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Milton And Radical Female Prophets: Millenarianism, Readership, And Poetics

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MILTON AND RADICAL FEMALE PROPHETS: MILLENARIANISM, READERSHIP, AND POETICS

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DEDICATION

To My Beloved Mother

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Chapter I. Introduction: Millennial Vision, Plain Aesthetics, and Readership

This dissertation investigates the ways in which John Milton and three radical female prophets, Mary Cary, Anna Trapnel, and Dorothy White, chose literary genres and prophetic forms to build readerships favorable to their millennial visions in the 1640s and 1660s. In doing so, this dissertation attempts to facilitate academic discussion between the bodies of scholarship on the prophetic literature of Milton and radical female prophets, which have developed separately. By situating the millennial visions of Milton and radical female prophets within the scholarly context of and conversations about seventeenth-century prophetic literature, this dissertation aims to move beyond gender distinctions by simultaneously exploring the revolutionary experiences of Milton and contemporary female writers. By analyzing the literary strategies used by Milton and radical female prophets to build pro-republican readerships through a combination of historicist and formalist approaches, this dissertation also seeks to redress critical neglect of how poetics served to advocate revolutionary causes. In doing so, this analysis aims to deepen our views on the scope of Milton's literary efforts to achieve his lifetime goal of cultivating republican political institutions and values. Moreover, this dissertation attempts to advance our understanding of female prophets' formal choices and achievements, as well as to provide a case study that helps resolve the critical disjunction in the study of early modern British women's literature and the study of early modern British literature.[1] Examining Milton and female prophets' literary strategies and poetics within similar historical, socio-political contexts can deepen our

[1] On the issue of a different critical timeline between the field of early modern British women's writing and the wider field of early modern British literature, see Lara Dodds and Michelle M. Dowd's "Happy Accidents: Critical Belatedness, Feminist Formalism, and Early Modern Women's Writing," *Criticism* 62.2 (2020):169-193. Dodds and Dowd explore the points where its disjunction is important opportunities for the field of early modern British women's writing.

understanding of their place, achievement, and distinctiveness within a more integrated tradition of prophetic literature, including mainstream and non-mainstream literature, and move the scholarly conversations beyond gender boundaries.

By studying the prophetic writings of Milton and radical female prophets through a blend of historicism and formalism, this dissertation explores new scholarly directions and possibilities in two ways. First, this dissertation aims to promote scholarly discussion of connections in the millenarianism of Milton and radical female prophets. Millenarianism, a term that is interchangeable with millennialism, refers to the belief that Christ will imminently establish his kingdom on earth and rule it with his saints for a thousand years (Hill 1982, 22).[2] The saints are God's chosen people prophesied as the main agents to govern the kingdom of Christ when Christ returns (*King James Version*, Revelation 20:4). Most Protestant millenarians were not politically radicalized (Nikides 334), but as Christ's saints they were willing to undertake the mission of preparing the coming of Christ's kingdom (Fritze 270). By viewing Protestant England and themselves as instruments that could advance Christ's kingdom (Fritze 270), Protestant millenarians gained an effective justification for strengthening their social, religious, and political causes. Interestingly, by presenting their proposed social, religious, and political reforms as preparations for the kingdom of Christ, Milton and female prophets also linked the idea of the millennium to reform and made it a sacred mandate for readers to join their social, religious, and political reformation. Since female prophets used their millennial visions as a rationale for creating a new world, just as Milton used a millennial vision in preparing for a new beginning for Adam

[2] On millenarianism, see B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber, 1972); B.S. Capp, "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism," in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*, eds. J. F. McGregor and B. Reay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 165-89.

and Eve in *Paradise Lost*, this dissertation studies millennial visions from the perspective of discourses on reform here and now, rather than discourses preparing for the end of the world. Milton's lifelong goal to nurture virtuous and free citizens was supported by his assertion that the millennium will come when Britain reforms all the forces (popes, bishops, and kings) that lead to slavery (Lewalski 2003, 15). Likewise, sectarian female prophets justified their advocacy for the abolition of the national church system in favor of religious liberty and for a sweeping reform of the legal and tax system by claiming that such reforms would make Britain a better place for King Christ to rule. In short, for Milton and radical female prophets, the millennial vision was an effective way to spur readers into revolutionary action by placing them in the position of Christ's saints and in the role of judges of the conflict between the extant system and their revolutionary cause. Despite the common role of millenarianism in these writings, scholars have investigated Milton and radical female prophets' millenarianism in isolation; thus, they have been relatively indifferent to the ways in which Milton and radical female prophets both appropriated the idea of the millennium to call for a national renewal.

This chapter summarizes the critical histories of existing academic research on these authors' millenarianism and the scholarship that has previously discussed Milton and contemporary women writers. First, Milton scholarship has not paid much attention to how Milton's shifting millenarian ideas influenced his construction of readership and his use of literary form over the course of his career. Michael Fixler (1964), Leland Ryken (1970), William Kerrigan (1974), and Austin C. Dobbins (1975) have focused on Milton's eschatological themes, but they confine their analysis to Milton's major works and provide a general structure of his apocalyptic vision without discussion of how Milton's political adaptation of eschatology related to political changes in England during the revolutionary period. Moreover, by arguing that Milton diminished

or discarded his millennial vision after the failure of the British Commonwealth (Fixler 219; Dobbins 70), Fixler and Dobbins do not study Milton's millennial ideas throughout his whole career.

According to Juliet Cummins' "Introduction" to *Milton and the Ends of Time* (2003), in the 1980s and 1990s there were many articles and book chapters on Milton's eschatology, but no full-length studies of Milton's millenarianism (8). The most important of these studies includes C.A. Patrides' chapter "'Something like Prophetick strain': Apocalyptic Configurations in Milton" (1984), which traces how apocalyptic themes and structures developed in Milton's poetry and prose without exploration of their relevance to his contemporary historical and political contexts. In contrast to Patrides, in the first chapter of *Milton and the Drama of History* (1990), David Loewenstein investigates the relationship between Milton's revolutionary millennial vision and his sense of history within contemporary historical and political contexts. This is the first serious study of how Milton's revolutionary millenarianism shaped his political vision, focusing on his early polemical works. In a later study, *Representing Revolution in Milton and His Contemporaries* (2001), Loewenstein more systemically examines Milton's radical Puritan politics and spirituality from the early polemical works to his later major writings by fully analyzing how millennial ideas developed throughout his whole career.

Milton and the Ends of Time (2003), an edited collection that is the first full-length treatment of Milton's millenarianism, provides a compelling argument for revising this traditional assessment of Milton's millenarianism. Barbara Lewalski emphasizes that Milton still needed a millennial vision after the Restoration because the millennium could suggest that his political views were valid (2003, 25). Furthermore, by analyzing Milton's millenarianism in the context of contemporary radical politics and religion, Stella P. Revard argues that *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise*

Regained indirectly reveal Milton's "persistent engagement with millenarianism" (71). By showing this revisionist argument, this collection not only opens a new path for studying Milton's millenarianism throughout his whole career, but also provides an opportunity for critics to examine how Milton constructs his "fit" reader in order to prove that his Puritan cause has not failed after the Restoration. This pioneering book, however, pays little attention to how Milton's millenarianism contributed to his literary style or his construction of readership, and it does not extend its research to explore Milton's literary strategies alongside contemporary writers who also utilized a millennial vision in building an empathetic readership. The book leaves subsequent generations of researchers the task of examining Milton's millennial vision in relation to the work of radical female prophets.

Likewise, the body of scholarship on female prophets is also lacking an in-depth study of female prophets' writings in reference to the wider literary canon, including Milton's prophetic works, that identifies how female prophets exploited and innovated established literary conventions. Since researchers have had to study the newly restored writings of early modern British women "through historical, archival, and biographical scholarship" rather than a formalist approach (Scott-Baumann 9),[3] they have focused on the thematic similarities and specificities among female prophets instead of exploring their millennial vision from multiple angles, including formalism, in a larger context beyond the gender divide.[4] Analyzing the prophetic writings of

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[3] On the critical tendency to avoid formal analysis, see Danielle Clarke and Marie-Louise Coolahan, "Gender, Reception, and Form: Early Modern Women and the Making of Verse," in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, eds. Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 151; On the history of the development of critical approaches to early modern women writers, see Patricia Phillippy's "Introduction: Sparkling Multiplicity," in *A History of Early Modern Women's Writing*, ed. Patricia Phillippy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 2-6.

[4] On the changes in the critical tendencies of the writings of female prophets, centering on Trapnel,

female prophets and Milton together paves the way for scholarly conversations between these two groups of scholars. By paying more sustained attention to female prophets and Milton's formal choices and experimentations, this dissertation contributes to the integration of women's prophetic writings into the wider field of early modern British literature.

There has been a good deal of scholarship on Milton's revolutionary experiences along with those of his contemporary female writers. Christopher Hill made the first attempt to chart Milton and his contemporaries' experiences of the failure of the revolution in *The Experience of Defeat: In Milton and some of his Contemporaries* (1984). However, according to his explanation, due to the lack of historical records, Hill was unable to study contemporary female writers who experienced the revolution and its failure (21). As a way to systematically develop Hill's research on Milton and contemporary sectarian writers, in *Representing Revolution in Milton and His Contemporaries* Loewenstein not only emphasizes the radical power of religion as a major ideological and cultural force during the Civil Wars, the Interregnum, and the Restoration, but also positions Milton within the non-conformist tradition in order to investigate his common ground with groups such as the Fifth Monarchists, the Levellers, the Ranters and the Quakers. His book provides new insight into how Milton and some radical groups shared similar visions for the English revolution; hence, it offers a good starting point for investigating how Milton's millennial vision contrasts with other contemporary radical writers, including female prophets. Nevertheless, the primary concern of his research does not extend to the exploration of stylistic uniqueness between Milton and female prophets.

Elizabeth M. Sauer, Walter S. H. Lim, and Shannon Miller also provide a solid foothold

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see Hilary Hinds' "Introduction" in *The Cry of a Stone* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000), xxxi-xlvii.

for comparatively studying the stylistic features of Milton and female prophets. As a way to complement Hill's research, Sauer explores female visionaries' experiences of defeat in relation to that of Milton in "The experience of defeat: Milton and some female contemporaries" (2005). Sauer demonstrates that the literature on the suffering of female dissenters "constitut[es] a distinct tradition as well as an instructive model for reinterpreting Milton's experience of defeat" (136). Sauer excels at analyzing the experiences of female writers in the 1650s and 1660s; however, her analysis of Milton's experiences is mainly limited to *Paradise Lost*. In *John Milton, Radical Politics, and Biblical Republicanism* (2006), Lim produces pioneering research on common prophetic features in Milton's *A Second Defence* and the writings of two female writers (Trapnel and Lucy Hutchinson). In *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth-Century Women Writers* (2008), Miller also opens a new perspective by suggesting that Milton's influence on female prophets needs to be considered in concert with the influences that female prophets exerted on Milton (4). By placing Milton among female prophets, these critics analyze how these women influenced Milton's representation of Eve in *Paradise Lost*. Nevertheless, Lim concentrates more on how Milton's millennial thought shapes his republicanism, while Miller traces seventeenth-century women writers' connection to Milton's writing in terms of their influence. These scholars do not fully show how these writers' experiences of the revolution and its failure contributed to the formation of their unique literary forms centered on the millennial vision and intended to form sympathetic readerships.

To illustrate the importance of studying the literary forms of Milton and female prophets comparatively through historicism and formalism, this dissertation systemically examines Milton's radical Puritan politics and spirituality in his works from the 1640s and 1660s in relation those of sectarian female prophets, with a particular focus on their millennial poetics. For this purpose, this

dissertation draws on the subfield of early modern women writers to illuminate the literary strategies of Milton from new angles. In "Reading Milton Like a Woman" (2021), Sarah Kunjummen proposes to use insights developed within the field of early modern women's writing to investigate canonical male authors (76). Demonstrating how Milton's "domestic circumstances" influenced his composition of *Paradise Lost* by studying the writing practices of Hutchinson and Margaret Cavendish in their "family setting" (76), Kunjummen shows that the field of early modern women's writing can give new perspectives on the writings of canonical male authors in the context of the broader field of early modern culture. In other words, the field of early modern women's literature can suggest directions and possibilities for the mutual advancement of the scholarship of Milton and female prophets beyond the inclusion of women's literature into the canon. Likewise, this dissertation explores the effectiveness of analyzing the literary elements of female prophecies through the use of multiple methodologies, such as historicism and formalism, to illuminate the role and contribution of Milton's literary styles in constructing a fit readership.

As a way to posit new directions for the study of early modern women writers and canonical literature, this study investigates differences in the literary 'capital' used by Milton and female prophets in formulating literary strategies to build a readership friendly to them.[5] By examining their development of a plain poetics that informed and defended their political and religious ideals, this dissertation offers a compelling context and perspective for interpreting the role of non-conformist poetics and aesthetics, which offers an opportunity for investigating the

[5] By analyzing formal engagement, "a prerequisite to early modern women's literary capital" (264), Sasha Roberts proposes to explore the literary capital of women writers not only in terms of differences in literary capital from male writers, but also in terms of differences in literary capital among female writers according to their class, "religion, politics, region, generation, ethnicity and experience orientation" (264).

differing literary capitals of Milton and female prophets. For Milton and radical female prophets, a plain aesthetics is deeply related to the way they faithfully convey the 'truth' revealed by God to the audience without distortion.[6] Considering that prophets are directly inspired by the Holy Spirit to deliver divine messages, stylistic ostentation would imply human intervention and thus make audiences doubt the truthfulness of the prophecy. More concise forms of prophecy guarantee the authenticity of a prophecy by minimizing the gap between the prophetic message and its external expression through human agency. Minimizing the intervention of human agency is consistent with the characteristics of non-conformists, who prioritized direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit and disparaged human ostentation and eloquence, unlike the National Church (Thomas 44). Moreover, the pursuit of aesthetic simplicity is also in line with a non-conformist culture originating from the Puritan tradition of connecting simplicity and sincerity in worship, social manners, and aesthetics through literary forms (Keeble 2016, 129).

Nevertheless, the plain aesthetics of Milton and female prophets differ greatly due to the difference in the literary capital available to them according to the difference in their social status. For female prophets, a simplistic poetics was a way to defend their weak social status and strengthen their authority as prophets by emphasizing their humbleness. Following the logic that emphasizing their humble agency would increase their credibility and authority as prophets, female

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[6] For the concept of plain style and its development, see Peter Auksi's *Christian Plain Style: The Evolution of a Spiritual Ideal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Perry Miller's "The Plain Style" in *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 331-362; William Haller's "The Rhetoric of the Spirit" in *The Rise of Puritanism* (New York: Columbia university press, 1938), 128-172. Regarding the shared characteristics of 17th century non-conformists that refrained from aesthetic ornamentation in composing verse, transcending sects, see Jaime Goodrich's "'Low and plain Stile': Poetry and Piety in English Benedictine Convents, 1600-1800." *British Catholic History* 34.4 (2019): 617-618.

prophets devised a plain aesthetics to justify their speech in the public domain and to make it a divine imperative for readers to participate in their cause. For them, a plain aesthetics is a verbal gesture to develop a humble agency that can reinforce their qualifications, authority, and power as prophets.[7] By pursuing a plain style that emphasizes clarity and sincerity, female prophets attempt to separate their prophetic cry very specifically from the deceptive arts traditionally associated with femininity (Wilcox 2001, 209). In doing so, female prophets transform the role and status of their aesthetic plainness from a product of their exclusion from the grammar school system that taught rhetoric, into a token that they were capable of conveying God's will without falsehood or deceit.[8] In the world of Christian paradoxes where weakness becomes strength, their plain style, an embodiment of honesty and purity that can faithfully embody God's will, makes female prophets, being weaker in gender, in art, in learning, into reliable agents with power to deliver God's message. Most significantly, given that female prophets pursue a plain poetics through literary strategies that rely on creating hybrid texts by combining various literary genres, analysis of their stylistic plainness reveals their achievements with the literary capital given to them. In order to examine their literary capital through the combination of historicism and formalism, this study investigates the ways in which Cary, Trapnel, and White demonstrate that their prophetic claims are consistent with the divine will by composing hybrid literary texts and creating a non-

[7] In the world of Christian paradoxes where "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty. And base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen" (1 Corinthians 1:27-28), being weaker in gender, in art, in learning, and in wealth can be a greater force (Wilcox 2000, 188). Moreover, these paradoxes also echo Milton's lines in *Paradise Lost*: "With good / Still overcoming evil, and by small / Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak / Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise / By simply meek" (12.565-69).

[8] According to Danielle Clarke's explanation, women's exclusion from the school system that taught rhetoric led to the production of hybrid texts in which women writers evaded formal embellishments in favor of "styles that privilege plainness and sincerity" (114).

conformist poetics.

As an interpreter of God's revelation, Milton, like contemporary female prophets, creates a concise aesthetics that can clearly convey God's wisdom to readers through the literary capital available to him, by arguing in *Of Reformation* that "The very essence of Truth is plainnesse" (*CPW* I 566).[9] Milton saw William Laud's church reforms as equivalent to covering and distorting the 'truth' that leads to God's wisdom, so his emphasis on plainness is deeply related to restoring the outward religious forms that enable citizens to comprehend God's wisdom without distortion. More specifically, regarding religious issues, Milton's pursuit of simplicity is a critique of formal ostentations that breed hypocrisy, depriving believers of spiritual salvation, the essence of religion. Within the context of his government service, Milton's simplistic aesthetics in his pamphlet *Eikonoklastes* (1649) is connected to his attack on *Eikon Basilike* as using literary style to hide Charles I's hypocrisy and deception. At this stage, for Milton, plain aesthetics is a means of educating readers how to be free from factors that impose political subordination as well as religious servitude. As the Restoration of the monarchy drew near and as Parliament sought legislation to restrict the freedom of conscience of non-conformists at the end of Richard Cromwell's reign, by declaring that "in matters of religion he is learnedest who is pla[i]nest" in his 1659 pamphlet *Civil Power* (*CPW* VII 272), Milton devised the plainest writings of his life, relying solely on the authority of the Bible. At this phase, for Milton, who was no longer an authority figure for the British people and desperately needed the overwhelming support of a wider audience, a plain style was the only means of convincing his readers without burdening them with

[9] All subsequent citations in text or notes from Milton's prose are taken from *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-82) and are cited as *CPW* parenthetically.

the need to interpret.

As the government's oppression of non-conformists intensified due to the return to the monarchy, Milton's prophetic voice is once again transformed as attempts to restore the 'true' form to embody divine wisdom. Milton fashioned an elaborate prophetic aesthetics in *Paradise Lost* that is markedly different from his previous plain prose style. However, the style of Books XI and XII reflects Milton's lifelong conviction regarding the importance of clarity in religious matters, because Milton's elaborately planned poetic style does not use grandiose rhetoric, but rather explores the core religious issues of how mankind worshiped in spirit and truth after the fall of Adam and Eve. By artfully constructing and controlling metrical variations within the strict prosodic norm of unrhymed iambic pentameter, Milton consoles afflicted readers and helps them cultivate an independent discernment to resist dominant governmental discourses. By leading his readers to further pursue spiritual freedom, which is the basis of internal governance, the rhythmic variations of Milton's blank verse lines endeavor to train and unite fit readers who can solidify an inner rule that enables them to pursue God's righteous way in detecting the 'truth.' Milton's lifelong goal to nurture citizens capable of self-government continues as he devises an epic style suitable for readers to learn Christ's "better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" (*PL* 9.31-32) through his epic about defeat beyond the secular perspective of victory and defeat. These stylistic innovations reflect his willingness to use his available literary capital to encourage his readers to defend the ideals of the republic, even in the midst of strict censorship and severe persecution.

In short, given that Milton and contemporary female prophets employed various literary forms, styles, and strategies to meet similar needs within similar political circumstances, comparing their stylistic choices provides a clue to how the genders, political positions, and class

differences of these writers shaped their unique literary achievements. By concentrating on how they devised literary forms best suited to appeal to their readers, this critical comparison illuminates the literary strategies of female prophets and Milton to promote political, social, and individual changes, despite the political and social regulations and restrictions of the time.

In order to explore the ways in which Milton and female prophets devised various prophetic forms in building a supportive readership for their advocacy of social reform, the second chapter of this dissertation, "A Resistant Readership and Poetics based on Millenarianism," draws on history, religion, and literature. First, this chapter briefly summarizes William Laud's ecclesiastical innovations, which resulted in the emergence of a variety of sects by prompting fierce debates over the religious forms necessary for achieving salvation, debates that had a profound impact on aesthetic ideals and social manners in the everyday life of British Protestants, including radical female prophets and Milton.

Next, this chapter takes a formalist approach to the prophetic literature of female prophets and Milton. By combining historicist and formalist approaches to women's religious prophecies, this chapter aims to improve a marked tendency to avoid reading women's religious writings in a formalist vein. In addition, this chapter explores whether reading female prophecies via a formalist perspective can promote a systematic academic dialogue between scholarship on female prophets and Milton. In doing so, this chapter argues that investigating the literary strategies and poetics of Milton and female prophets together reveals the differences in literary capital available to them.

The next three consecutive chapters offer individual case studies of the literary strategies used by Milton and three female prophets to form supportive readerships during the English Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration. Chapter 3, "Milton and Cary's Republican Vision: Readership and Literary Style after the English Revolution," investigates the ways in

which Milton and Cary employed literary style to support the nascent republican regime after the English Revolution in Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (1649) and Cary's *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall* (1651) and *A New and More Exact Mappe, or Description of New Jerusalems Glory* (1651). This chapter argues that Milton and Cary's differences in terms of political stance, social authority, and gender politics created their unique forms of literary experimentations intended to build a pro-republican readership.

Milton and Cary attempted to prevent the regime from deviating from its revolutionary origins by devising a plain aesthetics as they reassessed the English Revolution in terms of its liberation of England from the reign of Charles I, whom they viewed as the Antichrist. Nevertheless, their differing employment of plain style in building their readerships reflects the imbalance of socio-political power between them. Milton's governmental appointment not only enabled him to fashion himself as an authority among British citizens who had the potential to be virtuous republicans, but also transformed his prose style into a plainer aesthetics as he sought to transmit a governmental agenda clearly and concisely to his readers. By refraining from using an overtly enthusiastic millennial discourse, Milton's long sentences aim to train his readers' rational faculty in order to counter *Eikon Basilike*'s deceptive rhetoric.

In sharp contrast to Milton, as a way to offset her lack of political power, Cary fashioned herself as divine preacher and her readers as the hearers of her sermon. By casting her target readers as saints and assigning them sacred missions, Cary sought to train her readers to make the right kinds of judgments and to begin their collective political action to press the conservative state to implement vigorous reform. In pursuit of this goal, by constituting her text as a prose explication of scriptural prophecies accompanied by verse applications, Cary reveals her skilled ability to manipulate her exegetic prophecies through plainness. Most significantly, by creating a non-

conformist poetics, which shows her mastery of a plain aesthetics, Cary utilizes her virtuosity in representing a divine message in an artistic form intended to defend her vulnerability in terms of political power, social authority, and gender politics.

Significantly, while Milton had the literary capital to criticize Charles I's literary plagiarism without worrying about the gendered nuances of the enthusiastic mode as expressed through his utilization of periodic sentences, Cary used her mastery of plain aesthetics to rationalize her spiritual 'enthusiasm' as a valid vision for the British republic and to counter the reaction of skeptical readers, including Hugh Peter, who regarded her text not as an original and suitable plan for the new regime but as plagiarism (A2r). By juxtaposing the enthusiastic aspects of her radical vision with a non-conformist poetics, Cary employed the literary capital given to her in order to present her vision as a viable future for the republic. By comparatively analyzing two authors innovating their own styles to build pro-republican readerships, this chapter clearly illuminates the distinctiveness created by the cultural, social, and political power differences between them, as revealed by their literary strategies.

Chapter 4, "The Saints' Crisis: Trapnel and Milton's Public Readership and New Literary Style," examines the ways in which Trapnel and Milton exploited millennial thought to construct a public readership that could press two Cromwellian regimes to implement further politico-religious reform. In its study of Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) and Milton's *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* (1659), this chapter investigates how Trapnel and Milton's differences in literary capital influenced their unique stylistic innovations, which are optimized to defend liberty of conscience and to fashion their counter discourse against the extant regime.

By identifying two Cromwellian regimes as the antichristian forces due to their persecution, Trapnel and Milton reinforced their readers' divine duty to impede the regimes'

reactionary politics. By embodying divine freedom in a plain aesthetics as a way to appeal to a wider readership, both Trapnel and Milton sought to overcome their political disfavor. By showing that she embodies God's free grace in a measured way through the combination of prose prophecy and verse prophecy, Trapnel aims to separate her prophecies from the negative connotations of ecstatic prophecy associated with female prophets. In particular, by representing her millennial vision in plain meter and rhyme, Trapnel creates a non-conformist poetics, which validates her radical argument against the regime and attempts to protect her discourse from any containment by the ruling regime.

In contrast to Trapnel, Milton's transformation of his style from amplification (the typical rhetorical feature of his 1640s pamphlets) to simplicity, like his other 1659 pamphlets, reveals his relative ease in creating a public readership through stylistic plainness. In order to create a lucid style that enables readers to focus on the importance of religious liberty without any difficult words and prolix exposition, Milton employs the Bible only to develop his argument straightforwardly without hesitation or digression and avoids the periodic sentence. Contrary to Milton, by creating various ways to justify her prophecy to readers, including use of her autobiography, authoritative witnesses of her prophecy, the Scriptures, millennial visions, and a hybrid genre, Trapnel manipulates the enthusiasm associated with ecstatic prophecies as a way to persuade her readers that her vision is a feasible plan for the development of Britain. By analyzing the differences in literary strategies of these two authors, this chapter reveals the literary capital available to them and the specificity of their stylistic innovations as achieved through the skillful use of that capital, despite the similarities of their political inferiority.

Chapter 5, "White and Milton's Imminent Internal Millenarianism and Poetic Ministry," studies the ways in which White's two tracts from 1662 and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667)

employed prophetic language both to console persecuted readers and to build a readership that pursues republican values as a way to continue to develop their revolutionary cause after the Restoration. This chapter argues that White and Milton's efforts to find a new vision amid governmental persecution resulted in the creation of unique literary styles intended to fashion a fit readership that enabled non-conformists to recognize their identity as a righteous minority and to oppose the discourse of the restored Stuart regime.

By internalizing the kingdom of Christ through the promotion of the idea of an imminent internal millennium, White and Milton exploited the interiority of individual readers, protected themselves through the authority of the Holy Spirit, created a discourse of resistance, and avoided governmental intervention and censorship. Most interestingly, White and Milton employed their poetic ministry to comfort oppressed readers and to persuade them to adhere to the republican cause. Relying entirely on divine authority and prioritizing harmony with God over conformity to state authority in her poetry, White's poetic ministry through the language of election and covenant not only urged kings, magistrates, and judges to allow religious toleration for dissenters, a potential true set of religious worshippers for the English nation, but also gave the early Quakers consolation in order to strengthen their internal solidarity and to collect a chosen remnant and build a community for true believers. Similarly, by creating a new epic style, Milton's poetic ministry comforted fit readers and encouraged them to become citizens capable of self-government, interpreting their difficulties with the eyes of faith as well as with their rational faculties. By fashioning elaborate prophetic aesthetics, Milton prompts readers not only to eliminate factors within them that make it impossible to govern themselves but also evokes the mission of the elect remnant who must constantly strive to find the 'truth,' or God's righteous way.

White and Milton's literary strategy of performing a poetic ministry deepens our

understanding of how non-conformists coped with governmental oppression and used their literary capital to preserve revolutionary values. Analyzing their strategies together provides a compelling context and perspective for interpreting the role of non-conformist aesthetics in encouraging readers to continue pursuing the ideals, values, and vision of republicanism even in the midst of persecution. Moreover, despite the commonalities of these two authors who actively defended their position by creating a non-conformist poetics, Milton's use of the blank verse epic line clearly reveals the difference in literary capital between them. This chapter attempts to historicize and explore literary capital in gendered terms by comparing the different literary genres, styles, and tactics that these two authors devised to overcome their vulnerabilities.

In Chapter 6, "Conclusion: The Vision of the "unity of the Spirit," this dissertation argues that analyzing the plain poetics of Milton and female prophets through a combination of historicism and formalism enables us to identify the differences in the way that Milton and female prophets used literary capital to form a readership favorable to them in terms of their political, religious, and gender politics in the 1640s and 1660s. Female prophets' effective use of poetry and prose in delineating their vision of the impending kingdom of Christ demonstrates that they employed a variety of literary genres to overcome their cultural vulnerabilities. Furthermore, female prophets' reliance on hybrid textual forms provides clues to infer the differences in literary capital between them and Milton. By concluding that focusing on these differences in literary capital and literary strategies is the way to properly understand the role of non-conformist aesthetics and the literary achievements they have made from a more fully integrated perspective of 17th-century prophetic literature, this dissertation proposes a way to further develop the fields of early modern British women's literature and early modern British literature by collapsing the distinction between mainstream and non-mainstream literature.

Chapter II. A Resistant Readership and Poetics based on Millenarianism

This dissertation situates Milton's experience as a reformer in relation to that of sectarian, particularly, radical female prophets who called for political, social, and religious renovations in the 1640s and 1660s. This dissertation is not a study of influence–direct or indirect, but an examination of the ways in which Milton and radical female prophets utilized the millennial perspective—that was popular in their day and very common among their revolutionary contemporaries—distinctively in supporting their revolutionary causes. This dissertation uses "millennial" to refer to "a future, collective, imminent transformation of life on earth through a supernatural agency," by separating from "apocalyptic," which "denotes the generic term" (Christianson 7). More specifically, this dissertation seeks to analyze the literary strategies used by radical female prophets as well as Milton to demand further reform and to protect the spirit of the Good Old Cause during the 1640s and 1660s. By investigating the forms of prophetic writings of Milton and radical female prophets, this dissertation explores how their poetics attempt to advocate, promote, and revive their revolutionary cause to a wider audience. Studying Milton and female prophets' literary forms together not only contributes to delineating how they appropriate millennial vision to confirm their authorial legitimacy in building pro-republican readership, but also re-contextualizes female prophecy within political negotiations as a means of engaging in and arguing with discourses in favor of the regime's conservative policies because these writers lived in a culture where religious and political issues could not be discussed in isolation from one another. Examining the poetics of Milton and female prophets provides an opportunity to understand their place, achievement, and distinctiveness in the tradition of prophetic literature, including mainstream and non-mainstream literature, beyond gender boundaries.

First, this chapter briefly summarizes William Laud's ecclesiastical renovation that

resulted in the emergence of a variety of sects by prompting fierce debates over the religious forms necessary for achieving salvation—such as ways of worship, including those of communion and prayer, and the system of church governance—, debates that had a profound impact on aesthetic ideals and social manners in everyday life of British Protestants, including radical female prophets and Milton. Next, after investigating the field of early modern British women's literature and diagnosing its achievements and limitations, this chapter examines the possibility and utility of a formalist approach to prophetic literature of female prophets and Milton. By combining historicist and formalist approaches to women's religious prophecies, this dissertation aims to contribute to improving a marked tendency to avoid reading women's religious writings in a formalist vein. In doing so, this dissertation argues that studying the literary aspects of female prophetic writings can serve as a case study to find a new research methodology that can open the way to explore the differences in literary 'capital' available to Milton and female prophets. Analyzing female prophets' poetics and changes in Milton's writing style together enables us to grasp their shared goal of linking simplicity and sincerity in worship, social manners, and aesthetics through their literary forms in a more integrated literary history of prophetic literature that encompasses both mainstream and non-mainstream prophetic literature.

1. The Debate over the 'true' Form of Church Governance

Milton and radical prophets' desire to reform of the existing church according to their ideas of the 'true' church began with dissatisfaction with the Episcopal governance of the Church of England and its ecclesiastical innovations by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Willian Laud. Since the issue of church reform played a key role in determining the ways of worship, social manners, and aesthetics of English Protestants, which are completely distinct from the prelatical governance

of the Church of England, this chapter will first briefly outline the historical context on the issue of ecclesiastical reform triggered by the archbishop.

Laud implemented liturgical change as a way to solidify the foundation of the episcopalian church government—the hierarchical church system in which only the bishops govern churches and ordain ministers—as the ideal form of ecclesiastical government. According to Elizabeth M. Sauer's explication, Laud's church innovations emphasized "rituals, church discipline and the centrality of the (conforming) cleric in worship" at the sacrifice of "preaching and the layperson's engagement with scriptures" (2014, 199). The Laudian renovations of religious ceremony and ritual to reinforce the power and authority of the bishops aroused the strongest suspicions and fears among the British people that the Church of England would return to the Roman Catholic Church (Cook and Wroughton 100), because that would undo the most important achievements of the Reformation, which put more importance on the laity and the Bible than on clergy and ceremonies (Hill 1978, 16). This reform, carried out with the approval of the king, was the result of the equating the cause of the crown and the cause of the episcopal church, which sought to strengthen both the royal and ecclesiastical powers at the same time by emphasizing hierarchy in religion (Keeble 2016, 132). Since in the eyes of most Englishmen this reform was seen as a conspiracy between the king and the archbishop to "introduce popery and tyranny" (Keeble 2016, 132), the more Laud emphasized "ceremony, the position of the priest, the sacraments and introduced changes in church furnishings," the greater was the English Protestant call for a more substantial ecclesiastical reformation in order to further purify the Church of England from elements they considered Roman Catholic (Cook and Wroughton 100).

Despite this extreme confusion and resistance in England, Charles I resolved to extend Laud's religious policies from England to Scotland (which had developed a Presbyterian form of

church governance), resulting in undermining the allegiance of the British and Scots to the Crown and the Church. Not only did Charles I not expect Scottish opposition to his attempts, but he also did not have enough military force to enforce his policy on the Scots who resisted the archbishop's religious innovations (Kishlansky 140). The Scottish army thwarted their king's exertion to innovate the Scottish church by defeating the royal army in the First and Second Bishops' Wars (January to June 1639; August to October 1640) and by occupying a part of northern England (Loxley 261). The victory of the Scottish army served as a decisive tipping point, crippling the archbishop's reformations in England by triggering a political change in which the Long Parliament took the initiative for implementing church reform. By the power of the Scottish army, Presbyterianism was strongly suggested as an alternative church governance to renovate the Church of England, and the opponents to the Laudian renovation both within the Long Parliament and outside it welcomed Presbyterianism (Forsyth 296).

On the back of strong support from the Scottish allies for the reconstruction of the Church of England, through a meticulously organized petition campaign, the English public pressured the Long Parliament to undertake even more intense religious renovations. The so-called Root and Branch Petition, signed by 15,000 Londoners and submitted to the Long Parliament on December 11, 1640, advocated the elimination of bishops from the House of Lords and the extirpation of the office of bishop as a way to purify the existing national Church "root and branch" (Erwin 454-55). The Root and Branch Petition played a crucial role in drawing up a decision to impeach Laud from the Long Parliament on December 18 (Skerpan-Wheeler 293).

Nevertheless, the procrastination in legislation to extirpate the English prelacy root and branch was due to the existence of "much more serious disagreements" within the Long Parliament on the issue of church renewal (Coward and Gaunt 212) and the backlash provoked by Laud's

impeachment and imprisonment by the Long Parliament (Skerpan-Wheeler 293; Norbrook 110). The strong support for the English episcopacy, both inside and outside the Long Parliament, was attributed to the beliefs that religion and politics were inseparable, and without the rank of bishop there was no office of king and magistrate (Coward and Gaunt 213).[10] Furthermore, there was little consensus among the legislators on what would replace Laudianism (Coward and Gaunt 212). The issue of ecclesiastical reform thus led to a fierce confrontation between MPs and intellectuals and severely divided public opinion without any fruit of legislation (Norbrook 110; Coward and Gaunt 213, 214).

This serious confusion and confrontation caused the Long Parliament to delay both the abolishment of episcopacy until 1643 and the establishment of an alternative church government until 1646. The parliamentary decision to establish the Presbyterian system of church-government in 1646 was made too late to be successful because the English sectarians had already enjoyed religious freedom after the collapse of episcopal authority (Cross 102). More importantly, after the New Model Army defeated the Royalists in 1644, the Long Parliament was forced to follow the New Model Army's will, which supported the sectarian movement instead of the Scottish allies (Cross 102). Above all, since 1644, Oliver Cromwell had openly tolerated the separatist churches of the more radical Protestants with a vision of the Church of England as "a multitude of congregations seeking truth in diversity" through religious tolerance (Cross 103, 113). Cromwell's vision of achieving "unity in diversity," suspended by his death in 1658 and ended completely with the reimposition of episcopacy in 1662, allowed more radical Protestant laymen to lead "their gathered churches into open separation" (Cross 115, 120).

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[10] This belief is most clearly manifested in James I's famous declaration at Hampton Court in January 1604, "No Bishop, No King" (Kranidas 60).

Taken together, Laud's ecclesiastical innovations, which provoked a heated controversy and severe confusion among British Protestants over which forms of church ceremony and ritual and governance were more appropriate for realizing the 'true' church, had initiated a political and religious upheaval and undermined the foundations of the national church system and the crown. By arousing unrest among English Protestants that the archbishop would lead Britain to the direction of Roman Catholicism through the destruction of the Elizabethan church consensus and the achievements of the Reformation, Laud's ecclesiastical innovations for enhancing ceremony and hierarchy created social conditions under which sectarians could attempt to build their 'true' church outside of the national church system that, in their eyes, produced false worship and hypocrites. Both Milton as well as radical female prophets of various sects were in line with this anxiety of English Protestants, becoming polemicists and engaging in debating over religious forms such as church governance, discipline, and practice. Ironically Laud's conservative religious innovations to strengthen the national church system contributed to the re-emergence of a large number of sects from the early days of the Long Parliament, which were the successors to the separatists who first emerged in Elizabethan England and enjoyed considerable tolerance throughout the Interregnum (Thomas 44). Although they were known by various names such as Brownists, Independents, Baptists, Millenarians, Familists, Quakers, Seekers, and Ranters of diverse theological views, these sects had three traits in common: 1) they believed in "a pure church"; 2) they demanded "spiritual regeneration" as a qualification for church membership; and 3) they insisted on "separation from a national church which contained ungodly element" (Thomas 44). Since they prioritized the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they tended to believe in the full autonomy of individual congregations and to devalue the role of ministry, external ceremonies, and human learning (Thomas 44). In addition, their steadfast belief in "the spiritual equality of all

believers led to an exalted faith in private judgment, lay preaching, a cult of prophecies and revelations, and culminated in the Quaker doctrine of the spirit dwelling in all men" (Thomas 44).

This dissertation aims to analyze the ways in which the female prophets of these sects developed their own sectarian characteristics into unique forms of poetics in order to demand the reform of religious forms such as church governance, discipline, and practice, from the eve of the Civil Wars to the Restoration of the monarchy. Since Milton, who started his career as a polemicist in 1641 due to Laud's innovations, sometimes shared these sectarian characteristics and engaged in debates over religion under the banner of the realization of the 'true' church throughout his life, this dissertation also explores the ways in which Milton sought to restore 'true' forms that would lead the English people to salvation by transforming his writing style. In the early 1640s Milton endorsed the Long Parliament's program of reform. However, his "disillusionment" with the Long Parliament's failure to implement more aggressive reforms led to his subsequent support for the New Model Army, the Rump Parliament, and Oliver Cromwell (Keeble 2016, 132). He gradually became a political opponent of the Royalists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, and sequentially sympathized with Independents, Baptists, and Quakers. Milton increasingly favored the sectarian agenda by advocating separation of church and state and by supporting freedom of religion through the power of the Holy Spirit without hierarchy among believers. The top priority of this dissertation is to investigate how Milton and sectarian female prophets, as descendants of Puritanism, pursued the shared goal of linking simplicity and sincerity in worship, social manners, and aesthetics through their literary forms. In contrast to Laud's innovations that produced hypocrisy and duplicity in the eyes of English Protestants, Milton and the female prophets strived to accomplish literary forms that can embody sincerity for the spiritual regeneration of readers.

2. The Proliferation of Female Millennial Prophecies and their Literary Forms

The fall of censorship in 1641 made it easier for radical female prophets and Milton to endeavor to gain readers' support in abolishing the episcopal system and establishing alternative church governance. With the breakdown of censorship, writers who were previously unable to publish for ideological or political reasons were free to print their works, resulting in the publication of a vast amounts of books and pamphlets that had hitherto been impossible (Hill 1982, 96).[11] The advent of the free print market allowed contemporary writers, including Milton and radical female prophets, to experience 'a revolution in print' that enabled them to have the opportunity to appeal to imagined communities of readers to support their cause. At the same time, in contrast to sermons where the audience could be placed under the influence of the preacher, the print market allowed, and sometimes encouraged, readers to hold personal opinions, including those that opposed or subverted the established system, thereby facilitating the birth of independent political or religious groups. The increase in debate aroused by the proliferation of publications advancing radical political, religious, social, and economic ideas in turn resulted in the emergence of separatist religious groups that sought to exclude those who were considered ungodly on the basis of the concept of election (Eales 92). In addition, the abolition of episcopacy in 1643, together with the outbreak of the English Civil Wars, expedited the spread of religious sects that wanted only the elect to participate in congregational communities (Gray18).

More interestingly, female followers were more attracted to and active in these separatist groups because these congregations provided them with greater religious freedom than the established Church or the Presbyterian form of church government that replaced the established

[11] Christopher Hill regards the collapse of censorship in 1641 as the most important event in the history of British literature in the seventeenth century (1982, 95).

Church in 1646 after Charles I's defeat in the First Civil War (Eales 92). According to Patricia Crawford's argument, compared to Protestantism, which provided women with "an ambiguous message" to act as "good and subordinate women" as well as to rebel against the world in seeking redemption, separatist congregations "were more likely" to stress women's obligation to submit to their "conscience" in the pursuit of salvation in order to justify their disobedience to the traditional duty of obedience imposed upon them (1988, 25).

Nevertheless, along with the non-sectarians' constant ridicule of women's speaking, separatist congregations' attitudes to women's speaking within the same sect were mostly hostile, with a few exceptions (Crawford 1988, 28), although they varied from congregation to congregation (Wiseman 181).[12] Sectarian women who participated in public activities still faced conflict due to the control of their speech by sectarian congregations because even the sectaries themselves were not completely at ease with preaching and publishing by women (Trubowitz 117). As much as their more orthodox brethren, sectarians could not be freed from the Pauline prohibition on women's speech in church (Greaves 1983, 308) as well as the conventional view of women being socially and intellectually inferior (Ludlow 98). Since it was essential to justify their speech even within the community of the elect saints, sectarian female prophets chose prophecies based on millennial thoughts as an effective way to overcome constraints on their speech and to avoid conflict (Crawford 1988, 30).

During the 1640s and 1650s, women's publications increased dramatically, largely due to a surge in prophetic writings.[13] According to Patricia Crawford's checklist of women's writing in

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[12] Phyllis Mack claims that even the more materialist sects, such as the Diggers and the Quakers, recognized female prophets as beings with "a spiritual potential which was always fluid and potential sinister" (1988, 147).

[13] According to Phyllis Mack's estimate, there were more than three hundred female prophets who

the seventeenth century, prophetic works were the largest and the single most important genre written by women, consisting of 72 of 230 first editions of writings by women during the Interregnum (1985, 199). The increase in prophetic writings was because millennial convictions—that the end of the world is near, and that Christ's kingdom will soon be realized after the impending divine judgment—provided female prophets with a powerful means of propagating political and religious causes and plans as a way to urge religious and social reform.[14] By arguing that they had been chosen as the elect who would usher in the impending millennium, sectarians utilized millennial prophecy to legitimize their gatherings and activities as a divine act in preparation for the Second Coming of Christ that could no longer be postponed. The tendency to reinforce the credibility and authority of their claims by emphasizing their elect status and the impending millennial reign of Christ is even more pronounced among female prophets. According to Elizabeth Bouldin's study, there are three reasons for this: 1) millennial prophecy offers the female prophet an immediate authority as a divine reformer who was chosen to usher the imminent millennium, by labeling the female prophet as the elect who speaks for God; 2) thus, millennial prophecy allows the female prophet's voice to be heard, enabling her to challenge authority and resist antagonistic forces (11)[15]; 3) furthermore, just as suffering and persecution are evidence of the imminent millennium from the point of view of millennial thought, millennial prophecy

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wrote and prophesied between 1640 and 1660 (1992, 1). Nevertheless, Patricia Crawford has estimated that women's printed works did not exceed one and a half percent of all publications during the period 1640 to 1660 (1985, 196).

[14] One of the reasons for the rapid advance of these separatists is that millennial thought, which foretells a total and imminent transformation of life on earth through a supernatural agency, could be popularized at the time, taking advantage of the upheavals in the social, political, and religious system (Hill 1984, 22).

[15] As Elizabeth Bouldin puts it well, antagonistic force could be "a political one (the king, Parliament, local authorities), a religious one (a priest, one's church, or even a certain doctrine), or social one (established social conventions, neighbors who had different religious beliefs)" (11).

enables female prophets to persevere to fulfill their chosen mission despite suffering and oppression (23). By viewing history as an unfinished sacred drama that would soon be concluded by major religious and political reforms, female prophets, through the higher divine order that will soon come true on earth, aimed to break through the existing state order and social norms that suppressed and regulated women's activities.

Nonetheless, millennial prophecy was not the exclusive domain of female prophets; it was also an important means of building a readership favorable to Milton as well as to other radical sectarians.[16] In a time of upheaval in which the existing order, norms and laws are disrupted, the interpretive framework of millennial prophecy was effective in strengthening writers' persuasiveness in asking their readers to replace the existing order at risk with divine authority.

Most interestingly, the shared aspiration of radical female prophets and Milton to reform the established order into a higher divine order through a millennial prophetic voice led to the creation of new literary poetics, which challenged the conventional notions of literary decorum and embodied a higher divine order. The devising of a new style is also the consequence of changes in the publishing environment due to the outbreak of the English Civil Wars together with the collapse of censorship. According to Hill's explanation, since writers of the 1640s had to appeal to a wider audience, a change in writing style was essential (1982, 103). Especially during the Civil War of 1642-46, writers on both sides had to find a style that best appealed to their readers in order to ask their countryman to fight or to pay taxes for them (Hill 1982, 103). As a result, this dissertation assumes that radical female prophets and Milton both exploited the genre of prophecy to devise a new literary style that could effectively appeal to a wider readership. Most significantly,

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[16] Interestingly, many Protestant intellectuals "depicted prophecy as a feminine activity, whether the actual prophet was a man or a woman" (Mack 1982, 24).

since for both the radical sects and Milton the issue of church reform was closely linked to the form of worship, social manners, and aesthetics, devising a new poetics through millennial prophecy is closely related to the question of finding 'true' ecclesiastical ways or forms for salvation. By pursuing various ways to worship God in spirit, rather than deluding people in deceptive or pompous form, literary forms of prophecy are in themselves sacred and inseparable from the divine will. Given that these formal innovations seek to reconcile aesthetics, forms of worship, and social manners, it is essential to look at the contribution of the literary forms of prophecy in building a readership friendly to radical sectarians and Milton in terms of form.

It should be noted that prophecies are delivered through various literary forms according to the political and religious purposes of the prophets. In seventeenth-century usage, prophecy was "any utterance produced by God through human agency" (Purkiss 139). Prophecy involved various forms of "divinely informed utterance" that ranged from uttering a message that the speaker received directly from God as a passive channel (see the case of Trapnel in Chapter IV) and preaching that explicates biblical texts to audiences (see the case of Cary in Chapter III), to any form of speech aimed at edification, exposition, and comfort (see the case of White in Chapter V) (Hinds 2009, 236). In short, prophecy is not a fixed concept, but it can be akin to ecstatic utterance, preaching, and ministry, depending on the speaker's circumstances. More importantly, the Bible supports women's prophecies on religious and political issues (Joel 2:29-9; Acts 2:18; 1 Corinthians 14:31), and radical female prophets use a variety of literary forms as a powerful means of justifying their political and religious causes and asking readers to participate in the reforms in accordance with their vision. Much like the Bible also consists of generic hybridity, since prophecy is a combination of various literary forms that are intended to elucidate the divine plan (Hinds 2009, 237), this dissertation argues that an analysis of prophetic forms is essential to see how

hybrid literary forms support the claim that the prophets represent the will of God and, thus, their political and religious causes are more consistent with God's will.

