. Benedictine Edit.

Erasmus has treated this legend with characteristic pleasantry, and his comment on it when concluding bears a resemblance to what *MILTON* afterward remarks: “ Postremo si crimen est habere
 “ libros seculares, et si Christum negavit quisquis
 “ hos legit, cur solus vapulavit Hieronymus? cur
 “ hodie in theologorum scholis celebrior est Aris-
 “ toteles, quam Paulus aut Petrus? Verum de re
 “ puerili ac ridicula jam pluribus quam sat est.
 “ Ego certe, ut finiam, malim cum Hieronimo
 “ vapulare, quam melle perungi cum istis, quos
 “ adeo scilicet terret Hieronymianum somnium, ut
 “ ab omnibus bonis literis sanctissime temperent:
 “ at non temperantes interim a vitiis eorum,
 “ quorum libros religionis causa non audent attin-
 “ gere.” *Appendix to Jortin's Life of Eras-*
mus; N° LX.

In his curious Dialogue on our Language, Sir Thomas *Smith* has explained why *Phantasm* was formerly written with an F, as now in *MILTON*'s text. “ QV. Satis est: ergo φ; Græcū non putas
 “ esse sonandū vt f, sed vt Walli phi, sicut si pe-hi
 “ diceremus expuncto e. Sm. Rectè coniectas,
 “ et rectè Itali, qui cū nunc sonēt *Philosophus*,

“ *philosophia, physicus*, secundum illiteratum et
 “ corruptum hodiernorum Græcorum morem, prop-
 “ terea etiam exarant penna, *filosofus, filosofia,*
 “ *fysicus*: scribunt enim ingenuè vt pronuntiant,
 “ Credóque veteres Latinos si ϕ , Græca non alium
 “ habuisset sonum quàm *f* Latina, non dubitatu-
 “ risse, *philosophiam, physicum, pharetram, Phi-*
 “ *lippum*, non per *phi*, sed per *f* reddere, vt *filoso-*
 “ *fiam, fysicum, faretram, Filippum.*” *De recta et*
emendata Linguae Anglicæ Scriptione; fo. 34. b. *Lu-*
tetiæ. 1568.—And Dr. *Foster*, in his *Essay on*
Accent, supports him; observing that “ tho’ we
 “ sound the initial of *forum* and *philosophia* alike,
 “ the Romans did not, *phi* having a strong aspira-
 “ tion, and *fo* scarce any.”—p. 125. edit. 1763.—
 Our ancestors, it is most probable, transferred from
 the Italians this vitious substitute for PH in words
 derived from the Greek,

It has been truly remarked, by the learned
 Dr. *Taylor*, if I remember rightly, that the Eng-
 lish Language, from our trade with the Italian
 ports before the discovery of the passage to the
 East round the Cape of Good Hope, is more in-
 debted to the Italians than is commonly imagined.

In an historical Essay on English Orthography
 many curious notices might be brought together on
 this branch of Philology.

ILLUSTRATION, D.

(Referred to in p. 75.)

Hath almost prevented me by being clear already—] In modern English, it would be—“*hath almost anticipated me, &c.*” *Unprevented* should bear a similar acceptation in *Par. Lost*, III, 231. *Of Grace* :

“Comes *unprevented*, unimplor’d, unsought.”

i. e. comes *unanticipated*, or *unlooked for*, like *Pope’s* boast as to *Fame*. The pages of *Shakspeare*, *Waller*, and *Dryden*, could supply an exuberance of authorities for the word in the same Latin sense; and our Liturgy retains it; “Lord, we pray thee that thy *grace* may always *prevent* and follow us.” *Collect for the 17th Sunday after Trinity*.

We may admire, that *Bentley* at any rate did not recollect this example; if he had, he would never have offered to alter the word in the above-quoted line to *uninvited*; neither could he have written “How *unprevented* can stand here, does not appear; unless in this meaning, comes unimplor’d, if not prevented. But that would diminish the gracious favour, set forth here. I believe (adds the Critic) he gave it,

“Comes *unperceived*, unimplor’d, unsought.”

Much the larger part of this Editor’s castiga-

tions are hazarded; not a few are wildly licentious. But applying himself to *Par. Lost*, as he evidently did, with a mind intent on opportunities to substitute his own capricious readings, it surprised me that it should have escaped him, in the Poet's description of the verge which enclosed Eden, to propose *mound* for *mould* :

“ God had thrown
 “ That mountain as his garden-*mould* high rais'd
 “ Upon the rapid current.” IV. 225.

This is then that same “ verdurous wall of Paradise” which he had previously described in this Book :

“ So on he fares, and to the border comes
 “ Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
 “ Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
 “ As with a rural *mound*, the champain head
 “ Of a steep wilderness.” IV. 131.

Years ago, I had minuted this emendation on the margin, and now on consulting different Editions to see if this correction had not, from the exigency of the sentence, presented itself to any one before me, I find that *Fenton* silently printed *mound* (p. 96. *Duod°* 1725. *Tonson.*) in the text of his Edition; on no further authority than his own persuasion of its propriety. But this reading however specious only affords another instance of the hazard inseparable from conjectural emendation; as will perhaps appear by the succeeding extract

from *Harrison's Description of England*, prefixed to *Holingshed's Chronicle*. Of Windsor: "After him [Edward III] diverse of his successours have bestowed exceeding charges upon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the Queenes majestie now living, who hath appointed large summes of monie to be employed upon the ornature and alteration of the *mould*, according to the forme of building used in our daies." I. 196.

By *garden-mould*, therefore, may we not conclude the Poet meant a sort of *Terrace-walk*, or much the same as *Whitelock* called *mount-walks*? who on dismantling the Fort at Phillis Court says, he "threw in the breast works on two sides, and made two even *mount walks*, the one on the side next to the Thames, the other on the North side." *Memorials*; p. 220. ed. 1732.

In alleviation of *Bentley's* failure, it ought to be remarked that the task was imposed on this pre-eminent Scholar in his declining years, from a quarter where to request is to command. He made this with justice his exculpation in his concluding comment: "If I might presume, says an ingenious and celebrated writer [*Addison*], to offer at the smallest alteration in this divine work; if to make one small alteration appeared to be so presumptuous; what censure must I expect to incur, who have presumed to make so

“ many? But *Jacta est alea*; et non *injussa*
“ *cecini.*”

“ Πάρ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι,
“ Οἱ κέ με τιμήσουσι· μαλίστα δὲ μητιέτα Ζεὺς”

His allusion is, I apprehend, not understood by a great majority of Readers. The *non injussa cecini*, and this application to himself of *Agamemnon's* boast, corroborates the late Dr. *Lort's* anecdote; that it was at the instance of Queen *Caroline* that *Bentley* took on him the office of Commentator on *Paradise Lost*.

ILLUSTRATION, E.

(Referred to in p. 81.)

Dionysius—had little need of such trash to spend his time on.] This Sicilian Sovereign made the Attic the Dialect of his Court, and corresponded with the Sages of Greece, or drew them round him, with much the same sort of predilection that *Frederic* of Prussia indulged toward the *Esprits forts* of Paris, and the French Language: *Plato's* reception by the Tyrant of Syracuse, and his bickerings with him and his successour, form a counterpart to the heartless and hollow intimacy between the Prussian Monarch and *Voltaire*.

Our Authour reprehends the Grecian Philosopher sharply for recommending the writings of

Aristophanes. I am apt to attribute this to a momentary forgetfulness; since the estimation they had obtained could not have altogether escaped his fond attentions to the History and Literature of the Greeks. The encomiastic Epigram which is attributed to *Plato*, furnishes a clue to the cause of his own extreme fondness for these Comedies :

Αἱ Χάριτες τέμενος τί λαβεῖν ὄπερ οὐχὶ πασεῖλαι,
Ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνου·

“ The Graces, in quest of an imperishable shrine
“ for themselves, found the Mind of *Aristo-*
“ *phanes*.”

And the place at the *Banquet* assigned to the Dramatic Poet, as one of the superiour Guests, by the favoured Disciple of *Socrates*, decisively indicates the high rank in letters which he had attained among his countrymen. One motive then with the Teacher of the Academy to make him desirous that his royal Scholar should read these Dramas, was to give him a knowlege of the master-pieces of Attic composition. *MILTON* must have overlooked their classical popularity. Why else before in this Tract should he have asserted that a “scurrilous vehemence” was all that *St. Chrysostom* could learn by having these Plays nightly in hand? or, why have we here a repetition of his censure? in a tone too which shows he considered them merely as buffoonery;

“trash” unworthy “to spend time on.” Widely different was the judgment of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. He thought them deserving the regard of the Statesman and of the Philosopher. Ἡ δὲ γε κωμῳδία ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι, καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ, ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸν Κρατῖνον, καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, καὶ Εὐπολιν, τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; “What need is there also to mention, “that Comedy, such as that of Cratinus, Aristophanes, and Eupolis, gives us lessons on Government, and philosophizes in its Plays?” *Τεχνη Πητορικη*; p. 157. *Lipsiæ*. 1804. Neither is our Authour’s condemnatory opinion less at variance with the delight *Cicero* took in a successful imitation of the Aristophanic manner; who writes to his Brother *Quintus*, “Dedit mihi epistolam “legendam tuam, quam paulo antè acceperat, “Aristophaneo modo, valde meherculè et suavem, “et gravem: quâ sum admodum delectatus.” *Ad Frat. lib. 3. Epist. 1.* Again; in his *Treatise de Officiis*, he tells his Son *Marcus*, “Duplex omnino “est jocandi genus: unum illiberale, petulans, “flagitiosum, obscœnum; alterum elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum. Quo genere non “modo Plautus noster, et Atticorum antiqua, “Comœdia, sed etiam philosophorum Socraticorum “libri referti sunt.” *L. 1. c. 29.* MILTON was, I apprehend, incited to this hasty and undistinguishing reprobation of these plays alike by their libertinism, and by the scandals cast in the Νεφέλαι on the Grecian Oracle of moral Wisdom.

The approbation of *Quintilian* more than overbalances these derogatory strictures, and at the same time ratifies the general admiration of Antiquity for the elder Writers of the Attic Stage. This Critic declared that the elegancies of Atticism are to be found almost exclusively in the antient Comedy; that after *Homer* he knew of none so profitable for the study of every Oratour as *Aristophanes*, *Eupolis*, and *Cratinus*: “ Antiqua Comœdia cum sinceram illam sermonis Attici gratiam
 “ prope sola retinet, tum facundissimæ libertatis,
 “ etsi est in insectandis vitiis præcipua, plurimum
 “ tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet.
 “ Nam et grandis, et elegans, et venusta, et nescio
 “ an ulla, post *Homerum* tamen, quem, ut
 “ *Achillem*, semper excipi par est, aut similior sit
 “ oratoribus, aut ad oratores faciendos aptior.
 “ Plures ejus auctores: *Aristophanes* tamen, et
 “ *Eupolis* *Cratinusque* præcipui.” *Inst. Orator. Lib. X. Cap. 1.* To this let me subjoin what *Sir W. Jones* has observed to the praise of *Aristophanes*’ remains: “ *Aristophanis*, quæ supersunt,
 “ Comœdiæ sunt sanè omnium elegantiarum plenæ,
 “ et Græcarum literarum studiosis apprimè utiles.” *Works*; II. 640. 4to. What our Authour called a *scurrilous vehemence*, these Critics would probably have denominated masculine and vigorous Atticism.—After such a concurrence of testimony to their merit on a literary consideration, and more of no small weight, if it were needful, might be

offered, can we hesitate whether it were not one ground for *Plato's* choice, that they were the best calculated of any works he could select, to bring a Foreigner acquainted with the style cultivated at Athens? *Ελλαδος Ελλάς Αθηναί.* In this he did nothing more than the Italian Ecclesiastic who sets the licentious *Boccacio* before a pupil to initiate him in the most approved Tuscan; or, than the University of Oxford, when they not long ago reprinted *Chaucer's* Canterbury Tales; commendably disregarding the ribaldry which defaces too many of his pages, for the sake of the numerous beauties in the Father of English Poetry.

“ The Prince but studies his companions,
 “ Like a strange tongue : wherein, to gain the language,
 “ 'Tis needful, that the most immodest word
 “ Be look'd upon, and learn'd ; which once attain'd,
 “ Your Highness knows, comes to no further use,
 “ But to be known, and hated.”

The *Tale of a Tub* is unhappily debased with impiety as well as stained with flagrant indecency; yet does it stand so high in reputation that any Englishman who engaged to transmit to a Foreigner a selection of our national works most worthy attention might be justly reproached with not fulfilling his office, if he were to leave out *Swift's* fine specimen of genuine English, and of politico-religious Satire.

The Athenians were not revolted at the “ gross

“infamy” in the old Comedy. It must degrade in our eyes the Audience who could endure it. But while Women were excluded the Theatre, it were idle to expect, that the Stage would not exhibit Scenes vile in Taste and vitious in Morals.

Perhaps the superlative excellence of the Attic style, would of itself have been a sufficient inducement: there was, I must further remark, an additional propriety in sending these contemporary Comedies to the King of a neighbouring Country. By their means he placed before his view a picture of the living manners in the Capital of the most eminent among the Grecian Republics; the acknowledged seat of Grecian Letters and Philosophy. However the rust of time has obscured many places beyond the industry of the Scholiasts of later ages to restore them to their pristine brightness; still, enough is ascertained for us to discern that they are replete with allusions, personal and political, and without any doubt much of the personal character of individuals was to be gathered from the abusive reflections which abound in these dramatic satires. The *Ogυιθεις* is interpreted to have been a latent attack on the mal-administrations of the State, while the mimic *Cleon* in the *Ἰππειῆς* is known to represent that turbulent Demagogue, and is drawn, we may readily believe, if not truer to the life, not with more aggravated features than the

coarse caricature of Lord *Shaftesbury* with which *Otway* disparaged his noble Tragedy.

In commenting on the oversight in my text, I have run into some length. The deference which every thing demands that comes from MILTON's pen, rendered it unavoidable. He who enters the lists to maintain a point of scholarship against him ought to bring conclusive evidence, if he be solicitous to shield himself against the charge of presumption.

ILLUSTRATION, F.

(Referred to in p. 84.)

After all, the last division of the sentence—
 “ these are the countryman's Arcadias and his
 “ Monte-mayors”—leaves it in doubt, whether
 our Authour did not through the whole speak of
 the same strolling minstrelsy which *Puttenham*
 describes as “ blind harpers or such like Tauerne
 “ minstrels that give a fit of mirth for a groat, and
 “ their matters being for the most part stories of
 “ old time, as the tale of Sir Topas, the reports of
 “ Beuis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam
 “ Bell, and Clymme of the Clough, and such other
 “ old *Romances* or *historicall Rhymes*, made pur-
 “ posely for recreation of the common people at
 “ Christmase diners and brideals, and in tauernes
 “ and ale-houses and such other places of base

“resort.” *The Arte of English Poesie* ; p. 69. ed. 1811.

The *Diana of George of Monte-mayor* was rendered into English from the Spanish, by Bartholomew Yong ; 1598 fol. : one of the minor Poets of *Elizabeth's* time. Some of the copies of Verses in it had been translated by *Sydney* and inserted in the *Arcadia*.

Now the fashion of these pastoral Romances has passed away, we are apt to be astonished at the determined perseverance of Readers who could toil out their way through such wearisome stories ; for which they were repaid by little more than affected sentiments and turgid language ; the modes of a feudal Court given to the inmates of a Sheepcote. Such feigned narratives of chivalrous rusticity, while they are too far removed from real life to please by any picture of natural manners, are destitute of the marvellous exploits, the perils and enchantments which once excited a high interest in the adventures of the heroes and agents who people the regions of preternatural fiction ; wonders which have not yet lost all attraction for the imagination.—If elegiac Pastoral deserve the reprobation a great Critic has bestowed on it, because “ no just imitation of things really existing,” these pastoral stories in gorgeous prose cannot but be thought still more unnatural and reprehensible than Monodies founded, like *Lycidas*, on bucolic imagery.

