MAGIC AND THE MILLENNIUM:
A STUDY OF THE MILLENNARY MOTIFS
IN THE OCCULT MILIEU OF
PURITAN ENGLAND,
1640--1660

by

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ABSTRACT

It is the thesis of this study that during the years of the Puritan Revolution (1640-1660), the occult milieu of England gave repeated expression to what can only be called a millenarian salvational message, that is, to a message which promised a salvation at once collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous. It is also argued that the salvational vision advanced by the magicians of the Hermetic magical tradition agreed almost perfectly with the millenarian hopes and dreams of the Puritan sects active during the revolutionary decades.

This study offers a hitherto overlooked reason why--during the revolutionary years--Puritans of many persuasions, but particularly those of the left-wing sects, were attracted to, and even sought to revive, the occult sciences. The occult sciences attracted Puritans because they provided beliefs and 'myths' which validated the more or less intense millenarianism which characterized left-wing Puritan groups, those groups dissatisfied with the conservative 'reformation' offered by the Presbyterian and Cromwellian settlements. This study demonstrates that Puritans with many different kinds of millenarian beliefs employed magic--its myths, its doctrines, its prophecies--to validate their own desires for, and expectations of, a 'radical' or 'perfect' reformation of the world--a reformation tantamount to the millennium itself.
In an introductory chapter (II), the relationship between magic and millenarianism is explored. This chapter argues that Western magic acquired a salvational mission of millenarian scope and intensity about the time of the Hermetic revival of the Renaissance. This mission enjoined the Hermetic magician to use the powers of magic to redeem all creation, to release both humankind and nature from the Curse. To the Western magician, this redemptive mission meant that the occult sciences were to be used to restore paradise to earth. The restoration of paradise would be accomplished when humankind enjoyed once again all the spiritual and material blessings Adam was thought to have enjoyed while in Eden. From the time of the Hermetic revival through the seventeenth century, the occult sciences gave repeated expression to this millenarian promise of world redemption. Chapter II concludes by showing that Puritan millenarians expected to enjoy in the millennium precisely the same spiritual and material blessings the magicians promised to bestow on all people through magic.

The remaining chapters explore the same millenarian motifs and doctrines in the occult milieu of Puritan England. The occult milieu is defined as astrology, Behmenism, and Rosicrucianism. During the Puritan Revolution, each of these occult circles gave repeated expression to a wide variety of millenarian pronouncements, almost all of which validated in some way the millenarianism pervading the Puritan sects during the revolutionary years.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Several years ago, a student of millenarian movements observed that the vision of the millennium seems to contain certain "magical overtones."¹ Why this should be so has been investigated by Professor Bryan Wilson, in his recent work entitled Magic and the Millennium.²

Using data drawn primarily from preliterate African cultures, Professor Wilson has constructed a theory which accounts for magical elements in millenarian movements, and for millenarian elements in magical movements. Wilson believes that magical practices and movements can give rise to, or can reinforce, millenarian movements, and that they can do this by offering to satisfy an unusually intense and


²Bryan R. Wilson, Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest (New York: Harper and Row, 1973). This dissertation had been tentatively entitled "Magic and the Millennium" before Wilson's study appeared. The title has been retained because it succinctly conveys the most apt indication of the subject matter of this study.
broad popular demand for 'salvation' from an 'evil' that is viewed as objective and pervasive. Magic can sometimes meet such a demand for salvation by offering to people a therapeutic supernatural agency seemingly powerful enough to work a total cultural transformation. According to Professor Wilson, then, there are "magical overtones" in some millennial movements because participants in those movements sometimes believe that the 'millennium' will be instituted "by magic" (p.7).

Even more interesting is Professor Wilson's observation that the magical therapeutic agency of cultural transformation does not necessarily have to be absorbed into a millennial movement to acquire an explicitly 'millenarian' import. As he points out, sometimes a magical movement itself can become "infused with the effects of the catalytic experience of the revolutionist movement," and can itself acquire aspirations concerning the transformation of the world.³

Something like this seems to have occurred within the magical tradition of Europe around the time of the Hermetic

³Magic and the Millennium, p.349; p.382. Although millennial movements are not necessarily revolutionary, and revolutionary movements are not necessarily millennial, the two frequently overlap; Professor Wilson occasionally uses the two terms interchangably, perhaps because a millennial movement, when activist, offers the same sweeping reorganization of the world promised by all revolutionary movements. "But where a future messiah is expected, the likelihood of a revolutionist response to the world is considerable" (p. 135; see also pp.365, 23, 272, 196).
revival of the Renaissance. Frances Yates' brilliant analysis of Renaissance Hermetic magic (Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, 1964) has revealed that many magicians (most notably, Bruno and Campanella) were literally obsessed with dreams of world reform and of the return of the Golden Age, and that they believed that this transformation of the human condition would be brought about by magic.4

Yates' latest study of the occult, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (London: Routledge, 1972), is even more concerned with this Hermetic dream of world reformation. For the first time in her studies of the occult, Professor Yates uses the term 'millennial' (or one of its variants) to characterize the reformationist message of a magical movement. Influenced by Joachite and Christian visions of a future age of perfection, the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross sounded in its second manifesto (the Confessio, 1615) what Professor Yates has described as "a powerful prophetic and apocalyptic note" declaring that "the end is at hand," and that the "great reformation" promised by the Rosy Cross "is to be a millennium, a return to the state of Adam in Paradise."5 The message of the


Rosicrucian manifestos, she declares, is "an apocalyptic message of universal reformation leading to a millennium" (p. 57). The Rosicrucians believed that the millennium would be brought about by a revival of the allegedly 'magical' wisdom of Adam (p. 120), and that they themselves were ordained by God to stimulate this revival. Eventually this revival of the magical wisdom of Adam would lead to a renovation not only of man's spirit, but of his body as well (RE, p. 232).

This Rosicrucian dream of reformation, Professor Yates has demonstrated, had its supporters and missionaries even in Puritan England. In fact, one might even be able to speak of a Rosicrucian revival during the years of the Puritan Revolution. The reformationist message of the Brotherhood agreed perfectly with the general millenarian enthusiasm generated by the political upheavals of the time. It agreed so well, as a matter of fact, that Parliament and the leaders of the Puritan movement gave financial assistance to a circle of adepts whose endeavors were inspired by the Rosicrucian ideal of world reformation (RE, pp. 171-92).

This brings us to the subject of the present study.

I believe that reformationist and millenarian myths and impulses can be detected throughout the occult milieu of Puritan England, not being confined merely to Rosicrucianism. In fact, it is the principal thesis of this study that during this period the occult milieu gave repeated expression to a wide assortment of millenarian beliefs and visions.
A 'millenarian' or 'reformationist' belief or vision is one which contains a concept of earthly salvation that entails a 'radical' re-formation of the world, a re-formation so total and complete that it brings about a wholly superior social order and a perfected physical order. What shall be improved are the objective conditions of the human situation, not the way in which this situation might be personally or subjectively experienced. In other words, the reformation expected amounts to much more than a subjective reorientation towards the world: it amounts to a new world.  

Although I use 'reformationist' and 'millenarian' as basically synonymous terms, 'reformationist' is the more inclusive category, including all sorts of visions (such as the utopian) that de-emphasize the 'miraculous' element that we find in visions more specifically called 'millenarian.' I might point out that I use the form 'reformationist' to suggest a breadth of envisioned change and an intensity of hope simply not conveyed by the word 'reformist,' which is more ameliorative in connotation. In reference to the word 'millenarian,' I should point out that it is used in this study in the broad sense suggested by Professor William Lamont (Godly Rule: Politics and Religion, 1603-60 [1968]). Although to the purist in such matters, the millennium can properly refer only to the fixed period of 1000 years that is found in the Judaic-Christian traditions, Lamont believes that this is "too limited an interpretation" of the word (p. 7). He urges a more "generous reading" of the term (p.9). Lamont's own usage is consistent with the way such terms are now being used in some anthropological circles. Sylvia Thrupp, for example, says that the term 'millenarian' may "be applied figuratively to any conception of a perfect age to come, or a perfect land to be made accessible" (Millennial Dreams in Action, p.12). Millenarianism, however, is not necessarily messianic. As Professor Wilson explains, "millenarianism, as such, need not be messianic in the usual sense: some millennial movements have expected the restoration of the ancestors, rather than the coming of the new messiah. Equally, messianism need not be millennialist. A living messiah is not, in the normal sense, offering the establishment of a millennium,
Professor Norman Cohn has isolated what I regard to be the essential characteristics of the salvational message I intend to call 'millenarian.' According to Cohn, 'millenarian' sects or movements always picture salvation as:

a) **collective:** in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a collectivity;

b) **terrestrial:** in the sense that it is to be realized on this earth, and not in some other-worldly heaven;

c) **imminent:** in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly;

d) **total:** in the sense that it is utterly to transform life on earth, to make it perfection itself;

e) **miraculous:** in the sense that it is to be accomplished by, or with the help of, supernatural agencies.

though he may be offering an extensive range of blessings to those who acknowledge his claims" (Magic and the Millennium, pp.135-6). Thus, I use the term 'messianic' to refer to millenarian myths (etc.) which emphasize the predominant role of a messiah in bringing about the reformation of the world. The term 'chiliasm' is employed as a stylistic variant of the term 'millenarianism.'

7The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages, rev. edn. (New York: Oxford U. P., Galaxy edn., 1970), p.15. I include under "e" not only mythic personalities or supernatural figures, but also devices, procedures or formulae believed to possess miraculous, i.e., transformative powers. The prophetae described by Cohn claimed the same miraculous powers that were claimed as well by later magicians. Though Cohn does not seem to use the word 'magical' in connection with these "wonder-working saviours," the prophetae he describes would seem to be examples of what Wilson calls "the thaumaturge as messiah" (Magic and the Millennium, p.133). "The man who claims to be a messiah, must of necessity be a thaumaturge" (p.134).
I propose to illustrate in the main body of this work that the occult milieu of Puritan England gave repeated expression to millenarian and reformationist beliefs and visions. That millenarianism was a dominant feature of the occult arts during the Puritan Revolution has not before been acknowledged or demonstrated. This study will show for the first time, then, the considerable extent to which millenarianism permeated the occult milieu of Puritan England. It will also describe for the first time, the diverse ways in which the reformationist impulse was expressed, and it will indicate how these manifestations of reformationism in the occult milieu harmonized with, and reinforced, the millenarian myths and expectations of the Puritan movement.

8I use the word 'Puritan' for such groups as the Independents, Separatists, Baptists, Seekers, Waiters, Familists, Quakers, Muggletonians, Behmenists, Levellers, Diggers, Ranters, and Fifth Monarchists, and all of the other—more minor—sects to the left of the Presbyterians. Some might object to the use of one word, or to the use of the term Puritan, to cover a collection of groups which had no one political or religious belief in common, and which were idiosyncratic in their doctrines, espousing, at times, strange and outlandish notions. Although these groups did not, in fact, share a common political or religious program, as such, they were united, in a way, by a 'spirit' they all had in common. That 'spirit' was the desire for a reformation. And it is that spirit which can be called 'Puritan.' From its beginning in the early days of Elizabeth, William Haller writes, the Puritan movement "sought to push reform of government, worship and discipline" beyond "the limits fixed by the Elizabethan settlement" (Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution, p.xi). What the Puritans sought, he says, was a "perfect reformation" (xii). Professor Walzer puts the case in even stronger terms, defining Puritanism "as the earliest form of political radicalism" (The Revolution of the Saints, p.vii). What was characteristic of even mainstream Puritans,
For the purposes of this study, the 'occult milieu' of Puritan England can be defined in terms of its three most prominent and important constituents—astrology, Behmenism, and Rosicrucianism. We shall analyze the 'millenarian message' to be found in each of these occult circles, paying particular attention to the millenarian motifs and images with which

he argues, was the fact that they "shared certain key ideas incompatible with the traditional system in church and state, ideas which tended continually to produce radical and innovative political activity" (p.viii). What united the different Puritan groups in 1640, then, was their hostility to the status quo, to the establishment, and their desire for its reformation. Of course the term 'reformation' meant different things to the different groups, and whether they wanted an ecclesiastical or a civil reformation, they seldom or never agreed on what form it should take. It was their very different conceptions of what form this reformation should take that separated—and distinguished—one group from another. Since the focus of this study is on the broad desire for reformation, the doctrinal and political distinctions between these groups need not concern us. If the 'spirit of reformation' is the common denominator that unites widely divergent groups under the heading of 'Puritan,' then I would tend to say that the Presbyterians, in terms of the scope of this study, should not be included under this term. For although the Presbyterians did indeed want a reformation in 1640, they were the party of discontents soonest satisfied that an acceptable reformation had taken place. The other groups—those whom I have designated 'Puritans'—were not satisfied by the 'reformation' offered to them by the Presbyterians. They were discontent because they sought a "perfect reformation," not merely a workable one. The term 'Puritan,' then, conveys quite nicely the 'perfectionist' syndrome uniting these groups. They deserve to be called 'Puritans' for another reason as well. In pursuing a 'godly-thorough reformation' to the last degree, these groups were keeping alive that "Puritan spirit" which had once characterized even the Presbyterians before 1640. They were the legitimate inheritors of the term 'Puritan,' for they continued to push for reforms of government beyond the boundaries fixed by an imperfect settlement, though now the settlement is either Presbyterian or Cromwellian, and not Elizabethan. It was their belief that the perfect reformation was yet to come which made these groups
this message was conveyed.  

We shall discover that astrology was used not only to spread encouraging propaganda, but that it was also used to lend credence to a wide variety of millenarian expectations and doctrines.

As we shall also discover, the teachings of Jacob Boehme and his English disciples possessed powerful apocalyptic overtones, and seemed to counsel that the perfection of the human order would be accomplished by the revival of magical gnosis.

And finally, we shall see how the revival of the reformationist ideology of Rosicrucianism reinforced popular visions of the restoration of the Golden Age and the return of paradise.

