Milton, John
Araopagitica
JOHN MILTON

AREOPAGITICA.

[24 November] 1644.

PRECEDED BY ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

CAREFULLY EDITED BY

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AREOPAGITICA.

INTRODUCTION.

That half-living thing—a book: may be regarded in many ways. It may be considered in connection with the circumstances which led to its conception and creation; and in the midst of which it appeared. It may be studied, as exhibiting the moral intent, the mental power of its author. Its contents may be analysed as to their intrinsic truthfulness or falsity. We may trace and identify its influence upon its own age and on succeeding generations. This is an apprehension of the mind of a book.

More than this. We may examine its style, its power and manner of expressing that mind. The ringing collocation of its words, the harmonious cadence of its sentences, the flashing gem-like beauty of isolated passages, the just mapping out of the general argument, the due subordination of its several parts, their final inweaving into one overpowering conclusion: these are the features, discovering, illuminating, enforcing the mind of a book.

Much of what is in books is false, much only half true, much true. It is impossible to separate the tares from the wheat. Every one, therefore—of necessity—must read discriminatorily; often sifting and searching for first principles, often testing the catenation of an argument, often treasuring up incidental truths for future use; enjoying—as delights by the way—whatever felicity of expression, gorgeousness of imagination, vividness of description, or aptness of illustration may glance, like sunshine, athwart the path: the journey’s end being Truth.

The purpose through these English Reprints is to bring this modern age face to face with the works of our forefathers. The Editor and his clumsy framework
are unimportant and may be forgotten; if but that the attention may be riveted upon the picture. The thought of these English Writers is not dead. It flumbers. Understand and then subtract from it, the local colouring of time and circumstance, and it is instinc with life: either the noxious life of soul delusive error, or the ethereal life of Truth. We have not, as yet, in all things attained to the height of our Predecessors' far-seeing conception: and even the just measuring of their many mistakes and errors may not be time and effort thrown away.

While there is very much for us to learn from our Ancients, both in what they said and their manner of saying it; there bids fair to be an increasing number of learners among the Moderns. England is on the eve of a great Education, in which the unlettered will become readers, the readers students, the students scholars. With this wider variety and increased power of the English mind, the diligent study of the national Literature and Language can hardly fail both to spread and to deepen. The number of such learners tends therefore to multiply, until it shall be reputed a disgrace to be ignorant of our mother tongue and of that which it enshrines.

There is also no better or more essential preparative for the outcome of a glorious literature in the Future, than the careful study and accurate appreciation of the treasures of the Past. The present Merchant-Adventurer will esteem the 'English Reprints' to be crowned with a happy success; if—bringing those treasures, as from afar, to every one's home, and there displaying them to a more public gaze—they shall, in however insignificant a degree, tend to that happy End.

The Printing Press, among many advantages, brought to its early possessors one constant perplexity, which, however, assumed different forms to different minds. The power of every man, of every educated man, was by it immensely increased for good or for evil. The
true-hearted grieved over the facility the press gave to the spread of error. The high-bred despot chafed at the new power ceaselessly exercised by the low-bred intellect in questioning and adjusting his prerogative, in destroying his would-be almightiness in the mind of the people, in bringing him under Law. The ministers of the religions then extant were alarmed at the ready promulgation of those reflective inquiries into the ultimate nature of all things, lest they should undermine the foundations of civil society and ecclesiastical polity, and so reduce the world to chaotic confusion. Thus some from conscientious duty, others with a wicked satisfaction, all unitedly or in turn, joined in clogging the Press, in curtailing the new power that God in His Providence had bestowed upon mankind.

Dr. John fon, in his Life of Milton—which, either for wilful misrepresentation or craft incapacity to appreciate his subject, is to his perpetual discredit—fairly represents the views of one side on the Liberty of the Press, and through that the boundless liberty of human thought.

"The danger of such unbounded liberty, and the danger of bounding it, have produced a problem in the science of Government which human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve. If nothing may be published but what civil authority shall have previously approved, power must always be the standard of truth; if every dreamer of innovations may propagate his projects, there can be no settlement; if every murmurer at government may diffuse discontent, there can be no peace; and if every sceptick in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion. The remedy against these evils is to punish the authors; for it is yet allowed that every society may punish, though not prevent, the publication of opinions, which that society shall think pernicious; but this punishment, though it may crush the author, promotes the book; and it seems not more reasonable to leave the right of printing unrestrained, because writers may be afterwards censured, than it would be to sleep with doors unbolted, because by our laws we can hang a thief."*

Milton’s answer to this had been already written:—

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience above all liberties."†... Though all

the winds 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 strench. Let her and Falshood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppreffing, . . . Who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no stratagems, no licencings to make her victorious, those are the shifts and the defences that errror ufed againft her power."

As we learn from his Second Defence—written ten years after the present work—the singularly conceptive mind of Milton had grouped into one cycle subjects of no apparent immediate connection. Episcopacy, Divorce, Education, Freedom of the Individual, Freedom of the Press, had, to his mind, one point of identity and contact, one connecting link,—Liberty. This, a cardinal thought of his entire life, seems to have almost overpowered him, as he saw the break-up of the system of the Thorough, the nation uprising against the tyranny of a few, and laying—for all coming ages—the foundations of that religious, civil, and domestic Liberty, which it is our happiness to enjoy.

Of that great cycle, the 'Areopagitica' occupies but a subordinate part, Milton classifying it under domestic liberty with divorce and education. He there also tells us, his purpose in writing it:—

"I wrote my Areopagitica, in order to deliver the press from the restraints with which it was encumbered; that the power of determining what was true and what was falfe, what ought to be published and what to be suppreffed, might no longer be entrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their function to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition."

The following Orders, &c., have been reprinted; partly to give the groundwork of fact to Milton's argument; partly to show the strong hand and the blunt mind of our Ancestors in respect to the Press; and partly to affift to a more perfect realization of the antagonistic ideas and circumstances, in the midst of which, Milton conceived the 'Areopagitica,' and so to render more apparent its beauty and originality.

* P. 74.  † Profe Works, I., 259; St. John's Ed., 1848.
A DECREE

of

Starre-Chamber,

CONCERNING

Printing,

Made the eleventh day of July last past. 1637.

Imprinted at London by Robert Barker
Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiefly: And by the Assignes
of John Bill. 1637.
In Camera Stellata coram Con-
cilio ibidem, vndecimo die
Julij, Anno decimo tertio
Carolii Regis.

His day Sir John Bankes Knight, His Ma-
iesies Attourney Generall, produced in Court
a Decree drawn and penned by the advice of
the Right Honourable the Lord Keeper of the
great Scale of England, the most Reuerend Fa-
ther in God the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury his
Grace, the Right Honourable and Right Reuerend Father
in God the Lord Bishop of London Lord high Treasurer
of England, the Lord chiefe Justices, and the Lord chiefe
Baron, touching the regulating of Printers and Founders
of letters, whereof the Court having consideration, the said
Decree was directed and ordered to be here Recorded, and
to the end the fame may be publique, and that every one
whom it may concerne may take notice thereof, The Court
hath now also ordered, That the said Decree shall speedily
be Printed, and that the same be sent to His Maiesties
Printer for that purpose. Whereas the three and twentieth
day of Iune in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne
of the late Queene Elizabeth, ana before, divers Decrees
and Ordinances haue beene made for the better governmet
and regulating of Printers ana Printing, which Orders
and Decrees haue beene founda by experience to be defective
in some particulars; Ana divers abues have since arisen, and beene practised by the craft and malece of wicked
and euill disposed persons, to the prejudice of the publike;
And divers libellous, seditious, and mutinous bookes haue
beene unduly printed, and other bookes and papers with-
out licence, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church and
State: For precaution whereof in time to come, It is now
Ordered and Decreed, That the said former Decrees and
Ordinances shall stand in force with these Additions, Ex-
planations, and Alterations following, viz.
In Camera Stellata coram Con-
cilio ibidem, vndecimo die Iulii,
Anno decimo tertio CAROLI
Regis.

Primis, That no person or persons what-
soever shall presume to print, or cause to
bee printed, either in the parts beyond
the Seas, or in this Realme, or other his
Maiefties Dominions, any feditious, scisma-
tical, or offensive Bookes or Pamphlets, to the fcandall
of Religion, or the Church, or the Government, or
Governours of the Church or State, or Commonwealth,
or of any Corporation, or particular person or persons
whatsoever, nor shall import any such Booke or Bookes,
nor fell or dispose of them, or any of them, nor cause
any such to be bound, stitched, or fowed, vpon paine
that he or they so offending, shall loose all such Bookes
and Pamphlets, and also haue, and suffer such correction,
and severe punishment, either by Fine, imprisonement,
or other corporall punishment, or otherwise, as by this
Court, or by His Maiefties Commissioners for causes
Ecclesiasticall in the high Commission Court, respec-
tively, as the several causes shall require, shall be
thought fit to be inflicted upon him, or them, for such
their offence and contempt.

II. Item, That no person or persons whatsoever,
shall at any time print or cause to be imprinted, any
Booke or Pamphlet whatsoever, vnlesse the same Booke
or Pamphlet, and also all and every the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other matters and things whatsoever thereunto annexed, or therewith imprinted, shall be first lawfully licenced and authorized only by such person and persons as are hereafter expressed, and by no other, and shall be also first entered into the Registers Booke of the Company of Stationers; upon paine that every Printer offending therein, shall be for euer hereafter disabled to use or exercise the Art or Mysterie of Printing, and receive such further punishment, as by this Court or the high Commission Court respectiuely, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.

III. Item, That all Bookes concerning the common Lawes of this Realme shall be printed by the especiall allowance of the Lords chiefe Iustices, and the Lord chiefe Baron for the time being, or one or more of them, or by their appointment; And that all Books of History, belonging to this State, and present times, or any other Booke of State affaires, shall be licenced by the principall Secretaries of State, or one of them, or by their appointment; And that all Bookes concerning Heraldry, Titles of Honour and Armes, or otherwise concerning the Office of Earle Marshall, shall be licenced by the Earle Marshall, or by his appointment; And further, that all other Books, whether of Diuinitie, Phisicke, Philosophie, Poetry, or whatsoever, shall be allowed by the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or Bishop of London for the time being, or by their appointment, or the Chancellours, or Vice Chancellours of either of the Vniuersities of this Realme for the time being.

