

ARTICLE



Nathaniel Bacon, John Milton, and the idea of an English climate and “constitution”

Margaret Tudeau-Clayton 

Institute of English Language and Literature, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks, firstly, to reinstate the Suffolk lawyer and MP Nathaniel Bacon (1593–1660) whose ideological as well as political importance has been neglected, and, secondly, to propose that his 1647 tract in support of the parliamentary cause may have been an additional prompt to John Milton’s work on his *History of Britain*, which dates from this period, and which counters the elder statesman’s view of the Saxons as furnishing a legitimising native model of parliamentary government. In what may, in turn, have been a response to Milton, Bacon, in a “summary Conclusion” to *The Continuation* of this tract (1651), counters the received view of the English/British as courageous but politically unskilled inhabitants of the cold North, which Milton reiterates, notably in the “Digression” to book 3 of his *History*. Asserting rather the “middle temper” of the people of England Bacon claims for them a native political wisdom like that of Aristotle’s Hellenic race with whom they share a “consanguinity”, while Milton urges the need to look to continental Europe for political as well as cultural models. The stakes of Bacon’s claims are pointed up by their appropriation to support the opposite cause by monarchists who share his nativist ideology, which is not shared by Milton as it is not shared by the monarchist William Temple whose position with respect to the continent of Europe aligns him rather with Milton. The perceived relation of England to its continental European neighbours thus cuts across the political divide between monarchists and parliamentarians.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 10 November 2020
Accepted 10 November 2020

KEYWORDS

Nathaniel Bacon; Milton;
climate; constitution

That the elder statesman Nathaniel Bacon (1593–1660) was known to John Milton (1608–74) cannot be doubted, although it is difficult to establish the degree of their acquaintance. A member of a distinguished family that had long enjoyed considerable influence in politics and law, Bacon, like Milton, studied at Christ’s College, Cambridge though nearly twenty years earlier (1606–11; Milton, 1625–29). Both remained connected to Cambridge – witness Milton’s “Lycidas” in memory of the fellow Edward King (1637) and Bacon’s appointment first as chairman of the Cambridge committee of the Eastern Association (1644) and then as recruiter MP for the university (1645). They shared more and less close acquaintances in Thomas Young (c1587–1655), Milton’s first tutor, who gifted books to Milton (?1627) and Bacon (1639), and Samuel Hartlib (c.1600–62), who references their work in his diary and who is asked to communicate with each of them on

behalf of his friend John Dury (1596–1680). Both were appointed to important jobs by the Council of State in 1649, Milton as Secretary for foreign tongues in March, Bacon as Admiralty Judge in August.¹ Both, finally, were published (Milton) or republished (Bacon) in the early 1670s by the radical Whig publisher John Starkey (c1630–90), which, like these appointments, bears out the most important connection – their investment in the parliamentary cause, which they both defended in their writing.² Bacon’s *An Historiell Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England* published in 1647 – without a title page attribution³ – and *The Continuation* published in 1651 – with a prominent title page attribution to “Nath: Bacon of Grais-Inne, Esquire”⁴ have been neglected by historians as well as by Miltonists, and those few scholars who have linked the two men’s work do so invariably to point to similarities of thought/argument.⁵ Yet there are significant differences, notably with respect, on the one hand, to an idea of a climatically determined national character, or “constitution”, as Bacon calls it, and, on the other, to the history of the nation not only in itself but also as an ideological/rhetorical resource in their political engagement.

What I want to propose firstly is that Bacon’s tract of 1647 may have been an additional prompt to Milton’s work in 1648–9 on the first books of his *History of Britain*, which counters the elder statesman’s view of the Saxons as furnishing a legitimising native model of parliamentary government. As I shall discuss, Milton subsequently reproduces Bacon’s view of the native Saxon model in the (Latin) *Defence of the people of England*, but without referring to the idea of a climatically determined national character, which features prominently in his “Digression” to book 3 of the *History* as it does in the introduction to the “summary Conclusion” of Bacon’s *The Continuation* published, like the *Defence*, in 1651. Bacon here asserts a climatically determined “middle temper” for “the People of England” who are “ingenious and active” against the received view (derived ultimately from the Greeks, notably Aristotle) of the courageous but intellectually “dull” and politically unskilled character of the English/British as inhabitants of the cold North.⁶ Dominant until the early seventeenth century this view is repeatedly reproduced by Milton, most explicitly in the “Digression” where he urges the consequent imperative to look to classical and European political models.⁷ It is this imperative to look to foreign models that, perhaps with Milton in mind, I want secondly to propose, Bacon contests, urging as natural to the “constitution” of the English people the native model established under the Saxons, the history of which he proceeds to recapitulate in the “summary Conclusion” to *The Continuation*. If this raises a number of difficult questions, not least about the composition and circulation of the “Digression” as well as of the *History*, I think the case is worth considering if only to reinstate the figure of Bacon and his tracts, which were possibly important to the work of John Milton, and undoubtedly important to English politics in the second half of the seventeenth century when the tracts were reprinted and referenced, and Bacon’s claims about the climate and “constitution” of the English appropriated for the opposite cause.

To begin then with the neglect of Nathaniel Bacon by historians as well as by Milton scholars who, if they do mention Bacon, invariably draw on the work of historians.⁸ It is particularly striking that Bacon’s 1647 tract is not mentioned in the discussions of the context of Milton’s *History* by French Fogle in his introduction to the Yale edition and by Nicholas von Maltzahn in the one major published monograph on the *History*.⁹ This neglect is due in part to “the ongoing history of bibliographical misdescription” of the

“various editions” of the tracts to which Joseph A. Dane has drawn attention, principally their attribution from 1689 to the antiquarian scholar John Selden (discussed below).¹⁰ The consequent near disappearance from view of their author is highlighted by the titular question in an article in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* of 1825 cited by Dane: “Who was the Nathaniel Bacon, the Author of ‘An Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England?’”¹¹ In the two hundred years since he has hardly become more visible: there is no mention of Bacon or his tracts in the wide ranging work of Austin Woolrych, Christopher Hill and Hugh Trevor-Roper, to name just three of the prominent twentieth-century historians of the English revolution. Where he does figure, if briefly, is in the work of those who examine the parliaments of the mid seventeenth-century in which he was active as an MP,¹² as I take up below, and of those who look at more local histories where he was an important figure.¹³ The tracts have, in turn, received some attention from scholars interested in seventeenth-century legal and political thought (although they are not mentioned in Quentin Skinner’s two-volume history), notably Richard Tuck and, especially, Janelle Greenberg, author of the ODNB article on Bacon, who includes (brief) discussion of the tracts in her book (with Corinne Weston) on the “controversy over legal sovereignty in Stuart England” and more extensive discussion in an important article on the “radical face of the ancient constitution”.¹⁴ Rosemary Sweet too highlights the significance of the 1647 tract as the “classic statement of the thesis of Anglo-Saxon liberties”, which “continues to feature in radical literature” through the “period of reform” in the eighteenth century.¹⁵ None of these scholars, however, comments on the claims about the climatically determined “naturall constitution of the people of England” added to introduce the new “summary Conclusion” in 1651. Yet, as we shall see, in post-restoration England the stakes of these claims were regarded as sufficiently important for their (re)appropriation in support of the opposite political cause.