Whether the *Diana* obtained an extensive regard from our Forefathers, as Mr. *Warton* alleged, I have not ascertained. *Shakspeare*, it is asserted, has in part traced from it the outline of the plot for his *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. In Spain it was a favourite Volume. When *Cervantes* supposes it to have been found in the Knight of La Mancha's Library he makes the Curate pronounce this to be the best of its kind, and interpose to rescue it from the general conflagration. *Yong's* Translation of this work was printed a few years after the *Arcadia* appeared. The fame of Sir Philip *Sydney* and the applause then given to this whimsical species of romantic fabling were probably the inducements to this publication; and might lend it a temporary popularity. Not to insist, that till the splendour of the Spanish Monarchy was far gone in its wane, the Writers of that Country were more studied here than those in any other living language, the Italian only excepted: therefore *MILTON* remarks while defending his determination to blank Verse for his epic Poem, that "some both Italian and "Spanish Poets of prime note have rejected "rime."

It was, I think, the illusive brilliancy of *Louis XIVth's* reign which first drew the attention of Europe to French Literature. And is not the *Anglomanie* as to English Authours which prevailed in France after our victorious War against the aggressions of the Family Compact, attributable to the

same source? In short, before the Writers of any Nation gain a name among Foreigners must it not be great in military achievements?

ILLUSTRATION, G.

(Referred to in p. 85.)

The accusation against our Forefathers that they were too much addicted to sumptuous living was far from groundless. *Chaucer* made the luxuries of the table quite the occupation of the *Franklin*, or affluent Land-owner residing on his own estate.

“ An housholder and that a grete was he ;
 “ Seint Julian he was in his contree.
 “ His brede, his ale, was alway after on ;
 “ A better envyned man was no wher non.
 “ Withouten bake mete never was his hous,
 “ Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteous,
 “ It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke,
 “ Of alle deintees that men coud of thinke,
 “ After the sondry sesons of the yere,
 “ So changed he his mete and his soupere.
 “ Ful many a fat partrich hadde he in mewes,
 “ And many a breme, and many a luce in stewe.
 “ Wo was his coke, but if his sauce were
 “ Poinant and sharpe, and redy all his gere.
 “ His table dormant in his halle alway
 “ Stode redy covered alle the longe day.”

Canterbury Tales ; I. 15. 4to. *Oxford*. 1798.

It plainly appears too from Sir Thomas *Elyot's* remonstrance, that excess in this gratification pre-

ailed to a great extent in his time. He was a Physician to *Henry VIII.* and laments it in forcible language: “ It may seeme to al mē that
 “ have reasō what abuse is here in this Realme
 “ in the cōtinuall gourmandise and dayly feeding
 “ on sondry meates at one meale. the spirit of
 “ gluttony triumphing among vs in his glorious
 “ chariot called welfare, dryuing vs afore hym, as
 “ his prisoners, into his dungeon of surfet,
 “ where we are tormented wyth catarres, feuers,
 “ goutes, pleuryses, frettynge of the guttes and
 “ many other sicknesses, and finally cruelly put
 “ to death by them, oftentimes in youth or in the
 “ most pleasaunte tyme of our lyfe whan we would
 “ most gladly live. For the remedye whereof how
 “ many tymes have there bene devised ordinaunces
 “ and actes of counsaile.” *The Castell of Helth;*
 &c. fo. 45. 12mo. 1576.

These notices on this national opprobrium, which, we find, lowered the English character among Foreigners, concur to show that something more appropriate was intended by *Shakspeare*, in *Macbeth's* taunt on the “ *English Epicures,*” than “ a natural invective uttered by an inhabitant
 “ of a barren country against those who have more
 “ opportunities of luxury,” as *Johnson* threw out.

May corroborates that feasts and banqueting were still a reigning vice: “ Luxury in diet, and
 “ excesse both in meat and drinke, was crept into

“ the kingdome in an high degree, not only in
 “ the quantity, but in the wanton curiosity.”
Hist. of the Parl. of England; p. 13. edit. 1812.
 And *Clarendon* confirms that this reproach of
 Epicurism was just.

ILLUSTRATION, H.

(Referred to in p. 86.)

Unconstraining Laws of vertuous Education, religious and civill-nurture—] Nurture “ is learning,
 “ knowledge, art, or order.” p. 88. of “ *The
 “ Cabinet Council: Containing the Chief Arts of
 “ Empire, and Mysteries of State; discabineted
 “ in Political and Polemical Aphorisms, grounded
 “ on Authority, and Experience: &c. By the
 “ Ever-renowned Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh; pub-
 “ lished by John MILTON Esq.*” sm. 8vo. 1658.
 There has been much confusion about this publi-
 cation (see *Memoirs of T. Hollis*; p. 519.), I will
 therefore add these notices relative to it.

The second Edition, according to *Oldys*, was
 titled, “ The Arts of Empire, and Mysteries of
 “ State discabineted,” &c. 8vo. *Lond.* 1692. (See
 his *Life of Raleigh*; p. 395. (n.) 8vo. 1740.) I
 have a copy entitled, “ The Secrets of Govern-
 “ ment, and Misteries of State, plainly laid open,
 “ in all the several Forms of Government in the
 “ Christian world. Published by John MITTON;

“Esq.” 1697. Probably, the same republication only with a new title page, to drop *Raleigh's* name.—*Toland*, confounding *Sir Walter's Prince* with *the Cabinet Council*, states erroneously, that *MILTON* printed both these Tracts.—*MILTON* has taken from *Horace* for a Motto to this latter work,

“ Quis mortem tunicâ tectum adamantinâ
Dignè scripserit ? ”

Perhaps to apologize for not entering into the Author's character. The following is his address to the Reader as Editor: “ Having had the Manuscript of this Treatise, written by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, many years in my hands, and finding it lately by chance among other Books and Papers, upon reading thereof, I thought it a kinde of injury to withhold longer the work of so eminent an Author from the publick; it being both answerable in Stile to other Works of his already extant, as far as the subject would permit, and given me for a true Copy by a learned Man at his Death, who had collected several such pieces.”

Algernon Sydney, however, in the succeeding paragraph, strove to invalidate the authority of this and of others of *Raleigh's* posthumous pieces. He is contending, against *Filmer*, that the Parliament and the People have the power of making Kings, and he argues that, “ This being built upon the steady foundation of Law, History, and Reason,

“ is not to be removed by any man’s opinion ;
“ especially by one, accompanied with such cir-
“ cumstances as Sir Walter Raleigh was in, during
“ the last years of his life : and there is something
“ of baseness, as well as prevarication, in turning
“ the words of an eminent person, reduced to great
“ difficulties, to a sense no way agreeing with his
“ former actions or writings, and no less tending to
“ impair his reputation than to deceive others.
“ Our author is highly guilty of both, in citing
“ Sir Walter Raleigh to invalidate the great Charter
“ of our Liberties, as begun by usurpation, and
“ showed to the world by rebellion : whereas no
“ such thing, nor any thing like it in word or prin-
“ ciple, can be found in the works that deserve to
“ go under his name. The Dialogue in question,
“ with some other small pieces published after his
“ death, deserves to be esteemed spurious : or if,
“ from a desire of life, when he knew his head lay
“ under the ax, he was brought to say things no
“ way agreeing with what he had formerly pro-
“ fessed, they ought rather to be buried in oblivion
“ than produced to blemish his memory. But,
“ that the public cause may not suffer by his
“ fault, it is convenient the world should be in-
“ formed, that though he was a well qualified gen-
“ tleman, yet his morals were no way exact, as
“ appears by his dealings with the brave Earl of
“ Essex. And he was so well assisted in his His-
“ tory of the World, that an ordinary man, with

“ the same helps, might have performed the same
 “ things. Neither ought it to be accounted
 “ strange, if that which he wrote by himself
 “ had the tincture of another spirit, when he
 “ was deprived of that assistance, though his
 “ life had not depended upon the will of the
 “ prince, and he had never said, that ‘ the bonds
 “ of subjects to their kings should always be
 “ wrought out of iron, the bonds of kings unto
 “ subjects but with cobwebs.’ ” *Discourses con-
 cerning Government ; p. 440. 4to. edit. 1772.*

Of the *Cabinet Council*, Sir William Jones writes to John Macpherson, Esq.—“ the other day, I laid
 “ my hand on the annexed little book ascribed to
 “ Sir Walter Raleigh ; it is, like most posthumous
 “ works, incorrect, but contains with some rubbish,
 “ a number of wise aphorisms and pertinent exam-
 “ ples ; it is rather the common-place book of
 “ some statesman, than a well digested treatise,
 “ but it has amused me on a second reading.”
*Memoirs of Sir W. Jones ; by Lord Teignmouth :
 p. 263. 4to.*

ILLUSTRATION, I.

(Referred to in p. 93.)

*Ye must reform it perfectly according to the model
 of Trent and Sevil, which I know ye abhorre to doe.]*
 More than once in this Oration, our Authour
 throws on an Imprimatur the odium of a Popish

invention, because this was an imputation most likely to startle the Parliament and to prevail on them to rescind their Ordinance.

It is with the same view of working on their antipathy and on their fears, he reiterated that the Licensing of Books was a *Spanish* practice: for that Monarchy was yet apprehended to be the deadly and formidable enemy of Protestant Europe. Wherefore the Speaker of the House of Commons, at the opening of the first Parliament that *Charles* called, "made an harangue suitable to the times," says *Whitelock*, and among other topics, "inveighing against Popery and the King of Spain." (*Memorials. p. 3. fol. 1732.*) Again; in his Treatise "*Of Reformation,*" &c. *MILTON* opprobriously called our Prelates "*Spaniolized Bishops,*" and from the Manifesto against Spain in 1655, which he penned as Latin Secretary to *Cromwell*, we may distinctly discern, by his appeal therein to this national sensation, that the animosity against the Spanish Government for its attempt to conquer this Island by the Armada was yet far from subsided: "Quod quidem in Anglorum animis necesse est adhuc alté residere, neque inde posse facile evelli." *Pr. W. II. 609. ed. 1738.* So deep had the terror struck of the "dangerous Heptarchy of Spain," to borrow Sir *Fulk Greville's* phrase, that the War waged by *Philip* and *Mary* against *Henry II.* of France to advance the aim of the Emperor *Charles*, who panted to become the founder

of a fifth Monarchy or Empire of the West, is the only instance, I can recollect, in English History of a French War which at its commencement was disapproved by the Country at large.

Cromwell's confederacy with France for the purpose of depressing the power of Spain was, I think, the most exceptionable of his foreign measures. It is not always that we can fathom the depths of his policy. Perhaps a grateful sense of the countenance shown to the Parliamentary Cause by *Richelieu*; or, still more probably, the personal court paid to the Protector by *Mazarine* might co-operate. Be this as it may; unless we allow him to have inherited so much of this traditional jealousy of Spanish greatness as to give a bias to his political views, after the reason for it had, in great part, ceased, it will not be easy to assign adequate motives for so sharp-sighted a Statesman having fallen into the error of fostering the growing ambition of the House of Bourbon.

This aid to the aggrandizement of the French Monarchy was in the sequel a false step for England; inasmuch as it conduced to the subsequent preponderance of France in Europe; and followed, as it was, by *Charles II.* and *James* selling to *Louis XIV.* their acquiescence in his rising ascendancy, may be justly considered to be the primary cause of the series of our continental warfare to retrieve the Balance of Power after our Revolution in 1688.

ILLUSTRATION, K.

(Referred to in p. 96.)

When I made the reference for this ILLUSTRATION, it did not occur to my recollection, that *Mabbott's* Reasons for resigning the office of Licenser were inserted in the Preface to the Edition of the AREOPAGITICA published in 1772, and which I have reprinted among the Prolegomena to this Edition.

ILLUSTRATION, L.

(Referred to in p. 97.)

It was the complaint and lamentation of Prelats, upon every least breath of a motion to remove Pluralities, and distribute more equally Church revenu's, that then all Learning would be for ever dash't and discourag'd.] The disproportionate distribution of Preferments in our Church was the natural result of a Reformation carried on, like ours, as occasion offered, without any settled views, and as the humour or prejudices of the reigning Sovereign prompted.

Bentley resorts to the same kind of topic for an argument against their equalization. (*Rem. on Collins's Disc. of Free Thinking, p. 151. 8vo. 1743.*) For one, I side with MILTON.

Our Authour had in another work poured forth

a torrent of vituperative declamation against those who made use of this excusatory reasoning for the existing inequalities. “ Yea (he exclaims), they
 “ and their Seminaries shame not to profess, to
 “ petition, and never lin pealing our ears, that
 “ unless we fat them like Boars, and cram them
 “ as they list with Wealth, with Deaneries, and
 “ Pluralities, with Baronies and stately Prefer-
 “ ments, all Learning and Religion, will go under
 “ foot. Which is such a shameless, such a bestial
 “ plea, and of that odious impudence in Church-
 “ men, who should be to us a pattern of tempe-
 “ rance and frugal mediocrity, who should teach
 “ us to contemn this world, and the gaudy things
 “ thereof, according to the promise which they
 “ themselves require from us in Baptism, that
 “ should the Scripture stand by and be mute, there
 “ is not that sect of Philosophers among the
 “ Heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor
 “ Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would
 “ shut his school-doors against such greasy Sophis-
 “ ters; not any College of Mountebanks, but
 “ would think scorn to discover in themselves
 “ with such a brazen forehead the outrageous
 “ desire of filthy Lucre.” *Pr. W. I. 74. edit.*
 1738. That this is written with an asperity we
 must wish away who shall deny? At the same
 time, be it remembered, and the remark, if applied
 generally to his controversial Writings, holds equally
 true, that the reciprocal bitterness between the

contending persuasions in these religious feuds was in a degree which, happily for us, it is now difficult to conceive. At this day, we think it laughable to see the recommendation of an *Under-groom* to Prince *Rupert* certifying, in addition to a "good character," that he had a "great value for the *Common Prayer*." (*Life and Errors of John Dunton*: p. 333.) But does not this anecdote perspicuously mark the height to which the hostile odium between the disciples of the High Church and of the Low had arisen? We need not require any further evidence, that the animosity which actuated them against each other was in the extreme. Let us remember too, the long and close Imprisonments with destructive Fines on those who reflected on our ecclesiastical establishment, and that the wounds from the grievous Mutilations, the Stigmatizings, and other Tortures inflicted by *Laud* and his Assessours on their victims were still green and smarting.

So rigorous was the Persecution of the Non-conformists that Lord *Brooke* states the Refugees who were driven from their native country, principally to America, then a desolate wilderness, at so large a number as "ten thousand." (*A Discourse opening the Nature of Episcopacy*; p. 97. 4to. 1641.) With these sufferings MILTON, and all who had a lively and just sense of such execrable enormities, could not but warmly sympathize.—The honoured Instructor of his youth, *Young*, was among those who were constrained to expatriate themselves.

ILLUSTRATION, M.

(Referred to in p. 116.)