The need to explore the functions of prophetic forms that are inseparable from the divine message is identified in the pioneering works of the study of women's prophecy. According to Phyllis Mack's speculation, building a favorable readership was a central issue for female prophets, as female prophets were defined as either prophets or lunatics, depending on the political preconceptions of their audience (1982, 32). For female prophets seeking to gain authorial legitimacy by eliciting a favorable response from their audience and putting their power on their side, it was essential to consider and select the most appropriate forms of prophecy for their audience. The pioneering scholars of female prophecy have made valuable academic achievements by exploring the ways in which women prophets constitute their readership in various directions.[17] Their outstanding achievements in studying newly restored women's texts from a historical point of view laid the groundwork for the next generation of scholars to investigate how female prophets use literary elements to devise prophetic discourses as a way to elicit readers' sympathy. In 2000 Hilary Hinds' expectations for the flourishing of new areas of investigation of women's prophets, including their "specificities, styles, and strategies," remain a task for subsequent scholars (xlvii).

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[17] Phyllis Mack (1982) and Elaine Hobby (1988) show the possibility of seeing female prophets' prophecy as a "rational" strategy as a way to elicit readers' sympathy. Hilary Hinds (1996) systematically analyzes the strategies of female prophets to transform the audience's response from hostility to sympathy. Patricia Crawford (1985) demonstrate that female prophets had a wider audience by investigating the status of the prophetic genre in the print market. Catharine Gray (2007) proves that female prophets made a significant contribution to shaping the counter public. Meanwhile Teresa Feroli (2006) focuses on identifying the female prophets' position in feminist history and how they "reconciled their female sexuality with the terms of political power" (32). Katharine Gillespie (2011; 2012) also concentrates the power of female prophecy that enabled women to engage in public and political issues during the revolutionary periods. Nevertheless, existing criticism has paid little attention to the importance of the relationship between prophetic forms and audience.

Notwithstanding the significance of the formal features of prophecies that utilize varied literary forms in testifying and contributing to revolutionary changes, recent literary criticism of early modern British women's prophetic writings has been relatively uninterested in the question of their literary forms. As a way to overcome a prominent tendency to avoid reading women's prophetic texts in a formalist context and to proceed to the next stage of research, the necessity of investigating the styles of prophecy, in particular, becomes clearer when looking at the scholarship of individual authors covered in this dissertation. There are several detailed studies of Cary's prophetic discourse, but they focus on Cary's prophetic career and strategy without investigating the literary elements of her prophecies. A notable exception is David Loewenstein's valuable investigation of Cary's prose and verse to investigate the thematic structure of her prophecies (2006). A good deal of criticism on Trapnel's prophecies has tried to define her prophecies as rational by focusing on the power of readership without studying poetic functions of her ecstatic prophecy. Exceptionally, Matthew Prineas explores the functional nature of Trapnel's songs (1997). Erica Longfellow examines the characteristics of Trapnel's verse prophecies in relation to the psalms (2004). Both Prineas and Longfellow remind later scholars of the need for a detailed analysis of how literary forms contribute to the achievement of Trapnel's prophetic goals. Compared to the scholarships of Cary and Trapnel, the research on White itself is sparse. The sparse scholarship on early Quaker poets, including White, is due to the fact that studies of early Quaker literary style have concentrated mainly on prose.[18] It was not until 2004 that Rosemary Moore published the first overview of Quaker poetry produced in the 1660s. While Margaret J. M.

[18] On the reasons for the lack of research on early Quaker poetry, see Nancy Jiwon Cho's "Literature" in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, eds. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 69-70.

Ezell called in 1993 for the investigation of the role of early Quaker women's writings in defining early Quaker literary style (140), full-fledged research on White's literary strategy of utilizing verse to represent her spiritual experiences has not yet appeared. However, Nancy Jiwon Cho's work—which explores changing Quaker perceptions of the value of "imaginative literature, specifically poetry, fiction, and drama" (70) in 2018—reflects a recent shift in research trends that pay attention to literary forms.

The emergence of literary forms as a primary academic interest within the field of early modern British women's writings is thanks to the achievements of feminist formalism to establish a new research methodology after reflecting on existing research trends that focus on the content and context of early modern women's literature without studying their form.[19] The critical lens of feminist formalism has aroused interest in literary forms from scholars, and as a result, many achievements have been made mainly on the formal analysis of poetry.[20] In addition, feminist formalism increasingly expands its research subject to analysis of literary forms and strategies of works and genres that do not fall under the category of canon. For example, based on the academic

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[19] On feminist formalism, see Sasha Roberts' "Women's Literary Capital in Early Modern England: Formal Composition and Rhetorical Display in Manuscript and Print," *Women's Writing* 14.2 (2007): 246–69; Alice Eardley's "Recreating the Canon: Women Writers and Anthologies of Early Modern Verse," *Women's Writing* 14.2 (2007): 270-289; Elizabeth Scott-Baumann's *Forms of Engagement: Women, Poetry, and Culture, 1640-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Danielle Clarke and Marie-Louise Coolahan's "Gender, Reception, and Form: Early Modern Women and the Making of Verse" in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 144-161; Lara Dodds and Michelle M. Dowd's "The Case for a Feminist Return to Form," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 13.1 (2018): 82-91; Lara Dodds and Michelle M. Dowd's "Happy Accidents: Critical Belatedness, Feminist Formalism, and Early Modern Women's Writing," *Criticism* 62.2 (2020):169-193.

[20] On the achievements and evaluation of feminist formalism, see Jaime Goodrich and Paula McQuade's "Beyond Canonicity: The Future(s) of Early Modern Women Writers," *Criticism* 63.1-2 (2021): 1-2.

achievements of feminist formalism, Jaime Goodrich not only analyzes seventeenth- and eighteenth- century English Benedictine poetry (2019, 600), but also explores the formal innovation of female writers by examining noncanonical genres, especially prose, which previously lacked formal analysis (2020, 95). Building on these recent important academic achievements, this dissertation aims to contribute to improving the remarkable tendency to avoid reading women's prophetic writings in a formalist context, by participating in this shift in academic trends and examining the formal implications of writings of women prophets.

3. A Formalist Approach to the Plain Aesthetics of Female Prophecy

In order to examine whether prophetic texts are suitable as an object of a new critical research methodology, first of all, this chapter attempts to outline recent criticisms calling for formalist approaches to early modern British women's writings. Sasha Roberts argues that the literary criticism of early modern women's writing tends to concentrate only on studying content and context without analyzing their literary forms (246). According to Alice Eardley's summary and argument, historicist approaches to women's literary texts over the last two decades treat them, particularly poetry, as "historical document[s]" (270) and stresses the importance of "historical context" over aesthetic characteristics "for an appreciation of women's writing" (271). Compared to the fact that historicist approaches to the texts of male writers have been accompanied by the textual analysis with "a continued emphasis on literary style" (Eardley 270), the emphasis on historicist scholarship of women's literary texts reveals "the gap in research into the formal and generic elements" of women's literature (Eardley 271). Eardley argues that the critical tendency to avoid exploring literary forms leaves the impression that women writers' poems have "little or no intrinsic literary merit" and are "aesthetically inferior" to those written by men and prevents

from investigating and studying their poetry "within the context of literary schools and forms" (275). For them, reading the texts of women writers through historicism without formalist research has made it difficult to meticulously analyze women's writings in relation to the wider literary canons in order to comprehend the ways in which women writers accept and reject established literary conventions. Consequently, this emphasis on historicism prevents a rapprochement between "the two currently separate canons of literature by women and that by men" and hinders "a better appreciation of the early modern canon as a whole" (Eardley 271).

As a way to understand women's writings in a broader dimension of intellectual culture and to reconcile disjunctions between the study of early modern British women's texts and the study of early modern British literature (Dodds and Dowd 2020, 169), recent scholars in the field of early modern British women's writings argue that the aesthetic approach to the literary forms chosen by women writers, especially metrical form, can become a new literary research methodology that can break through the limitations of research methodology faced by the field of early modern British women's writings in a creative way. Roberts suggests that investigating the poetic forms chosen by women writers in the context of formal traditions and appropriation can lead to a better understanding of the achievements of women writers as authors and readers who built up "literary capital" (247). In line with Roberts' request for formalist approaches to early modern British women's writing, Danielle Clarke and Marie-Louise Coolahan focus on demonstrating the way in which women writers create their own poetics through their own aesthetic choices (160), by analyzing the formal aspect of women's poetry as a way to redress the critical tendency of an "evasion of the discussion of form in the case of women's writing" (151).

Moreover, Elizabeth Scott-Baumann, Lara Dodds, and Michelle M. Dowd strive to extend Roberts' call for feminist formalist approaches to early modern British women's writing into a full-

fledged exploration of a new literary research methodology. Elizabeth Scott-Baumann claims that since women writers engage with literary "texts and traditions through form" (2), poetic form reveals "their close engagement with their literary and intellectual culture" (3) and discloses "the literary culture and traditions" in which they wrote (16). In other words, for women writers, as "a site for experimentation and engagement," poetic form is a product of "dialogue between male and female authors" (10) as well as dialogue "with existing traditions" of metrical forms (9). For Scott-Baumann, since it enables us to know the literary culture and traditions of the time from the perspective of intellectual history, which can identify the place of the female writers in "a more fully integrated literary history" (10), the study of poetic form contributes to the establishment of a feminist formalist methodology that combines the "historical formalism, and feminist scholarship" advocated by Roberts (10). In response to and in line with Scott-Baumann's efforts to make feminist formalism a literary methodology for the study of seventeenth-century women's literature, Lara Dodds and Michelle M. Dowd attempt to systematize feminist formalism into a full-fledged literary research methodology. After exploring the efficacy of "feminist formalism as a methodology" to grasp "women's contributions to literary history" (2018, 91), Dodds and Dowd insist that feminist formalism helps to "reposition women's texts within multifaced, cross-gendered literary networks" (2020, 178) by focusing on "the structural, rhetorical, and other formal techniques of given text" and by taking "gender as a central" analytic category (2020, 170).

Agreeing with the need for a change in critical practices of reluctance to interrogate the aesthetic elements of women's writing and supporting the necessity of a formalist approach to the works of early modern British women writers, this dissertation claims further that prophetic writings should also be included in the subject of recent renewed formalist approach to the works of early modern British women writers. This dissertation argues that studying the literary forms of

prophecy can help resolve the disjunction of the different critical timelines between the study of early modern British women's literature and the study of early modern British literature in a creative way. This is because the various literary forms that make up prophetic writings are the products of the literary strategies devised by male and female writers to appeal to a wider audience in consideration of the political landscape and literary traditions of the time, and thus require systematic study of prophetic forms in order to understand a more integrated literary history that encompasses both mainstream and non-mainstream prophetic literature.

As Elizabeth Scott-Baumann argues (14), this dissertation performs formalist approaches to explore the reasons why a certain literary style or genre is used in a particular historical period. By studying their chosen forms of writing as a way of "understanding aesthetics historically" (Scott-Baumann14), this dissertation attempts to investigate female writers' place in their contemporary literary culture, and the ways in which their chosen forms contribute to enhancing their political, social, and religious authority. However, in contrast to Scott-Baumann, this dissertation performs formalist approaches to assess the aesthetic value of female writers' writing since evaluating the aesthetic value can also be an important clue to uncover the meaning of stylistic simplicity of female writers in their intellectual, religious, and historical contexts.

Since the authors to be covered in this dissertation praise God and educate their readers, as well as strengthen their authority as authors, through poetry as a product of divine inspiration, this dissertation presents a new research methodology that simultaneously investigates female and male writers by studying the aesthetic characteristics of female writers' and Milton's writings together. For example, Trapnel, the female prophet to be covered in Chapter IV, identifies her verse several times as David's Psalms (Longfellow 172). Verse in Trapnel's prophecy serves as the work of the psalms in Christian reading: "a song of praise, instruction, a polemical statement

of doctrine and prophecy of forthcoming events" (Longfellow 172).[21] For Trapnel, the psalms are the divine revelation itself, and her verse and the psalms are identical; consequently, her verse serves as a means of giving her prophecies the status of the divine revelation. More importantly, by creating a plain aesthetics that clearly articulates the vision of the world she is aiming for, Trapnel utilizes the poetic form to strengthen her status as a prophet who mediates divine revelation to humans.

Cary of Chapter III and White of Chapter V also utilize poems to make their prophecies carry out the functions of praise, education, controversial statements about doctrines, and predictions of upcoming events as divine revelation. Cary uses poetry to prove that she is a capable exegete and preacher by embodying the biblical teachings she explicated in prose prophecy in a plain style of poetry. Putting the name of prophecy in the fore, Cary not only proves her brilliance as a commentator through her prose prophecy, but also demonstrates her excellence as a preacher to appropriately apply her biblical exegesis to contemporary British political circumstance through her verse prophecy. Meanwhile, White undertakes poetic ministry for pastoral care to her afflicted coreligionists as a way to maintain their network through the form of the epistle. More specifically, when oppression of radicals by the government increased after the Restoration of the monarchy, White used poetry both to console her frustrated colleagues and to enable them to envision a new vision as non-conformists, by clearly demonstrating her vision in non-conformist poetics in that pastoral epistle.

These writers attract new audiences to support their cause by creating plain aesthetics that embody divine inspiration in the style of their prophecies. For them, stylistic simplicity was an

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[21] For the function of the psalms, see Rivkah Zim's *English Metrical Psalms: Poetry as Praise and Prayer 1535-1601*, pp. 27-34.

effective way to show the power of the Holy Spirit that made them prophesy. In other words, for them, their plain aesthetics are the evidence of a non-hypocritical state where there is no discrepancy between the internal power or truth that made them prophesy and its external form of their prophecies. For them, plainness is second only to piety, since "high art is a sign of unholy pride" (Wilcox 2001, 209). This practice is closely related to the Puritan tradition of versification, which emphasizes truth and simplicity as a top priority as revealed in the preface to *The Bay Psalm Book* (1640). In order to sing the psalms according to the will of God, the preface stresses that to be careful with "Conscience rather then Elegance" and "fidelity rather then poetry" when "translating the Hebrew words into english language, and David poetry into english meetre" (sig. **3v). As Nancy Jiwon Cho explained, the emphasis on communication with divine revelation from God rather than literary competence in versification can be compared to Quaker practice of eschewing formal refinement (71). More significantly, as Jaime Goodrich demonstrated, this practice has clear similarities to "other religious dissidents," who have different doctrines, including the Fifth Monarchist Cary and Trapnel and the Quaker White, covered in this dissertation (2019, 618). Most interestingly, Goodrich's invaluable investigation shows that even the English Benedictine nuns also reinforce their humbleness and communication with God by rejecting "any aesthetic ornamentation" and pursing "humble poetic style" (2019, 603; 607). It is clear that "the obvious similarities between their attitudes toward versification" in seventeenth-century women's religious writings (Goodrich 2019, 618) leaves later scholars with the task of exploring the relationship between poetry and piety from a broader perspective by analyzing literary forms. This dissertation assumes here that their adherence to plain aesthetics is an attempt to separate their poetics very specifically from the deceptive arts traditionally associated with femininity, despite differences in religious doctrines (Wilcox 2001, 209). In a gendered political and religious setting,

aesthetic plainness for them is neither an end in itself, nor a symbol of a lack of virtuosity (Scott-Baumann 13), but a token of honesty and purity (Wilcox 2001, 209). Cary, Trapnel, and White were prophets of sects rooted in Puritanism that linked this sincerity to "simplicity and plainness, in worship, in social manners, and in aesthetics" (Keeble 2016, 129).

More notably, these writers produce hybrid texts that eschew high style in favor of plainer aesthetics as a strategy to persuade revolutionary readers to accept their prophetic arguments and to participate in revolutionary activity. According to Danielle Clarke's explanation, women's exclusion from the school system that taught rhetoric led to the production of hybrid texts in which women writers evaded formal embellishments in favor of "styles that privilege plainness and sincerity" (114). Nevertheless, female writers' decision to produce hybrid texts is an active and conscious choice of literary forms, as they had been able to hybridize existing literary forms very easily and frequently to meet new purposes (Clarke and Coolahan 154, 160). Their hybridizing texts represent the difference in "women's access to poetic and cultural capital," not a lack of literary ability of women (Clarke and Coolahan 160). Rather, these women writers' experimentation with the hybrid combination of prose and verse demonstrates their outstanding ability to justify their cause and persuade readers to join them. Especially for radical female prophets, the merging of different literary forms to clearly articulate God's plan is the achievement of their efforts to innovate literary conventions they can utilize to develop agency. For authors whose political stances or gender compromised their social authority, their hybridizing texts was the effective way to confirm their sacred authority and to avoid governmental oppression by showing God's free grace and their respect for order at the same time. Female prophets utilize hybrid texts and plain aesthetics to prove that their prophecies are true and proper embodiments of God's logos. In doing so, female prophets seek not only to gain divine and authorial authority to

counter the ostensibly rational discourses propagated by the Stuart and Cromwellian regimes, but also to dismantle the categorization of female prophecy as the negative 'other' of supposedly rational masculine discourse.

More specifically, by using various paratexts and prose and verse prophecies, Cary of Chapter III performs the role of an exegete and preacher forbidden to women at the time. Since she fashions herself as a preacher, Cary combines a prose explication of scriptural prophecies with its verse application to the circumstances of its audience in order to fully meet contemporary expectations of preaching style that emphasizes plainness with clear biblical exegesis and its application. Unlike any other preacher of her time, by applying those exegeses to the lives of her audience with concise poetics in verse, Cary hybridizes her exegetic prophecies to demonstrate her mastery of plain aesthetics as a skilled preacher. Cary's virtuosity in representing a divine vision for the republic in a concise poetics reinforces the credibility of her argument without increasing readers' resistance and hostility to female preaching. By showing her exegetic plainness (that shows her respect for cultural norms) and artistic mastery (that expands on established preaching styles and exhortatory mode), Cary not only defends her gender against any perceived inferiority and preempts criticism of her violation of the ban on women preaching, but also inspires readers to act like the saints by demanding that the Rump Parliament renovate its conservative agenda and start implementing vigorous innovation.

Unlike Cary's exegetic prophecy, Trapnel of Chapter IV prophesies in the state of trance, so she hybridizes her texts to create order within her ecstatic prophecy. Trapnel embodies God's free grace in a measured way through the deployment of prose and verse. Trapnel clarifies her millennial vison by imposing order on the spontaneous prophetic messages delivered in her prose through formal elements such as meter and rhyme. In doing so, her hybrid texts generate a balance

between her sectarian desire for liberty and her respect for Christ's order, which will be more fully realized after the regime is reformed. In particular, by clearly articulating God's will for the reform of the Cromwellian regime in poetic language and form, such as in the psalms of David, Trapnel validates her radical argument against the regime and protects her message from any containment by the regime even as she fashions the revolutionary reader as a judge who can participate in her cause. By showing her respect for the language of the Bible, not the language of the scholars she criticizes, Trapnel demonstrates that her desire to innovate existing social and literary conventions is sacred; thus, she defends herself against the negative connotations of ecstatic prophecy (i.e., ecstatic prophecies come from mental illness or evil spirits that could lead believers to social and religious chaos or anomie) as well as the weakness of her status as a separatist female prophet.

In Chapter V, White's way of hybridizing the texts is more strategic, since in the midst of severe repression by the restored monarchical regime, through an epistle she provided pastoral care so that her colleagues could keep the Quaker community alive without dispersing. Instead of galvanizing readers toward collective public activity, White hybridizes texts to inspire a chosen few to focus on a universal God-given Inner Light or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in every person that can unite them into one, regardless of gender and social status. More importantly, unlike the restored national Church, which has only the appearance of godliness and lacks God's power, White utilizes the inner space a site for worshiping in spirit and truth; thus, she creates a space of resistance where the Spirit of Christ transcends state authority and enables the individual believers to continue to pursue their revolutionary cause. By composing her verse prophecies in a manner close to the divine motion of the Spirit of Christ based on her intimate bond with the Spirit of Christ, White strives to devise an aesthetic harmony of content and form that materializes divine love for the believer in coming of God's judgment day, as prophesied in prose. In doing so, White

rejects the fixed liturgical forms of the national Church and demonstrates that Quaker worship can offer a new form of 'true' worship. White's embodiment of perfect harmony with the Spirit of Christ through hybrid texts proves that early Quakers were a group acting as spiritual prophets who could lead England on the righteous way to spiritual regeneration. By bringing the Holy Spirit to the fore and emphasizing that her writing is the product of the clear power of the Holy Spirit, White uses her respect for higher authority and order to overcome the severe repression of the regime as well as her vulnerability in terms of gender.

In short, these women writers develop their own unique literary strategies by hybridizing texts to present a vision that fits the changing political circumstances they face. In doing so, radical female prophets create a sense of divine authority that can accept, reject, or innovate existing literary conventions as well as justify their resistant discourses against existing regimes. As their hybridizing texts and plain aesthetics demonstrate the literary 'capital' available to female writers, it is essential to study their formal strategies. Formalist approaches to these writers enable us to comprehend how female writers engage and dialogue with existing writers and contemporary readers, literary conventions, and history in the tradition of prophetic literature beyond the perspective of individual writers. Moreover, by expanding the object of the study from the poetry of upper-class women to the prophetic verses of middle- and lower-class women, this dissertation seeks to supplement existing formalist research, which was mainly limited to the study of elite women's poetry. Sarah C.E. Ross observes that studying women's poetry "inevitably" leads to concentrate on "a relatively elite class of writers" (19). However, given the fact that middle- and lower-class women began to publish various forms of polemical prophecies, including prose and verse, after the strictures imposed on the press were abrogated in 1641, this dissertation strives to apply formalistic approaches to the literary forms of middle- and lower-class women writers who

benefited more from ‘a revolution in print’ than elite women writers. In doing so, this dissertation investigates how the metrical form chosen by middle- and lower-class women contributed to offsetting their low social, political, and religious status.

4. Milton’s Millennial Voice and his Stylistic Transformation

Milton was also influenced by millennial fervor and transformed his literary style through available literary ‘capital’ along with the millennial vision. As a way to build pro-republican readership, Milton, like the female prophets, employs divine inspiration, the origin of his prophetic voice, to create a concise aesthetics that differs from ready-made prayers and pro-royalist writings based on established customs and values in support of the national church system and the king. Representing his desire for reform through the design of a terse style is consistent with Milton’s belief in the simplicity of God’s wisdom, which he explains in *Of Reformation*: “The very essence of Truth is plainnesse, and brightnes; the darknes and crookednesse is our own. The Wisdome of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible” (*CPW* I 566). Given that Milton wrote this tract to abolish the episcopal system, for him, consolidating the power of the king through episcopacy is equivalent to obscuring and deforming ‘truth’ that leads citizens to reach God’s wisdom (Skerpan-Wheeler 295). Thus, pursuing plainness is to restore ‘true’ form, whether faith, church, or worship, through which citizens can clearly comprehend God’s wisdom by removing episcopacy, which has no biblical basis and submits each individual soul to the king, instead of the divine wisdom.

His plain style, like the female prophets, is not a fixed style but is transformed to build an effective readership by using a millennial vision according to his political needs. In 1641 Milton, who shared “the widespread expectation” that the millennium was about to begin, underlined the

collective responsibility of the British nation and people to prepare for the millennium by reforming the system of the Church of England, based on a millennial vision (Lewalski 2003, 16-17). Considering that polemicists in the 1640s perceived the reading public "as a whole" and sought to "merge" the elite audience with the popular audience (Achinstein 13), Milton aimed to utilize his millennial vision to combine an elite audience with a popular audience, by manipulating the affective element of his long sentences to make the reading public perceive their collective and sacred duty to prepare the millennium. Milton's long sentences utilize various images and metaphors to maximize an affective force that persuades readers that the episcopal Church of England is an antichristian system. Until 1648 his flamboyant style, innovative imagery, and creative collocation in early prose tracts aimed to fashion public opinion supporting an agenda of expedited reform for the Long Parliament (Corn 1982, 102).

However, as Secretary of Foreign Tongues Milton refashioned his prose style into a plainer aesthetics to meet "new criteria of clarity and precision" (Corn 1982, 102), aiming to improve readers' critical reason in order to justify tyrannicide and defend revolutionary polity in pursuit of supporting the nascent republican regime. Milton's composed and restrained style in his vernacular pamphlet *Eikonoklastes* (1649) purports to educate readers in order to stabilize the new republican regime by defeating the royalist attempt to deify Charles I. By refraining from using enthusiastic millennial discourse, which would arouse public fear of the new regime's radical militant governance as supported by the New Model Army, Milton's long sentences allow readers to focus on their innate subservice to the monarchical tyranny by controlling an emotionally charged rhetorical strategy. By blending clarity with extemporaneity at the same time in enabling readers to correctly identify the king's deceptive aesthetics, Milton's long sentences demand "industrie and judicious paines" from readers in resisting Charles I's "easy literature" that

paralyzes readers' reason. By creating a sense of extemporaneousness and associating it with originality in opposing the literary and spiritual plagiarism of the king's stale words and affective style, Milton's long sentences disabuse readers of the superstition of unlimited monarchy and enable them to reassess Charles I's reign through their reason and judgment. Although Milton still uses periodic sentences, "in which the main idea remains suspended while additions and qualifications are introduced" (Hamilton 308), by revealing the hypocrisy as well as the duplicity of the king's aesthetics through his simpler and improvised sentences, Milton emphasizes that individual citizens' liberty to choose their words is a decisive factor in initiating the new age of self-governance through individual reason. Milton makes it clear that the reconciliation between inner strength and verbal expression in worship and life is the beginning of intellectual independence from monarchical servitude and idolatry of kingship. By transforming his style from amplification (the typical rhetorical feature of his early pamphlets) to a more refined and accurate style, Milton's prose style is becoming closer to the stylistic characteristics of his 1659 pamphlets.

By declaring that "in matters of religion he is learnedest who is pla[i]nest" in his 1659 pamphlet *Civil Power* (*CPW* VII 272), Milton invents the most concise writings of his life, so as not to impose on the reader the interpretive burden of his language and style. Milton struggles to accommodate the power of Holy Spirit in a plain style as a way to build a readership sympathetic to his goal of impeding Parliament's enactment of a bill that would restrain liberty of conscience. In contrast to the coercive language of the magistrate who, through religious regulation and compulsion, seeks to burden English Protestants again with the yoke of bondage of the Law, which Christ had already destroyed, Milton attempts to utilize his succinct argument and style that contains the freeness of the Grace in order to persuade readers to destroy the yoke of the Law without terrifying them with any difficult words and prolix exposition. Milton employs only

copious and plain Scriptural allusions to elicit Protestants' action by inward persuasion through "revelation from above" and "human reason" (*CPW* VII 242). Milton's efforts to make his style lucid lead him to develop his argument straightforwardly without hesitation or digression by avoiding the periodic sentence. By showing the main idea first and developing his discursive logic progressively in order to connect God's free grace to verity and freedom of individual conscience through St. Paul's and Christ's words, Milton clearly argues that relying on divine grace does not increase division of the community but contributes to uniting English Protestants as Christ's followers "in spirit and in truth." (*CPW* VII 263). In doing so, Milton argues that if the state restricts individuals, including non-conformists, from enjoying liberty of interpretation, it destroys the unity of the state by promoting hypocrisy and religious schism, such as the prelates in *Of Reformation* (*CPW* I 150). By assuming a humble authorial posture and exalting the authority of the Bible, Milton's plain style reflects his weakened political position as well as the twilight of the British republic in which he needs the overwhelming support of a wider readership than ever in order to thwart the regime headed for a semi-monarchical order.

Despite his lifelong convictions in the importance of plainness in religious issues, Milton's prophetic voice is once again transformed as attempts to restore the 'true' form to embody divine wisdom was halted by the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. In *Paradise Lost,* Milton renovates an established epic to forge a new form of poetic language, stimulating a fit reader's inner liberty to pursue the revolutionary cause. By artfully constructing and controlling metrical variations without using grandiose rhetoric, Milton's blank verse lines invite readers to slow down, be more discerning of their spiritual freedom, and achieve their political autonomy. By fashioning elaborate prophetic aesthetics, Milton avoids censorship and evokes the mission of elect remnant to constantly strive to find 'truth', or God's righteous way, through self-rule through reason. Milton's

elaborately planned poetic style intends to comfort the suffering readers and make them reinterpret their present difficulties through faith without losing their inner self-rule. In doing so, Milton guarantees fit readers the opportunity to cultivate independent judgments as a way to preserve their individuality and freedom while overcoming the current circumstance of harsh oppression without succumbing to external pressure. His elaborate style is clearly different from the previous plain style, but it demonstrates that his lifelong goal of cultivating readers capable of self-governance continues through the education of a small number of fit readers, even after the Restoration.

In short, the nature of prophecy and its form are not singular nor uniform, and prophets utilize various literary forms in consideration of the political circumstance to create their own unique poetics as vessels for the divine will. Given that the prophets used various literary forms to meet their needs, and especially given that female prophets used various literary strategies to overcome the social constraints imposed upon them, investigating the literary form of prophecies opens a way to position their writings within a more integrated literary history of prophetic literature that encompasses both mainstream and non-mainstream prophetic literature. A critical comparison of the stylistic features of women prophets and Milton clearly shows the difference in literary capital between Milton and female prophets. When female prophets produced hybrid texts based on the Bible, Milton produced tracts using a variety of sources, from patristics, contemporary politics, the classical canon, and the Bible. Even when Milton was at his most politically vulnerable time after the Restoration, he had the literary capital to innovate the existing epic with blank verse lines along with the Bible. Comparing their stylistic features according to their available literary capital provides clues to how the gender, political position, and class differences of these writers gave rise to unique literary poetics. Studying these authors—three noncanonical and one canonical—is useful for understanding the characteristics of the literary strategies of their

prophetic writings not only from the perspective of individual writers, but also from that of early modern English culture more broadly. By providing an opportunity to historicize the aesthetic uniqueness of their writings beyond gender division, exploring the literary style of their writings side by side in each chapter enables us to get a better view of the extent of these writers' efforts to create their own cultural and political space for their political engagement through the literary forms available to them.

In order to understand these authors' literary strategies, this dissertation aims to investigate how millennial discourse created a unique literary genre (prophecy), which is used to construct these author's readership against the Stuart and Cromwellian regimes. The most essential part of revolutionary millenarianism is the role of the Antichrist as both a persecuting force and a sign of imminent millennium (Feroli 27). By identifying the Antichrist with various contemporary people and system according to political circumstances, revolutionary millenarianism reinforces its followers' divine duty to destroy the Antichrist as a most effective way of advancing Christ's kingdom on earth (Capp 1970, 66). As readers could be asked to join in the divine duty of advancing the impending kingdom of Christ by defeating the Antichrist, revolutionary millenarianism was a great way for these authors to devise their prophetic language to create a readership that could support them against forces that were difficult to resist. Although Milton and female prophets employ their prophetic language to advocate their cause and construct their 'fit' reader, their appropriation of millennialism developed in four stages that defined the Antichrist in various ways during the Civil Wars, the Interregnum, and the Restoration. As I have already mentioned earlier, in the first stage of millennial discourse, at the eve of the Civil Wars, radicals identified the Church of England led by William Laud as an antichristian system (Capp 1970, 69; Hill 1972, 119). The goal of radicals in this stage was the destruction of the national church system

and expansion of religious toleration of dissent, which for them was an important measure and indicator to decide whether to call for further political and religious reforms throughout the Interregnum. In the second stage, during the Civil Wars, the revolutionary party depicted the Stuart government as an antichristian Babylon (Capp 1970, 77; Hill 1972, 27). More significantly, in order to legitimize regicide, Charles I was identified as a satanic tyrant, and his execution was seen as a step towards the millennium (Capp 1970, 78). In the third stage, Oliver Cromwell was attacked in the name of the Antichrist after his dissolution of the Barebones Parliament and his establishment of himself in the semi-monarchical position of Lord Protector in 1653 (Capp 1970, 70; Hill 1971, 121). Furthermore, Richard Cromwell also could not avoid being depicted as a potential satanic tyrant when he succeeded his father as Lord Protector in 1658. This shift occurred because radicals believed that these Lord Protectors focused on strengthening their power, not on reforms to usher the kingdom of Christ. In the fourth stage of millenarianism, after the Restoration, the revolutionary party accepted and promoted the idea of an internal millennium in order to avoid governmental censorship and persecution, although they still represented the restored government as an antichristian Babylon (Capp 1970, 87). By using an internal millennial vision, these radicals constructed a resistant readership, which continued to develop their revolutionary cause.

Tracing these changes in millennial discourse is helpful in investigating how Milton and female prophets' different political stances and authorities resulted in their creation of new literary genres according to political circumstances. In other words, analyzing Milton and female prophets' generic transformation in relation to the development of these stages of millenarianism reveals that their literary experimentation is a way of finding effective forms of resistant discourses in reaction to the dominant discourse of governmental power. Their creation of literary aesthetics using the voice of prophecy is efficacious in building a resistant readership and radical dissenting poetics

that could legitimize their radical politico-religious causes and bring about political change.

Chapter III. Milton and Cary's Republican Vision: Readership and Literary Style

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the ways in which Milton and Cary utilize literary style to support the nascent republican regime after the English Revolution. This chapter argues that Milton and Cary's differences in terms of political stances, social authorities, and gender politics create their unique literary experimentations for building a pro-republican readership by examining Milton's *Eikonoklastes in Answer to a Book Intitl'd Eikon Basilike, the Portrature of His sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (1649) and Cary's *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall: Or a Scripture-- Prophesie of King James, and King Charles, and of This Present Parliament, Unfolded* (1651) and *A New and More Exact Mappe, or Description of New Jerusalems Glory when Jesus Christ and His Saints with him shall Reign on Earth a Thousand Years, and Possess All Kingdoms* (1651).

Since the decapitation of Charles I was a traumatic experience for the British public and made the new government insecure, the urgent task incumbent on Milton and Cary as advocates of the republican Commonwealth was to devise a means of justifying tyrannicide and the establishment of the republic. To this end, Milton and Cary employed millennial belief by positing Charles I as the representative of the Antichrist in the second stage of millenarianism. More importantly, Milton and Cary have in common their use of a plain aesthetics in reassessing Charles I's reign and the English Revolution in favor of the republican cause. Milton's refashioning his prose style into a plainer aesthetics aimed to improve readers' critical reason in pursuit of defending revolutionary ideals and polity from attacks by the Presbyterians and the royalists. Similarly, Cary's concise preaching style attempted to awaken readers' spiritual duty to maintain the regime's revolutionary policy by explicating the significance of overthrowing Charles I's

tyranny from the perspective of God's providence. Milton and Cary fashion their own plain style in order to make readers reevaluate the achievement of the English Revolution and to impede the regime from deviating from the revolutionary drive.

Despite these similarities, however, Milton and Cary's plain style reflects the imbalance of socio-political power between them. In addition to his superior position in gender politics, Milton had more political power because he had the official authority as Secretary of Foreign Tongues. Milton's political power reached its peak as he entered his prime as a writer. In comparison to his pamphlets of 1643-1645, Milton's appointment as Secretary not only made it easier to build his readership, but also transformed his prose style into a plainer aesthetics as he sought to inform a governmental agenda clearly and concisely. Milton's political advantage also motivated him to control his style, refraining from using the enthusiastic millennial discourse in order to educate readers to counter *Eikon Basilike*'s deceptive rhetoric through critical reading. It is the same vein that Milton positioned his audience as a citizenry who have the potential to be virtuous republicans by training their rational faculty. Milton's emphasis on self-governance in enhancing readers' republican ethos resulted in the composition of long sentences in order to express himself precisely and spontaneously. By creating an extemporaneousness and associating it with originality, Milton's long sentences underscore the unpremeditated use of reason as the driving force to develop the history of liberty in a natural way. Milton's aesthetic deliberation resonates with his superior political power and authorial goal of leading a self-governed citizenry to achieve their own well-being.

In sharp contrast to Milton, Cary relied heavily on public readership based on millennial exegesis. This occurred largely because Cary criticized the regime for its weakened support for reform, and did not have any political and social authority to legitimize her radical voice against

the supreme parliamentary government, even though she was a supporter of the regime and was at the top of her career as a writer, like Milton. Consequently, Cary intended to appeal to a wider readership through her religious authority, and set her target audiences as the collective saints. By stressing the divine duty of the saints, Cary aimed to inspire readers' collective activity to press the godly state to implement vigorous reform. In pursuit of this goal, Cary composes her exegetic prophecies in a manner close to preaching. However, Cary's self-fashioning as a preacher requires complex authentication procedures. By using paratexts, Cary includes three prominent pastors' letters in order to lend authority to her authorship. Moreover, by constituting her text with a prose explication of scriptural prophecies and their verse application, Cary reveals her skilled ability to master the preaching rule that manipulates her exegetic prophecies with plainness. Most significantly, Cary creates a non-conformist poetics, which shows her mastery of a plain aesthetics. Cary's virtuosity in representing a divine message in an artistic form reinforces the credibility of her argument and deescalate readers' resistance to female preaching. In comparison to Milton, Cary's relative vulnerability in terms of political power, social authority, and gender politics confronted the difficulties of representing her radical millennial thought as both a rational and a viable vision for the republic in building a revolutionary readership.

2. Milton's Republican Readership and a Stylistic Shift

1) The English Revolution and a Republican Readership

As a way to investigate how Milton's new role after the English Revolution resulted in the stylistic shift of his vernacular pamphlets of 1649, I will examine the ways in which Milton constructs a new republican readership by using a sober and restrained style in *Eikonoklastes in Answer to a Book Intitl'd Eikon Basilike, the Portrature of His sacred Majesty in His Solitudes*

and Sufferings (1649). Scholars have demonstrated that Milton's major stylistic shift coincides with his appointment as Secretary of Foreign Tongues of the Council of State.[22] However, critics have not explored how Milton's choice to abstain from using millennial rhetoric contributes to the creation of his new literary style, which aims to fashion his readers into virtuous citizens as they read *Eikonoklastes*.

According to Thomas Corns' study, in comparison to his pamphlets of 1643-1645, which are rich in lexical usage and imagery, Milton's unusual collocations and creative imagery radically decrease in *Eikonoklastes* (1992, 101). Corns views this stylistic shift as the result of Milton's recognition that his creative and unorthodox prose style of 1643-1645 only had limited use in supporting the nascent republican regime (1989, 195). As an official advocate of the new regime, Milton refashions his prose style into a more sober and plain aesthetic in order to meet "new criteria of clarity and precision" (1982, 102).[23] Lending further support to Corns' argument, in comparison to his early prose, Milton's stylistic shift reflects his attempts to construct a new republican readership in *Eikonoklastes*.[24] While his flamboyant style, innovative imagery, and creative collocation in early prose tracts aimed to fashion public opinion supporting an agenda of expedited reform for the Long Parliament, Milton's composed and restrained style in *Eikonoklastes* purports

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[22] On the overall study of Milton's style of vernacular pamphlets of 1649, see Thomas N. Corns' "Milton's Prose," pp. 188, 190, 193-95 and *The Development of Milton's Prose Style*, pp. 86-100; On the investigation of Milton's style of *Eikonoklastes*, see Thomas N. Corns' *Uncloistered Virtue*, pp. 204-220; Steven N. Zwicker's *Lines of Authority*, pp. 37-59; Achsah Guibbory's "Charles's Prayers," pp. 283-294; Keith W. Stavely's *The Politics of Milton's Prose Style*, pp. 84-92; Jane Hiles' "Milton's Royalist Reflex," pp. 87-100.

[23] Milton was invited by the Commonwealth's Council of State to be employed as its Secretary of Foreign Tongues on March 13, 1649 and accepted it on March 15, 1649 (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* 1649-50, 37, 40).

[24] On the readership of *Eikonoklastes*, see Sharon Achinstein's *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, pp. 162-168; Daniel Shore, "Fit though few: *Eikonoklastes* and the Rhetoric of Audience," pp. 129-148; David Ainsworth's "Spiritual Reading in Milton's *Eikonoklastes*," pp. 157-189.

to educate readers in order to stabilize the new republican regime. By employing stylistic austerity, Milton attempts to control the public enthusiasm evoked by revolutionary events, thereby guiding the public to study republican virtue, which would support republican England and defend the revolutionary cause from attacks by the Presbyterians and the royalists.

Milton's restrained and sober style is created by abstaining from utilizing millennial rhetoric in his justification of tyrannicide.[25] Milton argues that the execution of Charles I is tyrannicide and the liberation of England from the reign of the Antichrist Charles I.[26] Nevertheless, Milton refrains from using millennial imagery because of his worry that the enthusiastic tone and mood of millennial rhetoric would stoke public fear of the new regime's radical militant governance, which had been supported by the Army in the revolutionary events of December 1648 to January 1649. By reserving millennial rhetoric until the conclusion of *Eikonoklastes*, Milton aims at educating readers with the simple truth instead of using an emotional appeal.[27] This approach reflects his belief that Christ's kingdom is actualized not through addressing readers with millennial rhetoric but through encouraging readers to learn republican virtue.

Moreover, Milton's restrained and sober style efficiently rebuts the supposed emotional fraud of *Eikon Basilike* (1649). Milton attempts to chasten readers with the simple facts by criticizing the rhetorical pathos of *Eikon Basilike*, which intends to betray readers into voluntary subjugation through emotional deception. By placing Charles I's rhetoric in historical perspective

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[25] On the issue whether Milton advocated regicide or tyrannicide in relation to the events of January 1649, see Martin Dzelzainis's "Milton and the Regicide."

[26] On Milton's millennialism in *Eikonoklastes*, see Barbara K. Lewalski's "Milton and the Millennium," pp. 19; William B. Hunter's "The Millennial Moment: Milton vs. "Milton," pp. 103; Michael Fixler's *Milton and the Kingdoms of God*, pp. 156-161; David Loewenstein's *Milton and the Drama of History*, pp. 63-65.

[27] Laura Blair McKnight argues that Milton attempts to persuade readers "not with lavish rhetoric but with the simple truth" (150). However, she does not focus on Milton's education of readers.

with his sober style, Milton attempts to educate his readers to discern the late King's fraudulent pathos. As the best way to avoid emotion and educate readers in the ways in which to discern deceptive rhetoric, Milton exposes Charles I's inappropriate literary theft, aesthetic impoverishment, and rhetorical fraud through his own restrained and sober style in *Eikonoklastes.* By hinting that the late King's lack of stylistic virtuosity reveals his political hypocrisy and fraud, Milton demonstrates that Charles I's style does not display his rectitude, but exemplifies cunning duplicity. More importantly, by suggesting Charles I's literary style is the result of religio-political tyranny, Milton argues that monarchy and episcopacy subjugate free-born readers' reason to a single man's will; thus, he justifies the king's execution as the foremost condition to regain freedom for citizens and the republic. In doing so, Milton not only attempts to mitigate the public's fear of military radicalism, but also aims at persuading readers to revisit the history of the Civil Wars without using an emotionally charged rhetorical strategy. As a result, Milton recasts *Eikon Basilike* as a locus of political debate rather than the object of religious devotion by disabusing readers' implicit faith in *Eikon Basilike.*

2) Pride's Purge and the Execution of Charles I

In order to grasp the reason Milton refrains from employing an emotionally charged rhetorical strategy and millennial imagery, it is important to investigate how the Army's political intervention combined with popular millenarianism in the revolutionary events of December 1648 to January 1649. In the events of Pride's Purge and the execution of Charles I, the Army's emergence not only transformed the nature of the Second Civil War, but also accommodated popular millenarianism in order to justify their militant actions against Parliament and the king.

First of all, Pride's Purge was a watershed event, which transformed the nature of the

second Civil War from a conflict between the crown and Parliament into a conflict between the Army and Parliament. When the new alliance of Scots and the royalists was defeated by the New Model Army and the king was captured by the Army, the Presbyterian-dominated Long Parliament opened peace negotiations with the king at Newport by accepting pressure from the City of London and the counties for "peace, settlement, and a return to the old ways" (Underdown 3). In spite of the parliamentary majority's opposition, the Army demanded the trial of the king because the Army was suspicious of the king's sincerity and saw that the Presbyterians, or moderate Independents, agreed with the negotiations in Parliament since they switched their allegiance from principles of religious and civil liberty to the king (Russell 382; Worden 1977, 15). However, as the Long Parliament voted in favor of further negotiations with Charles I on December 5, 1648, Colonel Thomas Pride arrested forty-five members of Parliament identified as inimical to the Army's demands, and prevented ninety-six members of Parliament from entering the House at Westminster on December 6, 1648 (Russell 382; Worden 1977, 15). The Army's use of force against Parliament not only undermined the alliance between civilian and military parties, but also led the purged Parliament to intensify the conflict between the two groups by passing an ordinance for Charles I's trial on December 28, 1648 and executing him on January 30, 1649 (Russell 382; Underdown 173). The Army's political intervention resulted in the establishment of a republican Commonwealth but aggravated a split between civilian and military parties.[28]

Austin Woolrych attributes Pride's Purge and the execution of Charles I to the Long Parliament's refusal to tolerate the sectarian and lower-class Independent congregations (1980,

[28] After abolishing the office of King and the House of Lords in March 1649, the purged Parliament declared England to be a Commonwealth (Gardiner 1962, 381-88). For the next four years the purged Parliament, supported by the Council of State, monopolized both legislative and executive power as supreme parliamentary government (Worden 1977, 2).

48). The Long Parliament's intolerance spurred more militant Independents and sectaries toward political action in order to break down worldly hierarchies. More importantly, the Army not only shared the tendency of religio-political militancy, but also reinforced the militancy supported by popular millenarianism. The Army rank and file were Independents and sectarians, and their chaplains' sermons identified the Army as God's chosen instrument to establish Christ's kingdom (Woolrych 1980, 34). Moreover, the emergence of Colonel Thomas Harrison (the leader of the millenarians) as spokesman of the field officers gave the Army the ability to utilize millenarianism as a way to justify their radical resistance against both Parliament and the king (Aylmer 1986, 97). By identifying the king as an agent of the Antichrist and thereby defining their drastic actions as a step to overthrow the Antichrist, the Army not only rationalized their intervention in political affairs through millenarianism but also reinforced their uncompromising religio-political radicalism. Overall, Pride's Purge and tyrannicide were not solely the result of republican theory, but more the combination of the Army's political radicalism with millenarianism and accelerated religio-political militancy.

The problem was that the Army's use of force to purge the House of Commons and to execute Charles I not only made the new regime's constitutional legitimacy doubtful, but also aroused public fear (even among Members of Parliament who remained in the Commons) that combining "intense political passion and religious militancy" would result in arbitrary rule and violence without proper legal procedure (Underdown 174).[29] Crucially, since the execution of Charles I was implemented without the consideration of a practical alternative to monarchy, the execution led the new regime into a quandary by intensifying the militancy of its own zealous

[29] See also Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1656*, p.1; Worden's *The Rump Parliament 1648-53*, pp.12.

supporters (Worden 1991, 226). By calling on the Army to further socio-political reformation as a way of establishing Christ's kingdom, the supporters of the regime reinforced the public's fear of the new government's radical militancy, which was a fatal barrier to reconciliation of neutrals, moderate parliamentarians, the Presbyterians, and the royalists (Aylmer 1986, 131; Underdown 178).

To make matters worse, the parliamentary government was losing the war of public opinion in both pulpit and press because the execution was supported by only a few members of Parliament as well as political figures outside the Army (Aylmer 1986, 131, 142). The Presbyterians steadily supported the royalist cause through their sermons (Underdown 176). Moreover, the royalists had achieved great publishing success through the apologia *Eikon Basilike* by publishing thirty-five editions of the text in 1649 alone (Campbell and Corns 220). Consequently, the regime urgently needed to persuade readers by refashioning republican theory, which would defend its revolutionary cause from its opponents' attacks. As a major step to create a sympathetic readership, the new government had to mask the fact that it was dependent on military power in order to solidify its constitutional legitimacy and to appease the public's fear that the governance of the Commonwealth would result in politico-religious militancy and anarchy. For this purpose, it was necessary for the regime to control its supporters' enthusiasm and to defend the nascent republican government by developing republican political theory in a restrained and more impersonal rhetoric. Moreover, by providing reasons for tyrannicide based on republican ideals in a controlled style, the new regime could unite its supporters and persuade potentially sympathetic readers without exploiting an enthusiastic rhetoric in contrast to the ostensibly emotional deception of *Eikon Basilike*.