9Professor Edward Thompson urged us to be sensitive to the imagery of millenarianism, for it was in their imagery that groups "articulated their experience and projected their aspiration" (The Making of the English Working Class, p.49).
This examination of the millenarian motifs of the occult milieu is prefaced by a theoretical and historical investigation of Western magic. Arguing that distinctions can be made between modes of the occult in terms of the content of their salvational message, I attempt to explain how one of these modes acquired a salvational impulse of millenarian scope and dimensions. This mode of the occult I call 'millenarian' magic. This investigation of the nature of 'millenarian' magic will both help to explain why the occult arts of Puritan England contained millenarian elements, and clarify many of the major themes and endeavors we will be encountering--and examining in more detail--in the occult milieu of Puritan England.

It is hoped that this study will contribute to a better understanding of several relationships in the history of ideas. First, this study will lend support to Professor Wilson's theories regarding the way magic and millenarianism can interact. In addition, this study will help to confirm the basic insights of Frances Yates concerning the 'millennial' impulse of Rosicrucianism.

But most importantly, it is hoped that this study will shed light on the relationship between magic and Puritan millenarianism during the years of the Revolution. The whole relationship between the occult sciences and Puritanism, and how this relationship might be explained, deserves elaboration.
It has now been generally recognized that those sects who wanted a more profound 'reformation' of church and society than the Presbyterians and more moderate groups were inclined to pursue, were sympathetic to, and supported the revival of, the occult sciences during the revolutionary years. It matters little whether we call these sects 'left-wing,' 'radical,' or, as I do, 'Puritan,' for the same sects are meant by each one of these terms. Preferring to use the terms 'left-wing' and 'radical,' Professors Thomas and Hill have noted and commented upon the connection between these groups and prophecy. Although the association between prophecy and activism (and radicalism) existed long before the Puritan Revolution, "the tendency was taken furthest during the Interregnum, when every kind of prophecy was ventilated." Magic enters the relationship because Puritan preoccupation with prophecy almost inevitably entailed at least a partial acceptance of occult agencies of prediction, for there was almost no distinction drawn between "astrological forecasts" and other methods of prediction (Thomas, p.409). As a consequence, astrology in particular became associated with what the Presbyterian Thomas Hall cogently described as the "Familisticall-Llevelling-Magicall temper." "The Independents and radical sects of the Civil War period," explains Professor Thomas, "were to furnish the astrologers

But astrology was not the only aspect of magic which attracted the left-wing Puritan sects. Even the more Hermetic forms of magic "gained new converts among the radical sects thrown up by the Civil Wars" (Thomas, p.227). It was even

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Christopher Hill believes that it was William Lilly who did "much to make, or keep, astrology acceptable to the radicals" (The World Turned Upside Down [New York: Viking Press, 1972], p.73). Astrology was "a study much in the esteem of illiterate Ranters," reports a pamphlet of 1652 (Hill, p.233), while another attack on the left-wing sects claims that the Familists were "very confident, that by the knowledge of Astrology, and the strength of Reason, they shall be able to conquer over the whole World" (Benjamin Bourne, The Description and Confutation of Mystical Anti-Christ, the Familists [London, 1646], sig."T"). Lilly, just one of a hundred astrologers active during the Puritan Revolution, was consulted by several Fifth Monarchists, by Levellers and army radicals. A number of figures "known to have had sectarian or radical associations" consulted Lilly and his colleagues habitually (Thomas, p.374). Their clients included Anabaptists, Ranters, Shakers, Quakers, and members of other left-wing groups (Ibid.). The Ranter and ex-Leveller, Laurence Clarkson, took up the practice of astrology in 1650 (Ibid.). John Pordage, the Behmenist and political radical, practiced astrology, and so did many members of the Invisible College surrounding Samuel Hartlib, the crypto-Rosicrucian (Hill, p.233). John Webster, a parliamentarian and Grindletonian, recommended that astrology be taught in the universities, and Gerrard Winstanley, leader of the millenarian Diggers, provided for the teaching of astrology in his 'utopia' (Thomas, p.374). In addition, some of the leading practitioners of astrology were men of 'radical' political and religious beliefs. Simon Forman was a free thinker, John Pool a republican, John Gadbury, early in his career, a Ranter converted by the notorious Abiezer Coppe (Thomas, pp. 374-5); Nicholas Culpepper, who flirted with several sects, was a democrat and fifth monarchist (small letters); Lilly was a parliamentarian and Independent. Many of these men at one time or another "predicted the fall of Rome and the universal end of monarchy" (Thomas, p.299). As Professor Thomas himself concludes, "there is much additional evidence for this link between astrology and sectarianism" (p.374). See below, Chapter III, for more on this relationship.
among the "mystical sects," Professor Thomas notes, "that alchemy struck some of its deeper roots" (p.270). Quakers, Familists and Behmenists all had connections with this Herm-etic art. Professor Hill asserts that "alchemy/chemistry, and especially chemical medicine, had radical associations."^14

We must understand that this sympathy for the occult was widespread indeed, whatever term we apply to those who were sympathetic to it. It was the pervasiveness of this attitude that made the Interregnum "an important period in the translation and publication of standard alchemical and Rosicrucian texts," and the publication (or re-issuing) of native occult works. Professor Thomas has aptly called this phenomenon, the "democratisation" of the "Hermetic magical tradition."^15


14 Hill, p.233. Professor Thomas remarks that "alchemy was closely linked with religious enthusiasm" during the first half of the seventeenth century (p.27).

15 Thomas, p.270. The spate of translations that issued from the press included the principal dialogues of the Hermetica. The Divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus appeared in 1650, while in 1657 the Asclepius was published in English. The Asclepius is a darkly chthonic work explaining how to animate statues through astral magic (Hermes Trismegistus: His Second Book, called Asclepius [London, 1657], p.72; see also pp.113-4). Yates writes that the "rehabilitation of the Asclepius is . . . one of the chief factors in the Renaissance revival of magic" (Giordano Bruno, p.37). Professor Thomas believes that the astrological and alchemical lore of the Hermetica helped to create an intellectual climate conducive to every kind of mystical or magical activity (p.225). Most of these translations were done by Puritans.
The evidence of the association between magic and left-wing groups is so overwhelming that Professor Thomas is urged to declare that "the radical sects set out to revive all the occult sciences" (p.375; italics added).

What I hope to do in this study is offer another reason for why the Puritans, as I have defined this term, sought to revive magic. One reason that has already been given is that the 'gnostic' element in Hermeticism was congenial to the 'illuminist' doctrines in sectarian thought. Mystically inclined Puritans found in certain magical doctrines support for their own claims to mystical gnosis (Thomas, pp.375-6). Another reason that accounts for Puritan interest in the occult sciences maintains that these magical arts provided discontented Puritans with 'validating charters' for what has been called "Puritan thaumaturgy." In an effort to establish credentials, demonstrate afflatus, or imbue radical departures from established traditions with seemingly divine sanction, Puritans who were challenging the status quo very often claimed to possess miraculous or 'thaumaturgic' powers, such as the powers of exorcism, of healing, of raising the dead to life, etc. In other words, the occult sciences pro-

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16 For the concept of validating charters, see Thomas, pp.125-6, 139-40, 148, 422-3. The term "Puritan thaumaturgy" was used by S. R. Maitland in connection with the prophetic and exorcistic claims made for and by John Foxe (Notes on the Contributions of . . . Townsend . . . to the New Edition of Fox's [sic] Martyrology (London: Rivington, 1842), pp.95-114.
vided claimants to thaumaturgic powers with doctrines and myths that they could use to validate their own assertions regarding the 'Godly' or 'divine'--that is, the sanctioned--origin of their innovative or radical ideas. The more radical the innovation proposed, the more in need it was of being validated, and the more attractive and useful became magic as a vehicle for providing such validation. If the real revolutionary and radical sects were the Puritans most sympathetic to magic, then it was because they were most in need of the 'validating charters' which magic (and of course other ideologies) could provide.

What I should like to suggest here is that the occult sciences provided Puritans with a way of validating the most powerful and pervasive belief of the revolutionary years--the belief in reformation, the dream that the perfect time of the millennium was about to dawn. Magic, I am suggesting, provided Puritans--and especially 'radical' Puritans--with sustaining 'myths' for their own millenarian beliefs and expectations. 17

After the work of Christopher Hill, Bernard Capp, and William Lamont (and many others), it should no longer be

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17 By 'myth' I mean a coherent explanation or vision; a millenarian myth is one which provides an integrated and justified vision of a future age of earthly perfection. Unlike the word 'charter,' which I shall continue to use, the term 'myth' conveys some suggestion of the oftentimes 'imaginative' or 'poetic' quality of millenarian thought.
necessary to document at length the statement that millenarianism—in one form or another—was an important element in every one of the Puritan sects. One of the leading authorities on the subject suggests that "after 1640 many, probably most, Presbyterians, Independents and sectarians accepted millenarianism." 18 After their initial attempt at a reformation, however, the Presbyterians were inclined to await its coming, or to hasten its arrival through spiritual discipline, not through activistic politics. In contrast, millenarianism was especially intense in those groups that did not—that would not—accept the Presbyterian or Cromwellian settlements. "All the left-wing religious groups," Professor Hudson explains, were "characterized by a more or less intense millenarianism." 19

18 Bernard Capp, "Millennium and Eschatology in England," PP, No.57 (Nov.1972), p.162. Capp estimates that about 70% of the leading clergymen who supported parliament during the Revolution held millenarian beliefs (p.157). Of course, as Capp points out, statistics cannot record the variations in the character of the beliefs, or indicate how strongly they were held.

19 Winthrop S. Hudson, "Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley," J. of Mod. History, 18, No.1 (March 1946), p.5. Although a distinction might be drawn between "conservative millenarianism" and "extreme chiliasm" (Toon, in Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel, p.7), millenarian beliefs almost always possessed some sort of political implication. Millenarian beliefs could not but help to give rise to external ideas regarding the world in which people lived. The recognition of this fact has permitted us to understand the decisive role millenarianism played in fomenting the Puritan Revolution. As one contemporary remarked, "'Yea, a great inlet to our late civil wars, hath been the misinterpretation of the Revelation" (in W. Lamont, Godly
This fact helps explain why the occult sciences were so popular with left-wing Puritans during the Civil War years. Puritans who sought that 'perfect reformation' were attracted to magic, I suggest, partly because magic reinforced, and could be used to substantiate, their own millenarian hopes and pronouncements. In other words, the occult sciences provided Puritans who expected and desired a reformation, with a validating myth of the millennium.

How magic could reinforce expectations of world reformation will be made clear in Chapter II, where we investigate the nature of the 'millenarian' mode of Western magic. But by way of preface we might now take a look at the way one of the radical sects—the Fifth Monarchists—employed magic to reinforce and legitimize their expectations of the millennium.

Under the heading "Astrologers and Millenarians," in his recent study of the radical sects, Professor Hill has pointed out that "Fifth Monarchists in the 1650s cited ... the Sibylline prophecies, Nostradamus, Paracelsus and astrologers" to support their assertions and programs (p.72; see Thomas, pp.299-300, 373-4). Astrology seems to have been very closely associated with the Fifth Monarchy movement. In fact, one

Rule, p.21). Melvin Lasky has gone so far as to suggest that the Civil War was actually fought "between competing schools of eschatology, between protagonists of the lost and future Eden and critics of (in Calvin's words) foolish Jewish fantasies" ("The Birth of a Metaphor: On the Origin of Utopia & Revolution," Encounter, 34 [Feb.1970], p.42).
contemporary exclaimed that a Fifth Monarchist lecture sounded more like "'a reading on astrology'" than a sermon (Ephraim Pagitt, in Thomas, p.638). In his recent study of the Fifth Monarchy party, Professor Capp acknowledges that "the almanacs of Lilly and others such as John Vaux helped to spread apocalyptic ideas." The evidence would suggest that the Fifth Monarchists were attracted to astrology because it reinforced their own millenarian expectations and dreams.21

As Professor Hill has observed, other facets of the occult also appealed to the Fifth Monarchists. Of special interest to them was the work of Paracelsus and Jacob Boehme, both of whom were millenarian prophets. Capp implies that it was the 'illuminist' elements in these works which appealed to Fifth Monarchists, but this certainly does not explain John Rogers' extraordinary citation of the prophecies of Paracelsus in his own millenarian work. Paracelsus was relevant to Rogers because he had prophesied, according to Rogers, of that same "great"


21 In 1652, for example, an almanac appeared with the title The Year of Wonders: or, the glorious Rising of the fifth Monarch. Many other astrological works contained millenarian predictions, some of them overtly Fifth Monarchist in content. John Spittlehouse, a leading Fifth Monarchist, called astrology "the Princess to the rest of the Sciences," and defended Lilly from his Presbyterian detractors, perhaps because of Lilly's frequently millenarian prophecies (see Rome Ruin'd by Whitehall [1650], "A general Preface"). Recently Capp has noted that astrology was often linked with eschatology in the popular mind (PP, No.57 [Nov.1972], p.159).
and "happy Reformation" that both he and his party were fully expecting at any moment. It was for a millenarian purpose that Rogers incorporated the following Paracelsian prophecy into his own millenarian tract: "'O! then enters the great Change, which shall be called the happy Reformation that follows, which is without deceit, arts, subleties; but in plaine, naked, innocent Laws!'" (in Sagrir. Or Doomes-day drawing nigh [1654], pp.131-2). In reference to Paracelsus' final prophecy Rogers writes: "And then he goes on in his 32. Prediction, which bears the image of the Sun shining upon a man that is asleep, to shew what glorious daies succeed to Church and State for ever after that." It was millenarianism that made Paracelsus relevant to Rogers, and nothing else.

At least in some instances, Puritans were clearly attracted to magic because it provided them with a validating myth of the millennium, a validating myth that could be used to reinforce, and make credible, their own reformationist dreams.

My suggestion that Puritans were drawn to the occult milieu because they could find there millenarian myths which reinforced their own reformationist hopes and visions might be called the 'subsidiary' thesis of this study.

In summary, this study shall demonstrate that the occult milieu of Puritan England gave repeated utterance to a 'millenarian salvational message,' and attempt to show that it was this message which attracted Puritans to the occult sciences during the revolutionary years.
CHAPTER II
MAGIC AND THE MILLENNIUM

Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to define the term 'millenarian magic,' to examine the content of its salvational message, and, finally, to demonstrate the similarity between its motifs and those of the millenarian movement of Puritan England. This examination of Western magic will make clear how and why the occult sciences of even Puritan England came to contain millenarian myths and impulses.