I have sat among thir lerned men, for that honor I had, and bin counted happy to be born in such a place of Philosophic Freedom, as they suppos'd England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servil condition into which Learning among them was brought: that this was it which had damp't the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writt'n now these many years but flattery and fustian.] “At the resurrection of Literature, “Italy was the first to cast away the shroud,” says the Historian most eloquently. Within these few years we have had some new and brilliant lights thrown upon this epocha in the annals of human Knowledge; an epocha full of interest to every intelligent mind. But I am not aware of any single circumstance more striking to show how greatly this love of polite Learning prevailed among the Italians, than the high consideration MILTON received at Rome from Cardinal Fr. *Barberini* (*Pr. W.* II. 571. *ed.* 1738), and the attentions paid to him at Naples by the noble Patron and Biographer of Torquato *Tasso*, as well as by many other men of eminence in that Country; *ib.* II. 332. *ubi sup.* A Tramontane; of no pretensions from high birth, or a splendid fortune, or conspicuous name; more than all, an English Heretic—one who within the verge of the Vatican would not keep secret his

deep-rooted aversion to Popery: with such impediments to a distinguished reception, his most serviceable letters of recommendation came from his own pen. What his memory could supply, in addition to the extemporaneous productions of his cultivated Genius, were his credentials to the best classes of Society; as he relates somewhat more at large, and with a pardonable self-complacency in the *Reason of Church Government*. During the Nation's lengthened contest with the Stuarts, the English character appears to have been rated high in the estimation of enlightened Foreigners. Beside what we may collect to this purport in the text, *Algernon Sydney* writes in 1678-9, "We particularly hope that England will keep up its reputation of being, as the Cardinal Pallavicini says, the mother and Nurse of the best Wits in the world." (*Letters to H. Saville*, p. 4. prefixed to his *Works*; 4to. *Robertson's edit.*)

MILTON might have extended to a wider circuit his remark on the baneful influence of arbitrary Government in debasing the public mind in Italy. A Country for a length of ages fertile in eminent intellect. He should have introduced and contrasted the diversity in the style of addressing the Great, between the Roman Poets before the fall of the Republic and after the elevation of *Octavius Cæsar* to the Purple. Independent and erect, *Lucretius* accosts *Memmius*, a Patron of Patrician rank, and of highly descended ancestry,

with the language of an honest freedom; deprecating his public avocations for diverting him from the calm pursuits of Philosophy: that Poet wrote in consular Rome. He is said to have died on the same day that *Virgil* took the manly Gown; yet so rapid had the degeneracy been, that this favourite of the Muse stooped without a blush to burn incense to *Augustus*, as to a tutelary Deity. Fulsome praise of the Emperour was to be expected from *Horace*. For some time the dissolute follower of *Epicurus*, with broken fortunes and ruined hopes; his apology would have been, that his happiness was centered in the pleasures with which Rome abounded; luxuries he could procure only by the wages of adulation. This he had no reserve in acknowledging. (II. *Epl.* 2. 51.)

Virgil's bent of mind run in an opposite direction. His bashful spirit shrunk into the shade of rural life; and that from his retreats in Campania and Sicily he should have subscribed to his own degradation in "ignominious strains and lying "verse" affords lamentable proof how widely, as well as quickly, the contagion of servility had spread after the successor to the Triumvirate had drawn to himself all the functions of the State.—How could *Gibbon* think, that the minds of the Romans were still republican? The change must have begun before a Poet could venture to announce to the Roman Public as a distinction, that he *sung by command*. It was not long ere a ty-

rannous Government poisoned the source of generous sentiment, and paralyzed all the nobler faculties. "Free Rome" became worse than "mute" or inglorious. Nothing but *flattery and fustian* was to be heard. After *Seneca* and *Lucan* had been put to death, well might the Romans sigh out, like the relegated Satirist, that the arts of courtly blandishment were only in request :

" Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cesare tantum."

Trajan and several of his successors, took under their protection and advanced men of literary endowments. Certain it is, with no memorable success : either the national Mind was gone, or their exertions were misdirected, to unworthy objects. The countenance of Greatness we know cannot reasonably be expected to create Genius ; but it was not unreasonable to hope that the beams of royal favour should have had sufficient influence to call it forth. Yet *Martial* was confessedly the *Virgil* of his Imperial Patron ; and whoever reads the licentious Poems of *Ausonius* must feel surprise, that he could have recommended himself to the office of Preceptor to the Son of *Valentinian*. It is a compliment far from merited, as has been remarked by some one, I forget by whom, to call the age of *Livy*, *Horace*, and *Virgil*, the Augustan Age. What though they flourished while *Augustus* reigned ; they were equally with *Cicero* and *Salust*, *Terence*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, and *Ovid*, born and

educated under the discipline of the Republic. If the pretensions of Rome to lettered fame were to rest solely on Writers who were bred up under the Imperial Institutions, slender must be the portion we could allot them.

The general decay of superiour Talent, as well as the falling off in justness of Taste, becomes very discernible on the usurpation of the Cesars: the deterioration in manners is not more perceptible. At the commencement of his History, *Tacitus* confesses, “ *Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessêre.*” He, however, touches very slightly on the cause. The concluding chapter of *Longinus’* Treatise compensates for this caution: and in all ages and in all countries will it be found that the benumbing power of Despotism is a fatal check to the exertions of Genius. A fettered hand can never give the Lyre its fullest tones.

ILLUSTRATION, N.

(Referred to in p. 126.)

The Prelats might remember them, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at.]

To remember was formerly to remind:

“ And yet I must *remember* you, my Lord,

“ We were the first and dearest of your Friends.”

Shakspeare; Hen. IV. first Part, A. 5, S. 1.

Clarendon testifies what *MILTON* here insinuates to have been the effect in the public mind of the hateful and barbarous sentences on *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and *Leighton*.

“ There were three persons most notorious for
 “ their declared malice against the government of
 “ the Church by Bishops, in their several Books
 “ and Writings, which they had published to cor-
 “ rupt the People, with circumstances very scan-
 “ dalous, and in language very scurrilous, and im-
 “ pudent; which all Men thought deserved very
 “ exemplary punishment: they were of the three
 “ several Professions which had the most influence
 “ upon the People, a Divine, a common Lawyer,
 “ and a Doctor of Physic; none of them of in-
 “ terest, or any esteem with the worthy part of
 “ their several Professions, having been formerly
 “ all looked upon under characters of reproach:
 “ yet when they were all sentenced, and for the
 “ execution of that sentence brought out to be
 “ punished as common and signal rogues, exposed
 “ upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off, and
 “ their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons
 “ (as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors
 “ used to be, when they were not able to redeem
 “ themselves by any fine for their trespasses, or
 “ to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had
 “ raised against the good name and reputation of
 “ others), Men begun no more to consider their
 “ manners, but the Men; and each Profession,

“ with anger and indignation enough, thought
“ their education, and degrees, and quality, would
“ have secured them from such infamous judg-
“ ments, and treasured up wrath for the time to
“ come.” *Hist. of the Rebellion*; I. 146. 8vo.
1807.

A memorable and impressive warning to rulers : yet it was thrown away on *Charles II.* and on *James*. They, far from profiting by this experience, flew at still larger quarry. I am inclined to think that their bringing *Sydney* and *Russell* to the block was a natural effect of their residence within the purlieus of *Louis XIV's* Court. There they must have witnessed the abject submission to the Crown into which the French Noblesse fell after *Richelieu* had put the *Duke de Montmorenci* to death. This tempted them to hope that by like means of intimidation they should overawe their own Nobility and break the heart of all opposition to their plans of arbitrary power. Happily for this Country the ancient Peerage of England was composed of “ sterner stuff.” The sympathy of the Great with the high-born sufferers, and their detestation of this tyrannical conduct, must have been no slight incitement to those among them who stood forth as champions in arms of the People's Rights at the Revolution which was the sequel to the remorseless practices of the royal Brothers ; it would have been no slight incitement, though they had not been well-aware of the systematic

depression and debasement of their own order which inevitably takes place under an absolute Monarch.

ILLUSTRATION, O.

(Referred to in p. 144.)

He shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of lovelines and perfection.] By *Feature*, MILTON intended *form*. When he impersonated Death, he denominated him the “grim *Feature*.” *Par. Lost*, X. 279.

Feature is from *Factura*; Lat.; in Italian, *Fattura*. Thus Lord *Bacon*; “Aristotle hath “very ingeniously and diligently handled the “*factures* of the body, but not the gestures of the “body.” *Works*; I. 65. 4to. So that “in “*fact* of arms,” and “*feats* of arms;” *P. L.* II. 124, and 537, may have the same construction.

This sense was not yet fallen into disuse. A contemporary, one *Severne*, in some commendatory Verses prefixed to *Cartwright's Poems* (8vo 1651) has it with the same opposition as in the text:

“As when an handsome *Feature* nigh,
 “Each *Member's* Draught
 “Agrees in nought
 “But this, that each a part does take the Eye.”

Commentators point out in *Terence* a similar

idiom for the whole configuration of the human frame in “*O faciem pulchram.*” I. 285. *Hag.* 4to. 1726, ed. *Westerhov*. And see too *Cruquius’s* Note on

————— “*quali*
 “*Sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente capillo.*”
Horat. L. I. Sat. 6. v. 32.

With the foregoing authorities in MILTON for this extended signification of *Feature* in our own language, it is surprising that the Annotators on *Shakspeare* should have so frequently missed its meaning. In *As you like it*, *Touchstone* asks *Audrey*—“*Doth my simple feature [form] content you?*” To which she replies with a quibble—“*Your features! Lord warrant us! what features?*” *Variorum Shakspeare*, VI. 102. ed. 1793. This passage perplexed *Farmer*, who ventures on a conjectural emendation; and doubts not this should be “*your feature! Lord warrant us! what’s feature?*” While *Steevens*, by offering different and discordant explanations, appears to have been dissatisfied with this correction, yet not to have put confidence in either of his own suggestions. He thought “*feat and feature, perhaps, had anciently the same meaning. The Clown asks, if the features of his face content her, she takes the word in another sense, i. e. feats, deeds, and in her reply seems to mean, what feats, i. e. what have we done yet? The courtship of Audrey and her gallant had not proceeded further,*

“ as Sir Wilful Witwood says, than a little mouth-glue; but she supposes him to be talking of something which as yet he had not performed. Or the jest may turn only on the Clown’s pronouncement. In some parts, *features* might be pronounced, *faitors*, which signify *rascals*, *low wretches*.” *Malone* contributed some examples of this word gathered from Writers in the reign of *Elizabeth*, and asserts that “*feature* formerly signified the whole countenance.”

Not to multiply proofs beyond necessity, I will only refer to them with this observation, that *feature* in a wider acceptation, as synonymous with *shape* or *form*, better agrees with the context of all the passages collected by this Gentleman. While it unquestionably imports much the same in *Lear*; when *Albany* reproaching *Goneril* exclaims,

“ Proper deformity seems not in the fiend
 “ So horrid, as in woman.
 “
 “ Be-monster not thy *feature*. . .
 “
 “ Howe’er thou art a fiend,
 “ A woman’s *shape* doth shield thee.”

On which occasion *Malone* repeats that “*Feature* in *Shakspeare’s* age meant the general cast of countenance, and often beauty;” for which he cites *Bullokar’s Expositor*; *ubi sup.* XIV. 211. With these expositions *Steevens* coincides, when *Cleopatra* gives orders for the messenger to “report the *feature* of *Octavia*;” *ubi sup.* XII. 502.

But when this latter Editor added that *Spenser* uses *feature* for the whole turn of the body, and brings two apposite quotations from the *Fairy Queen* in support of this interpretation, he went near to anticipate my explanation; yet he failed to apply this construction to any of the places in which the word occurs through *Shakspeare*. That the Poet, however, by no means restricted its meaning to *beauty*, or to *countenance*, is evident in *Cymbeline*; where he certainly intended the *symmetry of the whole figure*; where too it is contra-distinguished from *beauty*:

“ For *beauty* that made barren the swell’d boast
 “ Of him that best could speak; for *feature* laming
 “ The Shrine of Venus, or straight-pight Minerva.”
ubi sup. XIII. 220.

I remark the same distinction to be preserved by *Stowe*; of *Henry VIII*’s aversion to *Anne of Cleve*:
 “ his hatred encreased more and more against her,
 “ not only for her want of *beauty* and *feature*,
 “ whereof at first he took exceptions.” *Annales*;
p. 578. *fol.* 1631.

This verbal criticism has been drawn out to a considerable length; but a word which *Shakspeare*’s best Commentators have misexplained repeatedly, required a minute explication; it could only have its doubtful meaning fixed by a deduction of particular examples; which at the same time ascertains its sense in *Paradise Lost*, where it has hitherto been passed without notice.

ILLUSTRATION, P.

(Referred to in p. 184.)

Those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of.] Burnet's account of the Controversy about "things *indifferent*" will be found illustrative of the general tenour of MILTON's reasoning in this part of his Oration. "There
 " was a great variety of sentiments among our
 " Reformers on this point; Whether it was fit, to
 " retain an External Face of Things, near to
 " what had been practised in the Times of Popery,
 " or not? The doing that, made the People come
 " easily in, to the more real changes that were
 " made in the Doctrines, when they saw the out-
 " ward appearances so little altered: so this Me-
 " thod seemed the safer, and the readier way to
 " wean the People, from the Fondness they had
 " for a splendid Face of things, by that which
 " was still kept up. But on the other hand, it was
 " said, That this kept up still the Inclination in
 " the People to the former Practices; they were
 " by these made to think, that the Reformed State
 " of the Church did not differ much from them;
 " and that they imitated them. And they apprehended,
 " that this outward resemblance made the
 " old Root of Popery to live still in their Thoughts;
 " so that if it made them conform at present more
 " easily to the change that was now made, it

“ would make it still much the easier for them to
 “ fall back to Popery: so, for this very Reason,
 “ they stood upon it; and thought it better, to put
 “ matters in as great an opposition to the Practices
 “ of Popery, as was possible, or convenient.

“ The Queen had, in her first Injunctions or-
 “ dered the Clergy to wear seemly Garments, and
 “ square Caps; adding, that this was only for
 “ Decency, and not to ascribe any Worthiness to
 “ the Garments. But when the Act of Uniformity
 “ was settled, whereas in the Liturgy passed in the
 “ second year of King Edward, Copes and other
 “ Garments were ordered to be used; but in the
 “ second Book, passed in the sixth year of that
 “ King, all was laid aside except the Surplice: yet
 “ the Queen, who loved Magnificence in every
 “ thing, returned back to the Rules in King Ed-
 “ ward’s First Book, till other order should be
 “ taken therein by the Queen. There was like-
 “ wise a Clause put in the Act of Uniformity im-
 “ powering the Queen to Ordain and Publish such
 “ further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for
 “ the Advancement of God’s Glory, the Edifying
 “ of his Church, and the due Reverence of Christ’s
 “ Holy Mysteries and Sacraments.

“ The Matter being thus settled, there followed
 “ a great Diversity in practice: Many conform-
 “ ing themselves in all Points to the Law; while
 “ others did not use either the Surplice or the
 “ square Caps and Hoods, according to their De-

“ gree. This visible Difference began to give
 “ great offence, and to state two Parties in the
 “ Church. The People observed it, and run into
 “ Parties upon it. Many forsook their Churches,
 “ of both sides: some, because those Habits were
 “ used; and some, because they were not used.”
Hist. of the Reformation; Part III. p. 305. fol.
 1715.

ILLUSTRATION Q.

(Referred to in p. 185.)

If it come.] Like R. *Ascham*, Ben *Jonson*, King *James's* Revisors of the authorized Translation of the Bible, *Hobbes*, and other Scholars among our earlier Writers in their native tongue, MILTON preserved the grammatical distinction between the indicative and conditional Moods. Beside the present example, “ though he command—” “ if he please—” with others that occur in the pages before us, attest his care in this point. He was as particular in his Poetry :

“ *Lest*, by some fair-appearing good surpriz'd,
 “ She *dictate* false; and *misinform* the will.”

P. L. IX. 354.

This conformity to our regular modes of inflection must have escaped the accomplished Editor of

his occasional Poems, otherwise he could never have been perplexed at,

“ O, if thou have

“ Hid them in some flow’ry cave.”