Alwayes provided, that the Chancellour or Vice-Chancellour, of either of the Vniuersities, shall Licence onely such Booke or Bookes that are to be Printed within the limits of the Vniuersities respectiuely, but not in London, or elsewhere, not medling either with Bookes of the common Law, or matters of State.

IV. Item, That euery person and perfons, which by any Decree of this Court are, or shall be appointed or
authorized to Licence Bookes, or giue Warrant for im-
printing thereof, as is aforesaid, shall haue two feueral
written Copies of the fame Booke or Bookes with the
Titles, Epiftles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Intro-
ductions, Tables, Dedications, and other things what-
foever thereunto annexed. One of which said Copies
shall be kept in the publike Regiftries of the saied Lord
Arch-Bifhop, and Bishop of London reftpectiuely, or
in the Office of the Chancellour, or Vice-Chancellour
of either of the Vniuersities, or with the Earle Marfhall,
or principall Secretaries of State, or with the Lords
chiefe Iuftices, or chiefe Baron, of all fuch Bookes as
shall be licensed by them reftpectiuely, to the end that
he or they may be secure, that the Copy fo licensed by
him or them shall not bee altered without his or their
priuitie, and the other shall remain with him whose
Copy it is, and vpon both the said Copies, he or they
that shall allow the said Booke, shall teftifie vnder his
or their hand or hands, that there is nothing in that
Booke or Books contained, that is contrary to Chris-
tian Faith, and the Doctrine and Discipline of the
Church of England, nor againft the State or Gouern-
ment, nor contrary to good life, or good manners, or
otherwise, as the nature and fubieft of the work fhall
require, which license or approbation fhall be im-
printed in the beginning of the fame Booke, with the
name, or names of him or them that fhall authorize or
license the fame, for a teftimonie of the allowance thereof.

V. Item, That every Merchant of bookes, and per-
son and perfons whatfoever, which doth, or hereafter
fhall buy, or import, or bring any booke or bookes
into this Realme, from any parts beyond the Seas,
fhall before fuch time as the fame book or books, or
any of them be deliuered forth, or out of his, or their
hand or hands, or expoed to fale, giue, and prefent
a true Catalogue in writing of all and euerie fuch booke
and bookes vnto the Lord Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury,
or Lord Bishop of London for the time being, vpon
paine to haue and fuffer fuch punishment for offending
herein, as by this Court, or by the said high Commission Court respectively, as the feueral causes shall require, shall be thought fitting.

VI. Item, That no Merchant, or other person or persons whatsoever, which shall import or bring any book or books into the kingdom, from any parts beyond the Seas, shall presume to open any Dry-fats, Bales, Packs, Maunds, or other Fardals of books, or wherein books are; nor shall any Searcher, Wayter, or other Officer belonging to the Cuflome-house, upon pain of loosing his or their place or places, suffer the same to passe, or to be delivered out of their hands or custody, before such time as the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London, or one of them for the time being, have appointed one of their Chaplains, or some other learned man, with the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, or one of them, and such others as they shall call to their assistance, to be present at the opening thereof, and to view the same: And if there shall happen to be found any seditious, schismaticall or offensive booke or bookes, they shall forthwith be brought vnto the said Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Lord Bishop of London for the time being, or one of them, or to the High Commission Office, to the end that as well the offender or offenders may be punished by the Court of Star Chamber, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the feueral causes shall require, according to his or their demerit; as also that such further course and order may be taken concerning the same booke or bookes, as shall bee thought fitting.

VII. Item, That no person or persons shall within this Kingdom, or elsewhere imprint, or cause to be imprinted, nor shall import or bring in, or cause to be imported or brought into this Kingdom, from, or out of any other His Maiesties Dominions, nor from other, or any parts beyond the Seas, any Copy, book or books, or part of any booke or bookes, printed beyond the seas, or elsewhere, which the said Company of
Stationers, or any other person or persons have, or
shall by any Letters Patents, Order, or Entrance in
their Register book, or otherwise, haue the right,
privileged, authoritie, or allowance sole to print, nor
shall bind, stitch, or put to sale, any such booke or
bookes, vpon paine of losse and forfeiture of all the
said bookees, and of such Fine, or other punishment,
for every booke or part of a booke so imprinted or
imported, bound, stitched, or put to sale, to be leuayed
of the party so offending, as by the power of this
Court, or the high Commissiion Court respectiuely, as
the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

VIII. Item, Every person and persons that shall
hereafter Print, or cause to be Printed, any Bookes,
Ballads, Charts, Portraiture, or any other thing or
things whatsoever, shall thereunto or thereon Print and
set his and their owne name or names, as also the
name or names of the Author or Authors, Maker or
Makers of the same, and by, or for whom any such
booke, or other thing is, or shall be printed, vpon pain
of forfeiture of all such Books, Ballads, Chartses, Por-
traitures, and other thing or things, printed contrary
to this Article; And the presses, Letters and other
instruments for Printing, wherewith such Books, bal-
lads, Chartes, Portraitures, and other thing or things
shall be printed, to be defaced and made vnferuiceable,
and the party and parties so offending, to be fined,
imprisoned and haue such other corporall punishment,
or otherwise, as by this Honourable Court, or the said
high Commissiion respectiuely, as the severall causes
shall require, shall be thought fit.

IX. Item, That no person or persons whatsoever,
shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed, or shall
forge, put, or counterfeit in, or vpon any booke or
books, the name, title, marke or vinnet of the Com-
pany or Society of Stationers, or of any particular
person or persons, which hath or shall haue lawfull
priviledge, authoritie, or allowance to print the same,
without the consent of the said Company, or party or
parties that are or shall be so privileged, authorized, or allowed to print the same booke or books, thing or things, first had and obtained, upon paine that every person or persons so offending, shall not onely loose all such books and other things, but shall also haue, and suffer such punishment, by imprisionment of his body, fine, or otherwise, as by this Honourable Court, or high Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, it shall be to him or them limited or adjudged.

X. Item, that no Haberdasher of small wares, Ironmonger, Chandler, Shop-keeper, or any other person or persons whatsoever, not having beene seven yeeres apprentice to the trade of a Book-feller, Printer, or Book-binder, shall within the citie or suburbs of London, or in any other Corporation, Market-towne, or elsewhere, receive, take or buy, to barter, sell againe, change or do away any Bibles, Testaments, Psalm-books, Primers, Abcees, Almanackes, or other booke or books whatsoever, upon paine of forfeiture of all such books so receiued, bought or taken as aforesaid, and such other punishment of the parties so offending, as by this Court, or the said high Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought meet.

XI. Item, for that Printing is, and for many yeers hath been an Art and manufacture of this kingdome, for the better encouraging of Printers in their honest, and iust endeavours in their profession, and preuention of divers libels, pamphlets, and seditious books printed beyond the feas in English, and thence transported hither;

It is further Ordered and Decreed, that no Merchant, Bookseller, or other person or persons whatsoever, shall imprint, or cause to be imprinted, in the parts beyond the feas or elsewhere, nor shall import or bring, nor willingly assist or consent to the importation or bringing from beyond the feas into this Realme, any English booke, or part of booke, or booke whatsoever, which are or shall be, or the greater or more part whereof is or shall be English, or of the English
tongue, whether the same book or bookes have been here formerly printed or not, vpon pain of the forfeiture of all such English bookes fo imprinted or imported, and such further cenfure and punishment, as by this Court, or the said high Commission Court respectively, as the feuerall causes shall require, shall be thought meet.

XII. Item, That no stranger or forreigner whatsoeuer, be suffered to bring in, or vent here, any booke or bookes printed beyond the seas, in any language whatsoeuer, either by themselues or their secret Factors, except such onely as bee free Stationers of London, and such as haue beeene brought vp in that profession, and haue their whole means of subsistence, and livelihood depending thereupon, vpon paine of confiscation of all such Books fo imported, and such further penalties, as by this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the seuerall causes shall require, shall be thought fit to be imposed.

XIII. Item, That no person or persons within the Citie of London, or the liberties thereof, or elsewhere, shall erect or cause to be erected any Presse or Printing-house, nor shall demise, or let, or suffer to be held or vfed, any house, vault, sellor, or other roome whatsoeuer, to, or by any person or persons, for a Printing-house, or place to print in, vnlesse he or they which shall fo demise or let the fame, or suffer the fame to be fo vfed, shall first giue notice to the said Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers for the time being, of such demise, or suffering to worke or print there, vpon paine of imprisonement, and such other punishment as by this Court, or the said high Commission Court respectively, as the seuerall Causes shall require, shall bee thought fit.

XIV. Item, That no Ioyner, or Carpenter, or other person, shall make any printing-Presse, no Smith shall forge any Iron-worke for a printing-Presse, and no Founder shall cast any Letters for any person or persons whatsoeuer, neither shall any person or persons bring, or cause to be brought in from any parts beyond
the Seas, any Letters Founded or Caft, nor buy any such Letters for Printing, Unlesse he or they respectiuey shall first acquaint the said Master and Wardens, or some of them, for whom the fame Presse, Iron-works, or Letters, are to be made, forged, or caft, vpon paine of such fine and punishment, as this Court, or the high Commission Court respectiuey, as the feuerall caues shall require, shall thinke fit.

XV. Item, The Court doth declare, that as formerly, so now, there shall be but Twentie Master Printers allowed to have the vse of one Presse or more, as is after specified, and doth hereby nominate, allow, and admit these persons whose names hereafter follow, to the number of Twentie, to have the vse of a Presse, or Presses and Printing-house, for the time being, viz. Felix Kingdstone, Adam Islip, Thomas Purfoot, Miles FleSher, Thomas Harper, John Beale, John Legat, Robert Young, John Haviland, George Miller, Richard Badger, Thomas Cotes, Bernard Alsfop, Richard Bishop, Edward Griffin, Thomas Purflow, Richard Hodgkinsonne, John Dawson, John Raworth, Marmaduke Parsons. And further, the Court doth order and decree, That it shall be lawfull for the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London, for the time being, taking to him or them fix other high Commissioners, to supply the place or places of those which are now already Printers by this Court, as they shall fall void by death, or Censure, or otherwife: Provided that they exceed not the number of Twentie, besides His Maiesties Printers, and the Printers allowed for the Vniuersties.