While Bacon’s standing as “a major political figure” is acknowledged by Tuck, the family’s political importance is underscored by Brunton and Pennington who comment that it is “hard to find a more active parliamentary family in the last thirty years of the sixteenth century”, although its influence waned in the seventeenth century except for Nathaniel and his brother Francis.¹⁶ After studying at Christ’s, Nathaniel was admitted in 1611 to Gray’s Inn and in 1640 became a “bencher” (senior member) – an affiliation advertised on the title page of *The Continuation* – which, like Christ’s, was a breeding ground for “radicals”.¹⁷ It is, however, unclear just how radical Bacon was, or indeed how he is to be classified – as Independent (Underdown), Puritan (Holmes) or (most frequently) as a more (Greenberg) or less (Tuck) committed Presbyterian (although of course these slippery categories are not mutually exclusive).¹⁸ What is certain is that during the Long Parliament he was elected recorder to Ipswich (1643) as well as Recruiter to Cambridge University (1645) and that with his brother Francis he was secluded in the (so-called Pride’s) purge of 6 December 1648 only to be readmitted on 6 June 1649 and then to be appointed as Admiralty Judge in August. For von Maltzahn it was Milton’s “dismay” and “misgivings” at the readmission of “purged” members and the attendant revival of the Long Parliament that found expression in “the *History* and the Digression in particular”, which he dates to the first months of 1649.¹⁹ Bacon’s readmission later in the year may have been particularly galling to Milton since in 1646 he had been publicly associated with a parliamentary ordinance “[f]or the preventing of

the growing and spreading of heresies”, that is, with the Presbyterian “new forcers of conscience under the Long Parliament” denounced by Milton in a sonnet probably composed in the same year.²⁰ Bacon himself was apparently “unenthusiastic about the Commonwealth”, despite his appointment as judge, and was relatively inactive in parliament until the protectorate.²¹ On 8 February 1658/59 he intervened to urge that Richard Cromwell be immediately declared “Protector and Chief Magistrate, and Governor of these nations” on the grounds that “[i]t is our undoubted constitution to be governed by a single person and a Parliament”, adding, in a telling throwback and implicit critique of the Rump parliament, that the “Long Parliament, at first, never dreamt of any other Government”.²² On 19 February, in response to the question “whether the Constitution of the Parliament of England ought to be by two Houses?” he declared, “I think it ought, from long continuance. It hath been so for many hundred years . . . The people of England have a right to the single person and two Houses of Parliament, and it cannot be taken away without their consent”, adding, on 22 February, that he would have the House of Lords constituted “by election” not “by inheritance”.²³ As Tuck points out, the “principle of election and the supremacy of an elective assembly” were fundamental to Bacon’s ideal of the “Saxon Commonweale” described in the 1647 tract as “a beautifull composure, mutually dependant in every part from the Crown to the cloune, the Magistrates being all choice men, and the King the choicest of chosen; election being the birth of esteem, and that of merit”;²⁴ In the parliamentary interventions of February 1658/9 Bacon spoke then as the authority on the “ancient constitution” that he was deemed to be as author of the tracts. William Prynne, for instance, in 1657, in a tract on “*Fundamental Liberties*”, references (amongst others), “*Mr Nathaniel Bacon, in his first part of his Historical Discourse*”, and Richard Baxter, who owned a copy of one of the tracts, refers readers of *A Holy Commonwealth* (1659) to “*Mr. Bacons Treatise of Parliaments*” to learn “Of the Antiquity of their Power, and its Extent”.²⁵ Equally indicative of Bacon’s political importance is a mocking reprise of the title page of *The Continuation in Paul’s Churchyard* (1651–52), an attack on the Commonwealth attributed to the royalist satiric writer John Birkenhead (1616–79), which takes the form of a book list: “A new division of Government into *Monarchy, Aristocracy, Democracy, and Anarchy*, by *Nathaniel Bacon* of Grayes Inne Esquire”:²⁶

The publishing history too indicates the authority commanded by the tracts, if not their author, whose name from 1689 is subordinated to that of John Selden to whom the tracts, bound together in a single volume and given a new title, are attributed as they will be subsequently, including in the *English Short Title Catalogue* – hence Bacon’s disappearance from view.²⁷ For according to John Starkey in his advertisement to this edition of 1689 Selden was said by one of his Executors, John Vaughan, to have furnished Bacon with the “Ground-Work”.²⁸ Published together at the moment of the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the tracts were no longer the perceived threat they had been during the restored monarchy when copies were ordered to be seized and burned and Starkey was prosecuted for seeking to publish them, first in 1672 and then in 1682 (at the moment of the Exclusion crisis).²⁹

When Bacon intervenes in parliament in February 1658/9 to urge a return to the ancient constitution he evokes non-native historical instances – “Look into Carthage; Athens” – but only in order to illustrate “the tyranny of a Commonwealth” which is

what he suggests the English experiment became.³⁰ It is the native model that he urges, as he had done in the tract of 1647 and in *The Continuation* of 1651, which, on its title page, advertises “A Preface, being a Vindication of the ancient way of Parliaments in ENGLAND”.³¹ If scholars have noted that in the 1647 tract Bacon points to likenesses between Saxon and ancient Greek forms of government,³² they have overlooked that for Bacon this argues “consanguinity between the Saxons and the Grecians”, that is, a shared origin in a stock or kind, which is naturally determined but culturally defined in terms of a capacity for political organisation, as I take up below. The parliamentary form of government thus springs from this origin and not from what Bacon calls a “forced inoculation” in the introduction to his “summary Conclusion” of *The Continuation*.³³ His purpose here is to claim that the form of government established by “our forefathers the ancient Saxons” is not only the “ancient way” of the English but also the natural way.³⁴ Thus he opens by declaring that he will “glance upon the naturall constitution of the People of *England*, and then gather up the scattered Notions into one form, because the one doth not a little illustrate the other, and shew the same to be radicall and not by any forced inoculation”. The striking phrase “forced inoculation” refers to the agricultural process of grafting which Bacon evokes to affirm that the form of government he traces from the Saxons is not a foreign form, grafted on to the English, but home grown (“radicall”). Then follows an assertion of the climatically determined “middle temper” of the English, which is represented in terms of the temperaments associated with the extremes of northern cold and southern heat.

The People are of a middle temper according to their Climate: The *Northern* Melancholly, and the *Southern* Choller, meeting in their generall Constitution doth render them ingenious and active; which nourished also under the wings of Liberty, inspires a courage generous and not soon out of breath.³⁵

Bacon is not the first to claim a middle temperate climate for England, although he appears to be the first to associate this explicitly with a corresponding “middle temper” of the “people” and a specific (home grown) form of government. By associating this idea of the climate with a “middle temper” between the northern and southern extremes Bacon draws on the authority of Aristotle’s theory of climatically determined ethnic character in *Politics* VII which was widely disseminated in early modern England, if often at second hand and in schematic recapitulations.³⁶ He thus develops the implications of the “consanguinity” between ancient Greeks and Saxons to which he had laid claim in the 1647 tract (see above). Specifically, he locates the people of England in the middle place between the extremes of cold North and hot South, which, in the Aristotelean scheme, is occupied by the Hellenic race (*genos*). Those who inhabit this place are characterised as both “courageous and ingenious” as the first English translation (of a French translation) of the passage in *Politics VII* puts it.³⁷ Bacon thus contests the dominant received view, which identifies the British/English as inhabitants of the cold North and their character as consequently courageous but intellectually dull and politically unskilled – hence, in Aristotle’s terms, *ethne* rather than *genos*.³⁸ It is this view of the English/British as *ethne* without political wisdom/skill (*apoliteuta*) that John Milton reproduces, most explicitly and extensively in the “Digression” to book 3 of his *History of Britain*. When,

in the introduction to his “summary Conclusion” of *The Continuation*, Bacon contests the received view, he may then have had in mind Milton’s recent virulent expression of it.