See T. *Warton’s* note on *Conus*, v. 238.

Neither could he have been at all disposed to think it “ a seeming inaccuracy for the sake of the rhyme.” Nor would modern Editors have misprinted “ could’s^t” in this passage in *Samson Agonistes* :

“ If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men

“ Lov’d, honour’d, fear’d me, thou alone *could* hate me.”

v. 938.

I remember another instance of our Authour’s curious diligence, which has given rise to much erroneous comment. “ Wise men wander in a “ tittle.” What I advert to is his writing *embryon* rather than *embryo* :

————— “ and to battle bring

“ Their *embryon* atoms.”

P. L. II. 899.

This deviation from the mode customary in his own day, made *Addison* class it among the words of *MILTON’s* coinage; *Spectator*, No. 285. However Mr. *Todd* has established that *embryon* was very common both as a Substantive, and as an Adjective in the Poetry of that age.

Bentley’s first thoughts were to exert his conjectural talent; and he proposed to read “ *legion’d* “ atoms;” he observes, that “ *εμβρυον* is the singu-

“ lar; the plural is *εμβρυα*: and that therefore *em-*
 “ *bryon* joined here to *atoms* is a violation of
 “ Grammar.” In contradiction to this learned
 Critic’s remark; that this was an ungrammatical
 combination, *Pearce* contended that our Authour
 “ uses *embryon* here as an Adjective; as he does
 “ again in VII. 277. In MILTON (he proceeds),
 “ the Substantive is *embryo*; and the plural *em-*
 “ *bryos*, as in III. 474.” (*Review of the Text of*
Paradise Lost, p. 73. 8vo. 1733.) Whatever *em-*
bryon may be in the quotation from B. II. the
 passage he himself refers to in the VIIth Book de-
 monstrates the Bishop’s mistake in asserting that it
 is there used *adjectively* :

“ The Earth was form’d, but in the Womb as yet
 “ Of Waters, *Embryon* immature involv’d,
 “ Appear’d not.”

V. 276.

But *Pearce* was misled by *Bentley’s* faulty punc-
 tuation.

If we must look to the Greeks to learn MILTON’S
 reason for retaining the final *n*, I should prefer to
 surmise that he had their paragogic *ν* in his
 thoughts. It is, however, little question with me
 that the Poet availed himself of this antiquated
 spelling because in these two instances from *Para-*
disse Lost, the words immediately succeeding begin
 with a vowel; so we interpose the same Letter
 when our indefinite Article is in the same position.
 Here it would have been doing violence to a pri-

mary canon in the art of Versification to have let such vowel sounds meet where he did not intend an elision in the scansion of the verse. He dropped the *n* in the only remaining example of this word in his Poetry.

“Embryos, and Idiots, Eremites, and Friars.”

P. L. III. 474.

In the Plural this was no longer wanted to prevent the open Vowels; he therefore discarded it.

The Euphony of our Language is somewhat diminished by the discontinuing to write *mine* and *thine*, instead of *my* and *thy* when these Pronouns were not followed by a Consonant; as well as by the disuse of *none* for *no*, if it precede a vowel: of which rule *Puttenham* was so observant that he has, in his work on the “Arte of English Poesie,” *none impeachment*, *none answer*, with similar combinations as unknown to modern ears.

Dr. *Watts* thought (see preface to his *Horæ Lyricæ*), that *MILTON* affected *archaisms* and *exoticisms*; and “the oddness (he adds) of an antique sound gives but a false pleasure to the ear.” But neither this Critic, nor *Addison* (*Travels*, under *Venice*), seem to have paid regard to the frequent advantage this license afforded him on metrical considerations. It was not, I suspect, so much to give the cast of Antiquity to his Poetry, that he preferred *Eremites* to *Hermits*, and *surcease* rather than *cease*, or *marish* instead of *marsh*, &c. In the first instance a trisyllable was called for, and in

the latter places dissyllables were wanted. Thus too, for the convenience of his verse, he, like others who preceded him, wrote 'sdein'd (P. L. IV. 50), not, as *Hume* suggested, in imitation of the Italian, for he oftener has *disdained*, but because a monosyllable was commodious; as he follows the Greek in *Briareos* where the line required a quadrisyllable to complete it; and revived, as a metrical augmentation the obsolete prefix *y* in "*y*-pointed," and "*y*-clept." The vicious Comparative "*worser*" will hardly be found in his Prose.

The "labour of Book writing" was to MILTON a labour of love; and diligence is always minute. Neither was his Knowledge less exact than extensive. What *Augustus* said of *Horace* is to the full as applicable to our own Poet: he also is *emendatissimus Auctor*. So critically scrupulous was he that he commences this Oration with "*They* who;" a refinement little attended to by the most punctilious of the present age. "*Those* who" for the Nominative has obtained all the authority which custom can confer on any departure from grammatical strictness. In certain expressions not even *Addison* or *Swift*, however deserving praise for idiomatical English, were so studiously correct in the grammatical part of their language as some of our Writers of a period much anterior.

Since MILTON *castigavit ad unguem*, and held no care unworthy his Genius, who should disregard these nicer particularities?

The above are among a thousand scattered proofs of the error in supposing that he who undertook *to vindicate the ways of God to Man*, would not deign to bestow thought on such slight points of Criticism as Syllables and Sounds. (*The Rambler* ; No. 95.) The Moralist must have forgotten, that not to be apprehensive of abasement, by paying attention to inferior circumstances, is a privilege of conscious greatness.

ILLUSTRATION, R.

(Referred to in p. 190.)

Anough.] Mr. Todd thinks *anough* instead of *enough* “literally an imitation of the Doric “Dialect;” and Peck says idly, that it is “very “*pastoral*” (*Mem. of the Life and poetical Works of MILTON* ; &c. p. 153. 4to. 1740). And also remarks of *Comus*, that, “being of the *pastoral* sort, “our Authour had many *pastoral words* in it.” *ib.* p. 136. To prop this conceit, he particularized, among other instances, *woome* for *womb*, *hearbs* for *herbs*, and infers the same from the duplication of the o in the first syllable of *bosom* (p. 142), as well as from this Letter being prefixed to *ugly* (p. 150); yet these modes of spelling were not confined to *Comus*; neither did MILTON propose to throw an air of rusticity over a Masque to be performed before a sort of vice-regal Court; on the contrary, this dramatic piece is written throughout in a sus-

tained style. The fact is, that these with many other words are printed in the Edition of his minor Poems in 1645, as they were then sounded.

This pronunciation of *enough* continues in general use; and so does *hearb* and *boosom* to this day among the uneducated in the West of England: as *ougly* still is in the northern part of the Island and in Cornwall. Mr. *Warton* took this to be only the old way of writing *ugly*; and the rule of Orthography which our Authour adopted has been variously misconceived. *Johnson* decides it (*Pref. to his Dict.*) to have been "in zeal for analogy," that he dropped the *e* in *height*; while Mr. *Capell Lofft* fancied *sovran* for *sovereign* to be a Poet's licence. But that supposition falls to the ground when we find it equally in the prose-writings. He was as ill understood by *Richardson*; who tells the Reader that *MILTON* ejected the *c* from *scent*, because it was not in the French *sentir*; nor in the Italian *sentire*; whence we borrowed it. Of this suggestion Bishop *Pearce* in his Review of *Bentley's* emendations of *Par. Lost* declared his approbation.

MILTON's scheme of Orthography was not however governed by the derivation. He concurred with those, and the practice was then by no means singular, who would make the written represen-

tation of Thought correspond with oral Speech: e. gr. *hainous*, *lantskip*, *mountanous*, *Divell*, *detters*, *scholler*. To the same end, he suppressed the silent Letters in *haughty*, *apophthegm*; *learning*, *viscount*, *signiory*, &c., as well as wrote *Chetiv*, not *Chetib*; and *Piatza*, in conformity to the Italian utterance of the double *z*; as *Burton* did *Novitza*, and, if I remember rightly, *Harrington Putzuoli*.

In the instances apparently in opposition to this observation, where he departs from the customary mode as in *frontispice*, *extasy*, *rarify*, *accedence*, *skeptical*, *Ghittar*, *aery*, *glutenous*, &c.;—though these Orthographies be more etymological, his aim was, we may now discern, a nearer approximation to vocal Language; to bring the alphabetic characters of Thought in closer affinity to the “articulated air” of which these combinations of Letters are the visible signs.

In pursuance of this principle “*grassy sord*,” *i. e.* *sward*, is the genuine reading in *Par. Lost.* (XI. 433.) This peculiarity, which *Johnson* calls a corruption, prompted *Fenton* to give erroneously *sod* in the Edition of which he superintended the Publication. The Lexicographer again misapprehended MILTON’s object when disposed to think that he intended to preserve the Saxon *grunsel*, by exhibiting *grunsel*. (*Par. Lost.* I. 460.) But I am unaware of any reason to suppose, that the

Anglo-Saxon had ever engaged MILTON's notice, and he is by no means accustomed to hide his acquirements behind a veil. He was, I believe, scarcely a stranger in any other walk of Learning than the northern. But the time was not come for these studies. He and other literary Men yet occupied their minds with the writers of Rome and Athens, and of modern Italy.

The Anglo-Saxon tongue had once, and I think, but once, since the Conquest, obtained the regards of our Forefathers. This was at the æra of the Reformation, for the purpose, as it should seem, of putting beyond the power of controversy, what were the heterodox novelties which the Romish Priesthood had subsequently engrafted on the Christianity planted in Britain by its primitive propagators.

ILLUSTRATION, S.

(Referred to in p. 196.)

In procuring by petition this Order.] Mr. Hargrave printed the succeeding document in, "an Argument in Defence of Literary Property," from a M. S. in the possession of the Stationers' Company; and it will show who were the first to promote the revival of Licensers to the Press. "The following declaration was signed near two years before the ordinance of 1643, by some of

“ the most favourite Divines of the then prevailing
 “ party in Parliament.

“ We whose names are subscribed at the re-
 “ quest of certain stationers or printers, do hereby
 “ inform those whom it may concern, that to
 “ the knowlege of divers of us (and as all of
 “ us do believe) that the said stationers or prin-
 “ ters have paid very considerable sums of money
 “ to many authours for the copies of such useful
 “ books as have been imprinted. In regard
 “ whereof we conceive it to be both just and
 “ very necessary that they should enjoy a pro-
 “ priety for the sole imprinting of their copies.
 “ And we further declare, that unless they do so
 “ enjoy a propriety, all scholars will utterly be
 “ deprived of any recompence from the stationers
 “ or printers for their studies and labours in
 “ writing or preparing books for the Press. Be-
 “ sides, if the books that are printed in Eng-
 “ land be suffered to be imported from beyond
 “ the seas, or any other way reimprinted to the
 “ prejudice of those who bear the charges of
 “ the impressions, the authours and the buyers
 “ will be abused by vicious impressions, to the
 “ great discouragement of learned men, and
 “ extream damage to all kinds of good learning.
 “ The plaintures (*and other good reasons which*
 “ *might be named*) being considered, we certify
 “ our opinions and desires that fitting and suf-
 “ ficient caution be provided in this behalf.

“ Wherein we humbly submit to grave wisdoms
 “ of those to whom it doth appertain.

| | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| “ CALEBAT DOWNING, LL.D. | JOHN DOWNING. |
| “ C. OSSPRING. | C. BURGES. |
| “ RICH. COLE. | GEORGE WALKER. |
| “ WILLIAM JEMAT. | RICHARD BARNARD. |
| “ HEN. TOWNLEY. | ADONIRAN BYFIELD. |
| “ JAM. NORRIS. | EDM. CALAMY. |
| “ JOHN PAYNE. | LA. SEAMAN. |
| “ DANIEL FEATLEY, D.D. | SAM. ROGERS. |
| “ WILL. GOUGE, S. T. P. | N. PRIME.” |

MIRABEAU'S IMITATION

OF

MILTON'S

AREOPAGITICA.

SUR
L A L I B E R T É

DE

L A P R E S S E ,

IMITÉ

DE L'ANGLOIS, DE MILTON*.

PAR

LE COMTE DE MIRABEAU.

Who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature but, he who destroys a good Book, kills Reason it self.

Tuer un Homme, c'est détruire une Créature raisonnable ; mais étouffer un bon Livre, c'est tuer la Raison elle-même.

A L O N D R E S .

MDCCCLXXXVIII.

* Le titre de ce morceau très singulier, où j'ai suivi de beaucoup plus près mon Auteur que ne voudront le croire ceux qui ne consulteront pas l'Original, et où j'ai plutôt retranché qu'ajouté ; ce titre est ; AREOPAGITICA : *A Speech for the Liberty of unlicens'd Printing ; To the Parliament of England.*

SUR

LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE*,

C'EST au moment où le Roi invite tous les François à l'éclairer sur la manière la plus juste et la plus sage de convoquer la Nation : c'est au moment où il augmente son Conseil de cent quarante-trois Notables appelés de toutes les Classes, de toutes les Parties du Royaume, pour mieux connoître le

* *Mirabeau* published in 1789, the *Théorie de la Royauté, d'après la Doctrine de MILTON*, to which he prefixed an *Essay* on him and his works ; and he concludes by a just reprehension of *Voltaire*, for his peremptory and perfunctory decision against *MILTON* as a Writer of Prose ; “ Maintenant on peut “ apprécier, à leur juste valeur, les assertions que *Voltaire* s'est “ permis sur le compte de *MILTON*. S'il faut l'en croire, “ *MILTON*, que les Anglois regardent aujourd'hui comme un poète “ divin étoit un très-mauvais écrivain en prose. Il resta pauvre et “ sans gloire.

“ Un poète, bel esprit et gentilhomme de la chambre, devoit “ être peu propre sans doute à juger par lui-même les écrits “ politiques du républicain—Mais comment ce prodigieux “ *Voltaire* toujours prêt à expédier un brevet d'immortalité au “ premier avorton du Parnasse qui lui adressoit quelques rimes “ adulatrices, a-t-il été si souverainement injuste envers la plû- “ part des grands-hommes, dont il devoit si bien connoître le “ secret et défendre l'héritage ? ”

vœu et l'opinion publique : c'est au moment où la nécessité des affaires, la méfiance de tous les Corps, de tous les Ordres, de toutes les Provinces ; la diversité des principes, des avis, des prétentions, provoque impérieusement le concours des lumières et le contrôle universel ; c'est dans ce moment que, par la plus scandaleuse des inconséquences, on poursuit, au nom du Monarque, la liberté de la Presse, plus sévèrement, avec une inquisition plus active, plus cauteleuse, que ne l'a jamais osé le despotisme Ministériel le plus effréné,

Le Roi demande des recherches et des éclaircissemens sur la constitution des Etats-Généraux, et sur le mode de leur convocation, aux Assemblées Provinciales, aux Villes, aux Communautés, aux Corps, aux Savans, aux Gens de Lettres : et ses Ministres arrêtent l'ouvrage posthume d'un des Publicistes les plus réputés de la Nation ! Et soudain la Police, convaincue de sa propre impuissance pour empêcher la circulation d'un Livre, effrayée des réclamations qu'un coup d'autorité si extravagant peut exciter ; la Police, qui n'influe jamais que par l'action et la réaction de la corruption, paie les exemplaires saisis, vend le droit de contrefaire, de publier ce qu'elle vient de proscrire, et ne voit dans ce honteux trafic de tyrannie et de tolérance, que le lucre du privilège exclusif d'un jour !