XVI. Item, That every person or persons, now allowed or admitted to have the vse of a Presse, and Printing-house, shall within Ten dayes after the date hereof, become bound with sureties to His Maiestie in the high Commission Court, in the sum of three hundred pounds, not to print or suffer to be printed in his house or Presse, any booke, or bookes whatsoever, but such as shall from time to time be lawfully licesned, and that the like Bond shall be entred into by all, and every person and persons, that hereafter shall be admit-
of Starre-Chamber.

ted, or allowed to print, before he or they be suffered to have the use of a Press.

XVII. Item, That no allowed Printer shall keep above two Presses, unless he hath been Master or upper Warden of his Company, who are thereby allowed to keep three Presses and no more, under pain of being disabled for ever after to keep or use any Press at all, unless for some great and special occasion for the public, he or they have for a time leave of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or Lord Bishop of London for the time being, to have or use one, or more above the fore-said number, as their Lordships, or either of them shall think fit. And whereas there are some Master Printers that have at this present one, or more Presses allowed them by this Decree, the Court doth further order and declare, That the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, doe forthwith certify the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London, what number of Presses each Master Printer hath, that their Lordships or either of them, taking unto them six other high Commissioners, may take such present order for the suppressing of the supernumerarie Presses, as to their Lordships, or to either of them shall seem best.

XVIII. Item, That no person or persons, do hereafter reprint, or cause to be reprinted, any booke or bookes whatsoeuer (though formerly printed with license) without being reviewed, and a new Licence obtained for the reprinting thereof. Always provided, that the Stationer or Printer be put to no other charge hereby, but the bringing and leaving of two printed copies of the book to be printed, as is before expressed of written Copies, with all such additions as the Author hath made.

XIX. Item, The Court doth declare, as formerly, so now, That no Apprentices be taken into any printing-house, otherwise than according to this proportion following, (viz.) every Master-Printer that is, or hath beene Master or upper Warden of his Company, may have three Apprentices at one time and no more, and every Master-printer that is of the Liuerie of his Company,
may have two Apprentices at one time and no more, and every Master-printer of the Yeomanry of the Company may have one Apprentice at one time and no more, neither by Copartnership, binding at the Scriuener, nor any other way whatsoever; neither shall it be lawfull for any Master-Printer when any Apprentice or Apprentices, shall run or be put away, to take another Apprentice, or other Apprentices in his or their place or places, vnlesse the name or names of him or them so gone away, be raced out of the Hallbooke, and never admitted again, uppon paine of being for euer disabled of the use of a Press or printinghouse, and of such further punishment, as by this Court or the high Commission Court respectivly, as the feuerall caufes shall require, shall be thought fit to be imposed.

XX. Item, The Court doth likewise declare, that because a great part of the secret printing in corners hath been caufed for want of orderly imployment for Journeymen printers, Therefore the Court doth hereby require the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, to take especiall care that all Journeymen-printers, who are free of the Company of Stationers, shall be set to worke, and imployed within their owne Company of Stationers; for which purpofe the Court doth also order and declare, that if any Journeyman-Printer, and free of the Company of Stationers, who is of honest, and good behauiour, and able in his trade, do want imployment, he shall reppaire to the Master and Wardens of the Companie of Stationers, and they or one of them, taking with him or them one or two of the Master Printers, shall go along with the saide Journeyman-Printer, and shall offer his service in the first place to the Master Printer vnder whom he servied his Apprentifhip, if he be liuing, and do continue an allowed Printer, or otherwise to any other Master Printer, whom the Master and Wardens of the said Company shall thinke fit. And every Master Printer shall bee bound to imploy one Journeyman, being so offered to him, and more, if need shall so require,
and it shall be so adjudged to come to his share, according to the proportion of his Apprentices and im-
ployments, by the Master and Wardens of the Company
of Stationers, although he the said Master Printer with
his Apprentice or Apprentices be able without the helpe
of the said Journeyman or Journeymen to discharge
his owne worke, vpon paine of such punishment, as by
this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively,
as the feueral all causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

XXI. Item, The Court doth declare, That if the
Master and Wardens of the Companie of Stationers, or
any of them, shall refuse or neglect to go along with
any honest and sufficient Journey-man Printer, so
defiring their assistance, to finde him imployment, vpon
complaint and profe made thereof, he, or they so
offending, shall suffer imprisonement, and such other
punishment, as by this court, or the high Commission
Court respectively, as the feueral all causes shall require,
shall be thought fit to be imposed. But in case any
Master Printer hath more imployment then he is able
to discharge with helpe of his Apprentice or Appren-
tices, it shall be lawful for him to require the helpe of
any Journey-man or Journey-men-Printers, who are
not imployed, and if the said Journeyman, or Journey-
men-Printers so required, shall refuse imployment, or
neglect it when hee or they haue undertaken it, he, or
they shall suffer imprisonement, and undergo such
punishment, as this Court shall thinke fit.

XXII. Item, The Court doth hereby declare, that
it doth not hereby restraine the Printers of either of
the Vniuersities from taking what number of Ap-
prentices for their service in printing there, they them-
seues shall thinke fit. Provided always, that the said
Printers in the Vniuersities shall imploy all their owne
Journey-men within thenselues, and not suffer any of
their said Journey-men to go abroad for imployment
to the Printers of London (vnlesse vpon occasion some
Printers of London desire to imploy some extraordinary
Workman or Workmen amongst them, without pre-
To their owne Iourneymen, who are Freemen; vpon such penalty as the Chancellor of either of the Vniuersties for the time being, shall thinke fit to inflict vpon the delinquents herein.

XXIII. Item, That no Master-printer shall imploye either to worke at the Cafe, or the Press, or otherwise about his printing, any other person or persons, then such onely as are Free-men, or Apprentices to the Trade or mysterie of Printing, under paine of being disabled for euer after to keep or use any Press or Printing house, and such further punishment as by this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the feuerall causes shall require, shall bee thought fit to be imposed.

XXIV. Item, The Court doth hereby declare their firme resolution, that if any person or persons, that is not allowed Printer, shall hereafter presume to set vp any Press for printing, or shall worke at any such Press, or Set, or Compose any Letters to bee wrought by any such Press; hee, or they so offending, shall from time to time, by the Order of this Court, bee set in the Pillorie, and Whipt through the Citie of London, and suffer such other punishment, as this Court shall Order or thinke fit to inflict vpon them, vpon Complaint or prooue of such offence or offences, or shalbe otherwise punished, as the Court of High Commission shall thinke fit, and is agreeable to their Commission.

XXV. Item, That for the better discouery of printing in Corners without licence; The Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers for the time being, or any two licenc'd Master-Printers, which shall be appointed by the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or Lord B. of London for the time being, shall haue power and authority, to take vnto themselues such assistence as they shall thinke needfull, and to search what houses and shops (and at what time they shall think fit) especially Printing-houses, and to view what is in printing, and to call for the licence to see whether it be licenced or no, and if not, to seize vpon
so much as is printed, together with the feueral offenders, and to bring them before the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, that they or either of them may take such further order therein as shall appertaine to Iustice.

XXVI. Item, The Court doth declare, that it shall be lawfull also for the said Searchers, if vpon search they find any book or booke, or part of booke or books which they suspe6t to containe matter in it or them, contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, or against the State and Gouernment, vpon such suspition to seize upon such book or books, or part of booke or books, and to bring it, or them, to the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, who shall take such further course therein, as to their Lordships, or either of them shall see me fit.

XXVII. Item, The Court doth order and declare, that there shall be foure Founders of letters for printing allowed, and no more, and doth hereby nominate, allow, and admit these persons, whose names hereafter follow, to the number of foure, to be letter-Founders for the time being, (viz) John Grismand, Thomas Wright, Arthur Nichols, Alexander Fifeild. And further, the Court doth Order and Decree, that it shall be lawfull for the Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, taking unto him or them, fix other high Commissioners, to supply the place or places of these who are now allowed Founders of letters by this Court, as they shall fall void by death, censurse, or otherwise.

Provided, that they exceede not the number of foure, set downe by this Court. And if any person or persons, not being an allowed Founder, shall notwithstanding take vpon him, or them, to Found, or caft letters for printing, vpon complaint and proofe made of such offence, or offences, he, or they so offending, shall suffer such punishment, as this Court, or the high Commission court respeciuely, as the feueral...
causes shall require, shall think fit to inflict upon them.

XXVIII. Item, That no Master-Founder whatsoever shall keep above two Apprentices at one time, neither by Copartnership, binding at the Scriueners, nor any other way whatsoever, neither shall it be lawful for any Master-Founder, when any Apprentice, or Apprentices shall run, or be put away, to take another Apprentice, or other Apprentices in his, or their place or places, unless the name or names of him, or them so gone away, be raised out of the Hall-book of the Company, where of the Master-Founder is free, and never admitted again, upon pain of such punishment, as by this Court, or the high Commission respectively, as the several causes shall require, shall be thought fit to be imposed.

XXIX. Item, That all Journey-men-Founders be employed by the Master-Founders of the said trade, and that idle Journey-men be compelled to work after the same manner, and upon the same penalties, as in case of the Journey-men-Printers is before specified.

XXX. Item, That no Master-Founder of letters, shall employ any other person or persons in any work belonging to the casting or founding of letters, then such only as are freemen or apprentices to the trade of founding letters, save only in the pulling off the knots of mettle hanging at the ends of the letters when they are first cast, in which work it shall be lawful for every Master-Founder, to employ one boy only that is not, nor hath been bound to the trade of Founding letters, but not otherwise, upon pain of being for ever disabled to use or exercise that art, and such further punishment, as by this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the several causes shall require, be thought fit to be imposed.