3) Training Self-governing Citizens by Reason and the Periodic Sentence

At this critical juncture, as an official apologist for Charles I's execution, Milton published *Eikonoklastes* in October 1649 in order to deconstruct the arguments of *Eikon Basilike* "point by point" in a restrained style (*CPW* III 568). To avoid showing religio-political militancy and any emotional response to *Eikon Basilike*, Milton used literary criticism as an alternative means of employing reason to liberate readers from their voluntary servility to royalist idolatry. Milton had seen that the recent efforts to cast down images of idols had failed (Shore 2012, 27). The futility of this iconoclasm made him recognize that idolatry of the late King's image could not be stopped as long as the human inclination to idolatry continued (Shore 2012, 28). Therefore, Milton concentrates on controlling the human inclination to idolatry rather than breaking the royal idol with a rhetorical violence, which would remind the public of the revolutionary tumults.[30]

As a way to control his readers' propensity to idolatry, Milton emphasizes the powers of reason and critical reading, which could preserve human liberty by preventing readers from being enslaved by an implicit faith in the idolatry of kingship. By revealing how the late King's rhetorical fraud enslaves free-born readers into following a single man's arbitrary rule, Milton not only improves readers' ability to read critically based on their reason as free-born citizens, but also justifies tyrannicide as an essential step to civil liberty. Milton's authorial goal is to enhance citizens' self-governance in order to stabilize the new republican regime.

My hypothesis is that Milton's literary criticism of Charles I's style not only dismantles Charles I's fictional character as a 'godly' prince and pious Christ-like martyr, but also reshapes

[30] In her "Milton and Idolatry," Barbara Lewalski observes that Milton "believed that the disposition to attach divinity or special sanctity to" any person or institution or goods "was idolatrous" (214). In other words, "Milton's conception of idolatry was much broader" (214).

him as a delusive and arbitrary tyrant; thus he rationalizes tyrannicide as the free citizen's achievement of liberty as well as the doom of the Antichrist predicted in millennial thought.[31] In contrast to Charles I's polished but seductive style, which reproduces his religio-political tyranny into a rhetorical one, Milton's efforts to avoid utilizing the affective power of stylistic niceties result in the creation of his own sober style. By refraining from persuading readers through rhetorical appeal, Milton's style utilizes the power of reason to discredit both the late king's authority and the monarchy. In order to secure the rule of virtuous citizens in the new regime, Milton's restrained style emphasizes the citizen's self-governance by reason which can discern the plain truth without falling for the king's deceptive aesthetic. While Charles I's refined but borrowed style intends to hide his tyrannical policies and tie free citizens to the past (the monarchy), Milton's conscious use of long sentences based on critical reasoning strengthens the citizen's critical and creative spirit as the driving force to open the new historical age of self-governance in the republican regime by giving them a rigorous training in critical reason. Milton's long chain of reasoning destroys the fictionalized royalist discourse, which emphasizes the permanence of literary form in order to support the continuity of unlimited monarchy. At the same time, Milton's long sentences create a sense of spontaneity, which underscores newness and originality in countering the mode of repetitive imitation of *Eikon Basilike*. By identifying Charles I's lack of literary virtuosity as the outcome of his misgovernment, Milton suggests that his own long sentences produce self-governance which guarantees the unpremeditated use of reason in order for self-governing virtuous citizens to discover truth and to develop the history of liberty in a natural

[31] Critics have pointed out that Milton sought to expose Charles I's tyranny by showing his inappropriate literary theft, but I have yet to see an analysis of the relationship between his literary theft and his tyranny from a millennialist perspective.

way.

In the preface, Milton's emphasis on self-governance through the improvement of readers' critical power originates from the idea that the great success of *Eikon Basilike* is the outcome of the combination of the king's rhetorical tyranny and vulgar readers' voluntary subjugation to kingship. This evaluation requires Milton to expose how Charles I's guileful rhetoric corrupts public reason and destroys public liberty.[32] Milton ceaselessly attempts to correct readers' disposition to idolize kingship. As he witnesses that his fellow-citizens remain haunted by the slavish attitudes even at the moment of their liberation, Milton emphasizes self-governance by reason as a primary quality needed to consolidate their regained civil liberty:

> But now, with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some few, who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of Freedom, and have testifi'd it by thir matchless deeds, the rest, imbastardiz'd from the ancient nobleness of thir Ancestors, are ready to fall flatt and give adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man [Charles I], who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties, and putt Tyranny into an Art, then any British King before him. (*CPW* III 344)

Milton insists that Charles I attempts to employ "cunning fetches" in order to undermine readers' liberty and thus transforms political "Tyranny into an Art[istic]" one. The vulgar readers consequently praise the book and "are ready to fall flatt" into the condition of blindness by submitting to customary adoration of the king. By connecting these vulgar readers to the tyranny of custom and blind affection for the king's image, Milton hints that the purpose of rebutting Charles I's rhetoric is not simply to offer a choice between King and Parliament, but between self-governance (reason) and tyranny (blindness) (Shore 2006, 133). In his other pro-tyrannicide tract,

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[32] Milton insists that *Eikon Basilike* intends to transform the free subjects into "a multitude of Vassalls in the Possession and domaine of one absolute Lord" (*CPW* III 458); thus, it enslaves them to "the condition of Slavery" of "the conscience, judgment, and reason of one Man [the king]" (*CPW* III 359, 412).

The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (1649), Milton also asserts the importance of self-governance by reason: "If men within themselves would be govern'd by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyrannie, of Custom from without, and blind affections within, they would *discern better*, what it is to favour and uphold the Tyrant of a Nation" (*CPW* III 190, my emphasis). By identifying the practice of reason as a method of training readers to "discern better," Milton suggests that readers should exercise their reason in order to be self-governed and to learn how to see through Charles I's rhetorical tyranny, which seduces readers into giving up their regained liberty. Moreover, by contrasting the vulgar readers' "besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit" with the ideal readers' "love of Freedom" and their "matchless deeds," Milton emphasizes that the self-governed reader also should attest their love of liberty through action. In sum, for Milton, the virtuous readers are citizens who exercise their reason bolstered by his work in order to protect their liberty against tyranny.

By utilizing the concept of self-governance, Milton opens new room for a third category of readers beyond the binary construction of the ideal readers (the "knowing Christians") and the vulgar readers (the "Image-doting rabble") (*CPW* III 601).[33] Milton articulates that he does not write for both the ideal and the vulgar readers but for those "misled" who "may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themselves, and recover" (*CPW* III 601). By positioning his target readers as those "misled," who had shaken off their beliefs regarding the legitimacy of the Revolution after Charles I's execution, Milton underscores that readers must use their reason (critical reading) and good guidance (training) in order to avoid falling again into the slavishness

[33] On Milton's third category of readers, see Daniel Shore's "Fit though Few: *Eikonoklastes* and the Rhetoric of Audience," pp.144; David Ainsworth's "Spiritual Reading in Milton's *Eikonoklastes*," pp.161.

of kingship; thus, Milton reveals that his authorial purpose is to educate readers in a way of self-governance through their reason and critical reading.

Milton's stress on reason and critical reading as a way of self-governance corresponds to his criticism of the "Image-doting rabble," who have implicit faith in *Eikon Basilike*. Milton defines the Image-doting rabble as a "credulous and hapless herd" who are not only "begott'n to servility, and inchanted with" tyranny, but also show "their own voluntary and beloved baseness" (*CPW* III 601). The "Image-doting rabble" are readers who cannot govern themselves through their reason but submit to kingship by reading the late King's book with blind affection. As a result, with "a blinde and obstinate beleef" in the late King's book, they "admir'd, nay to set it next the Bible" (*CPW* III 339, 347). By showing the case of the rabble, Milton clearly suggests that readers' lack of critical engagement with the book could result in falling into voluntary servility to both the king's book and kingship. Therefore, for Milton, improving readers' critical reasoning is his primary goal in order to establish self-governance as a way to control the human disposition to idolize kingship. By training readers to read the king's book critically, Milton attempts not only to recuperate readers' ability to escape tyranny and blindness but also to transform them into the "knowing Christians" whom the king's book cannot seduce:

> Considering the envy and almost infinite prejudice likely to be stirr'd up among the Common sort, against what ever can be writt'n or gainsaid to the Kings book, so advantageous to a book it is, only to be a Kings, and though it be an irksome labour to write with industrie and judicious paines that which neither waigh'd, nor well read, shall be judg'd without industry or the paines of well judging, by faction and the easy literature of custom and opinion, it shall be ventur'd yet, and the truth not smother'd, but sent abroad … to finde out her own readers; few perhaps, but those few, such a value and substantial worth, as truth and wisdom, not respecting numbers and bigg names, have bin ever wont in all ages to be contented with. (*CPW* III 339-40)

Milton divides his readers between the "the Common sort" and "those few" of "value and substantial worth." The first crucial difference between them is whether the readers interpret the

book with “almost infinite prejudice” or “industry or paines of well judging,” respectively. The second essential distinction is between the readers who are motivated by “the easy literature of custom and opinion” and readers who are not influenced by “bigg names.” These conditions show that critical reading is a decisive factor in becoming self-governed readers in order to avoid falling victim to the double tyranny of custom and servility. Milton particularly emphasizes that his book will find fit readers who are not affected by the name of the king, but who judge *Eikon Basilike* through their critical reason with the guidance of *Eikonoklastes*. As an efficacious antidote for readers who are poisoned by the seductive power of Charles I’s rhetoric, Milton encourages readers to exercise the power of critical reading in order to practice “intellectual independence” from monarchical servitude and thus to control their propensity to idolatry of kingship (Keeble 2010, 431).

Instead of controlling readers with another rhetorical appeal, Milton intends to help readers change their disposition and improve their critical powers to achieve their own well-being and commodious life as self-governed citizens of the republic. The fact that Charles I’s learned but seductive style reinforces the mental servility of readers makes Milton avoid using any polished rhetoric, including millennial discourse, unlike his contemporary pro-regicide apologists. Those writers “counter Charles I’s crucified Christ with the anti-monarchical Christ of the Book of Revelation”; thus, they break “the Charles/Christ parallel in *Eikon Basilike*” and identify themselves with “the millennial Christ, who casts false kings from their thrones” (Mcknight 148). By recasting the execution of Charles I “as a necessary step toward the millennium rather than as a second crucifixion,” they defeat the myth of Charles I’s crucifixion with their millennial myth (Mcknight 148).

However, by delaying the rhetorical appeal of millennial thought in defending the

execution of Charles I until the last chapter of *Eikonoklastes*, Milton gives readers a chance to compare Charles I to tyrants in the history of England and Rome who think themselves "God" (*CPW* III 467). Instead of destroying the myth of Charles I's crucifixion with his millennial myth, Milton "take[s] Charles out of mythology and into history" (Potter 182). In doing so, Milton leads readers to practice their reason in judging whether Charles I is a tyrant or not according to the historical standard of facts. Even in the conclusion Milton does not argue that the execution of the king will inaugurate the millennium (Lewalski 2003, 19). Rather, by hinting that tyrannicide is both the liberation of England from the reign of Charles I, whom he viewed as the Antichrist and the citizen's achievement of liberty in the sacred history of God (*CPW* III 598-99), Milton uses millennial thought in order to impose on readers the spiritual duty to learn the importance of liberty in the historical context of republican England.

Milton uses literary criticism to emphasize that a free commonwealth does not owe its "well-being and commodious life" to "the gift and favour of a single person" but to free subjects' reason from monarchical servitude (*CPW* III 458). By showing how Charles I deploys a polished literary style to hide his political faults, Milton's restrained style helps readers exercise their reason in order to judge the king's rhetoric. By deconstructing Charles I's fictional character and reshaping him as a plagiarist at the same time, Milton seeks to convince readers that the execution of Charles I is the foremost condition for achieving free subjects' self-governance and for establishing a free commonwealth.

Milton contends that free subjects are devoted to the late King's book because Charles I's "trimmly garnish'd" pious words hide his deception (*CPW* III 339). Milton insists that although his rhetoric was "grounds of tyranny and popery," Charles I "drest up" his language "in a new Protestant guise" in order "better to deceiv" free subjects (*CPW* III 339). Milton identifies Charles

I's rhetoric as Circe's "Cup of deception," which employs literary elements to enchant many sober Englishmen with "glozing words"; thus it "intoxicate[s]" them with "royal rudiments of bondage" (*CPW* III 488, 582). By insisting that Charles I's book is a literary fabrication, Milton aims to destroy the king's pious martyrdom and refashion him as a liar who steals godly authority for impure intentions. Moreover, by suggesting that Charles I utilizes literary elements to disguise himself as a Protestant martyr, Milton denigrates Charles I's book as a "fiction" that contains a major disjunction between words and deeds:

> The Simily wherwith he begins I was about to have found fault with, as in a garb somewhat more Poetical then for a Statist: but meeting with many straines of like dress in other of his Essaies, and hearing him reported a more diligent reader of Poets, then of Politicians, I begun to think that the whole Book might perhaps be intended a peece of Poetrie. The words are good, the fiction smooth and cleanly... I retract not what I thought of the fiction, yet heer, I must confess, it [Charles I's word] lies too op'n. (*CPW* III 406)

By calling Charles I's book "a peece of Poetrie," Milton insists that the king did not master the political and literary decorum expected respectively of good politicians and poets because his book does not contain original arguments or historical truths (Helgerson 17). First, Milton hints that Charles I utilizes a literary genre for political debates not only because he cannot create his own compelling argument as a good politician, but also because he aims to hide his political faults.[34] This corresponds to Milton's identification of Charles I's writing as "sonnetting" since the king intends to support his weak political argument through literary elements when his political cause cannot be supported by relevant evidence (*CPW* III 421). Similarly, Milton suggests that Charles I attempts to support his weak political cause by writing his book "in a garb somewhat more Poetical." Moreover, as Milton identifies Charles I as a bad poet whose words disguise the truth in

[34] Milton insists that Kings are unable to create strong arguments because of their habit "from the cradle to use thir will onely as thir right hand, thir reason alwayes as thir left" (*CPW* III 337-38).

order to conceal his misgovernment, Milton implies that the king employs literary elements to cover up his political failure (*CPW* III 502). In order to impute his execution to "*the ambition of others"* not "his own mis-government," Charles I insists that after his execution he would resurrect with "*much* honour *and reputation that like the Sun shall rise and recover it self to such a* Splendour" (*CPW* III 502, his emphasis). Like Christ's death and resurrection, through the metaphor of the sun Charles I emphasizes his innocence and future glory as a Protestant martyr. Milton's response is a jeer at Charles I's violation of decorum:

> Poets indeed use to vapor much after this manner. But to bad Kings, who without cause expect future glory from thir actions, it happ'ns as to bad Poets; who sit and starve them selves with a delusive hope to win immortality by thir bad lines… And those *black* vailes of his own misdeeds he might be sure would ever keep *his face from shining*, til he could *refute evil speaking with* wel *doing*… But eev'n his prayer is so ambitious of Prerogative, that it dares ask away the Prerogative of Christ himself, *To become the head stone of the Corner*. (*CPW* III 502, his emphasis)

Milton links Charles I's envisioning of his future glory to bad Poets' "delusive hope to win immortality by thir bad lines." In doing so, Milton suggests that Charles I's metaphor "warp[s] analogical reasoning" because the king's misdeed contradicts the shining nature of the sun (Bennett 443). In *Eikon Basilike* in order to stress his superior glory over other kings, Charles I argues that "nor shall their [kings'] black veils be able to hide the shining of my face" (129). In response to Charles I's conviction to win future glory, Milton insists that "those *black* vailes of his own misdeeds" will "keep *his face from shining*." By using Charles I's own sentences against him, Milton reveals that the king's hope is delusive because his misgovernment destroys his future glory and his metaphor at the same time. For Milton, Charles I is unable to distinguish between words and reality; consequently, his metaphor shows his "egoism and rhetorical fantasy" (Davies 18). Charles I fails to control literary decorum and his metaphor is far-fetched because of his indulgence of power. Although Charles I's artistic creation intends to hide his misgovernment, Milton hints

that the king's literary inability represents his political fault. Milton also attacks the king's use of prayer as a cunning trick. He claims that Charles I usurps "the Prerogative of Christ" in order to defend his kingly privilege. Since prayer is also included in literary creation, Milton reveals that the king uses literary elements as a way of deceiving readers in order to keep his power. In sum, the king's words are fictions, which are full of lies without accommodating truth and sincere piety. Furthermore, Charles I's failure to control literary decorum makes Milton contend that Charles I is not a poet, but "a more diligent reader of Poets." For Milton, Charles I merely borrows literary elements in order to enchant sober Englishmen with slavery of kingship. Nevertheless, Milton acknowledges that Charles I's "words are good" and his "fiction[s]" are "smooth." Milton hints that Charles I's learned words and style make his deceptive aesthetic feasible; thus, Charles I's copied but polished words and style can seduce free subjects to "inchan[t] with the *Circean* cup of servitude" and to "ru[n] thir own heads into the Yoke of [monarchical] Bondage" (*CPW* III 488).

In order to "speak home the plain truth of a full and pertinent reply" to Charles I's deceptive aesthetic, Milton focuses on revealing that the king's artistic creation imitates and repeats set forms of prayer (including other sources) as a way to preserve his kingship, thereby depriving individual citizens of opportunities to improvise their artistic originality (*CPW* III 341). By creating a sense of extemporaneousness in opposing the king's style, Milton's long sentences disclose that Charles I is unable to create his own words and prayers; thus, he plagiarizes them in order to legitimize his single governance. As a result, Milton disabuses readers of the superstition of unlimited monarchy and emphasizes the necessity of transferring power to the self-governance of virtuous citizens.

Milton's refusal to write according to conscious niceties of style results in the composition of long sentences and "the periodic sentence, in which the main idea remains suspended while additions and qualifications are introduced" (Hamilton 308). By utilizing the "cumulative nature"

of his long sentences instead of developing his own concise style (Hamilton 307), Milton shows the movement of his thought in detail and avoids establishing any polished style.[35] Although the completion of the central ideas is delayed, Milton can not only amplify and elaborate his thought with precision through additions, but also control his tone and the structure of sentences through qualifications. By constructing multiple clauses and phrases dependent on a central idea through additions and qualifications, Milton gives priority to an analytic function and an unpremeditated style of sentences because this style analyzes and criticizes the late King's refined style at the same time. Also, this style ensures extemporaneousness in creation and associates it with originality. By controlling his style in order to express himself precisely and spontaneously, Milton not only purports to contrast his writing with Charles I's affective rhetoric, which shows Charles I's inability to create a strong argument, but also intends to persuade readers through the power of reason. In doing so, Milton suggests originality as the driving force to initiate the new historical age of self-governance in the republican regime.

Milton insists that Charles I's devotions are no more than "the lip-work of every Prelatical Liturgist, clapt together, and guilted out of Scripture phrase, with as much ease, and as little need of Christian diligence, or judgement, as belongs to the compiling of any ord'nary and salable peece of English Divinity, that the Shops value" (*CPW* III 360). By claiming that Charles I's "privat Psalter" is not an original work, but a compilation of ready-made devotion, Milton makes *Eikon Basilike*'s use of literary form into a sign of Charles I's lack of originality, diligence, and judgment. Milton ascribes Charles I's lack of creative and critical power to his religious policy, the

[35] Milton employs the power of individual sentences rather than "a strong ratiocinative progress of the argument through the complete work" since Milton chooses to rebut Charles I's argument according to the sequence of *Eikon Basilike* (Hamilton 329).

enforcement of set forms of prayer of "the Arch-Bishops late Breviary," or William Laud's Book of Common Prayer (*CPW* III 360). Milton argues that these borrowings from ready-made prayers reflect Charles I's lack of creativity and judgment. After all, Milton insists that the king commits a literary "theft" through the "vain ostentation of imitating *Davids* language" without "borrow[ing] *Davids* heart (*CPW* III 547, 555). Moreover, the king steals "Prayers offer'd to a Heathen God" from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* when he cannot pilfer proper prayers from the Book of Common Prayer (*CPW* III 362). By showing Charles I's inappropriate literary "theft," Milton reveals that this text is a token of "his miserable indigence" in spirit and evidence of his failure as a politician (*CPW* III 366). Milton asserts that copying of words from the Book of Common Prayer not only hinders Charles I's ability to write original prayers, but also leads him to lose his judgment when imitating inappropriate literary sources in order to express his heart properly. The use of set forms of prayer results in stealing prayers that are considered evidence of "unfitness" and "undecency" (*CPW* III 366). Therefore, Charles I's "theft" shows that he is "farr poorer within himself then all his enemies can make him" in spiritual, literary, and political ability (*CPW* III 366). By suggesting the king is the miserable victim of his own policy, Milton raises the issue that following or depending on a single man's reason (or will) can corrupt the public's critical power and destroy the English nation's well-being.

More importantly, Milton claims that Charles I's use of set forms of prayer is "the deepest policy" of tyranny, which is to "counterfeit" religious sentiment for the purpose of subjugating vulgar readers' reason to a single man's governance (*CPW* III 361). For Milton, Charles I's pursuit of a fixed style through repetitive set prayers intends to destroy individuality and extemporaneousness in order to "charm us [readers] to sit still" (*CPW* III 422). By paralyzing readers through the reproduction of ostentation and formality, Charles I utilizes set forms of prayer

as the ideal literary mode in order to emphasize the continuity of kingship and to reinforce readers' loyalty to him. According to David Gay's explanation, as a response to Parliament's abolition of the Book of Common Prayer in 1645, chapter 16 of *Eikon Basilike* argues that the Book of Common Prayer reflects "God's constancy more than variety"; thus, it consolidates "a Christian society convened by order and decency in worship" (5). Charles I stress that God supports kingship by reinforcing "the 'Anglican' ideology, which values continuity and constructs history as a continuous, seamless whole in which the present gains its value from its connection with the past" (Guibbory 284). Because set forms of prayer were "model'd" on "the old Mass" and their repetitive imitation reproduced a past model of literary creation (*CPW* III 504), the king utilizes the mode of repetitive imitation of the set forms of prayer as the permanent and ideal literary form, which strengthens the continuity of history and justifies "the idea of hereditary kingship, with its lineal succession" (Guibbory 289).

As a rebuttal of this argument, Milton insists that enforcing ready-made forms does not consolidate but degrades the English nation by reproducing vulgar believers "who so much admire" set forms of prayer irrationally without developing "Christian diligence, or judgement" (*CPW* III 360). Particularly, as a way to underline the discontinuity of history, Milton's use of periodic sentences seeks extemporaneousness without sacrificing precision. By associating new styles in extemporaneous prayer with the critical power to see through the king's deception, Milton urges readers not only to destroy Charles I's intention of subjugating readers to his will, but also to open a new stage of history with their power of the rational faculty, which is a primary quality needed to develop the age of self-governance.

For Milton, prayer has to be "an ever new exercise of original composition" because God "by special promise" pours out new spirit of prayer daily (Magnus 98; *CPW* III 507). In order to

create an original prayer, God not only requires an individual prayer to "consult first with his heart" to "stir up his affection," but also permits him "freedom of speech to the Throne of Grace" without "premeditation" (*CPW* III 506). In other words, Milton insists that God guarantees individuals extempore prayer with his "sanctifying spirit," and suggests individuality and extemporaneousness as the essence of originality in composition of prayer. For Milton, individual citizens' liberty to choose their words is a crucial element to accommodate their sincerity in new words and style.

In contrast to this original composition of prayer, Milton argues that enforcing set forms "*deprive*[*s*] us the exercise of that Heav'nly gift [the spirit of Prayer]," making prayer "lazy" and "having less intercours and sympathy with a heart" (*CPW* III 507, his emphasis). As a result, the enforcement of set prayer not only reproduces "ostentation and formalitie" without accommodation of sincerity with new expressions but also "presents God with a sett of stale and empty words" (*CPW* III 507). In order to analyze the deficiency of set forms precisely and to criticize its refined but stale words, Milton utilizes long periodic sentences:

> This is evident, that they *who use no set formes of prayer,* have words from thir affections; while others are to seek affections fit and proportionable to a certain doss of prepar'd words; which as they are not rigorously forbidd to any mans privat infirmity, so to imprison and confine by force, into a Pinfold of sett words, those two most unimprisonable things, our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them, is a tyranny that would have longer hands then those Giants who threatn'd bondage to Heav'n. (*CPW* III 505, his emphasis)

Milton's point is that enforcing set forms is a tyranny because it "imprison[s] and confine[s] by force" "our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them." In spite of his clear and simple argument, Milton patiently amplifies and qualifies his point by delaying the completion of the sentence in order to analyze with precision the reason why enforcement of set forms is tyranny. The most conspicuous feature of this sentence is that Milton lengthens it through multiple semicolons and subordinate clauses. Milton's use of semicolons before the subordinate

conjunction (“while”) and the relative pronoun (“which”) identifies people who use set forms of prayer and explains the meaning of using set forms of prayer without completing the sentence. By utilizing semicolons for developing this specific idea, Milton pursues precision and shows the progress of this thought in detail. Moreover, Milton employs multiple subordinate clauses for investigating how “a certain doss of prepar’d words” destroys individuality and extemporaneousness. Milton’s deployment of subordinate clauses is useful not only to develop his logic easily and precisely in analysis, but also to both amplify and control his tone. By inserting “so to imprison and confine by force” after the relative clause (which…infirmity), Milton shows precisely the violence of enforcement of set forms with amplification of his tone. Moreover, by adding “our Prayers and that Divine Spirit of utterance that moves them,” Milton explains what is “two most unimprisonable things” more precisely. At the same time, by pausing through a comma after this clause, Milton manipulates his tone in order to emphasize that the enforcement of set forms is a tyranny. By utilizing subordinate clauses in multiple ways, Milton performs his analysis with precision, and controls his tone as a way to show the development of his logic easily and naturally to readers. More importantly, by avoiding repeated words and alliteration, as in the case of “fit and proportionable,” Milton not only articulates his sentence precisely, but also gives an effect that his sentence is not premeditated in contrast to “a Pinfold of sett words.” In doing so, Milton insists that prayer must be extempore because God’s spirit cannot be confined into set forms of prayers but enriches individual citizens’ ability to express their affection in various new styles:

> *We profess the same truths,* but the Liturgie comprehends not all truths: *we read the same Scriptures*; but never read that all those Sacred expressions, all benefit and use of Scripture, as to public prayer, should be deny’d us, except what was barreld up in a Common-praier Book with many mixtures of thir own, and which is worse, without salt. But suppose them savoury words and unmix’d, suppose them *Manna* it self, yet if they shall be hoarded up and enjoynd us, while God every morning raines down new expressions into our hearts, in stead of being fit to use, they will be found like reserv’d *Manna*, rather *to breed wormes*

and stink. (*CPW* III 505)

In the first sentence, after quoting Charles I's own words, Milton rebuts Charles I's argument that English people have to use the liturgy because "we *pray to the same God*" (*CPW* III 505). Milton uses Charles I's own words in the first two lines in order to show that Charles I's sentences have a regular and repetitive pattern. In contrast to the king's fixed sentence pattern, Milton rebuts the king's argument with an irregular sentence by employing coordinate conjunctions, multiple subordinate clauses, and multiple commas. First, Milton's expansion of his sentence through the coordinate conjunction, "but," after Charles I's words allows readers not only to understand both the king's and Milton's argument easily and clearly, but also to appreciate an irregular feature of Milton's sentence visibly. Additionally, Milton's use of multiple subordinate clauses after "expressions" shows the deficiency of set forms of prayer and provides a contrasting sense of spontaneity. The insertion of "as to public prayer" and the prepositional clause ("except…thir own") after commas positions his sentence as a production of extempore composition in comparison to the ready-made nature of *Eikon Basilike*. In doing so, Milton not only clearly articulates that the liturgy spoils "all those Sacred expressions" by storing them up "without salt," but also shows that his spontaneous sentences are a fresh expression, which is liberated from the corruption of words and the liturgy. By creating a sense of extemporaneousness in his long sentences, Milton mocks Charles I's support of set forms and suggests that his sentences are an example of original composition.

In order to underscore newness in prayer, Milton expands the image of the decomposing "reserv'd Manna" in the second sentence. Through the comparison of the Monarchy's enforcement of the liturgy with God's free gift, manna, Milton clearly reveals that Charles I's policy destroys God's grace which "every morning raines down new expressions into our hearts." As "reserv'd

Manna" which "breed[s] wormes and stink[s]" instead of producing new style in "savoury" and "unmix'd" words, the liturgy produces hypocrites who manipulate their religious affection in order to meet "a certain doss of prepar'd words." Thus, it reproduces ostentation and formality without improving the citizen's reason. Interestingly, in contrast to the given form of ready-made devotion, Milton's construction of the second sentence through subordinate clauses not only shows the development of his thought specifically, but also creates the effect that his sentence is not a reproduction of fixed form but an extempore production. The insertion of the subordinate clause ("while…hearts") and the prepositional phrase ("in stead…use") not only amplifies his precision in stating the reason of manna's decomposition, but also constructs his sentence irregularly; thus, it enhances the extemporaneousness. The sentence structure and punctuation support Milton's idea that allowing individual citizens to use their reason in creation of extempore prayer can produce various original styles and words like manna.

In the above passage, Milton qualifies his argument by adding adjectives but employing neither repeated adjectives nor groups of adjectives to create alliteration. In doing so, Milton not only sustains his sentence in a restrained tone with precision, but also creates an impression that he avoids establishing any permanent pattern of style. In comparison to Charles I's copying of ready-made style, by delaying the completion of sentence through added clauses and phrases, Milton's sentence performs an analytic function with an unpremeditated style. As a result, Milton utilizes his style as the locus of producing an ever new exercise of creativity that criticizes "servile literary imitation of past models" and accomplishes "a decisive break from the past" (Guibbory 289, 291). By embodying newness in his style, Milton not only argues that true prayer is a new expression outside of ready-made form, but also urges readers to create their own style in order to break from the continuity and tradition which support kingship.

Moreover, in order to refute the king's argument that God's providence supports monarchy, Milton's long sentences show how Charles I's mode of repetitive imitation completes his spiritual forgery of God's providence. By contrasting the king's plagiarism with his own extemporaneous artistic creation, Milton emphasizes that the king's providentialism—Charles I's belief that divine providence protects the continuity of the Stuart monarchy—reflects his spiritual inability to understand God's providence and his intellectual inability to invent a creative way of defending his kingship. In doing so, Milton's style attempts to justify the abolition of kingship as a way to restore the public's rational faculty for initiating the new age of self-governance.

As a way to reinforce that God's providence protects kingship, chapter 26 of *Eikon Basilike* interprets a number of military disturbances in Parliamentarian forces that followed the king's removal from Holmby House on June 4, 1647 as "sure signs of God's judgement" on the king's enemy (Zwicker 57; *CPW* III 564). Milton replies to this interpretation of the king's "fansie with the imagination of some revenge upon them from above" in order to "solace him with the likeness of a punishment from Heaven upon us" (*CPW* III 563). For Milton, the king's providentialism is not an intellectual propriety but a rhetorical fantasy because "no evil can befall the Parlament or Citty, but he [the king] positively interprets it a judgement upon them for his sake; as if the very manuscript of Gods judgments had bin delivered to his custody and exposition" (*CPW* III 563). The king's providentialism is not derived from God's revelation but from his arbitrary reading of God's "manuscript" for his own sake. By making the king's providentialism a sign of his misreading and machinations, Milton rebuts Charles I's use of religion as a defense of continuity and tradition of kingship.

More significantly, by referring to the king's providentialism as the act of reading a text ("manuscript" and "a fals copy") and presenting it as plagiarism ("countefet" and "Forgery")

(*CPW* III 564), Milton reminds us of the king's habit of stealing text and emphasizes that the king cannot defend kingship without imitating other texts. By contrasting the king's repetitive imitation of "a false copy" to his fresh style, Milton dissects the king's continuous plagiarism:

> But his reading declares it well to be a fals copy which he uses; dispensing oft'n to his own bad deeds and successes the testimony of Divine favour, and to the good deeds and successes of other men, Divine wrath and vengeance. But to counterfet the hand of God is the boldest of all Forgery: And he, who without warrant but his own fantastic surmise, takes upon him perpetually to unfold the secret and unsearchable Mysteries of high Providence, is likely for the most part to mistake and slander them; and approaches to the madness of those reprobate thoughts, that would wrest the Sword of Justice out of Gods hand, and imploy it more justly in thir own conceit. (*CPW* III 564)

In the first sentence, Milton develops the metaphor of text from "manuscript" to "a fals copy." In order to emphasize that the king's use of "a fals copy" of God's providence is his habitual repetitive mode of deception, Milton makes his sentence longer through the participial clause after the semicolon. By contending that the king "often" utilizes God's favor in order to justify his bad deeds through the participial clause, Milton visualizes the king's arbitrary reading of God's providence and underscores the king's willful misunderstanding. As a result, Milton underscores that the king's providentialism is not God's revelation but the embodiment of both his intellectual inability to understand God's intention and his repetitive habit of deceiving readers with God's authority to defend kingship. Milton's expansion of the sentence through the participial clause after the semicolon produces an irregular pattern, which creates a sense of spontaneity; thus, he mocks the king's repetitive imitation of "a fals copy." In the second sentence, by transforming the metaphor of text into spiritual plagiarism, Milton attacks the king's providentialism as an intended "counterfet" and "the boldest Forgery." Milton's use of coordinate conjunctions and multiple subordinate clauses analyzes the king's repetitive disguising of divine authority without establishing any fixed pattern of style. By avoiding completing the sentence through the coordinate

conjunction “and” after the colon, Milton shows why the king’s providentialism is “the boldest Forgery” through additions and qualifications. By adding insertions through multiple clauses before the semicolon, Milton elaborates that the king’s providentialism is “his own fantastic surmise” and the king “perpetually” monopolizes the right to “unfold” God’s providence without any warrant. In doing so, Milton easily and naturally shows the progress of his thought that the king’s providentialism is “to mistake and slander” God’s providence. Moreover, by expanding the next clause with “and” after the semicolon, Milton simply arrives at his conclusion that the king’s providentialism is equivalent to “reprobate thought.” Lastly, by combining the relative clause with the conjunction and the comma, Milton specifies that the king’s “reprobate thought” usurps God’s justice for the king’s own conceit. Overall, except for the intensification of tone through alliteration, “who without warrant,” Milton’s deployment of conjunctions and multiple clauses conveys his idea more precisely and extemporaneously. By dissecting the king’s repetitive spiritual plagiarism in his ever new sentences, Milton reveals that the king’s invocation of divine judgment is the forgery of divine prerogative; thus the king’s providentialism cannot support the idea that God protects the continuity of kingship. Rather, Milton hints that the abolition of Charles I’s kingship is closer to God’s justice because it is equivalent to returning “the Sword of Justice” from the tyrant to God.

In conclusion, by attacking the king’s repetitive manipulation of divine authority as an enslavement of the citizens, Milton’s long sentences accurately convey his long chain of reasoning that a single man’s governance corrupts the public’s reason and well-being. By emphasizing that guaranteeing free-born citizens’ extemporaneous exercise of reason is the essential precondition for originality, Milton’s various new long sentences justify that improving citizens’ rational faculty is the crucial element in building the new English republic. In contrast to the literary and spiritual

plagiarism of the king's stale words and affected style, Milton pursues an unpremeditated style, which can fashion his readers into virtuous citizens, who exercise their reason to develop the history of self-governance without falling to the slavishness of kingship anymore.

3. Cary's Millennial Vision and Poetics

1) The Reform of the Republic and the Community of the Saints' Divine Duty

Cary has received little attention from literary scholars despite Christopher Hill's evaluation in 1993 that she is "one of the most interesting and least studied of the Fifth Monarchists" (308). Critics, particularly, have not examined how Cary's literary style emphasizes her exegetic prophecies and her call for readers to prepare the millennial kingdom on earth in two works: *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall: Or a Scripture--Prophesie of King James, and King Charles, and of This Present Parliament, Unfolded* (1651) and *A New and More Exact Mappe, or Description of New Jerusalems Glory when Jesus Christ and His Saints with him shall Reign on Earth a Thousand Years, and Possess All Kingdoms* (1651).[36] A notable exception is David Loewenstein's valuable investigation of Cary's prose and verse. In "Scriptural Exegesis, Female Prophecy, and

[36] There are several detailed studies of Cary's prophetic discourse, but they focus on Cary's prophetic career and strategy without investigating the literary elements of her prophecies. On Cary's prophetic career, see B.S. Capp's *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 244; Jane Baston's "History, Prophecy, and Interpretation: Mary Cary and Fifth Monarchism," pp. 1-18. On Cary's millennial reading strategy, see Rachel Warburton's "Future Perfect?: Elect Nationhood and the Grammar of Desire in Mary Cary's millennial Visions," pp. 115-135. On the political aspects of Cary's prophecy and public response to it, see Hilary Hinds' "'Who May Binde Where God Hath Loosed?': Responses to Sectarian Women's Writing in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," pp. 209-12. On Cary's strategy of self-abnegation, see Hilary Hinds' *God's Englishwomen*, pp. 89; 97; 141; 150; 152; 174. On Cary's prophetic voice, see Sue Wiseman's "Unsilent Instruments and the Devil's Cushions: Authority in Seventeenth-century Women's Prophetic Discourse," pp. 180-85. On the study of Cary's works in the perspective of totalitarian thinking, see Alfred Cohen's "The Fifth Monarchy Mind," pp.195-213.

Radical Politics in Mary Cary," Loewenstein has laid the groundwork for studying the interaction between Cary's prose and verse prophecies, although his study is restricted to the thematic structure of her prophecies.

Building on Loewenstein's criticism, I will concentrate on analyzing the stylistic characteristics of Cary's prophecies. By studying Cary's deployment of prose and verse as a way to underscore the imminence of God's command for rapid reform, I will argue that Cary fashions herself as a qualified preacher of God. Moreover, in order to legitimize her violation of a ban on women preaching, Cary pursues a plain style through her prose explication of biblical prophecies and creates a non-conformist poetics through her verse. By combining her exegetic plainness and artistic mastery, Cary not only defends her gender against any perceived inferiority, but also attempts to emphasize the divine duty of the saints, or God's chosen people, who can endorse her desire of radical reform of the republic. In doing so, Cary aimed to reveal the saints' divine burden to lead the Rump Parliament, or the purged House of Commons, to renovate its conservative agenda in line with Fifth Monarchist priorities. In order to understand why Cary appealed to the saints to participate in revolutionary activity, I will investigate the historical progress of the Commonwealth during the period between the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the battle of Worcester in September 1651.

After creating its supreme executive body in the form of the Council of State on February 13, 1649, the Rump not only abolished the office of King and the House of Lords in March 1649, but also declared England to be a Commonwealth (Gardiner 1962, 381-88). The defeat of Charles I and the establishment of the new republic increased millennial hopes that "Christ would establish a kingdom on earth" (Baston 2). More importantly, for the saints, the execution of Charles I reinforced their belief that England was moving "toward the rule of the saints on earth and the

destruction of the Antichrist" (Aylmer 1986, 134). Consequently, the saints expected that the Rump as supreme parliamentary government would use its monopolized legislative and executive power to implement religious, legislative, social, and parliamentary reform in order to prepare for erecting the kingdom of the Lord Jesus.

However, the Rump did not achieve "either constitutional settlement or the practical reforms" (Woolrych 1982, 5). The number of acts legislated by the Rump "fell steadily: 125 in 1649; 78 in 1650; 54 in 1651" (Smith 1992, 18). The number of committees appointed for preparing legislation "declined even more steeply: 152 in 1649; 98 in 1650; 61 in 1651" (Smith 1992, 18). Furthermore, among the 131 representative sample acts, only 14 dealt with social issues (5 with religious matters; 3 with law reform; and 6 with economic or social reforms; Smith 1992, 18). The Rump grew lethargic and did not transform the millenarian zeal for radical reform into enacting legislation (Smith 1992, 18). This lethargy occurred partly because the Commonwealth "was severely threated by the survival of royalist ambitions" and Charles II's "plans for an invasion" from Ireland and Scotland during the period between Charles I's execution and the battle of Worcester in September 1651 (Worden 1977, 18). The Rump consequently concentrated its energy on the "financing and organizing of a huge army and navy" (Worden 1977, 18). Up to the victory of the battle against Scotland in the autumn of 1651, the Rump faced "military emergencies" and "the problem of its own security"; thus, it could not handle domestic reform immediately (Aylmer 1972, 14). Reform of law, tithes, and the constitution took second place (Underdown 295).

More specifically, the first reason the Rump turned its inclination towards moderation in spite of its revolutionary origins was a crisis stemming from the Leveller disturbances (Worden 1977, 190). After the execution of Charles I, the Council of State had the power to propel radical reform through the cooperation of both the Army and "a small but powerful group of 'grandees'

in the Rump" (Worden 1977, 18). However, the Levellers were a serious threat to the established order because they destroyed the unity of the Army and delayed Cromwell's Irish expedition (Worden 1977, 189). The Leveller disturbances consequently thwarted the radicals' ambition of achieving reform through the cooperation of the Army and grandees in the Rump. In addition, the Levellers' mutiny at Oxford in September 1649, during Cromwell's absence for the Irish expedition, gave a pretext for the Rump to avoid reform in the name of extending domestic tranquility. By defeating the Levellers and making the Army focus on their campaign in Ireland, the Rump was relieved from outside pressure to reform (Worden 1977, 220). At the same time, the danger of a coalition between the Levellers and the royalists caused the Rump to turn its inclination towards a conservative tendency in order to dissuade its critics from supporting the royalists (Worden 1977, 190, 213).

Secondly, the Rump's obsession with the danger of an alliance between English and Scottish Presbyterians strengthened its inclination towards moderation (Worden 1977, 226). In order to elicit cooperation from the moderates, particularly English Presbyterians, the Rump imposed the loyalty oath, or Engagement oath, on them. The Rump thus guaranteed the Presbyterians opportunities to work for the government and thereby freed them from political isolation after Charles I's execution. As a result, the newly elected members and former abstainers who were admitted to the Rump after April 1649 increased the political power of the Presbyterians (Underdown 270). At first, the Engagement oath required only that members of Parliament, the new Council of State, and judges would swear to be "true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as it is now established, without a King or House of Lords" (Knachel xiii). However, the utilization of the oath as a way to appease the Presbyterians resulted in the admission of conformist Presbyterians as members of Parliament. As a result, the Presbyterian majority led the Rump's

policy to pursue moderation instead of further reform (Underdown 271). Moreover, when the Scots proclaimed Charles II as King of Scotland, and of England and Ireland as well, the Rump fortified its policy of moderation by imposing the oath on every English male eighteen years of age or over on 2 January 1650 (Knachel xiii; Worden 1977, 227; Underdown 264).

The mood of the times also supported the Rump's conservative policy because threats from Leveller mutinies and from Ireland and Scotland created public opinion that demanded reconciliation between Presbyterians and independents (Worden 1977, 233). In sum, the immediate threats from political enemies led the Rump to pursue stability and cooperation throughout the country to ensure the survival of the regime by avoiding radical reformation.

However, the Army's demand for "speedier reform became acute" when the Army defeated the regime's enemies (Aylmer 1972, 13). The Army most urgently pressed for rapid reform after the defeat of the Scots at the battle of Dunbar on 3 September 1650. The victory of Dunbar was the most important achievement before the battle of Worcester in September 1651 because it transformed the Commonwealth into a "secure and self-confident" regime (Worden 1977, 253). For the first time, by celebrating the victory of Dunbar as a "miraculous deliverance," the Rump could temporarily focus on domestic reform (Worden 1977, 237). The Rump could no longer delay because the threat from the Scots had been eliminated, and the victory of Dunbar transformed the social mood into one suited to implementing radical reformation (Worden 1977, 237).

In this favorable circumstance for both the Army and the radicals, millennial discourse reawakened the previously dormant zeal for reform. Millenarian faith was popular in the Army during the Irish and Scottish campaigns (Woolrych 1982, 13). More importantly, the Army's victories strengthened its millenarian view that the Army had been chosen as "the humble instruments of some tremendous divine purpose for which England had been singled out" and that

the appointed end of earthly monarchy was at hand (Woolrych 1982, 8). By interpreting its contribution to the republic within a millenarian perspective, the Army not only positioned itself as the saints, but also utilized its victories as signs of God's providence to buttress radical reform, which it had long desired.

Furthermore, by closely associating with the Army, the radicals, particularly the Fifth Monarchists, not only identified themselves as the saints who were divine soldiers, but also circulated the interpretation that the Army's victories were a sign from God indicating the Lord Jesus's imminent return in establishing his kingdom. By popularizing the view that contemporary events revealed the millennium was nigh, the Fifth Monarchists sought to activate the saints' sacred "duty to expedite" the Lord Jesus's coming (Hill 1997, 290).

2) Cary's Prose Explication and Preaching for the Rump

Through the publication of her prophecies in 1651, Cary participated in this call for reform.[37] Cary recalls the Rump's revolutionary origins and justifies radical reform as the necessary precondition for advancing the Lord Jesus's coming by explicating the execution of Charles I and the defeat of his supporters as the saints' accomplishments toward overturning the antichristian Stuart regime and the Church of Rome (Y8r). By weaving her millennial exegesis with a call for political renovation, Cary not only imposes a sacred burden on her readers to accomplish radical reform on the Rump, but also urges readers to act like the saints by demanding that the Rump start implementing innovation.

In order to persuade the Rump and readers that completing radical reform would expedite

[37] George Thomason dated his copy 17 April 1651(Loewenstein 2006, 150).

Christ's return, Cary combines a prose explication of scriptural prophecies with its verse application. By composing her exegetic prophecies in a manner close to preaching, Cary positions herself as a preacher, and unites her godly and artistic power as a way to reinforce the community of the saints' divine duty to renovate the republic. By showing her ability to clarify biblical prophecies through her prose explication and to create a non-conformist poetics through her verse, Cary overcomes her perceived political and gender inferiority, and enhances her authority as a divine preacher who can press the Rump to follow her cause.

Significantly, Cary presents herself as "a servant of Jesus Christ" on the title page in *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall* (A1v). Cary's self-fashioning as "a servant of Jesus Christ" is closely related to her positioning herself as a minister in her earlier treatises. In *The Glorious Excellencie of the Spirit of Adoption; Or, Of the Spirit of the Sonne of God, derived to the Sonnes of God* (1645), Cary introduces herself as a "Minister of the Gospell" on the title page and "the Servant of Jesus Christ" to the reader respectively (A6r). Furthermore, as she calls herself "a Minister or Servant of Jesus Christ, and of all his Saints" simultaneously on the title page in *The Resurrection of the Witnesses*; *and Englands Fall from* ([*T*]*he* [*M*]*ystical Babylon*) *Rome* (1648), the titles of minister and servant are interchangeable for her. Cary's claiming herself to be "a servant of Jesus Christ" in *The Little Horns Doom & Downfall*, therefore, reveals her desire to "reconfigure the meaning of prophecy to incorporate a broader ministerial role" (Bouldin 42).

It is possible to categorize Cary's prophetic discourse as a form of preaching. Prophecy could be delivered through the various discursive forms on principle because in the seventeenth century, prophecy was defined as any "divinely inspired utterance" produced "through human agency" (Smith 1989, 26; Purkiss 139). Cary also employs various literary genres in delivering her prophecies, and blurs the boundary between prophesying and preaching by calling her

prophecy "a scripture prophecy" on the title page (A1v). By fashioning her prophecy as "a scripture prophecy," Cary combines exegesis with prophecy and, as a result, creates a chance to preach the Bible to the Rump. In addition, Cary's "scripture prophecy" fully meets the definition of seventeenth-century English sermon. According to William Perkins' *The Arte of Prophecying: Or A Treatise Concerning the Sacred and Onely True Manner and Methode of Preaching* (1607), preaching was defined as an act of scriptural interpretation that expounds scriptural texts to the hearers in order to apply the teachings of the Bible to their lives (148; Morrissey 2002, 693). Cary's "scripture prophecy" can qualify as preaching in that it is an interpretative act with the primary purpose of teaching the hearers biblical texts and encouraging them to live according to the lessons of her exegesis.

Cary's prophecies also exhibit a similar structure to and elements of a sermon. According to Mary Morrissey's explanation, seventeenth-century English preaching theory stipulates that the preacher had to expound scriptural texts and to "apply them to the circumstance" of the hearers (2002, 693). The reason preaching theory places "an exercise in explication and application" of the text at the center of a sermon is to teach the Bible to the hearers and to exhort them to follow the preacher's teaching in their life (Morrissey 2002, 694). Accordingly, as a way to enhance didactic and exhortatory components, seventeenth-century English preaching theory highlights the importance of "plainness" (Morrissey 2002, 694).