Le Roi a donné des Assemblées à la plupart de ses Provinces, et le précis des procès-verbaux de

ces Assemblées, ouvrage indispensable, pour en saisir l'ensemble; et pour en mettre les résultats à la portée de tous les Citoyens, ce précis, d'abord permis, puis suspendu, puis arrêté*, ne peut franchir les barrières dont la Police, à l'envi de la Fiscalité, hérisse chaque Province du Royaume, où l'on semble vouloir mettre en quarantaine tous les Livres pour les purifier de la vérité.

Le Roi, par cela même qu'il a consulté tout le monde, a implicitement accordé la liberté de la Presse: et l'on redouble toutes les gênes de la Presse!

Le Roi veut connoître le vœu de son Peuple: et l'on étouffe, avec la plus âpre vigilance, les Ecrits qui peuvent le manifester!

Le Roi veut réunir les esprits et les cœurs: et la plus odieuse des tyrannies, celle qui prétend asservir la pensée, aigrit tous les esprits, indigné tous les cœurs!

Le Roi veut appeler les François à élire librement des Représentans, pour connoître avec lui

* C'est M. Levraut, Imprimeur de Strasbourg, qui éprouve en ce moment cette iniquité. Cet Artiste, recommandable par ses talens, et surtout par sa probité délicate, a, indépendamment de ses principes, trop à perdre pour rien hasarder dans son état. Il n'a donc imprimé ce très-innocent Recueil, qu'après avoir rempli toutes les formalités qui lui sont prescrites; et il n'en souffre pas moins une prohibition absolue, et une perte considérable.

l'état de la Nation, et statuer les remèdes qu'il nécessite : et ses Ministres font tout ce qui est en eux pour que les François ne s'entendent pas, pour que les mille divisions dont la nation inconstituée est viciée depuis plusieurs siècles, viennent se heurter sans point de ralliement, sans moyen d'union et de concours ; pour qu'en un mot l'Assemblée Nationale soit une malheureuse aggrégation de parties ennemies, dont les opérations incohérentes, fausses et désastreuses, nous rejettent, par la haine de l'anarchie, sous la verge du despotisme ; et non un Corps de freres, dirigés par un intérêt commun, animés de principes semblables, pénétrés du même vœu, qui fasse naître un esprit public, fondé sur l'amour et le respect des Loix !

Certes, ils commettent un grand attentat, ceux qui, dans la situation où la France se trouve plongée, arrêtent l'expansion des lumieres. Ils éloignent, ils reculent, ils font avorter autant qu'il est en eux le bien public, l'esprit public, la concorde publique. Ils n'essaient d'aveugler que parce qu'ils ne peuvent convaincre ; ils ne s'humanisent à séduire que parce qu'ils ne peuvent pas corrompre ; ils ne songent à corrompre que parce qu'ils ne sauroient plus intimider : ils voudroient paralyser, mettre aux fers, égorger tout ce qu'ils ne pouroient intimider, corrompre ni séduire : ils craignent l'œil du Peu-

ple, ils veulent tromper le Prince : ce sont les ennemis du Prince, ce sont les ennemis du Peuple*.

Mais les ennemis du Prince et ceux du Peuple n'osent ourdir leurs machinations, et tramer leurs complots, que parce qu'il existe des préjugés qui leur donnent des auxiliaires parmi ceux-là même qui ne sont pas leurs complices. Tel est le plus fatal inconvénient de la gêne de la Presse, de rendre, par l'ignorance ou par l'erreur, des cœurs purs, des hommes timorés, les satellites du despotisme en même temps qu'ils en sont les victimes.

Et, par exemple, une foule d'honnêtes gens, oubliant que le sort des hommes est d'avoir à choisir entre les inconvéniens, seroient sincèrement allarmés de la liberté de la Presse ; graces à la prévention qu'on a su leur donner contre les Ecrivains qui ont paru les apôtres intéressés de cette liberté, parce que quelquefois ils en ont abusé. . . . La liberté de la Presse enfante de mauvais Livres : donc il faut la restreindre. Ceux qu'on appelle philosophes invoquent la liberté de la Presse, et souvent ils l'ont portée jusqu'à la licence : donc il faut se garder de leur doctrine Tel est l'argument favori de ceux qu'on appelle *les honnêtes gens*, et dont en-éfet la

* Cet *à linéa* est presque littéralement dans les *Questions à examiner avant l'Assemblée des Etats-Généraux*, par M. le Marquis des Casaux, penseur profond, et excellent Citoyen du Monde.

morale privée, la probité de détail est très-estimable ; mais qui, faute de généraliser leurs idées, et de saisir l'ensemble du système social, sont vraiment de dangereux citoyens, et les plus funestes ennemis peut-être de l'amélioration des choses humaines.

C'est donc à eux surtout qu'il importe de s'adresser : et, comme je leur suppose de la bonne foi, même avec leurs adversaires, j'ai cru qu'il seroit utile de mettre sous leurs yeux une réfutation de leur argument, poursuivi dans toutes ses conséquences morales, par un homme, au-moins dans cette matière, très-imbu de leurs principes. Il écrivoit il y a 150 ans, dans un siècle tout religieux, où, bien que l'on commençât à discuter les grands intérêts de cette vie, en concurrence avec ceux de l'autre, les raisons théologiques étoient de beaucoup les plus efficaces. On n'a point accusé cet homme d'être un philosophe : et, si dans quelques-uns de ses *Ecrits* MILTON s'est montré républicain violent*, il n'est dans celui-ci, où il s'adresse à la législature de la Grande-Bretagne, qu'un paisible argumentateur.

Je ne prétends pas, milords et messieurs, que l'église et le gouvernement n'aient intérêt à surveiller les livres aussi bien que les hommes, afin, s'ils sont coupables, d'exercer sur eux la même justice

* Il appelle, par exemple, Charles premier, *Nerone neroniorum*.

que sur des malfaiteurs ; car un livre n'est point une chose absolument inanimée. Il est doué d'une vie active comme l'ame qui le produit ; il conserve même cette prérogative de l'intelligence vivante qui lui a donné le jour. Je regarde donc les livres, comme des êtres aussi vivans et aussi féconds que les dents du serpent de la fable ; et j'avouerai que, semés dans le monde, le hasard peut faire qu'ils y produisent des hommes armés. Mais je soutiens que l'existence d'un bon livre ne doit pas plus être compromise que celle d'un bon citoyen ; l'une est aussi respectable que l'autre ; et l'on doit également craindre d'y attenter. Tuer un homme, c'est détruire une créature raisonnable ; mais étouffer un bon livre, c'est tuer la raison elle-même. Quantité d'hommes n'ont qu'une vie purement végétative, et pèsent inutilement sur la terre ; mais un livre est l'essence pure et précieuse d'un esprit supérieur ; c'est une sorte de préparation que le génie donne à son ame, afin qu'elle puisse lui survivre. La perte de la vie, quoiqu'irréparable, peut quelquefois n'être pas un grand mal ; mais il est possible qu'une vérité qu'on aura rejetée, ne se représente plus dans la suite des temps, et que sa perte entraîne le malheur des nations.

Soyons donc circonspects dans nos persécutions contre les travaux des hommes publics. Examinons si nous avons le droit d'attenter à leur vie intellectuelle dans les livres qui en sont les dépositaires ; car c'est une espèce d'homicide, quelque-

fois un martyr, et toujours un vrai massacre, si la proscription s'étend sur la liberté de la presse en général.

Mais afin qu'on ne m'accuse pas d'introduire une licence pernicieuse en m'opposant à la censure des livres, j'entrerai dans quelques détails historiques pour montrer quelle fut, à cet égard, la conduite des gouvernemens les plus célèbres, jusqu'au moment où L'INQUISITION imagina ce beau projet de censure que nos prélats et nos prêtres adoptèrent avec tant d'avidité.

A Athènes, où l'on s'occupoit de livres plus que dans aucune autre partie de la Grèce, je ne trouve que deux sortes d'ouvrages qui aient fixé l'attention des magistrats: les libelles et les écrits blasphématoires. Ainsi les juges de l'aréopage condamnèrent les livres de Protagoras à être brûlés, et le bannirent lui-même, parce qu'à la tête d'un de ses ouvrages, il déclaroit qu'il ne savoit point *s'il y avoit des dieux, ou s'il n'y en avoit pas*. Quant aux libelles, il fut arrêté qu'on ne nommeroit plus personne sur le théâtre, comme on le faisoit dans *l'ancienne comédie*, ce qui nous donne une idée de leur discipline à cet égard. Cicéron prétend que ces mesures suffirent pour empêcher la diffamation, et pour imposer silence aux athées. On ne rechercha point les autres opinions, ni les autres sectes, quoiqu'elles tendissent à la volupté, et à la dénégation de la divine providence; aussi ne voyons-nous point qu'on ait jamais cité devant les

magistrats Epicure, ni l'école licentieuse de Cyrène, ni l'impudence cynique. Nous ne lisons pas non plus qu'on ait imprimé les anciennes pièces de théâtre, quoiqu'il ait été défendu de les jouer. On voit qu'Aristophane, le plus satyrique de tous les poètes comiques, faisoit les délices de Platon, et qu'il en recommandoit la lecture à Denis, son royal disciple ; ce qui ne doit pas paroître extraordinaire, puisque S. Chrysostôme passoit les nuits à lire cet auteur, et savoit mettre à profit, dans des sermons, le sel de ses sarcasmes et de sa piquante ironie.

Quant à la rivale d'Athènes, Lacédémone, le goût de l'instruction de put jamais s'y naturaliser : et certes on doit en être surpris ; car elle eut Lycurgue pour législateur, et Lycurgue n'étoit point un barbare : il avoit cultivé les belles-lettres ; il fut le premier à recueillir dans l'Yonie les œuvres éparses d'Homère ; et même avant l'époque où il donna des loix aux Spartiates, il eut la précaution de leur envoyer le poète Thalès, afin que par la douceur de ses chants, il amollît la férocité de leurs mœurs, et les disposât à recevoir les bienfaits de la législation. Cependant ils négligèrent toujours le commerce des Muses pour les jeux sanglans de Mars. Les censeurs de livres étoient inutiles chez eux, puisqu'ils ne lisoient que leurs apophtegmes laconiques, et que sous le plus léger prétexte, ils chassèrent de leur ville le poète Archiloque, dont tout le crime étoit peut-être de s'être élevé un peu au-dessus de leurs chansons guerrières ; ou si l'ob-

scénité de ses vers fut le prétexte de ce mauvais traitement, on ne doit pas en faire honneur à la continence des Spartiates ; car ils étoient très-dissolus dans leur vie privée, au point qu'Euripidé assure dans son *Andromaque* que toutes les femmes y étoient impudiques. Voilà ce que nous savons de la prohibition des livres chez les Grecs.

Les Romains pendant long-temps marchèrent sur les traces des Spartiates. C'étoit un peuple absolument guerrier. Leurs connoissances politiques et religieuses se réduisoient à la loi des douze tables et aux instructions de leurs prêtres, de leurs augures, de leurs flamines. Ils étoient si étrangers aux autres sciences, qu'alors que Carneade, Critolaus, et Diogène le stoïcien, vinrent en ambassade à Rome et voulurent profiter de cette circonstance pour essayer d'introduire leur philosophie dans cette ville, ils furent regardés comme des suborneurs ; Caton n'hésita point à les dénoncer au sénat, et à demander qu'on purgeât l'Italie de ces babillards attiques. Mais Scipion et quelques autres sénateurs s'opposèrent à cette proscription ; ils s'empressèrent de rendre hommage aux philosophes athéniens ; et Caton lui-même changea si bien de sentiment par la suite, qu'il se livra tout entier, dans sa vieillesse, à l'étude de ces connoissances qui d'abord avoient excité son indignation.

Pendant vers le même temps Nævius et Plaute, les premiers comiques romains, offrirent sur le théâtre des scènes empruntées de Menandre et de

Philémon. Ici, s'ouvre le beau siècle de la littérature latine, époque à laquelle les Romains surent enfin allier la gloire des lettres à celle des armes. Etouffées par la tyrannie, ces deux moissons renaissent sous l'influence de la liberté républicaine. Lucrèce chante l'athéisme ; il le réduit en système, et cherche à l'embellir des charmes de la poésie ; tout le monde applaudit à ses beaux vers : il les dédie à son ami Memmius, sans que personne lui en fasse un crime : on ne persécuta ni l'auteur, ni l'ouvrage, parce qu'on sait que la liberté publique repose sur la liberté de la pensée : César même respecta les annales de Tite-Live, quoiqu'on y célébrât le parti de Pompée.

Oui, malgré les proscriptions, le luxe corrupteur et toutes les causes qui se réunirent pour miner le vaste édifice de la grandeur romaine ; si Rome eût conservé l'indépendance de la pensée, elle ne seroit jamais devenue l'opprobre des nations : jamais elle n'auroit subi le joug des monstres qui l'enchaînèrent et l'avilirent, si la servitude intellectuelle n'eût préparé la servitude politique. Aussi lisons-nous que sous Auguste les libelles furent brûlés, et leurs auteurs punis. Et cet attentat étoit si nouveau, que le magistrat ne s'enquéroit point encore de quelle manière un livre arrivoit dans le monde. On n'inquiéta pas même la muse satyrique de Catulle et d'Horace. Peut être dira-t-on qu'Ovide, dans un âge avancé, fut exilé pour les poésies licentieuses de sa jeunesse. Mais on sait qu'une

cause secrète fut le motif de son exil, et ses livres ne furent ni bannis ni supprimés.

Enfin, nous arrivons aux siècles de tyrannie, où l'on ne doit pas être surpris qu'on étouffât les bons livres plus souvent que les mauvais. Que dis-je ? il n'étoit plus permis de parler ni d'écrire. Le despotisme eût voulu donner des fers à la pensée même. Tacite peint en un trait ces temps déplora- bles : nous eussions perdu, dit-il, la mémoire avec la voix, s'il étoit aussi bien au pouvoir de l'homme d'oublier que de se taire*.

Quand les Empereurs eurent embrassé le christi- anisme, nous ne trouvons pas qu'ils aient mis de sévérité dans leur discipline à l'égard des produc- tions de l'esprit. Les livres de ceux que l'on re- gardoit comme de grands hérétiques étoient exa- minés, réfutés et condamnés dans un concile général. Jusque-là ils n'étoient ni proscrits, ni brûlés par ordre de l'empereur. Quant aux livres des païens, on ne trouve pas d'exemple d'un seul ouvrage qui ait été prohibé jusque vers l'an 400 au concile de Carthage, où l'on défendit aux évêques même la lecture des livres des gentils ; mais on leur laissa la liberté de consulter ceux des hérétiques, tandis que leurs prédécesseurs, long-temps auparavant, se fai- soient moins de scrupule de lire les livres des païens que ceux des hérésiarques.

* *Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdissemus si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.*

Le père Paolo, le grand démasqueur du concile de Trente, a déjà observé que jusqu'après l'an 800, les premiers conciles et les évêques étoient dans l'usage de déclarer seulement les livres dont on devoit éviter la lecture, laissant néanmoins à chacun, la liberté de faire selon sa conscience, ainsi qu'il le jugeroit à propos. Mais les papes, attirant à eux toute la liberté politique, exercèrent sur les yeux des hommes le même despotisme qu'ils avoient exercé sur leurs jugemens; ils brûlèrent et prohibèrent au gré de leur caprice; cependant ils furent d'abord économes de leurs censures, et l'on ne trouve pas beaucoup de livres auxquels ils aient fait cet honneur jusqu'à Martin V qui, le premier par sa bulle, non-seulement prohiba les livres des hérétiques, mais encore excommunia tous ceux qui s'aviseroient de les lire. C'est à peu près dans ce temps que les Wicklef et les Huss se rendirent redoutables, ce qui détermina la cour papale à renforcer la police des prohibitions. Leon X et ses successeurs suivirent cet exemple.