This depends of course on Bacon’s familiarity with the contents of the “Digression”, which we cannot definitively establish. The *History* was not published until 1670, the “Digression” not until 1681 “in a pirated and much altered form”,³⁹ but Milton started work on his history probably in the second half of the 1640s and by 1649 may have completed it up to the point in book 4 where he “takes leave of Bede”.⁴⁰ As indicated earlier, von Maltzahn argues that we should take Milton at his word with regard to his writing of the first four books, including the “Digression”, in the six weeks between the execution of Charles and the appointment of Milton by the Council of State in March 1649. Thomas Fulton demurs, arguing the case for the period between mid September and the purge of 6 December in 1648. Fogle in turn proposes 1647–8, while Austin Woolrych argues for the much later date of 1660 and Blair Worden for the still later date of 1669–70.⁴¹ As well as making detailed cases against each of these alternative proposed dates, Fulton argues that the “Digression” “circulated in multiple copies”, although its “afterlife in the Restoration” is more clearly established than its circulation in the period between 1647 and 1651 when Bacon produced *The Continuation*.⁴² Nevertheless it seems likely that the two men knew of each other’s work in this period when the circles in which they moved overlapped still more tightly than before their employment in 1649 by the Council of State.

As mentioned at the outset both men remained close to Thomas Young, Milton’s first tutor who gifted a Hebrew Bible to Milton (?1627) and who, in the early 1640s, was supported by Milton in his political activity, while, according to Samuel Hartlib in his diary of November 1635, the publication of Young’s tract on the keeping of the Sabbath (*Dies Dominica*) was in the hands of (*curante*) Bacon to whom Young gifted a presentation copy in 1639, the year of its publication.⁴³ From 1628 Young held a living in Stowmarket, Suffolk where he may have received visits from Milton.⁴⁴ A short distance from Ipswich where Nathaniel Bacon was recorder (from 1643) and his brother Francis MP (from 1646), Young’s intimacy with the brothers is signalled by his naming of Francis as trustee to his estate.⁴⁵ In August 1640 Young corresponded with Samuel Hartlib about his tract on the Sabbath, while Milton and Bacon are both mentioned in Hartlib’s diaries and correspondence in the 1640s and 50s. For John Hall of St John’s Cambridge, Hartlib was the “means of” establishing “acquaintance” with Milton in 1646, as he was the means for Hartlib’s friend the ecumenical author John Dury (1596–1680) to communicate with Milton from abroad. The dedicatee of Milton’s tract “Of Education” (1644), Hartlib famously recorded in July 1648 that Milton was writing a history of England, naming as his source Theodore Haak (1605–90), who was soon to become Milton’s colleague as a translator and source of information for the Council of State.⁴⁶ Bacon too was working for the Council of State from August 1649, and he is mentioned too (if less frequently) by Hartlib through whom John Dury communicates with Bacon as he had with Milton. Bacon as well as Milton may then have been, as William Poole suggests of Milton, relatively “peripheral” to the “Hartlib circle”, but information about them and their work circulated within it.⁴⁷ Milton may have learnt about Bacon’s 1647 tract from Young or another member of this circle or possibly from his friend the bookseller George Thomason who acquired a copy of *The Continuation* in February 1651.⁴⁸ Bacon in turn may have learnt both of Milton’s project for a history of

England from Young or Haak, or another member of Hartlib's circle as he may have learnt about the "separate entity" of the "Digression"⁴⁹ and its denunciation of the mercenary self interest and political incompetence of the Presbyterian Long Parliament which Bacon had served.⁵⁰

It is for "setting the common-wealth behind . . . and private ends before" that Milton denounces members of the Long Parliament in the "Digression", which, more generally, criticises at once the ancient Britons and Milton's contemporaries who have similarly failed to seize the opportunity to achieve lasting liberty.⁵¹ Indeed, where Bacon claims continuity in the form of government since the Saxons, Milton claims, in partial explanation of these failures, continuity rather in the national character which is that of inhabitants of the cold North, who are courageous but "naturallie" without the virtues and skills needed for "understanding true civil government":

For Britain . . . as it is a land fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in warr, so is it naturallie not over fertil of men able to govern justlie & prudently in peace; . . . civilitie, prudence, love of the public more then of money or vaine honour are to this soile in a manner outlandish [i.e. foreign]; grow not here but in minds well implanted with solid & elaborate breeding; . . . [v]aliant indeed and prosperous to winn a field, but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise.⁵²

The two adjectives formed with the privative prefix "un" resonate with the similarly formed epithet *apoliteuta* used of the *ethne* of the cold North in the Aristotelean passage, which may lie behind this representation of the people of Britain. Drawing on the first sense of "culture" – tilling of the soil – Milton asserts the consequent need for "ripe understanding and many civil virtues" to "bee imported into our minds from forren writing & examples of best ages", just as "wine and oyle are imported to us from abroad", since "the sunn, which we want ripens witts as well as fruits".⁵³ Bacon draws on the same agricultural discourse in 1651 to assert the opposite – that a "forced inoculation", such as Milton advocates ("implanted" "imported"), is unnecessary, indeed undesirable, since the parliamentary form of government is home grown ("radicall") to a people that enjoys the ideal "middle temper" "according to their Climate", like the ancient Greeks, with whom they share a climatically determined character, "ingenious" as well as "courageous", capable of good government as the model inherited from the Saxons demonstrates, hence *genos* rather than *ethne*.⁵⁴ England and the English are thus re-presented by Bacon, consciously perhaps, to bolster the legitimacy of the parliamentary cause as an illustration of Jean Bodin's foundational political imperative that the form of government be adapted to the environmentally determined "nature of the subjects," as a marginal gloss in the translation by Richard Knolles (1606) puts it at the opening of the relevant chapter in Bodin's hugely influential work which, drawing on various medieval as well as classical sources, develops and revises the Aristotelean scheme.⁵⁵

Milton's evocation of climate theory in the "Digression" is for French Fogle primarily a "rhetorical device", in part because of the "inconsistency" with affirmative claims made elsewhere about the national character.⁵⁶ Though he does not mention it, there is no more egregious instance than the opening of the peroration to the *Areopagitica*, the speech addressed to parliament published in 1644, which seeks to persuade the Lords and commons to renounce the "Order" "to regulate Printing"⁵⁷: "Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is wherof ye are, and wherof ye are the governours:

a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit”.⁵⁸ The opposed epithets “dull” and “ingenious” here are telling, evoking as they do (Aristotelean) representations of the climatically determined contrast between inhabitants of the cold North (courageous but “dull”) and inhabitants of the hot South (“ingenious”, but cowardly), which was often turned in terms of the contemporary rival nations of England and France (and/or Italy).⁵⁹ As we have seen, the epithet “ingenious” is used in the first English translation of the passage from Aristotle as it is used by Bacon who denies the received view of the English as dull Northerners, and asserts their “middle temper” as courageous and ingenious in opposition to the received view and perhaps specifically Milton’s recent expression of it.