Millenarian magic will be defined, in part, by an analysis of its relationship to two other modes of Western magic: thaumaturgy and Hermeticism. It shall be argued that the 'millenarian mode' resulted from a fusion of certain thaumaturgical impulses with apocalyptic expectations deriving from both Hermeticism itself and Christianity.

The approach to magic adopted here, it should be pointed out, does not emphasize occult procedures or formulae, but the content of the salvational message of magic (as this is communicated through myths, imagery, and statement). In other words, we are primarily concerned with the scope and nature of that 'salvation' from 'evil' which is offered by
the various modes of Western magic. Therefore, the three modes to be discussed can be distinguished from each other in terms of the scale and nature of soteriological relief each one promises. It is my contention that during the Hermetic revival of the Renaissance, a revived but more exaggerated form of thaumaturgic magic combined with apocalyptic traditions to give rise to a mode of magic whose salvational promise was 'millennial' in both its scope and nature.

It is not my intent, of course, to write a history of Western magic, or even to present what might be called a 'balanced view' of magic. Others have performed this task already. What I do intend to do is focus on a hitherto overlooked or ignored element in the Western occult tradition: the millenarian element. To do this, I must necessarily slight many facets of magic. Nevertheless, although the following discussion is not exhaustive, nor intended to be,

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1The approach to magic adopted here is employed as well by Professor Wilson in Magic and the Millennium. I have borrowed some of my terms and concepts from Professor Wilson's study. I should note that Professor Keith Thomas also focuses on the redemptive promises and procedures of the occult.

it will provide, I believe, an historical and conceptual overview of the main features of magic, and establish the credibility of the notion that Western magic did in fact develop what might be called a millenarian impulse towards the world.²

²Others, of course, have detected particular instances of the millenarian impulse in Western magic, but very few indeed have gone so far as to suggest that magic developed what might be called an 'ideology of world reformation.' The first to recognize this was Kurt Seligmann. In his Magic, Supernaturalism and Religion, Seligmann includes a chapter on the Hermetic "Reformers" of the seventeenth century. Hiram Haydn (The Counter Renaissance) and now Frances Yates are two others who have sensed the importance of reformationism in magic.
Thaumaturgy

'Thaumaturgy' might be called the 'perennial' form of magic. It has been a constant component of human culture ever since man first emerged from the Olduvai Gorge, and it is the thaumaturgic mode which still persists in almost every preliterate society today. From the middle ages to the enlightenment, it thrived throughout Europe, and in almost every level of society.

The reason for thaumaturgy's continuing endurance is not hard to understand. Thaumaturgy has endured because it answers man's continuing need for simple, immediate, ad hoc relief from the daily 'evils' which periodically afflict him. Thus, thaumaturgy can be defined as 'magical' power used to mitigate the rigor of the human condition, either by alleviating certain common forms of suffering, or by protecting people from them on an individual and ad hoc basis.

This form of magic is especially directed at the suffering associated with sickness and disease. In the past, when the agony of illness was experienced without mitigation, thaumaturgy offered the hope of miraculous cures, and of protecting oneself from malady. But thaumaturgy also responds

3"Helplessness in the face of disease was an essential element in the background" to magic (Thomas, p.14; see ch.7).
to other instances of man's vulnerability. For instance, it provides protection against witchcraft or possession, against theft, and even against unhappiness itself. It also helps to ward off such diverse miseries as vermin, bad luck, and even poverty, and generally discharges functions of this nature for which society has made little or no alternate provision.  

Thus, with its love potions, elixirs, prophylactic charms, with its 'sieve-and-shears hocus-pocus,' thaumaturgy promises to mitigate specific instances of the poverty, sickness, and frustration common to everyday life. It offers to

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4 Thomas, pp.212, 213, 636. What I call thaumaturgy (after Wilson) Professor Thomas calls 'popular magic.' Although 'thaumaturgy' may be more unwieldy, I prefer it, because it does not contain the erroneous suggestion that this form of magic was the only form that was 'popular.' On this form Professor Thomas writes: "Popular magic in England discharged only a limited number of functions; it provided protection against witchcraft, and various remedies for illness, theft, and unhappy personal relationships. . . . It was a collection of miscellaneous recipes, not a comprehensive body of doctrine. . . . Magic was simply a means of overcoming various specific difficulties" (pp.636-7; cf. Wilson, Magic and the Millennium, pp.24-5, et passim). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these benign and ameliorative functions of thaumaturgy were often maligned as instances of sorcery or black magic, terms which should apply only to malefic, antisocial forms of magic. Thus, in 1552, a clergyman complained, "'a great many of us, when we be in trouble, or sickness, or lose anything, we run hither and thither to witches, or sorcerers, whom we call wise men . . . seeking aid and comfort at their hands'" (in Thomas, p.177). The same complaint was made a hundred years later, this time by a Puritan divine: "'If men have lost anything, if they be in any pain or disease, then they presently run to such as they call wisse men'" (Ibid., p.178). Both references are clearly to magic functioning thaumaturgically, for the benefit and relief of the common man.
mankind reassurance, protection, health, and relief from some of the particular physical and emotional stresses that beset the human condition. The more widespread the miseries of daily life, the more pressing and intense will be the popular demand for the allegedly ameliorating benefits of thaumaturgic magic. When the human condition itself is experienced as evil, the popular demand for 'salvation' can infuse into this mode of magic a millenarian import. Under the right conditions, then, thaumaturgy can acquire a soteriological scope that can only be described as millenarian. More will be said on this topic shortly.

Under normal conditions, the 'salvation' offered by the thaumaturgic mode is simple immediate relief from the occasional evils that afflict each individual member of the human species. (cf. Wilson, p.101). It offers, then, a salvation that is essentially and primarily individual in nature. Each person applies to the thaumaturge when he needs relief from some particular manifestation of the inherent limits of the human condition. The supplicant, however, does not seek relief from the human condition, but only from a particular evil.5 This is because the 'evil' from which salvation is sought is depicted or viewed as a consequence of spasmodic

5"It is from particular incidence--not from their universal operation--that salvation is sought" (Wilson, p.25; also, pp.105, 125). What is of concern here is not the cosmological frameworks that could sustain such beliefs, but the kind of salvation that is offered.
or random action. Evil is \textit{not} seen as an incessant, pervasive, or continuous aspect of the human order afflicting everyone at once, and thus requiring collective supplication or relief. As a consequence, what is called for is not a program, policy or new social order, but therapy or propitiation, repeated performances of magical, ritualistic 'cures,' \textit{ad hoc} and \textit{ad hominem} (Wilson, p.101). Before thaumaturgy can give rise to millenarian magic, evil must be seen as an elemental part of the human condition. When it is, then a new kind of magic is called for, a magic powerful enough to transform that very human condition viewed as evil.

Although thaumaturgy has many functions in common with religion,\textsuperscript{7} the two agencies are not, of course, the same. In

\textsuperscript{6}"The individual's concern," writes Professor Wilson, is "relief from present and specific ills by special dispensations. The demand for supernatural help is personal and local: its operation is magical [i.e., coercive]. Salvation is immediate but has no general application beyond the given case and others like it" (pp.24-5). Elsewhere he writes that the thaumaturgical response to 'evil' is essentially a "special claim for personal dispensation from the normal operation of natural causation by the invocation of particular spirit aids" (p.71).

\textsuperscript{7}It would be wrong, Professor Thomas remarks, "to regard magic and religion as two opposed and incompatible systems of belief. There were magical elements surviving in religion, and there were religious facets to the practice of magic" (Religion and the Decline of Magic, p.26; for his comments on 'ecclesiastical magic,' see pp. 277-8, 256, 273-4, 29, 32, 49). Religion's inveterate hostility to popular magic (or thaumaturgy) Professor Thomas explains in terms of the competition that naturally exists between two rival systems of explanation and assuagement (pp.264, 273-4; also, Wilson, p.70).
fact, what allowed thaumaturgy to survive centuries of efforts to suppress it has been the very distinctiveness of its salvational message. Thaumaturgy offers a form of 'salvation' that many people have found more appealing than the sterner salvation offered by orthodox Christianity. What makes the salvation of magic more appealing was detected by Sir James Frazer. The average clergyman of the past, Frazer wrote, must surely have felt great hostility for a "rival practitioner, who preached a surer and smoother road to fortune than the rugged and slippery path of divine favour." This observation points to the essential differences between

8 The Golden Bough, 3rd edn. (1932), I, p.226 (quoted in Thomas, p.253). A remarkably similar criterion is used by Professor Voegelin to explain the peculiar and continuing attraction of 'gnostic' perfectionist ideas concerning earthly redemption from evil. Images of earthly perfection, he explains, are an expression of the psychic need for "a stronger certainty about the meaning of human existence, in a new knowledge of the future that lies before us, and in the creation of a more secure basis for action in the future" (p.107). In Christianity, all hangs on the thread of faith. "Man is given nothing tangible. The substance and proof of the unseen are ascertained through nothing but faith, which man must obtain by the strength of his soul. . . . Not all men are capable of such spiritual stamina; most need institutional help, and even this is not always sufficient" (pp. 108-09). As Christianity expanded, it included more men "not strong enough for the heroic adventure of faith," and thus "became susceptible to ideas that could give them a greater degree of certainty about the meaning of their existence than faith" (p.109; Eric Voegelin, Science, Politics and Gnosticism [Chicago: Henry Regnery, Gateway edn., 1968], esp. "Ersatz Religion"). Voegelin's explanation of the appeal of 'gnostic' visions explains, as well, the appeal of 'millenarian' magic, which offers to mankind a paradisic vision of the future. It could also explain the appeal of most revolutionary movements as well.
thaumaturgy and orthodox Christianity. Thaumaturgy tends to offer a more reliable and material salvation than religion offers. A word or two on this subject will further clarify the nature of thaumaturgic magic.

Although the belief that earthly events can be influenced by supernatural intervention is not itself a magical one, thaumaturgy claims that its spells work mechanically and coercively (Thomas, p.41). A prayer is a form of supplication, not a command, and thus contains no guarantee of success; but a magical spell, on the other hand, allegedly works automatically (if the procedures of the ritual are correctly followed that is). Thus, in the face of misfortune, magic dares to promise the wretched successful relief from their torments. In contrast, the basic salvational message of orthodox Christianity when faced with misfortune is "stoicism." 9 Orthodox religion cannot, it will not, guarantee relief. It is no wonder that the salvational promise of thaumaturgic magic would appear to some more appealing than religion's stern insistence that one must surrender to the inscrutable will of God. 10

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9"The mechanical philosophy of the later seventeenth century," writes Professor Thomas, was reconciled with orthodox religion because "stocisim had become the basic religious message for those in misfortune" (p.640).

10"'For if we stand in necessity of corporal health, whither go the common people but to charms, witchcrafts, and other delusions of the Devil?'' (in Thomas, p.639). Religion would not promise health, but magic would (see p.24, n.4).
The salvation offered by thaumaturgy is not only more reliable, it is more material as well. As Frazer recognized, the practical and surer road of magic leads "to fortune.

There is a tendency in thaumaturgy to offer more than mere relief; thaumaturgy wants to bless man with "prosperity" also. This prosperity usually takes the form of earthly success, fertility, honor, and material goods. Though village thaumaturgy occasionally offers such prosperity, the Renaissance form of thaumaturgy was brashly materialistic, promising to people much more than just relief from backache and sexual impotence. Surveying his 'heavenly' necromantic books, Faustus exclaims:

O, what a world of profit and delight,  
Of power, of honour, of omnipotence,  
Is promis'd to the studious artisan!

I'll have them [i.e., spirits] fly to India for gold,  
Ransack the oceans for orient pearl,  
And search all corners of the new-found world  
For pleasant fruits and princely delicates;

'Tis magic, magic, that hath ravish'd me.

The materialistic dream of thaumaturgy we will encounter in an even more extreme form in millenarian magic. This vision of 'worldly prosperity' was the nucleus around which

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11 Christopher Marlowe, Doctor Faustus, ed. John J. Jump, Revels Plays (1962; rpt. London: Methuen, University paperback edn., 1970), I,i, 52-4, 81-4, 109. The word 'ravished' was often used to describe the force and intensity with which this materialistic vision gripped one's mind and soul.
the new mode developed. But in millenarian magic, as we shall see, Faustus' "world of profit and delight,/ Of power, of honour, of omnipotence," is not the private property of the "studious artisan," the magician, but the public domain of all humankind. Faustus looks forward to entering a sort of private paradise, a personal garden of earthly delights. But in the millenarian mode, the world itself will become paradise, and all people shall inhabit it.  

In contrast to both thaumaturgy and millenarian magic, orthodox Christianity tends to reject such materialistic visions. Although there were sometimes exceptions to this, orthodox Christianity on the whole did not set out to promise health, worldly success, riches to those who followed the word of God. Protestant clergymen, for example, "tried to

12 Although true sorcery and witchcraft usually involve some form of overt maleficium, or hostile act directed against another (Thomas, pp.460, 436), many seventeenth-century Englishmen used these opprobrious terms to condemn the Faustian impulse, that drive for power and wealth—that maniacal self-assertiveness—which seemed to threaten the piety and social stability of the realm. Good magicians, or 'white' magicians, rejected the self-aggrandizing mania of Faustianism, but they did not repudiate Faustus' materialism; on the contrary, they embraced it with abandon, as we shall discover.

13 Periodically religion has advanced a materialistic promise which is more fittingly the prerogative of magic. In the middle ages, for example, ecclesiastical authorities had developed formulae designed to draw down God's practical blessing upon every kind of secular activity (Thomas, p.29). Even some of the Protestant reformers maintained that there was "no benefit, which the pious Christian might not attain by praying for it. . . . Health, prosperity, good harvests, a safe delivery in child birth. . . . all these were in the Lord's power to bestow" (Thomas, p.113; also p.89).
bring spiritual consolation, not the hope of material prosperity." As Professor Thomas puts it, the salvational message of religion is, on the whole, a rather "gloomy philosophy, teaching men how to suffer." At its most optimistic, orthodox religion promises that those who bear "patiently with the evils of this world would have a chance of being rewarded in the next" (Thomas, p.112). Orthodox religion tends to repudiate the temporal blessings of this life, for the joys of a heaven to come after death. Magic does not.\textsuperscript{14}

The thaumaturgical impulse towards the world was revived during the Renaissance, when it furnished the basis for the operative mode of Hermetic magic. We shall therefore return to the subject of thaumaturgy when we come to consider this aspect of the occult tradition. Leaving behind thaumaturgy for the moment, we shall now look more closely at the Hermetic magic of the Renaissance.