XXXI. Item, That every person or persons whatsoever, which shall at any time or times hereafter, by his or their confession, or otherwise by proof be convicted of any of the offences, by this, or any other Decree of this Court made, shall before such time as he or they
shall be discharged, and over and above their fine and punishment, as aforesaid, be bound with good sureties, never after to transgress, or offend in that or the like kind, for which he, or they shall be convicted and punished, as aforesaid; And that all and every the forfeitures aforesaid (excepting all seditious schismaticall Bookes, or Pamphlets, which this Court doth hereby Order to be presently burnt) And except such Bookes, as the forfeitures are already granted by Letters Patents, shall be divided and disposed of, as the high Commission Court shall find fit. Always providing that one moiety be to the King.

XXXII. Item, That no Merchant, Master, or Owner of any Ship or Vessel, or any other person or persons whatsoever shall hereafter presume to land, or put on shore any Booke or Bookes, or the part of any Booke or Books, to be imported from beyond the seas, in any Port, Haven, Creek, or other place whatsoever within the Realme of England, but only in the Port of the City of London, to the end the said Bookes may there be viewed, as aforesaid: And the severall Officers of His Maiesties Ports are hereby required to take notice thereof.

XXXIII. Item, That whereas there is an agreement betwixt Sir Thomas Bodley Knight, Founder of the Vniuersity Library at Oxford, and the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of Stationers (viz.) That one Booke of every fort that is new printed, or reprinted with additions, be sent to the Vniuersitie of Oxford for the use of the publique Librarie there; The Court doth hereby Order, and declare, That every Printer shall referue one Book new printed, or reprinted by him, with additions, and shall before any publique venting of the said book, bring it to the Common Hall of the Company of Stationers, and deliver it to the Officer thereof to be sent to the Librarie at Oxford accordingly, upon paine of imprisonment, and such further Order and Direction therein, as to this Court, or the high Commission Court respectively, as the severall causes shall require, shall be thought fit.

FINIS.
An Order made by the Honourable House of Commons.  
Die Sabbati, 29, Januarii. 1641 [1642].

It is ordered that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers shall be required to take especial Order, that the Printers doe neither print, nor reprint any thing without the name and consent of the Author: And that if any Printer shall notwithstanding print or reprint any thing without the consent and name of the Author, that he shall then be proceeded against, as both Printer and Author thereof, and their names to be certified to this House.  


Die Iovis 9. Martii 1642 [1643].

An Order of the Commons assembled in Parliament For regulating Printing.

It is this day Ordered by the Commons House of Parliament, That the Committee for Examinations, or any four of them, have power to appoint such persons as they thinke fit, to search in any house or place where there is just cause of suspicion, That Presses are kept and employed in the printing of scandalous and lying Pamphlets, and that they do demolish and take away such Presses and their materials, and the Printers Nuts and Spindles which they find so employed, and bring the Master-Printers, and Workmen Printers before the said Committee; and that the Committee or any four of them, have power to commit to prison any of the said Printers, or any other persons that do contrive, or publiquely or privately vend fell, or publish any Pamphlet scandalous to his Majesty or the proceedings of both or either Houses of Parliament, or that shall refuse to suffer any Houses or Shops to be searched, where such presses or pamphlets as aforesaid are kept: And that the persons employed by the said Committee shall have power to seize such scandalous and lying pamphlets as they find upon search, to be in any shop or warhouse, sold, or dispersed by any person whomsoever, and to bring the persons (that so kept published, or sold the same,) before the Committee; And that such persons as the Committee shall commit for any offences aforesaid, shall not be released till the parties employed for the apprehending of the said persons, and seizing their presses and materials, be satisfied for their paines and charges. And all Justices of the Peace, Captains, Officers, and Constables, are required to be assisting in the apprehending of any the persons aforesaid, And in searching of their shops, Houses, and Warehouses; And likewise all Justices of peace, Officers, and Constables, are hereby required from time to time to apprehend such persons as shall publish, vend, or sell the said pamphlets. And it is further ordered, That this Order be forthwith printed and published, to the end that notice may be taken thereof, that all the contemners of this Order may be left incapable for their offence.  

A Collection of all the publicke Orders Ordinances and Declarations, &c. by Edward Husband, p 1. London. 1646.
AN
ORDER
OF THE
LORDS and COMMONS
Assembled in Parliament.
For the
Regulating of Printing,
And
For suppressing the great late abuses
and frequent disorders in Printing many false,
Scandalous, Seditious, Libellous, and unlicensed
Pamphlets, to the great defamation of
Religion and Government.

Also, authorizing the Masters & Wardens of
the Company of Stationers to make diligent search, seize
and carry away all such Books as they shall finde Printed, or
reprinted by any man having no lawfull interest in
them, being entered into the Hall Book to
any other man as his proper Copies.

Die Mercurii. 14 June. 1643.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,
that this Order shall be forthwith printed and published.

J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum:

LONDON, Printed for I. Wright in the Old-baily, June 16, 1643.
Die Mercurii, 14 Junii. 1643.

WHEREAS divers good Orders have bin lately made by both Houses of Parliament, for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disforders in Printing many, false forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed Papers, Pamphlets, and Books to the great defamation of Religion and government. Which orders (notwithstanding the diligence of the Company of Stationers, to put them in full execution) have taken little or no effect: By reason the bill in preparation, for redresse of the said disforders, hath hitherto bin retarded through the present distractions, and very many, aswell Stationers and Printers, as others of sundry other professions not free of the Stationers Company, have taken upon them to set up sundry private Printing Presse in corners, and to print, vend, publish and disperse Books, pamphlets and papers, in such multitudes, that no industry could be sufficient to discover or bring to punishment, all the severall abounding delinquents; And by reason that divers of the Stationers Company and others being Delinquents (contrary to former orders and the constant custome used among the said Company) have taken liberty to Print, Vend and publish, the most profitable vendible Copies of Books, belonging to the Company and other Stationers, especially of such Agents as are employed in putting the said Orders in Execution, and that by way of revenge for giving information against them to the Houses for their Delinquences in Printing, to the great prejudice of the said Company of Stationers and Agents, and to their discouragement in this publik service.

It is therefore Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That no Order or Declaration of both, or either House of Parliament shall be printed by any, but by order of one or both the said Houses: Nor
other Book, Pamphlet, paper, nor part of any such Book, Pamphlet, or paper, shall from henceforth be printed, bound, stitched or put to sale by any person or persons whatsoever, unless the same be first approved of and licensed under the hands of such person or persons as both, or either of the said Houses shall appoint for the licensing of the same, and entered in the Register Book of the Company of Stationers, according to Ancient custom, and the Printer thereof to put his name thereto. And that no person or persons shall hereafter print, or cause to be reprinted any Book or Books, or part of Book, or Books heretofore allowed of and granted to the said Company of Stationers for their relief and maintenance of their poore, without the licence or consent of the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the said Company; Nor any Book or Books lawfully licensed and entered in the Register of the said Company for any particular member thereof, without the licence and consent of the owner or owners thereof. Nor yet import any such Book or Books, or part of Book or Books formerly printed here, from beyond the Seas, upon paine of forfeiting the same to the Owner, or Owners of the Copies of the said Books, and such further punishment as shall be thought fit.

And the Master and Wardens of the said Company, the Gentleman Usher of the House of Peers, the Sergeant of the Commons Houfe and their deputies, together with the persons formerly appointed by the Committee of the House of Commons for Examinations, are hereby Authorized and required, from time to time, to make diligent search in all places, where they shall think meete, for all unlicensed Printing Presses, and all Presses any way employed in the printing of scandalous or unlicensed Papers, Pamphlets, Books, or any Copies of Books belonging to the said Company, or any member thereof, without their approbation and consents, and to seize and carry away such Printing Presses Letters, together with the Nut, Spindle,
and other materials of every such irregular Printer, which they find so misemployed, unto the Common Hall of the said Company, there to be defaced and made unserviceable according to Ancient Custom; And likewise to make diligent search in all suspected Printing-houses, Ware-houses, Shops and other places for such scandalous and unlicensed Books, papers, Pamphlets, and all other Books, not entered, nor signed with the Printers name as aforesaid, being printed, or reprinted by such as have no lawful interest in them, or any way contrary to this Order, and the same to seize and carry away to the said common hall, there to remain till both or either House of Parliament shall dispose thereof, And likewise to apprehend all Authors, Printers, and other persons whatsoever employed in compiling, printing, stitching, binding, publishing and dispersing of the said scandalous, unlicensed, and unwarrantable papers, books and pamphlets as aforesaid, and all those who shall resist the said Parties in searching after them, and to bring them afore either of the Houses or the Committee of Examinations, that so they may receive such further punishments, as their Offences shall demerit, and not to be released untill they have given satisfaction to the Parties employed in their apprehension for their pains and charges, and given sufficient caution not to offend in like sort for the future. And all Justices of the Peace, Captaines, Constables and other officers, are hereby ordered and required to be aiding, and assisting to the forefaid persons in the due execution of all, and singular the premises and in the apprehension of all Offenders against the same. And in case of opposition to break open Doores and Locks.

And it is further ordered, that this Order be forthwith Printed and Published, to the end that notice may be taken thereof, and all Contemners of it left inexcusable.

FINIS.
AREOPAGITICA;
A SPEECH OF
Mr. JOHN MILTON
For the Liberty of Unlicenc'd PRINTING,
To the Parlament of ENGLAND.

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

Euripid. Hicetid.

LONDON,
Printed in the Yeare, 1644.
For the Liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.