Cary's "scripture prophecy" corresponds to this preaching theory because her text consists of explication of the biblical prophecies with its application to her contemporary time. Moreover, Cary attempts to deliver her explication and its application with a plain style in order to position herself as a preacher and teach the public to accept her exhortation. Cary does this in several ways. First, by showing her expertise in performing her collation and comparison in prose, Cary

reinforces her special capacity in systematically explicating biblical prophecies; thus, she validates not only her skilled manipulation of the text, but also her discursive authority to mediate God's word for the saints across gender boundaries. Second, Cary's verse application of her exegesis contributes to strengthen her plain aesthetics by creating a non-conformist poetics, which represents divine messages with brevity. Cary's artistic mastery unifies her prose explication and verse application through a plain aesthetics, and bolsters her authority to admonish the Rump to destroy the antichristian fourth monarchy through further reform of the republic. Overall, by embodying an immediate demand for the innovation of the republic with clear explication and application, Cary demonstrates her divine ability as a skilled preacher who mediates God's will for the saints; thus, she preemptively defends against potential criticism that her exegesis violates the Pauline interdiction of female preaching and exceeds female boundaries of modesty and silence.

Prior to proving her special hermeneutics, Cary meticulously utilizes paratexts to set herself up as a divine preacher. In a letter to the reader, Cary employs the trope of the weak instrument to posit herself as God's pen.[38] By removing the boundary between herself, her writing, and God's will, Cary configures her exegesis as a plain sign of accommodating God's intention. As a spokeswoman for God, Cary acquires rights to preach godly messages:

> And secondly, if any shall hereby receive any light, or any refreshment, let them blesse the Lord for it, from whom alone it came: for I am a very weake, and unworthy instrument, and have not done this worke by any strength of my owne, but have been often made sensible, that I could doe no more herein, (wherein any light, or truth could appeare) of my selfe, then a pensill, or pen can do, when no hand guides it: being daily made sensible of my owne insufficiency to do any thing, as of my selfe; that to use the Apostles expression, and to speak it feelingly, (for I finde it daily true) I must professe, I am not sufficient to thinke a good thought, but my sufficiency is of God, to whom be glory, and honour, and praiſe for evermore, Amen. (A8r)

[38] Cary also uses the trope of the weak instrument in a dedicatory epistle (A5r).

Referring to herself as “a very weak and unworthy instrument” is Cary’s strategy of giving all honor to God while accepting the social convention that women are weaker vessels. By utilizing this gender connotation, Cary aims to stress that she is totally unable to be God’s mouthpiece through her own intellect and strength. Rather, by highlighting a direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit and backing up her message with the Holy Scripture, Cary places her authorship within the boundaries of spiritual and scriptural authority; therefore, she defends her authorship, and advances her argument in detail. The first two lines elucidate that the Lord alone is the author of any spiritual experiences. By asking people who experience a direct inspiration to “blesse the Lord for it,” Cary emphasizes that God’s direct revelation is irresistible regardless of gender difference. Moreover, from the first colon of the second line to the second colon of the sixth line, Cary stresses her passivity in order to demonstrate that God is the sole author of her text. In doing so, Cary not only highlights that she is the perfect vessel to receive God’s messages, but also suggests that direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit is the principle of her preaching. As “a pensill, or pen” of God, she argues that her text cannot be produced without God’s direct guidance. God literally writes his own message through her; at the same time, Cary validates her authority through God. Identifying herself as God’s pen corresponds with the emphasis on her insufficiency as a way to underline the plentitude of God’s presence within herself and her writing after the second colon. By alluding to 2 Corinthians 3:5 (“… not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God”), Cary asserts that her exegesis is inspired by God once again. Cary professes that her reliance on the Holy Scripture is one more key principle to her preaching in order to consolidate her position as God’s spokeswoman. In short, by stressing her agency as a weak instrument, Cary clarifies two primary principles of her preaching, and bolsters her authority as God’s mouthpiece, which can preach divine messages through the help of spiritual and scriptural

authority. Cary's claim that her exegesis is a clear sign of God's presence purports to dismiss readers' potential questioning of female preaching before her full-scale exegesis.

In her main text, Cary constructs her prose exegesis as an exercise in explicating Daniel's prophecies. First of all, Cary composes her prophecies in the manner of sermons by presenting biblical passages (Daniel 7:24-27) and then explaining how the text supports her argument (B1r). In contrast to "the majority of female prophets" who "made a statement" first "and then backed it up" with biblical evidence, Cary "reverse[s] the process" and interprets its significance after the presentation of the biblical prophecies, like a preacher (Bouldin 44). Cary's prose text is equivalent to the explication part of a sermon in the way she progresses with her prophecies; therefore, by strengthening the reliability of her explication through her sermon-like style, Cary aims to reinforce her authority as a skilled preacher who convinces the hearers that the Rump is the divine agent of God's judgement on the Antichrist of Daniel and Revelation. In the first sentence, after presenting biblical passages, Cary shows how her plain aesthetics enhances the didactic elements of her main exegesis: "The Coherence of these verses with the former part of this Chapter being observed, the meaning of them will be the more clearely appeare, which is briefly thus" (B1r). This sentence contains two key words which explain Cary's stylistic consideration: 1) "clearely" and 2) "briefly." Cary's primary principle in writing her text is to deliver the message with clarity and brevity. Cary highlights the importance of this plain aesthetic in her explication of biblical passages not only to meet the standards of preaching theory, but also to teach Daniel's prophecy to readers easily.

Cary also emphasizes God's divine assistance in proceeding with her main exegesis of several verses: "And thus having observed the Coherence, I shall *by divine assistance*, proceed to explaine the remaining part of this Prophesie, which is contained in these foure verses [Daniel

7:24-27]" (B3r; my emphasis). It is the same vein that Cary places her exegesis within the boundary of spiritual power by frequently making claims of this sort: "the Spirit of God in this Scripture gives" (B4v), "the Holy Ghost declares" (C1v; I3r), "the Holy Ghost speaketh" (C2r; L1r; R6r), "the Holy Ghost says" (C3r; Q6r), "saies the Spirit of God" (C7v), and "the holy Ghost hath here so many emphaticall expressions" (L2v). By declaring spiritual assistance from the Holy Spirit as the source of her power in being able to progress with her explication, Cary reminds the reader that her plainness relies on spiritual authority in pursuit of establishing the credibility of her preaching as an act of mediating God's messages.

Cary as a preacher has concentrated on elaborating the agency of the divine instrument because this issue is the key point in explaining the Rump's divine duty. In order to investigate this issue, Cary makes sure that she "shall endeavour to" "explaine what is meant by the sitting of the judgment" "both with plainenesse and brevity" (C5r). By proclaiming that she will proceed with her own explication "in the cleere and orderly" fashion without any "unnecessary prolixity" (I3r), Cary expresses her stylistic goal of prioritizing plainness in expounding the saints' (including the Rump) divine role in the apocalyptic war described in Daniel and Revelation. To this end, Cary chooses to "compare all passages in this Chapter" (C5r) which have relation to her argument that Daniel's prophecy describes the last stage of the Day of Judgment by God and the saints. In other words, as Christopher Feake mentions in his letter to the reader, Cary utilizes the methodology of preaching known as "Collection and Collation" (A7r) in order to articulate her interpretation with conciseness like a preacher.

Cary's task of collation strengthens her exegetic authority among doubting readers. For example, in his letter to the reader, Feake is persuaded by Cary's skilled ability of collation, and

he sanctions her exegesis without evoking the issue of female authorship.[39] Feake praises her methodology of exegesis, saying that her "Collection and Collation" "will take the hearts of divers Christians" (A7r). Feake's compliment implies that Cary's collation achieves an elevated level, which can appeal to a wider readership including male readers. Since, for preachers, collation and comparison was an authoritative method to clarify a cryptic passage with other related scriptural passages (Morrissey 2011, 53), Feake's licensing of Cary's authorship is highly related to her capacity to manipulate her preaching with clarity.

By adeptly advancing her logic through collation of the collected text without unnecessary verbosity, Cary aims to set herself up as a trained preacher who can briefly decipher cryptic prophecies in order to deliver her message to the Rump. As I mentioned earlier, Cary's collation focuses on illuminating the meaning of "the sitting of the judgment" of Daniel 7:24-27 for the purpose of casting the Rump in the role of saints who are God's main agent of the Last Judgment of the Antichrist (D1v). Cary does not directly state that the Rump is the agent that carries out "a spirit of Judgment" from God in the impending judgement of the Antichrist (D3r). Instead, Cary derives the conclusion that the Rump has a divine role in implementing God's Last Judgement from the collation of the biblical passages of chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel, chapter 20 of the Book of Revelation, and chapter 149 of the Book of Psalms. By providing readers with an ample systematic exegesis, thereby increasing readers' concentration on her prose, Cary uses collation to

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[39] On the other hand, Hugh Peter's letter to the reader expresses his doubt of Cary's authorship, saying that "she plow'd with anothers Heifer" because "Scriptures [were] cleerly opened and properly applied" by her (A2r). Peter's point is that Cary's text is excellent; therefore, readers will be suspicious of her authorship because women's intellectual faculty cannot produce this level of elaborate exegesis. Although Peter's letter intends to approve Cary's authorship, the educated male clergyman acts as a skeptical reader who thinks that her text would be the result of plagiarism (Wiseman 184; Malson-Huddle 213). Peter's response tells us that Cary faces the issues of her female authorship regardless of her high achievement as an exegete.

impose upon the Rump its divine role in establishing the millennium in order to elicit its active contribution to reform the republic.

Cary's study of the agency of the Rump climaxes with her investigation of Charles I's doom. By identifying the fourth kingdom (the fourth beast or the final earthly monarchy) of Daniel's prophecy with Charles I's regime, Cary interweaves scriptural prophecies with her own contemporary history of Britain. According to Cary's exegesis, the main prophecy of Daniel (the end of the earthly monarchy) "was fulfilled in" Charles I's downfall (B7v). Cary insists that Charles I is the little horn of the fourth kingdom cited in Daniel 7.8 (B3v) because his doom corresponds to the rise and fall of the horn in the Book of Daniel. For the Fifth Monarchist millenarians, including Cary and Trapnel, the horn was equivalent to the Antichrist. More specifically, God imposes upon Charles I the role of representative of the Roman Empire and the Church of Rome that "persecute[s] the Church or Saints of God" (C1r). However, Charles I's predominance over the saints has been transformed into his execution by the saints with God's protection (C8v), because the saints are called by God "to take away the Dominion of that little Horne" (B4r). Cary lays the groundwork in arguing that God proclaims the Rump as the agent of his last punishment of the Antichrist because the Rump has defeated Charles I, the little horn who "did make War against the Saints" (B6v-B7r). Although Cary does not declare that the Rump is a divine instrument, Cary's collation clearly makes readers deduce that the Rump is God's instrument in preparing for the imminent millennium.

In addition to the methodology of collation, Cary employs division of the biblical passage to decode Daniel's prophecies as a way to underline the Rump's divine role as the saints. After presenting the following biblical passage once more, "But the judgement shall sit, and they [the saints] shall take away his Dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end" (Daniel 7:26),

Cary then dissects this passage into several phrases in order to analyze how the Rump's former achievement corresponds to the saints' role, and at the same time, how it has specifically fulfilled the biblical prophecy. Since "the division" of the scriptural text is also characteristic of seventeenth-century English sermons (Morrissey 2011, 55), Cary's division of the passage shows her proficiency in using contemporary preaching methodology, and reveals her efforts as a preacher to teach the hearers her distinct message.

Cary, above all, claims that the prophecy of "the judgement shall sit" signifies that "a certain number of Saints" are convened together "by the wisdom, providence, and power of the most High (God)" in order to judge the little horn, Charles I (D1v). For Cary, therefore, sitting in Parliament is equivalent to sitting in judgment because Parliament, "a company of Saints," "were convened together" and "a spirit of judgement" was "given to them" "by the wisdome and goodnesse of the most high" (D3r). Though the saints in the Long Parliament had not taken the initiative in obtaining political power from the start (D3v), Cary insists that God has utilized Parliament to judge and slay the horn.

Nevertheless, Cary does not argue that "every individual person, that hath been, or is in Parliament is a Saint" (D2v) because some members "have fared the better for their sakes" (D3r). Rather, Cary asserts that only the members of Parliament who "have acted faithfully and zealously for the glory of God" are the saints (D2v). By differentiating the saints, Cary suggests that God has "reserved this Parliament for further worke" in annihilating the Antichrist owing to the existence of the true saints in Parliament (D3v). In doing so, Cary posits the Rump as those saints whom God has reserved through the prevention of Charles I's dissolving Parliament according to his own pleasure (D3v); thus, she hints that the Rump holds a special position and duty to accomplish the further divine task of judging antichristian power instead of striving for self-interest

and fame.

Moreover, in order to remind the Rump of its divine and revolutionary origins as God's instrument, Cary as a preacher teaches the hearers how the saints in Parliament have carried out the war against the horn by explicating the rest of the prophecy: "and they shall take away his Dominion, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end." By interpreting "to consume, and to destroy it unto the end" as "the manner in which [the saints]" will destroy the Antichrist, Cary explains that the saints in Parliament have devastated the Antichrist not "in a short time" but "by degrees" (D4r). By expounding the speed of the Antichrist's collapse and identifying this with Charles I's downfall, Cary attempts to stress the necessity of the Rump's continuous action to achieve God's plan successfully:

> When the Parliament first began to oppose the late King, he had great power, and strength, and authority, whereby hee made war, and prevailed for a while; but at last by degrees, and as it were insensibly, they prevail'd against him, and began to take away his strength, and power and greatnesse from him: so that by degrees, he lost City after City, and Towne after Towne, and County after County, untill he came to have dominion over none at all; but his dominion was wholly taken away, and consumed and destroyed unto the end. (D4r-v)

Identifying Parliament as a godly army, Cary describes in detail how Charles I's greater power was ruined by Parliament. Cary's deployment of a coordinate conjunction "but" after the first semicolon, switching the subject of the sentence from the king to Parliament, reveals Parliament's rise in stark contrast to the king's fall. Parliament's continuous step-by-step scale of ascent toward victory through the two clauses highlights its active and steady contribution in defeating the little horn. Moreover, by pausing between every stage of Parliament's victory with several commas, Cary visualizes Parliament's movement and gradual progress (Cary even uses polysyndeton in the phrase "strength, and power and greatnesse" in order to bolster Parliament's prosperity). Consequently, after the first colon of the fourth line, Cary as a supporter of Parliament articulates

the king's fall in her amplified tone through repetition of certain words, such as "by degrees," "City after City," "Towne after Towne," and "County after Country." The combination of alliteration and reiterated pauses after changing the subject of sentence stylistically manifests that the progressive defeat of the little horn has occurred over a long period. As a result, Cary adroitly positions Parliament as the saints who carry out God's judgement, and confirms that Parliament has already started its final apocalyptic battle against the Antichrist. Cary's lengthy sentences not only suggest that Charles I's gradual fall and decapitation fully conform with the destiny of the Antichrist, but also situate Parliament's former achievement within the overall plan of God's Last Judgment of the Antichrist. By explaining the conflict between Parliament and Charles I as a millenarian drama, Cary evokes and reinforces the Rump's divine role and duty in completing the apocalyptic war. Moreover, by confirming that the horn of the antichristian Fourth Monarchy has already collapsed and thereby the appointed end of times is imminent, Cary legitimates her voice against the supreme parliamentary government that calls upon the Rump to perform its further duty of reforming the republic as a way to expedite Christ's coming (C2v). In doing so, Cary most significantly aims in her verse explication to utilize the Rump's revolutionary achievement as a means of criticizing the Rump's recent conservative tendency. Cary's prose explication provides historical background and a plain aesthetics for her outspoken preaching to the Rump in her verse, exhorting the Rump to shatter extant remnants of the earthly Monarchy through additional revolutionary policy.

3) Cary's Verse "Application" and Non-Conformist Poetics

Lastly, Cary's choice to compose her exegesis so that it is closely aligned with the style and structure of preaching of the time requires her to apply it to her contemporary readers' context. Significantly, Cary replaces the typical sermon application with her own conclusions, written in

verse. At the end of her prose work, *A New and More Exact Mappe*, Cary intends to strengthen her stylistic plainness in her use and application of verse: "And now might I come to a large Application of all; which is applicable [in] several ways: but desiring to be brief therein, I have included all in these following Verses" (Y4r). Cary argues that her explication "is applicable [in] several ways," but her desire for brevity results in her including verses instead of composing her application entirely in prose. Cary's verse enhances her plain aesthetics by creating a non-conformist poetics, with the purpose of representing divine messages with brevity. Cary's concise poetic form reveals an artistic power intended to create a sense of urgency the Rump to initiate its further action to reform the republic; thus, it bolsters her authority to exhort the Rump to carry out further reformation.

Cary's use of verse occupies a unique position because Cary addresses her first verse to the Rump, and she prioritizes the Rump as a divine instrument over Oliver Cromwell and the Army. In her first concluding verse titled "Unto the Court of Parliament, who are Supreme, in England, Ireland, and elsewhere," Cary refers to the Rump as "Supreme" and the "Grace Senators" who "had a Call" to practice "great desines" of God (Y5r). These terms of address reveal her respect for the Rump as God's chosen and appointed authority. Moreover, Cary confirms that the Rump was "the *Instruments*" which "bring about Jehovah's high *intents*," as Daniel prophesied, which summarizes her prose prophecy and reinforces the Rump's divine status (T5v, her emphasis). More importantly, by proclaiming the Rump as the instrument of God, Cary solidifies the groundwork that enables her to admonish the Rump for its conservative manner, which has strayed from its divine, or revolutionary, path. Cary poses the following question to the Rump: "what world-amazing acts you had to do?" (Y5r). Cary expresses her dissatisfaction with the revolutionary contributions of the Rump in the recent past. Cary considers this to be an apostasy and attributes

this to self-serving members who have not followed God's will but their own self-interest:

> But now, know this, If any of you did
> Aim at your selves, and walk in paths crooked;
> And in that place of *Judicature* sitting,
> Pretending one, did mean another thing;
> And if your labour, care, and onely aim,
> Have been to serve your selves, and get a name;
> The *fruit*'s but *temporary* that y'ave had,
> And soon will moulder, perish, quail, and fade. (Y6r, her emphasis)

As in prose, Cary uses certain formal aspects to delineate the Rump's gradual prosperity and its agency. In this section of verse, Cary subtly manipulates the poetic meter and rhyme in order to reveal the Rump's regressive action and agency, which has led it to deviate from its mandated revolutionary path. By emphasizing the Rump's reactionary tendency and its resultant outcome, Cary exhorts the Rump not to pursue self-interest but to follow God's plan for the revolutionary reform of the republic. Thus, Cary uses iambic pentameter as a way to highlight the Rump's tendency towards conservative, and hence, heretical actions. By rhyming "you did" and "paths crooked," Cary underscores the Rump's divergence from God's will. Cary's use of the spondaic foot in "you did" effectively lays stress on the Rump's self-concern with its own interests ("Aim at your selves"). Furthermore, by placing "crooked" at the end of a line, Cary visually renders the Rump's conservative "footsteps," which is again a deviation from God's plan. In the third and fourth lines, Cary also employs a pair of gerunds ("sitting" and "Pretending") in order to maximize the gap between the Rump's divine responsibility and its apostasy. By describing the Rump's role as "sitting" in the divine "Judicature" of God, and having "sitting" rhyme in the third line, Cary emphasizes the Rump's divine accountability. However, Cary evaluates the Rump's fulfillment of this role as mere "Pretending" in the fourth line; thus, she implies that the Rump is hindering God's high intention rather than advancing it. By comparing these two actions, Cary efficiently blames

the Rump for neglecting its duty. In the next two lines, Cary specifies the reason why the Rump has diverged from its revolutionary and divine role. By rhyming "onely aim" and "a name," Cary clearly asserts that the Rump aims only to follow its own interest and to bolster its own reputation, an act akin to apostasy given its refusal to carry out its godly role. This critical appraisal accords closely with Cary's criticism in prose, in which some members of the Rump are seeking their own selfish interests (D3r).

More interestingly, Cary boldly and sharply criticizes the Rump's reactionary manner in the seventh and eighth lines. Prior to this, Cary has focused on the Rump's inaction, but here, the two lines concentrate on the negative outcome of the Rump's self-serving tendency. Cary thus changes the subject of the lines to the Rump's political success and shows how the Rump's prestige has decayed. The list of verbs in "will moulder, perish, quail, and fade" is written in a stable iambic meter, which not only depicts how the process and the speed of decay in the Rump's power is intensified, but also vividly reveals that the outcome of such selfish aims is its own complete destruction. Additionally, the combined pauses after those verbs along with the use of "fade" as a rhyme heightens the fear of the Rump's reputation being completely devastated. By creating a sense of movement which envisages the negative consequence of the Rump's reactionary tendencies, Cary is urging the Rump to turn away from self-interest and to carry out further reform of the republic.

In order to create a momentum for the Rump to start implementing a revolutionary policy, Cary not only explains its sacred duty, but also recalls its revolutionary achievement and role once again:

> Some that were *chosen*, *faithful*, and *called*,
> Unto the King of *Saints*, *Jesus* their Head:
> And these the *happie instruments* chiefly

> Have been, to do the will of *God*: I say,
> It's *Saints* that have the *little Horn* destroy'd,
> And those he left behinde have so annoy'd:
> For others of themselves this could not do,
> Who lov'd the *horn*, and his oppressions too. (Y7r, her emphasis)

Cary's use of rhymed words in the first line ("*called*") and the third line ("chiefly") highlights the Rump's divine calling and duty. After the reinforcement of its divine status through "*chosen*, *faithful,*" Cary's use of "*called*" not only praises the Rump's divine calling, but also teaches it to follow "the King of *Saint, Jesus*" as "their Head" instead of its selfish aims. In addition, Cary's devising "chiefly" as a rhymed word not only underlines the saints' duty as "the happie instruments" for performing the will of God, but also implies that the Rump did not act to meet "the will of *God*." In order to redress the Rump's deviation and to improve its performance, Cary not only praises the Rump's tyrannicide of the late king as a destroying of "the *little Horn*," but also mentions its further duty to destroy the companies of the horn in the next lines.

Most importantly, in order to elicit the Rump's action, Cary refers to her action of speaking ("I say"); thus, she contrasts the actions of the Rump as "the happie instruments" and of herself as "a very weak, and unworthy instrument." In order to secure her authority of speaking to lead the Rump to enact its divine duty, Cary uses a spondaic foot in "I say" in the end of the fourth line. With an emphasis through the spondee of "I say," Cary stresses her agency ("I"), her action of speaking ("say") as an exegete, and her millenarian perspective of the late king's execution in the fifth line. "It's *Saints* that have the *little Horn* destroy'd / And those he left behinde have so annoy'd" is the essence of her verse because it emphasizes the Rump's action of destroying; thus, it simultaneously recalls both its revolutionary achievement and further duty. Cary's deploying the present perfect, "have destroy'd," and rhyming of "destroy'd" with "annoy'd" are a display of her skillful artistic ability that implies that the destruction of the Antichrist is still ongoing; at the same

time, this passage reinforces the Rump's further task of eradicating the current political Antichrist ("those he left behind"). This portion corresponds to her explanation in prose, in which the companies of the horn ("those he left behind") are alive after shattering the horn (C2r). Therefore, by demanding that the Rump carries through with "destroying" those persecuting last vestiges of the Antichrist, Cary not only continuously overlaps the agency of the Rump, the remaining antichristian power, and herself, but also subtly contrasts the agency of the Rump and the remaining antichristian power through rhyme and meter. In doing so, Cary's verse intensifies her action and agency ("say"), which guide the Rump to devastate the remaining antichristian power by admonishing the Rump not to "lov[e]" its oppressor in the eighth line. In spite of her political and gender weakness, Cary dominates the Rump through her verbal agency because she secures her authority by the power of the Holy Spirit. Consequently, Cary urges the Rump as the saints to follow the way of "the Spirit chiefly mov'd" instead of being "led by self-ends" (Y7r). By [going] on to carry on [Christ's] *work*" of reforming the republic through "giv[ing] up" its selfish aims, Cary encourages the Rump to do its remaining duty to honor God (Y7v; her emphasis). Overall, by elaborating prose prophecies in a poetic form centered on the agency of godly instruments, Cary creates a non-conformist poetics that represents her terse admonition that the Rump should renovate its conservative party momentum.

Cary's use of concise meter and rhyme certifies her ability not only to meet the established preaching theory of plainness, but also to innovate the preaching style. Her exegetic power shows her respect for cultural norms and her excellence in explicating; thus, it tries to lessen readers' hostility to women preaching, and prepares them to perceive her admonition as a godly message. Crucially, Cary's invention of her own poetics creates a more innovative preaching style and exhortatory mode. Consequently, Cary's poetics contributes to position readers as potential saints

who accept and follow her exhortation of further governmental reform as an imminent godly instruction. Cary's renovation of the preaching style is a strategy to authorize her and her text as an instrument of God in order not only to overcome prescriptions against women preaching but also to advocate for societal and governmental reform.

4. Conclusion

Both Milton and Cary strived to educate their audience on how to read and engage with the recent history of the republican Commonwealth in order to gain momentum for the new state's drive for reformation. Nevertheless, their use of different tactics in building readership reflects the disparity of socio-political power between these two writers. Milton's appointment as a governmental official gave him the role of a mentor who can scold readers' innate subservience to the monarchical tyranny. By casting his readers as his students, Milton concentrated on improving readers' critical reason as a way to subdue hostile public opinion to the regime. Instead of requiring his readers to participate directly in politics in countering Charles I's duplicity, Milton attempted to train his readers' intellectual capacity in order to enable them to make a correct decision on what is right and wrong with regard to the king's royalist rewriting of the English Revolution.

On the other hand, Cary's fashioning herself as a divine preacher and her readers as the hearers of her sermon demands readers' more active participation in politics because preaching gives the hearers moral and political imperatives to fulfill the teachings of the sermon in their lives. By setting her target readers as the saints, Cary struggled to facilitate readers' collective power in resisting against the Rump's reactionary politics. Cary's political disfavor leads her to address a revolutionary reader who can undertake appropriate action to support her authorial goal based on an accurate judgment. Although Milton and Cary aim to elevate readers who can make a right

judgment, Cary's lack of political power caused her alone to impose a strenuous religious obligation on her readers to begin a political act.

More interestingly, the imbalance of Cary and Milton's socio-political force is manifested in their literary style. In order to propagate an official reappraisal of recent historical events, Milton transforms his style from amplification (the typical rhetorical feature of his pamphlets of 1643-1645) to a more refined and accurate style (it is becoming closer to the stylistic characteristics of his 1659 pamphlets). In comparison to his previous pamphlets, Milton's political favor has engendered a stylistic transition that maximizes his authority to demand "industrie and judicious paines" from reader in order to study republican virtues. In resisting Charles I's "easy literature" that paralyzes readers' reason, Milton's long sentences that mark the period of transition in terms of his prose style not only guarantee the unpremeditated use of reason but also initiate readers' rigorous efforts to liberate themselves intellectually from the bridle of the spiritually fallen and duplicitous courtly culture. Significantly, Milton's style contains an enthusiastic mode in opposing the king's fixed style because he seeks extemporaneity without sacrificing precision through the utilization of periodic sentences. Although he attempts not to manipulate readers' emotion by refraining from employing enthusiastic millennial discourse unlike Cary, Milton's stylistic emphasis on a sense of extemporaneousness has an enthusiastic drive and works effectively in persuading readers. I suggest that in comparison to Cary, due to his political stance and power, Milton blends clarity with extemporaneity at the same time without worrying about the gendered nuance of the enthusiastic mode, even as he argues that his readers' faculty is the core of new historical age of self-governance.

In contrast with Milton's relative ease in challenging Charles I's rhetoric through stylistic transformation, Cary's adaptation of preaching style to strengthen the plain manner shows her

difficulty in attaining an authority to preach. Cary mingles exegetic plainness and aesthetic clarity in order to offset her gender weakness and political disfavor in reinterpreting Charles I's downfall and the birth of the republic. This reinforcement of a plain aesthetics reveals Cary's struggle to rationalize her spiritual enthusiasm with a valid vision for the republic beyond overcoming prescriptions against women preaching. In response to skeptical readers, including Hugh Peter, who regard her text not as an original and suitable plan for the new regime but as plagiarism (A2r), Cary controls her prose explication with stylistic clarity as a way to prove her mastery of preaching style. In addition to her clear exegesis, Cary's concise verse application effectively innovates preaching style; thus, it attests her divine ability to represent her radical millennial vision in a condensed way. In doing so, Cary not only systemizes the radical politics of her Fifth Monarchist vision, but also authorizes her radical millennial thought as both a rational discourse and a feasible vision for the republic. For Cary, pursuing a plain aesthetics is means of neutralizing the enthusiastic manner in her literary style as much as possible in order to get rid of the gendered connotation of her vision. While Milton utilizes extemporaneousness as an efficient way to bolster his argument of originality, Cary combines exegetic excellency with artistic virtuosity for the purpose of managing the enthusiastic aspects of her radical vision with a non-conformist poetics. Although Milton and Cary share a common goal of advocating the republic by creating a plain aesthetics, Cary's poetics demonstrates convincingly that a number of complicated negotiations were needed to offset her gender weakness, political disfavor, and resistant discourse, thereby rationalizing her radical millennial thought as a viable vision for the republic.

Chapter IV. Trapnel and Milton's Public Readership and New Literary Style

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the ways in which Trapnel and Milton employ millennial thought in order to construct a public readership which presses two Cromwellian regimes to implement further politico-religious reform and to defend liberty of conscience. By studying Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* (1654) and Milton's *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes: Shewing That It Is not Lawfull for any Power on Earth to Compel in Matters of Religion* (1659; hereafter referred to as *Civil Power*), this chapter investigates how Trapnel and Milton's political disfavor resulted in the creation of unique literary styles which are used to construct their readerships and to fashion their counter-discourse against the extant regime.

Trapnel and Milton postulated that in the third stage of millenarianism, parliamentary power, including that of the Lord Protector, is one of the potential Antichrists. By circulating millennial discourses through the print market, they aimed to construct a readership that opposed the contemporary political regime's propaganda. Trapnel attacked Oliver Cromwell in the name of the Antichrist after his dissolution of the Barebones Parliament and his establishment of himself in the semi-monarchical position of Lord Protector in 1653. Richard Cromwell also could not avoid being depicted by Milton as a potential satanic power after his attempt to restrain religious liberty as Lord Protector in 1659. By imposing on two Cromwellian regimes the role of the Antichrists as a persecuting force, Trapnel and Milton reinforced common readers' divine duty to impede the regimes' reactionary politics. By employing millennial discourses and the print market, Trapnel and Milton elicited common readers' support because the Fifth Monarchists lost their power in Parliament and Milton's political power was relatively trivial during the reign of Richard Cromwell. I hypothesize that in order to convince common readers to agree with their arguments, Trapnel and

Milton created their own literary styles, which are optimized to deliver their messages to readers effectively.

Trapnel and Milton have in common their use of the power of the Holy Spirit as a basis for creating a literary style and for building a public readership. Nevertheless, Trapnel and Milton's different political stances and genders led them to utilize different genres and rhetorical strategies in order to convey their arguments clearly. In comparison to Milton, Trapnel faced a greater need to defend her political vulnerability because of her supposedly weaker gender. Since Trapnel could not approach the pulpit, by mediating the divine power of the Holy Spirit through ecstatic prophecy she proves that she is a more qualified vessel of God than man. By showing that she embodies God's free grace in both prose prophecy and verse prophecy, Trapnel not only strengthens her divine authority but also defends herself against the negative connotations of ecstatic prophecy. While her prose prophecy, delivered during her bodily trance, creates a sense of divine authority, her verse prophecy clarifies her vision through poetic language. In particular, by representing her millennial vision in divine meter and rhyme, Trapnel creates a non-conformist poetics, which generates a balance between her sectarian liberty and divine order; thus, her poetics validates her radical argument against the regime. Trapnel addresses her political and gender weakness by creating a non-conformist poetics, which purports to protect her discourse from any containment by the ruling regime even as it fashions the revolutionary reader as a judge who can participate in her cause.

In contrast, Milton's contribution to Oliver Cromwell's regime allowed him to circulate his tract openly, although it subverted Richard Cromwell's propaganda. In spite of his political disfavor in Richard Cromwell's government, Milton's recognized political authority also permitted him to focus on exegesis of the Scriptures rather than using his physical body in order to vindicate

his claim that the Holy Spirit protects the religious liberty of radical sects. By emphasizing religious liberty as the essence of the power of the Holy Grace through explication of the Pauline opposition of the Law and Grace, Milton clearly articulates that civil authority's religious intolerance is a hindrance to the divine freedom of the Gospel. Moreover, as a way to justify that the saints are liberated from any law, Milton creates a plain prose style which emphasizes the spiritual freedom of the Gospel through his succinct argument and simple formal style. By embodying divine freedom in a plain style, Milton constructs a readership sympathetic to his goal of protecting liberty of conscience. For Milton, plain style is the embodiment of spiritual freedom, and he intends to protect the politico-religious freedom of non-conformists by fashioning the revolutionary reader as a judge of his authorial cause.

For both Trapnel and Milton, the creation of their unique literary styles is a way to defend their political disfavor while also building a fit readership that might impede the Protectorate's reactionary policies. However, because their political stances or gender compromised their social authority, Trapnel and Milton's political disfavor and resistance against the extant regime result both in the use of different literary styles and different rhetorical strategies. In spite of their differences, Trapnel and Milton attempt to create a plain style that rebuts the corrupt language of civil magistrates. By creating a plain style that embodies the Holy Spirit, Trapnel and Milton appeal to a wider readership; thus, they raise the momentum to gather common readers who can join in the resistant movement against governmental authority.

2. Trapnel's Readership and Non-Conformist Poetics

1) The Dissolution of the Barebones Parliament and Readership of the Fifth Monarchists

A good deal of criticism on Trapnel's *The Cry of a Stone* has tried to define Trapnel's

prophecy as rational by focusing on the power of audience, because the construction of readership is a central issue for her work. Christopher Hill suggests that ecstatic gestures were a cover-up for the expression of dangerous and radical thoughts; thus they were a rational strategy to draw the attention of viewers and to protect the prophet (1972, 227). Phyllis Mack concentrates on the reader's power and governmental regulation of ecstatic prophecy in relation to readership. She argues that there was no reason that female prophecy itself should be an irrational discourse because the audience's political preconditions defined the female prophet as prophet or a lunatic (1984, 223). Therefore, according to her readership Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy could be a divine method or a sign of madness. Nancy Bradley Warren also understands Trapnel's trance as a method to show both bodily and spiritual union with Christ in order to participate in public discussion and obtain readership (154). In the same context of readership, Hilary Hinds shows the possibility of seeing Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy as a rational strategy by analyzing the generic hybridity of ecstatic prophecy as a method constructed by the author "as evidence of the irrevocable bond between the writer, her text and God" (1996, 94). Hinds insists that generic hybridity was a way to construct a counter-public by transforming the audience's response from hostility to sympathy (1996, 152, 168).

Building on this body of criticism, I will focus on the ways in which Trapnel utilizes the hybrid genre of prose prophecy and verse prophecy as a rhetorical strategy in order to persuade revolutionary readers to accept her arguments and to participate in revolutionary activity. By analyzing Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy as a verbal representation of her resentment of the delay of the millenarian program of political reform, I will argue that Trapnel's experimentation with the combination of prose and verse is designed to construct a readership that opposes the contemporary political regime by showing God's free grace and her respect for divine order. Furthermore, I

contend that her desire for regulating divine grace in a measured way creates a non-conformist poetics which not only constructs strong authorial legitimacy but also defends her gender against the assumption of inferiority and the negative connotations of ecstatic prophecy.

Trapnel was a prophet of the Fifth Monarchist millenarians who believed that they had a divine duty to destroy the Antichrist in order to advance the kingdom of Christ because they were a political and religious sect expecting the "imminent" kingdom of Christ on earth (Capp 1972, 14). For the Fifth Monarchists, Oliver Cromwell's dissolution of the Parliament of saints, or the Barebones Parliament, and his establishment of himself in the semi-monarchical position of Lord Protector in 1653 were equivalent to serving the Antichrist because Oliver Cromwell thwarted the realization of the kingdom of Christ on Earth. In this vein, Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy showed her resentment of Oliver Cromwell's misrule and revealed a desire to create momentum for implementing revolutionary policies by circulating millennial discourses through the print market and public gatherings.

The saints' failure to accomplish revolution through Parliament was attributable to an antagonistic press for the Fifth Monarchists' radical innovation as well as political divergence between the Fifth Monarchists and Independent divines. Although the Barebones Parliament had been assembled to usher in the kingdom of Christ with the wholehearted support of Oliver Cromwell and Independent church members, Parliament had faced ceaseless objections from the press whenever "it threatened too many vested interests" (Russell 389).[40] In particular, the political divergence between the Fifth Monarchists and Independent divines intensified the conservative

[40] On Cromwell's millenarian dream, see his "Speech to the Nominated Parliament" in Wilbur C. Abbott's *The Writings and Speeches of Cromwell,* III, pp.61-65; On the specific information and interpretation concerning the Barebones Parliament, see Austin Woolrych's *Commonwealth To Protectorate*.

political groups' use of the print market to resist Parliament's revolutionary policies.

Tai Liu has traced the reasons why the division between the Fifth Monarchists and Independent divines in the Barebones Parliament resulted in the failure of the revolutionary drive by showing the interpretational differences between the two factions. According to his investigation of Independent divines' thoughts about the millennium**,** the kingdom of Christ had "a two-fold meaning: Christ's reign in the world as king of the nations and his reign in the church as king of the saints" (5). Independent divines emphasized Christ's reign in the church as king of the saints in the spiritual dimension rather than the political sphere, stressing the saints' spirituality in order to accomplish their internal perfection for establishing the kingdom of Christ (Liu 5, 6). Nevertheless, after the purge of House of Commons, the execution of the King, and abolition of the House of Lords, Independent divines such as John Owen temporarily used the kingdom of Christ as a political ideology (Liu 65). In spite of this different emphasis on the kingdom of Christ and the rule of the saints, Independent divines supported the Fifth Monarchists' political renovation in order to press the Rump Parliament for further reforms in both church and state in 1649 and 1651 (Liu 65).

However, from 1652 onward Independent divines' repudiation of the "militant agitation" of the Fifth Monarchist political program caused a group of Independent divines including Owen, Philip Nye, and Thomas Goodwin, to reemphasize the spiritual millennium rather than the political dimension of the millennium (Liu 73; Solt 317). Independent divines' fear and suspicion at the radical agenda of the Fifth Monarchists was the starting point of the divergence between them (Liu 73; Woolrych 1982, 32).

This divergence eventually emerged in the Barebones Parliament, where it created a factional struggle because the Fifth Monarchists' attempt to repeal the national clergy and tithes

provoked fear among both gentry and moderate groups (Liu 80, 106, 114; Rogers 38). Since the great majority of the Barebones Parliament was gentry and they strongly represented the traditional governing class (Woolrych 1982, 169, 193), they rejected the Fifth Monarchists' reformation of tithes and the national clergy. In light of this opposition from conservative forces, the Fifth Monarchists could not accomplish their aim of abolishing tithes and the national clergy without Independent divines' support (Liu 106). However, Independent divines' shift to political conservatism did not allow them to support the Fifth Monarchists revolutionary policies and also led them to attempt to exclude militant leaders of the Fifth Monarchists by conducting an aggressive political offensive through a petition and the print market (Liu 113). As a result, the Fifth Monarchists lost their actual power in Parliament.

More significantly, Oliver Cromwell's goal was a reconciliation of interests between the godly and the whole nation (Smith and Little 131); thus, the Fifth Monarchists' demand for the abolition of tithes and the national clergy system led Oliver Cromwell to terminate governance by the saints (Solt 314). Consequently, the divergence not only resulted in resistance through the print market outside of Parliament but also delayed the Fifth Monarchists' reform in Parliament and finally caused the dissolution of Parliament. In addition, the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament reinforced the Fifth Monarchists' need to campaign against the Cromwellian regime through the print market because they could not work through Parliament anymore.

2) Trapnel's Rhetorical Strategy

In unfavorable political circumstances, the Fifth Monarchists, including Trapnel, Christopher Feake, and Vavasour Powell, utilized both the print market and public gatherings in order to show their political enthusiasm for rekindling the dying embers of religious innovation

according to their political interests.[41] It is noteworthy that in order to support their argument they identified Cromwell as the horn, which is equivalent to the Antichrist, because they thought that the Cromwellian regime was "the creation of the antichristian Forth Monarchy" (Capp 1972, 131).[42] By imposing on Cromwell the role of the Antichrist "as a persecuting force" (Feroli 27), they constructed a strong rhetorical position and reinforced their followers' divine duty to press Cromwell to resume his revolutionary drive as the most effective way of advancing the millennium.

According to Marchamount Needham's report to the Lord Protector, the Fifth Monarchists held a meeting at Blackfriars on Monday evening, December 19, 1653 in order to denounce Cromwell's dissolution of the Barebones Parliament and his inauguration as the Lord Protector (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1653-54,* 304; Brown 21-22; Capp 1972, 59-60). This meeting showed the Fifth Monarchists' collective resentment at and frustration with the stagnation of the incomplete Revolution. In particular, through the sermon on Daniel's prophecy of the little horn in Chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel, Feake and Powell criticized Cromwell severely. Feake did not name who the little horn was, but in the middle of his sermon he gave "many desperate hints" which explained the characteristics of the little horn and pointed to Oliver Cromwell (*Calendar of State Papers* 304). Significantly, he expressed his intense frustration and resentment by reciting the verses of the Book of Daniel which predicted war between the little horn and the

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[41] According to a prominent republican journalist Marchamount Needham's report to the Lord Protector, the Fifth Monarchist campaign against the Protectorate designed a twofold strategy through the print market for the literate and a lecturing tour for the illiterate (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1653-4*, 393).

[42] By utilizing the vision of the four beasts in Chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel, the Fifth Monarchists insist that contemporary government was influenced by the Fourth Monarchy, Rome and the Church of Rome, or the nationalized church system, which was established from the ruins of Rome (Capp 1970, 66; Rogers 12). For the development of the Fifth Monarchist idea in the perspective of popular movement, see B.S. Capp's "The Fifth Monarchists and Popular Millenarianism" in *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*.

saints in the end: “the judgment shall sit and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end, and the kingdom, dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole Heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, &c” (*Calendar of State Papers* 304-305). By applying biblical prophecy to contemporary political events directly, he not only showed his enthusiastic will to punish the power of the Antichrist but also imposed upon the audience the divine duty as God’s agents to fulfil godly war against the Cromwellian government.[43]

Like Feake, Powegll also used an intense tone in his sermon on Daniel’s prophecy. According to Needham’s report, Powell’s sermon was more straightforward in showing his frustration with and resentment at the Cromwellian government. Powell recommended to the audience to pray like this, “Lord wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?” (*Calendar of State Papers* 306). Made in “a very furious manner” and with “many strange ejaculations,” Powell’s prayer not only revealed the Fifth Monarchists’ extreme frustration that their former ally Oliver Cromwell had doomed the rule of the saints but also showed their intense resentment that Oliver Cromwell had replaced King Charles with himself, not King Jesus (*The Clarke Papers* 3, 244; Knoppers 72).

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[43] According to “An intercepted letter,” Feake called Cromwell “the man of sin, the old dragon” and “the dissembleingst perjured villaine in the world” (Thurloe, 1. 621, 641). Feake’s inflammatory language led the usually tolerant Oliver Cromwell to imprison him with Powell, even though it was for a short period. However, in January 1654 Feake was arrested again and imprisoned in Windsor Castle (*Calendar of State Papers* 371). This Cromwellian persecution only intensified Feake’s identification of Oliver Cromwell a sign of a persecuting force (the Antichrist) and of immanent millennium (Feroli 27); thus, Feake reinforced his resistant spirit against the regime by publishing two of his most influential works, *The New Non-Conformist* (1654) and *The Oppressed Close Prisoner* (1654). On Feake’s activity during the 1650s, see Richard Greaves’ *Saints and Rebels*, pp. 102-123; B.S. Capp’s *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp. 52, 54, 58-61, 67-69, 72-73, 101-102, 107-109, 111-112, 114, 117, 119-123, 125-127; P.G. Rogers’ *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, pp.40-46; Katharine Gillespie’s “Prophecy and Political Expression in Cromwellian England,” p. 472.

Feake and Powell's enthusiastic tones and styles derived from their political frustration and resentment. They used an inflammatory style in order to reinforce the audience's divine duty to destroy the Antichrist as the most effective way of advancing Christ's kingdom. As a rhetorical strategy their enthusiastic style and tone do not show their irrationality but reinforce their rhetorical power to enhance their authorial cause and readership. More importantly, by supporting their ideas through scriptural evidence, their rhetorical skill generates a balance between sectarian liberty and scriptural order in order to show that they are faithful to the Gospel and honor Christ as a way of defending their resistance against the extant regime.

Trapnel's prophecy shares this extreme frustration with and intense resentment against the establishment of the Protectorate. However, unlike Feake and Power's development of a prophetic voice through explication of Daniel's prophecy, Trapnel as a divine prophet directly mediates divine messages, which predict Cromwell's failure in order to admonish him to return to implementing revolutionary polices. Trapnel heavily depends on her readership because she could not approach the pulpit and therefore uses ecstatic prophecy. Trapnel devises various rational ways of authorizing her prophecy, including using scriptural allusions and various forms of hybrid genres to create order within her ecstatic prophecy. Uniquely, she embodies God's free grace in a measured way through verse prophecy. In other words, she uses a hybrid of prose and verse as a rhetorical strategy in order to position the revolutionary reader as a judge to protect and participate in her authorial cause.

Clement Hawes' argument is very useful for understanding Trapnel's enthusiasm and the significance of her use of hybrid genre. He argues that enthusiasm was "anything but marginal; as an enduring mode, its 'manic' tendencies were more than merely individual" (49). Although a hostile response to enthusiasm could be one of many strategies of containment used by the

hegemonic elite, the enthusiasm of the 1640s and 1650s "serve[d] to highlight longstanding narrative strategies" by which radical Puritans resisted extant hegemony (49). Therefore, Hawes insists that the "mania" of radicals must be understood as "a mode of collective opposition: the rhetorical contours, indeed, or a manic style" (49). Furthermore, he categorizes the manic mode as a radical strategy to protect their discourse from containment by the ruling regime. According to his anatomy, the manic mode has the following characteristics:

> (1) a preoccupation with themes of socio-economic resentment; (2) a "levelling" use of lists and catalogues; (3) an excessive, often blasphemous wordplay; (4) a tendency to blend and thus level incongruous genres; (5) a justification of symbolic transgression, especially in the context of lay preaching, as prophetic behavior; and (7) imagery of self-fortification against persecution and martyrdom. (9)

Among these features, in relation to Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy, I will pay attention to the manic mode as a way of resistance that not only reveals its socio-political resentment of the extant regime but also creates rhetorical strategies by blending genres that protect the speaker from containment by the ruling regime. *The Cry of a Stone* embodies the Fifth Monarchists' condemnation of and lament for Oliver Cromwell's betrayal of the revolutionary cause in order to show their resentment toward the establishment of the Protectorate. Furthermore, unlike the case of Feake, *The Cry of a Stone* consists of autobiography, scriptural commentary, prose and verse prophecy, and songs in order to create another opportunity to facilitate the revolutionary drive through construction of readership. In other words, Trapnel's hybridization of various genres through ecstatic prophecy is an effective strategy, which can include both supernatural and rational power to construct reading publics and to protect her from any potential claim that her prophecy was mad.

In reality, ecstatic prophecy often gave her enemies the pretext to argue that her prophecy was insane and irrational (Hobby 1988, 26, 34); thus, the narrator had to defend against a hostile reporter's "deformed and disguised" attack on Trapnel's prophecy in the anonymous preface to

The Cry of a Stone (ii). Hostile audiences not only raised doubts about the credibility of her prophecy but also attacked her ecstatic prophecy as a sign of madness, disorder, and satanic inspiration.[44] In order to resist containment by the ruling regime and obtain a sympathetic readership, she provides prophetic credentials through the hybridization of several genres in the introduction of her main prophecy at Whitehall.[45] After she proclaims, "I am Anna Trapnel" (3), Trapnel provides convincing evidence which supports her ecstatic prophecy as trustworthy, powerful, and godly through the combination of autobiography, prophetic vision, scriptural commentary, a history of the commonwealth army's wars, and an interview.

First of all, through the autobiographical narrative she refers to prominent Fifth Monarchist ministers by name, including John Simpson and Henry Jessey (3). These allusions correspond with the section of the preface which served as a means to give specific historical context for her prophecies by enumerating prominent politicians' names.[46] In comparison to that section, her mention of ministers purports to enhance Trapnel's authority and reputation as a medium for the divine word because Simpson, as her teacher, and Jessey, as her mentor, are both not only ear and eye witnesses of her prophecy but also demonstrate support for it that indicates Trapnel is a faithful

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[44] Trapnel was faced with the rulers' and the clergy's condemnation of her as "mad," "a witch," or "under the administration of evil angels" (*Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* iii).