\section*{Hermeticism}

'Hermeticism' is a term often used to cover the beliefs and myths that converged during the Renaissance to form what

\textsuperscript{14}The prospect of "material relief by divine means" lost credibility in orthodox religious circles by the end of the seventeenth century (Thomas, p.640). And even when prayer was thought to bring material rewards, it was the orthodox teaching that "the less material the request the more likely was it to be granted; "'If thou ask no earthly or worldly things, but such things as are spiritual and heavenly, then thou shalt be sure to obtain'" (in Thomas, p.46).
has been called the 'intellectual' tradition of Western magic. In a more limited sense, 'Hermeticism' could be said to be that complex system of occult endeavors and beliefs which were thought to have been sanctioned by the writings attributed to the legendary Egyptian priest and magus, Hermes Trismegistus. It was, in fact, the revival of these Hermetic writings, Frances Yates has argued, which provoked the revival of magic in the Renaissance.\footnote{Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (1964; rpt. New York: Random House, Vintage edn., 1969), esp. chs. 1-3. For an elucidation of the magical elements in early Hermetic thought, see J. R. Partington, A History of Chemistry, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1970), I, "Theoretical Background," and ch. 12: "The Hermetic Books." Still the most authoritative study of Hermetic magic is R. P. Festugière, La Révélation D'Hermes Trismégiste, 4 vols., Vol. I: L'Astrologie et les Sciences Occultes (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1950). See also, W. Scott, ed., Hermetica (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1924-36), Vol. I: Introduction. Hermeticism has been branded "one of the most intellectually chaotic systems ever devised by the human mind" (James R. King, Studies in Six 17th Century Writers, p.115).}

The Hermetic writings are made up of various dialogues between 'Hermes' and assorted human and spiritual figures. These dialogues contain two related but distinct leitmotives, each giving rise in the Renaissance to two closely related forms of magic. The more mystical, spiritual and gnostic dialogues gave rise to what might be called a contemplative or deificatory magic; the dialogues more overtly concerned with the physics of this world, and with the worship of Nature, gave rise to what might be called operative magic (a more exaggerated form of thaumaturgy). Under the in-
fluence of millenarian propheticism, this operative mode gave rise to a new form of magic, to a magic which promised to transform the world, to make the whole earth a paradise. The millenarian mode will be examined shortly, but right now our concern is with contemplative and operative magic.

The 'end' of the contemplative or deificatory mode is reached when the magus has saved himself, or deified himself by achieving union with God, Whose divine nature the magus worships and contemplates in perfect bliss and peace. The end of operative magic is reached when the magus acquires and then exercises the creative, transformative powers of God. The difference between these two modes is primarily a matter of emphasis. The contemplative mode is more passive, the operative, more active. The first emphasizes the peace and tranquility of mystical union, the second, the joy and excitement of operation and manipulation. What is important to recognize is that both of these modes entail the same procedure of sanctification leading to the formation of the magus. The salvation/contemplation of the first mode, and the operative power of the second both come through gnosis. In the first, the emphasis is on the power of gnosis to transform, or transfigure the magus into a deity; in the second, the emphasis is upon the power of gnosis to transform the external world itself. Thus, these two modes are not incompatible at all, and the magus will embody aspects of both, though his work or teachings may elevate one over the other.
To understand these two forms of Hermetic magic, we must understand the gnostic belief upon which they were based. As Frances Yates has remarked, "Gnosticism and magic go together" (Giordano Bruno, p.44). The old gnostic heresy of the second century provided magic with the doctrine that man was once, and can become again--through his intellect--the reflection of the divine mens, and thus a divine being (Ibid., p.111). The dream of becoming once again a 'divine being' enticed some magicians towards the contemplative goal, and others towards the operative goal; in the first, he would be a demi-god, in the second, prelapsarian Adam--but in either case, he would be a 'divine being.' This central tenet of the old gnostic heresy influenced Hermetic thought, and thus, throughout the Hermetica itself, one will find the message that through the intellect--and through knowledge (or gnosis)--man can once again become a divine being.16

"Contemplative Magic."

In the contemplative mode, becoming a 'divine being' meant deification, or the acquisition of God's divine and perfect nature. This transfiguration would express itself

in worship and contemplation of the One, in which the magus now resides. The principal elements of this mode can be found in Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, the work which introduced into Western thought the powerful image of Man as Magus (Yates, *Bruno*, pp.110-1).

The gnostic procedure of sanctification outlined by Pico results in the formation of the magus. Transfiguration results from the study of the liberal arts of moral philosophy, dialectic, natural philosophy, and finally theology. These are called the 'expiatory sciences.' After man has purified himself by moral philosophy (ethics) and dialectic (reasoning), he advances, Pico explains, to natural philosophy (or science), that is, the study of creation, whereby the adept improves his knowledge of things divine by understanding the "visible signs of nature."¹⁷ Upon studying visible creation, the adept will become intoxicated with the invisible things of God's house, in which, "if we prove faithful, like Moses, hallowed theology shall come and inspire us with a double frenzy" (p.234). This afflatus transfigures the initiate into a demi-god ("A sound magician is a demi-god"), an earthly creature who enjoys while yet a living being the attributes—and the powers and privileges—of divinity. "Who would not desire," Pico enquires, "to become the guests of

the gods while yet living on earth, and, made drunk by the nectar of eternity, to be endowed with the gifts of immortality though still a mortal being?" (p.233).

The term 'demi-god' simply does not convey the extent of the transfiguration of the adept. The perfected man, Pico forthrightly asserts, "is in God and God in him, nay, rather, God and himself are one" (p.228). Thus, at the last stage in the process of sanctification lies deification, for "we shall no longer be ourselves but shall become He Himself Who made us" (p.234). Deification is expressed in contemplation, or, as Pico put it, in the "study of heavenly and divine things" (p.247). "Nothing moves one to religion and to the worship of God more than the diligent contemplation of the wonders of God" (p.249). This is why, he says, magic is good.

In terms of its 'salvation,' the contemplative mode is, of course, even more narrow and limited than thaumaturgy. Only a few will ever be able to proceed through that rigorous spiritual and intellectual course charted by Pico. But what this 'salvation' loses in scope, it gains in intensity. Pico does not offer mere release from occasional affliction but permanent transformation, indefectible release from the human condition itself. Yet, because this release can only be enjoyed by the few, the contemplative mode, by its very nature, can never respond to a broad popular demand for collective salvation. It provides no hope for a cultural transformation. The contemplative mode offers salvation only to the elite,
and the salvation it offers does not change the external order of the world, but the inner being of the individual magus. The magician of this mode is content to perfect himself, and feels no urge to perfect the world around him. His vision of bliss is contact with the Divine One, not life in an earthly paradise. The millenarian impulse to reform the world, to restore paradise to all mankind, came not from contemplative magic, but from magic which seeks to operate upon the world. "Operative Magic."

In operative magic, emphasis falls not on the spiritual perfection of the magus—even though it is this spiritual perfection (achieved through gnosis) which gives him his powers—but on his operative powers over creation. When man is regenerated in this mode, that is, "brought back into communion with the ruler of 'the all' through magico-religious communion with the cosmos," he regains man's primal, original divinity. That is, he becomes Adam before the Fall, and thus possesses once again that power over nature which Adam enjoyed in paradise. ¹⁸

Although Pico writes of this mode as well in his Oration,¹⁹ Henry Cornelius Agrippa expressed more enthusiastically the

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¹⁹ See pp.248-9 for the magician's ability to release the miraculous powers stored in nature.
central message of this occult mode. As the following passage makes clear, even operative magic is premissed on the gnostic heresy that man can once again become divine through his intellect: True occult philosophy, he explains,

is to know God himself, the worker of all things, and to pass into him by a whole image of likeness (as by an essential contact, and bond) whereby thou maist be transformed, and made as God .... This is that true, high Occult Philosophy of wonderfull works [!]. The key thereof is the intellect: for by how much higher things we understand, with so much sublimer vertues are we endowed, and so much greater things do work, and that more easily, and efficaciously. 20

As this passage indicates, the end of sanctification or transfiguration was not contemplation or worship, but the exercise of power over nature. Gnosis meant to Agrippa knowledge of how the world operates, comprehension of the physical

20 Henry Cornelius Agrippa, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, trans. J. F. (1510; London edn., 1651), p.559. The 'J. F.' who did the translation has usually been identified as John Freake (Thomas, p.223, n.1), but a more likely candidate is, I believe, John French, an Independent who was immersed in magical lore. He also translated Glauber and Sendivogius, while writing his own alchemical books (The Art of Distillation, 1651). A 'J. F.' also wrote the preface to John Everard's translation of the Divine Pymander of Hermes Trismegistus (London, 1650). I believe this too was French, for he was active at the time, and both he and Everard, another Puritan, were alchemists (for this see Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, ed. C. H. Josten, 5 vols [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], I, pp.121-2). The spurious Agrippan treatise, His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, was translated, with other deeply chthonic works, by Robert Turner in 1655. For a thorough study of Agrippa, see Charles G. Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana: U. of Illinois Press, 1965).
principles according to which it is organized. In the operative mode, then, transfiguration brought, through gnosis, the power to manipulate the world according to the will of the magician:

Therefore [Agrippa explains] Our mind being pure and divine . . . [it] doth . . . sud-dainly comprehend . . . & beholdeth all the stations, grounds, causes and sciences of things both natural and immortal . . . Hence it comes to pass that we, though Natural . . . receiveth this miraculous power in certain things by command to be changed. Hence it comes to pass that though we are framed a natural body, yet we sometimes prae­dominate over nature, and cause such wonderfull, sordain and difficult operations, as that the evil spirits obey us, the stars are disordered, the heavenly powers compelled, the Elements made obedient; so devout men and those elevated by these Theological vertues, command the Elements, drive away Fogs, raise the winds, cause rain, cure diseases, raise the dead, all which things . . . have been done. 21

The references to 'curing diseases' and 'raising the dead' reveal that Renaissance operative magic is a revived form of

21 Three Books of Occult Philosophy (London, 1651), p.357. In another passage Agrippa explains that being "conjoyned" to God, the magus has "power over all things, ruling over all" (p.525): "the soul therefore being converted, and made like to God, is so formed of God, that it doth above all intellect, know all things by a certain essential contact of Divinity . . . Now then the soul being so converted into God . . . obtain'd the spirit of prophecie, sometimes work­ wonderfull things, and greater than the nature of the world can do, which works are called miracles" (pp.507-08). Oper­ative magic was thus a crucial theme in Agrippa's works as even Thomas Vaughan recognized. He quotes him to the effect that the illuminated man can "perform works exceeding the common course of the powers of Nature"(p.111), can "over­come Nature," and thus "accomplish all things" (Works, p. 112). Elsewhere Vaughan asserted this operative power (p.48).
thaumaturgy ('curing diseases'), but a thaumaturgic form whose pretensions have become more exaggerated ('raising the dead'). Though somewhat more grandiose in its ambitions, operative magic--like thaumaturgy--is magic dedicated to helping mankind. As a matter of fact, Agrippa explicitly defends this mode of magic on the very grounds that it seeks to profit mankind:

But those things which are for the profit of man, for the turning away of evil events, for the destroying of sorceries, for the curing of diseases, for the exterminating of phantasmes, for the preserving of life, honor, fortune, may be done without offence to God, or injury to Religion, because they are, as profitable, so necessary. 22

It should be noted that even the English translator of this work endorses the 'thaumaturgic' aspect of the operative mode. Magic allows the adept, he explains, "to defend Kingdoms, to discover the secret counsels of men, to overcome enemies, to redeem captives, to increase riches, to procure the favor of men, to expell diseases, to preserve health, to prolong life, to renew youth, to foretell future events" (sig. A5'). In short, the magicians of the operative mode of the Renaissance were dedicated to using magic "to operate wonderfull things" for the "profit of man."

22 Three Books, sig.A1'. If the good magician sought power, he sought it to be of service to all mankind. In contrast, Faustus sought power only so that he could gratify his own appetites, though he briefly thinks of using magic patriotically (I, i, 89-96).
Operative magic is thus a more assertive, more grandiose form of ancient thaumaturgy. It is much more consciously manipulative than thaumaturgy, whose promise of relief seldom entailed a change of external nature. Operative magic's salvational promise is also somewhat more inclusive, for it seeks the 'profit of mankind,' or of society more than the relief of individual supplicants. Though these differences may appear minor, they were exceedingly important in terms of the development of a new mode of magic—millenarian magic. In millenarian magic, the operative imperative to use magic for the 'profit of all men,' and not just a few, assumed even more expansive dimensions: all mankind was to be blest with the treasures of paradise itself. Whether or not the essential difference between operative and millenarian magic is quantitative or qualitative is less important than the recognition that on occasion, under the right circumstances, the vision of operative magicians acquired a millenarian scope and dimension. The nature of this vision, and how it came about, shall now be considered.

**Millenarian Magic**

Millenarian magic, briefly defined, is the use of occult operative power to 'redeem' from the effects of the Curse both nature and society. Its goal is not individual relief or apotheosis, nor even the 'defence of kingdoms' and the preservation of health, but the perfection of the world, the
paradisic transformation of human life it self. Millenarian magic is not opposed to the other forms of magic at all, but includes their 'ends' or goals in its own mission to radically ('root'), and fundamentally transform the natural order of society and nature, to 'perfect' both men and things. For Western magicians, this mission meant that magic was to be used to restore to mankind generally the glorious existence that prelapsarian Adam enjoyed in paradise. The attributes of this paradisic existence shall be discussed in detail in Part 2 of this chapter. What concerns us here is how operative magic, on occasion, acquired a millenarian salvational impulse.