It is, however, important that, if in this passage in the *Areopagitica* Milton evokes in order to deny the “dull” character of the nation, he does not explicitly mention the climate. Indeed, in the opening advertisement of the learning and talents which qualify him to speak to the assembly, he evokes the “two and fifty degrees of northern latitude” where the English dwell as a potential (if not actual) impediment to his “naturall endowments” while, in the exactly contemporary tract, “Of Education” (1644) he evokes the “far Northerly” position of “we *Englishmen*” as the cause of a physiological and consequently cultural impediment – “we” “do not open our mouths in the cold air”, and this prevents the proper pronunciation of Latin “as near as may be to the *Italian*”.⁶⁰ Two years earlier he had evoked what may be “advers in our climate” to his project for a national epic in the preface to book II of *The Reason of Church Government* (1642), while some thirty years later in the opening to book 9 of *Paradise Lost* he expresses the fear that “an age too late, or cold/Climat, or Years damp my intended wing”.⁶¹ Unlike Bacon, that is, Milton never asserts that the climate inhabited by the English/British is other than the cold North, perhaps in part because he had travelled on the continent of Europe and enjoyed the sun, wine and oil of Italy as well as encountering “civil government on the republican model”.⁶² He is not, however, consistent as to whether, or how far, the collective, or his own, character is determined by this climate. The suggestion that the character of the nation, like his own, is not thus determined is of evident rhetorical force in the *Areopagitica* where he is attempting to persuade the assembly to take what he regards as a (universally) just and rational political decision. The claim that the English are not “dull”, but “ingenious” is indeed more obviously a rhetorical device here than the evocation of the climate in the “Digression”, which is, as Fogle notes, an “outburst”, a personal venting of spleen, not appropriate for the work in which it appears.⁶³ It is perhaps for this reason (amongst others) that Milton decided to excise it from the published version of the *History* (1670).⁶⁴

Rhetorical function bears too on the apparent inconsistency between the view of the Saxons in Milton’s *History* and the view in his *Defence of the people of England*, published (in Latin) in the same year as Bacon’s *The Continuation* (1651). For in the *Defence*, Milton draws on the same idea as Bacon of a native “ancient constitution” in order to justify the action of parliament in executing the king against the defence of Charles by Salmasius, the French classical scholar.⁶⁵ The likeness is highlighted by comparisons with the *Francogallia* (1573) by the Calvinist French jurist François Hotman, which is described by Glenn Burgess as “an attempt to construct an ancient French constitution that provided institutional and legal checks on the monarchy”.⁶⁶ While for Burgess Bacon’s tract is “the English *Francogallia*”, Martin Dzelzainis observes that “Milton

appears to model his account on François Hotman's *Francogallia*, which Milton cites twice as an authority on the French constitution.⁶⁷ Burgess, however, objects to Greenberg's placing of Bacon and Milton "in much the same category", and suggests that Milton was "primarily a rhetorical user of the language of ancient constitutionalism", perhaps for the same reason that Fogle suggests Milton's evocation of climate theory in the "Digression" is a rhetorical device, namely inconsistency, although he does not spell this out.⁶⁸ Clearly it made rhetorical sense to summon a native model when justifying the actions of the English parliament to the Europeans as it made no sense to denigrate the national character or to evoke foreign – European and/or classical – models. Indeed, the classical models are cited, but only to celebrate "our ancestors, who founded this commonwealth with no less good sense and freedom than did the Romans once or the most excellent of the Greeks".⁶⁹ Still more importantly, after the introductory "let us come to the Saxons", Milton inserts a crucial distinction, which has been overlooked by scholars: "Since their laws are extant, I shall omit their deeds".⁷⁰ For it is the "deeds" of the Saxons that are recounted in the *History*, which gives a very different view. Immediately prior to the place where (according to the Harvard MS) the "Digression" was to be inserted we read: "The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing else but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours . . . in particular to this Iland".⁷¹ Then at the point where Milton takes leave of Bede – the point where he may have stopped in 1649⁷² – he writes: "Thir actions we read of, were most commonly Wars, but for what cause wag'd, or by what Councells carried on, no care was had to let us know: wherby thir strength and violence we understand, of thir wisdom, reason, or justice, little or nothing".⁷³ This resonates with the description in the "Digression" of the Britons as "[v]aliant indeed and prosperous to winn a field, but to know the end and reason of winning, unjudicious and unwise".⁷⁴ As von Maltzahn comments: "Britons, Saxons, Milton's contemporaries: the continuation in the national character had been established in the Digression", adding that, as "Milton concludes that British history teaches the need for foreign writings and examples of best ages", "[t]o find much of value in Saxon culture ran contrary to these cultural expectations".⁷⁵ If then the Saxon "laws" tell one story – of the foundation of an ideal parliamentary form of government – their "deeds" tell another story – of a people fiercely courageous but without the civil virtues and understanding necessary to establish such a government, *ethne* rather than *genos*. For Bacon, on the other hand, it is precisely with the arrival of the Saxons that the inhabitants of England, hitherto merely a "people" (*ethne*), became "a Commonweal" (*genos*).⁷⁶

While Milton's "Digression" was appropriated in 1681 by Tory royalists,⁷⁷ Bacon's claims were lifted almost verbatim by Edward Chamberlayne (1616–1703) in his repeatedly republished *Angliae notitia, or The present state of England together with divers reflections upon the antient state thereof* (1669), "a strongly monarchist panegyric on the wonders of Britain".⁷⁸ These wonders include its monarchical form of government, which Chamberlayne advertises on his title page as England's "ancient state" as Bacon had done for the parliamentary form on the title page to *The Continuation*.⁷⁹ To this Chamberlayne adds Bacon's argument from the climatically determined character of the people of England. For, if he begins by asserting a superiority in the quality of English air within a climate shared with the European continent – "The *Aire* is far more mild and temperate . . . then any part of the *Continent* under the same *Climate*" – he later claims that it is thanks to a specific "*Temperate Climate*" that the bodies of the English, their

“complexions” and “pleasing features” “do surpass all the Nations of the World”.⁸⁰ So too in their “temper”:

The English according to the *Climate*, are of a *middle temper*. The *Northern Saturnine* and the *Southern Mercurial temper* meeting in their Constitutions render them *ingenious* and *active*, yet *solid* and *persevering*, which nourisht under a sutable liberty, inspires a courage *generous* and *lasting*.⁸¹

The most prominent modification to the sentences lifted from Bacon is the replacement of temperament (“Melancholly” “Choller”) with corresponding planet (“Saturnine” “Mercurial”), Mercury being associated with the choleric temperament in, for instance, Jean Bodin’s discussion of planetary and climatic influence on “tempers”.⁸² Chamberlayne applies the planetary terms to the Northern and Southern tempers between which, as in Bacon, the English are situated. He adds a telling qualifying phrase “yet solid and persevering”, and replaces Bacon’s “wings of liberty” with “a sutable liberty”, thus exercising (“sutable”) constraint on the energy evoked by “ingenious and active” and the unconfined freedom suggested in “wings”.