[45] There is a very interesting section between the prefaces and main prophecies because Trapnel appears as the author of this section in comparing to the relator's reports. This section functions as a kind of introduction of main prophecies because it enumerates Trapnel's life-long visionary experiences before telling her main prophecy.

[46] Trapnel's prophecy was delivered in front of members of the recently dissolved Barebones Parliament (Colonel Sidenham, Colonel West, Mr. Chittwood, Colonel Bennet, Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Berconhead), Feake, Lady Marcy, and Lady Vermuden (*The Cry of a Stone* 2). These credible audiences not only contribute to authorize Trapnel's prophecy but also provide a specific context of her prophecy in relation to political events, in particular, the Fifth Monarchists' disappointment of the dissolution of Barebones Parliament and resistance for the Cromwellian regime. Moreover, the deployment of place and audiences not only strengthens her prophecy's political aspects but also purposes for arguing with other reading publics and gathering supportive readership for her.

devotee and prophet.

Next, through use of her prophetic vision and scriptural commentary she historicizes her whole visionary experience in order to show two ways of authorizing her prophecy: fasting and scriptural evidence. Fasting accompanies almost every one of her prophecies (5, 7, 8). Through fasts she emphasizes her passivity as a divine vessel and strengthens her argument that her prophecy was not a pathological problem by showing perfect control of her body.[47] Also, through biblical evidence she tries to confirm that she was not possessed by an evil spirit but rather that her prophecy followed scriptural regulation, authority, and order (4, 9, 12).[48] Namely, by showing her respect for church practice and the Scriptures, Trapnel suggests that the origin of her millennial discourse is God's free grace; thus, she locates her prophecy in the tradition of an orthodox prophecy.[49]

Thirdly, by blending the history of the commonwealth army and her millennial vision within the Fifth Monarchist's interpretative perspective on her contemporary world through the

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[47] On the relationship between Trapnel's fast and body, see Diane Purkiss' "Producing the voice consuming the body," pp.139-158; Nigel Smith's *Perfection Proclaimed,* pp. 49-53; Teresa Feroli's *Political Speaking Justified,* pp. 97-129.

[48] On Trapnel's use of the Bible, see Kate Chedgzoy's "Female Prophecy in the Seventeenth Century: the Instance of Anna Trapnel," pp. 243-244.

[49] In this sense, Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy must not be defined in the perspective of individual pathology because it validates governmental regulation on enthusiastic prophecy as shown in Robert Burton's third book of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, "Wee may see the victims and these peculiar sects, their Religion takes away not spirits only, but wit and judgement, and deprives them of all understanding: for some of them are so farre gone with their private Enthusiasmes, and revelations, that they are quite madde, out of their wits" (387). According to Burton's standards, Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy is defined Enthusiasm with madness which took away spirit, wit, and judgment; thus, it gives a relevant reason to validate the governmental control of her articulation. Understanding her prophecy as an individual pathology lessens the public feature of radical prophecy and hinders investigation of why Trapnel used ecstatic prophecy in order to construct a counter discourse against governmental authority. In this sense, Alfred Cohen's article on tracing the female ecstatic prophets' real insanity ignores prophets' rhetorical strategy for engaging in public debates because he regards them as ones who were "sick" but recovered (413).

Book of Daniel and Revelation, she not only locates her prophecy in historical scenes but also includes her prophecy as a part of a redemptive history of the English nation. Her whole prophecy concentrates on the Parliamentarian party's resistant movements and victories including the commonwealth army's various fights and Cromwell's dissolution of the Rump Parliament (4, 5, 6, 10). By historicizing her own prophecy, Trapnel gradually prepares readers to believe that her main prophecy in Whitehall is credible and a divine response to specific historical events.

Lastly, by combining millennial vision and scriptural commentary, Trapnel attributes the rulers' and the clergy's rejection of her views not to the veracity of her prophecy but to their love for the power of the Antichrist, which corrupted their language. By showing their confounded language and corrupted nature through the episode of the tower of Babel and using a symbol of oaks (which signifies the pride of those who have been humbled by God), Trapnel argues that Oliver Cromwell's deviation from the revolutionary cause derives from the ruling class's false readership of the divine plan and their corrupt language (12, 13). In particular, after these visions, by describing Oliver Cromwell as the fourth horn, she insists that the power of the Antichrist made Cromwell an apostate from the godly revolution and corrupted his linguistic power. She changes her strategy to defend her prophecy, now attacking hostile readers by showing their corrupt language and their adherence to satanic power.

This strategy also occurs in *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (1654). In "To the Reader" Trapnel identifies herself with St. Paul because through grace "Christ lives in" her and Christ gives himself "for a weak handmaid, as well as for a strong Paul" (i). Her statement reveals that God's grace gives her authority to articulate her desire in spite of her supposed inferior gender. Moreover, she claims that only persons who have God's grace could discern prophetic language by showing Hannah and Eli's episode in the First Book of Samuel. Like Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy, Hannah's

enthusiastic prayer was attacked by the chief priest Eli, who claimed that "She was Drunk" (iii). Even though Hannah's prayer removed her barrenness and resulted in the birth of the great prophet Samuel, Eli could not discern her enthusiastic prayer's sincerity. By identifying with Hannah, Trapnel subtly attacks the clergy's portrayal of her. Furthermore, in comparison to Eli, Trapnel harshly attacks contemporary rulers' and the clergy's pride and corrupt language because while Eli quickly admitted his fault, the rulers and the clergy attacked Trapnel ceaselessly (iv).[50]

Trapnel's harsh attack on the national clergy's pride and false readership is repeated when she defends her ecstatic prophecy in Whitehall in the main text of *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*. Trapnel insists that her ecstatic prophecy was the work of free grace and discourse with God; she prophesied according to the Scriptures, but the ministers did not believe it (17). Because the ministers cannot speak or discern the prophecy, she believes that her prophecy is the example of how "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world, to confound the wise" (17). Her prophetic purpose is exactly the same in *The Cry of a Stone*: "the foolish things of the world to confound the wise" (i).

In order to cofound the wise, Trapnel utilizes the generic hybridity of prose and verse by emphasizing the importance of verse in the interview between the relator and Trapnel in *The Cry of a Stone*. In comparison to *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White-Hall* (1654), which also reports Trapnel's ecstatic prophecy in Whitehall, the interview is a highly unique section and highlights the significance of her use of verse alongside prose.[51] The relator asks her, "what frame

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[50] Trapnel argues that the clergies' pride derives from their "guilded words," "great head-pieces" which were "not more commendable to be in heart, then in head" (iv). In other words, the rulers and clergies' pride not only corrupt their language but also result in their inability to discern other's prophetic language. Moreover, their pride hinders them from confessing their faults; thus they cannot change into supportive readers.

[51] In *The Cry of a Stone* the function of verse stands in clear contrast to *Strange and Wonderful*

of spirit was upon you in uttering those things in Whitehall, was it only a spirit of faith that was upon you, or was it Vision wrapping up your outward senses in trances?" (14). In her answer, Trapnel emphasizes the importance of songs: "besides her own word, the effects of a spirit caught up in the Visions of God, did abundantly appear in the fixedness, and inmmoveableness of her speech in prayer, but more especially in her songs" (14). Through this interview, Trapnel points to her verse as the way of establishing the authenticity of her ecstatic prophecy. Through the measured language of verse, Trapnel not only organizes her extempore prophecy but also reinforces her divine authority by generating a balance between her sectarian liberty and divine order. Furthermore, for Trapnel, embodying God's free grace in divine meter and rhyme is equivalent to the exposing the national clergy's corrupt nature and language. By doing so, Trapnel purports to establish her authority, which Oliver Cromwell and readers have to listen to and follow as a divine message. In this vein, Trapnel's dynamic and adept use of a prose-and-verse hybrid is embodied in the climax of her condemnation of the university-educated national clergy by comparing their language with a divine one through the generic hybridity of prose and verse in both the fourteenth day and the last day prophecies.

3) Trapnel's Use of Hybrid Genre and Non-Conformist Poetics

The reason Trapnel focuses on attacking the university-educated national clergy is that they

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Newes from White-Hall. To prove that her prophecy is of a reliable divine origin, *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White-Hall* provides witnesses and enumerates her former prophecy like *The Cry of a Stone*. However, reporting only that Trapnel sung diverse Hymns or spiritual songs without explanation of their content makes her prophecy more mysterious and also hinders readers from having a rational approach to what hymns and songs' function are. On the differences between *The Cry of a Stone* and *Strange and Wonderful Newes from White-Hall,* see Ramona Wray's "'What Say You to [This] Book? […] Is It Yours?": Oral and Collaborative Narrative Trajectories in the Mediated Writings of Anna Trapnel," pp.418-19.

are funded by tithes under the control of the government; thus, she perceives that they serve the Antichrist by making false arguments for supporting the national clergy system against the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures, and Christ (38). As a result, the national clergy system not only contributes to corrupting God's divine language but also makes the clergy produce "stammering speech" from a "stuttering tongue" (38, 39). More importantly, the national clergy corrupts Cromwell's language and hinders his ability to listen to true prophecy. Therefore, as I mentioned earlier, like other Fifth Monarchists Trapnel understands that the abolition of the national clergy and tithes is an essential point to reform the English nation. In this structure, defeating their language with her divine language is equivalent both to proving the clergy's depravity and establishing her true authority. For this purpose, she concentrates on showing her superior prophetic language through the use of the generic hybridity of prose and verse of the fourteenth day prophecies.

Significantly, since Trapnel articulates her role as the embodiment of both divine language and voice, the issue of the problem of the corruption of language directly connects to the issue of authority of prophecy in the fourteenth day prophecies. In prose prophecy she represents her prophecy as a living oral token which witnesses how the national clergy transformed Christ's language, "the language of Canaan," into "the language of Ashdod" through their service to the Antichrist (41). Besides, as God's divine voice she reveals her intense desire to argue with "the Great Rabbies of the world" and emphasizes her agency through the vocal hybrid of God and herself: "Oh it is for thy sake, and for thy servants sakes, that thy Servant [Trapnel] is made a voice, a sound, it is a voyce within a voyce, even thy voyce through her" (42). It is a very effective way to emphasize her agency because she clearly conveys that God delivers his message not through the university-educated clergy's intellectual ability but through her spiritual power as a divine voice. Furthermore, she strengthens her agency by imposing a Christ-like role upon herself: "Thy

Servant knew that she was beloved of thee, and that she lay in thy bosome from a child, and there she might have lived without the condemnings or reproaches of men, or of this Generation; but since Father thou wilt have it so, thy Will be done" (42). By identifying herself as God's beloved and appointed servant for a godly calling, she reinforces her prophetic language as a divine method of conducting a verbal battle between herself as God's representative and the clergy as Cromwell's representative, centering on her prophetic readership. In order to prove her superior position over the clergy as a true prophet of God, Trapnel presents the divine message in plain verse.

She utilizes a hymnal form since she attacks human arts (which rely on intellectual power rather than the Scriptures and God's free grace) as obstacles for accommodating divine voice in her verse prophecy (42). She takes advantage of the hymnal form (with four lines to a stanza) because of its relatively simple and regular rhythm; thus, the hymnal form of verse is not only useful to be read or sung in unison for religious purposes but also is highly efficient in access to a wide audience. According to Shira Wolosky's explanation, hymns are basically composed "in sixes and eights -- a combination of lines with six or eight syllables (or sometimes four syllables), in which at least the second and fourth line… rhyme" (82). Trapnel's verse works in sixes and eights of the traditional hymnal form. Her hymnal juxtaposition of iambic tetrameter and trimeter creates a symmetrical structure; thus, her meter controls her extempore and exhortative prophetic mood (which is an appropriate condition of the millennial narrative of crisis in her prose prophecies). In other words, by composing in a relatively simple and regular rhythm, Trapnel not only imposes verbal order upon her verse prophecies but also reveals her decisive resistance to the corruptors of language. Moreover, her skillful use of rhyme is a powerful means of supporting her prose argument by generating a balance between verbal order and the spiritual liberty of extempore prophecy:

> Christs Scholars they are perfected
> with learning from above,
> To them he gives capacity
> to know his depths of love. (42:13-16)

The essence of her prophecy is that in contrast to the university educated clergy, "Christs Scholars" learn "from above" and Christ gives them an ability to know "his depths of love." The use of "above" and "love" as rhymed words proves that her prophetic language comes from above (heaven) and she is Christ's beloved daughter as she argued in her prose prophecy earlier; thus, she is superior to the clergy. Furthermore, her use of the spondee "Christs Scholars" emphasizes Christ's Scholars' (including Trapnel) divine superiority over the university educated clergy. And her use of iambic feet "from above" and "of love" helps to strengthen her prophetic authority because the meter reinforces her language as the divine embodiment of Christ's love. While the university-educated clergy taint God's words by feigning that their own voices are God's through their doting on human arts and sciences, Trapnel delivers God's words with a direct and plain style by using simple but strong rhyme. Furthermore, she creates a dramatic effect through variation of voice and recursive words:

> But I wel know that those that are
> true Prophets of the Lord,
> Wil live upon that pay which he
> declared in his Word. (43:48-52)

This stanza's power comes not only from poetic devices such as the alliteration of "th"-words but also from its change of subject. The subject change reinforces the speaker's authority and simultaneously signifies that she expands her targeted audience from the clergy and potential "Christ's Scholars" to a wider audience. Before this stanza (line 24), by referring to the clergy as "you," the speaker concentrates on arguing with the clergy with a ferocious voice, which predicts their impending destruction. At the same time, after line 24 and before this stanza by speaking to

Christ's scholars as "you," the speaker explains Christ's future promise for his saints with an urgent tone in order to exhort the readers' self-perfection. However, in this stanza, the subject of the sentence changes from "you" into "I." By using "I" the speaker shows her authority to discern Christ's scholars. Moreover, by addressing and defining Christ's scholars as "they," instead of "you," she creates distance between the speaker and "they." By doing so, the speaker not only expands her audience from the clergy and potential Christ's scholars to a wide audience but also creates a dramatic effect that the audience watches a scene in which the speaker winnows the false prophets from the true with visual images. The subject change signifies that the speaker positions the revolutionary reader as a judge to protect and participate in her authorial cause. In the revolutionary reader's presence, surprisingly and subtly, the speaker shows and emphasizes who are the "true Prophets" by using meter and rhyme with "Lord" and "Word." Through those two rhymed words, the speaker easily defines that the true prophets are declared by the Lord's Word, or the Bible. Furthermore, her use of a spondaic foot in "true Prophets" increases a revolutionary reader's expectation of who the true prophets are. Then by using the iambic feet "the Lord" and "his Word" she rhythmically emphasizes the importance of Christ's words. By the use of rhyme and meter the speaker imposes a balance on poetic form and proves that as Christ's prophet her extempore prophecy is firmly located in and follows Christ's words. After establishing a firm authority through both spiritual and scriptural authority, the speaker predicts the impending total destruction of false prophets:

> The Lord Christ doth against them speak,
> they shal not long endure,
> The Lord wil set his fire to them,
> and it shal them devour. (43:60-63)

The speaker reinforces the vivid and impending downfall of false prophets by contrasting the false

prophets' passive verb, "endure," with the Lord' active verb, "devour." Nevertheless, the speaker does not raise her voice in a more ferocious tone. In order to indicate that this stanza is Christ's speech, the speaker uses a trochee, "Christ doth." However, aside from this moment, the speaker utilizes regular iambic tetrameter and trimeter. Her use of regular meter purports to embody Christ's speaking in a refined tone. In other words, because this stanza is Christ's voice, the speaker emphasizes divine order in her poetic forms by using regular meter. As a result, the harmony of regular rhythm and simple but colorful deployment of rhyme scheme generates a balance which contains divine extempore messages in measured ways.

In order to understand why Trapnel creates non-conformist poetics as a way of reinforcing her divine authority, it is necessary to investigate the last day prophecies, which raise the issue of the clergy's corrupt language and their poor counsel to Cromwell. While her last prose prophecy diagnoses how the clergy's corrupted language destroyed revolutionary policies, her verse prophecy proves and reinforces her identity as a true prophet of God by presenting divine messages in plain verse. In prose Trapnel argues that Oliver Cromwell's inauguration as Lord Protector is the result of the false counsel of the university-educated clergy who serve as "courtier[s]" to "king" Cromwell (67). In other words, the clergy's counsel consists of lies against God and their poor counsel has lead Cromwell to dissolve the Barebones Parliament. Furthermore, Trapnel prophesies that their counsel will result in the corruption of Cromwell's own language: "He will put a stammering speech into you, you shall not suck from God's wine cellars" (68). His "stammering" voice signifies his expulsion from the freeness and fullness of God's glory. Through gradually accumulating images of sap, spirit, and flame, which were signs of power of free grace and language (64, 66), she reveals how the clergy's university language leads Cromwell to "confound himself in his own language" (68). In sum, Trapnel defines the clergy's language as corrupted

because they spoke against the Holy Ghost but did not speak "plainly and faithfully against" Cromwell; thus, God sent the "poor handmaid" Trapnel into Whitehall in order to deliver the real divine message (70).[52]

By this logic, the authenticity of her prophecy is highly related to the power of language, which derives from the ability to argue with apostate Cromwellian clergies by embodying a divine message "plainly and faithfully." This rule expresses the essence of non-conformist poetics as a token of divine voice. In other words, while she criticizes Oliver Cromwell's conservative policy based on his faith in the corrupted clergy "plainly and faithfully" by use of acoustic imagery of voice in prose, her next goal was to embody God's voice faithfully with plain language in verse as a way of providing a divine token of her prophecy.

In verse, Trapnel also focuses on how acoustic imagery affects a believer's language, using imagery of "wind" to describe God's punishment and "streams" to symbolize blessings (71). Wind and streams signify the divine voice that predicts the world's end and the hope of the millennium. Trapnel particularly emphasizes that wind as a form of divine anger will completely destroy both the house of clergy and nature by making whirlwinds; thus, the sound of God's punishment will absolutely eradicate people and nature's capacity to create sounds and songs:

> Oh that you should so Nurture them,
> And chear them in their sin,
> I tell you that Christ for this will
> Not make your souls to sing.
>
> You shall not hear Sions songs so sweet,
> Nor their mirth which draws nigh,
> But when it cometh forth to light,
> You suddenly shall dye. (71:24-31)

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[52] By attributing Cromwell's unwillingness to hear the true message to the clergy, Trapnel insists that the clergy's language is lying to the Holy Ghost like Ananias and Saphira of the Book of Acts who were killed by God for their lying against the Holy Spirit (62).

By using rhyme words "sin" and "sing," Trapnel emphasizes that the result of the clergy's sin—which nurtured their followers' sin—is their loss of ability to sing. Moreover, her use of iambic feet "their sin" and "to sing" is effective to show the stark contrast between sin and sing. Furthermore, in the next stanza the alliteration of "s"-words, "Sions songs so sweet," not only strengthens the peaceful mood of the millennium, but at the same time, it reinforces the clergy's miserable inability to share in the joy of the millennium through song. Moreover, the deployment of the rhymed words "nigh" and "dye" shows that they will have no chance to sing with mirth because their death is nigh. In particular, her use of the spondaic feet "draws nigh" and "shall dye" creates a mood of urgency and decisiveness of impending downfall of clergy. In other words, her use of meter and rhyme is a very simple but clear proclamation of the doom of the clergy's corrupted language.[53] As in her prose, Trapnel attacks the clergy's hostility to the Fifth Monarchist movement by showing their muteness and lack of rhetorical power. Furthermore, as the way of reinforcing her simple but plain prophecy, Trapnel predicts God's impending punishment of the clergy and the Cromwellian regime by representing Christ's speaking.[54] While the "wind" and "streams" signify the divine voice of prophecy, by articulating Christ's words Trapnel dramatizes their acoustic effect; thus, she amplifies the mood of the Judgment Day and her authority:

> Oh therefore Clergy, and you State,
> Nothing at all you shall,
> When that the Lord Christ he doth speak,
> You utterly shall fall. (72:80-83)

In this stanza, the alliteration of "s" sounds not only creates recurrent rhythms but also intensifies

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[53] On the other hand, in stanza 10 the sounds of streams not only represent the richness of human life and nature but also create harmonious songs which contain the hopes of Christ's second coming.

[54] Significantly, Trapnel depicts Christ's coming and audience's response through accumulating a series of sounds, "To hear that he [Christ] draw on" (72).

the decisiveness of divine punishment of the clergy and the Cromwellian regime by showing divine vengeance. Furthermore, the accumulation of the alliteration of "s" sounds purports to authorize her prophecy by locating it within the Lord's logos. In this vein, as Christ's speech, the combination of rhyme words "shall" and "fall" not only imposes verbal order on Trapnel's extempore prophecy in measured ways but also strengthens the impact of the impending punishment of the clergy and the regime by underlining the completion of the action (their downfall) as Christ's promise. Crucially, in the last sentence, the combination of the s-clustered words and the rhyme words, "shall fall," surprisingly accomplishes her non-conformist poetics because it wonderfully accommodates divine messages that predict the destruction of the extant regime faithfully in plain language by clearly proclaiming, "You utterly shall fall." The meter perfectly serves to embody divine message in succinct words. In this stanza, iambic tetrameter and trimeter raise the mood of punishment of the clergy and the Cromwellian regime. And by finishing the fourth line with a spondaic foot of "shall fall," the speaker reinforces the completion of their downfall. Interestingly, the speaker shows the realization of her prophecy by showing the clergy and ruler's stammering language:

> Oh can you then stand out and say,
> Oh will you not then stammer,
> To hear the Lord, and also to
> See his most glorious banner? (73:92-95)

In order to contrast the secular authority's language with divine language, the speaker utilizes feminine rhyme in the second and fourth lines. By making rhymed word "stammer" a feminine rhyme, the speaker not only emphasizes Christ's glorious victory but also reinforces the clergy and ruler's complete downfall. The clergy's stammering language shows their fear but also corresponds to their corrupt language in prose. More importantly, because the combination of assonance of "æ"

and "ə(r)," between "stammer" and "banner" is a way of imposing order upon her extempore prophecy in measured way, the speaker does not break verbal order but effectively accomplishes her poetic experimentation, which not only criticizes the corrupt words of secular authority but also shows her masterful accommodation divine language. In conclusion, her skillful deployment meter, recursive words, and rhyme intensifies the urgency of the clergy and the extant regime's doom in plain language. In other words, her hymnal form embodies her extempore prophecy in measured ways even as it provides a dramatic effect to highlight her message as a divinely inspired one, which completely conveys the university-educated clergy's corrupt language and the projected downfall of the Cromwellian regime.

Through this interactive power of prose and verse prophecy, Trapnel tries to elicit sympathy from hostile readers by mingling godly authority and respect for verbal order. While in prose Trapnel accommodates God's free grace through spontaneous prophesying, in verse she imposes order on radical prophecy through poetic form. In other words, through prose she creates a sense of divine authority within her prophecy that combats the clergy's hostility to the Fifth Monarchist movement by showing their muteness and lack of rhetorical power; through verse she reinforces her prophecy's godly authority by refining the prophecy in an orderly fashion.

Trapnel's use of verse as evidence for the authenticity of her prophecy purports to defend her highly marginalized position because her lower social position and ecstatic prophecy make her more vulnerable to being attacked as a Ranter who destroys religio-political norms. In *The Cry of a Stone* Trapnel clearly articulates that her use of free grace to criticize university-educated clergy has no correlation with the Ranters (57). Rather, she insists that the saints would try to separate themselves from the Ranters because the Ranters were known to have disobeyed Christ (57). Trapnel argues that realizing "the simplicity of the Gospel" makes the saints love Christ more than

they love themselves and anomie (58).

This argument corresponds with Simpson's recommendation of Trapnel's *A Legacy for Saints* (1654). As her teacher in the Great Al-Hallow Church, Simpson emphasizes her love of the Scriptures and her sincere exercise of all the ordinances of God with delight (iii). By showing her respect for the Scriptures and church practices, Simpson indicates that Trapnel's prophecy does not destroy spiritual order and rule. Rather, Simpson insists that, contrary to scornful opinions of her, Trapnel's emphasis on free grace leads her to create, unlike the Ranters, a harmonious relationship between the Grace and the Law. In reality, in *A Legacy for Saints* Trapnel argues that her emphasis on free grace is not for the liberty to sin but a purifying method of harmonizing the Grace and the Law with Christ's new covenant; thus, she distinguishes herself from the Antinominians and the Ranters (15).

In this vein, for Trapnel, creating plain verse is equivalent to imposing order on her prophecy in order to defend against the conservative religious groups' attack that the Fifth Monarchists' emphasis on God's free grace could lead believers to social and religious anomie. In order to defend against this attack, by embodying God's free grace in divine meter and rhyme Trapnel creates a non-conformist poetics, which generates "a balance between need for order and liberty" (Smith 1989, 332). Feake also tries to create a balance between his enthusiastic mode and the scriptural order by using paratexts, but his texts (in particular, *The New Non-Conformist* [1654] and *The Oppressed Close Prisoner* [1654]) do not use hybridity of various genres. Mingling his enthusiastic millennial vision with exegetic commentary of the Scriptures, Feake devises a counter-discourse against a hostile audience and governmental containment. On the other hand, Trapnel utilizes ecstatic prophecy, which leads her paratexts to employ various kinds of generic hybridity in order to defend her gender and political inferiority. Furthermore, her use of ecstatic

prophecy results in the creation of a non-conformist poetics, which suppresses governmental discourse and reinforces her authority as a divine prophet through the hybridization of prose and verse. Both Feake and Trapnel share the enthusiastic tone of Jeremiah and use millennial discourse to create a readership of non-conformist saints, but Trapnel's gender inferiority leads her to devise various generic experimentations as ways of self-protection.

3. Milton's Readership and Stylistic Plainness

1) The Crisis of Religious Liberty and Milton's Readership

As a way to explain how Milton's political disfavor resulted in the transformation of his prose style, I will analyze the ways in which Milton utilized a plain prose style within the millennial ideal to defend the right of religious liberty in *Civil Power*. Critics have demonstrated that plain prose style is a unique element of Milton's 1659-1660 pamphlets in comparison to his early tracts (Corns 1982, 47, Egan 1980, 67).[55] However, scholars have not investigated how Milton's stylistic plainness influenced his construction of readership in relation to his millennial ideal because they still argue about whether Milton's millennial vision had dimmed or not in 1659. John T. Shawcross insists that critics have confused the apocalypse with millenarianism since Milton clearly knew that the millennium had not occurred from 1659 onward (116). Following Shawcross' argument, Ken Simpson defines Milton's expectation of the coming of Christ in judgment in *Civil Power* not as millenarianism because Milton's expectation, unlike in the 1640, is no longer of imminence (209). On the other hand, Stella P. Revard argues that Milton reveals his political expectation

[55] On the overall study of Milton's 1659-1660 pamphlets, see James Egan's *The Inward Teacher: Milton's Rhetoric of Christian Liberty*, pp. 67-84; James Egan's "Milton's Aesthetic of Plainness, 1659-1673," pp. 57-59, 61, 63; Keith W. Stavely's *The Politics of Milton's Prose Style*, pp. 93-111; Thomas N. Corns' *The Development of Milton's Prose Style*.

through his faith in the millennium in *The Readie and Easie Way* (1660); thus, Revard affirms that from 1641 to the eve of the Restoration, millenarianism undergirds Milton's political vision (54). Furthermore, Revard insists that in *Civil Power* Milton's citation of Christ's denial of a temporal kingdom is not proof that Milton has abandoned the expectation of Christ's earthly kingdom because Milton's primary concern is not the issue of Christ's future kingdom but the separation of church and state (53).

Lending further support to Revard's argument, in *Civil Power* Milton's main goal is not the calculation of the time of the millennium but the education of readers to be virtuous and free members in Christ's kingdom. Moreover, as David Loewenstein argues, Milton's inward withdrawal and emphasis on the spiritual elements of Christ's kingdom are not evidence of his abandonment of millenarianism but strategies to reinforce his authorial cause (1990, 88). Milton does not claim that strengthening religious liberty by separating state and religion will advance the millennium, but this agenda accords with an essential preparation for establishing the politico-religious environment, which recognizes Christ as the only rightful king of the republic. This tract fulfills the necessary conditions of the millennium in two ways, although he does not directly articulate his belief in Christ's reign on Earth. In millenarianism, Christ's kingdom will be inaugurated with the fall of the Antichrist after Christ's overthrow of the Antichrist's persecution of Protestants (Revard 47). Milton compares the civil magistrate's interventions in religious matters to the Antichrist's oppression of Protestants. Moreover, for Milton, the separation of church and state is equivalent to Christ's defeat of the Antichrist in order to free his people from anti-Protestant oppression. In other words, Milton recognizes that securing religious liberty is a means of preparation for the future Christian kingdom. In order to reinforce the foremost condition of Christ's kingdom, Milton employs the millennial ideal that Christ is the sole and rightful king

of both conscience and law. It is clear that whether or not *Civil Power* is a millennial text, the millennial ideal is used to remind readers of the republican cause and to educate readers as free and virtuous saints.

I will focus on the ways in which Milton utilizes a plain prose style under the millennial ideal in order to construct a wide readership that opposes the contemporary political regime's regulation of religious liberty. My hypothesis is that while Milton's experimentation with a plain prose style is designed to show both discursive and divine processes of persuasion by borrowing authority from the Bible and the Holy Ghost, the millennial ideal functions as a safe boundary of interpretation for readers to enjoy religious freedom. I will contend that Milton's desire for accommodating the divine freeness of the Holy Spirit in his plain prose style not only constructs a strong authorial legitimacy but also defends his political weakness because he achieves the divine freedom of the Gospel (an essence of religious liberty) through the text's formal aspects.

In order to grasp the reason Milton transforms his prose style, it is necessary to examine political circumstances in the transition period between the first Protectorate and the second Protectorate. Milton's defense of religious liberty through a simple style is highly related to the Protectorate's shift toward conservative governance and Richard Cromwell's pro-Presbyterian policy. It is essential to investigate constitutional changes in Oliver Cromwell's last years in order to understand why sectarian soldiers and religious radicals, including Milton, conveyed their resistance against Richard Cromwell's Protectorate through the print market.

In 1657, The Humble Petition and Advice were approved as the second constitution of the Protectorate (Smith 1992, 25). In comparison to the first constitution, The Instrument of Government of 1653, The Humble Petition and Advice not only provided Oliver Cromwell with the right to choose his successor but also required Parliament to establish an 'Other House' whose

function was ambiguous but evoked a controversy over whether it was a reinstatement of the House of Lords which was abolished in 1649 (Dzelzainis 1995, 184; Smith 1992, 25).[56] In addition, The Humble Petition and Advice required Parliament to redefine dissenters in order to strengthen governmental regulation of the dissenters in the second Parliament of the Protectorate. However, since Parliament failed to make an agreement on the redefinition, the enactment of any new law concerning religious regulation was postponed until the first calling of Parliament in 1659 under Richard Cromwell's Protectorate (Woolrych 1972, 184).

Overall, the new constitution shifted the Protectorate back towards hereditary monarchical forms of government.[57] Sectarian soldiers and religious radicals consequently recognized the enactment of the new constitution and the upcoming redefinition of dissenters in Parliament as preparatory steps to return to monarchy. More importantly, for them, the Protectorate's attempt to tighten control over religion was equivalent to breaking a church settlement, which had been established by Oliver Cromwell in order to replace episcopal and Presbyterian ecclesiastical regimes.[58] Since the integral component of the church settlement was free conscience for

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[56] See S. R. Gardiner's *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660*, pp. 447-59.

[57] According to Woolrych's argument, the new constitution showed the emergence of a conservative party who were supported by civilians and purported to control the military party (1972, 187). The conservative party supported the national church and consisted of Presbyterians, Independents, and non-separating Congregationalist or "meer Catholicks" (Fletcher 228; Woolrych 1974, 197). Since this group accepted the national ecclesiastical system, it lacked the commitment to religious liberty of conscience. On the other hand, the majority of the Army was sectarian who rejected the national church and the university educated clergy (Fletcher 228; Woolrych 1974, 197). For sectarian soldiers, conservative party's attempt to reining religious liberty was equivalent to restraining the power of the army. The emergence of the conservative party and its attempt to tighten the regime's control over religion revealed that the divide between civilian and military supporters grew starker in Oliver Cromwell's last years (Woolrych 1954, 136).

[58] On the church settlement of Oliver Cromwell, see Jeffrey R. Collins' "The Church Settlement of Oliver Cromwell," pp. 18-40.

Protestants other than Anglicans, tightening governmental control over religion was reactionary to the achievements of revolution and only reinforced the split between civilian and military parties.

More specifically, for Milton, the Commonwealthsmen, and sectarians who refused the rule of a single person but supported a republic, the retrenchment of religious liberty in Richard Cromwell's Parliament meant a return to monarchy and a betrayal of the "Good Old Cause" that had supported revolution. According to Blair Worden, religious liberty was an essential part of the "Good Old Cause," which soldiers and saints wanted to establish through the Civil War (1984, 206). The goal of religious liberty resulted in a coalition among military and civil revolutionary parties. Liberty of conscience was related to two aspects of religious union: the first is the union of "the believer with Christ" for salvation; the second is a union of "believers with each other" for revolution (Worden 1984, 210). In particular, the union of believers with each other was fundamental for the "creation of a commonwealth fit for God's eye" (Worden 1984, 210). In this point, the concept of religious freedom contained two conflicting ideas between tolerance and unity. Oliver Cromwell made a compromise between these conflicting ideas by promoting unity through his support of tolerance (Barker 221; Davis 196). By supporting the idea that a godly magistracy should have a close partnership with a godly ministry, Oliver Cromwell sustained a national church system for the purpose of religious unity (Woolrych 1974, 197).[59] However, he achieved religious unity through his support of tolerance without coercive uniformity (Davis 206).[60] As a result, the center of religious controversy had moved away from liberty of conscience to a demand to reform the tithes, which supported the national ministry (Barker 223).

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[59] Oliver Cromwell followed a Protestant idea that the state should be "nursing father" to the church.

[60] In order to sustain the national church, Cromwell established the Triers (a central committee to examine and appoint new ministers) and Ejectors (local county committees to investigate and evict

However, Richard Cromwell's preference of the conservative party and attempted redefinition of dissenters in the upcoming Parliament evoked the issue of religious liberty again.[61] From September to March, Richard Cromwell faced ceaseless petitions urging him to suppress heretical sects by establishing "a national Presbyterian church" (Lewalski 2000, 361). Moreover, the Independent leaders' publication of *Declaration of the Faith and Order Owned and Practiced in the Congregational Churches in England* on October 12, 1658 supported tolerance only for church organizations, which could harmonize with religious orthodoxy (Lewalski 2000, 361). In addition to this political circumstance, Richard Cromwell's dislike of the sectarians and his preference for Presbyterian leaders gave the Commonwealthsmen, sectarian soldiers, and religious radicals, including Milton, reason to worry about a drastic restraint of religious liberty.[62] From their perspective, the issue of religious intolerance destroyed the unity of godly nations, which had eradicated a kingly tyrant, Charles I, and established a Protestant republic based on religious liberty. Also, Richard Cromwell's agenda invalidated a settlement between the military and civilian party because the majority of the army was sectarian and supported religious liberty.[63] Religious

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insufficient incumbent ministers) by ordinances in March and August 1654 (Collins 18).

[61] Richard favored the civilian leaders, and the Presbyterian majority in Parliament widened the rift between the conservative party and sectarian army officers (Smith and Little 151, 163, 169, 219).

[62] Richard Cromwell's appointment of Henry Cromwell as Lord Lieutenant gave the sectarian army a fear that he would reinforce his control of the army (Butler 95, 105). Significantly, since the sectarian majority in the army was a major proponent of the toleration of dissenters, the Protectorate's use of Parliament to establish laws controlling religion intensified the sectarians' suspicion that Richard Cromwell would support Parliamentary control of or destruction of the army (Hutton 9, 33).

[63] Richard Cromwell's reactionary drive not only alienated the sectarian army and religious radicals but also destabilized both the regime and Parliament by breaking the balance between the sectarian army and the civilian party.

intolerance ran counter to the revolutionary cause; thus, it was a crisis for the "Good Old Cause" that advocated further revolution.

2) Inward Persuasion and Stylistic Plainness

In this unfavorable political circumstance, Milton wrote *Civil Power* in order to support both the republican and revolutionary cause before the opening of Parliament on January 27, 1659. During Richard Cromwell's Protectorate, Milton still worked as Latin Secretary (Lewalski 2000, 359). However, in comparison to his service under Oliver Cromwell, Milton's political influence was relatively insignificant in Richard Cromwell's government. Furthermore, since Milton supported a different political ideal, which went against Richard Cromwell's reactionary politics, he constructed a public readership through the print market in order not only to remind his countrymen of the ideal of revolution but also to block the enactment of a bill that would restrain religious liberty.[64] To overcome his political weakness and obtain a wide readership, Milton uses a plain argument to convey his process of persuasion vividly under the millennial ideal. More significantly, Milton attempts to accommodate religious freedom in a plain style in order to construct a readership sympathetic to his goal of hindering the upcoming Parliament's enactment of a bill that would impede liberty of conscience.

While the civil magistrate's coercive language suppresses religious liberty through the enactment of law, Milton attempts to create a plain prose style, which emphasizes the spiritual freedom of the Gospel through his succinct argument in *Civil Power*. By using the Pauline

[64] On the relationship between Milton and Richard Cromwell, see Austin Woolrych's "Milton and Cromwell" pp. 185-212; William B. Hunter's "Milton and Richard Cromwell," pp. 252-291; E. Malcolm Hause, "The Nomination of Richard Cromwell," pp. 185-209.

opposition of the Law and the Gospel, Milton regards the magistrate's language as the letter that supports the Law of the Old Testament; thus, he indicates that the magistrate's language is coercive and a hindrance to the divine freedom of the Gospel. In order to support the idea that religious liberty is protected by the Gospel, Milton accommodates the divine freedom of the Gospel through the formal aspects of his work. In doing so, Milton emphasizes that the Gospel gives the saints freedom from coercion and that religious liberty is actualized through inward persuasion performed by the combination of human discursive power and divine grace. In this sense, for Milton, the issue of style and readership is closely related to religious liberty and freedom of the Holy Spirit.

According to Milton's explanation, the essential ground for why the Presbyterian majority has urged Richard Cromwell's parliament to reinforce the national church system is that God has designated the magistrate as keeper of tables of the Decalogue (*CPW* VII 271). Particularly, by "appealing" to the four commandments (which define sins against God) as evidence of state enforcement of religious control, the Presbyterian majority has pressed the magistrate to utilize sins of "blasphemy, impiety, idolatry, and heresy" as ways to suppress the radical sects (*CPW* VII 271; Lewalski 1967, 444). In order to argue with the Presbyterian strategy of religious regulation through the Mosaic Law, Milton not only attempts to redefine "blasphemy, impiety, idolatry, and heresy" but also contends that governmental regulation of religious liberty is "restraining" "the advancement of truth" by deploying the Pauline opposition of the Law and Grace (*CPW* VII 241).[65] By identifying the Law as a source of bondage for Protestants, Milton emphasizes the importance

[65] Milton employs St. Paul's argument as a theoretical framework for his defense of religious liberty. According to Wilbur E. Gilman's analysis, Milton cites thirty-nine of the seventy-two direct citations from St. Paul's writings (97). See also, Harris F. Fletcher's *The Use of the Bible in Milton's Prose,* pp. 103-105.

of the divine freedom of the Gospel and creates a stylistic brevity and succinctness, which embrace the divine freedom.

First of all, by connecting the Law to immature "childhood" and "bondage" through comparison with the Gospel, Milton criticizes governmental regulation of religion through the law as a revival of the Law, which would make Protestants slaves of the forceful letter either "willingly or unwillingly" (*CPW* VII 259). By emphasizing the Law as the source of bondage, which forces Protestants to obey the letter of the Law, Milton suggests that the magistrate's religious restraint not only demotes Protestants' status from the sons of "freeborne of the spirit" to sons of bondmen but also "abolishes the gospel by establish[ing] again the law to a far worse yoke of servitude upon us the before" (*CPW* VII 265). In sum, Milton reveals that the magistrate's real intention through regulating liberty is to reproduce the Law of "terror and satisfaction" and "a more greeveous yoke, the commandements of men" (*CPW* VII 263, 265). More importantly, Milton suggests that the magistrate's coercive language serves to corrupt Protestants as slaves of the Law through religious regulation:

> As well may the magistrate call that common or unclean which God hath cleansd,… as he may injoin those things in religion which God hath left free, and lay on that yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this gift as a special privilege and excellence of the free gospel above the servile law, but strictly also hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it. *Gal*. 5. 13. *you are calld to libertie*. 1 Cor. 7. 23. *be not made the servants of men* Gal. 5. 14. *stand fast therfore in the libertie wherwith Christ hath made us free; and be not entangl'd again with the yoke of bondage*. (*CPW* VII 263-64)

By interpreting the magistrate's religious regulation as designed to call that which God has cleansed unclean, Milton insists that the magistrate's language is untrustworthy and bullying in that it denies God's authority instead of following God's word and purports to burden Protestants again with the yoke of bondage. By making Protestants into children of bondsmen of the Law although Christ had already destroyed it, the magistrate's language is, Milton insists, a hindrance

to divine freedom and is coercive because it intends to legitimize the regulation of religious liberty, which the Scriptures plainly prohibit in the Gospel. Furthermore, by showing St. Paul's warnings "*be not made the servants of men*" and "*be not entangl'd again with the yoke of bondage*," Milton also wants to warn common readers that an "excess devotion to the letter of the Law" would produce "a legalistic attitude," which opposes the holy grace; thus, their attitude would lead them to death (O'Keeffe 127).

Milton's warning conforms to St. Paul's famous statement, God "hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (2 Corinthians 3:6). The "letter" means the complex Mosaic Law for salvation, and the Law controlled people as the bondsmen of the letter in the Old Testament because the Law determined salvation. However, since Christ replaced the Law with his Gospel, St. Paul warned the Corinthians that an excessive devotion to the letter of the Law would make the Corinthians slaves of the Law and would lead them to death because the Corinthians still confined themselves under sin instead of Christ's grace (O'Keeffe 127). In order to establish an antithesis between the slavery of the Law and the freedom of the Gospel, St. Paul not only uses "great plainness of speech" but also employs the metaphor of the veil (which represents the Law) that Moses put over the face of the Jews (2 Corinthians 3:12-13; O'Keeffe 140). By emphasizing that Christ rends the veil, St. Paul proclaims that the doctrine of slavery of the Law is repealed by the freedom of the Gospel (2 Corinthians 3:14). As a result, St. Paul concludes that "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (2 Corinthians 3:17).

St. Paul's argument not only provides a theoretical framework for Milton's defense of

religious liberty but also hints at the relationship between prose style and readership.[66] As St. Paul uses "great plainness of speech" in order to show the divine freeness of the Gospel, prose style ought to be plain as a way to construct a readership sympathetic to his authorial cause. By emphasizing liberty through the use of plain language, for St. Paul, plain style ought to confirm that readers are liberated from the complex Mosaic Law both in theme and formal style. By St. Paul's standards, the only way to construct a readership is through plain language that accommodates the freedom of the Gospel by eliciting the readers' support.

Milton employs St. Paul's standards in order to criticize the magistrate's coercive language. By applying St. Paul's standards to the magistrate's language, Milton insists that the magistrate's language not only ignores the divine freedom of the Gospel but also demotes readers into the bondsmen of the Law because the magistrate intends to construct a readership through compulsion instead of persuasion. For Milton, the method for destroying the yoke of law is to create a plain style, which contains the freeness of the Gospel by utilizing the Scriptures. Since religious liberty is the essence of the Gospel, for Milton, a plain prose style ought to accommodate the freeness of the Gospel both in argument and formal presentation without "terrifying" the reader with difficult words and adding "prolix" exposition:

> But some are ready to cry out, what shall then be don to blasphemie? Them I would first exhort not thus to terrifie and pose the people with a Greek word: but to teach them better what it is; being a most usual and common word in that language to signifie any slander,

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[66] St. Paul's writing is presented as an ideal model of plain style in John Wilkins's often-reprinted handbook on preaching, *Ecclesiastes or a Discourse concerning the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the rule of Art* (1646): "The *phrase* should be plain, full, wholesome, affectionate. 1. It must be *plain* and naturall, not being darkned with the affection of *Scholasticall*, harshnesse, or *Rhetoricall* flourishes. Obscurity in the discourse is an argument of ignorance in the minde. The greatest learning is to be seen in the great plainnesse. The most clearly we understand any thing our selves, the more easily can we expound it to others. When the notion it self is good, the best way to set it off, is in the most obvious plain expression. *S. Paul* does often glory in this" (105, his emphasis).

> any malitious or evil speaking, whether against God or man or anything to good belonging: blasphemie or evil speaking against God malitiously, is far from conscience in religion; according to that of *Marc 9. 39*. *there is none who doth a powerfull work in my name, and can likely speak evil of me*. If this suffice not,… in plane English, more warily more judiciously, more orthodoxally then twice thir number of divines have don in many a prolix volume. (*CPW* VII 246-47)

In order to resist the Presbyterian argument that the Decalogue created a duty for the magistrate to suppress blasphemy, Milton argues that no Protestant can suppress another Protestant because Christ prohibits his disciples from suppressing other followers of Christ: "*Marc 9. 39*. *there is none who doth a powerfull work in my name, and can likely speak evil of me*." Furthermore, by clarifying the word "blasphemy" in plain English and redefining blasphemy as any speech "against God or man or anything to good belonging," Milton objects to defining blasphemy as only "evil speaking against God." By expanding the definition of blasphemy to any speech against God or man, or anything good, Milton directly attacks the Presbyterian majority who use blasphemy as one of the sins against God in the four commandments in order to justify state enforcement of freedom of conscience. In doing so, Milton criticizes the magistrate's coercive strategy in using a Greek word (blasphemy) to terrify readers in order to burden them with the yoke of the bondage of the Decalogue. Furthermore, Milton respectively redefines "impiety, idolatry, and heresy" in order to reveal the accurate biblical meaning of those words under the new dispensation of grace (*CPW* VII 247). Through these redefinitions, Milton exhorts the magistrate not to terrify readers with foreign language but to teach them through common English in order to avoid making the readers into the children of the bondsmen of the letter. Moreover, Milton encourages the magistrate to liberate readers from prolixity by using plain English. By emphasizing the importance of plain style and argumentation in English, Milton not only reveals that the magistrate employs his language to revive the yoke of the bondage under the Law but also attempts to deliver the accurate meaning of

the Gospel in order to release readers from the burdensome restraint of the Law of terror and a grievous yoke of the commandments of men. For this purpose, Milton proclaims that he will "only borrow a plaine similie," which is supported by the Scriptures in order to argue with the magistrate's coercive language (*CPW* VII 248). Milton's proclamation corresponds to his justification of the use of English in his preface ("To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England with the Dominions Therof"). Milton claims that he wrote this treatise not in Latin but in English for an English audience in order to make his argument easy to read and to save readers from "much labor and interruption" (*CPW* VII 230). His justification postulates that two kinds of readers have difficulty reading in Latin: the Parliamentarians and common readers.[67] In comparison to the magistrate's use of foreign words, Milton purposely avoids Latin to make readers to understand his argument easily without any burden of interpretation. By writing this tract with a plain prose style in English, Milton attempts to elicit readers' approbation for defending Christian liberty of conscience through "an inward persuasion of the Christian dutie" (*CPW* VII 240).

Furthermore, Milton's proclamation conforms to his strategy of confuting the magistrate's language with a plain argument that uses only the Scriptures:

> But of these things, perhaps, more some other time; what may serve the present hath been above discourst sufficiently out of the scriptures: and to those produc'd might be added testimonies, examples, experiences of all succeeding ages to these times asserting this doctrine: but having herin the scripture so copious and so plane, we have all that can be properly calld true strength and nerve; the rest would be but pomp and incumbrance. Pomp and ostentation of reading is admir'd among the vulgar: but doubtless in matters of religion, he is learnedest who is planest... I rather chose the common rule, not to make much ado

[67] Assuming the Parliamentarians are intellectually inferior to himself, Milton creates an opportunity to educate the Parliamentarians to understand the aftermath of the enactment of a bill concerning religious regulation. At the same time, by angling toward common readers' level, Milton intends to elicit widespread support from common readers in order to block the enactment of a bill, which would restrain religious liberty.