An explanation of the ideological roots of millenarian magic must take into account the influence of second-century gnosticism. I have already acknowledged that the 'gnostic heresy' underlies all forms of Hermetic magic. But what gnosticism contributed to the millenarian mode specifically was an 'apocalyptic' view of the world, of reality itself. As I have already said, the millenarian demand for a total cultural transformation can only come about when 'evil' is viewed as objective and pervasive, an elemental part of the very order of things (see above, p.2). We might call this an 'apocalyptic' view of the world. Gnosticism contributed precisely such a view to the Hermetic writings, for it depicted evil as total, and associated this evil with the
present order of the world. Whereas thaumaturgy depicts evil as \textit{ad hoc} instances of personal malevolence, second-century gnosticism depicted evil as the essential characteristic of the human condition, permanent and unavoidable. For the gnostics, salvation, in the strictest sense, could not take place in this world as it now is. This belief led in two directions. In gnosticism itself it led to the total repudiation and rejection of this world. Salvation could only be experienced in a transmundane realm, utterly remote from this corrupt world. But in the Renaissance, at least in occult circles, it led to a salvational mission devoted to transforming this world. The millenarian mode, in other words, accepted the 'apocalyptic' view of gnosticism, but rejected gnosticism's passivity in the face of evil. This world is indeed corrupt to its very foundation, it maintained, but through magic this world can be redeemed.\footnote{Gnosticism's repudiation of this world was so complete, so total, that it did not develop, as Renaissance magic did, a vision which in any way entailed the transformation, or even amelioration, of earthly existence. Theoretically and actually, a reformation of the world was simply impossible, as far as the gnostics were concerned. Thus, in no way did the salvational message of this sect convey any hope of modifying the objective conditions of human existence (Jonas, \textit{The Gnostic Religion}, pp.250-1). What gnosticism did promise was release from this world, release in the sense of escape. Gnostic thought of the second century was thus characterized by asceticism, not activism (Jonas, p.144), for no act could improve a irredeemably corrupt world. As a predominantly ascetic movement, gnosticism repudiated all the material benefits available to people, those very benefits, it should be pointed out, which it was the task of millenarian magic to bestow on mankind. Consequently, in gnosticism, ravishing}
This optimistic belief in the power of magic to redeem the world itself was a result, at least in part, of the scientific revival of the Renaissance. The science of this period gave to mankind—or at least seemed to give—greater control over nature than had been dreamed possible. These new discoveries of science—and the new powers over creation that they brought with them—were readily interpreted, I believe, as heralds of even more wonderful things to come. They released man’s imagination to conjure up visions of miraculous transformations accomplished through magico-science. It was natural that Renaissance magicians should come to believe that dreams of an earthly paradise were viewed as sinister inducements from an evil god to ensnare in the body the divine spark of man. This ideology of world denigration naturally led to a severe eschatology. The blandishments of the messianic tradition, for example, had no effect on gnosticism. Marcion of Sinope argued that the messiah awaited by the Jews was the son of the 'evil' Demiurge who ruled the corrupt world, and that the messiah's reign would be tyrannical. He went on to argue that this messiah's coming had nothing whatever to do with the salvation brought by Christ, which is acosmic in nature, and which, as Jonas puts it, "does not change the course of worldly events, not even in the sense of amelioration" (p.140). Gnosticism, therefore, utterly despised the millenarian hope of a 'new heaven and a new earth.' When gnostics do talk about a 'restoration' or 'restitution,' they are not talking about a change in earthly affairs, but about the restoration of each separate spark of light to its original unity with the transmundane Light (p.59). Such a restoration of each particle of light does not improve the condition of the world, but makes it worse, for it 'darkens' it. As a matter of fact, this restoration, the gnostics believed, would bring about the long-awaited final destruction of this world, and of the cosmos of which it was a part (p.61).

they would soon possess the power to limitlessly transform the human condition and the ontological regime of the world. What they expected was the power to make the world completely malleable, to make it conform to their visions of perfection. With such powers, the world itself could be re-formed, healed, cured, perfected—released from the effects of the Curse.

This optimistic belief in the power of magico-science to redeem the world and the human condition was also a result of another 'revival' of the Renaissance—a millenarian revival. During this period, visions of world reformation flourished. These visions came not only from the apocalyptic traditions of Christianity: they came as well from Hermeticism itself.

In one of the important dialogues of the Corpus Hermeticum, in the Asclepius, there occurs a prophetic vision that may very well have been responsible for implanting in the minds of Renaissance magicians the notion that a revival of Hermetic magic would lead to a reformation of the world.25 The vision occurs in the famous "Lament" portion of the dialogue. Hermes is recounting to Asclepius the terrors that will accompany the demise of Egypt's magical religion. The pious worship of the magically animated statues shall one day

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"The rehabilitation of the Asclepius," Professor Yates writes, "is . . . one of the chief factors in the Renaissance revival of magic" (Giordano Bruno, p.41; also p.42). See also D. P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic (1958), p.37. The Asclepius was 'rehabilitated' by Marsilio Ficino, a magus.
"become Void," Hermes explains. Egypt, the "image of Heaven," will then be "destitute of Religion, and deprived of the presence of the Deity." As this magical religion falls into desuetude, terrible torments will afflict Egypt. The earth shall be blighted, and human society rent by licentiousness, cruelty, and bloodshed.

But these apocalyptic terrors are only the blackness before the dawn. The "Lament" of Hermes actually concludes with a vision of a new age, with an exhilarating prophecy of a future reformation, somewhat reminiscent of the Book of Revelation:

When these things shall happen, O Asclepius, then that Lord and Father God Almighty . . . will end this world, and restore it to its ancient beauty; so that the world itself may seem to be admired and honoured: And God, the Creator and Restorer of so great a work, shall of all men then being, be magnified with continual praises and thanksgivings. For this generation of the World, and the reformation of all good things, and the most holy and religious restitution of nature itself, in due time both is, and hath been eternal from the beginning. 27

Frances Yates has perceptively remarked that what the "Lament"
ment" section of the Asclepius really implies is that the decay of astral magic brought the decay of the world, and that only a revival of Hermetic magic can restore the world (Giordano Bruno, pp.41-2). It may have been this reformationist prophecy that convinced Renaissance thaumaturges that Hermetic magic was destined to restore to mankind "all good things" lost with the Fall.

The explicitly reformationist message of the "Lament," and the hope for a reformation that runs through some of the other dialogues help explain, I believe, why a reformationist fervor swept through Hermetic circles soon after the appearance of Ficino's translation of the Corpus Hermeticum (Treviso, 1471). "The augury of great events," writes Professor Garin, "of the mutation of the world, was spreading increasingly at the end of the century. Astrologers studied the heavens for the conjunctions of major stars, which foretold changes in reigns, empires, and religions. . . . For Marsilio Ficino the stars denoted the rule of Saturn and the golden age."28 As we shall see, precisely the same millenarian visions dominated the astrological milieu of Puritan England as well.

28 Eugenio Garin, Portraits from the Quattrocento, trans. Victor A. and Elizabeth Velen (New York: Harper & Row, Torchbook edn., 1972), p.226. "Visions of imminent earthly paradise" (p.227) were provoked by the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in particular, because this conjunction was thought to signal the completion of the Great Year, that is, the time it takes the entire solar system to revolve to the position it was given at the Creation. It was thought that the restoration of the heavens would bring about a restoration of the
The "Hermetic" origin of this millenarianism has been noted by Professor Chastel, who has shown that expectations of "le règne de Saturne," or, as one contemporary put it, of "l'âge d'or si longtemps célébré par la Sibylle et les devins, l'âge annoncé par Platon où la connaissance de son oeuvre serait parfaite," obsessed not just Ficino, but almost every magician of the age. Ficino was merely one earth as well. The astrologer, Paul of Middelburg, a correspondent of Marsilio Ficino, calculated that the innovations in religion heralded by the stars would begin in 1484 (Donald Weinstein, Savonarola and Florence: Prophecy and Patriotism in the Renaissance [Princeton: Princeton U. P., 1971], pp. 88-92). "If people have been agitated for centuries," writes Professor Garin, "by prophecies and portents, in the second half of the Quattrocento in particular they lived in an incubator of great events... The myth of rebirth—that is, of the new age cycle about to begin, with the whole complex of practical consequences which accompany a forecast that is believed and that tends to become realized to the extent that it is believed—and the idea of a radical change which must come about in the fifteenth century—that is, the idea of the Renaissance itself... may have a not inconsiderable astrological component" (pp. 133-4). The revival of millenarian fervor during the Renaissance, Garin seems to be saying, may have been provoked by astrological prophecies.

29 André Chastel, "L'Antéchrist à la Renaissance," in L'Umanesimo e il Demoniaco nell'arte, Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Umanistici a cura di Enrico Castelli (Rome and Milan: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1952), p. 178. This important article contains much evidence illustrating the extent to which millenarian expectations preoccupied the greatest adepts of the Italian Renaissance. Though Chastel is wont to use the term platonism to explain the extraordinary outburst of reformationist fervor, his own evidence clearly demonstrates that Hermeticism played the leading role in stimulating this outbreak: "Les 'voyants' excités jusqu'au délire prophétique, n'étaient pas rares dans les villes d'Italie: le 2 avril 1484 [the date prophesied by Paul of Middelburg] un extravagant, couronné d'épines, bizarrement drapé, parcourut à cheval les rues de Rome, en distribuant des tracts, et en annonçant que le monde allait changer,
of the first to announce that "le platonisme"--platonism, as Chastel points out, leavened by "l'hermetisme"--"était l'instrument d'une rénovation totale de la pensée théologique et les moeurs qui ouvrait une étape magnifique de l'histoire humaine." Such a millenarian expectation dominated the minds of magicians for the next one hundred and fifty years.30

grâce à la révélation d'Hermès" (p.178). As Frances Yates has also pointed out, the 'core' of Renaissance Neo-Platonism, as formulated by Marsilio Ficino, was "Hermetic, involving a view of the cosmos as a network of magical forces with which man can operate" ("The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science," p.256).

30 Expectations of world reformation, or of the restitution of the past paradise of Eden, of the Golden Age, ravished the leading occultists of the age, both Catholic and Protestant. Pico, Ficino, Melanchton, Servetus, Postel, Reuchlin, Bruno, Campanella, Paracelsus--all not only took an active interest in the occult (some of these men were practising magicians), but helped spread the message of an imminent restitutio omnia or reformatio mundi that would perfect the human condition. Pico believed that the rediscovery of Hermetic and cabalistic 'wisdom' would lead to a religious enlightenment in which doctrinal disputes would vanish, and in which there would consequently be a reunion of all people, and peace on earth. This enlightenment would also entail a reformation of society. Pico ended his life as a supporter of Savonarola, whom Pico viewed as a revolutionary magus, a student of Neoplatonism and the Cabala (Donald Weinstein, Savonarola and Florence [1971], p.196). Other occultists also viewed this revolutionary monk as a sort of 'Hermetic messiah.' Giovanni Nesi, in his Oraculum de Novo Saeculo (1497), uses astrology, Hermeticism, and Christian apocalyptic traditions to depict Savonarola as both the prophet of the Christian millennium and the oracular fount of esoteric knowledge. As such, Nesi argued, Savonarola dispenses the divine illumination by which man will be able to "reconstruct Florence in liberty, spirituality, and truth, according to the models of both the celestial Jerusalem and the Platonic republic. On the basis of Savonarola's teachings, Florence would augment her imperium and create the new era. . . . In Florence Christ reigned and the golden age had begun" (Ibid., pp.31-2). The impetus for Nesi's messianism was at least in
Aside from the occult tradition itself, the most important influence on the formation of millenarian magic came from part Hermetic. "As Nesi saw it, the millennium announced by Savonarola would be a new start as well as a climax, an initiation into man's ultimate enlightenment, when spiritual renewal and moral perfection would at last permit man to open all those mysteries to which he was heir. . . . The idea was best expressed in those writings which were ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. . . . According to the Hermetic teachings, spiritual and moral perfection made man a very god in wisdom and power" (pp.197-8). Weinstein is thus convinced that the Hermetic revival in Florence "was an important factor in the enthusiastic reception of the Savonarolan movement" (p.202). Others shared much the same beliefs regarding the new age. Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), translator of the Cabala, envisaged the new age "as a return to the earthly paradise of Genesis, in which man is to be finally delivered from bondage to Satan and restored to his original innocence; hence it is the restitutio omnium, in which mankind will be united in a common speech (Hebrew), a common government, and a common religion based on Cabala in which what had hitherto been the possession of a few initiates will become the common property of all mankind" (William J. Bouwsma, "Postel and the Significance of Renaissance Cabalism, p.231). Giordano Bruno believed that reform of the celestial images used in astral magic would bring about "universal religious and moral reform" (Yates, Giordano Bruno, p.232). His disciple in magic, Tomasso Campanella, interpreted the six planets in ascendant at his birth as a sign of his role "to be the reformer of the world" (Nell Eurich, Science in Utopia [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P., 1967], p.116). As Yates also points out, he believed that astrological and prophetic pronouncements of a new age to begin around 1600 indicated that he was to lead "a universal magico-religious reform" (p.360). Michael Servetus (1511-1553), at once "a disciple of the Neoplatonic Academy at Florence and of the Anabaptists" (p.4), was familiar with Hermetic and occult literature (pp.131, 134), and a practising astrologer and alchemist, at the same time that he entertained "eschatological reveries" of world reformation (Ronald Bainton, Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus [1953; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1960], esp. pp. 110-15). For Melanchthon, see Lynn Thorndike, "The Circle of Melanchthon," in A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York: Columbia U. P., 1941), V, pp.378-405; John W. Montgomery, "Cross, Constellation, and Crucible: Lutheran Astrology and Alchemy in the Age of the Reformation," Ambix, 11, No. 2 (June 1963), 65-86; Clifford Davidson, "Doctor Faustus of
the Christian apocalyptic tradition. Joachimism, prophetism, messianic expectation rooted in the Bible, paganism and Jewish lore, all helped to validate the reformationist dreams of Hermeticism. In fact, as early as the fourth century, Hermetic millenarianism had already merged with Christian apocalyptic thought. Lactantius, perhaps the most influential figure in early messianic thought, frequently quotes Hermes to support his own millenarian doctrines. Lactantius thus set an example that many later millenarians—even some Puritan ones—were to follow. At one point, he even quotes at length from the famous "Lament" of the Asclepius, focusing attention on its prophecy of the restoration of "all good things."  


example of Lactantius, therefore, provided Renaissance magicians with a 'Christian' legitimization of the central millenarian prophecy of the Hermetic tradition. Occult visions of a future reformation of the world were seen as tantamount to Christian expectations of the coming millennium. Indeed, in Puritan England, as we shall see, the two traditions were often conflated, and the occult tradition was seen as a legitimate source of visionary prophecies supporting the millenarianism of the Christian tradition.