To these English “Constitutions” the form of government corresponds, “an *Hereditary Paternal Monarchy*” which again exemplifies a temperate mean:

such a Monarchy, as that, by the necessary subordinate Concurrence of the Lords and Commons in the making and repealing all Statutes or Acts of Parliament, it hath the main advantages of an *Aristocracy* and of a *Democracy*, and yet free from the disadvantages and evils of either.⁸³

This sentence may itself be a reworking of Bacon’s description: “The government of the people of this Nation in their originall, was Democraticall mixt with an Aristocracy”.⁸⁴ Crucially, of course, Chamberlayne adds “the necessary subordinate Concurrence of the Lords and Commons”, which it is precisely Bacon’s purpose to deny.⁸⁵ Finally, Chamberlayne claims that the state of England under the restored monarchy is “a Kingdom that of all the Kingdoms of the World is most like the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*; whose yoke is easie, whose burden is light”.⁸⁶ This is again lifted from Bacon who closes his summing up of the “Saxon Commonweale” in the 1647 tract: “their government above all other likest unto that of Christs Kingdome, whose yoke is easie, and burthen light”.⁸⁷ Lifting from Bacon key arguments from nature and from scripture in the service of the opposite political cause, Chamberlayne then adds – how consciously it is difficult to tell – a cultural argument when he explicitly (re)asserts that in restoring the monarchy the English returned to what was their natural and ancient form of government:

to this sort of Government the English seem to be naturally inclined, and therefore during the late *Bouleversations* or over-turnings, . . . the most and best of English Men, the general Spirit and Genius of the Nation . . . by mighty, though invisible, influence, concurred at once to restore their exiled Soveraign, and re-establish that ancient Government.⁸⁸

The only instance given in the *OED*, “*Bouleversations*” is a self consciously formed coinage from French (*bouleversement*) which, together with the italic typeface, signals the foreign, imported character of what Chamberlayne elsewhere calls the “late Troubles”, a disturbance, that is, of the natural and ancient order, determined by as it mirrors the temperate climate and “constitutions” of the English.⁸⁹ The purpose of

Bacon's claims about the climatically determined "constitution" of the English people was of course to underscore that the parliamentary form of government was precisely not a foreign import, but native, while for Milton the climatically determined national character was such that it required precisely the importation of political and cultural forms from continental Europe.

Using the same arguments – indeed virtually the same sentences – in support of opposite political causes, Bacon and Chamberlayne thus share what we might call a nativist ideology, which is not shared by Milton. For if Milton readily celebrates the exceptional character of the English as a nation fit to lead, in, for instance, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1644) and the *Areopagitica*,⁹⁰ he consistently associates their character with the climate of the cold North, and urges the consequent imperative to look to, and learn from, the models of continental Europe whether contemporary (Italian) or classical.⁹¹ Politically then and culturally England belongs for Milton to the continent of Europe, while for Bacon the people of England stand apart, "divers from all other people" as he claims of the Saxons, endowed with a climatically determined ethnic character shared with the ancient Greeks, which makes them politically skilled and fit to govern others as well as themselves.⁹²

If Chamberlayne is Anglocentric like Bacon, his fellow monarchist William Temple (1628–99) takes a position with respect to Europe that aligns him rather with Milton. In an influential essay "upon the original and nature of government" (written in 1672 published 1680), Temple, like Chamberlayne, represents the turbulence of the mid century as an unnatural turning away from the ancient form of government to which the English are naturally disposed, drawing likewise on climate theory to argue his case. Hereditary monarchy is thus represented again as the most natural as well as the most ancient form of government. England is not, however, singled out for its climate; rather it is subsumed in the larger region of a Europe characterised by "moderate Governments" as it is characterised by "more temperate Climates", more temperate, that is, relative to the "extreams", which are here, "the more Northern, and more Southern Nations" that "have ever lived under single and Arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary*, and *Muscovy* on the one side: and of *Africk* and *India* on the other".⁹³ Under these extremes, "in the more intemperate Climates", he later declares, adapting the Aristotelean scheme, "the spirits either exhal'd by heat, or comprest by cold, are rendred faint and sluggish, and by that reason the men grow tamer, and fitter for servitude", whereas "in more temperate Regions the spirits are stronger, and more active, whereby men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their liberties".⁹⁴ These include the English, but Temple is less Anglocentric than Eurocentric. As J. D. Davies points out, Temple travelled widely in Europe and "his travels gave him a tolerant, cosmopolitan mentality" as well as "a good grasp of languages".⁹⁵ His arguments imply indeed that it is not just the English but the peoples of Europe that are naturally destined by their shared temperate climate, like Aristotle's Hellenic race, to rule over those destined by their intemperate climates to be ruled. Interestingly then, given recent events, the perceived relation of England to its continental European neighbours cuts across the political divide between monarchists and parliamentarians.

The nativist ideology of Bacon and Chamberlayne is shared by another monarchist, the Swiss born émigré Guy Miede (1644–?1718) in *The New State of England under Their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary* published in 1691. Miede took much from

Chamberlayne's work as Chamberlayne and his son publicly complained, failing to recognise how Miede thus sought to achieve an effect of continuity through the crisis which saw James II forced into exile, the installation of a foreign monarch (the Dutch protestant William), and a crucially modified constitutional form of monarchy. This is the "New" referenced in his title, which at the same time recalls Chamberlayne's work. As absolutely Anglocentric as Chamberlayne and Bacon, asserting from the outset that "[o]f all the *States* of Europe there's none more happy than ENGLAND, whether we consider the Advantages of its *Situation*, the Temperateness of its *Air*, the Richness of its *Soil*, the happy temper of its *Inhabitants*, or the Blessed Constitution of its *Government*, especially under their present Majesties",⁹⁶ Miede later specifically rehearses the claim of the English to a middle temper in accordance with their climate: "The English Temper is naturally sutable to their Climate. They are neither so fiery as the French, nor so cold as the Northern People";⁹⁷ Like Chamberlayne he too represents the form of government as a temperate mean, although of course he has to rejig Chamberlayne's formulation to accommodate the rupture that has taken place and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy: "'tis such a Monarchy as has the main Advantages of an Aristocracy in the Lords, and of a Democracy in the Commons, without the Disadvantages or Evils of either". Crucially now, there is no "necessary subordinate Concurrence of Lords and Commons" (Chamberlayne) "the Legislative-Power being lodged in the King, Lords, and Commons jointly".⁹⁸ Miede also makes a telling modification to Chamberlayne's discussion of the former English vice of pride in apparel commenting not only (like Chamberlayne) that this belongs to a past state, which has given way to a present state of manly temperate plainness, but also that the English now do not seek to imitate others but are rather to be imitated: "with so much plainness and comeliness, with so much modesty and so little prodigality, ... the English formerly so apish in imitating forein Nations in their Garb, might go now for a Model".⁹⁹ Miede thus invites readers to register the revolution that has taken place in the self-image of the English, no longer looking or needing to imitate foreign models – a key issue between Bacon and Milton, as we have seen – but providing a model to be imitated. Given that their character is determined by as it corresponds to their own temperate climate, this becomes a difficult if not impossible task. The English are then at once a (political and cultural) model to be imitated and inimitable – a unique organically constituted body of temperate subjects under a moderate form of government as natural to them as the climate that corresponds to as it determines their "constitution" – in both senses of the word. This would surely have gone down well with Bacon, who perhaps would have also found acceptable – more acceptable surely than Milton – the compromise of the form of constitutional monarchy established under William and Mary (though he might have baulked at William's foreign origins). Indeed it is worth recalling that his tracts were republished together in 1689 by John Starkey, thanks, as he puts it in the advertisement, to "this wonderful Revolution, by the wise Conduct of his Highness the *Prince of Orange*".¹⁰⁰

Notes

1. Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 251n110; Greenberg, "Bacon, Nathaniel".
2. On Starkey see (most extensively), Knoppers, "General Introduction", xxxii-l.