They who to States and Governours of the Commonwealth direct their Speech, High Court of Parlament, or wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the publick good; I suppose them as at the beginning of no meane endeavours, not a little alter'd and mov'd inwardly in their mindes: Some with doubt of what will be the success, others with feare of what will be the cenfure; 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 varioufly affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them sway'd most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, farre more welcome then incidentall to a Preface. Which though I stay not to confesse ere any ask, 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 propof'd will be a certaine testimony, if not a Trophy. For this is not the liberty which wee can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the Commonwealth, that let no man in this World expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider'd, and speedily reform'd, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attain'd, that wise men
looke for. To which if I now manifest by the very found of this which I shall utter, that wee are already in good part arriv'd, and yet from such a sleepe disadvaantage 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 Wifdome, Lords and Commons of England. Neithier is it in Gods 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 progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole Realme to your indefatigable vertues, I might be justly reckn'd among the tardieft, and the unwillingeft of them that praise yee. Neverthelesse there being three principall things, without which all praising is but Courtship and flattery, First, when that only is praiz'd which is solidly worth praize: next, when greatest likehoods 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 perfwasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavour'd, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impaire your merits with a triviall and malignant Encomium; the latter as belonging chiefly to mine owne acquittall, that whom I fo 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 loyaleft affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kinde of praising; for though I should affirme and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the Commonwealth, if one of your publifht Orders which I should name, were call'd in, yet at the same time it could not but much
reldound 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 flatists have been delighted heretofore with publicke flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial Parliament, and that jealous hautinesse of Prelates and cabin Counsellors that usurpt of late, when as they shall observe yee in the midd'ft of your Victories and successes more gently brookingwritt'n exceptions against a voted Order, then other Courts, which had produc't nothing worth: memory but the weake ostentation of wealth, would have endur'd the least signisf'd dislike at any sudden Proclamation. If I should thus farre presume upon the meek demeanour of your civill and gentle greatness, Lords and Commons, as what your publisht Order hath directly said, that to gainfsay, I might defend my selfe with ease, if any should accuse me of being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece, then the barbarick pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian state-lines. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we ow that we are not yet Gothes and Jutlanders, I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the Parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the forme of Democracy which was then establisht. Such honour was done in those dayes to men who professe the study of wisdome and eloquence, not only in their own Country, but in other Lands, that Cities and Sinories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had ought in publick to admonish the State. Thus did Dion Prusfeus a stranger and a privat Orator counsell the Rhodians against a 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 stidious labours, and those naturall endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equall 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 foever it be heard speaking; and renders
ye as willing to repeal any Act of your own setting forth,
as any fet forth by your Predecessors.

If ye be thus resolv'd, as it were injury to thinke ye
were not, I know not what shoulde withhold me from
presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to shew both
that love of truth which ye eminently profeffe, and that
uprightness of your judgement which is not wont to be
partiall to your selves; by judging over again that Order
which ye have ordain'd to regulate Printing. That no
Book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth Printed, un-
lesse 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 himselfe,
or provides for the poor, I touch not, only with they be
not made pretenses to abuse and persecute honest and
painfull Men, who offend not in either of these particu-
lar's. 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 Homily, as shall lay before ye, first the in-
ventors of it to bee those whom ye will be loath to own;
next what is to be thought in generall of reading, what
ever fort the Books be; and that this Order avails no-	hing to the suppressing of scandalous, feditious, and
libellous Books, which were mainly intended to be sup-
press. Last, that it will be primely to the discourag-
ment of all learning, and the stop of Truth, not only by
the difexercising and blunting our abilities in what we
know already, but by hindring and cropping the dis-
covery 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 demean themselves as well as men; and
thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice
on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely
dead things, but 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 vioU the purefl
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 unleffe warineffe 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 reafon 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 preious
life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and trefur'd up
on purpofe 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 worfe. We should be wary therefore what per-
secution we raise against the living labours of publick
men, how we spill that seafon'd life of man preferv'd
and flor'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 maflacre,
whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an ele-
mentall life, but frikes at that ethereall and fift effence,
the breath of reafon it selfe, flaes an immortality rather
then a life. But left I should be condemn'd of intro-
ducing licence, while I oppose Licencing, I refuse not
the paines to be so much Historicall, as will serve to
shew what hath been done by ancient and famous Com-
monwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that
this proje6t of licencing crept out of the Inquisition, was
catcht up by our Prelates, and hath caught some of our
Presbyters.
In Athens where Books and Wits were ever busier then in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the Magistrate car'd to take notice of; those either blasphemous and Atheistical, or Libellous. Thus the Books of Protagoras were by the Judges of Areopagus commanded to be burnt, and himself 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 none should be traduc'd by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comedia, whereby we may guess how they cenfur'd 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 facts and opinions though tending to voluptuousness, and the denying of divine providence they tooke no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynick impudence utter'd, was ever question'd by the Laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old Comedians were suppress'd, though the act of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes the loosest of them all, to his royall scholler Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excus'd, if holy Chrysostome, as is reported, nightly studied so much the same Author and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the still of a rousing Sermon. That other leading City of Greece, Lacedaemon, considering that Lycurgus their Law-giver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scatter'd works of Homer, and sent the Poet Thales from Crete to prepare and mollifie the Spartan furlinesse with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility, it is to be wonder'd how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of Warre. There needed no licencing of Books among them for they dislik'd all, but their owne Laconick Apotheagus, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus
out of their City, perhaps for composing in a higher straine than their owne soouldierly ballats and roundels could reach to: Or if it were for his broad verfes, they were not therein fo cautious, but they were as diffolute in their promifcuous converfing; whence Euripides affirms in Andromache, that their women were all unchafte. Thus much may give us light after what fort Bookes were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages train'd up only to a military roughnes, reembling most of the Lacedemonian 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, fo unacquainted with other learning, that when Carneades and Critolaus, with the Stoick Diogenes coming Embassadors to Rome, tooke thereby occasion to give the City a taft of their Philosophy, they were fufpected for seducers by no leffe a man then Cato the Cenfor, who mov'd it in the Senat to difmiff them speedily, and to banifh all fuch Attick bablers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblefl Senators withflood him and his old Sabin auffterity; honour'd and admir'd the men; and the Cenfor himfelf at last in his old age fell to the fudy of that whereof before hee was fo fcrupulous. And yet at the fame time Nevius 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 confider'd there alfo what was to be don to libellous books and Authors; for Nevius was quickly caft into prifon for his unbridl'd pen, and releas'd by the Tribunes upon his recantation: We read alfo that libels were burnt, and the makers punifht by Auguls. The like severity no doubt was us'd if outh were impioufly writ'n againft their efteeamed gods. Except in these two points, how the world went in Books, the Magifrat kept no reckning. And therefore Lucretius without impeachment verfifies his Epicurifm to Memmius, and had the honour to be fet forth the second time by Cicero fo great a father of the Commonwealth; although himfelfe disputes
against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the Satyricall sharpness, or naked plainnes of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of State, the flory of Titius Livins, though it extoll’d that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppress’d by Oelavius Caesar of the other Faction. But that Nafo 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 caufe: and besides, the Books were neither banisht nor cal’d in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman Empire, that we may not marvell, if not so often bad, as good Books were silenc’t. 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 Emperours 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 Councels; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt by authority of the Emperor. As for the writings of Heathen authors, unleffe they were plaine invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdiction that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian Councel, wherein Bishops themselves were forbid to read the Books of Gentiles, but Herefies they might read: while others long before them on the contrary scrupul’d more the Books of Hereticks, then of Gentiles. And that the primitive Councels and Bishops were wont only to declare what Books were not commendable, passing no furder, 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 Councel. After which time the Popes of Rome engrossing what they pleas’d of Politicall rule into their owne hands, extended their dominion over mens eyes, as they had
before over their judgements, burning and prohibiting to be read, what they fancied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the Books not many which they so dealt with: till Martin the 5. by his Bull not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical Books; for about that time Wicklif and Hufe growing terrible, were they who first drove the Papal Court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which cours Leo the 10, and his successors follow'd, untill the Councell of Trent, and the Spanish Inquisition engendering together brought forth, or perfected those Catalogues, and expurgating Indexes that rake through the entrails of many an old good Author, with a violation worse then any could be offer'd to his tomb. Nor did they stay in matters Heretical, but any subject that was not to their palat, they either condemn'd in a prohibition, or had it straight into the new Purgatory of an Index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no Book, pamphlet, or paper should be Printed (as if S. Peter had bequeath'd them the keys of the Press also out of Paradise) unless it were approv'd and licenc't under the hands of 2 or 3 glutton Friers. For example:

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

Vincent Rabatta Vicar of Florence.

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

Nicolò Cini, Chancellor of Florence.

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

Vincent Rabatta, &c.

It may be Printed, July 15.

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

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

*Quo veniam daret flatum cre-pitumque ventris in convivio emi-tendi. Sueton. in Claudio.*

Imprimatur, If it seem good to the revere-
rend 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 Piazza of one Title page, complementing and ducking each to other with their shav'n reverences, whether the Author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his Epistle, shal to the PRESSE or to the SPUNGE. These are the pretty responsories, these are the deare Antiphonies that so bewitcht of late our Prelats, and their Chaplaines with the goodly Eccho they made; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly Imprimatur, one from Lambeth house, another from the West end of Pauls; so apishly Romanizing, that the word of command still was set downe in Latine; as if the learned Grammaticall pen that wrote it, would cast no ink without Latine; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to expresse the pure conceit of an Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous, and formost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily finde servile letters anow to spell such a dictatorie pre-
sumption English. And thus ye have the Inventors and the originall of Book-licencing ript up, and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient State, or politie, or Church, nor by any Statute left us by our Ancestors, elder or later; nor from the moderne custom of any reformed Citty, or Church abroad; but from the most Antichris-
tian Councel, and the most tyrannous Inquifition that
ever inquir'd. Till then Books were ever as freely admitted into the World as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more still'd then the issue of the womb: no envious Juno sate cross-leg'd over the nativity of any man's intellectual off spring; but if it prov'd a Monster, who denies, but that it was justly burnt, or sunk in the Sea. But that a Book in worse 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 and his Colleagues, ere it can passe the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniqutu provocat and troubl'd at the first entrance of Reformation, fought out new limbo's and new hells wherein they might include our Books alfo within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morfell so officiously snatch't up, and so ill-favour'dly imitated by our inquisiturious Bishops, and the attendant minorites their Chaplains. That ye like not now these moft 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 readily.