Enfin le concile de Trente et l'inquisition espagnole s'accouplant ensemble, produisirent ou perfectionnèrent ces catalogues, ces *index* expurgatoires qui, fouillant jusque dans les entrailles des bons auteurs anciens, les outragèrent bien plus indignement qu'aucune profanation qu'on eût pu se permettre sur leurs tombeaux. Et non-seulement cette opération se faisoit sur les livres des hérétiques; mais, dans quelque matière que ce fût,

tout ce qui n'agréoit point à ces révérences étoit impitoyablement prohibé. En un mot (comme si Saint Pierre, en leur confiant les clefs du paradis, leur avoit aussi remis celles de l'imprimerie!) pour combler la mesure des prohibitions, leur dernière invention fut d'ordonner qu'aucun livre, brochure ou papier, ne pourroient être imprimés sans l'approbation de deux ou trois frères inquisiteurs. Par exemple :

“ Que le chancelier *Cini* ait la complaisance d'examiner si le présent manuscrit ne contient rien qui puisse en empêcher l'impression.”

“ *Vincent Rabbata*, vicaire de *Florence*.”

“ J'ai lu le présent manuscrit, et je n'y ai rien trouvé contre la foi catholique, ni contre les bonnes mœurs : en témoignage de quoi j'ai donné, &c.”

“ *Nicolas Cini*, chancelier de *Florence*.”

“ D'après le compte rendu ci-dessus, permis d'imprimer le présent manuscrit.”

“ *Vincent Rabbata*, &c.”

“ Permis d'imprimer le 15 juillet.”

“ *Frère Simon Mompei d'Amelia*,
chancelier du saint-office à *Florence*.”

Ils étoient sûrement persuadés que si depuis long-temps le malin esprit n'eût pas brisé sa prison,

ce quadruple exorcisme eût été capable de l'y retenir. Veut-on voir une autre formule ?

“ *Imprimatur*, s'il plaît au révérend maître du saint palais.”

“ *Belcastro*, vice-gérent.”

“ *Imprimatur*, frère *Nicolo Rodolphe*, maître du saint palais.”

Quelquefois à la première page du livre, on voit cinq de ces *imprimatur* qui s'appellent l'un l'autre, se complimentent et forment entr'eux un dialogue ; tandis que le pauvre auteur, au bas de son épître, attend respectueusement leur décision, et ne sait s'il obtiendra les honneurs de la presse ou de l'éponge.

Telle est l'origine de la coutume d'approuver les livres. Nous ne la trouvons établie par aucun gouvernement ancien, ni par aucun statut de nos ancêtres : elle est le fruit du concile le plus anti-chrétien et de l'inquisition la plus tyrannique. Jusqu'à cette époque, les livres arrivoient librement dans le monde, comme toutes les autres productions de la nature. On ne faisoit pas plus avorter l'esprit que les entrailles. Imposer à un livre une condition pire que celle d'une ame pécheresse, et l'obliger, avant d'avoir vu le jour, à paroître devant Radamante et ses collègues, pour subir son jugement dans les ténèbres, c'est une

tyrannie dont on n'avoit pas d'exemple, jusqu'à cette mystérieuse iniquité qui, troublée aux approches de la réforme, imagina de nouvelles limbes et de nouveaux enfers, pour y renfermer nos livres et leur faire subir le sort des réprouvés : sage précaution qui fut admirablement prônée et imitée par nos évêques inquisiteurs, aussi bien que par les derniers supports de leur clergé !

Dira-t-on que la chose en elle-même peut être bonne, quoique provenant d'une source impure ? Mais si elle est directement contraire aux progrès des lumières, si les gouvernemens les plus sages dans aucun temps ni dans aucun pays, ne l'ont mise en pratique, si elle n'a été imaginée que par des charlatans et des oppresseurs, on aura beau la mettre au creuset, il n'en résultera jamais le moindre bien : la connoissance de l'arbre ne peut qu'inspirer de la méfiance pour le fruit. Cependant, voyons si la liberté illimitée de la presse, ne produit pas plus de bien que de mal.

Je n'insisterai point sur les exemples de Moïse, de Daniel et de Paul, qui se montrèrent si habiles dans les connoissances des Egyptiens, des Chaldéens et des Grecs, ce qu'ils n'auroient pas fait sans doute, s'ils n'avoient pu lire indistinctement les livres de ces différentes nations ; Paul, sur-tout, qui ne crut pas souiller l'écriture sainte en y insérant quelques passages des poètes grecs. Cependant, cette question fut agitée parmi les docteurs de la primitive église ; mais l'avantage resta du

côté de ceux qui soutenoient que la chose étoit à la fois utile et légitime. On en eut une preuve bien évidente, lorsque l'empereur Julien défendit aux chrétiens de lire les livres des idolâtres, parce qu'il vouloit plonger ces même chrétiens dans l'ignorance; et en effet, il y seroit parvenu, car les deux Apolinaires furent obligés de chercher dans la bible la connoissance des sept arts libéraux, et de créer une nouvelle grammaire chrétienne. La Providence, dit l'historien Socrate, fit plus que toute la sagacité d'Apollinaire et de son fils; elle anéantit cette loi barbare en ôtant la vie à celui qui l'avoit promulguée. Cette défense de s'instruire de la littérature des Grecs, parut plus outrageante et plus pernicieuse à l'église que les persécutions les plus cruelles des Décus et des Dioclétien.

Mais laissant-là l'érudition, les autorités, les exemples, et remontant à la nature des choses, je dirai: lorsque DIEU permit à l'homme d'user modérément de toutes les productions de la nature, il voulut aussi que l'esprit jouît du même privilège; et quoique la tempérance soit une des plus grandes vertus, DIEU la recommanda simplement aux hommes, sans rien prescrire de particulier à cet égard, afin que chaque individu pût la pratiquer à sa manière.

Le bien et le mal ne croissent point séparément dans le champ fécond de la vie; ils germent l'un à côté de l'autre, et entrelacent leurs branches

d'une manière inextricable. La connoissance de l'un est donc nécessairement liée à celle de l'autre. Renfermés sous l'enveloppe de la pomme dans laquelle mordit notre premier père, ils s'en échappèrent au même instant; et tels que deux jumeaux, ils entrèrent à la fois dans le monde. Peut-être même dans l'état où nous sommes, ne pouvons-nous parvenir au bien que par la connoissance du mal; car, comment choisira-t-on la sagesse? comment l'innocence pourra-t-elle se préserver des atteintes du vice, si elle n'en a pas quelque idée? et puisqu'il faut absolument observer la marche des vicieux pour se conduire sagement dans le monde; puisqu'il faut aussi démêler l'erreur pour arriver à la vérité, est-il une méthode moins dangereuse de parvenir à ce but, que celle d'écouter et de lire toute sorte de traités et de raisonnemens? avantage qu'on ne peut se procurer qu'en lisant indistinctement toutes sortes de livres.

Craindra-t-on qu'avec cette liberté indéfinie l'esprit ne soit bientôt infecté du venin de l'erreur?

Il faudroit, par la même considération anéantir toutes les connoissances humaines, ne plus disputer sur aucune doctrine, sur aucun point de religion, et supprimer même les livres sacrés; car souvent on y trouve des blasphêmes; les plaisirs charnels des méchans y sont décrits sans beaucoup de ménagemens; les hommes les plus saints y murmurent quelquefois contre la Providence, à la manière

d'Epicure; il s'y rencontre une foule de passages ambigus et susceptibles d'être mal interprétés par des lecteurs vulgaires. Personne n'ignore que c'est à cause de toutes ces raisons que les papistes ont mis la bible au premier rang des livres prohibés.

Nous serions également obligés de défendre la lecture des anciens pères de l'église, tels que Clément d'Alexandrie et Eusèbe, qui, dans son livre, nous transmet une foule d'obscénités païennes, pour nous préparer à recevoir l'évangile. Jérôme, &c. dévoilent encore plus d'hérésies qu'ils n'en réfutent; que souvent ils confondent l'hérésie avec l'opinion orthodoxe? Et qu'on ne dise pas qu'il faut faire grace aux auteurs de l'antiquité, parce qu'ils ont écrit dans un langage qu'on ne parle plus; puisqu'ils sont journellement lus et médités par des gens qui peuvent en répandre le venin dans les sociétés, et même à la cour des princes dont ils font les délices; des gens peut-être, tels que Pétrone, que Néron appelloit *son arbitre*, et qui avoit l'intendance des plaisirs nocturnes de cet empereur; ou tel que l'Arétin, ce fameux impudique qu'on redoutoit, et qui cependant étoit cher à tous les courtisans de l'Italie; je ne nommerai point, par respect pour sa postérité, celui que Henri VIII appelloit, en plaisantant, son *vicair de l'enfer* *.

Si donc il est démontré que les livres qui pa-

* Cromwel, un des ancêtres du protecteur par les femmes.

roissent influer le plus sur nos mœurs et sur nos opinions, ne peuvent être supprimés sans entraîner la chute des connoissances humaines, et que lors même qu'on parviendroit à les soustraire tous, les mœurs ne laisseroient pas de se corrompre par une infinité d'autres voies qu'il est impossible de fermer ; enfin si, malgré les livres, il faut encore l'enseignement pour propager les mauvaises doctrines ; ce qui pourroit avoir tout aussi bien lieu, quoiqu'ils fussent prohibés, on sera forcé de conclure qu'envisagé sous ce point de vue, le système insidieux des approbations est du moins parfaitement inutile ; et ceux qui le mettent en pratique dans un sincère espoir d'élever une barrière contre le mal, on pourroit les comparer à ce bon homme qui croyoit retenir des corneilles en fermant la porte de son parc.

D'ailleurs, comment confier ces livres, dont les hommes instruits tirent eux-mêmes quelquefois le vice et l'erreur pour les répandre ensuite chez les autres ; comment confier ces livres à des censeurs, à moins qu'on ne leur confère, ou qu'ils ne puissent se donner à eux-mêmes le privilège de l'incorruption et de l'infailibilité* ? encore, s'il est vrai, que semblable au bon chymiste, l'homme sage

* En France, un censeur qui s'avise de faire la moindre brochure, est obligé de la faire approuver par un de ses confrères ; mais si le gouvernement se méfie d'un censeur au point de ne pas lui permettre de publier ses propres ouvrages sans approbation, comment peut-il lui confier le droit d'approuver ou de désapprouver ceux des autres ?

peut extraire de l'or d'un volume rempli d'ordures, tandis que le meilleur livre n'avise point un fou, quelle est donc la raison qui feroit priver l'homme sage des avantages de sa sagesse, sans qu'il en résulte le moindre bien pour les fous, puisqu'avec des livres ou sans livres, ils n'en extravagueront pas moins ?

Mais pourquoi nous exposer aux tentations sans nécessité ? pourquoi consacrer notre temps à des choses vaines et inutiles ?

Futiles objections ! les livres ne sont pas des objets inutiles ni tentateurs pour tous les hommes. Quant aux enfans et aux hommes enfans qui ne savent pas les mettre à profit, on peut leur recommander de s'en abstenir ; mais jamais les y forcer, quelque moyen que puisse imaginer la sainte inquisition ; et si l'on parvient à démontrer cette assertion, il faudra convenir que le projet de censurer les livres ne sauroit remplir son but.

On a déjà vu qu'aucune nation policée n'avoit fait usage de cette méthode, et que c'étoit une invention de la politique moderne. Si les anciens ne l'ont point imaginée, ce n'est pas sans doute qu'elle fût bien difficile à découvrir (rien n'est plus aisé que de défendre *), mais parce qu'ils ne l'ont point

* Les peines et les prohibitions sont à la portée des esprits les plus bornés ; on peut les regarder comme le *pont aux ânes* des politiques. Ils les considèrent comme une manière expéditive de remédier à tout. Cependant une longue expérience devoit bien leur avoir appris qu'elles ne remédient à rien.

approuvée. Platon semble bannir les livres de sa république ; mais on voit bien que ses loix étoient faites pour une république imaginaire, puisque le législateur étoit le premier à les transgresser, et que ses propres magistrats auroient eu le droit de le chasser pour ses dialogues et ses épigrammes graveleuses, pour ses lectures journalières de Sophron, de Mimus et d'Aristophane, livres remplis d'infamies, le dernier sur-tout, et dont cependant Platon recommandoit la lecture à Denys, qui pouvoit employer son temps à tout autre chose. Aussi, ni Platon lui-même, ni les magistras d'aucun pays, ne s'avisèrent jamais de faire observer les loix qu'il a tracées pour sa république imaginaire.

Si nous voulons subordonner la presse à des réglemens avantageux pour les mœurs, il faudra soumettre à la même inspection les plaisirs et les divertissemens : il faudra des censeurs pour le chant, qui ne permettront que des sons graves et doriques ; car la musique est encore une source de corruption : il en faudra pour la danse, afin qu'on n'enseigne aucun geste indécent à notre jeunesse, chose à laquelle Platon n'a pas manqué de faire attention : vingt censeurs auront assez d'occupation dans chaque maison pour inspecter les guitares, les violons et les clavecins ; il ne faudra pas qu'ils permettent qu'on jase comme on fait aujourd'hui, mais qu'ils règlent tous les discours qu'on devra tenir. Et comment empêcher la contrebande des soupirs, des déclarations et des

madrigaux qui s'échapperont à voix basse dans les appartemens ? ne seront-ce pas autant de *marrons* * qui circuleront sous les yeux même du censeur ? ne faudra-t-il pas également surveiller les fenêtres et les balcons ? ne sont-ils pas garnis de livres dont les dangereux frontispices appellent l'acheteur ? où trouver assez de censeurs pour empêcher ce commerce ?

Cette inquisition ne doit pas se borner à la ville ; il faudra départir des commissaires dans les campagnes pour inspecter les livres des magistrats et des ménétriers ; car ils sont les philosophes et les romanciers du village. Et puis, quelle plus grande source de corruption que notre gloutonnerie domestique ? où trouver assez de censeurs pour régler nos tables et pour empêcher que la multitude ne s'enivre dans les tavernes ? on ne doit pas non plus laisser à chacun la liberté de s'habiller comme il lui plaît ; la décence veut qu'il y ait des censeurs qui président à la coupe des habits. Enfin, qui pourra prohiber les visites oisives et les mauvaises sociétés ?

Tous ces inconvéniens existent, et ils doivent exister. Un sage gouvernement ne cherche

* On sait que ce mot *marron* est le terme d'argot en librairie, pour exprimer un livre défendu ou publié en contravention aux réglemens, tant il est d'instinct universel chez nous, que les livres et leurs auteurs sont les *négres* des censeurs. Ces sobriquets populaires sont en général des indices assez sûrs de l'état de situation d'un peuple. En France, on appelle le peuple, c'est-à-dire la plus grande partie de la nation, *la canaille*. En Angleterre on l'appelle, *John Bull*, le taureau.

pas à les détruire; il n'en a ni le droit, ni le pouvoir; mais à combiner leur action avec le bien général de la société. Pour améliorer notre condition, il ne s'agit point de réaliser les systèmes impraticables de l'Atlantide et de l'Utopie, mais de régler sagement le monde dans lequel l'Être suprême nous a placés, sans oublier que le mal entre dans ses parties constitutives. Ce n'est point en ôtant la liberté de la presse, que l'on pourra se flatter de parvenir à cette fin, puisque les moindres objets exigeroient la même censure; et qu'ainsi, par cette méthode, nous ne ferions que nous donner des entraves ridicules et inutiles. C'est par les loix non écrites, ou du moins non forcées, d'une bonne éducation, que Platon regarde comme le lien des corps politiques, et la base fondamentale des loix positives; c'est sur cette base, dis-je, qu'il faut élever l'édifice des mœurs, et non sur l'appui dérisoire d'une censure qu'il est si facile d'éluder, et dont les inconvéniens ne sont jamais compensés par le moindre avantage.