3. The dedicatory address, to the speakers of the two houses, is signed 'NATH. BACON'. Bacon, *An Historical Discourse*, n.p.
4. Bacon, *The Continuation*, title page.
5. Butler, "Bacon, Nathaniel," 25; Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 132; Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws," 621–631.
6. Bacon, *The Continuation*, 300.
7. The most thorough discussion is still Fink, "Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence".
8. See, for example, Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 132, which (incorrectly) references Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 237.
9. Fogle, "Introduction," xix–xlix; von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*. Maltzahn briefly mentions an intervention made by Bacon in parliament (discussed below) in von Maltzahn, "Milton: Nation and Reception," 417. Throughout references to Milton's *History* will be to Fogle's edition.
10. Dane, "Seized, Burnt, and Variant," 96.
11. *Ibid.*, 96n5.
12. Brunton and Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament*, 70, 104–105; Wordern, *The Rump Parliament*, 109, 127; Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 232, 289, 345, 367, 408.
13. Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, 124–126. There is a considerable amount of material related to Nathaniel Bacon in the Suffolk archives (<https://www.suffolkarchives.co.uk>) and his importance to the town of Ipswich is recognised by a blue plaque on the house where he lived from 1642–1660 <http://www.ipswichsociety.org.uk/blue-plaques/>.
14. Weston and Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns*, 66–67, 80, 129; Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws," 621–623. The two tracts are taken as one in both texts and there is no discussion of differences between them.
15. Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 195.
16. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 240; Brunton and Pennington, *Members of the Long Parliament*, 104.
17. Greenberg, "Bacon, Nathaniel"; Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 227.
18. Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, 367; Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, 123–24; Greenberg, "Bacon, Nathaniel"; Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 235. Worden describes Bacon as an "unrevolutionary" "religious presbyterian". Worden, *The Rump Parliament*, 73, 109, 127.
19. von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, 23–24, 32–35. Other possible dates are discussed below.
20. Bacon and Taet, "An Ordinance"; Milton, "On the New Forcers of Conscience".
21. Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, 124.
22. Tuesday 8 February 1658/59. *Diary of Thomas Burton*. See Holmes, *The Eastern Association*, 267n24. Still more telling perhaps is a concluding note following the final entry dated Tuesday 2 January 1648/9 in the MS of the Annals of Ipswich written by Bacon in 1654: "The last day of Jan: puts a sad period unto my penn. And thus by the Goodness of Almighty God, I have summed up the affaires of the Governmt of This Towne of Ipswch under Bayliffs; whoe are happy in this, that God hathe established their seat more suer than the throne of Kings". Bacon, *Annalls*, 550. In private correspondence Blair Worden comments: "I'm sure Bacon would have disapproved of the regicide and I don't think he would have expected to enjoy kingless rule. I suppose he hoped to steer the protectorate towards the kind of limited monarchy he seems to have favoured".
23. Wednesday, February 19; Tuesday, 22 February 1658–9. *Diary of Thomas Burton*.
24. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 236, 237; Bacon, *An Historical Discourse*, 112.
25. Prynne, *The Third Part*, 386 (italics in original); Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 458. See Weston and Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns*, 66. For Baxter's copy, which may have been of either the 1647 or the 1651 tract (the catalogue entry is not sufficiently precise) see Nuttall, "A Transcript of Richard Baxter's Library Catalogue," 79.
26. Birkenhead, *Paul's Churchyard*, Classis III, "Historians and Philosophers," no.44.
27. Dane, "Seized, Burnt, and Variant," 95–97.

28. "It was well known to, and owned by, the late *Lord Chief Justice Vaughan*, who was one of the *Executors* of the Great and Learned *Mr. Selden*, that the *Ground-work* was his, upon which *Mr. Bacon* raised this *Superstructure*". "Advertisement," Bacon, *An historical and political discourse of the laws & government of England*. The likenesses with Selden's *Analecton Anglo-Britannicon* (1615) are pointed out in Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 236. Selden's work was undoubtedly important for Bacon as it was for Milton, but I have found no reference in it to a specifically English climate or "constitution".
29. Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws," 622; Knoppers, "General Introduction," xlv-xlvii. As Knoppers discusses at length, it was Starkey that was chosen by Milton in 1671 to publish *Samson Agonistes* (as well as *Paradise Regained*). This may suggest a political thrust, as she argues, but Milton's dramatic poem was not the perceived threat that Bacon's tracts were to the restored monarchy.
30. Tuesday, 8 February 1658/9, *Diary of Thomas Burton*.
31. Bacon, *The Continuation*, title page. This preface is a point by point refutation of the case made against the ancient status of the House of Commons in 1649 by William Prynne who claims: "That the Ancient Parliaments, and Great Councils of England, . . . were constituted, and consisted onely of our Kings, . . . and those we now usually stile The House of Peers"; not the "Commons House, not knowne nor heard of, till of punier time then these". Prynne, *The First Part*, title page. It is perhaps for this reason that in 1657 Prynne references only Bacon's 1647 tract (see above).
32. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 237, followed by Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 132; Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 14.
33. Bacon, *The Continuation*, Chapter XL, 300–307.
34. *Ibid.*, 307, 300.
35. *Ibid.*, 300.
36. This is taken up in forthcoming work on the circulation and use made of Aristotelean climate theory in early modern England.
37. D(ickenson), *Aristotles Politiques*, 359. For the identification of Dickenson as the English translator, see Alexander, "Dickenson, John (c.1570–1635/6)". Dickenson's "ingenious" follows the French "ingenieuse" (Greek *dianoaytikon*).
38. See Ward, "Ethnos in the Politics," 17–23.
39. Fulton, "Edward Phillips and the Manuscript of the 'Digression,'" 95.
40. Fogle, "Introduction," xl.
41. von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, 24–35; Fogle, "Introduction," 407, 425; Fulton, *John Milton's "Digression"*, 5. Woolrych argues that von Maltzahn misreads Milton's position on political events in the first months of 1649 and that the deep disappointment expressed in the "Digression" belongs rather to the moment in 1660 when he realised the Restoration was "inevitable". Woolrych, "Dating Milton's *History of Britain*," 943. Though closely argued his case is vitiated not only by the inconsistencies and weaknesses pointed out by Fulton (*John Milton's "Digression"*, 9–12), but also by the absence of any discussion of the compelling evidence of the spelling forms of the Harvard MS which "point to the earlier rather than the later seventeenth century" and to the MS as "closer to what Milton may have written in the late 1640s" than the version published in 1681. Fogle, "Introduction," 406–407.
42. Fulton, *John Milton's "Digression"*, 4.
43. See Jones, Edward. "Young, Thomas"; Miller, "Milton and the Comformable Puritanism," 86, 90. For the presentation copy see Laing, *Biographical Notices*, 11, 24–25. Information concerning Hartlib is taken from Greengrass, Leslie, and Hannon, *The Hartlib Papers*.
44. Laing, *Biographical Notices*, 9–10.
45. Miller, "Milton and the Comformable Puritanism," 90; Jones, "Young, Thomas".
46. Poole, "Haak, Theodore (1605–1690)".
47. Poole, "Milton and Science," 19.
48. Fortescue, I, 827. E. 624[1]. ESTC. R10585. Above the date of publication 1651, which has been crossed through, Thomason has written "1650". The relevant entry in the *Stationers'*

Register is dated 2 July 1650. My thanks to Emma Depledge for help in pinning this copy down.