Millenarian magic, then, must be seen within this apocalyptic context. Some Renaissance magicians, especially those immersed in the Hermetic writings, excited by the miraculous powers of transformation seemingly inherent in scientific and magical gnosis, and stirred as well by the revival of millenarian prophecies and expectations, such Renaissance magicians arrogated to themselves the mission of working the transformation of the world so long awaited and so avidly sought.

scholar comments, "The Divine Institutes, in particular, are full of references to this Hermes, references which, together with quotations from the various sibyls, are used by the author as prophecies of Christ and testimonies to the truth of Christianity from authorities that his pagan audience would accept." As this author points out, Lactantius cites Hermes at least thirty times by name, drawing most quotations from the Poimandres and the Asclepius (Kathleen Ellen Hartwell, Lactantius and Milton [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1929], p.116). See also Eugenio Garin, Portraits from the Quattrocento, p.148; and J. F. Partington, A History of Chemistry, I, p.243. The whole relationship between Christian millenarianism and occult prophecies deserves further study.
Some Renaissance magicians, hearing the cry for reformation, one might say, and believing themselves possessed of the power to bring such a reformation about, some of these adepts began to look upon themselves as messiahs divinely appointed to bring about the millennium. They believed themselves to be the agency through which God would make good His promise of a new heaven and a new earth. The millennium would come through magic.  

In summary, it can be said that at the time of the Renaissance, the simultaneous revival of both Hermeticism and millenarianism transmuted an already extreme and assertive

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32 Campanella, perhaps the most fanatic of Renaissance magicians, actually helped plan and execute an armed revolt designed to bring about the messianic age. Frances Yates writes of this episode: "When we look at the propaganda for the Calabrian revolt, we find that it is full of mystical imperialism, of prophecy of the return of an imperial golden age, such as Lactantius and the Sibyls speak of, combined with apocalyptic prophecy, Joachism, and the like. Campanella believed from the portents that the hour had struck for such a renewal of the age" (Giordano Bruno, p.386). The interpretation of magic I have been advancing would help to explain why, as Frances Yates remarks, messianic delusions were so characteristic of Renaissance magicians (p.339). The thaumaturge's acquisition of a messianic role is discussed from an anthropological point of view by Professor Wilson, who writes: "The hope, reassurance, renewal which he claims as an intrinsic quality of his thaumaturgical skill, are realized by the confidence he generates and the practical steps which he takes to win and keep his following. In such circumstances of de-tribalization [or cultural crisis--PT] the thaumaturge becomes the messiah, the chief, the now-and-coming king. The living god, the man who claims to be a messiah, must of necessity be a thaumaturge" (Magic and the Millennium, pp.133-4). The evolution of magic into chiliasm is discussed as well by Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, trans. Ephraim Fischoff from the 4th edn., rev. (1956) (Boston: Beacon P., 1964), ch. 11, esp. p.175.
form of thaumaturgy into a new kind of magic, into a magic devoted to a millenarian salvational mission, into a magic animated by a messianic impulse towards the world. Like the many millenarian movements which preceded it, Renaissance magic, at least in this mode, offered to mankind a salvation that was at once collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous (that is, accomplished by occult and divine powers; see above, p.6, n.6).

Now we better understand why, from the Renaissance on, the occult sciences possessed myths and motifs of a future Golden Age, of an earthly paradise and new and perfect world. From the Renaissance on, one mode of magic was preoccupied with perfecting the world through magic itself. When we come to study the occult milieu of Puritan England, we will find there the same millenarian dreams and visions that obsessed Renaissance Hermetic reformers. And we will also see, when we come to this subject, that the occult sciences the Puritan radicals sought to revive offered to mankind the same kind of earthly millennium so avidly expected by Puritan chiliasts.

That thaumaturgic magic can undergo a transformation that imbues it with a millenarian impulse has also been argued by Professor Bryan Wilson, in *Magic and the Millennium*. His study of third-world prophetic movements has revealed that thaumaturgical movements not infrequently acquire a
reformationist or millenarian orientation towards the world. Although the 'normal logic' of development is for a thaumaturgic response to precede a millenarian movement, and for the millenarian movement to then acquire magical overtones by absorbing thaumaturgic elements, millenarian expectations of extreme intensity can work directly on the magical system itself, by broadening its salvational message, and thus imbuing it with a millenarian vision and mission in the world. Intense popular demand for a total cultural transformation can, in fact, transmute the thaumaturgic agency into a millenarian magical movement. Thaumaturgy responds to such a demand for collective terrestrial salvation by offering the people a total reformation that will expunge all evil, and perfect the whole world.

So far we have traced the evolution of the millenary mode of magic, and discussed the nature of its salvational

33"For a time, millennialism may draw some strength from thaumaturgical preoccupations, particularly in the promise of a future time when illness and old age will not occur. . . . But sometimes, the thaumaturgy is itself of a new type, is itself infused with the effects of the catalytic experience of the revolutionist movement" (Wilson, p.349). If intensified and given a "societal connotation," Wilson explains, the "demand for thaumaturgy may take on what amounts to intense desire for total cultural transformation" (p.216; p.383; italics added). What follows is a strong "demand for a new and more powerful magic, for thaumaturgy on a societal scale" (p.219; italics added). Thaumaturgy on a societal scale I have called 'millenarian magic.' As long as the thaumaturgical demand persists, Wilson concludes, the "millennial dream [will] intermittently recur" (p.383; pp.349, 382).
message. In Part 2 I should like to discuss in more detail the substance of this message, the beliefs and hopes that composed the 'millenary dream' of this form of the occult. The evidence to be reviewed in Part 2 will support the thesis that magic did acquire a millenarian impulse towards the world, and will reveal the millenarian significance of the myths, visions and preoccupations we shall soon encounter in the occult milieu of Puritan England. We shall now explore more deeply the nature of the millennial mode of magic.
Part 2:
The Nature of Millenarian Magic

The Restoration of Paradise

The salvation promised by the millenarian mode of magic amounted to the restoration of paradise. The 're-formation' of the world, then, really meant the rehabilitation of Eden or of the Golden Age. "The central concern of the Hermetic philosophers," Hiram Haydn perceptively remarked, "was with the 'rejuvenation and renovation of men and things'" (The Counter Renaissance, p.514). Though Haydn did not use the term 'millenarian' to characterize this impulse, he nevertheless understood that Paracelsus' dream regarding the "'re-generation of nature, and the restoration of youth,'" was a promise to restore paradise to earth, through magic. Renaissance magicians, Haydn went on to explain, dreamed "of renovating and restoring to nature her pristine vigor, lost since the Fall" (p.191). The concept of 'reformation,' then, entailed for the magicians a restoration or restitution of the lost Eden of Adam.

This dream of restoring paradise to earth—a dream which has long haunted the imagination of Western man—gained greater currency during the Hermetic revival because of the widely held belief that magical gnosis was a restitution of the wisdom of Adam himself. Most magicians believed that transfiguration entailed the acquisition (really the 're-acquisition') of the powers and privileges Adam possessed in paradise. Adam
exercised his dominion over nature and enjoyed the physical blessing of paradise, Renaissance magicians believed, by virtue of his occult wisdom and magical powers. When the adept was transfigured into an Adam/Magus ("the 'illuminated priest' was pre-lapsarian Adam"--Haydn, p.514), he recaptured, so to speak, Adam's wisdom and his power, and, with these, Adam's paradisic existence as well.

Thus, when a man became a true magus, he not only inherited Adam's power and wisdom, he also entered, so to speak,

34 See Thomas Vaughan, Magia Adamica: or the Antiquity of Magic, in The Works of Thomas Vaughan: Mystic and Alchemist, ed. Arthur Edward Waite (1919; rpt. New York: University Books, 1968). In seventeenth-century alchemical thought, the fecundity, richness, security and general perfection of the garden of Eden were explained magically, as products of Adam's magical knowledge and of his possession of the Stone. Thus, in the alchemical tract entitled "Liber Patris Sapientiae," it is written:

The mightti Ston that ys so precius,
Thys ryche reby, that ston of pryce,
The whych wosse send owt of Paradyce:

35 Agrippa also believed that the illuminated priest became "pre-lapsarian Adam." Professor Nauert writes: "The enlightened soul, the soul which had attained a true understanding of God's revelation, would not only regain mastery over its own body but would also win power over all nature." Agrippa himself had said, "'For the basis of all miracles is knowledge, and the more things we understand and know, the more readily and efficaciously do we work.' It was precisely this power over nature which Adam had lost by original sin, but which the purified soul, the magus, now could regain" (Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, p.48). "Once the soul has attained illumination, it returns to something like the condition it had before the fall of Adam, when the seal of God was upon it and all creatures feared and revered man" (p.284).
a sort of 'provisional paradise' here on earth. One has only to recall Faustus' "world of profit and delight, Of power, of honour, of omnipotence," to find this dream expressed in all its vigor and energy. Cornelius says to him,

> The miracles that magic will perform  
> Will make thee vow to study nothing else.

> The spirits tell me they can dry the sea  
> And fetch the treasure of all foreign wrecks,  
> Ay, all the wealth that our forefathers hid  
> Within the massy entrails of the earth.  
> Then tell me, Faustus, what shall we three want?

Faustus replies:

> Nothing, Cornelius. O, this cheers my soul!  
> Come, show me some demonstrations magical,  
> That I may conjure in some lusty grove  
> And have these joys in full possession.

But a distinction must be drawn between the impulse that motivates Faustus and the impulse that motivates the Hermetic reformers of the Renaissance. And this distinction is important, for it differentiates between what has been called black magic (the magic of Faustus) and white magic (that of the Hermetic reformers). What must first be recognized is that both forms (white and black) are materialistic. 'Profit and delight' are the goals of both forms. What really separates these two kinds of magic is the spirit in which 'profit and delight' are pursued.

The Faustian magician uses magic to create a 'world of

36 *Doctor Faustus*, ed. Jump, I,i,135-6, 143-51.
profit and delight' for himself alone. His whole purpose is to acquire the physical treasures of paradise in order to gratify his own selfish desires and lusts, to aggrandize himself alone. From the viewpoint of the Hermetic reformers, the Faustian magician distorted the true purpose of magic— to perfect the world and restore paradise to all people. The white magic of the Hermetic reformers (Bruno, Paracelsus, the Rosicrucians, for example) is, in contrast, altruistic, philanthropic, and charitable. Its shibboleth is, 'for the profit of mankind.'

37 Faustus was condemnable, at least according to the Hermeticists, because he was illiberal and dangerously selfish. In a way, it was these vices which made his brand of magic 'black.' Faustianism, I suggest, was linked to the demonic because of the destructive and anti-social impulses it expressed. I understand that this interpretation goes against the widely held belief that Faustus' magic was black, and that he was evil, because he derived his powers from the Devil. But as it is expressed, this belief is woefully simplistic. To suggest that the demonic origin attributed to Faustianism is intended as a symbolic expression of the evil tendencies of Faustus' impulses is not to suggest that seventeenth-century people did not believe in devils. No doubt they did. But it is to suggest, however, that these devils in which they believed were often subconscious representations (or symbols) of the impulses and desires in human nature the culture at large deemed 'evil' and 'subversive.' The demonic nature of Faustianism symbolizes the selfishness and inhumanity of this magical ideology. In short, demons do not symbolize themselves, no matter how many people believe in their objective reality, but the destructive tendencies in human nature itself. This is to suggest no more than what others have already asserted and demonstrated (see, among others, Rollo May, Love and Will [1969, 1973], esp. "Love and the Daimonic," and "The Daimonic in Dialogue;" Ruth Nanda Anshen, The Reality of the Devil: Evil in Man [1970, 1972]; Henry Ansgar Kelly, The Devil, Demonology and Witchcraft: The Development of Christian Beliefs in Evil Spirits [1968, 1974]; and Dr. Martin Grotjahn, The Voice of
But this emphasis on charity did not mean that the good magician was denied pleasure and power and wealth. He was not asked to be ascetic; paradise was not closed to him. On the contrary, if the good magician pursued magic piously and humbly, and for the purpose of benefiting all mankind, then he would in fact enjoy all that Faustus coveted and more. He would possess the material benefits that Adam enjoyed in Eden.

the Symbol [1971, 1973]. It should be noted that sixteenth and seventeenth-century people also believed in witchcraft, but this fact has not prevented contemporary scholars from recognizing that witchcraft, regardless of its subjective reality, was an expression of social tensions inherent in village life (Thomas, and others), and that an accusation of witchcraft, regardless of its sincerity, was often a way of labelling somebody a religious heretic (Trevor-Roper). In short, witchcraft stood for others things, not for witches, even though the people believed in them. The interpretation of black magic that I have advanced here assumes greater credibility when it is recognized that even a magician who enjoyed his powers from God Himself could deserve the fate of Faustus if he abused his powers, and did not use them for the benefit of mankind. In short, it was the charitable use of magic which really distinguished good magic from bad. One seventeenth-century adept writes, "I exhort all that possess this Treasure, to use it to the praise of God, and the good of their neighbours [!], in order that they may not at the last day be eternally doomed for their ingratitude to their Creator" (The Hermetic Museum, Restored and Enlarged, trans. from the 1678 edn. by Arthur Edward Waite, 2 vols. [London: James Elliott, 1893], II, p.198). The origin of the powers is not what is of importance to this adept, but the use to which they are, or are not, put. The same point is made by another adept. The right use of alchemy, 'Hermes' himself asserts, brings "to the pious earthly honour and long life, but to the wicked who misuse it, Eternal Punishment" ("The Book of the Revelation of Hermes," in Benedictus Figulus, comp., A Golden and Blessed Casket of Nature's Marvels, trans. unidentified [1608; London: James Elliott, 1893], p.36). Obviously, not even the divine origin of magical powers could protect one from eternal damnation if one abused such powers by using them selfishly.
Renaissance magicians found a warrant for such a belief in the story of Solomon. Solomon's 'wisdom' was usually interpreted as occult wisdom; it was his knowledge of occult forces, magicians believed, which brought Solomon the material blessing he enjoyed. Thomas Vaughan, for example, refers to Solomon to support his contention that 'wisdom' can bring back paradise to earth. "'I preferred wisdom'--said the wise king--'before sceptres and thrones, and esteemed riches nothing in comparison to her.'" But, as he goes on to explain, his choice of 'wisdom' brings to him all the physical treasures the world can offer: "'all good things together came to me with her [i.e., wisdom], and I rejoiced in them all, because she was the mother of them.'"