La négligence et l'impunité ne peuvent qu'être funestes à tous les gouvernemens: le grand art consiste à savoir les choses que l'on doit prohiber, celles qu'on doit punir, et celles où il ne faut employer que la persuasion. Si toutes les actions, bonnes ou mauvaises, qui appartiennent à l'âge mûr, pouvoient être taillées, prescrites et contraintes, la vertu ne seroit plus qu'un nom. Comment pourroit-on louer un homme de sa bonne conduite, de

sa probité, de sa justice ou de sa tempérance ? Qu'ils sont fous, ceux qui osent blâmer la divine Providence, d'avoir souffert que le premier homme tombât dans le crime ! Lorsque DIEU lui donna la raison, il lui donna la liberté de choisir, car c'est cette faculté qui constitue la raison : autrement, l'homme n'eût été qu'une machine. Nous-mêmes, nous n'estimons l'amour, les bienfaits, la reconnaissance, qu'autant qu'ils sont volontaires. DIEU donc créa le premier homme libre ; c'étoit le seul moyen de rendre son abstinence méritoire : et pourquoi l'Être suprême a-t-il mis le siège des passions en nous, et la foule des plaisirs autour de nous, si ce n'est afin que, modérés par nous, ils devinssent l'assaisonnement de la vertu ?

Ils sont donc bien peu versés dans la connoissance des choses humaines, ceux qui s'imaginent qu'écarter les objets, c'est écarter le mal ; car, outre qu'ils se reproduisent toujours, quand on viendrait à bout d'en dérober passagèrement une partie à quelques personnes, cette précaution ne pourra jamais s'étendre à l'universalité, sur-tout dans une chose aussi générale que les livres ; et quand on y parviendrait, le mal n'en existeroit pas moins. Vous pouvez enlever son or à un avare, mais il lui reste toujours un bijou, dont il n'est pas en votre pouvoir de le priver ; c'est-à-dire son avarice. Bannissez tous les objets de convoitise, enfermez la jeunesse sous des verrous, par cette méthode, vous ne rendrez chastes que ceux qui

l'étoient avant d'être soumis à votre discipline; tant il faut de soin et de sagesse, pour bien diriger les hommes.

Supposons que, par ces moyens, vous puissiez écarter le mal: autant vous écarterez de maux, autant vous éloignez de vertus; car le fonds en est le même; ils ont une source commune; leur existence est proprement relative, et se rapporte à des combinaisons étrangères au principe qui les produit. Nous naviguons diversement sur le vaste océan de la vie*: la raison en est la boussole, mais la passion en est le vent. Ce n'est pas dans le calme seul que l'on trouve la divinité: DIEU marche sur les flots, et monte sur les vents. Les passions, ainsi que les élémens, quoique nées pour combattre, cependant mêlées et adoucies, s'unissent dans l'ouvrage de DIEU: il n'a point renversé les passions; il n'a fait que les modérer, et il les a employées. Que les gouvernemens soient dociles à la nature et à DIEU: il nous recommande la

* *Nous naviguons diversement sur le vaste océan de la vie, &c.] Mirabeau has deviated but little from his original; here, however, he has introduced a passage from Pope's *Essay on Man*; but not with any particular aptness of appropriation:*

“ On life's vast ocean diversely we sail,
 “ Reason the card, but Passion is the gale;
 “ Nor God alone in the still calm we find,
 “ He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind.
 “ Passions, like Elements, tho' born to fight,
 “ Yet, mix'd and soften'd, in his work unite:
 “ These 'tis enough to temper and employ.”

Ep. II.

tempérance, la justice, la continence, et cependant il verse autour de nous les biens avec profusion, et il nous donne des desirs illimités. Pourquoi les législateurs des humains, suivroient-ils une marche contraire, lorsqu'il s'agit de l'instruction humaine, puisque les livres permis indistinctement, peuvent à la fois épurer les vertus, et contribuer à la découverte de la vérité ? peut-être vaudroit-il mieux apprendre que la loi qui prohibe est essentiellement vaine, incertaine, et qu'elle repose sur le bien comme sur le mal. Si j'avois à choisir, la moindre somme de bien me paroîtroit préférable à la suite forcée de la plus grande quantité de mal, car le libre développement d'un être vertueux, est sans doute plus agréable à l'Être suprême que la contrainte de dix êtres-vicieux.

Puisque tout ce que nous voyons, ou que nous entendons, soit assis, soit dans les promenades, soit dans les conversations ou dans les voyages, peut s'appeler proprement notre livre, et produit sur nous le même effet que les écrits ; il est évident que, si l'on ne peut supprimer que les livres, cette prohibition ne parviendra jamais aux fins qu'elle se propose ; si l'on n'envisage que l'intérêt des mœurs, qu'on jette les yeux sur l'Italie et sur l'Espagne, ces nations se sont-elles améliorées depuis que l'inquisition a pris à tâche d'y proscrire les livres.

Et si vous voulez une preuve irrévocable de l'impossibilité que cette institution puisse jamais remplir son but, considérez les qualités qu'exige la

place de censeur. Celui qui s'établit juge de la naissance ou de la mort d'un livre, qui peut à son gré le faire entrer dans le monde, ou le replonger dans le néant, doit, sans doute, l'emporter infiniment sur les autres hommes, par ses lumières ou son équité : autrement il feroit des injustices ou des méprises, ce qui ne seroit pas un moindre mal. S'il a le mérite nécessaire pour de si importantes fonctions, c'est lui imposer une tâche ennuyeuse et fatigante, c'est vouloir qu'il se consume à lire perpétuellement le premier manuscrit qui se présentera. En vérité, pour peu qu'un homme apprécie son temps et ses études, il ne sauroit se charger d'une pareille tâche, mais si l'on ne peut espérer que les hommes de mérite se l'imposent, qui ne prévoit en quelles mains doit tomber la dignité de censeur ?

Voyons cependant si sous quelque autre rapport il peut résulter du bien de la censure. C'est d'abord un affront et un grand motif de découragement pour les lettres et pour ceux qui les cultivent. Sur le moindre bruit d'une motion pour empêcher la pluralité des bénéfices, et distribuer plus équitablement les revenus de l'église, les prélats se sont récriés que ce seroit décourager et éteindre toute espèce d'érudition. Mais je n'ai jamais trouvé de raison de croire que l'existence de connoissances humaines tînt à l'existence du clergé ; et j'ai toujours regardé ce propos sordide comme indigne de tout homme d'église auquel on laissoit l'absolu nécessaire. Si donc vous êtes destinés, milords et

messieurs, à décourager entièrement, non la troupe mercenaire des faux savans, mais ceux que leur vocation appelle à cultiver les lettres, sans autre motif que de servir DIEU et la vérité, peut-être aussi dans l'attente de cette renommée future et des éloges de la postérité, que le ciel et les hommes assignent pour récompense à ceux dont les ouvrages contribuent au bonheur de l'humanité; s'il faut, dis-je, que vous les découragiez absolument, sachez que vous ne pouvez pas leur faire un plus grand outrage que celui de vous méfier de leur jugement et de leur honnêteté, au point de les soumettre à un tuteur sous lequel ils ne puissent jamais donner l'essor à leur pensée.

Et quelle différence y aura-t-il entre l'homme de lettres et l'enfant qu'on envoie à l'école, si, délivré de la férule, il faut qu'il tombe sous la touche du censeur? si, semblables aux thèmes d'un écolier, des ouvrages travaillés avec soin, ne peuvent voir le jour sans la revision prompte ou tardive d'un approbateur? Celui qui, dans sa patrie, se voit privé de la liberté de ses actions, n'a-t-il pas lieu de croire qu'on l'y regarde comme un étranger, ou comme un fou?

Un homme qui écrit apelle toute sa raison à son secours. Après avoir pris tous les renseignemens possibles sur le sujet qu'il traite, il ne se contente pas de ses recherches et de ses méditations; il consulte encore des amis. Si toutes ces précautions dans l'acte le moins équivoque de la maturité de son esprit, si les années entières qu'il y em-

ploie et les preuves antérieures de son habileté, ne peuvent jamais rassurer sur son compte, à moins que le fruit de ses veilles ne passe sous les yeux d'un censeur, quelquefois plus jeune, moins judicieux, et peut-être ignorant absolument ce que c'est que d'écrire; en un mot, si l'auteur, échappant à la proscription, ne peut, après plusieurs délais, se présenter à l'impression que comme un mineur accompagné de celui qui le tient sous sa tutèle; s'il faut enfin, que la signature du censeur lui serve de caution et garantisse au public qu'il n'est ni corrupteur, ni imbécille, c'est avilir, c'est dégrader à la fois l'auteur et le livre, et flétrir en quelque sorte la dignité des lettres.

Comment un écrivain qui craint de voir mutiler ses meilleures pensées, et d'être forcé de publier un ouvrage imparfait, ce qui sans doute est la plus cruelle vexation, comment cet écrivain osera-t-il donner l'essor à son génie? où trouvera-t-il cette noble assurance qui convient à celui qui enseigne des vérités nouvelles et sans laquelle vaudroit autant qu'il se tût; s'il sait que toutes ses phrases seront soumises à l'inspection et à la correction d'un censeur qui peut, au gré de son caprice, effacer ou altérer ce qui ne s'accordera point avec son humeur réprimante qu'il appelle son jugement? s'il sait qu'à la vue de la pédantesque approbation, le lecteur malin jettera le volume, en se moquant du docteur qu'on mène par les lisières?

Qu'on examine les livres munis d'approbation,

on verra qu'ils ne contiennent que les idées les plus communes, et par cela même souvent les plus fausses. En effet, d'après sa mission, le censeur ne peut laisser circuler que les vérités triviales, pour lesquelles ce n'étoit pas la peine d'écrire, ou les erreurs favorisées. Par un abus encore plus déplorable, quand il s'agit d'imprimer ou de réimprimer les œuvres d'un écrivain mort depuis longtemps, et dont la réputation est consacrée, s'y trouve-t-il une pensée féconde, échappée au zèle de l'enthousiasme? il faudra qu'elle périsse sous le scalpel de la censure. Ainsi, par la timidité, la présomption ou l'incapacité d'un censeur, l'opinion d'un grand homme sera perdue pour la postérité. . . . Si ceux qui en ont le pouvoir ne s'empressent pas de remédier à cet abus, s'ils permettent qu'on traite aussi indignement les productions orphelines des grands hommes, quelle sera donc la condition de ces êtres privilégiés, qui auront le malheur d'avoir du génie? ne faudra-t-il pas qu'ils cessent d'instruire ou qu'ils apportent le plus grand soin à cacher leurs connoissances, puisque l'ignorance, la paresse, la sottise, deviendront les qualités les plus desirables et les seules qui pourront assurer le bonheur et la tranquillité de la vie?

Et comme c'est un mépris particulier pour chaque auteur vivant, et une indignité plus outrageante encore pour les morts, n'est-ce pas aussi dégrader et avilir toute la nation? Il m'est impossible de comprendre par quelle adresse on pour-

roit renfermer dans vingt têtes, quelques bonnes qu'on les suppose, le jugement de savoir, l'esprit et l'érudition de tout un peuple. Encore moins concevrai-je la nécessité qu'elles en aient la surintendance, que toutes les idées passent à leur couloir, et que cette monnaie ne puisse avoir de cours si elle n'est pas frappée à leur coin. L'intelligence et la vérité ne sont pas des denrées propres au monopole, ni dont on doive soumettre le commerce à des réglemens particuliers. Eh quoi ! prétend-on les emmagasiner et les marquer comme nos draps et nos laines ! Quelle honteuse servitude, s'il faut que vingt censeurs taillent toutes les plumes dont nous voudrions nous servir !

Si l'on vouloit punir un auteur qui, contre sa raison et sa conscience, se seroit permis des ouvrages scandaleux et attentatoires à l'honnêteté publique, quelle plus grande flétrissure pourroit-on lui infliger, que d'ordonner qu'à l'avenir toutes ses autres productions seroient révisées et ne paroïtroient qu'avec l'attache d'un censeur. Et c'est toute une nation ! c'est l'universalité des gens de lettres qu'on réduit à cette condition humiliante ! On laisse des débiteurs, des coupables même aller sur leur parole ; et un livre inoffensif ne pourra se présenter dans le monde sans qu'on voie son geolier sur le frontispice ? N'est-ce donc pas là un affront pour le peuple ? n'est-ce pas supposer toute la classe des lecteurs dans un état d'ineptie ou de perversité qui demande qu'on dirige leurs lectures ? Croit-on que si l'on n'avoit pas cette charité pour

eux, ils n'auroient jamais l'esprit de prendre la bonne nourriture et de laisser le poison ?

En un mot, on ne peut pas regarder la censure des livres comme une méthode dictée par la sagesse ; car, si c'étoit un moyen sage, il faudroit l'appliquer à tout ; il n'y auroit pas de raison pour qu'on s'en servît pour les livres, plutôt que pour toute autre chose ; c'est-là sans doute une invincible démonstration que ce moyen n'est bon à rien.

Et de peur, messieurs, qu'on ne vous dise que ce découragement des gens de lettres sous la férule des censeurs, n'est qu'une crainte chimérique, souffrez que je vous rapporte ce que j'ai vu et ce que j'ai entendu dans les pays où règne cette espèce de tyrannie. Lorsque je me suis trouvé parmi les gens de lettres de ces nations, car j'ai eu quelquefois cet honneur, ils n'ont cessé de me féliciter d'être né dans un pays qu'ils supposoient libre ; tandis qu'eux-mêmes, ils ne faisoient autre chose que déplorer la servile condition à laquelle les gens instruits se trouvoient réduits parmi eux. Ils prétendoient qu'ainsi s'étoit perdue la gloire des lettres en Italie, et que depuis plusieurs années on n'y écrivoit plus que de plates adulations, de coupables mensonges, ou d'insipides niaiseries. C'est-là que j'ai visité le célèbre Galilée, blanchi dans les fers de l'inquisition, pour avoir eu sur l'astronomie des opinions différentes de celles des approbateurs franciscains et dominicains. Quoique je fusse fort bien que l'Angleterre gémissoit sous le joug de la prélature, je recevois néanmoins comme un gage

de son bonheur à venir, la certitude actuelle de sa liberté que je trouvois si bien établie entre toutes les nations. J'ignorois cependant que ma patrie renfermoit alors dans son sein les dignes auteurs de sa délivrance, qui ne sera jamais oubliée, quelque révolution que le monde doive subir. Mais, lorsque j'entendois les gens de lettres des autres contrées gémir sur l'inquisition qui les asservissoit ; je ne croyois pas qu'un projet de censure dût forcer ceux de mon pays à former de pareilles plaintes contre le parlement. Elles étoient générales quand je me suis permis de m'y joindre ; ce n'est point ma cause particulière dont j'ai entrepris la défense ; c'est la cause commune de tous ceux qui cultivent les lettres et consacrent leurs veilles à éclairer les hommes.

Que ferez-vous donc, messieurs ? Supprimerez-vous cette brillante moisson de lumières qui, de jour en jour, nous promet une récolte si heureuse ? la soumettez-vous à l'oligarchie de vingt monopoleurs pour qu'ils ramènent les temps de disette et affament entièrement nos esprits ? Croyez que ceux qui donnent un semblable conseil ne sont pas moins ennemis de l'état, que s'ils conseilloyent de vous supprimer vous-mêmes.

En effet, si l'on cherche la cause immédiate de la liberté de penser et d'écrire, on ne la trouvera que dans la liberté douce et humaine de votre gouvernement. Cette liberté que nous devons à votre valeur et à votre sagesse fut toujours la mère du génie. C'est elle qui, pareille à l'influ-

ence des cieux, est venue tout-à-coup élever et vivifier nos esprits. Vous ne pouvez maintenant nous rendre moins éclairés, moins avides de la vérité, à moins que vous ne commenciez par le devenir vous-mêmes ; à moins que vous ne détruisiez votre ouvrage, en renversant de vos propres mains l'édifice de la liberté.