49. Fulton, "Edward Phillips," 95.
50. In an anonymous tract published in 1660 with the ironic title *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause* a "catalogue" of members of the Long Parliament denounced for their mercenary character includes Bacon, who is said (correctly) to have received 3000 pounds (a very substantial sum) for his work for parliament (in 1646) and subsequently an annual salary of 500 pounds as "Master of the Requests to the Cromwells", to which the author adds a wry comment hinting at Bacon's character as a mercenary time server: "'tis likely [he] would be in the same office, for whomsoever would pay him the same wages". *The Mystery of the Good Old Cause*, 3.
51. Milton, "Digression," 443. I quote from the Harvard MS as reproduced in Fogle's edition of the *History*, 441–451.
52. Milton, "Digression," 451.
53. *Ibid.*
54. In the passage in the 1647 tract where Bacon discusses the likeness of the Saxons to the ancient Greeks he claims that the "wisdom" of the Greeks manifest in their political organisation "could never be imported" unless in bodies of the same constitution. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 14. That he is aware of the Aristotelean distinction between *ethne* and *genos* is clear from his comment on the previous page that prior to the arrival of the Saxons the inhabitants of Britain were "then a People rather than a Commonweal". Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 13.
55. Bodin, *The Six Bookes*, 546. See Tooley, "Bodin," 64, 80–81.
56. Fogle, "Introduction," 456n33, 424. Fink argues that Milton's disappointment with the Presbyterians in 1648 led him to take seriously the theory of climatic influence. Fink, "Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence," 74–76. The diverse, often strained or ambivalent affirmations of nationhood in Milton's work are fully explored in the essays in Loewenstein and Stevens, eds. *Early Modern Nationalism*.
57. Milton, *Areopagitica*, 200.
58. *Ibid.*, 236.
59. See, for instance, the reported comment of a Frenchman (Philippe de Comines): "we have this saying, the force of Englande hath and doth, surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious witte of the French men excell the dull braynes of Englishmen. For in all battailes you have been the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes have made you losers": Hall, *The Union*, fol. ccxxxir. Originating in the *Mémoires* (1524) of Philippe de Comines (1447–1511) the anecdote is cited by Bodin, *The Six Bookes*, 553. Shakespeare's Italian villain Giacomo in *Cymbeline* claims that the "brain" of the "Britain" is "duller" compared to that of the Italian (5.6.196–7), while in *Henry V* the French Constable, in his astonishment at the "mettle" of the English, contrasts the "dull" climate and the "cold blood" of the English with the "quick blood spirited with wine" of the French (3.5.15–26). This may be a sophisticated joke at the expense of the Constable who not only misjudges the English, but also exposes his ignorance of Aristotelean climate theory, which is rather borne out by the courage of the English as I take up elsewhere. References are from Taylor, Jowett, *The New Oxford Shakespeare*.
60. Milton, *Areopagitica*, 199; Milton, "Of Education," 186. My thanks to Antoinina Bevan Zlatar for drawing my attention to this second passage.
61. Milton, *The Reason of Church Government*, 56; *Paradise Lost*, book 9, lines 44–45.
62. Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, 127. See too Norbrook *Writing the English Republic*, 132 and for the tension between "national belonging" and Milton's internationalism (cultural and religious), Corns, "Milton and the Limitations of Englishness," 205–16.
63. Fogle, "Introduction," 421, 410–411.
64. Woolrych argues that Milton was motivated rather by the change of the situation of those he attacked who, in 1670, were objects of persecution after the Restoration. Woolrych, "Dating

- Milton's *History of Britain*," 943. Fogle suggests "repetitiveness" may also have been a reason ("Introduction," 410).
65. See Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws," 627.
 66. Burgess, *The Politics*, 16.
 67. Burgess, *The Politics*, 96; Dzelzainis, "Introduction," xxv; Milton, *A Defence*, 147, 202.
 68. Burgess, *The Politics*, 256n61.
 69. Milton, *A Defence*, 215.
 70. *Ibid.*, 210.
 71. Milton, *History of Britain*, 142.
 72. Fogle, "Introduction," xl.
 73. Milton, *History of Britain*, 229–30. For the continuation of this view of the Saxons in the eighteenth century, see Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 191.
 74. Milton, *History of Britain*, 451. See above.
 75. von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, 189, 191, 192. Corns goes further, highlighting the "primitivism, ignorance, corruption and depravity" depicted in the "early history" told by Milton who ignores "the arguments of radical constitutionalists" about the "ancient and mixed constitution that could usefully be invoked in his own age". Corns, "Milton and the Limitations of Englishness," 211. Corns names no names, but Bacon is foremost amongst these constitutionalists as Greenberg highlights. Greenberg, "The Confessor's Laws," 621–623.
 76. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 13. See above note 54.
 77. von Maltzahn, *Milton's History of Britain*, 1–21.
 78. Gair, "Chamberlayne, Edward".
 79. As Sweet points out, the eighteenth-century antiquarian Samuel Squire noted how "all sides appealed to the ancient constitution for the truth of its opinions". Sweet, *Antiquaries*, 195.
 80. Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia*, 6, 81–82. (*italics in original*).
 81. *Ibid.*, 67–68.
 82. See Tooley, "Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate," 76. The alignment of planets with temperaments varies as does the distribution of temperaments amongst peoples. Bodin, for instance, attributes the "choleric" temper to those who inhabit the middle climate, and the melancholic temper to those who inhabit the south.
 83. Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia*, 102, 103–104. It is worth noting that the state church is also praised as a temperate mean: "it keepeth the middle way between the Pomp of Superstitious Tyranny and the meanness of Fanatick Anarchy". *Ibid.*, 50.
 84. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 222. See Tuck, *Philosophy and Government*, 238.
 85. The word "concurrence" is particularly resonant since Bacon uses "concurring" and "concurrere" of the cooperation of the king with the Lords and of the Commons with the Lords in what he calls a "copartnership" – an anathema to monarchists. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 223.
 86. Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia*, 104.
 87. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 112.
 88. Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia*, 104–105.
 89. *Ibid.*, 57. For the cultural and ideological stakes of the inclusion/exclusion of Italianate as well as French word forms see Tudeau-Clayton, *Shakespeare's Englishes*, 46–92.
 90. See Fink, "Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence," 72–74".
 91. For a nuanced discussion of Milton's "internationalism" (religious and cultural), see Corns, "Milton and the Limitations of Englishness".
 92. Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse*, 112.
 93. Temple, "An Essay," 47.
 94. *Ibid.*, 53.
 95. Davies, "Temple, Sir William, baronet".
 96. Mieke, *The New State of England*, Part I, 7–8 (*italics in original*).
 97. *Ibid.*, Part II, 4.
 98. *Ibid.*, Part II, 80.
 99. *Ibid.*, Part II, 38–39. Compare Chamberlayne, *Angliae notitia*, 63–65, 84–85.

100. "Advertisement". Bacon, *An historical and political discourse of the laws & government of England*.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

ORCID

Margaret Tudeau-Clayton  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7998-4855>

Bibliography

- Alexander, G. 2008. "Dickenson, John (C.1570-1635/6)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition January 3. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/7601
- Bacon, N. *An Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England. The First Part*. London: Mathew Walbancke, 1647.
- Bacon, N. *The Continuation of an Historical Discourse, of the Government of England, Untill the End of the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth. With A Preface, Being A Vindication of the Ancient Way of Parliaments in England*. London: Tho: Roycroft, 1651. By Nath: Bacon of Grais-Inne, Esquire.
- Bacon, N. *The Annalls of Ipswche. The Lawes Customes and Government of the Same*, 1654 Edited by William H. Richardson. Ipswich: S. H. Cowell, 1884.
- Bacon, N. *An Historical and Political Discourse of the Laws & Government of England from the First Times to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth: With a Vindication of the Ancient Way of Parliaments in England: Collected from Some Manuscript Notes of John Selden, Esq. By Nathaniel Bacon Esquire*. London: John Starkey, 1689.
- Bacon, Nathaniel and Zouch Tate. *An Ordinance Presented to the Honourable House of Commons, by Mr. Bacon, a Lawyer in Suffolke, and Mr. Taet, Both of Them Members of the Same House, and by Their Meanes Was Twice Read, and Referred to a COMMITTEE. For the Preventing of the Growing and Spreading of Heresies*. London: n.p. September 10, 1646.
- Baxter, R. *A Holy Commonwealth, or Political Aphorisms, Opening the True Principles of Government: For the Healing of the Mistakes, and Resolving the Doubts, that Most Endanger and Trouble England at This Time*. London: Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton, 1659.
- Birkenhead, John. *Paul's Churchyard. Libri Theologici, Politici, Historici, Nundinis Paulinis (Una Cum Templo) Prostant Venales. Juxta Seriem Alphabeti Democratici. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines*. n.p. n.p. 1651-1652.
- Bodin, J. *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale*. London: G. Bishop, 1606. Translated by Richard Knolles.
- Brunton, D., and D. H. Pennington. *Members of the Long Parliament*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1968. Reprint.
- Burgess, G. *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution: An Introduction to English Political Thought, 1603-1642*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.
- Butler, T. "Bacon, Nathaniel." In *The Milton Encyclopedia*, edited by T. N. Corns, 25. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Campbell, G., and T. N. Corns. *John Milton. Life, Work and Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Chamberlayne, E. *Angliae Notitia, or the Present State of England Together with Divers Reflections upon the Antient State Thereof*. 2nd ed. London: Printed for T.N. by John Martyn, 1669.
- Corns, T. N. "Milton and the Limitations of Englishness." In *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, edited by D. Loewenstein and P. Stevens, 205–216. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