An English adept of Independent sympathies says of Solomon that he was "excellently acquainted with this Mystery" of magic. His "knowledge of Nature was such, and so perfect, that he knew and understood the virtues and properties of all Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fowls, and Fishes," and employed his gnosis to perfect the universal medicine that would cure "all Diseases." Citing Josephus as his authority, this author identifies Solomon as the writer of those "Books of Invocations and Incantations to cure Diseases, and to expel evil Spirits" (Hardick Warren, Magick & Astrology Vindicated [London, 1650], p.13).

The millenarian message implicit in this dream comes to the surface in Solomon's remark that Wisdom "can do all things," and can "maketh all things new" (p.97). The echo of the promise of Revelation links the renovation of the world not to a messiah from heaven, but to gnosis and occult wisdom. And the power which makes all things new, Norman O. Brown has reminded us, is magic ("Apocalypse," the Phi Beta Kappa oration delivered at Columbia University in 1960, in The Borzoi College Reader, 2nd edn., p.57). Note the repetition of the phrase from the Asclepius--"all good things"--in Solomon's description of the fruits of occult gnosis (see above, p.46).
That this is what the example of Solomon teaches us, Thomas Vaughan himself makes quite clear. After this passage from Solomon, Vaughan quotes St. Matthew: "'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you'" (Works of Thomas Vaughan, p.98). "For of truth," Vaughan concludes, "temporal blessings are but ushers to the spiritual, or—to speak more plainly [and more accurately—PT]—when once we begin to love the Spirit then He sends us these things as token and pledges of His love." As a consequence of this doctrine, even the mystically inclined Vaughan believed in the power of magical wisdom to permit mankind to once again "enter the Terrestrial Paradise, that Encompassed Garden of Solomon." 40

40 To Vaughan, the encompassed garden of Solomon was a symbol of spiritual perfection, and of an earthly existence which was also blessed by long life, health and peace. Others, however, interpreted it differently. For Sir Epicure Mammon, the encompassed garden of Solomon was an Adamite's garden of earthly delights:

For I do mean
To have a list of wives, and concubines,
Equal with Solomon; who had the stone
Alike, with me: and I will make me, a back
With the elixir, that shall be as tough
As Hercules, to encounter fifty a night.
(The Alchemist, ed. Douglas Brown, New Mermaid edn. [New York: HiTT & Wang, Dramabook edn., 1966], II,ii,34-39). The story of Solomon was an archetype for seventeenth-century occultists. It appears again in the work of John Heydon, an Englishman who professed to knowing the secrets of Rosicrucianism. Because Solomon asked for nothing but 'wisdom' or 'understanding,' Heydon explains, God gives him those things for which he did not ask, "riches and honour; and so will God doe to all those that mind wisdom and vertue" (The English Physitians Guide [London, 1662], p.10). This belief was entirely consistent with the Puritan notion of 'evangelical poverty.' As
It should be pointed out that Vaughan was no eccentric in this regard. As we shall see when we come to examine the occult milieu of Puritan England, this dream of entering a paradise on earth obsessed the imaginations of scores of English adepts.

Well before the Puritan radicals set out to revive all the occult sciences, European and English magicians believed that if they employed magic piously and philanthropically, they would inherit all the spiritual and physical blessings of Eden. As one alchemical tract expressed the idea, "... you, who are endued with a more noble Spirit [than avaricious adepts], First seek the Kingdom of God, which is either constituted or propagated by Charity to your Neighbour [!], and all other Things, which other men so impiously seek [Faustus?], shall be added to you."

Professor Hill has observed, since 'evangelical poverty' is spiritual in nature, it may consist with great riches (The World Turned Upside Down, p.265). The example of Solomon would have meant something to Puritans as well, for the very idea of the 'elect' people implied that they were to prosper in this world as well as to inherit the next (Ibid., p.122). The 'enclosed garden' is mentioned in the Song of Solomon, 4:12. Evidently, the Song of Solomon was often cited by chemists as an occult work in which the secrets of transmutation were intimated (see Henry Stubbe, Legends no Histories [London, 1670], p.51).

Theodore Kirkringius, in Basil Valentine: His Triumphant Chariot of Antimony, annotated by Kirkringius (London, 1678), p.64. Note that Kirkringius also quotes St. Matthew, as Vaughan did. George Ripley, in his "Compound of Alchymie," also wrote that renunciation of temporal blessings will lead to the acquisition of those very blessings that were renounced.
The 'all other things' which the adept shall enjoy were health, riches, security, a long life, and everything else that people have thought Adam enjoyed in paradise. The true adept "shall not see poverty, no Disease shall touch him, nor no sickness hurt him," asserts a seventeenth-century alchemist.\(^4^2\) He also wrote that a philanthropic exercise of his magical powers will yield the adept "many commodities, both for health, and temporal necessity; by which means you will be freed from want in this World; which is a thing of so great Moment, as no Sacrifice of Gratitude can be found suf-

And for soe much as we have for thy sake
Renowncycd the World, our Wylls, and the Fleshys Lust,
As thyne owne wylyfull professyors us take;
Syth in thee only depencyd all our trust,
We can no ferther, to thee enclyne we must:
Thy secret Tresorars, vouchsafe to make us,
Show us thy Secrets, and to us be bounteous.
(in Ashmole, comp., Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p.122).
Ripley also warns the alchemist to use the powers of alchemy "to Gods pleasure; do good wyth them what ever thou may" (p. 120). 'Eirenaeus Philalethes' exhorts all who possess the 'treasure' of alchemy "to use it to the praise of God, and the good of their neighbours" (The Hermetic Museum, II, p.198). An English exponent of Paracelsianism wrote: "So that the scope of Phylosophy is to seeke to glorifie God in his wonder-

full workes: to teach a man how to live well, and to be char-
itably affected in helping our neighbour" (T. Timme, trans., in Josephus Quercitanus [Joseph DuChesne], The practise of chymicall and hermeticall physicke [London, 1605], sig.A4r).
Professor Manuel notes that in good magic the Stone is used "for the love of man" (A Portrait of Isaac Newton, p.168).

\(^{42}\)Basil Valentine, Of Natural & Supernatural Things (Lon-
ficient to answer this favour of God showed to you." Yet another adept urges alchemists to "do good to the poor," so that they "may live in a healthful state... and may have all whatsoever [they] desire on Earth." "He that has once found this Art," wrote a seventeenth-century alchemist, "can have nothing else in all the world to wish for." Almost all adepts believed that the benefits conferred by magic "incircle all temporal felicity."
In review, it was a central belief of the magical tradition that if the adept used magic charitably, then he would possess earthly treasures and temporal blessings in abundance. He would inhabit, so to speak, a provisional earthly paradise.

"riches, and honour" (John French, Art of Distillation, sig. *3), "infinite riches" (Hermetic Museum, II, 227), "solid good fortune" and "prosperity" (HM, I, 86), and "all good fortune" (Fasciculus, sig.**8). Through the Stone Solomon procured for himself "long life and boundless riches (HM, I, 86-7). One alchemical tract is even subtitled the "book of honouring, increasing riches, and the book of the needy, putting to flight poverty" (HM, II, 3). As the original preface to the Hermetic Museum boldly declares, the ancient theomagus had at his command "the most effectual means of becoming rich, and of possessing not only sufficient to live upon, but all the comforts and pomp of life" (HM, I, 2).

"Length of days," held in the right hand of alchemy, was held to be an even more precious gift: "If all the mountains were of silver and gold, what would they profit a man who lives in constant fear of death? Hence there cannot be in the whole world anything better than our Medicine, which has power to heal all the diseases of the flesh. Wealth, and riches, and gold, all yield the prize to this glorious possession" (HM, II, 223). The Elixir was the "cure of human woe" itself, for it could free mankind from the worst effect of the Fall--death itself. For instance, Ashmole suggests that the Stone is so strong a preservative and restorative, that "'tis made a question whether any Man can Dye that uses it" (Theatrum, sig.Blv). Similarly, Edwardus Anglicus wrote in 1562, "the learned stand in doubt whether a man can dye or not that hath this stone" (in Manuel, A Portrait of Isaac Newton, p.169). Through magic, in other words, the adept is blessed with "continued life and health" (HM, II, 227), "health & length of dayes" (Art of Distillation, *3r), "lasting health" (HM, I, 292), "long life, health" (Solomon Trismosin, Splendor Solis, no trans. [London: Kegan Paul, n.d.], p.80-81). Adam, it was believed, almost attained the millennial age of 1000 years through alchemy (he died at 930). Morienus, Pythagoras, Geber and Hermes did live 1000, thanks to the Stone (HM, I, 188). See also HM, I, 326, 71, 87-8; II, 222; Splendor Solis, p.80; Art of Distillation, sig.A3r; Dr. Faustus (I,1,24-6; see above, p.39). Part of what is promised for the millennium, Professor Wilson points out, is "the cessation of illness, the ageing process, and death" (Magic and the Millennium, p.365).
I have emphasized this point, and have described in detail the joys of this paradise, because the belief in the 'provisional paradise' provided the foundation for millenarian magic. Implicit in the philanthropic imperative is a millenarian directive: the height of charity and philanthropy would be for the magus, who inhabited a sort of paradise on earth, to use his magic to extend to all people the same treasures and blessings he himself enjoys in such profusion. To put it another way, the sincerely thankful magus could best express his gratitude to God by opening up to all mankind the gates of that terrestrial paradise he entered when he was transfigured into Adam/Magus. This is what is behind the millenarian impulse of Renaissance and seventeenth-century magicians. We will encounter it again, in a pristine form, in the Hartlib circle of Puritan England. This interpretation reveals the millenarian message of Paracelsus' cryptic remark, "the striving for 'wisdom' is the second paradise of the world." He was saying no more than what Professor Hill has said regarding the salvational message of magic. "Through mastery of the secrets of nature," Hill has written, magic offered mankind "liberation from the consequences of the Fall."
The "Millenary Dream" of Alchemy

Although the desire or impulse to liberate mankind from the consequences of the Fall permeated all the occult arts after the Renaissance, it was especially strong in what has been called 'exoteric' alchemy. As the occult science of material treasures of Adam. Hearing the Rosicrucian message, the people believed, recounts Comenius, that they could "know everything" "without error," "without want have sufficient of everything; live for several hundred years without sickness and gray hair, if they only wished it. And they ever repeated: 'Happy, verily happy, is our age! . . . And almost everyone burnt with the desire of obtaining these goods" (Comenius, The Labyrinth of the World, in Yates, Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.163). The Rosicrucian movement would seem to be an example of a magical movement responding to the demands of the people by offering them a salvation clearly millenarian in nature. The millenarianism of the Rosicrucian movement explains why there was an attempt to revive the movement in Puritan England. As we shall see, Rosicrucianism reinforced the chiliastic expectations so rampant in the Puritan and occult circles of revolutionary England.

As a result of the interaction between early chemistry and gnosticism, Western alchemy, from the second century on, has offered two concomitant pursuits, a materialistic one, directed outwards, towards the world ('exoteric'), and a mystical one, directed inwards, towards the soul (or psyche) of the adept ('esoteric'). The goal of exoteric alchemy was to 'redeem' base metals by completing their natural progress to being 'gold,' a progress arrested by the Fall. Exoteric alchemy absorbed the millenarian impulse coming out of the Hermetic revival of the Renaissance. It was easy to believe that the whole world wanted to become 'gold,' that is, perfect. Had it not been for the Fall, the earth would have been as it was in the Golden Age. In contrast, the goal of esoteric alchemy was the redemption of the soul of the adept (see H. J. Sheppard, "Gnosticism and Alchemy," Ambix, 6 [Dec. 1957], 86). Although these two pursuits would appear to be incompatible, the alchemist Ripley could accept the fact that "worshyp and profyt," "conyng and . . . all manner of grace" went together. The 'esoteric' may seem the truer or more important pursuit only because we have refused to take exoteric alchemy seriously, or see its importance. Like Ripley, I think of them as equals, though I focus on the exoteric.
material redemption, at least in its exoteric aspect, alchemy was the perfect vehicle for satisfying the millenarian impulse to transform the world. Because this occult science was viewed as especially appropriate for bringing about the perfecting of the world, Mircea Eliade talks about alchemy's "millenary dream."  

An alchemical tract entitled "The Glory of the World" gave cogent expression to this "millenary dream" (see Hermetic Museum, I). The work explains that the disease, decay and corruption which Adam's sin first introduced into creation frustrated God's will that man should live "a full thousand years" (p.188). To rectify this flaw in the creation, the Almighty, out of His mercy, bestowed on the exiled Adam two sublime gifts that would repair, to a great extent, his loss of paradise. One was a mystical balm that would wipe away man's spiritual torments, and the other a physical balm, designed to cure his bodily torments. The second gift was the


51 This belief may have come from cabalistic sources. The magical wisdom of the Cabala was allegedly given to Adam after he was expelled from Eden. As James Howell put the myth, "Adam, who being thrust out of Paradise, and sitting one day very sad, and sorrowing for the loss of the knowledge he had of that dependence the Creatures have on their Creator, the Angel Raquel was sent to comfort him, and instruct him, and repair his knowledge herein" (Epistolae Ho-Elianæ: The Familiar Letters of James Howell, ed. Joseph Jacobs [London: David Nutt, 1892], I, p.315).
miraculous restorative of alchemy. What this tract suggests is that alchemy was ordained by God to undo the work of the Fall.52

The millenarian power of alchemy is also the central message of a work entitled *The Book of the Revelation of Hermes.*53 Accepted as a work written by Hermes Trismegistus himself, and allegedly translated and interpreted by Paracelsus, this tract must be considered to be in the mainstream of the Hermetic alchemical tradition, and thus representative of its dominant ideas. Therefore the implications of its title are especially important: "the book of the revelation of Hermes" reveals the intent of magic to offer mankind an alternative path, perhaps a more direct and secure route, to that earthly millennium promised in the nebulous future by St. John, in his *Book of Revelation.*

52 The Christian myth that Adam lived almost 1000 years may have provided alchemists with an incentive to believe in the messianic mission of alchemy. To live almost a millennium, even when out of Eden, Adam must have been given a powerful restorative, created by God Himself to restore to him the most coveted gift of paradise—long life. The alchemists reasoned that this blessed gift must have been passed on, for the benefit of Adam's progeny. Alchemy was thus viewed as God's own, approved, redemptive agent. As it was used to allow Adam to live almost a 1000 years, so it would someday allow God's chosen people to also live the 1000 years foretold in Revelation. Alchemy thus came to be seen as the redemptive agency God would use to fulfill His salvational promise of restoring to mankind the lost paradise of Eden.