> where less may serve, which in controversies and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read often, by many more, and with more benefit. (*CPW* VII 271-72)

By Milton's standards, the use of "testimonies, examples, experiences of all succeeding ages to these time" instead of biblical evidence leads to "pomp and incumbrance." For Milton, borrowing from other sources is equivalent to an encumbrance in understanding religious controversies (including the issue of religious liberty) because these strategies will mislead readers in their judgment of author's argument.[68] In sum, in contrast with employing the copious and plain Scriptures, deploying various other sources will impose unnecessary and cumbersome ideas for readers to comprehend. Moreover, Milton insists that choosing the common rule (the Scriptures) and using a similarly plain style is an effective way to help readers avoid "tedious" readings of text; thus, his tract is more apt to be read often and widely without any obstacle of understanding. By creating a plain style that addresses a specific public readership, Milton attempts to destroy the burden of the Law, which the magistrate's coercive language wants to impose upon the saints.

As a way to resist the magistrate's forceful language, Milton emphasizes inward persuasion performed by human discursive power in conjunction with the work of divine grace (Smallenburg 227). For Milton, Christian belief and practices are understood by inward persuasion through "revelation from above" and "human reason" without the magistrate's mediating words and law (*CPW* VII 242). In other words, inward persuasion is the process of eliciting Protestants' action not through outward force but through their will and understanding with the protection of

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[68]According to James Egan's argument, Milton borrows authority from "virtually every resource" including "patristics, contemporary politics, the classical canon, and the Bible" in his pamphlets of the 1640s (1997, 64). However, as Corns, Gilman, and Schwartz have noted, Milton's argument is entirely grounded in biblical proof texts in this tract (Corn 1992, 271; Gilman 80; Schwartz 231-32).

divine grace under the Gospel (*CPW* VII 255). By making a plain, discursive argument "through Gods implor'd assistance," Milton emphasizes the combination of human reason and divine power of inward persuasion as the way to follow God's words directly. His use of "cleer evidence of scripture and protestant maxims" in English for an English audience purports to convey inward persuasion simply in order to prove that the true Protestants follow neither state nor church custom but God's language (*CPW* VII 239). In sum, Milton's plainness is equivalent to his discursive method of persuasion, which will explain the freeness of divine illuminative power in the process of his inward persuasion. For Milton, plainness is a way to utilize the Scriptures both to show divine freeness of the Gospel and to create a readership through inward persuasion, by using language that is succinct language rather than coercive. In order to understand inward persuasion, it is necessary to examine his three important rules concerning liberty of religion:

> First, it cannot be deni'd being the main foundation of our protestant religion, that we of these ages, having no other divine rule or authoritie from without us warrantable to one another as a common ground but the holy scripture, and no other within us but the illumination of the Holy Spirit so interpreting that scripture as warrantable only to our selves and to such whose consciences we can so perswade, can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the scriptures. And these being not possible to be understood without this divine illumination, which no man can know at all times to be in himself…no man or body of men in these times can be the infallible judges or determiners in matter of religion to any other mens consciences but thir own. (*CPW* VII 242)

In this passage, the first rule for inward persuasion that Milton establishes is that "Protestant religion" uses the Scriptures only as the final judge in matters of religion. Secondly, Milton explains that the Bible can be understood through divine illumination of the Holy Spirit. Thirdly, no one can insist that their interpretation of the Scriptures is infallible as no one can be assured that divine illumination is always within themselves; thus, regardless of whether readers' interpretations are relevant or not, Milton contends that Protestants cannot hinder an individual believer's interpretation unless they intend to deny Christ's authority with their own interpretation,

similar to how the Pope monopolizes Christ's language (*CPW* VII 244).

In order to show these rules plainly, Milton uses verbal repetition, litotes and negative sentence constructions (Woods 199). He makes his argument lucid by repeating a limited lexical vocabulary such as "protestant," "religion," "divine," "rule," "illumination," "the holy scripture," "the Holy Spirit," and "conscience." Moreover, a parallel sentence structure such as "having no other divine rule," "no other within us," and "have no other ground" helps readers comprehend these rules easily. Furthermore, the use of litotes ("it cannot be deni'd") blocks readers' negative response to Milton's argument because the double negative concludes in a positive embracement of the argument. Lastly, the repetition of negative constructions ("no man") helps the reader accept the three rules because the negative sentences reinforce the idea that no man can deny them.

More importantly, Milton utilizes these three rules as his method of persuading readers. Using the first rule Milton employs the Scriptures to show the discursive reasoning process of persuading his readers. Using the second rule, Milton emphasizes the power of the illumination of divine grace as another way of inward persuasion. Milton's utilization of relevant biblical proof texts as a discursive method further contributes to validating the illuminative power of divine grace. More significantly, by combining these two rules Milton not only underlines the freeness of holy grace but also composes his tract with a plain style which imitates freedom in order to bolster his argument:

> I have shewn that the civil power hath neither right nor can do right by forcing religious things: I will now shew the wrong it doth; by violating the fundamental privilege of the gospel, the new-birthright of everie true beleever, Christian libertie. *2 Cor.3.17. where the spirit of the Lord is, there is libertie. Gal. 4. 26. Jerusalem which is above, is free; which is the mother of us all.* and *31.* w*e are not children of the bondwoman but of the free*. It will be sufficient in this place to say no more Christian libertie, then that it sets us free not only from the bondage of those ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those circumstances, place and time in the worship of God: which though by him commanded in the old law, yet in respect of that veritie and freedom which is euangelical, S. *Paul*

> comprehends both kindes alike, that is to say, both ceremonie and circumstance, under one and the same contemptuous name of *weak and beggarly rudiments, Gal. 4.3.9*,*10*. *Col*. *2. 8*. with *16*: conformable to what our Saviour himself taught *John 4. 21, 23. neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem. In spirit and in truth: for the father seeketh such to worship him*. that is to say, not only sincere of heart, for such he sought ever, but also, as the words here chiefly import, not compelld to place, and by the same reason, not to any set time…These and other such places of scripture the best and learnedest reformed writers have thought evident anough to instruct us in our freedom not only from ceremonies but from those circumstances also. (*CPW* VII 262-63)

In the above passage, by explaining that religious regulation is "commanded in the old law" by God, Milton reveals that the magistrate's language is under the influence of the Old Law; thus it cannot contain God's new lessons under the Gospel. By citing essential biblical evidence of the Pauline opposition of the Law and the Gospel after his main argument, Milton insists that the magistrate's language violates Christian liberty, which is protected by God's free grace.[69] By effective deployment of scriptural proof texts, Milton suggests that the magistrate's language destroys the new birthright and denies the divine illuminative power of holy grace among individual readers. Moreover, by calling the ceremonial and the ecclesiastical aspects of the Law a "weak and beggarly rudiment," Milton derides the magistrate's language because it is an obstacle to understanding divine freeness. Whereas by connecting God's free grace ("the fundamental privilege of the Gospel") to verity and freedom of individual conscience ("sincere of heart") through St. Paul's and Christ's words, Milton combines the scriptural discursive process and the divine illuminative power of persuasion as ways of inward persuasion. By reinforcing the freeness of divine grace as the essential point of the Gospel through scriptural evidence, Milton proves that

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[69] William B. Hunter argues that Milton creates a successful rhetorical strategy by making dramatic dialogues between two disputants when Milton argues with Erastian opponent (*CPW* VII 234). I think that Milton composes dialogues between the Bible and himself when he quotes the biblical proof texts in order to reinforce his argument. Egan also points out Milton's dialogical deployment "might indeed make 'contreoversies' less 'tedious,' perhaps even 'read ofter, by many more'" (1997, 61).

relying on divine grace does not increase extremes of individuality but contributes to unite Protestants as Christ's followers "in spirit and in truth." Thus, Milton allows the non-conformists to enjoy their interpretative liberty of religion.

Furthermore, like "the best and learnedest reformed writers" of the Scriptures who supported freedom from any regulation, Milton attempts to accommodate the freeness of holy grace in the formal aspects of his work in order to emphasize divine liberty. For this purpose, Milton does not quote full scriptural texts. By citing relevant sections concerning divine liberty and eliminating unnecessary parts of 2 Corinthians 3:17, Galatians 4:26, and John 4:21, 23, Milton not only shows the essence of scriptural evidence but also emphasizes the freedom of spiritual power over the power of letter. By composing his sentences as succinctly as possible through concise citation of the Bible, in the formal presentation of his text Milton employs scriptural evidence and style in order to validate liberty of religion.

Moreover, Milton's literal reading of the Bible also contributes to making his style lucid as a way of imitating the plain style of the Bible. By avoiding the addition of new and complex interpretations of his proof texts, Milton also develops his argument straightforwardly without hesitation or digression; thus, his directness helps not only to liberate readers from the burdensome restraint of interpretation but also to focus on the biblical message that religious liberty is Christ's lesson. Milton's literal reading of the Bible as a way to imitate plain style results in avoidance of "the periodic sentence, in which the main idea remains suspended while additions and qualifications are introduced" (Hamilton 308). By showing the main idea first and developing his discursive logic progressively, Milton leads readers to concentrate on religious freedom without imposing any interpretive burden through his language and style. Furthermore, Milton does not use any redundant adjectives but constructs his sentences with simple word order in order to

eliminate unnecessary embroidery of words and to make his writing succinct like the style of the Bible. In doing so, Milton diminishes his authority and increases St. Paul's and Christ's authority (*CPW* VII 244-45; Egan 1997, 64). Consequently, by emphasizing that religious freedom is a plain fact which St. Paul and Christ teach in the Bible, Milton's style not only contributes to show the superiority of divine freedom over the Law but also supports the idea that religious freedom cannot be argued with.

Lastly, the effectiveness of Milton's sounds and rhythm emphasizes the freeness of the Gospel and the burden of ceremony and law at the same time: "then that it sets us free not only from the bondage of those ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those ceremonies, place and time in the worship of God" (*CPW* VII 262). The clear difference between the Gospel and the Law is reinforced through the contrast of the short syllables in the term of "free" and the long syllables in the term of "ceremonies." Also, by adding the adjective "forcible" only in front of ceremony Milton emphasizes the bondage of the Old Law both in meaning and formal expression. Nevertheless, the combination of the assonance of "e" and "o" creates a neat and unencumbered rhythm which shows the lightness and straightforwardness of a plain style that emulates the free movement of holy grace. These formal aspects support the idea that that the freedom of divine grace is realized without the restraint of the letter. While the magistrate's language is equivalent to a false prophet's language, which reimposes the burden of the law on readers, Milton's plain style accommodates the power of holy grace in its very form. As a result, Milton combines his discursive reasoning process with divine power; thus, the formal devices help elicit an inward persuasion easily from a wider readership.

From the first and the second rules, by combining discursive reasoning and divine illumination within his prose style, Milton attempts to create an authorship, which undermines

coercive ecclesiastical and civil authority. However, the problem is that since no one can know whether an individual reader's inward interpretation is true or not, Milton has to provide a more reliable guide which rebuts the magistrate's attacking claim that relying on divine freedom can lead the non-conformists to pursue an incorrect interpretation of religion. In order to block the magistrate's attack and provide a more reliable guide to religious interpretation, Milton provides a third rule that no one can replace Christ's position as the sole and rightful king. By providing the millennial ideal as a more reliable guide in religious interpretation, Milton protects the free interpretation of the Scriptures:

> *1 Cor. 2. 15. the spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judgd of no man.* Chiefly for this cause do all true protestants account the pope antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this infallibilitie over both the conscience and the scripture; *siting in the temple of God*, as it were opposite to God, *and exalting himself above all that is called god, or is worship*, 2 Thess. 2. 4 That is to say not only above all judges and magistrates, who though they be calld gods, are far beneat infallible, but also above God himself, by giving law both to the scripture, to the conscience, and to the spirit it self of God within us. Whenas we finde, *James 4. 12, there is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: who are thou that judgest another?* That Christ is the only lawgiver of his church and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well grounded Christian will deny. (*CPW* VII 244)

Milton's defines the Pope as the Antichrist because the Pope's assurance that his interpretation is infallible is akin to giving new law both "to the scripture, to the conscience, and to the spirit it self of God." In other words, the Pope's monopoly on interpretation within Catholicism establishes his kingship above God. In addition, Milton identifies the person who regulates the liberty of interpretation as the Antichrist, like the Pope, because this person also monopolizes God's language; thus, he is going to sit "*in the temple of God"* and "*exalt…himself above all that is called god, or is worship*." By this standard, the magistrate who attempts to regulate religious liberty through the enactment of law creates a new law of his own instead of following God's language in both his cognitive and spiritual realms. As a result, the magistrate's language violates the notion

that "Christ is the only lawgiver of his church" and kingdom. By using the millennial ideal, Milton argues that the Protectorate's restraint of religious liberty through Parliament's support not only violates Christ's authority but also makes both Richard Cromwell and Parliament into the potential weapons of the Antichrist. By identifying the Lord Protector and Parliament as potential Antichrists, Milton imposes a divine responsibility upon readers to block the magistrate's enactment of a law, which would restrain religious liberty. In sum, Milton's third rule of persuasion, the millennial ideal, guarantees the right for the radical sects to interpret religious matter within both the discursive process of the Scriptures and the divine illumination of the Holy Spirit.

Milton's plainness purports to combine human discursive process with divine illuminative power in order to convince readers through inward persuasion, which is the essential element that unites Christ and his followers under the freedom of the Gospel. By connecting religious liberty to the freeness of the holy grace and accommodating spiritual freeness in his plain prose, Milton not only attempts to liberate readers from the burden of the magistrate's coercive law but also elicits common readers' support of his authorial cause. In doing so, Milton not only directly warns the Parliamentarians not to violate either godly authority or the Protestant revolutionary cause by enacting a law that hinders religious liberty, but also utilizes common readers' support as a way to block the Parliamentarians' enactment of the law. Milton's withdrawal to an inward and spiritual dimension is not an evidence of his abandonment of millenarianism but a powerful way to interrupt the political suppression of religious liberty.

4. Conclusion

Trapnel and Milton both use millennial thought as a basis for literary experimentation, thereby enhancing their authorial legitimacy in order to reform the national church system and to

expand politico-religious liberty by embodying God's divine power within their writing. By identifying the civil magistrate's corrupt and coercive language as a satanic force, Trapnel and Milton reinforce their language and literary style as divine methods of conducting a verbal battle against the civil magistrate, aiming at creating their public readership. In doing so, Trapnel and Milton's new literary style offsets their political disfavor and subversive arguments against the regime by fashioning the revolutionary reader as a judge and by eliciting readers' advocacy for their arguments. Trapnel and Milton's political disfavor and radical arguments against the regime result in the creation of a new literary style, which facilitates the construction of a readership sympathetic to their resistance against two Cromwellian regimes' reactionary politics.

Despite these commonalities, however, there are also differences between Trapnel's and Milton's employment of language and literary style for criticizing extant regimes. In comparison to Trapnel, Milton easily develops his argument in his plain style without complex justification of his authority as a writer. While Trapnel devises various ways of legitimizing her authorship including use of her autobiography, authoritative witnesses of her prophecy, the Scriptures, millennial vision, and various forms of hybrid genre, Milton confines the sources of his authority to the Bible, the Holy Spirit, and the millennial ideal. Moreover, Trapnel's intense criticism of formal authority is amplified through ecstatic prophecy. Milton, in contrast, maintains a refined and direct tone through his explication of the Scriptures. In short, Milton transforms his style from amplification (the typical rhetorical feature of his 1640s pamphlets) to simplicity like his other 1659 pamphlets in order to construct a common readership that can effectively bolster his authorial cause. Meanwhile, Trapnel deploys both amplification and clarity in order to build a readership, which strengthens her authorial legitimacy. Milton's relative ease in elaborating his argument through the plain style raises the question of why Trapnel could not solely use a simple style alone.

As a way to explain why Trapnel mingles amplification and clarity as the rhetorical strategy instead of using plainness only as Milton dose, I concentrate on gendered ecstatic prophecy. In contrast with Milton's relative ease in creating a public readership through stylistic plainness, Trapnel faces the double burden of proving the authenticity of her prophecy for a common readership: 1) providing credentials for her godly calling; 2) creating a literary product that embodies the Holy Spirit. Trapnel's stylistic amplification in prose prophecy functions as a method for providing many credentials for emphasizing her status as a divine vessel of God. Moreover, by refining her prophecy in an orderly fashion through her verse prophecy, Trapnel proves that her prophecy is not only a divinely inspired product but also clarifies her message plainly as the goal of constructing readership. By mingling amplification and clarity, Trapnel creates a non-conformist poetics, which generates a balance between sectarian liberty and divine order; thus, her poetics elicits sympathy from common readers and protects the prophecy against any containment from hostile readers of female prophecy. For Trapnel, while amplification is a way to authorize her prophecy, clarity of verse is designed to give a clear and systematic representation of her vision in order to offset the negative connotations of female prophecy (in particular, ecstatic prophecy). By imposing supernatural and rational authority on her prophecy, Trapnel maximizes her rhetorical power in order to engage in and argue with governmental discourse even as she overcomes the double burden of female prophecy. By showing both the divine and artistic power to articulate divine providence, Trapnel's style not only places her ecstatic prophecy within rational discourse but also clearly vindicates her prophecy as more than the negative other of the dominant governmental discourse of Oliver Cromwell's regime. Trapnel's aesthetic deliberation of style exhibits her polemical skill, composing her prophetic discourse in both supernatural and rational ways in order to obtain readers' sympathy and to challenge dominant governmental discourse.

Lastly, Milton's will to reform the extant regime's politico-religious policies resonates with his literary and stylistic theories, as in Trapnel's case. In *Civil Power* Milton attempts to build a readership for his agenda to defend liberty of conscience through a combination of withdrawal to a spiritual dimension and innovation in the text's formal aspects. Milton's withdrawal to a spiritual dimension to create his new literary style not only reflects his lifelong convictions on the importance of plainness in religious issues, but also demonstrates that his plain style is not a fixed style but is transformed to build an effective readership by using a millennial vision according to his political needs. In this respect, Milton's stylistic innovations based on the spiritual element heralds that he will withdraw to a spiritual dimension in order to change his literary style into a form optimized to achieve his authorial goals after the Restoration. However, in comparison with Trapnel's poetics, Milton does not produce a complex prophetic voice and poetics in *Civil Power* by employing only copious and plain Scriptural allusions to elicit Protestants' action. While Trapnel attempts to create her plain style by making a non-conformist poetics through the skillful deployment of various literary devices and genres, Milton accomplishes his stylistic plainness by focusing on exegesis of the Scriptures. Despite Trapnel and Milton's shared political weakness and employment of subversive arguments, Trapnel's highly marginalized political position and gender weakness require her to compose her prophecy through a complicated process in order to fashion a readership sympathetic to her goal.

Chapter V. White and Milton's Imminent Internal Millenarianism and Poetic Ministry

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the experiences of White and Milton in coping with the governmental oppression that accompanied the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy.[70] More specifically, this chapter studies the ways in which White's two tracts from 1662 and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) employ prophetic language both to console persecuted readers who supported the British Commonwealth and to build a readership that pursues republican values as a way to continue to accomplish the incomplete revolution after the Restoration. In doing so, this chapter argues that White and Milton's efforts to find a new vision amid governmental persecution resulted in the creation of unique literary style that was designed to fashion a fit readership that opposes the discourse of the restored Stuart regime.

For White and Milton, the return of the Stuart monarchy heralded a period of extreme repression that threatened the survival of pro-republican political forces. In order to prevent the dissolution of pro-republican political forces and ensure their survival amid this severe oppression, White and Milton promoted the idea of an imminent internal millennium as the fourth stage of millenarianism. Although they utilize the millennial prophecy—that Christ's kingdom is at hand—to warn the regime (which they viewed as an antichristian force and a counterpart to ancient Egypt, the persecutors of the Israelites), White and Milton concentrate on the spiritual regeneration of readers, not on the kingdom in which Christ will actually rule on earth. By internalizing Christ's kingdom, White and Milton portray the interiority of individual readers, protected by the authority

[70] For the experiences of the failures of Milton and radical women dissenters in the 1650s and 1660s, see Elizabeth M. Sauer's pioneering work, "The Experience of Defeat: Milton and Some Female Contemporaries" in *Milton and Gender*, pp.133-52.

of God, as a resistant space that can continue to develop their revolutionary cause, avoiding governmental intervention and censorship.

In utilizing the readers' interiority to create a discourse of resistance, White and Milton both use poetic ministry to comfort oppressed readers and to persuade them to adhere to the republican cause. By creating new and harmonious songs that encourage readers to increase the Inner Light or the Light of Christ or the Spirit of Christ or the Inward Christ within them while enhancing their intimacy with Christ, White's poetic ministry not only consoles and unites persecuted Quaker communities but also justifies the Quakers' cause to new audiences in order to build the community of true believers. Similarly, by innovating a new poetic form for Christian epic, Milton's poetic ministry comforts readers and encourages them to become citizens capable of self-government, interpreting their difficulties with the eyes of faith as well as with rational faculty. White and Milton thus fashion prophetic styles that are meant to inspire readers to overcome their present tribulations as a process of refining their faith in the hope of the spiritual return of Christ to earth.

However, despite these similarities, differences in White and Milton's poetic ministry reflect the disparity of socio-political power as well as gender politics between them. Milton insists on the importance of internal self-government through reason, without any defense of his prophetic cry. White, on the other hand, claims that her verse prophecies are the product of a harmonious unity with the Spirit of Christ in order to offset her inferior position in terms of socio-political power and gender politics. As a female leader of the Quakers—the last major surviving sect of the extremism of the 1650s and a group that was most severely persecuted—White, like other early Quaker leaders, sometimes wrote while in prison to sustain the Quaker movement. Not only did White not have any social and political authority to be a public defender of the Quaker movement,

but also the government's intense repression prevented her from appealing to a wider readership. Ironically, this impasse increased White's reliance on publishing, leading her to depend solely on developing her own religious authority in opposition to state authority as well as identifying her target audience as a chosen remnant within a corrupted British society. Instead of galvanizing a broad general audience toward collective public activity, White inspires a chosen few to focus on a universal God-given Inner Light or the Spirit of Christ dwelling in every person that she believed could unite them into one. By taking advantage of the power of the Spirit of Christ, which integrates Christ with believers and creates spiritual equality among believers, regardless of gender and social status, White endeavors to overcome social and political constraints on women's speaking. Furthermore, by composing her verse prophecies in a manner close to the divine motion of the Spirit of Christ, White seeks to arouse the Spirit of Christ in her readers and, consequently, strengthen the unifying power of Christ in them. For White, the unifying power of the Spirit of Christ is the key to consolidating Quaker solidarity and to informing new readers of the divine legitimacy of the Quaker movement. As the product of the heavenly harmony created by the holy anointing of the Spirit of Christ, White's poetic ministry through the language of election and covenant aims to transcend the authority of the state and build a community of true believers to be distinguished from the false worship of the established national Church.

Milton also makes the righteous few his target audience through the language of election and covenant. However, contrary to White, Milton utilizes this discourse to emphasize the importance of internal self-governance by reason as well as religious awakening. More specifically, while White emphasizes the prophetical role of a group as the chosen elect in order to turn the experience of failure due to the Restoration into an opportunity to achieve spiritual growth and inner autonomy in sustaining religious and political freedom, Milton prioritizes the birth of a self-

governed individual reader. By linking his contemporary readers to the biblical figures of the just few who are persecuted by the unjust many, Milton seeks to nurture individual readers who can govern themselves with reason and virtue based on faith. For Milton, readers can enhance their internal self-governance through reason and virtue in order to confront political oppression and to continue to seek God's righteous way. Milton creates a postlapsarian poetics of pastoral care to console readers and to help them develop their capacity of discernment to establish their inner self-rule. In contrast to traditional epics that praise victories achieved through duels or armed struggles, Milton's postlapsarian poetics strives to embolden readers to learn Christ's "better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" (*PL* 9.31-32) as a way to study how to govern themselves. By artfully constructing and controlling metrical variations without using grandiose rhetoric, Milton utilizes blank verse to invite readers to slow down, be more discerning of their spiritual freedom, and achieve their political autonomy. By encouraging readers to follow the rule of reason and detect the "truth," Milton's postlapsarian poetics purports to nurture a self-governable reader who can constantly explore the world afresh and discover a new path without surrendering to external oppressive forces or laws. By designing a poetic style suitable for postlapsarian interiority, Milton undertakes poetic ministry for pastoral care to the afflicted readers. In doing so, Milton guarantees them opportunity to preserve their individuality and freedom in cultivating their independent judgments in harmony with God's righteous way, not the rule of the Restoration regime.

2. White's Poetic Consolation and Ministry through the Imminent Internal Millenarianism

1) The Early Quakers' Suffering, Survival, and Print after the Restoration

While Margaret Ezell called in 1993 for the investigation of the role of early Quaker women's writings in defining early Quaker literary style (140), full-fledged research on White's

style has not yet appeared even though White is a major early Quaker female author, second only to Margaret Fell Fox in importance.[71] Because studies of early Quaker literary style have concentrated only on prose, White, who is the most prolific female poet of the early Quaker movement, has attracted little attention from literary scholars.[72] Critics, particularly, have been indifferent to White's literary strategy of utilizing verse to represent her spiritual experiences during the Restoration. By analyzing White's verse prophecies in two works from 1662, I will investigate the ways in which the Quakers' experience of the frustrated dreams of the Interregnum era and their subsequent suppression by the post-Restoration regime triggered a new literary form that embodies White's millennial vision promised by the Spirit of Christ.[73] In doing so, I suggest that her depiction of the millennial kingdom through a unique poetics is intended to show her intimacy with the Spirit of Christ in order not only to comfort frustrated Quaker communities but also to maintain their network during the restored regime's severe repression of the Quakers in the 1660s. By presenting her verse prophecy as the product of the heavenly harmony created by the holy anointing of the Spirit of Christ, White's poetic ministry seeks to convince readers of unifying

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[71] Michele Lise Tarter concurs with Rosemary Moore's assertion that Margaret Fell Fox and White are the "only" two major early Quaker women authors because they spread their knowledge more than any Quaker woman of the seventeenth-century through their prolificity (Moore 2000, 125; Tarter 169). Statistically speaking, White is the second most prolific writer after Margaret Fell Fox and is "the most prolific writer of verse" among early Quaker women (Moore 2000, 169, 206).

[72] For studies on Quaker literary style, see Jackson I. Cope's "Seventeenth-Century Quaker Style"; Margaret Ezell's *Writing Women's Literary History*, pp. 132-160; Richard Bauman's *Let Your Words Be Few*, pp.7, 20-31.

[73] White's two tracts were published as a single book in 1662: *A Trumpet of the Lord of Hosts Blown unto the City of London and unto the Inhabitants thereof: Proclaiming the Great and Notable Day of the Lord God, which is coming swiftly on them all, as a Thief in the Night. And this is the Cry of the Lord God, which is gone forth unto thy Inhabitants* and *A Trumpet Sounded out of the Holy City, Proclaiming Deliverance to the Captives, Sounding forth the Redemption of Sion which hasteneth. And this is sent unto all her Blessed Children, who wait for her Advancement; this Message of Glad Tydings from GOD the Father of our Lord Jesus, is sent unto you all*.

power of the Spirit of Christ, which is able to teach and direct persecuted Quaker communities how to consolidate their Quaker identity.

More specifically, as a divine agent for the Spirit of Christ, White's poetic ministry purports not only to reassure persecuted Quaker communities that they are on the side of God, but also to strengthen their cohesiveness with the same apocalyptic vision in order to withstand repression by the old order of the monarchy. Furthermore, as a way to inform a wider readership of the divine legitimacy of the Quaker movement, White emphasizes the power of the Spirit of Christ that makes it possible to attract and convert new audiences by enabling unity between the author and the reader who is not a Quaker. By showing that her writing harmonizes with the motion of the Spirit of Christ and is a means to worship God in truth and in spirit, White's poetic ministry aims not only to recruit non-Quakers but also to elicit the readers' solidarity in order to ensure the survival of the early Quakers during a time of government oppression. To this end, White uses stylistic choices, including a transition from prose to verse writing, to elicit emotions in her readers that parallel the religious experiences she is describing.

White's intention to utilize the press in this poetic ministry is revealed by the fact that she actively published her texts after the Restoration. White's prolificacy in the 1660s is closely related to the heightened importance of publishing during the period of early Quakers persecutions. When Quaker leaders were arrested and imprisoned, printed texts played a key practical role in sustaining Quaker ministry because they were an efficacious means of spreading Quaker ideas wider in lieu of oral preaching. Moreover, the need for enduring governmental repression led White to employ a poetic ministry to envision a new internal vision that maintains the hope of the millennial kingdom frustrated by the Restoration. In order to grasp White's faith in the utility of a poetic ministry through the press during a period of severe suffering, I will survey the restored

monarchical government's repression of the Quakers.

Before the Convention Parliament proclaimed Charles II as the legitimate monarch of England, Scotland, and Ireland in May 1660, Charles II reassured the dissenters by promising "a degree of religious toleration" through the Declaration of Breda in April 1660 (Allen 30). However, despite Charles II's aspiration of finding a religious settlement based on tolerance, the division within his court on ecclesiastical policy caused tremendous disruption in the process of deciding what level of tolerance the Convention Parliament should allow the dissenters (Seaward 163).[74] The Convention Parliament eventually was dissolved without any legislation on satisfactory religious tolerance for the dissenters (Davis 125).

The task of enacting measures for toleration was passed to the newly elected Cavalier Parliament of 1661. However, instead of supporting Charles II's policy of engaging with the dissenters, the Cavalier Parliament initiated a legislative offensive against the dissenters without any hesitation. Thomas Venner's abortive arising against the government in January 1661 in London provided a fair pretext for the Cavalier Parliament to implement repression of the dissenters (Marx 117). The aborted violent insurrection not only lent greater credence to the suspicion that the dissenters' allegiance to the regime was questionable, but also unleashed a great fear from the ruling class that disillusioned radicals would revolt against the monarchy (Allen 30). Accordingly, the strong Anglican and royalist majority of the Cavalier Parliament utilized this rebellion to enact a series of repressive laws known as the Clarendon Code, after Charles II's first minister, as a way to enforce the dissenters' conformity to the Church of England (Moore 2000,

[74] Anglican clergymen and royalist landowners did not support the king's engagement policy, and the courtiers, who agreed with them, pressured the Convention Parliament to coerce sectaries into the established Church (Allen 30).

182).

Although it intended to restrict the activities of the dissenters who would not conform to the national Church, the Clarendon Code had a devastating effect on the early Quakers because the Cavalier Parliament particularly aimed to suppress the Quaker movement.[75] The Cavalier Parliament suspected that the early Quakers, who were the last major surviving sect of the extremism of the 1650s, had the intention of overthrowing the established national Church as well as creating social and political disruption (Allen 30). According to Barry Reay's assessment, the Quakers' disrespect for codes of social deference, harassment of ministers, radical theological belief, and opposition to tithes was sufficient to arouse Anglican ministers and gentry's animosity towards the Quakers, which resulted in extreme suppression of the Quakers more than any of the other radical sectarian groups (1978, 204).[76]

The most relevant regulations to the early Quakers among the Clarendon Code were the Corporation Act and the so-called Quaker Act (Davies 171). First, the Cavalier Parliament targeted Quaker leaders and aimed to disqualify them from holding public office by passing the Corporation Act in 1661, which forbade the dissenters to take public office unless they took Anglican communion (Key 98). Next, the Cavalier Parliament broadened governmental suppression of the Quaker movement by enacting the Quaker Act on 2 May 1662, which criminalized any persons who refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance and assembled together for worship outside the parish

[75] In the aftermath of Venner's revolt, nearly five thousand Quakers were imprisoned by March of 1661 (Moore 2000, 180; Reay 1985, 106). Furthermore, the Clarendon Code intensified the regime's repression against the early Quakers.

[76] Even Reay argues that fear of an armed Quaker rebellion contributed to the change in public opinion that led to the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 (1985, 30).

church in numbers of five or more (Reay 1983, 73; 1980, 388).[77] This legislation attacked the Quakers at their roots because the punishment of lawbreakers of this act was harsh.[78] As the act came into force, the Quaker meetings were frequently raided, and the attendees were attacked and incarcerated (Moore 2000, 183). What was deadly to the Quaker movement was that most of its great leaders died in prison, and the survivors suffered lengthy incarcerations as a result of the mass imprisonment of the Quakers that lasted from 1662 to 1669 (Barbour 227). Most importantly, circulating Quaker ideals through publishing was the only weapon available to the early Quakers who wanted to sustain their movement as the Clarendon Code prohibited Quaker gatherings and confined violators to prison. The more the regime repressed the Quakers, the greater the utility of a Quaker ministry through print.

The Cavalier Parliament also sought to curb publication by enacting the Licensing Act on 19 May 1662 (Keeble 2002, 148). Nevertheless, its attempts to control information and publication were unsuccessful in deterring the Quaker ministry of print (Moore 2000, 187). Although Sir Roger L'Estrange searched for violators actively after the Licensing Act went into effect, the Quakers still were prolific writers who were able to publish on average 75 works a year between 1660 and 1699 (Green and Peters 70, 75).[79] Despite censorship, the Quakers continued to utilize the publishing market because they had maintained good relationships with publishers from the outset of the Quaker movement.

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[77] The Quaker Act developed into the Conventicle Act of 1664 that forbade attending non-conformist religious meetings of more than five persons other than the same household (Key 99).
[78] The penalties were multiplied according to repetition of the offence: 5£ fine or three months imprisonment for a first offence; 10£ fine or six months for the second offence; and transportation or objurgation of the realm for the third offence (Reay 1983, 74).
[79] Over 600 different Quaker authors published nearly 3,000 works between 1660 and 1669 (Green and Peters 75).

The first Quakers knew that ministry through publication was appropriate for their long-distance missions since their local meetings were maintained by itinerant ministers without resident preachers (Peters 36). In order to offset the shortcomings of travelling ministry, early Quaker leaders exploited printed pamphlets and books, and this tactic contributed to the quick growth of their infant movement (Green and Peters 70). More significantly, the absence of preaching ministers caused early Quaker authors to "maintain their own personal status as preachers and prophets" and assert that their printed writings "should be regarded in the same light as their preaching" (Peters 29). This conflation of preaching, prophesying, and publishing was intended to "achieve a form of group cohesion and discipline" in the Quaker communities in the absence of the leaders (Peters 36). Furthermore, in order to carry out their campaigns through publishing, the early Quakers had kept a good relationship with radical London printers and had established "distribution networks" in the 1650s (Green and Peters 75). These efforts had facilitated their ministry as Quakers published with the help of sympathetic printers and stationers even in times of strict censorship (Green and Peters 70, 75). Early Quaker authors were able to publish their writings with the printers' names after 1663 (Moore 2000, 187). Even in detention, Quaker leaders turned to publication as a way both to spread the Quaker cause to public and to console the ranks of Quakers. White joined in this ministry through the print by publishing her prophecies mostly during this period of severe persecution.

In order to understand the early Quakers' unswerving faith in the power of print, it is necessary to know that they saw publication as an agent of the Spirit of Christ. The early Quakers asserted that the Inner Light, the Light of Christ, the Spirit of Christ, or the Inward Christ, or the Word of God, which had "moved" the apostles to write the Bible, "was also present in them" (Peters 30). Consequently, the Quakers had confidence that the Light of Christ dwelling in their

writings would carry out the divine works of awaking and reinforcing the Light of Christ residing in every reader. This belief takes the medium of print to be the agent of Christ and suggests that reading Quaker literature is a way to convert potential followers and to heal persecuted fellow Quakers as the apostles did by the power of the Spirit of Christ.[80]

White not only shares the idea that the act of reading unites the Light of Christ found within the texts with the Inner Light found within the reader, but also utilizes her prophecies to reassure her fellow persecuted Quakers and to maintain their loyalty to the movement. White uniquely employs her prophetic verse to ask her fellow Quakers to find joy in their present tribulations as a process of refining faith in the hope of the kingdom of Christ. By creating new and harmonious songs that embody the joy of the expected liberation of the Quakers caused by the coming of the harmonious new world of Christ's kingdom, White enhances readers' intimacy with Christ and leads them to worship God in truth and in spirit in order to build the community of true believers who can overcome any trials with the power of God. By showing that her prophetic verse and the motion of the Spirit of Christ are in harmony, White's poetic ministry functions as a polemical tool both in justifying the Quakers' activity to new audiences and in consoling and uniting persecuted Quaker communities with the same vision of Christ's kingdom.

2) Intimacy with the Spirit of Christ and Reflection on the Form of Worship

For White, showing her intimacy with the Spirit of Christ requires her to overcome Saint

[80] Catie Gill argues that in addition to print's practical function of proselytization, the early Quakers particularly placed enormous value on reading printed texts as an instrument to maintain existing Quaker networks (115). By offering solace to persecuted coreligionists, Quaker ministry through publication attempted to unite its followers and ensure their devotion to the Quaker movement.

Paul's teaching that women should keep silent in the church. In contrast to Grace M. Jantzen's assertion that early Quaker women writers "never apologi[z]e for their gender or for claiming the right to preach and write" (139), White, through the Quaker belief in the Inner Light, defends her right to speak in violation of the Pauline edict forbidding women to speak.[81] The early Quakers maintained that God's word is freely given to all human beings through a universal God-given Inner Light dwelling in every person regardless of age, gender, and social status (Ezell 137). This belief in the Inner Light guarantees early Quaker women writers the freedom to create their own language as a means of shaping their spiritual experiences without reliance on external, unregenerate authorities (Ezell 139).[82] While being faithful to this tradition, White produces some variations.[83] White distinguishes men and women in terms of eligibility to deliver God's message, although she espouses the idea that God reveals his message through spiritually regenerated people without any discrimination between male and female. Unusually, White's criterion for differentiating men and women is not biological gender differences, but whether they are moved by the Holy Spirit, or the Inner Light, or the eternal power of the living God. As she notes in *A Call from God out of Egypt by his Son Christ the Light of Life* (1662),

> And so from the Revelations of God [the prophets] spake from the movings of his holy Spirit: but all, before they come unto this, must come unto silence, and so learn of Christ, the husband, the head of the Woman, which is to keep silence: in the Church all flesh ought to be silenc'd, but he or she that is born of God, who are Members of the same Body which was raised by the eternal Power of the Father, such as are Witnesses of his Resurrection,

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[81] For the various ways Quaker women justified their prophesying, see Elaine Hobby's "Handmaids of the Lord and Mothers in Israel: Early Vindications of Quaker Women's Prophecy," pp. 91-96.

[82] For the relationship between the doctrine of the Inner Light and early Quaker women writers' autonomy to write, see Margaret Ezell's *Writing Women's Literary History*, pp.137-141.

[83] In *A Trumpet of the Lord of Host Blown unto the City of London*, White regards the search for the Inner Light as the core of spiritual regeneration: "Let every man come home to *within*, and search his own house, that he may find that precious Pearl which hath been lost, even that *true Light* which leadeth unto Eternal Life" (4, her emphasis).

> in whom he is come; and as this Prophet speaketh, here the Man speaketh, which is Christ in all: but all who speak, and not from the Power of the living God, ought to keep silence in the Church of Christ. (6)

White makes it clear that a direct personal access to God within believers is more important than learning the institutionalized devotional discourse of theologians. By presenting "silent waiting for the Spirit's immediate moving" as a cardinal religious practice for the Quakers (Graves 1), White underscores that believers "must come unto silence" in order to have enough opportunity to "learn of Christ" with the power of the Inner Light. By placing priority on the establishment of direct spiritual communication between God and believers, White reveals that the inner bond between Christ and believers is the essence of Quaker faith. Significantly, White uses this direct personal experience of the Inward Christ as a criterion for distinguishing between male and female believers. According to the tradition that Christ is the bridegroom and his beloved church is his bride, White argues that only Christ, the husband of all believers, can speak and all believers as his wife should keep silence in the church in order to "learn of Christ." Exceptionally, those who are inspired by "the movings of his holy Spirit" become one body with Christ and are entitled to speak in the church. Anyone who is not impressed by "the Power of the living God…ought to keep silence in the Church of Christ." For White, an intimate connection with the Holy Spirit is the only essential requirement to speak in the church even as it allows believers to become both spiritually regenerated people and witnesses of Christ's Second Coming. According to this logic, White implies that any woman who receives the divine spirit can speak publicly on behalf of Christ. In addition, since she argues that her pamphlet originated "from the Movings of the Holy Power," White's employment of the intimacy between her and the Holy Spirit is intended to defend her own role as a prophet and a writer.

Thus, White's emphasis on intimacy with the Holy Spirit as a prerequisite for speaking is due to her conviction that the Holy Spirit unifies believers. For White, having an intimate relationship with the Holy Spirit is equivalent to authenticating the qualifications of a prophet because she defines a prophet as one both having "received the Power of God" and being "anointed with the holy Anointing" by the Holy Spirit (6).[84] More significantly, White entrusts the Quaker community with the role of an "anointed" prophet by focusing on the role in which a prophet can teach and guide believers:

> The People of the Lord are now come to be taught of the Lord, and in Righteousness they come to be established. So unto the holy Anointing which is able to teach and to direct in the way to everlasting Life, unto the same we direct all people *now*, as the Prophets did, in whom the Anointing dwelt plentifully; and so let the Word of Life dwell plentifully in all who come to learn of the Father, who come to obey the Truth, the Gospel of Christ, *the Power of God to Salvation*. (7, her emphasis)

Given that the early Quakers were in jeopardy of not surviving the regime's repression, it is quite plausible that White, as a prophet of the oppressed Quakers, seeks to build a coherent sense of Quaker identity by presenting holy anointing as a tool to achieve Quaker unity. More interestingly, White focuses on the prophetical role of the early Quakers. Instead of advising the Quakers to overcome the time of suffering by persevering, White attempts to awaken the early Quakers' mission to lead "the People of the Lord," "as the Prophets did." In carrying out this mission, White places an emphasis on the role of "the holy Anointing" by the Holy Spirit, which can be accomplished through reading and engaging with texts, because it enables the early Quakers "to teach and to direct" "the People of the Lord" to the same goal: "everlasting life." White utilizes this close relationship with the Holy Spirit to give the Quakers the role of prophets in leading the

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[84] For White, as the convention of the Old Testament, the holy anointing by the Holy Spirit is the way to acquiring the authority of a prophet who is distinct from others by God.

people of God. White purports to strengthen the unity of the Quaker community by presenting her new vision to the Quakers: that the oppression of the government is a good opportunity to foster and train "the People of the Lord." Through her prophetic authority acquired from intimacy with God, White cultivates the pioneering role of the early Quakers and facilitates them to share a new vision that will enhance their community solidarity during intense persecution.[85]

White also employs her intimacy with the Holy Spirit to enable the Quakers to unite in achieving the same goal in *A Trumpet of the Lord of Hosts*, *Blown unto the City of London* and *A Trumpet Sounded out of the Holy City*, which were published as a single book in 1662. *A Trumpet of the Lord of Hosts, Blown unto the City of London* is largely divided into two parts that are imbued with apocalyptic messages. In the first part, White declares to Londoners briefly that the kingdom of Christ will come soon, and God's judgment on them will be imminent. White strongly exhorts Londoners to enter into harmony with the Holy Spirit in order to avoid God's impending wrath: "so you may escape [the day of the Lord God] by repentance; so that all such that have not wholly quenched the motion of the holy Spirit of God, may now return to reproof thereof" (4). By insisting that only through repentance can Londoners stop the movement of the Holy Spirit towards judgment, White not only shows her intimacy with the Spirit of God, but also places herself as a person skilled in the movement of the Holy Spirit. In doing so, White effectively demonstrates that the motion of God's Spirit conflicts with the lifestyles of non-Quaker Londoners but is in harmony with her writing.

In the second part, White concentrates on revealing the grace and joy given to the children

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[85] Moreover, by hoping that the power of the Holy Spirit will come abundantly with those "who come to learn of the Father, who come to obey the Truth, the Gospel of Christ," White aims to make readers to join this Quaker mission. By raising readers' closeness with God, White encourages them to participate in solidifying the unity of the Quaker communities.

of God on the Day of Judgment. By proclaiming the day of liberation to those oppressed by Londoners rather than describing the terrible punishment that unbelievers will receive on the Day of Judgment, White implies that the oppressed are on the righteous path of God; thus, they are in a harmonious relationship with the Holy Spirit. Those oppressed are her fellow Quakers. By calling her fellow Quakers "the Captives" and "a Remnant" of "the Seed of Abraham the Just, which Seed shall inherit all things" at the same time (5), White portrays Quaker identity as the chosen remnant and identifies her coreligionists with the Israelites persecuted by the Stuart regime, a modern-day counterpart to ancient Egypt.[86] Since the concept of the remnant represents the idea that the Quakers are "a chosen few to survive the imminent destruction of the nation" (Bouldin 67), White declares Judgment Day as the day of liberation in which the prisoners will be released by promising that "for the sake of the Oppressed" the Lord God will destroy "the wicked" (3) and will give "Liberty and Freedom to the Captives" (5). By changing the name of Judgment Day from "the day of Vengeance" (3) to "the Day of Free-love and Everlasting Mercy" (5), White highlights the love and mercy of God, which will free the detained; accordingly, she asks her fellow Quakers to use their present trials and suffering as opportunities to raise their faithfulness to God as the chosen people. White's focus on the joy of those liberated from oppression on Judgment Day maximizes the sense of liberation of the afflicted, which prompts the oppressed Quakers to unite under the vision of liberation rather than being scattered by government repression.

The most interesting point is that White utilizes millennial thought not only to comfort her fellow Quakers, but also to strengthen the inner closeness between God and the early Quakers. Even if the English Revolution was frustrated by the Restoration, the expectations of the Quakers

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[86] For the eschatological emphasis of early Quakers, see Elizabeth Bouldin's *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British Atlantic World, 1640-1730*, pp.54-71.

for the millennial kingdom have not diminished at all. Nevertheless, Quaker millennial discourses, including White's, differ markedly from the millenarianism of 1650s due to the repression of the Quakers by the Stuart regime. After the Restoration, White believes that the world has already entered into the last times and the kingdom of Christ has been inwardly established within the Quakers' souls as well as politically in the world (Tarter 155). In addition to God's punishment of the world, White underlines that God's judgment will take place within each believer: "For the Day is come wherein the Lord God is come to judgment, and all must know the righteous Judgments of the Lord God to be set up *within*" (5, her emphasis). Through this inner space that no one can invade, White maintains the ideal of the millennial kingdom without being bound by the political circumstance of the time. She focuses on hopes for continuing the kingdom of Christ through ideas of interiority; consequently, the spiritual state of the mind of believers is the basis upon which Christ's kingdom will be built. The inner bond between God and the Quakers thus becomes especially important in sustaining the Quaker vision of salvation. That is why White concentrates on representing the inner joy that the children of God will enjoy due to their closeness with the God when the millennial kingdom comes to earth. By delineating the ideal spiritual peace and love to be enjoyed by those in intimate relationships with God, White urges her fellow Quakers to be consistent with the movement of the Holy Spirit in order not to yield to the regime's repression, but to be loyal to God until the Day of Judgment:

> You Spouses of the Beloved, you Daughters of *Sion* and Sons of *Jacob*, Rejoyce and sing you Virgins and Followers of the Lamb; yea, let the tribulated rejoyce and sing, let the poor in spirit be glad; let them that dwell in the Valleys rejoyce, who drink of the Springs of the Fountain of Love [of God]; where Peace and Joy encreaseth, where Love to the Brethren is multiplied… For our God is *Love*, and we must be make like unto him in all things. O little Love, overcome, overcome all your hearts, that Life may fill your vessels, that bowels of compassion and tenderness may flow one into another, that every Soul may swim in the fullness of Love, that all may be filled with the eternal Power, that the new Wine of the Kingdom may be poured from vessel to vessel, that all your Cups may overflow with the

> Consolation of God. And this is the breath of my Life in the Love of my eternal Father, sending Greetings of Peace unto the flock of the Faithful, the Seed of the Covenant who are Heirs of the Promise of Life and Salvation. (6-7, her emphasis)

By insisting that God's abundant love and peace will overflow when Christ returns, White asks her fellow Quakers to sing with joy because they will receive God's love and peace as "Heirs of the Promise of Life and Salvation." Interestingly, as a way of showing the richness of God's love, White uses a metaphor of "the Springs of the Fountain of Love" that effectively reveals the speed with which God's love and peace increase: 1) "Peace and Joy encreaseth," 2) "Love to the Brethren is multiplied." Moreover, by expanding the metaphor of "the Springs of the Fountain of Love" to the metaphor of a vessel, White demonstrates the movement of God's abundant grace from one place to another: 1) "the bowels of compassion and tenderness may flow one into another," 2) "every Soul may swim in the fulness of Love," 3) "that all your Cups may overflow with the Consolation of God," and 4) "the new Wine of the Kingdom may be poured from vessel to vessel." White's peaceful representation of the love and consolation of God through this imagery ("vessels," "bowels," and "Cups") intends to reinforce the richness of God's love and the progression of God's plan for the elect simultaneously.[87] By showing the fulness of the Holy Spirit both within believers and the world, White gives "Greetings of Peace unto the flock of the Faithful, the Seed of the Covenant" on behalf of God; thus, she refreshes the persecuted Quakers and heartens them to take part in the progression of God's plan by exploiting their present sufferings for the glory of the future.