Nous pouvons encore rentrer dans l'ignorance, dans l'abrutissement, dans la servitude. Mais auparavant, ce qui n'est pas possible, il faut que vous deveniez oppresseurs, despotes, tyrans, comme l'étoient ceux dont vous nous avez affranchis. Et si nous sommes plus intelligens, si nos pensées ont pris un nouvel essor ; enfin, si nous sommes devenus capables de grandes choses, n'est-ce pas une suite de vos propres vertus qui se sont identifiées en nous ? pouvez-vous les y étouffer sans renouveler et renforcer cette loi barbare, qui donnoit aux pères le droit d'égorger leurs enfans ? Et qui pourra se charger alors de conduire un troupeau d'aveugles ? Otez-moi toutes les autres libertés ; mais laissez-moi celle de parler et d'écrire selon ma conscience.

Et quel temps fut jamais plus favorable à la liberté de la presse ? le temple de Janus est fermé ; c'est-à-dire, on ne se bat plus pour des mots ; ce seroit faire injure à la vérité, que de croire qu'elle pût être arrachée par le vent des doctrines contraires : qu'elles en viennent aux mains, et vous verrez de quel côté restera la victoire. La vérité ent-elle jamais le dessous quand elle fut attaquée

à découvert, et qu'on lui laissa la liberté de se défendre? Réfuter librement l'erreur est le plus sûr moyen de la détruire. Quelle contradiction ne seroit-ce pas, si, tandis que l'homme sage nous exhorteroit à fouiller avidement par-tout pour découvrir le trésor caché de la vérité, le gouvernement venoit arrêter nos recherches et soumettre nos connoissances à des loix prohibitives?

Lorsqu'un homme a creusé la profonde mine des connoissances humaines, lorsqu'il en a extrait les découvertes qu'il veut mettre au grand jour, il arme ses raisonnemens pour leur défense; il éclaircit et discute les objections. Ensuite, il appelle son adversaire dans la plaine, et lui offre l'avantage du lieu, du vent et du soleil. Car se cacher, tendre des embûches, s'établir sur le pont étroit de la censure, où l'agresseur soit nécessairement obligé de passer; quoique toutes ces précautions puissent s'accorder avec la valeur militaire, c'est toujours un signe de foiblesse et de couardise dans la guerre de la vérité. Qui peut douter de sa force éternelle et invincible? qu'a-t-elle besoin pour triompher de police ni de prohibition? ne sont-ce pas là les armes favorites de l'erreur? accordez à la vérité un plus libre développement sous quelque forme qu'elle se présente; et ne vous avisez pas de l'enchaîner tandis qu'elle dort, car elle cesseroit de parler son langage. Le vieux Protée ne rendit des oracles que lorsqu'il étoit garroté. Mais la vérité dans cet état prend toute sorte de figures, excepté la sienne; peut-être même conforme-t-

elle sa voix aux temps et aux circonstances, jusqu'à ce qu'on la somme de redevenir elle-même.

Eh ! si nous n'avions que la charité pour guide, de combien de choses ne nous reposerions-nous pas sur la conscience des autres !

La moindre division dans les corps nous trouble et nous alarme, et nous ne prenons, aucun soin de rassembler les membres épars de la vérité, qui forment cependant la flots, ière de toutes les scissions la plus funeste de toutes les ruptures. Est-il quelque chose qui d'abord ressemble plus à l'erreur qu'une vérité qui lutte contre des préjugés que le temps a consacrés ? On peut donc affirmer que la censure empêchera moins d'erreurs qu'elle ne proscriera de vérités. Pourquoi nous parler continuellement du danger des nouvelles opinions, puisque l'opinion la plus dangereuse est celle des personnes qui veulent qu'on ne pense et qu'on ne parle que par leur ordre ou par leur permission ? d'ailleurs, il ne faut pas croire que les erreurs et les fausses doctrines ne soient point nécessaires à l'économie morale du monde. Si tout-à-coup la vérité se présente à nous dans tout son éclat, elle accableroit notre foiblesse, et nos yeux ne pourroient en soutenir le spectacle. L'erreur est le nuage qui s'interpose entr'elle et nous, et qui, ne se dissipant que par degrés, nous prépare à recevoir le jour de la vérité.

Enfin, les erreurs sont presque aussi communes dans les bons gouvernemens que dans les mau-

vais. Car, quel est le magistrat dont la religion ne puisse être surprise, sur-tout si l'on met des entraves à la liberté de la presse ? mais redresser promptement et volontairement les erreurs dans lesquelles on est tombé, et préférer au triste plaisir d'enchaîner les hommes, celui de les éclairer ; c'est une vertu qui répond à la grandeur de vos actions, et à laquelle seule peuvent prétendre les mortels les plus dignes et les plus sages.

Tels sont les raisonnemens victorieux auxquels l'Angleterre doit peut-être le bienfait de la liberté de la presse. Voulez-vous savoir à quel point l'expérience y a confirmé la théorie, et combien il est vrai que cette inappréciable liberté est nonseulement le palladium de toutes les libertés, mais le phare du gouvernement ; écoutez ces paroles pleines de sens et de sagesse d'un penseur profond, qui a étudié ce pays toute sa vie, et donné en peu de lignes le résultat le plus lumineux que je connoisse sur les véritables causes de la prospérité britannique. Il faut le remettre sous les yeux du lecteur ce fragment vraiment précieux ; car son auteur a trop présumé de nous en croyant qu'il seroit assez remarqué au milieu d'une métaphysique très-subtile et des calculs nécessairement un peu arides, par lesquels il a voulu l'appliquer.

Ce n'est point l'habileté, dit M. de Casaux, ce

n'est point l'intégrité des ministres anglois qui font et qui assurent à jamais la prospérité de l'Angleterre, puisque l'Angleterre eût, comme tous les autres pays, beaucoup de ministres fort ordinaires et très-peu d'immaculés.

Ce n'est point l'existence perpétuelle d'une opposition décidée, ouverte, sans crainte, intéressée à tout disputer aux ministres, puisqu'il est possible que le ministère et l'opposition trouvent un plus grand intérêt à se réunir, puisque le fait a plus d'une fois constaté cette possibilité*, et puisqu'il résulteroit finalement de cette coalition l'oppression du peuple et l'esclavage du prince, qui suit toujours de bien près l'oppression du peuple.

Ce n'est point la liberté des voix dans les élections; puisque la très-grande majorité des électeurs, sans talens et sans lumières, ne connoissent et ne peuvent connoître ni le caractère ni la capacité des candidats; puisqu'il est absurde de supposer une vraie liberté avec ce défaut de connoissance; et qu'ainsi, à parler strictement, il n'y a dans les élections en Angleterre ni voix, ni liberté.

Ce n'est point la liberté des suffrages dans les deux chambres, qui cependant réunissent tant de lumières, et qui pourroient conséquemment réunir tant de voix; puisque la très-grande majorité dans une chambre comme dans l'autre, est toujours pour le ministère, jusqu'à l'instant qui précède

* Cette étrange amalgame s'y désigne par le mot *coalition*.

celui où le ministère va changer, et qu'il est contre nature que le ministre ne se trompe jamais.

Ce n'est point la distinction et l'indépendance respective des communes, des pairs et du roi jointes à la nécessité de leur accord pour former une loi quelconque : on le prouve par trois raisons décisives.

Premièrement, dans un Etat où l'on ne trouveroit ni nobles, ni roi, une assemblée unique y seroit nécessairement composée d'hommes égaux, et cependant il suffiroit pour y réunir tous les avantages de la législation angloise, que cette assemblée d'hommes égaux se partageât en trois comités, dont le second ne s'occuperoit d'une proposition, qu'après qu'elle auroit été débattue et agréé dans le premier, et dont le troisième ne pourroit s'en saisir qu'après qu'elle auroit été agréé par les deux autres, ni lui donner force de loi qu'après que les deux premiers auroient agréé les changemens qu'ils jugeroient à propos d'y faire, ou bien qu'ils auroient déclaré, *après délibération*, adhérer à l'arrêté de deux autres tel qu'ils l'auroient reçu. Maintenant, si chacun des trois comités devenoit à son tour le troisième, si chacun d'eux devenoit à son tour le premier, quel avantage auroit sur cette organisation simple, l'organisation mixte si vantée de l'Angleterre, dont l'Amérique voulut trop, peut-être, se rapprocher.

Secondement, en supposant la monarchie la plus absolue, et le ministre le plus décidé à *paroître prononcer sur tout*, il suffiroit à ce ministre, pour réunir tous les avantages de la législation

angloise, de réunir, n'importe par quel moyen, *avant de prononcer sur quoi que ce soit*, toutes les connoissances qui existeroient dans 7 à 800 têtes pareilles à celles qui composent le corps législatif de cette fière nation.

Enfin, on a vu plus d'une fois en Angleterre, le roi, la majorité des pairs, et celle des communes se réunir sur des mesures qui eussent peu à peu et sourdement établi dans ce pays de la liberté, une aristocratie terrible, finalement aussi funeste au prince qu'elle paroîtroit servir, qu'au peuple qui en seroit la première victime*.

Non, ce n'est point à ces moyens si vantés que l'Angleterre doit cette prospérité qui étonne, cette richesse qu'on envie, cette puissance encore capable de tout maintenir, quoiqu'elle eût mal-adroitement tenté de tout subjuguier. C'est à cette épée de Damoclès, par-tout en Angleterre suspendue sur la tête de quiconque méditeroit dans le secret de son cœur, quelque projet funeste au prince et au peuple; l'épée tombe au premier pas qu'il fait pour l'exécuter. C'est à ce principe inculqué dans toutes les têtes angloises, que celle d'un seul homme ne renferme pas toutes les idées; que le meilleur avis ne peut être que celui qui résulte de la combinaison de tous; qu'il n'a besoin que d'être

* Voyez l'affaire des Wilks, voyez celle de l'Amérique, voyez celle de plusieurs bills relatifs à l'Inde, et n'oubliez pas le dernier acte qui explique, dit-on, ce qui n'avoit jamais été dit, et déclare comme interprétation, le contraire de ce que tout le monde avoit pensé, *tout le monde*, excepté le ministre qui s'étoit bien gardé de le dire.

déclaré pour être senti, et devenir aussi-tôt une propriété générale qui constate un droit égal à toutes les conséquences qui en dérivent; que celui qui craint de soumettre ses idées à la discussion de ceux dont elles doivent former la propriété, si elles sont utiles, est un ennemi public que chacun doit se hâter de dénoncer, et que béni doit être l'inconnu même qui le dénonce par la voie publique de l'impression.

Enlevez à l'Angleterre l'unique moyen de conserver ce principe dans toute son énergie; enlevez-lui la liberté de la presse; liberté que chaque ministre, en Angleterre comme ailleurs, voudroit anéantir pendant son ministère, et remplacer par un ordre absolu de se prosterner devant toutes ses bévues; enlevez, dis-je, à l'Angleterre la liberté de la presse, et malgré toutes les ressources de son admirable constitution, les bévues ministérielles, si rares en Angleterre, s'y succéderont aussi rapidement qu'ailleurs: et même on y dormira plus tranquillement qu'ailleurs; d'abord sur les bévues ministérielles, et ensuite sur tous les attentats des ministres, parce qu'on y sera plus rassuré par l'ombre d'une opposition qui ne tardera pas à réclamer secrètement et obtenir de la même manière *le partage des dépouilles et du prince et du peuple*; et bientôt la Nation la plus florissante ne sera qu'un objet de pitié pour tous ceux dont elle excita l'envie et mérita l'admiration. Transportez, au contraire, peu à peu la liberté de la presse en Turquie; inventez, car il n'existe pas, inventez un moyen d'en

faire parvenir les fruits jusqu'au grand-seigneur par d'autres mains que celles d'un visir, *qui peuvent si aisément tout corrompre*, et bientôt nul visir n'osera tromper son maître ; tout visir consultera la voix du peuple avant de faire tonner la sienne ; et bientôt la Turquie, riche de toutes les facultés de son territoire et de son immense population, sera plus puissante, et non moins respectée que cette Angleterre si puissante et si respectée aujourd'hui. . .

Combien nous en sommes loin, avec tant de droits d'y prétendre, tant de moyens d'y parvenir !

O vous, qui bientôt représenterez les François ; vous, qu'on n'eût jamais assemblés, si dans la main des hommes le malheur de semer le désordre et la ruine, et de rester sans pouvoir, ne suivoit pas inévitablement le funeste pouvoir de tout faire ; vous, qu'on assemble pour tout régénérer, parce que s'il reste encore quelque chose à détruire, il ne reste plus d'hommes crédules à tromper ; vous, qui répondrez, non pas à la France seule, mais à l'humanité entière de tout le bien que vous n'aurez pas procuré à votre patrie ! Tremblez, si semblables aux rois, ou plutôt à leurs ministres, vous croyez tout savoir ou pouvoir tout ignorer sans honte, parce que vous pourrez tout commander avec impunité. Obligés de tout savoir pour décider sur tout, quand l'Europe vous écoute, comment saurez-vous tout, si tous ne sont pas écoutés ? comment saurez-vous tout, si un seul homme éclairé, le plus éclairé peut-être, mais le plus timide, croit se compromettre s'il ose parler ? .

. . . . que la première de vos loix la première ! sans elle la meilleure (si la meilleure pouvoit exister sans elle) seroit bientôt éludée ou violée, et tôt ou tard, elle seule assureroit la prospérité de l'empire françois Que la première de vos loix consacre à jamais la liberté de la presse, la liberté la plus inviolable, la plus illimitée : qu'elle imprime le sceau du mépris public sur le front de l'ignorant qui craindra les abus de cette liberté; qu'elle dévoue à l'exécration universelle le scélérat qui feindra de les craindre le misérable ! il veut encore tout opprimer; il en regrette les moyens; il rugit dans son cœur de les voir échapper !

4 Décembre 1788.

P. S. On imprimoit cette feuille lorsque l'arrêté du parlement de Paris, du 5 de ce mois, a paru : et certes, c'est aujourd'hui que les bons citoyens doivent lui rendre grace; car si ce corps judiciaire et non politique est sorti du cercle de sa juridiction, c'est du moins cette fois au profit de la nation, et la profession de foi qu'il publie, véritable programme de la déclaration des droits sur laquelle doit être fondée la liberté particulière et publique, est exempte enfin de toute ambiguïté.

Attachement aux anciennes formes sagement limité.

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Pouvoir législatif reconnu à la nation présidée par son roi.

LIBERTE' DE LA PRESSE, garant unique, garant sacré de ces beaux droits ; **LIBERTE' DE LA PRESSE**, *seule ressource prompte et certaine des gens de bien contre les méchans, liberté de la presse énergiquement invoquée. . . .*

Voilà, voilà sans doute un grand bienfait ; voilà le drapeau de ralliement pour la nation ; voilà le rameau de paix qui doit dissiper toutes les méfiances et réunir tous les vœux . . . qu'ils s'abreuvent de leur propre venin, ceux qui espéroient, ou intéresser les corps à repousser l'assemblée nationale, ou diviser les ordres et incendier les provinces assez pour la rendre impossible : nous aurons une constitution, puisque l'esprit public a fait de tels progrès, de telles conquêtes ; nous aurons une constitution, peut-être même sans de grands troubles civils, qui, après tout, valent mieux qu'un mauvais ordre legal ; nous aurons une constitution, et la France atteindra enfin au développement de ses hautes destinées.

T H E E N D.

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