- D(ickenson), I. (ohn). *Aristotles Politiques, or Discovrses of Government. Translated Ovt of Greeke into French, . . . by LOYS LE ROY, Called REGIVS. Translated Out of French into English.* London: Adam Islip, 1598.
- Dane, J. A. "Seized, Burnt, and Variant: Bibliographical Note on Nathaniel Bacon, *an Historical Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England* [1672]." *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102, no. 1, March (2008): 95–102. doi:10.1086/pbsa.102.1.24293758.
- Davies, J. D. 2009. "Temple, Sir William, Baronet." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition May 21. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/27122
- Dzelzainis, M. "Introduction." *John Milton. Political Writings*, Edited by Martin Dzelzainis and translated by Claire Gruzelier, ix–xxv. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Fink, Z. S. "Milton and the Theory of Climatic Influence." *Modern Language Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1941): 67–80. doi:10.1215/00267929-2-1-67.
- Fogle, F. "Introduction." In *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, edited by F. Fogle, xix–xlix. Vol. V. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
- Fortescue, G. K. *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts Relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, Collected by George Thomason, 1640-1661.* Vol. 2. London: Printed by order of the trustees of the British Museum, 1908.
- Fulton, T. "Edward Phillips and the Manuscript of the 'Digression'." *Milton Studies* 48 (2008): 95–112.
- Fulton, T. *John Milton's "Digression" in the History of Britain: An Online Facsimile Edition of Harvard MS Eng 901.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/umpress_hm/1/.
- Gair, R. 2004. "Chamberlayne, Edward." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition September 23. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/5058
- Greenberg, J. "The Confessor's Laws and the Radical Face of the Ancient Constitution." *The English Historical Review* 104, no. 412 (1989): 611–637. doi:10.1093/ehr/CIV.CCCCXII.611.
- Greenberg, J. 2008. "Bacon, Nathaniel." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition January 3. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/1000
- Greengrass, M., M. Leslie, and M. Hannon. *The Hartlib Papers.* University of Sheffield: The Digital Humanities Institute, 2013. <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/hartlib>.
- Hall, E. *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke.* London: Richard Grafton, 1548.
- Holmes, C. *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- John, M. "A Defence of the People of England." In *John Milton. Political Writings*, Edited by Martin Dzelzainis and translated by Claire Gruzelier, 51–254. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Jones, E. 2008. "Young, Thomas." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition January 3. doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/30281
- Knoppers, L. L. "General Introduction." In *The Complete Works of John Milton*, edited by L. L. Knoppers, xix–lxxiv. Vol. II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Laing, D. *Biographical Notices of Thomas Young.* Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1870.
- Loewenstein, D., and P. Stevens, eds. *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Miege, G. *The New State of England under Their Majesties K. William and Q. Mary.* London: Printed by H.C. for John Wyatt, 1691.
- Miller, J. A. "Milton and the Comformable Puritanism of Richard Stock and Thomas Young." In *Young Milton. The Emerging Author, 1620-1642*, edited by E. Jones, 72–103. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Milton, J. "On the New Forcers of Conscience under the Long Parliament". Accessed March 20, 2020. https://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/conscience/text.shtml.
- Milton, J. *Paradise Lost*, Book 9. Accessed March 20, 2020. https://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/pl/book_9/text.shtml.

- Milton, J. "Areopagitica; a Speech of Mr John Milton for the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing to the Parliament of England." In *John Milton: Selected Prose*, edited by C. A. Patrides, 196–248. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985.
- Milton, J. "Of Education." In *John Milton: Selected Prose*, edited by C. A. Patrides, 181–195. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985.
- Norbrook, D. *Writing the English Republic. Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Nuttall, G. F. "A Transcript of Richard Baxter's Library Catalogue (Concluded)." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* III, no. 1 (1952): 74–100. London: Faber and Faber. doi:10.1017/S0022046900028220.
- Poole, W. "Milton and Science: A Caveat." *Milton Quarterly* 38, no. 1, March (2004): 18–34. doi:10.1111/j.1094-348X.2004.00066.x.
- Poole, W. "Haak, Theodore (1605-1690)." In *The Milton Encyclopedia*, edited by T. N. Corns, 140. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Prynne, W. *The First Part of an Historical Collection of the Ancient Parliaments of England, from the Yeer of Our Lord 673, till the End of King John's Reign, Anno 1216*. London: Robert Hodges, 1649.
- Prynne, W. *The Third Part of a Seasonable, Legal, and Historical Vindication of the Good Old Fundamental Liberties, Franchises, Rights, Properties, Laws, Government of All English Freemen*. London: Francis Leach, 1657.
- Rutt, J. T., edited by. *Diary of Thomas Burton Esq: Volume 3*. London: H. Colburn, 1828. Accessed November 5, 2020. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/burton-diaries/vol3>
- Sweet, R. *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the past in Eighteenth Century Britain*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- Taylor, G., J. Jowett, T. Bourus, Gabriel Egan, eds. *The New Oxford Shakespeare. Modern Critical Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- The Mystery of the Good Old Cause Briefly Unfolded*. London: s.n., 1660.
- Temple, W. "An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government." In *Miscellanea ... by a Person of Honour*, 45–95. London: E. Gellibrand, 1680.
- Tooley, M. J. "Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate." *Speculum* 28, no. 1, January (1953): 64–83. doi:10.2307/2847181.
- Tuck, R. *Philosophy and Government 1572-1651*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Tudeau-Clayton, M. *Shakespeare's Englishes: Against Englishness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Underdown, D. *Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971.
- von Maltzahn, N. *Milton's History of Britain: Republican Historiography in the English Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- von Maltzahn, N. "Milton: Nation and Reception." In *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, edited by D. Loewenstein and P. Stevens, 401–442. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Ward, J. K. "Philosophers on Race." In *Ethnos in the Politics: Aristotle and Race*, edited by K. W. Julie and T. L. Lott, 14–37. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002.
- Weston, C. C., and J. R. Greenberg. *Subjects and Sovereigns. The Grand Controversy over Legal Sovereignty in Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Woolrych, A. "Dating Milton's *History of Britain*." *The Historical Journal* 36, no. 4 (1993): 929–943. doi:10.1017/S0018246X00014576.
- Wordern, B. *The Rump Parliament 1648-1653*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.