But some will say, what though the Inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good? It may so: yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious, and easie for any man to light on, and yet best and wifest Commonwealths through all ages, and occasions have forborne to ufe it, and falsefl feducers, and oppressors of men were the first who tooke it up, and to no other purpofe but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of Reformation; I am of thofe who beleevve, it will be a harder alchemy than Lullius ever knew, to sublimate any good ufe out of fuch an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reafon, that it may be held a dangerous and fuspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, untill I can difsect one by one the properties it has. But I have firft to finish as was propounded, what is to be
thought in generall of reading Books, what ever fort 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 Egyptians, Caldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their Books of all forts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to infert 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 Apostat, and fettle fad enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Chriftians the study of heathen learning; for, said he, they wound us with our own weapons, and with our owne arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Chriftians were put fo to their shifts by this crafty means, and fo much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Apollinarii were fain as a man may say, to coin all the feven liberall Sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of Orations, Poems, Dialogues, ev'n to the calculating of a new Chriftian Grammar. But faith the Historian Socrates, The providence of God provided better then the induftry of Apollinaris and his fon, by taking away that illiterat law with the life of him who devis'd it. So great an injury they then held it to be depriv'd of Hellenick learning; and thought it a perfecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the Church then the open cruelty of Decius or Diocleian. And perhaps it was the fame politick drift that the Divell whipt St. Jerom in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a fantafm bred by the feaver which had then feis'd him. For had an Angel bin his disciplier, unleffe it were for dwelling too much upon Ciceronianifms, and had chaitz'd the reading, not the vanity, it had bin plainly partiall; first to correct him for grave Cicero, and not
for scurrill Plautus whom he confessest to have bin
reading not long before; next to correct him only,
and let so many more ancient Fathers wax old in those
pleasant and florid studies without the lash of such a
tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how
some good use may be made of Margites a sportfull
Poem, not now extant, writ by Homer; and why not	hen of Morgante an Italian Romanze much to the
same purpose. But if it be agreed we shall be try'd by
visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius far anci-
enter then this tale of Jerom to the nun Euslochium,
and besides has nothing of a feavor in it. Dionysius
Alexandrinus was about the year 240, a person of great
name in the Church for piety and learning, who had
wont to avail himself much against hereticks by being
conversant in their Books; untill a certain Presbyter
laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst
venture himselfe among those defiling volumes. The
worthy man loath to give offence fell into a new de-
bate with himselfe what was to be thought; when sud-
denly a vision sent from God, it is his own Epistle
that so avers it, confirm'd him in these words: Read
any books what ever 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 confessest, because it was anfwerable to that of the
Apostle to the Theffalonians, Prove all things, hold
faft that which is good. And he might have added
another remarkable saying of the same Author; To the
pure all things are pure, 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, Rife Peter, kill and eat,
leaving the choice to each mans discretion. Whole-
some meats to a vitiated stomack differ little or nothing
from unwholsome; and best books to a naughty mind
are not unappliable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious Reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate. 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 proves, 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 univerfall diet of mans body, saving ever the rules of temperance, he then alfo, as before, left arbitrary the dyeting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his owne leading capacity. How great a vertue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man? yet God commits the managing fo great a trust, without particular 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 mans daily portion of Manna, is computed to have bin morethen might have well suffic'd the heartiefl 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 shouw grow so faft upon those things which heretofore were govern'd only by exhortation. Salomon informs us that much reading is a wearines to the flesh; but neither he, nor other insipir'd author tells us that fuch, or fuch 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 appointed: these men practiz'd the books, another might perhaps have read them in some fort usefully. Good and evill we know in the field of this World grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involv'd and interwoven with the knowledge of evill, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discern'd, that those confused seeds which were impos'd on Psyche as an inceffant labour to cull out, and fort asunder, were not more intermixt. It was from out the rinde of one apple tastted, that the knowledge of good and evill as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the World. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evill, that is to say of knowing good by evill. As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdome can there be to chooze, what continence to forbeare without the knowledge of evill? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praife a fugitive and cloifter'd vertue, unexercis'd and unbreath'd, that never fallies out and fees her adverfary, but flinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary. That vertue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evill, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank vertue, not a pure; her whitenesse is but an excrementall whitenesse; Which was the reaason
why our sage and serious Poet Spencer, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon, and the bowr of earthly bliss that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human 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, is fear'd the infection that may spread; but then all human learning and controversy 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 unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against providence through all the arguments of Epicurus: in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader: And ask a Talmudest what ails the modesty of his marginall Keri, that Moses and all the Prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textuell Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible it selfe put by the Papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest Fathers must be next remov'd, as Clement of Alexandria, 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 learning, that they writ in an unknown tongue, so long
as we are sure those languages are known as well to the world of men, who are both most able, and most diligent to infill the poison they suck, first into the Courts of Princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius whom Nero call'd his Arbiter, the Master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo, dreaded, and yet dear to the Italian Courtiers. I name not him for posterities sake, whom Harry the 8. nam'd in merriment his Vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse, will finde a passage to the people farre easier and shorter then an Indian voyage, though it could be fail'd either by the North of Cataio Eastward, or of Canada Westward, while our Spanish licencing gags the English presss never so severely. But on the other side that infection which is from books of controversy 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 Papistical book in English, unlese it were commended and expounded to him by some of that Clergy: and indeed all such tractats whether false or true are as the Prophesie of Isaiah was to the Eunuch, not to be underlood 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 writ'n at Delf, which at first he took in hand to confute. Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance which are likelihood to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppress'd without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and sooneft 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 flopt, 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 cautelous enterprize of licencing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly dispos'd, could not well avoid to lik'n it to the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his Parkgate. Befides 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, unless 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 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 wisdome, while we seek to restrain from a fool, that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly. For if there shou'd be so much exactnesse always us'd to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we shou'd 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, not imploy our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but usefull drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compote 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 me by being clear already while thus much hath bin explaining. See the ingenuity of Truth, who when she gets a free and willing hand, opens her self faster, then the pace of method and discours can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, To shew that no Nation, or well institut'd 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, for 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 leaft 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 Burgomafters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had bin rather buried and excus'd in the genial cups of an Academick night-fitting. 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 writ'tn, untill the Judges and Law-keepers had seen it, and allow'd it: But that Plato meant this Law peculiarly to that Commonwealth which he had imagin'd, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a Law-giver to himself, but a transgress'or, 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, and also for commending the latter of them though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the Tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licencing of Poems had reference and dependence 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, unless their care were equall to regulat all other things of like aptnes to corrupt the mind, that single endeva