Most importantly, by using this metaphor of "the Springs of the Fountain of Love" to imply a spiritually perfect inner state of a believer that cannot be confined via external means,

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[87] Michele Lise Tarter argues that this passage is "one of White's most tender and loving passages of her entire corpus of writings" (162).

White not only encourages the Quakers to take advantage of an inviolable inner space, but also explores the ways in which the Quakers can worship God in spirit and in truth beyond formal limitations. In *An Epistle of Love and of Consolation unto Israel* (1661), the terms of love, life, and the Holy Spirit are virtually interchangeable for White (4), and fluid imagery, including "the everlasting streams of Love" (1) and "the pure Fountain of Life" (3), signifies a perfect spiritual state of the believer who is completely liberated from sin and conforms exactly to the will of God, or the motion of the Holy Spirit. Likewise, in the quote above, White refers to God as love and utilizes the metaphor of "the Springs of the Fountain of Love" to symbolize the fullness of God's love and the Holy Spirit that would allow the children of God to achieve the perfect spiritual condition, which cannot be restricted in any forms of vessel.[88] By showing that "the Springs of the Fountain of Love" flow freely without obstacles, White hints that spiritual perfection can be obtained only after experiencing God's love ("drink of the Springs of the Fountain of Love") without the need for established forms of worship. The fluid imagery of living streams not only rejects a fixed set of liturgical forms, but also opens various ways of embodying divine love in a new form.[89] Furthermore, by calling the children of God "little Love" and by urging them to "overcome" the present difficulties with God's love in order to "swim in the fullness of Love," White not only encourages the children of God to enjoy the privilege of inner space that only God can control, but also asks them to break down any forms of obstruction in celebrating the advent of the new state of Zion, or Christ's millennial kingdom on earth.[90] As a way to harmonize with

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[88] Through this metaphor, White also implies that her prophecies are the product of the heavenly harmony with the Holy Spirit.

[89] On White's usage of metaphors of fluidity, see Michele Lise Tarter's "That You May Be Perfect in Love," pp. 159-160.

[90] In *A Call from God out of Egypt by his Son Christ the Light of Life*, White utilizes the same metaphor of "the Fountain of Love" to stress the arrival of the millennial kingdom (10).

the motion of the Holy Spirit; accordingly, to join in the progress of God's plan for the glory of the future, White not only urges her fellow Quakers to sing with great joy, but also strives to embody the pleasure of spiritual perfection in a new form without any constraint.

White desires to create a new form of writing as worship due to her distrust of established forms of worship. In *A Call from God out of Egypt by his Son Christ the Light of Life*, White argues that for established Christians, "a form of Worship hath been set up, yet the Power of God hath been wanting" (3). This situation has occurred because established Christians "have had *the Form of Godliness*, but have denied *the Power of God*, which maketh able to overcome all things contrary unto God" (4, her emphasis). For White, it is more important to worship God in spirit and in truth in order to become a true believer who can overcome any trials with the power of God: "[God] will now be worshipped *in the Spirit* and *in the Truth*, and such Worshippers is the Lord our God seeking; for the Spirit of Truth is come, according to the Promise of the Father" (6, her emphasis). White's focus on the new form is to build communities of true believers who have enough power to triumph over the present tribulations.

As a way for the Quakers to worship God in spirit and in truth, White employs verse to embody harmony and spontaneity in her prophecies. In *An Epistle of Love and of Consolation unto Israel*, the arrival of the kingdom of Christ and the creation of new songs are not separate but simultaneous. As soon as the kingdom of Christ is realized on earth, the new songs are known to the world: "The Kingdom is come, and the new Songs are known" (8); "The Heavenly Jerusalem is come; where the Harmonies are heard" (11). As a token of salvation, these songs reveal that the Holy Spirit and the world are in a perfectly harmonious state: "This is the day, wherein Sion hath appeared, and her sweet harmonious sounds, the Nations all must hear; whose Glory must overspread the Earth" (10). At the same time, White imagines that, as an immediate response to

the coming of the kingdom of God, the new songs accommodate the improvised joy of salvation of the inhabitants of Zion without being constrained by the form of established praise: "*Sion* lift up thy voice and *sing*, shout for *joy*, and let thy *Name* thorough the Nation *Ring*" (11, her emphasis). In sum, as a means to worship in truth and in spirit, White seeks to create a new poetics that represents the impromptu excitement of salvation that believers have obtained as a result of their perfect harmony with God and without being bound by existing forms of praise.

White's pursuit of harmony and spontaneity through poetry can also be explained by the ways in which the Quakers worship. Since the early Quakers worshipped in silence in order to receive the illumination of the Holy Spirit, and were moved to speak by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit (Peters 16), Quaker religious speaking was a product of harmony with the Holy Spirit and spontaneity itself.[91] Moreover, White's strategy of embodying the spontaneous joy and harmony between God and believers in verse is suitable for reproducing the pleasure of the coming of the millennial kingdom in the present. By representing the advent of the millennial kingdom in the future as a present event, White employs new songs as the evidence of deliverance that the fellow Quakers have already won in the spiritual battle for the New Jerusalem in the present; thus, she stimulates her fellow Quakers to utilize their current trials to achieve their divine harmony with God's will by bearing hope for the millennial kingdom. In short, by creating melodious new songs that fit into a harmonious new world of Christ's kingdom, White strives to find a form of true worship that gives her fellow Quakers strength to endure tribulation.

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[91] Richard Bauman argues that "Quaker religious speaking was all spontaneous" (11) in *Let Your Words Be Few*.

3) The Songs of the Redeemed

In order to make the Quakers acquire the power of God through true worship, White conducts a formal experiment in *A Trumpet Sounded out of the Holy City*. In contrast to the trumpet of *A Trumpet of the Lord of Hosts*, *Blown unto the City of London* that warns its inhabitants of God's impending judgement, the trumpet of *A Trumpet Sounded out of the Holy City* is "sounded out of the Holy City," or Zion, in order not only to proclaim deliverance to the captives, but also to show their improvised joy of liberation that resonates throughout the millennial kingdom. White observes that as soon as the trumpet announces the emergence of Zion, the oppressed pour out the joyful new songs of liberation as an immediate reaction to salvation from oppression:

> Now is the Day of the Redemption of *Sion* proclaimed unto all her Children who wait for her Advancement; her Glory shall shine unto the Nations, her Beauty shall over-spread the Earth, and within her Gates shall Praises be sounded forth by the Redeemed, who are entered again into Paradise; These shall sing the new Songs who follow the Lamb through the Tribulation, who come through the washing of Regeneration. These shall be Crowned with everlasting Salvation. These shall sing the Heavenly Harmonies. (9)

White describes hearing the praises of the redeemed overflowing from Zion at the very moment when Zion arrives on earth. These praises not only stand for the celestial harmony in which God's will and the world are no longer in conflict, but also express the immediate pleasures of entering into "Paradise" as a reward for Quaker hardship, trials, and patience. Significantly, by prophesying that the redeemed "shall sing the new Songs," White reiterates the importance of the novelty of songs in incorporating heavenly harmony and the Quakers' amazing joy of emancipation. Unlike contemporary Quaker literary practices (Tarter 166), White moves from prose to poetry as the result of her reflection on the form that embodies the excitement and enjoyment created by the harmonious new world. By reproducing the Quaker joy of liberation on the Day of the Redemption in an impromptu and harmonious fashion, White suggests that the new poetry following the quote

above is a sign that the Quakers as true worshippers not only conform to the will of God, but also have advanced to a higher level of faith through many trials.

In her verse prophecies, White concentrates on demonstrating the enjoyment of liberation in order not only to comfort her coreligionists but also to empower them to envision a new internal vision that enhances their community solidarity during intense persecution. One striking feature of her verse prophecies is the ways in which White manipulates poetic devices to respect poetic harmony, while at the same time creating an irregular flow in the verse. White uses mainly iambic tetrameter, pentameter, and hexameter throughout her poetry, but simultaneously attempts to deviate from a fixed set of poetic conventions by revealing an unpredictable rhythmic impulse:

> O *Sion*! *Sion*, thy beauty hath now fill'd me,
> And eke thy Glory mine eye is come to see;
> And all the World to be ev'n as a bubble,
> With all her treasure too, as Hay and Stubble:
> For in this day, God's glory doth abound,
> And where it doth appear, the World's not to be found;
> So blessed are all they that keep their habitation,
> Such shall not come more into condemnation: (11)

By placing a sudden exclamation mark after the unstressed third syllable and a comma after the unstressed fifth syllable ("O *Sion*! *Sion*,"), White creates asymmetrical divisions within the first line that are rhythmically connected to the next syllables. The combination of the exclamation mark and the comma after the odd unstressed syllables not only prevents the smooth progression of the iambic rhythm, but also suddenly breaks the rhythm. By slowing the progression of the poetic rhythm and, consequently, allowing readers to dwell longer on the word "*Sion*," White embodies more intensely the joy of Zion realized on the earth. White uses an unexpected rhythm to show that the fullness of God's grace has been achieved in the present. In addition to expressing the intensity of Zion's advent by starting the first line with a spondaic foot ("O *Sion*"), it is also

noteworthy that White emphasizes her own prophetic authority by ending the first line with a spondaic foot (“fill’d me”). By putting the spondee after an iambic foot (“hath now”), White effectively stresses that Zion’s “beauty” is filled in her right “now.” By emphasizing that Zion has arrived in her as well as on this earth, White not only evokes the imagery of the fullness of God’s love mentioned in prose, but also reproduces herself as the richness of God’s love itself in order to reveal the state in which she is in perfect harmony with the divine order. In the second line, White also utilizes rhythmic variation to strengthen her authority as a witness of the new kingdom of Christ. As a way to emphasize that she has witnessed Christ’s glory directly with her eyes, White employs a trochaic foot (“eye is”) after three successive iambic feet, creating a contrary rhythm to that before. In addition to putting emphasis on both “mine” and “eye” in devising an opposing rhythm, White reinforces her action by ending the line with the accentuated rhymed word “see.”

In sharp contrast to the beauty and glory of Zion, in order to reveal the fleeting glory of the existing world, White does not end the third and fourth lines with a meter of five feet or six feet but ends the lines with feminine endings. In the third line, as a way to highlight that the world will vanish like a bubble, White puts a trochaic foot (“ev’n as”) after the sixth syllable, creating rhythms that are opposite to the previous iambic rhythm and embody the tension before the bubble burst. The most notable word is “bubble” because in the third line, all words except for “bubble” are monosyllabic. By using the disyllable word “bubble” as the rhyme word, White ends the third line with a feminine ending, neither a pentameter nor a hexameter. With a poetic rhythm, White embodies the ephemeral glory of the world that will soon burst and disappear without a fixed shape. In the fourth line, by using three consecutive iambic feet in the phrase before a medial pause, White underscores that the world’s “all” “treasure[s]” will be destroyed “too.” In addition, by ending the

line with “stubble” as well as breaking a stable flow of iambic rhythms through a medial pause after the sixth syllable, White utilizes a feminine ending to emphasize that the treasures of the world will rot without a solid foundation and eternity. The fact that the fourth line ends with the feminine ending also contributes to revealing the properties of the treasure of the world, which is not eternal and will decay soon.

In the fifth line, White employs a spondee (“God’s glory”) after a medial pause to create a rhythm different from the previous iambic rhythm. Then, by going back to a stable iambic rhythm and by ending this line with “abound,” White enables readers to concentrate on the kingdom of Christ, full of divine glory. In the sixth line, White puts a syntactic break after the sixth syllable to distinguish between the glory of God and the glory of the world. In contrast to the glory of God, which is expressed in the stable iambic rhythm before the comma, White employs a rhythmic inversion (“not to be found”) after the eighth syllable to dramatize the fate of the world’s glory that will vanish the moment the glory of God appears. By returning from a trochaic foot to an iambic foot, White highlights that the glory of the world will “not to be found” anywhere in the kingdom of Christ.

On the other hand, the seventh line turns readers’ attention to the fact that those who survive are blessed in contrast to the glory of the world that has disappeared in vain. In opposition to “a bubble” and “Hay and Stubble,” which are easily destroyed, White utilizes three consecutive trochaic rhythms (“keep their habitation”) following the sixth syllable to stress that those who hold their place firmly are “so blessed.” In order to clarify the condition for receiving blessings, by using the only polysyllabic word “habitation” in the seventh line as the rhyme word, White ends the line with a feminine ending. In doing so, White encourages readers to remain firm in their faith by allowing them to dwell longer on the four-syllable word “habitation.”

Most interestingly, White declares that the remnant will be able to restore their honor as well as face the world full of God's grace without being perishing in the eighth line. As a way to stress that when God's world has arrived the remnant will no longer be criticized, White ends the eighth line with a feminine line. By using "condemnation" as the rhyme word, White reminds her readers of the accusations they have received, while at the same time proclaiming that the accusations will turn into their own honor. The polysyllable of "condemnation" not only embodies the long accusations received by the readers, but also enables the line to end with a feminine ending in order to stress that the accusations will eventually disappear without being supported by God. Although "habitation" and "condemnation" are four-syllable rhyme words that lead each line to end with unstressed syllables, "habitation" is used to urge readers to have steadfastness, while "condemnation" is used to expose the vulnerabilities of worldly powers and glories that would soon disappear because "condemnation" makes the eighth line end with a feminine ending. By varying the rhythm of the rhyme word, White not only implies that standing firmly on faith is not something to be blamed for, but an honor, but also urges readers to firmly uphold their faith in God to protect their honor.

Overall, through rhythmic changes White pursues poetic harmony in strengthening the sense of boundary that separates this world from the world to come. By describing the eternal honors that will be conferred on those who have trod the narrow and thorny path of religion, White comforts the remnant who is in harmony with God's glory, encouraging it to continue to conform to God's order instead of complying with the established national Church and succumbing to the interruptions of this world.

White continues her admiration for the fullness of God's love in order to attract a new audience and convert them, as well as to offer solace to Quaker groups:

Which Love extends so freely unto all,
Yea, unto those which remains yet in the fall.
This is the day of Love and Consolation,
The day of everlasting free salvatian;
Which publish'd is so freely unto all,
For Abraham's Seed God now is come to call;
Yea, yea, the bands he's come to break
Death nor Hell the Seed no more shall keep
Under in captivity:
For God's exalting it
I'th Heavens high. (12)

The first line expresses the expansiveness of God's love in a perfect iambic pentameter without any rhythmic changes. However, the rhythm of the second line becomes irregular because it contains the amazing fact that God's love extends to sinners and the speaker's reaction to it. The comma prevents the spondaic foot from progressing and gives readers time to share the speaker's surprise. Notable is the rising inversion ("which remains yet") after the fourth syllable. By placing a spondaic foot behind a pyrrhic foot, White lays stress on the reason for her amazement in two successive stresses. Since the second stress functions as the climax of the rising inversion, White stresses "yet" to point out those who are "remain yet" in a certain state of the past. Most interestingly, the use of "fall" as the rhyme word is intended to match the rhyme scheme with "all" of the first line, but at the same time it means that the second line cannot be either five or six feet. By creating an unexpected rhythm while trying to keep a poetic order of rhyme, White emphasizes the remarkable fact that God's love can overflow abundantly even for those who are still in a state of corruption.

By representing in a poetic rhythm her amazement both at those who are still in a state of depravity and at God's grace for them, White not only attracts new readers to participate in the Quaker movement, but also comforts her persecuted coreligionists who already deserve God's bountiful love. In the third line, White employs an initial inversion ("This is the day") to stress that

Christ's kingdom is coming right now. Most importantly, in addition to finishing the third line with a feminine ending, White embodies God's full love and deep consolation for the faithful that goes beyond the formal completion of the poem. The four syllables of "consolation," the only polysyllable in the third line, literally portray the depth of God's comfort and allow readers to stay longer in this poetic word, giving them a poetic experience as if they were receiving God's consolation, which seldom stops. By not ending the third line with a masculine rhythm, White gives shape to the deep consolation of God that still persists in a poetic rhythm even after the line ends. In order to incarnate the perfect harmony of the day of God, as mentioned in prose, White uses five consecutive iambic feet before the last syllable in the fourth line. However, by finishing the line with an extra unstressed syllable, White implies in a rhythmic way that God's "free salvation" continues even after the line is over, conferring poetic appreciation to readers that God's "free salvation" is "everlasting" beyond any limits, just as the line exceeds its limits. In doing so, White shows that the free expansion of God's love, highlighted from the first line, is represented as going beyond any fixed form while pursuing a poetic order in the third and fourth lines.

As a way to emphasize her most important message once again that the Day of Salvation can come to all, the fifth line goes back to regular iambic pentameter and repeats "so freely unto all" from the first line. Reiterating the same message in the fifth line that the Day of Salvation is open to everyone is White's strategy to entice her fellow Quakers and new readers to join her authorial cause. In the sixth line, White now utilizes a rhythm that highlights God's action to urge readers to decide whether they are on God's side or his enemy's. The most conspicuous change in the rhythm of the sixth line is a spondee ("God now") after the fourth syllable, as it effectively underlines the subject of the upcoming action and the imminence of that action. By returning to iambic rhythms after putting emphasis on both "God" and "now," White stresses that God will

"come" to "call" "Abraham's Seed" immediately. Moreover, through the imminence of God's action, White encourages her readers to stand on God's side and to become "Abraham's Seed" right now. By using the two exclamation words ("Yea, yea,") that make up a spondaic foot in slowing the progression of the line, White represents excitement, admiration, and shock over the imminence of Christ's advent described in the sixth line as well as heighten the importance of what will be described in the seventh line. The two medial commas not only change the rhythm, but also condense the line's energy, allowing readers to focus on the divine action that God will "come" to "break" "the bands" after the second syllable.

By exuding an apocalyptic nuance that everything will soon be destroyed, White makes readers feel confident enough to break away from the old habit of corruption and stand on the side of God. More interestingly, White does not end the eighth line with a tetrameter or a pentameter in order to indicate rhythmically that "Death" and "Hell" will no longer be able to maintain enough power to limit "Abraham's Seed." White stably delivers her message by using four successive trochaic feet from the first syllable to the eighth syllable and by employing the nineth syllable "keep" as the accentuated rhyme word. Furthermore, by ending the line with the ninth syllable, White displays her willingness to no longer allow any space or place for "Death" and "Hell" to be maintained. It is a remarkable that by using an off rhyme in the seventh line and the eighth line, White indicates that God will come to "break" the world and, consequently, the world will no longer "keep" "Death" and "Hell." By altering the rhyme scheme to make a subtle discordant note, White gains the creative freedom to harmonize her prophecies with God's apocalyptic warnings witnessed with her own eyes. Subtle discordant rhythms help to materialize the aesthetic harmony of content and form that embodies God's eschatological plan.

In the ninth line and the tenth line, White also uses an off rhyme to change the rhythm.

The most noticeable thing in the ninth line is that “captivity” is used as the rhyme word, and the line ends with a feminine ending. Despite the polysyllable of “captivity” reminding readers that they have long been imprisoned under “Death” and “Hell,” White implies that the Seed is not in a state of “captivity” forever, but in a transient condition that could soon be liberated by using seven syllables total in the ninth line. By closing the line abruptly, White prepares readers for Christ’s Day by reminding them that it can come suddenly and quickly, because it has been declared in the eight line that there will be no more “Death” and “Hell for “the Seed.” White returns the poetic rhythm of the tenth line and the eleventh line into stable iambic rhythms in order to praise “Abraham’s Seed” in distinction from the sinners under the influence of “Death” and “Hell.” What is most noteworthy is that by using “it [“Abraham’s Seed”]” as the rhyme word in the tenth line, White creates an off rhyme in the ninth line and the tenth line. In doing so, White describes the state of the Seed, which is praised by God, as being free from “captivity,” with a rhythm of the tenth line that is different from the ninth line. By emphasizing this key word instead of rhyme, White highlights both God’s act of exalting “Abraham’s Seed” and his special love for the faithful to him.

Finally, the singularity of God’s love is reproduced through the fact that the last line ends without a corresponding rhyming word on the next line. Another rhyme scheme starts after the eleventh line, so that the eleventh line is free from rhyme. By proclaiming that “Abraham’s Seed” is praised “I’th Heavens high” in a meter of two metrical feet without rhyme, White turns readers’ attention to the love that “Abraham’s Seed” will receive. By ending the line with the stressed word “high,” which sounds appropriately elevated for the content, White encourages readers to effectively envision situations in which “Abraham’s Seed” is highly praised by God. In doing so, White highlights the blessing of “Abraham’s Seed” to be elevated without limits. By respecting

the poetic order and at the same time being free from poetic form, White aims to represent the fullness of God's love for "Abraham's Seed" that cannot be contained even in the prescribed form of poetry. Through the blessings the seed will receive, White invites readers to become "the blessed noble Seed" who are the descendant of "the Royal birth" and "raigneth over Death" (11). By letting the fellow Quakers and readers taste this victory over death in advance, White purports to elicit a firm resolution from them to stand up on God's side and sing "the Songs of the Redeemed" (15). By strengthening the sense of the boundary that separates this world from the world to come, "the Songs of the Redeemed," a product of harmony with God's will, invite the oppressed elect to join the excitement of the saved.

White's employment of irregular rhythms in the poetic reproduction of this heavenly harmony shows her desire of creating novelty as a way to avoid repeating ready-made forms. By exquisitely embodying the excitement of salvation and liberation that the chosen believers will receive on Judgment Day in a harmonious way, White's "Songs of the Redeemed" endeavor to deepen readers' intimacy with Christ as a way to overcome any trials with the power of faith. As the embodiment of the motion of the Holy Spirit, White's poetic ministry refashions the Quakers' self- perceived identity as the chosen remnant who conform to a higher-level order, the order established by God rather than state authority. In doing so, in opposition to the regime's assessment that the Quakers are a destructive and subversive force that causes social and political disruption and undermines the stability of British society, White highlights the prophetic mission of the Quakers to materialize divine order in building a community of true believers in England who truly worship God with spirit. By subtly exploiting the tension between pursuing harmony and producing novelty in praising God in truth and in spirit, White's poetic ministry invites potential true believers, including potential new converts, to unite in reinterpreting their extreme hardships

as an opportunity for spiritual training to perform the role of the chosen people. Without being constrained by the established form of religious discourse, White's poetic ministry is designed with care to awaken potential true believers' Inner Light and asks them to interpret the meaning of pain with an eschatological perspective. By contributing to legitimizing the Quaker cause to readers through her millennial reading of suffering, White's verse prophecies reveal her own literary and polemical way of fighting for religious freedom through the evocation of a higher authority than the government.

3. Milton's Poetic Consolation and Ministry through the Imminent Internal Millenarianism

1) Milton's Silence in the Print Market after the Stuart Restoration

After the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, Milton was in great danger of being executed (Hill 1978, 356). Although Charles II promised tolerance to his past opponents, Milton was not sure whether he could receive the king's pardon because he was one of the greatest political enemies of the Stuart kingship, as much as the regicides who had not been forgiven by the restored monarchical regime. As an ardent advocate of the English Commonwealth, Milton was the first to justify the execution of Charles I through his *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649). Moreover, as Latin Secretary to the Council of State, Milton helped the government defeat the royalist attempt to deify Charles I through publication of his *Eikonoklastes*, and strongly opposed Charles II's return and ascension to the throne through his *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660). Owing to his staunch pro-republican past, Milton was more likely to be excluded from the amnesty granted by Charles II. In November 1660, Milton was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower by order of the Commons, just as expected (Keeble 2002, 132). However, Milton was released unusually soon from the prison by receiving a pardon "probably"

just “a day or two before December 15” (Lewalski 2002, 403). Although he barely avoided the harsh punishment of losing his life or being imprisoned, Milton’s name was condemned, and his books were burned (Raymond 461). For the remainder of his life Milton had to live “in obscurity and fear of assassination” (Hill 1978, 356), and, consequently, he was not able to openly engage in political activity until 1667.

In addition to the Clarendon Code of 1662, which was designed to repress the political and religious activities of non-conformists, the enactment of the Printing Act of 1662 by the Stuart regime and Parliament severely limited Milton’s ability to exercise political freedom through publication in his last years. By ensuring that all publications would be censored as well as registered with the Stationers’ Company (Raymond 465), the Printing Act enabled the Restoration state to rigorously and systematically repress public opinions disparaging the regime. Particularly, by controlling “the periodical press” strictly and by imposing “stringent fines” on those who violated this Act (Raymond 465), the regime regulated the publishing industry more thoroughly than previous governments in the Interregnum period as a way to curb republicans and non-conformists, including Milton, who were critical of its authority. Although he had continued to write, Milton was not able to publish at all in his own name until 1667.[92] Milton’s silence resulted from the regime’s return to censorship of the press after the relative freedom of the Interregnum years.

Fortunately for Milton, republicans, and non-conformists, due to “the strain of the failure of the Second Dutch War,” the administration of Clarendon had started to lose political hegemony

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[92] Milton’s sonnet “To Sir Henry Vane the younger” was exceptionally included in George Sikes’ *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane* (1662) that was first published “anonymously” immediately after Vane’s execution (Lewalski 2002, 634). According to Joad Raymond’s explanation, this book was printed “surreptitiously” (461).

(Smith 2001, 253). As Clarendon lost his power completely in the regime and entered exile in 1667, the enforcement of the Printing Act was temporarily eased and remained less rigid until 1670 (Raymond 465).[93] Clarendon's downfall allowed Milton to publish *Paradise Lost* in 1667, a work that was completed "possibly as early as 1663" (Von Maltzahn 479).[94] The gap between Milton's completion of *Paradise Lost* and its publication reflects his difficulty in achieving the freedom to publish under the Restoration government.

As a countermeasure to the regime's rigorous restrictions on external political activity, Milton focuses on elevating both readers' inner virtues and their hope for divine grace in order to strengthen their internal self-governance. However, I do not think that the monarchical government's oppression caused Milton to be resigned to political despondency—that the English Commonwealth had completely failed to lead to the arrival of the millennium—and to retreat into the inner realm, "A paradise within" (*PL* 12.587).[95] Rather, by redoubling his effort to preach the significance of the inward self-rule of citizens and to advance millennial ideas, Milton pursues the more aggressive political gesture of fostering discerning and liberty-loving citizens.[96]

The downfall of Clarendon also coincides with the revival of millennial hopes. The series of catastrophes of the Dutch War, the Great Plague, and the Great Fire in 1665-66 reawakened

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[93] Nigel Smith argues that Clarendon's fall made "those who supported the cause of the ejected Puritans" pressure Charles II and the Houses of Parliament "to lessen the restrictions" of the Clarendon Code in order to ensure religio political toleration (2001, 253).

[94] Samuel Simmons registered *Paradise Lost, a Poem in Tenne Bookes* with the Stationers on August 20, 1667 (Lewalski 2002, 455).

[95] All subsequent citations in text or notes from *Paradise Lost* are taken from the 1674 second edition, edited by Barbara K. Lewalski.

[96] Barbara K. Lewalski argues that Michael's education in Books XI and XII of *Paradise Lost* encourages Adam, Eve, and readers to oppose the persecutors; thus, *Paradise Lost* is "against any kind of passivity, spiritual, moral or political," although Michael's promise of "A paradise within thee, happier farr" (*PL* 12.587) seems an epitome of "quietism and retreat from the political arena" (2000, 164).

millennial fervor (Lewalski 2003,14), which had diminished sharply after the Restoration (Revard 56). By giving brief references to the millennium in *Paradise Lost*, Milton utilizes this resurgent millennial expectation not only to console Adam, Eve, and his contemporary suffering readers for the forfeiture of external paradise, but also to encourage them to continue their resistance to persecutors by maintaining their internal self-governance.

Most interestingly, Milton does not use millennial fervor to emphasize Christ's feat as a heroic warrior. The core of the angelic prophecies in terms of millennial views in *Paradise Lost* is that the just minority, prepared by God, are responsible for resisting evil oppressors—the forces of Satan—and the just minority's victory in resistance is guaranteed by the advent of the millennium (*PL* 12.543-51). By placing stress on "the material world" of "the restored earth" that the just few will possess on earth (Lewalski 2003, 22) rather than on Christ's final victory against Satan through a war, Milton employs millennial expectations to encourage readers to follow the biblical figures of the just few who are persecuted or ignored by the unjust many, but nevertheless firmly believe in God's grace. By showing that the afflictions of the righteous few are rewarded with the glory of entering the new Edenic paradise of the millennium in the long perspective of Christ's redemptive history, Milton comforts his contemporary suffering audiences, and allows them not only to become acquainted with their role as the just few, but also to gain strength against present hardships by faith in divine grace.[97] In doing so, Milton attempts to produce readers who are citizens capable of self-government, interpreting their present difficulties with the eyes of faith. By linking his contemporary afflicted readers to the biblical figures of the just few through

[97] Despite Michael's prophecies cover the long redemptive history of Christ, since millennial fervor was rekindled in the mid-1660s, the imminent millennium as a reward for suffering can be a good stimulus for suffering readers to faithfully bear the responsibility of resistance to the evil oppressor as well as to endure the present tribulations.

millennial thought, Milton suggests that enhancing readers' internal self-governance is a driving force to confront political oppression, and instills courage in his readers to overcome their trials without succumbing to the power of any external authorities.

This chapter concentrates on analyzing Books XI and XII, the postlapsarian section of *Paradise Lost*, because the last two Books seek to prepare fallen mankind more specifically for the kingdom of Christ on earth (Hill 1978, 386). In addition, Milton teaches the postlapsarian pair and readers how to establish their internal self-governance in suffering as well as to "justify the ways of God to men" (*PL* 1.25). By letting the archangel Michael educate audiences about the postlapsarian human history of tribulations and redemption in the final two Books, Milton enables Adam, Eve, and his contemporary readers to learn how to consolidate their internal self-rule as a way to continue to seek God's righteous way. The consolations and lessons given to sinful Adam by Michael thus have direct relevance to Milton's contemporary readers who faced governmental repression. Michael's mission of harmonizing the couple with divine justice without discouraging them (*PL* 11.117) is equivalent to Milton's task of justifying God's righteousness to readers oppressed by the government without causing them to despair. By enumerating the figures of the righteous minority who are repressed by the unjust majority but conform to God's will through the perspective of typology, Milton, beyond Adam and Eve, encourages his contemporary suffering readers to surmount their adversity through internal self-governance. By allowing readers to see how the obedience of the just few, including Christ, to God can provide a model of suffering, Milton clarifies that solidifying inner liberty can prevent external servitude. My goal is the ways in which Milton, through the blank verse line, innovates a new poetic form for epic in order to increase readers' ability to choose to be free from bondage of their former sins in the process of spiritual regeneration. I argue that Milton's desire to invent an "answerable style" for promoting

readers' revitalization results in the creation of a postlapsarian poetics that consoles readers and helps them to enhance their capacities of discrimination in order not only to escape their previous failures, but also to reconcile with divine providence without abandoning their freedom.

2) Internal Self-Governance

Milton's stylistic innovation in the final Books is deeply related to the postlapsarian couple's failure to maintain their internal self-government, which is accelerated after the Fall. Due to their first sin, Adam and Eve have lost the power to control their pleasure in accordance with "the Government" of "Reason" (*PL* 12.88-89). As Robert Entzminger points out (198), the postlapsarian couple's sexual indulgence after the Fall shows that they have a greater tendency to submit "sovran Reason" to the lower faculties of "sensual Appetite" (*PL* 9.1129-30). Milton insists that this propensity is the result of "sensual Appetite['s]" "Usurping over sovran Reason" (*PL* 9.1129-30). By revealing that "sensual Appetite" has overthrown the authority of "sovran Reason," the pair's sexual abandon demonstrates that they have lost their power to govern "sovran Reason" in controlling the inferior rank of "sensual Appetite."[98] The couple's immediate psychological condition after the Fall emphasizes the need for a prescription both to practice reason and to control pleasure in order to restore their mental discernment or internal government over self.

The fallen pair's loss of internal self-governance is also closely linked to aesthetic error. The advent of the postlapsarian world is a consequence of human aesthetic fallacy as well as human misapprehension of how to promote inner virtues. One of the reasons that Eve eats the forbidden fruit is because she is attracted by the beauty of the fruit: "this Fruit Divine, / Fair to the Eye,

[98] For Milton, human reason's servility to appetite and the consequent human degeneration are the causes of human political subservience (*PL* 12.80-101).

inviting to the Taste, / Of virtue to make wise" (*PL* 9.776-78). As in the narcissistic moment when she falls in love with her reflection in the water after her creation (*PL* 4.460-66), for Eve, who is fascinated by external beauty, beauty and virtues are on the same continuum and the beauty of "the Fruit Divine" guarantees the promotion of virtue. By applying a false aesthetic conviction—pursuing outer beauty is the way to foster inner virtue—in choosing whether to keep or break the promise with God, Eve fails to penetrate the true meaning underlying the fruit's fascinating appearances. Eve's aesthetic error allows an inferior desire (to eat) to overthrow a superior moral imperative (to keep her promise to God), which destroys her inner self-governance and eventually leads her to disobey God's order.

Michael explains that aesthetic depravity and the absence of inner government over self likewise recur for Adam's descendants, who repeat the same process of sin that Eve commits in the Eden. When Adam, frustrated by the various aspects of sin in Michael's second vision for Adam, asks Michael how mankind created in their "Makers Image" has become so ugly (*PL* 11.511-14), the archangel replies to him that it is because Adam's progeny has been enslaved to "ungovern'd appetite" and has served the "brutish vice" that led Eve to sin (*PL* 11.515-19). In addition to highlighting the importance of inner governance within an individual's relationship with God, Michael's answer shows that the pursuit of unbridled pleasure does not elevate human virtue and aesthetic perceptions, but rather defiles the divine beauty of man by breaking both the harmony of pleasure and virtue as well as the promise of God and man. In short, after the Fall, the fallen pair and their offspring are significantly less able to discern discrepancies between external beauty and inner virtue. Additionally, the problem becomes more acute because postlapsarian humanity is increasingly unaware that humans seeking unrestrained pleasure have not elevated themselves to the status of God, but rather have lowered themselves into a form of moral slavery

where inner government is impossible.

In order to enable the lapsed couple to restore their autonomy, Books XI and XII probe ways to regenerate fallen humanity. First of all, since human cognitive abilities have been markedly impaired by the Fall, Michael concentrates on training Adam both to control his interiority and to recognize the disparity between external pleasure and internal virtue. By removing from Adam's eyes "the Filme" "bred" by the "false Fruit that promis'd clearer sight" (*PL* 11.412-14), Michael aims to improve Adam's degraded cognitive powers. In addition, Michael purifies Adam's "visual Nerve" with herbs, "Euphrasie and Rue" (*PL* 11.414-15), as a way to ameliorate his perceptual powers from within. Furthermore, by injecting "three drops" of water "from the Well of Life" into Adam's eyes (*PL* 11.416), Michael heals "the inmost seat of [Adam's] mental sight" (*PL* 11.418) in order to prepare Adam to see "noble sights" (*PL* 11.411). In doing so, Michael enables Adam to penetrate the essence of things internally with his own inner strength. By placing stress on interiority and by innovating the human internal recognition system, as the Miltonic Bard claims in the invocation to Book IX (*PL* 9.27-33), Milton differentiates his poem from the conventional heroic epic that praises exterior actions and achievements. By in earnest exploring the subject matter of epic that enables readers to train their own internal power to grasp the nature of events more clearly without being deceived by appearances, Milton supports readers to learn the "better fortitude" (*PL* 9.31) of several biblical heroes of faith who are the greatest embodiment of "Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" (*PL* 9.32).

It is for Adam's inner renovation that Michael offers rational and aesthetic training. Adam does not recognize the danger of the deceptive attraction in Michael's third vision for Adam, that is, the marriages of God's sons with Cain's daughters based on Genesis 6: 2-4. Dazed by a fascinating appearance of "A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay / In Gems and wanton dress" (*PL*

11.582-83), Adam interprets the vision of the degenerative marriages as a message of "more hope / of peaceful dayes" to come (*PL* 11.599-600). As Barbara K. Lewalski observes, Adam repeats his "old error of overvaluing female charms" (1985, 260). Just as Adam, who is charmed by Eve's physical beauty, reveals to Raphael his misperception that Eve "Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best" (*PL* 8.593) more than anyone else, he once again fails to notice the discordance between external beauty and internal virtue. As a way to correct Adam's erroneous assessment, Michael explains to Adam that although "the fair femal Troop" (*PL* 11.614) seems "Goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay" (*PL* 11.615), they, being "empty of all good" (*PL* 11.616), are "Bred onely and completed to the taste / Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance / To dress, and troule the Tongue, and roule the Eye" (*PL* 11.618-20). As the daughters of the race "who slew his Brother" (*PL* 11.609), they are "unmindful of thir Maker, though [God's] Spirit / Taught them" (*PL* 11.611-12). Furthermore, Cain's daughters tempt "the Sons of God" (*PL* 11.622)—"Just men" who seek "to worship God aright" (*PL* 11.577-78)—to "yield up all thir virtue, all thir fame" (*PL* 11.623) and to abandon themselves to pleasure (*PL* 11.624-26). Adam also falls into the same error as the Sons of God by not realizing that beauty on the surface does not reflect inner virtue. Rather, Adam interprets this vision on the basis of visual pleasure; accordingly, Michael warns Adam not to judge worth "By Pleasure" (*PL* 11.604). Michael's caution about pleasure overruling reason not only reminds readers of Raphael's admonition to Adam not to indulge in his "carnal pleasure" (*PL* 8.595) through his conjugal love with Eve, but also attributes Adam's error—confusing libertinism with legitimate pleasure—to his subordination of his reason to his appetite.[99] By showing another example of how sensual pleasures ("lustful appetence") undermine the sovereign authority of

[99] This Adam's mistake recalls Milton's assessment of the pair's fall as the result of their internal tyranny that their "sensual Appetite" rebelled against "sovran Reason" (*PL* 9.1129-30).

reason, Michael not only reminds readers of Adam and Eve's previous mistakes of being "unmindful of thir Maker," but also strongly advises Adam and his readers to approach pleasure carefully in order to protect reason's sovereignty. Through the reactions of the Sons of God and Adam to Cain's daughters, Michael demonstrates that it is necessary to judge events through reason without succumbing to appetite in order to build up virtue and keep one's self-control.

Most importantly, Milton gives readers the cautionary advice that judging value by pleasure also results in political tyranny. In the episode of Nimrod, the first monarchical tyrant in the postlapsarian world, Milton reinforces the significance of controlling pleasure in maintaining inward self-governance by showing that appetite's treason against reason provides an internal basis for political tyranny.[100] Adam calls Nimrod the "Usurper" (*PL* 12.73) because he "usurp[s]" (*PL* 12.66) authority that God has not given him, and enslaves others by encroaching upon their freedom (*PL* 12.27-28).[101] Significantly, while Adam focuses on revealing his abhorrence of the tyrant's cruelty and oppression, Michael concentrates on human psychology in order to explain why each individual member of community is subjugated to the tyrant:

> That son [Nimrod], who on the quite state of men
> Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
> Rational Libertie; yet know withall,
> Since thy original lapse, true libertie
> Is lost, which alwayes with right Reason dwells
> Twinn'd and from her hath no dividual being:
> Reason in man obscur'd, or not obeyd,
> Immediately inordinate desires

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[100] Michael does not record the name of the tyrant whom we recognize as Nimrod (Hardin 38). More importantly, for differences in Milton's interpretation of the trope of Babel with the Royalists, see Sharon Achinstein's "The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution," pp.22-23.

[101] According to Michael's exegesis, after the Flood, the postlapsarian society was established on republicanism ("fair equality, fraternal state" [*PL* 12.26]). However, by arrogating "Dominion undeserv'd / Over his brethren" (*PL* 12.27-28), Nimrod destroyed social concord of the fraternal state and the "Law of Nature" (*PL* 12.29). In doing so, Nimrod rebelled against God and became the first monarchic tyrant who claims divine right ("second Sovrantie" [*PL* 12.35]).

> And upstart Passions catch the Government
> From Reason, and to servitude reduce
> Man till then free. Therefore since he permits
> Within himself unworthie Powers to reign
> Over free Reason, God in Judgment just
> Subjects him from without to violent Lords;
> Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
> His outward freedom: tyranny must be,
> Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
> Yet sometimes Nations will decline so low
> From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
> But Justice, and some fatal curse annext
> Deprives them of thir outward libertie,
> Thir inward lost. (*PL* 12.80-101)

Michael makes plain that liberty consists of a twofold nature, inward and outward, and the attainment of external freedom is only possible on the foundation of internal freedom. The archangel defines inward liberty as "Rational Libertie" that is inseparable its twin of "right Reason" that plays a role not only in governing humanity but also in subordinating humanity to God (Cavanagh 219). According to Northrop Frye's analysis, for Milton, there is a hierarchy in the human soul, which consists of three primary ranks: "the reason, the will, and the appetite" (75). The reason controls the human soul by subordinating the appetite to the reason by the will, "the agent carrying out the decrees of the reason" (Frye 75). However, Adam's "original lapse" not only causes a crack in the relationship between "Rational Libertie" and "right Reason," but also has "obscur'd" reason, albeit not entirely. As in the case of Adam, who has fallen into an inner chaos where inward governance has been impossible after the Fall, the reason is not able to govern the human soul as before the Fall because now the will "Hear[s] not her" master (the reason) anymore but obeys the appetite (*PL* 9.1127-29).[102] In the face of the rebellion of the appetite (*PL*

[102] In Book VIII the angel Raphael already warned Adam not to let passion and pleasure overthrow reason: "In loving thou dost well, in passion not, / Wherein true Love consists not; love refines / The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat / In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale / By which

9.1130), the "obscur'd" reason is gradually affected by "inordinate desires" and "upstart Passions," and eventually allows "unworthie powers" to "reign / Over free Reason." As a result, fallen reason not only prevents man from self-government, but also makes him subservient to other "unworthie Powers" instead of submitting to God, as in the marriages of God's sons with Cain's daughters. In short, if inner freedom is lost, self-governance becomes impossible, and the collapse of inward self-governance results in external subordination to outside forces. By showing that the loss of inner self-rule is the internal basis of political tyranny, Milton leads readers to reflect on whether the suppression of the restored monarchical regime stemmed from their own spiritual degeneration. Milton insinuates that the readers' moral decline caused the failure of the English Revolution and the collapse of the English Republic. Simultaneously, notwithstanding the aftermath of Adam's "original lapse," reason is not entirely corrupted, but is still able to produce liberty; thus, by urging readers to restrain their "inordinate desires" and "upstart Passions" from dominating their reason, Michael reinforces the importance of self-governance based on inward liberty as a way to withstand any external oppression. As a result, Milton suggests that maintaining self-governance, even in the face of any hardship, is both a way to regain political and religious freedom and a means of overcoming present tribulations.

In emphasizing the importance of realizing inner self-control for the process of spiritual regeneration, Milton's messages clearly go beyond Adam and Eve and speak to his contemporary readers who suffered persecution. Ultimately, Michael is trying to teach his readers to explore the history of human suffering through the eyes of faith, not through the measures of pleasure and force (Hillier 616). In sharp contrast to the tyrant, Abraham—the man of faith who suffers for his

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to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend, / Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause / Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found" (*PL* 8.588-94).

faith—is an ideal model for Adam and his readers. Because Adam, Abraham, and contemporary readers occupy a similar position as social outcasts, they all must leave familiar environments and learn a completely different way of life through the journey of persecution (Pecheux 369).[103] Michael focuses on portraying Abraham's faith as the basis of his internal self-rule, unlike Nimrod, who ruled by might. Surprisingly, Abraham sets out on a journey of hardship without any delay and sorrow, believing in God's presence and guidance despite "Not knowing" (*PL* 12.127) which land to go to. Abraham immediately "obeys" (*PL* 12.126) God's command to leave his native land and to go to the land God will give him as soon as he hears the divine promise that "in his Seed / All nation shall be blest" (*PL* 12.125-26). Milton identifies the foundation on which Abraham makes his determination to leave for the promised land—Canaan, the Heavenly City—with his "firm" faith in God's covenant (*PL* 12.127). Moreover, by emphasizing the fact that the archangel literally sees "with what faith" Abraham "leaves his Gods, his Friends, and native Soile" (*PL* 12.128-29), Milton reaffirms that Abraham's resolution to leave is solely due to his unwavering belief in God. In doing so, Milton asks Adam and readers to have a faith commensurate with Abraham's in order to make a new path based on their faith, even in circumstances where they do not know where they are going.

More specifically, through the example of Abraham, Milton not only reminds Adam of the fulfilment of God's promise—Eve's "Seed shall bruise" the human "foe [Satan]" (*PL* 11.155)—that he has not yet fully comprehended, but also allows suffering readers to think about the blessings that the "Seed" will give them and their descendants in the future. By connecting Adam, Abraham, and readers through "the Seed," "thy great deliverer, who shall bruise / The Serpents

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[103] Mary Christopher Pecheux, meanwhile, argues that Adam's exile from Eden and Abraham's departure from Ur are "harmonized with the concept of the journey of epic hero" (365).

head" (*PL* 12.148-50), Milton reassures Adam and readers that they will be on the same side of the winning "Seed" (Christ), and prepares them both to defeat satanic forces and to contribute to Christ's victory by faithfully fulfilling their present tasks. In particular, by calling all people who have "Abrahams Faith" (*PL* 12.449) "the Sons" (*PL* 12.448) of Abraham, Michael identifies all the faithful who have obeyed God's law as the progeny of Christ, or "the Seed," and promises that "all Nations shall be blest" (*PL* 12.450) by them. In doing so, Michael redefines suffering readers as the blessed sons of Abraham and Christ in order to comfort and invite them to follow God's providence more devotedly. In sum, through his depiction of how Abraham's loyal faith transforms his suffering into a divine blessing, Milton encourages suffering readers to maintain inner self-control, hoping for God's imminent blessings in the midst of hardship.

Most significantly, Milton makes the way to maintain self-rule amid hardship more concrete in his exploration of the triumph of Christ. Instead of singing a song of victory through a martial solution, Milton presents Christ's "better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom" (*PL* 9.31-32), as distinguished from the conventional heroic features. Through this portrayal, Milton encourages his readers to gain the courage to govern themselves and obtain spiritual liberty during any temptation or difficulty. In contrast to traditional epics that praise victories achieved through a duel or an armed struggle, Milton aims to teach readers the "better fortitude" that does not to yield to any tribulation by asking them to understand Christ's victory in the terms of faith. For Milton, faith is the basis of self-rule in times of hardship, and Michael's lesson of Christ's victory teaches readers how to gain this faith.

After hearing about the Nativity, Adam thinks that Christ's accomplishments stem from his victory in physical warfare against Satan. By correcting this Adamic misapprehension, Michael reevaluates heroic paradigms and allows readers to explore Christ's heroic actions from a new

perspective. Michael advises Adam, "Dream not of thir [Christ and Satan's] fight, / As a duel, or the local wounds / Of head or heel" (*PL* 12.386-88). Michael argues that the use of force does not liberate humans from Satan's oppression, but instead makes violence more rampant, leading humans to succumb to Satan in the postlapsarian world. As we have seen in the episode of Nimrod, who rules by military power, "Might onely shall be admir'd" in the world unparadised (*PL* 11.689). Michael regards the postlapsarian human admiration for power as the result of human depravity because Adam's "original crime" makes humankind corrupt and "bring[s] forth more violent deeds" (*PL* 11.424-28). In the intensifying turmoil caused by violence, people only worship "Might" and call it "Valour" or "Heroic Virtue" (*PL* 11.689-90), but in fact it is false heroism that leads mankind to the sin of countless slaughter (*PL* 11.693). For Michael, it is unfair to praise those who committed "Man-slaughter[s]" (*PL* 11.693) as "the great Conquerours / Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods" (*PL* 11.695-96) because they are "Destroyers rightlier call'd, and Plagues of men" (*PL* 11.697). The praise of heroic acts in the postlapsarian world results in a reliance on violence to gain power and reflect human depravity; consequently, Michael cannot recommend the use of force as a solution for Christ to defeat Satan.