vour 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. There

must be licencing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest; for such Plato was provided of; It will ask more then the work of twenty licencers to examin all the lutes, the violins, and the ghittarrs in every house; they must not be suffer'd to prattle as they doe, but must be licenc'd what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigalls, that whisper softnes in chambers? The Windows also, and the Balcones 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 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. Next, what more Nationall corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, then houfhold gluttony; who fhall be the rectors of our daily rioting? and what fhall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunk'nes is fold and harbour'd? Our garments also fhould be referr'd to the licencing of some more fober work-mafters to fee them cut into a leffe wanton garb. Who fhall reguлат all the mixt conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this Country, who fhall still appoint what fhall be discours'd, what presum'd, and no furder? Lastly, who fhall forbid and separat all idle refort, all evill company? These things will be, and muft be; but how they fhall be left hurtfyll, how left enticing, herein confifts the grave and governing wifdom of a State. To fequefter out of the world into Atlantick and Eutopian polities, which never can be drawn into ufe, will not mend our condition; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evill, in the midd'ft whereof God hath plac't us unavoidably. Nor is it Plató's licencing of books will doe this, which neceffarily pulls along with it fo many other kinds of licencing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet fufrat; but those unwritt'n, or at leaft unconftraining laws of vertuous education, religious and civill nurture, which Plató there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the Commonwealth, the pillars and the fustainers of every writ'tn Statute; these they be which will bear chief fway in fuch matters as these, when all licencing will be easilly eluded. Impunity and remiffenes, for certain are the bane of a Commonwealth, but here the great art lyes to discern in what the law is to bid reftraint and punishment, and in what things perfwafion only is to work. If every action which is good, or evill in man at ripe years, were to be under pittance, and prescription, and compulfion, what were vertue but a name, what praffe could be then due to well-doing, what grammery to be fober, juft, or continent? many there be that complain of divin Providence foruffering Adam to tranfgreffe, foolifh
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 motions. We our selves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force: God therefore left him free, yet before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertue? 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 univerfall thing as books are; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewell left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousnesse. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercis'd in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so; such great care and wisdom is requir'd to the right managing of this point. Suppose we could expell sin by this means; look how much we thus expell of sin, so much we expell of vertue: for the matter of them both is the same; remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who though he command us temperance, justice, continence, yet pows out before us ev'n to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigor contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the triall of vertue, and the exercise of truth. It would be better done to learn that the law must needs be frivolous which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good, and to evil. And
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were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be pref-
ferr'd before many times as much the forcible hindrance
of evill-doing. For God sure esteems the growth and
compleating of one vertuous person, more then the
restraint of ten vitious. And albeit what ever thing we
hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or converfing
may be fitly call'd our book, and is of the same effect
that writings are, yet grant the thing to be prohibited
were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is
far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not
fee, not once or oftner, but weekly that continu'd Court-
libell against the Parlament and City, Printed, as the
wet fheets can witnes, and difpers'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 felf. If it were executed, you'll fay. But certain, if
execution be remiffe or blindfold now, and in this par-
ticular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books.
If then the order fhall not be vain and frustrat, behold
a new labour, Lords and Commons, ye muft repeal and
proscribe all scandalous and unlicenc't books already
printed and divulg'd; after ye have drawn them up into
a lift, that all may know which are condemn'd, and
which not; and ordain that no forrein books be deli-
ver'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 ufefull and excellent, partly culpable and
pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials
to make expurgations and expunctions, that the Com-
monwealth of learning be not damnify'd. In fine, when
the multitude of books encrease upon their hands, ye
muft be fain to catalogue all thofe Printers who are
found frequently offending, and forbidd the importation
of their whole fufpected typography. In a word, that
this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye muft
reform it perfectly according to the model of Trent and
Sevil, which I know ye abhorre to doe. Yet though
ye fhould condifcend to this, which God forbid, the
order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or so uncatechis’d in glory, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hindrance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions. The Christian faith, for that was once a schism, is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any Gospel or Epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aim’d at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chastter, since all the inquisition all rigor that hath bin executed upon books. Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every 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 unpleasing 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 accept- able unleas at certain seafons; but to be enjoyn’d the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scars legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest Print, is an imposition which I cannot beleev how he that values time, and his own studyes, or is but of a sensible nostrill should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licencers to be pardon’d for so thinking: who doubleste took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the Parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easie and unlaborious to them; but that this short triall hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit
their licence, are testimony anough. Seeing therefore those who now possesse the employment, by all evident signs with themselves well ridd of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a Press-correc Łor, we may eaily foresee what kind of licencers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remisse, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to shew wherein this order cannot conduce to that end, whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offerd to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint 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 daight and discourag'd. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning could or fell with the Clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a fordid and unworthy speech of any Churchman who had a competency left him. If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous fort of such as evidently were born to study, and love lerning for it self, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publish 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 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 scifin, 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 capt the
ferular, to come under the fevcu of an Imprimatur? if serios and elaborat writings, as if they were no more then the them of a Grammar lad under his Pedagoge must not be utter'd without the cursory eyes of a tem-
porizing and extemporizing licencer. He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known
to be evil, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the
Commonwealth wherein he was born, for other then a fool or a foreiner. When a man writes to the world, he
summons up all his reafon and deliberation to affift him; he searches, meditats, is induftrious, and likely
consults and conferrs with his judicious friends; after all which done he takes himself to be inform'd in what
he writes, as well as any that writ before him; if in this the most confummat act of his fidelity and ripeneffe, no
years, no induftry, no former proof of his abilities can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still
mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his con-
iderat diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expence
of Palladian oyl, to the hafty view of an unleafur'd
licencer, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his in-
feriour in judgement, perhaps one who never knew the
labour of book-writing, and if he be not repulft, or
flighted, must appear in Print like a punie with his
guardian, and his cenfors hand on the back of his title
to be his bayl and surety, that he is no idiot, or feducer,
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 happen's 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 infinitions may be view'd; and
many a jaunt will be made, ere that licencer, for it must
be the same man, can either be found, or found at leifure;
mean while either the Press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author loose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse then he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall. And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching, how can he be a Doctor in his book as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licencer to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hidebound humor which he calls his judgement. When every acute reader upon the first sight of a pedantick licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a coits distance from him, I hate a pupil teacher, I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overfeeing 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 stuff; and he might adde from Sir Francis Bacon, That such authoriz'd books are but the language of the times. 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 commision enjoyns him to let passe nothing but what is vulgarly receiv'd already. Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceafed 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
loft, for the fearfulnesse, or the presumptuous rashnesse of a perfunctory licencier. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such iron moulds as these shall have authority to know out the choicest periods of exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that haples race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more then worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothfull, to be a common stedfaft dunce will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the writ'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 for ever, much lesse that it should not passe except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strain'd with their strainers, that it should be uncurrant without their manuall stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopoliz'd and traded in by tickets and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the Land, to mark and licence it like our broad cloath, and our wooll packs. What is it but a servitude like that impos'd by the Philistims, not to be allow'd the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licencing forges. Had any one writ'n and divulgd erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if
after conviction this only censure were adjug'd him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examin'd by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annext to passe his credit for him, that now he might be safely read, it could not be apprehend leffe 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 furre forth without a visible jaylor in thir title. Nor is it to the common people leffe then a reproach; for if we so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what doe we but cenfure them for a giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people; in such a fick 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 despis'd the fame strictnes is us'd over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither; whenas those corruptions which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other dores which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflectts to the disrepute of our Minifters also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of the proficiencie which thir flock reaps by them, then that after all this light of the Gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continuall preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipil'd, unedi-fy'd, and laick rabble, as that the whiffe of every new pamphlet shoult stagger them out of their catechifm, and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the Minifters 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 wellnigh made all other books unpalatable, should not be armor enough against one single enchiridion, without the castle of St. Angelo of an Imprimatur.

And left from should persuade ye, Lords and Commons, that these arguments of learned mens discouragement at this your order, are mere flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other Countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have sat among their learned men, for that 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 servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damp't the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had bin there writ'tn now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visit'd the famous Galileo grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in Astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the Prelatical yoke, 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 forgot'tn by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts utter'd against the Inquisition, the fame I should hear by as learned men at home utter'd in time of Parliament against an order of licencing; and that so generally, that when I disclose'd my self a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest qeestorship had indar'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
reflected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I would not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, toward the removal of an undeserved 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 others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licencing, and that we are so timorous of our selves, and so suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of every leaf, before we know what the contents are, if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guess what is intended by som but a second tyranny over learning: and will soon put it out of controversy that Bishops and Presbyters are the same to us both name and thing. That those evills of Prelaty which before from five or six and twenty Sees were distributively charg'd upon the whole people, will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the Pastor of a small unlearned Parish, on the sudden shall be exalted Archbishop over a large dioces of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralift. He who but of late cry'd down the sole ordination of every novice Batchelor of Art, and deny'd sole jurisdiction over the simplest Parishioner, 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 Covenants and Protests that we have made, this is not to put down Prelaty, this is but to chop an Episcopacy, this is but to translate the Palace Metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another, this is but an old cannonical flight 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 licencier, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men. Who cannot but discern the finenes of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers; that while Bishops were to be baited down, then all Presses might be open; it was the people's birthright and priviledge in time of Parlament, it was the breaking forth of light. But now the Bishops abrogated and voided out of the Church, as if our Reformation fought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name, the Episcopal arts begin to bud again, the crusoe of truth must run no more oyle, liberty of Printing must be enthrall'd again under a Prelaticall comission of twenty, the privilege of the people nullify'd, and which is wors, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters; all this the Parlament yet fitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the Prelats might remember them that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppresing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: The punishing of wits enhances their authority, faith the Vicount St. Albans, and a forbidd'n writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out. This order therefore may prove a nurving mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be a step-dame to Truth: and first by disnabling 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 perpetual progression, they flick'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 determins, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie. There is not any burden that som would gladly post off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion. There be, who knows not that there be of Protestants and professors who live and dye in as arrant an implicit faith, as any lay Papist of Loretto. A wealthy man addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds Religion to be a traffick so entangl'd, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a flock going upon that trade. What shou'de 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 resolvs to give over toyling, and to find himself out from factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religous affairs; from 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 become a dividuall movable, and goes and comes neer him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep, rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well spic't bruage, and better breakfasted 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.

Another fort there be who when they hear that all things shall be order'd, all things regulated and setl'd; nothing writ'n but what passes through the custom-house of certain Publicans that have the tunaging and the poundaging of all free spok'n truth, 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 fun to fun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightfull dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have tak'n so strictly, and so unalterably into their own pourveying. These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how must be wisth were such an obedient unanimity as this, what a fine conformity would it starch us all into? doubtles a flanch and solid peece of framework, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence ev'n among the Clergy themselves; it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial Minister, who has his reward, and is at his Hercules pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may roufe up his studies, to finis his circuit in an English concordance and a topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduation, 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 fa by forming and transforming, joyning and dis-joyning variously a little book-craft, and two hours meditation might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more then a weekly charge of sermoning: not to reck'n up the infinit helps of interlinearies, breviaries, synopfes, and other loitering gear. But as for the multitude of Sermons 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, have not within their hallow'd limits more vendible ware of all forts 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'd, 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 about his receiv'd opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow inspectors, fearing left any of his flock be seduc't, who alfo then would be better instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And God fend that the fear of this diligence which muft 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 not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding rout, what can be more fair, then when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for ought we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not 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 found. Christ urg'd it as wherewith to justifie himself, that he preacht in publack; yet writing is more publack then preaching; and more easie to reftutation, 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 towards the true knowledge of what we feem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licencers themselves in the calling of their Min-
istry, more then any seculiar employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purpos'd to lay open, the incredible losse, and detriment that this plot of licencing puts us to, more then if some 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 practise by Antichristian malice and mystery on set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of Reformation, and to settle fallhood; little differing from that policie wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran, by the prohibition of Printing. 'Tis not deny'd, but gladly confess, 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 who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attain'd the utmost prospect of reformation, that the mortalle glasse wherein we contemplate, can shew us, till we come to beatific vision, that man 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 on: but when he ascended, and his Apostiles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the \textit{Egyptian Typhon} with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scatter'd them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the carefull search that \textit{Isis} made for the mangl'd body of \textit{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 immortal feature of lovelines and perfection. Suffer not these licencing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that 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 Combusht, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the Sun, untill the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen 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. It is not the unfrocking of a Priest, the unmitring of a Bishop, and the removing him from off the Presbyterian shoulders that will make us a happy Nation, no, if other things as great in the Church, and in the rule of life both economicall and politcall be not lookt into and reform’d, we have lookt so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin hath beacon’d up to us, that we are stark blind. There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man diffents 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. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those differ’d pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is homogeneal, 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 outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds.
Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, fustle and finewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can foar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest Sciences have bin fo ancient, and fo eminent among us, that Writers of good antiquity, andablest judgement have bin persuaded that ev'n the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom took beginning from the old Philosophy of this Iland. And that wise and civill Roman, Julius Agricola, who govern'd once here for Caesar, prferr'd the naturall wits of Britain, before the labour'd studies of the French. Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transilvanian sends out yearly from as farre as the mountanous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wildernes, not their youth, but their fly'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 proclam'd and founded forth the first tidings and trumpet of Reformation to all Europ. And had it not bin the obstinat perverfines of our Prelats against the divine and admirable spirit of Wicklif, to suppreffe him as a schismatic and innovator, perhapsneither the Bohemian Hufse 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 matter, we are become hitherto the latefl and the backwardeft Schollers, ofwhom 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 reform-
ing of Reformation it self: what does he then but reveal Himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his English-men; I say as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast City; a City of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, then there be pens and heads there, fitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas' wherewith to present, as with their homage and their sealty the approaching Reformation: others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reafon and convince ment. 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 foil, but wife and faithfull labourers, to make a knowing people, a Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies. We reck'n more then five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessit 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 rejoice 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 in one generall and brotherly search after Truth; could we but forgoe this Prelaticall tradition of crowding free confciences and Chriftian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wife
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 reason-
ings 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, 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 schismatics and sectaries;
as if, while the Temple of the Lord was building, some
cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the
cedars, there should be a sort of irrationall men who could
not consider there must be many schisms and many di-
sections 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
peecoe of the building be of one form; nay rather the
perfection consists in this, that out of many moderat
varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not
vaftly disproportionall arises the goodly and the grace-
full symmetry that commends the whole pile and struc-
ture. Let us therefore be more considerat builders,
more wise in spirituall architecture, when great refor-
mation is expected. For now the time seems come,
wherein Mofes the great Prophet may fit in heav'n re-
joycing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his
fulfill'd, when not only our fev'nty Elders, but all the
Lords people are become Prophets. No marvell then
though some men, and some good men too perhaps,
but young in goodnesse, as Joshua then was, envy them.
They fret, and out of their own weaknes are in agony,
left those divisions and subdivisions will undoe us. The
adverfarie again applauds, and waits the hour, when
they have brancht themselves out, faith he, small anough
into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool!
he fees not the firm root, out of which we all grow,
though into branches: nor will beware untill hee see
our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle
of his ill united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these suppos’d facts and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude honest perhaps though over timorous of them that vex in his behalf, but shall laugh in the end, at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me.

First, when a City shall be as it were besieg’d and blockt about, her navigable river infest’d, inrodes and incursions round, defiance and battell oft rumor’d to be marching up ev’n to her walls, and suburb trenches, that then the people, or the greater part, more then at other times, wholly tak’n up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reform’d, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, ev’n to a rarity, and admiration, things not before discours’d or writt’n of, argues first a singular good will, contentedness and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, Lords and Commons; and from thence derives it self to a gallant bravery and well grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was, who when Rome was nigh besieg’d by Hanibal, being in the City, bought that piece of ground at no cheap rate, whereon Hanibal himself encampt his own regiment. Next it is a lively and cherfull preface of our happy succeffe and victory. For as in a body, when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acueft, and the pertest operations of wit and futtly, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is, so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has, not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solideft and sublimeft points of controversy, and new invention, it betok’n us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatall decay, but cafting off the old and wrincl’d skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again, entring the glorious waies of Truth and prospe-
rous vertue defflin'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 musing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzl'd eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'ly 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.

What should ye doe then, should ye suppreffe 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 ingroffers over it, to bring a famin upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measur'd to us by their bushel? Beleeve it, Lords and Commons, they who counfell ye to such a suppressing, doe as good as bid ye suppreffe yourselves; and I will soon shew how. If it be defir'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 counfels have purchaft us, liberty which is the nurfe of all great wits; this is that which hath rarify'd and enlightn'd our spirits like the influence of heav'n; this is that which hath enfranchis'd, enlarg'd and lifted up our apprehensions degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now leffe capable, leffe knowing, leffe eagerly pursu'ng of the truth, unleffe ye first make your selves, that made us so, leffe the lovers, leffe the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutifh, formall, and slavifh, 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
ere\text{c}ted to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your owne vertu propagat\text{e}d in us; ye cannot suppress that unle\text{f} ye rein-force an abrogated and mercifl\text{e} law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then sticke closest to ye, and excite others? not he who takes up armes for cote and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advis’d then, if it be found so hurtfull and so unequall to suppress opinions for the newnes, or the unfutablenes 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 mis\text{t} and bewayl’d a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him I am sure; yet I for honours fake, and may it be eternall to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook.\text{5} He writing of Episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left Ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and 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 peaceful. 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 dif\text{con}formity to our selves. The book it self will tell us more at large being publisht to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament by him who both for his life and for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perufall.
And now the time in speciall is, by priviledge to write and speak what may help to the furder discoursing of matters in agitation. The Temple of Janus with his two controverfal faces might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all 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 suppresing. 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 casemants. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures early and late, that another order shall enjoyn us to know nothing but by statute. When a man hath bin labouring the hardeft labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnish 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 fun, 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 passe, though it be valour enough in shouldership, is but weaknesses and cowardise in the wars of Truth. For who knows not that Truth is strong next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, no strategems, no 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 bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes, except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjur'd into her own likeness. Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes than one. What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein Truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike her self. What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of those ordinances, that hand writing nay'd to the cross, what great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of. His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day, or regards it not, may 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 chiefstrong hold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another. I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a sluggish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us. We stumble and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentalls; and through our forwardnes to suppress, and our backwardnes to recover any enthralld piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and difunion of all. We doe not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid externall formality, we may as soon fall again into a grosse conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of wood and hay and stubble forc't and frozen together, 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 frite; that must be the Angels Ministry at the end of mortall things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtles is more
wholsome, more prudent, and more Christian that many be tolerated, rather then all compell'd. I mean not tolerated Popery, and open superflition, which as it extirpats all religions and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat, provided first that all charitable and compassionat means be us'd to win and regain the weak and misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or maners no law can possiblly permit, that intends not to unlaw it self: but those neighboring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be many, yet need not interrupt the unity of Spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace. In the mean while if any one would write, and bring his helpfull hand to the flow-moving Reformation we labour under, if Truth have spok'n to him 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 come to prohibiting, there is not ought more likely to be prohibited then truth it self; whose first appearance to our eyes bleard and dimmd with prejudice and cuflom, is more unsightly and unplaufible then many errors, ev'n as the perfon is of many a great man flight and contemptible to see to. And what doe they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard, but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms doe so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a Kingdome with strong and healthfull commotions to a generall reforming, 'tis not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then buiest 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 revife what hath bin taught heretofore, but to gain furder and
goe on, some new enlight'n'd steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of Gods enlightning his Church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confin'd, where and out of what place thee his cho'en shall be first heard to speak; for he sees not as man sees, chooseth 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 the old Convocation house, and another while in the Chappell at Westminster; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canoniz'd, 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 their number. And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schimaticks, 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 fakes, yet for our own? seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many waies of profiting by those who not contented with stale receits 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 serve to polish and brighten the armoury of Truth, ev'n for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the speciall use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the Priests, nor among the Pharifees, and we in the haft 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 fore-judge them ere we understand them, no lese 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 Parliament, both of the Presbytery and others who by their unlicen’t books to the contempt of an Imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day: I hope that none of those were the periwolders 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 enough to admonish our Elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is, if neither their own remembrance what evill hath abounded in the Church by this lett of licencing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will periwade, and execute the most Dominican part of the Inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppresing, it would be no unequall distribution in the first place to suppresse the suppresorrs themselves; whom the change of their condition hath pufht up, more then their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the Preffe, 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, unlese the Printers and the Authors name, or at least the Printers be register’d. Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the time-liest and the most effectuall remedy, that mans prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licencing books, if I have said ought, will 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*. Whereby ye may guesse what kinde of State prudence, what love of the people, what care of Religion, or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent Order so well constituted before, if we may beleve those men whose profession gives them caufe to enquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old *patentees* and *monopolizers* in the trade of book-sellling; who under pretence of the poor in their Company not to be defrauded, and the just retaing of each man his severall copy, which God forbid shoule be gainfaid, brought divers glosing colours to the Houfe, 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 shoule be made other mens vassals. Another end is thought was aym'd at by some of them in procuring by petition this Order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easie escape abroad, as the event shews. But of these *Sophisms* and *Elenchs* of marchandize I skil not: This I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almoast incident; for what Magistrate may not be mis-inform'd, and much the sooner, if liberty of Printing be reduc't into the power of a few; but to redresse willingly and speedily what hath bin err'd, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more then others have done a sumptuous bribe, is a vertue (honour'd Lords and Commons) anfwerable to Your highest actions, and whereof none can participat but greatefl and wifefl men. 

*The End.*
1. **Areopagitica**—that which appertains to the Areopagus. There is at Athens a hill, formerly called ὁ Ἀρείου πάγος, 'the hill of Ares,' the 'Mar's Hill' of Acts xvii. 22, whereon used to assemble a Council, called 'The Council of the Areopagus.' Besides supreme judicial authority in cases of wilful murder, this Council possessed very large social influence; having the general undefined superintendence of religion, morals, education, and the like. It was held in veneration by the whole people. It appears to have been strongly conservative in tone, and seems to have occupied a somewhat similar position in the Athenian republic to that of the House of Lords in the British constitution.

2. There were two Wardens in the Stationers' Company.

3. Reprinted at page 25.

4. **Bernardo Davanzati Bostichi** [b. 30 August 1529—d. 20 March 1606]. A Florentine author of considerable repute. He wrote several works. I have not, as yet, been able to identify the particular one referred to by Milton.

5. **Robert Grevil, Lord Brooke**—*The title of this book is, A discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacie, which is exercised in England. Wherein, with all Humility, are represented some Considerations tending to the much-desired Peace, and long expected Reformation, of This our Mother Church.* By the Right Honourable Robert Lord Brooke.—London, Printed by R. C. for Samuel Cartwright, and are to be sold at the signe of the Hand and Bible in Ducke-Lane 1641. This Lord Brooke was born in 1607, and was the son of the celebrated Fulk Grevil, Lord Brooke of Beauchamps-court, the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. He was killed on 2 March 1642, while commanding the parliamentary forces attacking the Church-clofe at Litchfield. 'It fell out, that he having planted his great guns against the South-Eaft-gate of the Clofe, he was, tho' harnessed with plate-armour 'cap-a-pe, shot from the church in the eye by one Diot, a 'Clergy-man's son, (who could neither hear or speak) as he stood 'in a door (whither he came to see the occasion of a sudden 'shout made by the soldiers) of which he instantly died.'—A. à Wood. *Athenæ Oxonienses*, II. 433, Ed: by Blifs, 1815.


8. **Gilbert Mabbott**, gentleman, was licenser of pamphlets. He resigned on 22nd May, 1649, giving as his reasons arguments similar to those in the 'Areopagitica.'