The task Michael gives Adam is to be free from Satan's subjugation "by destroying" not "Satan, but his works / In [Adam] and in [his] Seed" (*PL* 12.394-95). By stressing the elimination of Satan's works—"Sin and Death, [Satan's] two main armes" (*PL* 12.431)—in Adam and his Seed, Michael emphasizes that the confrontation between Satan-Sin-Death and Christ-Adam-his Seed will occur inwardly. By encouraging Adam to destroy satanic forces that interfere with his inward self-rule, Michael expects Adam and readers not to become old-style epic heroes who challenge Satan by force, but to liberate themselves from the influences of sin and death through their internal self-governance. By inviting Adam and readers to understand the struggle of Christ through faith,

the basis of self-rule, Milton urges readers to escape Satan's influence by demonstrating the patience of "suffering for truth's sake" (*PL* 12.569), not by retaliation through force. In doing so, Milton turns their attention from outward achievement to internal self-governance and places strong emphasis on the distinction between conventional external heroic feats and new internal heroic virtues. By presenting internal heroes who self-govern as models for readers to follow, Milton prioritizes self-rule as the driving force for readers to overcome times of hardship.

3) A Postlapsarian Poetics

As a way to elaborate his new internal heroic standard of internal self-governance, Milton gives prominence to the obedience of the just few, including Christ, in satisfying God's justice by embracing their "Heroic Martyrdom" (*PL* 9.32). Michael suggests that obedience is a virtue that will reconcile fallen humanity with God, and this reconciliation is the starting point for escaping satanic influence. By training readers to obey God voluntarily, Milton seeks to encourage fallen men to experience both unity with God and separation from satanic forces. The significance of obedience in man's rapprochement with God is first manifested in the scene where God commands Michael to expel the fallen but "penitent" (*PL* 10.1098) pair from Eden. Since God "know[s]" that the postlapsarian couple's heart is "variable and vain / Self-left" (*PL* 11.92-93), he tests how they will react to Michael's declaration of their "perpetual banishment" from Paradise (*PL* 11.108), although he knows that their contrition is true and sincere:

> If patiently thy [Michael] bidding they [Adam and Eve] obey,
> Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveale
> To Adam what shall come in future dayes,
> *As I [God] shall thee enlighten*, *intermix*
> My Cov'nant in the womans seed renewed;
> So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace. (*PL* 11.112-17; my emphasis)

The pair's exile is the punishment of sin, but at the same time, it is also God's "crucial test" of whether they will obey the divine command of their deportation from Paradise (Pecheux 365). Furthermore, their response to this test determines whether Michael's consolatory revelations will occur. The pair's obedience to God's sentence is not only a way to restore their relationship with God for the first time since the Fall, but also allows them to know their progeny's future in advance (Astell 484). Fortunately, by making the right decision to accept God's punishment through obedience ("his great bidding I submit" [*PL* 11.314]), the lapsed couple passes God's test of faith and receives an opportunity to mitigate their harsh future lives outside Paradise with the help of divine revelations concerning fallen human history.

Most significantly, God commands Michael to undertake his tasks of mediating visions and of deciphering them extemporaneously "as [God] shall [Michael] enlighten."[104] The overall shape of Michael's prophecies is not pre-determined (Kerr 14) because Michael will mediate God's message to the couple "by direct illumination" from God (Lewalski 1983, 92).[105] Nevertheless, as Michael Allen argues, Michael's prophetic mode is hardly improvisational (116). Rather, Michael works diligently to shape his presentation of future days to Adam in a way that aims to suit Milton's authorial cause of not letting Adam succumb to satanic forces. Michael's burden of conveying too

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[104] The style of prophecy that God dictates to Michael is accord with the "answerable style" that the Miltonic Bard seeks to obtain from his patroness in the invocation to Book IX. The Miltonic Bard wants an "unpremeditated Verse," the product of inspiration, not contrivance (*PL* 9.20-24).

[105] Even after he transforms his prophetic mode from visual into auditory at the opening of Book XII, Michael's prophecies are not determined in advance. Although Adam no longer sees visions and only relies on Michael's verbal description of future events, the archangel still sees the visions God brings to him for the purpose of imparting God's plan to Adam: "I [Michael] see him [Abraham]" (*PL* 12.128). The fact that the archangel's long narrative is based on God's vision supports the claim that Michael continues to conform to God's command to let Adam know the future of mankind as revealed by God to him, regardless of the shift in the mode of the archangel's presentation from vision to narration.

much information to Adam, whose learning ability is significantly diminished due to the Fall, results in "excessive control" of his prophecies, which "leaves little room for spontaneity" (Allen 117).

Milton presents Michael's autonomy in designing the prophetic mode is because God shows Michael a gesture implying that God allows Michael to utilize his creativity as a speaker by commanding him to "intermix / My Cov'nant in the womans seed renewed." Milton's focus on God's order that enables Michael to unleash his creativity evokes Milton's claim to use blank verse to restore freedom of expression. As Milton argues in his prefatory note, "The Verse," added to *Paradise Lost* in 1668, composing "English heroic verse without rhyme" is a way to recover the "ancient liberty" of heroic poetry because rhyming is "troublesome and modern bondage." For Milton, rhyme is not a "necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse" but a "vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things." Breaking the Restoration norm of rhymed verse for epic poetry is equivalent to regaining freedom of expression and to preserving the independence of the poet's creative power unshaken by literary conventions and external rule. As blank verse guarantees the independence of an individual's imagination and its representation, through the blank verse line, Milton allows Michael to use his own angelic creativity to educate his audience to understand the new world unfolding before them.

More specifically, at the expense of spontaneity, Milton devises a concise writing style to enhance postlapsarian Adam's understanding of divine visions and narrations as a way to convince his readers of the importance of inner self-government. This stylistic register is necessary because Adam regresses repeatedly to his old blindness despite his recovered eyesight and the angelic education. For the purpose of promoting the grasp of postlapsarian readers whose discernment has weakened since depravity, Milton transforms his poetic style into "a less elevated style" in order

to suit Michael's "sober account" of the postlapsarian history of human suffering and redemption (Loewenstein 2004, 48).[106] As Sister Mary Brian Durkin argues, "the grandiose, sublime style"—that emphasizes earlier scenes, including Satan's council meeting, his temptation of Eve, and his punishment—is not suitable for the Michael's revelations and lessons (147). Rather, Michael fashions his prophecies in a more "grave, restrained, and hortatory" style in order to exhort Adam to pursue "a life guided by reason and illumined by faith" rather than a splendid rhetoric (Durkin 147-48). In short, in comparison to other scenes of *Paradise Lost* appropriate for exalting classical heroic actions in a grandiose and sublime style, the essence of the new style, tailored to postlapsarian human interiority, is a concise and elaborately planned poetic style that can enhance the educational impact on postlapsarian Adam.[107]

Milton's poetic shift to "a less elevated style" is evident in the prayer of Adam and Eve asking for God's pardon in the beginning of Book XI: "that sighs now breath'd / Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer / Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight / Then loudest Oratorie" (*PL* 11.5-8). Milton reveals that their prayers, literally "unutterable sighs," are far more useful than a formal prayer, "loudest Oratorie." By delivering their hearty willingness for repentance in wordless prayers, Milton shows the limit of a superficially magnificent rhetoric as the available means of persuasion that cannot contain a heart of sincere repentance. Like "the Spirit of prayer," which led them to pray sincerely even in this crisis where human reason has fallen, Milton seeks to lead his readers to recognize the necessity of paying attention to "the simple

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[106] Even David Loewenstein argues that the poetic style of the final two Books "become[s] increasingly austere and unadorned" (2004, 46).

[107] Sister Mary Brian Durkin argues that Books XI and XII reveal Milton's masterful skill in employing poetic craft "to intensify the instructional impact of the poem and to heighten the visual and auditory beauty" (140).

unambiguous voice of truth instead of the superficially attractive but deceiving voice of fine rhetoric" (Berek 246).

By refraining from using splendid rhetoric, Milton aims to use concise language to cultivate readers' reason and their understanding of the meaning of the suffering they will face in order to restore their faith in God.[108] By devising a clear and carefully planned poetic style that conveys divine instruction concisely, Milton not only elaborates on the meaning of what will happen to Adam, Eve, and their posterity in a terse style, but also helps readers to learn that the tribulations and salvation of the elect few form the core of postlapsarian history and serve as an essential step to entering God's millennial kingdom. More importantly, Milton utilizes a precise and elaborate style to make his readers reinterpret their present difficulties through faith without losing their inner self-rule. For this purpose, Milton eloquently controls the archangelic prophecies through rhythmic changes that enable his readers to firmly recognize their freedom of faith. In doing so, Milton gives readers the biblical authority to maintain their internal self-rule through faith. By artfully constructing and controlling metrical variations, Milton invites readers to be more discerning and to use their spiritual freedom as a way to achieve their spiritual growth and autonomy of voluntary obedience.

Instead of using rhyme, Milton deploys the blank verse line as the basic unit to develop and synthesize his authorial cause of educating readers to maintain an internal self-governance that is not bound by external coercive traditions or established rules. Milton's blank verse line consists of precise decasyllables and almost always ends with a marked stressed syllable, which enhances

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[108] Michael's emphasis on clarity is very conspicuous in his first words to Adam: "Adam, Heav'ns high behest no Preface needs" (*PL* 11.251). By going straight to the point in a straightforward style, Michael focuses on properly conveying to readers the solace, wisdom, and courage that God provides to fortify them for their postlapsarian life and to encourage them to follow God's plan.

the unifying power of the individual line to replace the effect of rhyme. Within this strict prosodic norm of unrhymed iambic pentameter, the poetic functions of the so-called epic caesura and enjambment allow Milton to devise metrical variations that reveal his desire to support readers to strengthen their internal governance by reinforcing their spiritual freedom. By utilizing changing rhythms, Milton not only lets readers slowly learn that obedience is not a surrender to external oppressive forces or laws, but an act of following the guidance or rule of "a reasoning mind" and faith (Gore 19), even as he also stimulates readers both to persevere with "suffering for truth's sake" (*PL* 12.569) for the "highest victorie" (*PL* 12.570) and to resist the government's oppression in order to regain their political and religious liberty in a way that is in harmony with God's will.

By fashioning changing metrical prosody in a stable rhythm through "constant variation of the caesura" and expressive use of very rare feminine endings (Creaser 2010; 112), Milton's blank verse line appears designed to increase the intimacy between readers and Michael as a way to enhance the effectiveness of the archangelic education. Milton utilizes a stable iambic rhythm not only to signal reassurance that God will remain with Adam after his banishment but also to enable him to explore a full-fledged postlapsarian history with Michael before his expulsion. However, by properly transforming the iambic rhythm through the epic caesura and the feminine ending, Milton appropriately highlights the values that Adam needs to learn for a new life without discouragement:

> Which that thou mayst beleeve, and be confirmd
> Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
> To shew thee what shall come in future dayes
> To thee and to thy Ofspring; good with bad
> Expect to hear, supernal Grace contending
> With sinfulness of Men; thereby to learn
> True patience, and to temper joy with fear
> And pious sorrow, equally enur'd
> By moderation either state to beare,

> Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
> Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure
> Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend (*PL* 11.355-366)

In order to give Adam and readers deep confidence in the archangelic instruction that takes place before his expulsion from Eden, Milton not only uses the traditional way of placing caesural pauses after the sixth syllable in lines 11.355 and 11.356, but also puts emphasis on the sixth syllable before the syntactic break.[109] By laying stress on "beleeve" and "confirmd," Michael aims to reinforce that his message is trustworthy. Furthermore, by accentuating "depart" and "sent," Michael strengthens his divine authority to educate the couple who must leave Eden. Interestingly, unlike line 11.355, by giving a rhythmic inversion ("know I am sent") after the sixth syllable, Michael not only varies the iambic rhythm, but also strongly emphasizes the purpose of his visit with a trochaic foot ("know I"). In addition, in order to establish trust with Adam (and, by extension, Milton's readers), Michael does not produce any pauses or unusual rhythms in line 11.357. More interestingly, even though line 11.358 is a completely iambic pentameter, there is a pause after the unstressed seventh syllable ("Ofspring"). Although the semicolon breaks the sentence semantically and grammatically, the unstressed seventh syllable is the starting point of an iambic foot ("-spring; good with bad"). Here the rhythm of the line continues although the enjambed sentence from lines 11.355 to 11.358 is completed.

Deploying an unexpected break in the iambic pentameter line is a good way to reveal the greatness of God's grace in a poetic rhythm that Adam (and his descendants) will face in future. The greatness of God's grace is well illustrated by the poetic form of line 11.359 that combines a conventional medial pause with an unusual rhythm. Michael ends line 11.359 with a feminine

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[109] According to John Creaser, "a caesura after the fourth or sixth syllable was conventional in pentameters, yet more than the caesuras in *Paradise Lost* occur elsewhere" (2008, 178).

ending, even though he employs the traditional way of putting an internal pause after the fourth syllable. The three-syllable word "Supernal" enables the iambic rhythm to continue as before. This iambic jog-trot increases the onward movement of the line, and thus, strengthens the stability of God's grace for Adam and his descendants. Moreover, since "Supernal" is counted as three syllables, unlike other lines that have precisely ten syllables, line 11.359 exceeds the decasyllabic line, revealing the greatness of God's grace that cannot be contained in the decasyllabic line. Most importantly, line 11.359 ends with a feminine ending ("contending"), which is very rare in Book XI. The combination of exceeding the limits of meters and the feminine ending shows the intensity of God's grace and the never-ending lingering afterglow of its intensity. This combination hints that God's grace will eradicate man's sin, no matter how great human sin is, by exceeding what man deserves, just as the line exceeds the limits of meter with the extra unstressed syllable.[110] This lack of a clear-cut line ending serves as a poetic device to show in advance that postlapsarian history is the history of God's grace and, at the same time, that this history of grace will protect God's people. This device reflects Milton's optimism about postlapsarian history, although human sins make this history tragic. By emphasizing the greatness of God's grace, Milton helps Adam and Eve explore the new world from the standpoint of God's grace, free from their own disappointment of failure. Moreover, by breathing new hope into Adam and Eve, Milton leads readers to share in diverse possibilities that divine grace will offer in order to give readers a sense of responsibility for the postlapsarian history that will unfold in the future.

In contrast to the stable iambic pentameter of line 11.360, the combination of a stressed initial beginning and a sudden feminine caesura after the third syllable in line 11.361 devises an

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[110] Moreover, the feminine ending also implies human helplessness in the process of God's salvation.

unexpected rhythm. By putting a pyrrhic foot after the spondaic foot (“True patience, and”), Michael composes a variation of falling inversion, a rhythmic sequence of two successive stressed syllables and two successive unstressed syllables. This falling inversion not only creates a rhythm deviating from the predicted poetic progression, but also heightens the tension between two consecutive stressed syllables and two consecutive unstressed syllables. As a result, the unexpected sudden tension effectively highlights “True patience” as the most important quality for readers “to learn.” Simultaneously, a sudden feminine medial pause after the third syllable creates an unpredictable rhythm that makes readers stop longer after reading “True patience” and progress slowly toward the fourth syllable unstressed (“and”). By letting readers contemplate “True patience” longer, Milton urges readers to prepare for a future that is not smooth by developing “True patience.” Likewise, by employing a feminine medial pause after the fifth syllable in line 11.362, Michael accentuates the lasting sadness (“sorrow”) that readers will experience as they go through the process of repentance.

By placing caesurae after the odd unstressed syllables in both lines 11.361 and 11.362, Michael creates asymmetrical divisions within lines that not only classify the values that Adam must learn, but also are rhythmically linked to the next syllable. By employing unexpected rhythms in the enjambed line through syntactical breaks, Milton makes readers look back repeatedly while making them move toward the future. In doing so, Milton once again reminds readers of the values they need to learn to prepare for the future. These rhythmic variations ultimately attempt to lead readers to be “enur’d” to find “good with bad.” In other words, readers can use suffering as an opportunity to train themselves so that they can find good things even in the midst of difficulties. Moreover, as a way to emphasize the importance of self-discipline for readers, Milton encourages readers to cultivate the ability of moderation to bear prosperity or adversity by using a stable iambic

rhythm without any pause in line 11.363.

Finally, in order to urge Adam to adhere to his teaching to use adversity as a means of self-discipline, Michael starts with a trochee ("Safest thy life") before a medial pause in line 11.365. By giving a variation of iambic rhythm through the combination of the initial inversion and the classical pause, Michael reemphasizes that following his instruction is the "Safest" way to save Adam's life (and, by extension, readers' lives). In doing so, Milton once again evokes the qualities readers need to learn and inspires readers to have courage to prepare to confront the difficulties of postlapsarian history. In sum, by skillfully placing irregular caesurae and the feminine ending within the strictness of unrhymed metrical norms, Milton not only maintains the integrity of individual lines but also makes rhythmic variations for mimetic and emphatic ends without fancy imagery or poetic techniques. The changing rhythm of Milton's blank verse line prepares readers to learn the qualities that can establish their internal self-rule in the history of God's grace.

Michael claims that faith-based choice is the beginning of establishing internal self-government. In order to emphasize the importance of self-rule based on faith, Michael presents Enoch as a notable Old Testament example of faith defined as "the evidence of things not seen" by Saint Paul (Hebrews 11:1, 5):

> But hee the seventh from thee, whom thou beheldst
> The onely righteous in a World perverse,
> And therefore hated, therefore so beset
> With Foes for daring single to be just,
> And utter odious Truth, that God would come
> To judge them with his Saints: Him the most High
> Rapt in a balmie Cloud with winged Steeds
> Did, as thou sawst, receave, to walk with God
> High in Salvation and the Climes of bliss,
> Exempt from Death; to shew thee what reward
> Awaits the good, the rest what punishment. (*PL* 11.700-710)

Michael asserts that Enoch is persecuted for being just in "a World perverse." As a way to reinforce

the fact that Enoch is victimized because of his justice, Michael puts an unexpected feminine caesura after the fifth syllable ("hated") in line 11.702. Moreover, by using ploce, the speedy reiteration of "therefore" with few words intervening, Michael accentuates both the reason for and the intensity of hatred directed at Enoch. A syntactic break, placed between two "therefores," grammatically or semantically distinguishes the first phrase from the next, but is also rhythmically connected to the "therefore" with an iambic foot in the next phrase, forming a natural rhythm while simultaneously creating a rhythmic variation. In line 11.704, on the other hand, Michael stresses the coming of God as a clear truth by combining the traditional way of placing an internal pause after the sixth syllable with the perfect iambic rhythm of the line.

More interestingly, in line 11.705, the enjambed sentence is finished with "his Saints," the subject of judgement of "a World perverse," and the new sentence begins with "Him." The sequence of a stressed final ending ("Saints") and a stressed initial beginning ("Him") creates a rhythmic variety within the line. In doing so, Milton reminds readers of their sacred role as the saints, God's chosen people, prophesied as the main agents to govern the kingdom of Christ (Revelation 20:4). In other words, by adding sudden and potent emphasis, ensures that readers, as "his Saints," do not lose their faith in God under any persecution, as in Enoch's example. Furthermore, contrary to Enoch's persecuted position in "a World perverse," Michael utilizes two full stresses in the ninth and tenth syllables ("most High") to intensify the height of Enoch's ascension at the peak of the rhythm. In addition, an initial inversion ("Rapt in"), which begins with a stressed syllable in line 11.706, emphasizes the ecstatic state of Enoch with a change in the poetic rhythm. Michael's combination of the spondaic foot ("most High") and the initial inversion ("Rapt in") make an unpredictable rising rhythm suitable for Enoch to ascend to heaven and be honored in heaven.

In line 11.707, most interestingly, there are three caesurae that come after the stressed syllables of the first, the fourth, and the sixth syllables. All words preceding pauses are verbs ("Did," "sawst," and "receave"), emphasizing the active behavior of Enoch and readers. First of all, the first break after a stressed initial beginning ("Did") divides an initial trochee ("Did, as") in an initial inversion ("Did, as thou sawst"). The first pause is a poetic device that not only slows down the speed of Michael's articulation, but also reflects the experience of Enoch. The first break not only creates an unusual rhythm, but also turns our eyes to a short adverbial clause ("as thou sawst") before the second pause for a moment. The stressed syllable is the verb ("sawst") before the second pause that underscores that audiences, including Adam and contemporary suffering readers, are witnesses to the ecstatic event.

After preparing readers to be witnesses, the stressed initial beginning ("Did") emphasizes the verb "receave," the only multisyllabic word in this line, in order to proclaim that Enoch has been accepted into heaven. The third break gives the witnesses time to enjoy the surprising joy of Enoch entering Heaven by using stable iambic meter, just like "receave." In other words, the grammatical breaks after the first, the fourth, and the sixth stressed syllables distinguish between Enoch and readers' experiences and, at the same time, place their experiences in the same space, making them an interactive experience. By utilizing the unexpected caesura with the classical caesurae, Milton creates asymmetrical divisions within the line and allows readers as witnesses to share the pleasure of Enoch walking with God. Enoch's blessing is well illustrated by an initial trochee ("High in") on the next line.

Afterwards, with a stable iambic rhythm and classical caesurae in lines 11.709 and 11.710, Michael reveals that Enoch's eternal life is a reward that can also be granted to readers with faith in Christ. Moreover, by noting that Michael will soon show the readers what the rest of the unjust

people are punished for, Milton aims to form readers who are capable of internal self-government and who can judge right and wrong by the standards of faith, not by the standards of unjust majority. By making readers familiar with the role of the just few, Milton suggests his contemporaries can overcome their hardships through internal self-rule based on faith. In short, by changing iambic rhythms with caesurae, Milton devises a precise and elaborate rhythm to indicate the importance of the firm faith needed by a handful of just readers facing extreme oppression.

Just as the delicate changing rhythms have allowed readers to enjoy Enoch's experience as their own, Milton's varied poetic rhythm helps oppressed readers perceive Christ's sacrifice as their contemporary experience in Book XII. In doing so, Milton earnestly leads readers to explore how to liberate themselves from the influence of sin and death through their internal self-rule:

> In his [Christ's] redemption, and that his obedience
> Imputed becomes theirs by Faith, his merits
> To save them, not thir own, though legal works.
> For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,
> Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemnd
> A shameful and accurst, naild to the Cross
> By his own Nation, slaine for bringing Life; (*PL* 12.408-414)

This passage reveals the characteristics of the epic that Milton intends to embody. In contrast to traditional epics that praise the hero's tremendous power and use of force, Milton concentrates on depicting Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom." Most interestingly, Milton restates the core of Christian doctrine—Christians are saved by Christ's death—with the freest rhythm. Milton puts a caesura after "redemption" and ends line 12.408 with "obedience," which stresses that Christ's obedience is the key to human salvation. Milton represents the difficulty of salvation by preventing the iambic rhythm from progressing steadily through the employment of the medial pause coming after the unstressed fifth syllable. As a solution to the difficulty of salvation, Milton places the four-syllable word "obedience" at the end of the line in order to maintain the iambic rhythm and end the line

with a stressed syllable because the last unstressed syllable is promoted and is reserved for a stressed syllable when two weak syllables are at the end of the line.[111] The arrangement of "redemption" and "obedience" produces an unexpected rhythm that clarifies that the completion of Christ's salvation begins with his obedience.

The next two lines explain that Christ's obedience will be attributed vicariously to believers by their faith in Christ. Also noteworthy is the rhythm, as Milton aims to draw attention to the heart of the Christian creed through the location of medial pauses and a feminine ending in line 12.409. First of all, there is an enjambment, where the sentence extends from the medial pause on line 12.408 to the medial pause on line 12.409. This enjambment not only generates the effect that the rhythm of line 12.408 continues, but also highlights the last word ("Faith") of the clause. Moreover, the medial pause after the stressed "Faith" provides readers with a longer time to understand that believers' faith is the way to make Christ's obedience meaningful and useful to them. Placing stress on the believer's faith is, in fact, Milton's call for readers to have a strong faith as the basis of self-rule because this passage is Michael's answer to the Adamic question of how to liberate himself and his descendants from Satan's works ("Sin and Death").

In addition to the novelty of the medial break after the seventh syllable, the feminine ending ("merits") makes the rhythm completely different from the iambic rhythm before the medial break in 12.409. Unlike the iambic rhythm of up to the sixth syllable, a trochaic rhythm ("Faith, his merits") comes from the seventh to the tenth syllables although the medial pause after the seventh syllables temporarily stops the trochaic foot. Most importantly, this unexpected

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[111] According to Derek Attridge's explanation, promotion—that an unstressed syllable "can be promoted, i.e. experienced as a beat"—occurs "between two unstressed syllables," "at the beginning of the line before an unstressed syllable," "or at the end of the line after an unstressed syllable" (96).

rhythmic change causes the line 12.409 to end with the feminine ending of “merits” that is very rare in Book XII. The combination of the trochaic rhythm, the caesura, and the feminine ending creates an unpredictable poetic rhythm, reinforcing the importance of Christ’s merit in human salvation. In doing so, Milton articulates established Christian doctrine in an unpredictable rhythm. In addition, “his merits” is the subject of the enjambed line. Line 12.410 is a completely iambic pentameter line, but the two medial pauses make the poetic rhythm irregular. By placing the first medial pause after the unstressed third syllable, Milton effectively shows that the subject of salvation is not believers (“them”) but “his merits.” The employment of a classical medial pause after the stressed sixth syllable (“own”) also suggests that human effort is useless for human salvation. Moreover, the last phrase after the second medial pause further embodies the vanity of human effort. The word to pay attention is “legal” because in line 12.410, all words except for “legal” are monosyllabic. “Legal” not only slows down the pace of the rhythm but also helps to end the line an iambic rhythm that stresses the word “work.” In doing so, Milton allows readers to dwell longer on the word “legal” and to become aware of the futility of human “legal works.” In other words, the rhythm emphasizes that Christ’s sacrifice is necessary for salvation, instead of the Law of the Old Testament.

Moreover, by closing the enjambed sentence from lines 12.408 to 12.410 with “legal work” in line 12.410, Milton contrasts Christ’s “obedience” and “merits” with human “legal works.” By utilizing enjambment and two unpredictable medial pauses, Milton reveals that Christ’s “obedience” and “merit” overpower human “legal works.” By emphasizing Christ’s superiority, Milton turns the reader’s attention from external obedience to the law or ordinance of the church based on the Judaic laws of the Old Testament to the achievement of Christ’s obedience in human

salvation. While maintaining the regular iambic pentameter line, Milton's rhythmic flexibility allows free rhythms beyond the metrical regularity in articulating a fixed Christian doctrine.

From lines 12.411 to 12.414, Milton creates a new form of hero through Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom" and simultaneously comforts his suffering readers. As in line 12.409, in line 12.411 a medial pause comes after the seventh syllable. However, unlike line 12.409, the seventh syllable is an unstressed syllable. By placing two consecutive unstressed syllables after a spondaic foot ("live hated, be"), Milton devises an inversion, a rhythmic sequence of two successive stressed syllables and two successive unstressed syllables. Most interestingly, by putting the medial pause between two consecutive unstressed syllables, this falling inversion contributes not only to pulling the poetic rhythm away from the expected metrical pattern, but also to increasing the tension between two consecutive stressed syllables and two consecutive unstressed syllables. The tension further emphasizes the stressed words ("live hated") and more effectively highlights that Christ is hated by people.

In addition, in contrast to line 12.409 that ends with a feminine ending, Milton articulates that Christ is blasphemed by finishing the line with an iambic foot in line 12.411. It is remarkable that even if Milton puts an internal pause after the same syllable, he transforms the rhythm to suit an unexpected mood. Here and afterward, by placing epic caesurae after odd syllables, Milton devises asymmetrical divisions within the lines that make unpredictable rhythms. Furthermore, in line 12.412 the combination of an initial inversion ("Seis'd on") and medial pauses switches the poetic rhythm in reinforcing the details of Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom." Just as the initial inversion accentuates the arrest of Christ by force through an unexpected trochaic foot that is different from the preceding iambic foot, an unexpected syntactic pause after the stressed fifth syllable ("judg'd") right after the first break not only prevents the repetition of the same rhythm of

the first phrase in the next second and third phrase, but also holds the reader's attention longer in the second phrase. Instead of boringly enumerating the sufferings of Christ, by varying the poetic rhythm, Milton asks readers to recognize the pain of Christ being sentenced to death as a present event.

In line 12.413, Milton utilizes a classical medial pause after the stressed sixth syllable to avoid the monotonous progression of iambic rhythm with a sudden strong rhythm. In doing so, Milton represents Christ's crucifixion, the climax of Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom," with a trochaic foot ("naild to"). A sudden medial pause following the fifth syllable reveals the subject of Christ's crucifixion and its purpose, which Michael stresses in line 12.414. In the first phrase in line 12.414, there is a rising inversion, a rhythmic sequence of two successive unstressed syllables and two successive stressed syllables. Since the second stressed syllable functions as the climax of the emphasis in a rising inversion (Attridge 121), the culmination of Michael's stress is on "Nation," part of a spondaic foot ("own Nation"). By giving the pinnacle of emphasis to "Nation," Milton harshly accuses Christ's own people of murdering Christ without having faith in him.

In addition to the rising inversion that opposes the rhythm of the preceding line, the feminine medial pause after the fifth syllable following the spondaic rhythm makes the rhythm of line 12.414 even more varied. Despite the presence of caesura, the unstressed fifth syllable is semantically and grammatically included in the first phrase, but is a starting point for a subsequent iambic rhythm in the second phrase, which effectively reinforces that Christ is killed to revive human life by accentuating "Slaine," "Bring," and "Life." The feminine caesura helps to embody the purpose of Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom" in a more varied rhythm. Criticizing Christ's own nation with a changing rhythm asks readers to become self-governing individuals who decides their actions according to individual beliefs, not a majority's logic, even if they are being

persecuted by their own nation. In sum, by depicting Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom," the most doctrinal content in *Paradise Lost*, in the most varied rhythm, Milton presents Christ, who is freed from Satan's power by obedience to God, as a new hero to be followed by readers, encouraging them to establish an internal self-governance that is emancipated from satanic forces, including governmental persecution.

Overall, making Christ's "Heroic Martyrdom" the subject of a new heroic poem for "more Heroic" Christian purposes (*PL* 9.14) reminds readers of the experience of defeat due to the collapse of the English Republic. Milton's epic about defeat inspires readers to have the courage to spiritually explore the world unfolding before them beyond the secular perspective of victory and defeat. By mixing republican ideals with biblical prophecy, Milton's prophetic cry—that if readers persevere and build up their firm faith, a new internal paradise will unfold again—is intended to turn the experience of failure into the birth of a self-governable reader who can constantly explore the world afresh and discover a new path through faith. In line with Milton's prophetic purpose, frequent rhythmic changes for mimetic and emphatic ends not only offer readers a variety of lessons but also guarantee them the opportunity to cultivate independent judgments as a way to preserve their individuality and freedom while overcoming the current circumstance of harsh oppression without succumbing to external pressure. Providing pastoral care that consoles readers and consolidating their internal self-rule through a poetic style suitable for postlapsarian interiority, Milton's blank verse lines are built to urge readers to participate in his prophetic cause of seeking God's righteous way in harmony with freedom. By leading readers to further pursue spiritual freedom, which is the basis of internal governance, rhythmic variations of Milton's blank verse lines endeavor to train and unite fit readers who can solidify an inner rule that can resist the dominant governmental discourse and continue to accomplish the incomplete

revolution.

4. Conclusion

After the return of the monarchy, White and Milton were almost entirely engrossed in the struggle for the survival of those who supported the republican cause for political and religious freedom. Along with the return of the freedom to publish, guaranteed throughout the Interregnum, to the status quo of the printing industry during the Tudor and early Stuart era, the government's widespread persecution of dissenters after the failed Fifth Monarchist uprising in London in 1661 endangered the existence of pro-republican political forces, including the survival of White and Milton. In order to continue to uphold the "Good Old Cause" of religious and political liberty even in the midst of this strict censorship and severe persecution, White and Milton transformed their view of millennium from a revolutionary into an inner and spiritual. By retreating to a spiritual dimension, White and Milton participated in a war of interpretations to oppose the misuse of government power that compelled individual conscience by forcing external conformity to the authority or doctrine of established national Church. By utilizing the typological perspective to present an example in which the afflicted but righteous believers play a just role by relying on faith without yielding to external oppression, White and Milton strive to highlight their authorial cause and to win readers' support with a religious force capable of transcending government discourse.

White employs her verse prophecies as a means of reinforcing the intimacy and unity between God and believers, where state authority cannot intervene. White's "Songs of the Redeemed" assert that the early Quakers are not a group harmful to the English nation, but a group acting as spiritual prophets who can save England from corruption and lead it on the way to spiritual regeneration. By declaring that the Quakers are God's chosen remnant, or "the Royal

Seed," through the language of election and covenant, White not only elevates Quakerism as the true form of religious worship for the English nation, but also urges the restored government not to lead England into corruption by oppressing God's chosen people of Quakers. By suggesting that awakening the divine presence in each individual soul is a way to guide England on the right path of God, White's songs seek to create a community of true believers in England instead of an outward, visible, and established national Church. Relying entirely on divine authority and prioritizing harmony with God over harmony with state authority in her poetry, White's poetic ministry through the language of election and covenant not only urges king, rulers, and judges to allow religious toleration for dissenters, a potential true set of religious worshippers for the English nation, but also gives the early Quakers consolation in order to strengthen their internal solidarity and to collect a chosen remnant in building a community for true believers.

Like White's eschatological point of view, Milton also subsumed the history of the sufferings of the ancient Israelites into his contemporary understanding of the suffering of persecuted readers. By using the providential history of the Israelite as a lens through which readers can interpret their current suffering, Milton leads them to revisit the failure of the English Revolution through a typological perspective. Presenting the persecuted but righteous few of the Bible as models stimulates readers not only to refashion their self-image anew through pain but also to ponder new tasks that might proactively be undertaken in a new era of persecuted saints. In particular, by embodying the archangelic teachings given to Adam and the persecuted readers preparing for a new life through a "paradise within" in an elaborate and flexible style, Milton prompts readers not only to eliminate factors within them that make it impossible to govern themselves but also to strive to attain autonomy by practicing virtue. Milton's efforts to find a poetic style suitable for postlapsarian interiority and envisaging a new future for the persecuted

but righteous few demonstrate that his lifelong goal of cultivating readers capable of self-governance continues through the education of a small number of fit readers, even after the Restoration of the monarchy.

Together, White and Milton's typological reading of current political circumstances remind readers that they are engaging as judges in a war in which conflicting interpretations of historical events compete. Just as he fought the royalist interpretation of Charles I's death in *Eikonoklastes*, Milton seeks to guide readers in how to interpret the present history of the sufferings that dissenters faced after the Restoration. In the very process of political negotiations Milton uses an elaborate and flexible style to form a fit audience who can advocate Milton's explication of the current history of suffering. Just as female writers such as Cary, Trapnel, and White employ typological reading to offset their political and social disadvantages, Milton's stylistic innovation, relying solely on divine authority to carry out his authorial mission, emphasizes the importance of a fit readership in proving God's righteous way to men in order to overcome his political and social vulnerability of his later years.

Likewise, by capturing the joy of the elect remnant that has entered the kingdom in which God's harmonious order is embodied on earth, White's poetic style inspires readers to pursue the values of the eternal Christ's kingdom, not the restored kingdom of the Stuarts. By reproducing the upcoming realization of Christ's kingdom for the elect remnant as a current event, White's songs enable readers to countenance her interpretation that the governmental persecution endured by dissenters after the reestablishment of the monarchy is not God's punishment, but the process of fulfilling the divine mission God has given them to purify England for Christ's kingdom to come to England. White and Milton's prophetic styles are the product of their indomitable will and relentless efforts to attract readers to their side in order to defend republican values. Although their

typological readings imply that they are in a politically and socially defensive corner, White and Milton's literary styles demonstrates their willingness not to hesitate to construct fit readers who agree with the idea that their revolutionary cause has not failed.

Despite the commonalities of the two authors adopting biblical prophecies to uphold republican values as political circumstances change, it is noteworthy that White utilizes both prose and poetry to delineate her vision of the upcoming kingdom of Christ. Compared to Milton, White's effective use of poetry and prose and her careful strategic choice in when to use each demonstrate that she belongs to the tradition of female prophets who employ a variety of literary genres to overcome their serious vulnerabilities in terms of gender politics, even though both White and Milton faced severe political oppression. The stylistic difference between White and Milton's prophecies indicates the strategic distinction in terms of gender politics between them in the struggle to obtain readers' consent. The literary styles of the two writers are a product of how they coped with the government's oppression, and at the same time, a clue that helps to historicize and explore the tactical differences in gender politics between the two writers, who were both politically and socially isolated.

Chapter VI. Conclusion: The Vision of the "unity of the Spirit"

All the writers covered in this dissertation assumed their role as prophets who could mediate between God and the British people on religious and political issues. They were British citizens living in England and also faithful saints chosen by God as citizens of heaven to prepare for *Regnum Christi*, or the kingdom of Christ on earth. As Julia Reinhard Lupton points out, they were "citizen saints" who were in this world but not of the world, "a hybrid between the sacred and secular forms of the community" (4). As "citizen saints," they shared the vision of the "unity of the Spirit" (*CPW* II 565), as revealed by Milton in *Areopagitica*, a vision for Britain to become spiritually united in the Holy Spirit, in which Britain can accept and support the role of religious sectarianism in renewing and rebuilding Britain's national identity into "the Temple of Lord" Christ (*CPW* II 555) in order to prepare for the shortly expected kingdom of God (*CPW* II 558). For Milton and radical female prophets, religious sectarianism did not endanger the unity of the British nation or threaten the stability of the newly emerging republican state, but rather it, through the help of the Holy Spirit, would become the driving force for the renewal of Britain as an elect nation, which had lost its identity as a chosen nation due to William Laud's religious reforms, Oliver Cromwell's installation of the quasi-regal Protectorate, and the regal prodigality of the Restoration. For them, the power of the Holy Spirit is the guardian of national reform and the source for nurturing a wider audience in support of "citizen saints" who enjoy religious freedom and liberty of conscience to urge a total renewal of the state and prevent it from deviating from its mission to represent and carry out God's providence.

These writers utilized the concept of the elect nation for the purpose of renewing Britain through their millennial prophetic discourse; however, the concept of the elect nation included "multiple and contested nuances" (Bouldin 24). From his first prose tract, *Of Reformation*, Milton

asserted that national reform was necessary for Britain to fulfill its mission as a nation chosen by God (*CPW* II 552). Before the Restoration, Milton envisioned that an election at the national level would initiate a new vision for national renewal. In contrast to Milton, for three of the female prophets covered in this dissertation, the concept of the elect refers not to the entire of British nation, but only to a few members of the true church.[112] By challenging the tradition of defining election at the national level and by appropriating the elect as a remnant within the English nation (Bouldin 17), these female dissenters emphasized their sect's divine mission as the elect remnant and, thus, defended their sect's weak political, social, and religious standing. By embracing and propagating the perspective that God had chosen a few remnants "from a corrupt and fallen nation" (Bouldin 24), these female prophets claimed that sectarianism could contribute to Britain's political and religious revival. By arguing that their role as the true church is destined to shape the future of England, they hope that readers will join their sect, remnants of God's elect, and support their sect's advocacy of political reform for Britain's spiritual regeneration. Furthermore, in order to clearly demonstrate their sacred mission and abilities as true citizen-saints in a fallen nation, female prophets employed their literary assets to create a non-conformist poetics intended to convincingly present God's plan for national reform in England. By combining the language of election, millennial prophecy, and poetics—regardless of the era of the Republic, the Protectorate, and the Restoration—they created a triple mechanism to build a supportive readership and to advocate for their radical messages as non-conformist female prophets.

After the Restoration of the monarchy, Milton uses the same strategy as these women, by

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[112] For issues concerning the political implications of the concept of an "elect nation" and the theological implications of who constitutes the "elect" in the prophecies of this age, see Elizabeth Bouldin's *Women Prophets and Radical Protestantism in the British Atlantic World, 1640-1730,* pp17-25.

assuming that his "fit audience…though few" (*PL* 7:31) is a biblical remnant of God, and thus identifying a small community of ideal individual readers as the seeds to purify England anew in *Paradise Lost*.[113] Milton's awareness of the concept of the remnant can be seen from the fact that he included the phrase "God hath yet his remnant" in the first edition of *The Readie and Easie Way*, published on the very eve of the return of the monarchy, although the phrase was deleted from the second edition (Chernaik 122; Hammond 198). According to Ryan Hackenbracht's study, in the New Testament, the remnant, or beings prophesied to be saved, will endure trials and tribulations in obedience to Christ until the Second Coming of Christ (12, 15). Moreover, according to Paul Hammond's research, the biblical remnant is the few preserved to save the many, like Noah, who is preserved to restore mankind from the Flood (199). Taken together, the remnant is a righteous minority preserved by God who will lead the corrupt nation to the righteous path of God by overcoming adversity with great perseverance and by practicing God's justice and providence.

Most interestingly, the characteristics of the biblical remnant or a righteous minority are consistent with the qualities Milton posits in his ideal reader in *Paradise Lost*. By linking his ideal readers to the biblical figures of the just few who are persecuted by the unjust, Milton aimed to preserve and nurture his small number of fit readers who could cultivate "the better fortitude / Of Patience" (*PL* 9.31-32) and virtue so that they could govern themselves and lead Britain to a righteous path of God based on faith without yielding to external oppression. Milton's goal to give his ideal fit reader the qualities and duties of the biblical remnants, is equivalent to encouraging a small number of individuals to continue to pursue the banner of the English Revolution with indomitable perseverance, a new heroic trait needed in times of repression.

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[113] For the relationship between the concept of remnant and Milton's a fit readership of *Paradise Lost*, see Warren Chernaik's "Milton's 'Fit Audience.'" *Milton Studies* 60.1-2 (2018): 122-129.

It is noteworthy that Milton, like female prophets, understood the elect as a remnant within the British nation, as the impending Restoration heralded the political persecution of those who supported the republic. Furthermore, this change in his concept of the election coincides with a radical change in his literary style as a way of adjusting to the shifting political realities he encountered. Milton, who was the feeblest politically in his life after the Restoration and had to actively defend his political vulnerability, revealed his prophetic voice through poetry rather than his prose, which had become been plainer up to the Restoration. Only after the Restoration did Milton create a triple mechanism to justify his goal of cultivating a citizen capable of internal self-rule through the combination of the language of election, millennial prophecy, and a new poetics.

The critical comparison of their literary strategies, established by the convergence of a non-conformist aesthetics with the concepts of the remnant and millennial vision, provides a compelling context and key to interpreting Milton's literary strategy after the Restoration. Milton's development of a poetic ministry, like White, means that for the first time in his career as a writer, he advocated the vision of "unity of the Spirit" from the same political position as non-conformist female prophets. In other words, Milton, as a non-conformist persecuted by the regime, was also actively participating in creating a culture of resistance through poetry, like female prophets, rather than defending and supporting the ideals of the non-conformist as an outsider.

Significantly, Milton's political fragility led him to employ blank verse to foster a small number of "citizen saints" who had the vision of the "unity of the Spirit," or the non-conformist ideal that could utter and insist on 'truth' freely according to their conscience. The fact that Milton only exploited poetry after the Restoration to formulate new literary strategies to defend his political vulnerability provides clues to infer the role and meaning of poetry in the literary strategies of female writers who combined poetry and prose. All female prophets covered in this

dissertation put poetry at the center of their discourse in order to prove themselves masters of plain aesthetics. Female prophets' employment of verse to effectively appeal to a wider readership in the 1650s and 1660s means that—regardless of the era of the Republic, the Protectorate, and the Restoration—female prophets suffered the difficulties Milton faced only after the Restoration and struggled to devise literary strategies to overcome their difficulties and to gather readers who supported them. The difficulties faced by female prophets stemmed from social hostility to women's speeches in the public sphere, their political and religious weaknesses, and the arduous task of proving that their messages, hostile to the regime, were useful and feasible visions for Britain. As a way to endure these difficulties, through a non-conformist aesthetics that separates their vision from hypocrisy, dissimulation, and duplicity, female prophets revealed their inner humility and their purity in seeking the divine will, and they challenged the tradition of linking women's prophecies with the deceptive arts. By validating the purity of their prophecies and their usefulness as visions for the British people, their stylistic simplicity demonstrates the excellence of female prophets in worship, in aesthetics, and in delivering the divine message. In short, for them, a plain aesthetics is the product of a struggle to protect their discourse from any containment by the ruling regime.

More significantly, these literary achievements of women writers were accomplished within the literary capital given to them. By creating hybrid texts using various literary genres available to them, female prophets transformed the status of their aesthetic plainness from a product of women's humbleness and exclusion from formal schooling, into a token of trust capable of conveying God's will without deception. In the world of Christian paradoxes where weakness becomes strength, their plain style, an embodiment of honesty and purity that could faithfully embody God's will, makes female prophets, being weaker in gender, in art, in learning, the most

reliable agents to deliver God's message.

Female prophets' literary achievements are even more pronounced compared to the transformation of Milton's literary style. While female prophets produced hybrid texts based on the Bible, Milton produced tracts using a variety of sources, from patristics, contemporary politics, the classical canon, and the Bible. Even when Milton was at his most politically vulnerable time after the Restoration, he had the literary capital to innovate on the existing epic form by using blank verse lines and a biblical source. Although these authors shared the goal of linking simplicity and sincerity in worship, social manners, and aesthetics, and conducted various formal experiments in order to find a form suitable for worshiping in spirit and in truth, the differences in literary capital according to gender are as striking as their political status or class differences. Milton, for example, was able to use his literary capital to devise much more complex and sophisticated sentences and poems than those found in female prophets' hybrid texts, despite his lifelong convictions on the importance of plainness in religious issues. More significantly, despite the differences in literary capital available to them, Milton's ability to exploit the epic form when he was in his most vulnerable political position allows us to understand the role of verse in non-conformist cultures in prophetic literature. Milton's use of poetry after the Restoration means that Milton and female prophets, regardless of gender, were in a vulnerable position. At this point, the literary form of poetry is at the intersection of gender, political status, and class differences, and provides clues to understand how these writers' gender, political status, and class differences intersected to create unique poetics.

Studying canonical and noncanonical literature together through historical, religious, and formalist perspectives allows us to understand the relationship of literature and resistance in the British Revolutionary period from a more integrated perspective. Nevertheless, since it focuses on

the commonalities and differences between Milton and female prophets, this dissertation does not consider the differences in literary capital among female writers. As Sasha Roberts argues that researchers should also pay attention to the differences in literary capital among other female writers, this dissertation leaves it to future scholars to study the differences in literary capital among other female writers according to "region, generation, ethnicity and experience orientation" along with class and religious politics (264), a task that will illuminate the uniqueness of their literary achievements on the basis of their respective literary capital.

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ABSTRACT

MILTON AND RADICAL FEMALE PROPHETS: MILLENARIANISM, READERSHIP, AND POETICS

by

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This dissertation investigates the ways in which John Milton and three radical female prophets, Mary Cary, Anna Trapnel, and Dorothy White, utilize literary genres and prophetic forms to build readerships that are favorable to their millennial visions in the 1640s and 1660s. By analyzing their literary strategies to appropriate the idea of the millennium to call for a national renewal through a combination of historicist and formalist approaches, this dissertation seeks to redress critical neglect over how their poetics serves to build pro-republican readerships that advocate their revolutionary causes. More specifically, it examines their development of a plain poetics which informs and defends their political and religious ideals, offering a useful context and perspective for investigating their different literary capitals in formulating literary strategies that intend to form sympathetic readerships. Although Milton and the female prophets pursue the shared goal of linking simplicity and sincerity in worship, social manners, and aesthetics through literary forms, this critical comparison demonstrates that their plain aesthetics differs greatly due to the difference in the literary capital available to them, such as their social status, gender, or political positions. By providing a detailed analysis of their formal choices, poetic

experimentations, and stylistic innovations within similar historical, socio-political contexts, this dissertation argues that focusing on differences in literary capital and strategies enables us to properly understand the role of non-conformist aesthetics and the literary achievements of Milton and the female prophets from a more integrated perspective of seventeenth-century prophetic literature. Through a blend of historicist and formalist approaches to their literary characteristics and achievements across gender boundaries, this dissertation provides a case study that helps resolve the critical disjunction in the study of early modern British women's literature and of early modern British literature.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Bosik Kim holds a Master of Arts in English Literature from Seoul National University and a Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature from Kosin University.