The salvational powers of alchemy are related through a very traditional analysis of the distinctive powers of each state of the Stone as it proceeds towards its consummate perfection. In its first state, the Stone will heal "generally, inwardly and outwardly" (p.39). In addition to repairing wounds and injuries (the second state), the Stone performs "many wondrous works, producing beauty and strength of body" (p.39). In its fourth condition, the Stone, now referred to as the spirit of the quintessence, can make old men young and "revive those at the point of death" (p.40). Even "in small doses to old people, it removes the diseases of age, giving the old young hearts and bodies" (p.40). And lastly, in its fifth nature, "it possesses all previous powers and virtues in a higher and more wondrous degree. Here its natural works are taken for miracles. When applied to the roots of dead trees they revive, bringing forth leaves and fruits." It transforms simple crystals into precious jewels, "it heals all dead and living bodies without other medicines." It "reveals all treasures in earth and sea, converts all metallic bodies into gold, and there is nothing like it unto heaven" (pp.40-1). It will furnish not just the adept, but all men "with life-long abundance and riches" (p.44). Thus, awaiting mankind, is a paradise of "all temporal happiness, bodily health, and earthly fortune," a paradise created by magic.

By means of the quintessence, the tract continues, even "Hatred and Sorrow" shall be driven away, evil expelled, and
"Poverty and Misery" destroyed. In their place shall come the blessings of Eden, "Health, Joy, Peace, Love," and "all good things." 54

Yet, this paradise to be created through magic shall not be a mere re-creation of Eden, which was defective in at least one important respect: it permitted the Fall of man. This new paradise shall be even better than Eden, for the Elixir will make a second Fall and expulsion utterly impossible. Alchemy, it is said, will make "all evil words and thoughts" impossible or needless. Since all of mankind's desires and appetites shall be satisfied, there shall be no need to covet, steal or sin in any way. 55

Near the end of the tract Hermes reiterates the paradisical blessings people may soon expect from millenarian alchemy. Alchemy will confer "all joy, riches, fruitfulness of life," and bestow on everyone "all material joy" (p.46):

0 desirable knowledge . . . by which
Nature is strengthened, and heart and limbs are renewed, blooming Youth is preserved, old age driven away, weakness destroyed, beauty in its perfection preserved, and abundance ensured in all things pleasing to man! (p.46)

54 The phrase "all good things" occurs in the English translation of the Asclepius (1657) and in Vaughan's translation of Solomon's tribute to 'wisdom' (above, p.63).

55 The Book of the Revelation of Hermes, p.36. Ashmole made the same claim, asserting that alchemy could (somehow) prevent man from having "corrupt, or sinister Thoughts" (Fasciculus Chemicus, sig.A).
As a young adept says, after being told to understand what is really meant by the promise "to make new worlds of Gold,"

I stayd, I saw, I tryde, and understood,
A Heav'n on Earth, an everlasting good. 56

The "millennary dream" of alchemy entailed, in a quite literal sense, the restoration of Eden. Mankind would 'enter' the 'enclosed garden' not only in terms of possessing material wealth, but also in terms of inhabiting a transformed world.

56 "Part of what is promised for the millennium," observes Professor Wilson, "is the elimination of the threats, illness, and the tension of everyday life. It is always a transformative experience, not only in its eradication of political and social oppression, as this has been collectively experienced, but also in the prospect of permanent relief from physical ailments, personal problems, and fears and tensions in social relationships" (Magic and the Millennium, p.365). We have now seen that magic, and particularly alchemy, offered precisely this kind of salvation. By means of the "earthly Antidote," one tract asserts, man "may even in this World, secure himself against all bodily distempers, put to flight anxiety and care, and refresh and comfort his heart in the hour of trouble" (HM, I, 237-8). As God's gift "to relieve the estate of man," another work explains, alchemy puts "an end to vainglory, hope, and fear, and removes ambition, violence, and excess. It mitigates adversity, and saves men from being overwhelmed by it" (HM, II,11). And Ashmole wrote that alchemy could extirpate "the root of all evil, (Covetousness;)," from the world, and somehow immunize everyone from having any "corrupt or sinister thoughts" (Fasciculus Chemicus, sig.A). Thus, the salvational promise of magic includes in every detail the gifts and virtues promised by millenarian movements: the elimination of illness, the ageing process, and death; the disappearance of evil, the elimination of threats, insecurity, and the tensions of everyday life, and the total transformation of man's social condition (Wilson, p.365). In light of the criteria established by Professor Wilson, then, it is appropriate indeed to speak of the "millennary dream" of magic and alchemy.
The Hermetic reformers, those whom Professor Haydn has called "the Renovators," wished "to effect a return to the purity of the youth of the world . . . and to a renewed Nature" (The Counter Renaissance, p.514). In an alchemical context, this desire meant the use of nostrums and elixirs to restore to the physical world its original Edenic fecundity. Magic, in other words, would actually transform the flora and fauna of the world! Hermes himself had taught that alchemy could restore dead trees to life, and imbue their branches with leaves and fruits (Book of the Revelation, p.41). This notion, expressed in a variety of ways in many other occult works, gave rise to what might be called alchemical husbandry, or magical ecology, a movement we will see most forcefully expressed in the Rosicrucian milieu of Puritan England.57

In 1562 an alchemist claimed that "the vegetable stone is of a growing nature & works miraculous effects in vegetables & growing things, as in the nature of man and beast."58 Ripley believed that the Stone could "purifieth Nature perfectly."59 For Paracelsus, the purifying of Nature was the

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57 See below, Chapter V, pp.301-14.

58 Edwardus Generosus Anglicus, "The Epitome of the Treatise of Health" (1562), ms. in the possession of Newton, quoted by Frank E. Manuel, in A Portrait of Isaac Newton, p.168.

59 Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p.391. By working incessantly, "It maketh all things to grow I say, /And chaseth Ugly things away" (p.391).
primary mission of the adept. "The Resurrection, and re-
newing of Naturall Things," he declares, "is not the least,
but a profound, and great secret in the Nature of Things,
and rather Divine, and Angelicall, then Humane, and Naturall."60
Advancing the hope of Hermes, Paracelsus also taught that the
Stone could in fact "renovate & restore all Cattel, fruits,
herbs, and trees."61

This dream of using magic to renovate all nature was well
known, and widely accepted, in Puritan England. Elias Ash-
mole, for instance, believed that the 'vegetable stone' pos-
sessed the power to make "all kinds of Trees, Plants, Flowers"
"Grow, Flourish & beare Fruit," not merely in season, but
"in the depth of Winter."62 John French, the millenarian who
translated Sendivogius, also taught that adepts could bring
"dying plants into fruitfulnesse" through alchemy.63 Believ-

60 Theophrastus Paracelsus, Of the Nature of Things (Lon-
don, 1650), p.51.

p.13.

62 Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, sig.B. In Flores Para-
dise (1608), Hugh Platt, an English occultist, speculates that
it was either through the "vegetable Philosophy" or "with a
graine or two of the great Elixir applied to the roote, that
[the] Blackthorne bush . . . which blossometh . . . neere or
upon the birth day of our Lorde God . . . had his [its] strange
nature given unto it." Ripley, "that re-nowned Alchymist,"
was executed, Platt says, "for making a Peare-tree to fruc-
tifie in Winter" (p.6). Flora fed with magically prepared
unctions Platt calls "philosophicall plants" (p.5). Platt and
his later disciples will be discussed in Chapter V.

63 John French, The Art of Distillation, sig.A3r.
ing alchemy could lift the Curse from "all plants and animals" (HM, I, 188), alchemists of the seventeenth century, and especially during the Puritan Revolution, fully expected to transform the whole earth into one great garden of flowers, plants, and fruit trees. Like so many other occultists of the seventeenth century, Henry Madathanas awaited that golden time when, through magic, "the whole earth [would be] renewed" (HM, I, 66).

Alchemy thus seemed to hold the promise of effecting a world-wide transformation of nature, of furnishing that miraculous cure which would heal the world and restore it to its pre-lapsarian vigor and fecundity. Simply put, alchemists believed, as one of them wrote, that "every imperfect, diseased, and defective thing in the whole world might be renewed, and restored to its former vigour" by magic. As Hiram Haydn recognized, that 'former vigour' was that "pristine vigor, lost since the Fall" (The Counter Renaissance, p. 191). This was the "millennial dream" of alchemy.

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64 As we shall see, this was a dominant millenarian motif in the occult milieu of Puritan England, and a prominent dream in Rosicrucian circles. In one of his tracts, Thomas Vaughan reprints the following passage from a genuine Rosicrucian document: "'After all these things and near the day break there shall be a great calm; and you shall see the Day-Star arise and the dawning will appear and you shall perceive a great treasure. The chiefest thing in it and the most perfect is a certain exalted Tincture, with which the world— if it served God and were worthy of such gifts—might be tinged and turned into most pure gold" (The Works of Thomas Vaughan, p.262). Similar ideas shall be found in the millenarian prophecies of Jacob Boehme and of his English disciples (see Chapter IV).
In summary, it can be said that the purpose of the millenarian alchemist was to complete, so to speak, the redemptive mission initiated, but not completed, by Christ. Christ's mission was unfinished, according to the Hermetic reformers, because the salvation He brought embraced only man's spiritual nature. Christ's mission left unaffected man's body, his world, nature itself. They remained unredeemed and corrupt. The alchemist saw himself as God's 'messianic' agent in fulfilling the prophecy of Revelation concerning the renovation of the earth. Both man and nature were to be freed from their ancient bondage to corruption by alchemy, which was given to mankind to save the world. Through it, people would once again inhabit paradise, and the earth would once again be like it was in Eden.

Myths of the Hermetic Messiah in the Occult Tradition

Given the reformationist expectations and desires of millenarian alchemists, it is not surprising that they were often attracted to, and many times themselves advanced, prophecies of a new age, a Golden Age, of a millenarian paradise to be wrought by a messiah initiated into the Hermetic mysteries.

Thomas Norton, the late-medieval English alchemist, prophesied of a realm to be established by a sort of messianic thaumaturge:
One who shall have obtained his honours by means of this Art [i.e., alchemy], will mend old manners, and change them for the better. When he comes, he will reform the kingdom, and by his goodness and virtue he will set an everlasting example to rulers. In his time the common people will rejoice, and render praise to God in mutual neighbourly love. O King, who art to accomplish all this, pray to God the King, and implore His aid in the matter! So the glory of thy mind will be crowned with the glory of a golden age, which shall not then be hoped for as future. 65

The same sort of millenarian vision of a Hermetic messiah—a reformer initiated into the secret art of alchemy or magic—can be found in the works of the most important magicians of the seventeenth century. Such visions were also prominent in the occult milieu of Puritan England, as we will come to see when we investigate, in some detail the occult sciences of the Revolutionary years.

Paracelsus was particularly preoccupied with visions of a reformed world and earthly paradise, and vented many of these visions in millenarian prophecies. In the last of his series of predictions, he connects the discovery of the "pearl" of alchemy, that is, the Stone itself, with the establishment of an earthly paradise under an imperial monarch:

Then shall the Pearl, so long lost, be found by one of humble estate, and will be set, as a jewel, in gold. It will be given to the Prince of all beasts, that is, to the right Lion. He will hang it about his neck, and wear it with honour. He will resist the Bear

65 Hermetic Museum, II, 4.
and the Wolf, and rend them asunder; so that the beasts of the forest shall be safe. Then will the Old Art [i.e., alchemy] flourish and no heed will be given to the New [Galenism?]. Then will the New World begin, and the White and the Black shall disappear. All Vain glory will be ended, and the plumes of the bird of the East shall be burnt by the Sun of the South. 66

His equally cryptic thirty-first prophecy also advances a vision of the new age:

There shall be such a total renewal and change that they will be as children that

66 The Prophecies of Paracelsus, trans. J. K. (London: William Rider, 1915), pp.119-20. The prophecies were first printed in 1530. In their efforts to speed that "general reformation, both of divine and humane things" (p.27) which they expected, the Rosicrucians offered to the German prince who would move against the Pope and the Turk "our prayers, secrets, and great treasures of Gold" (The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C: Commonly, of the Rosie Cross, a facsimile reprint of the London edn. of 1652, with an introduction and notes by F. N. Pryce [Margate: W. J. Parrett Ltd., 1923], p.35). The animal imagery of Paracelsus' prophecy probably derives from the heraldic emblems of European rulers. The editor of Paracelsus' predictions detects the millenarian tradition within the Western occult movement. He reprints the following prophecy he found in a contemporary alchemical work: "Many prophecies there are of times to come, and those days are even said to be at hand, when the Fourth Monarchy, which is the Intellectual reign of Truth and Peace, shall predominate, when the Mother of Sciences will come forth, and greater things be discovered than have been hitherto in the past monarchies of the world. . . . A better age is approaching, which at some period of time must come, when abundance of all things by an equitable distribution of all, shall help to break down the competitive barrier of society, and introduce a co-operative alliance among mankind, then this incentive to inquiry may not be inopportune offered in the service of truth." Curiously enough [continues the editor] Paracelsus also connects the establishment of the 'Fourth Monarchy' . . . with a rediscovery of Alchemy and a universal knowledge of the secret of transmutation of metals" (pp.32-3). Sendivogius was the basis for this modern prophecy.
know nothing of the cunning and intrigues of the old. This shall be when they count LX, a little less, but not more. Therefore it is well that we should remember that the time appeareth to be a long time according to a man's lifetime, but as a short time should we observe and consider it. For to cause so much to fall and to be overthrown, with such a raging and roaring lion that has so long grown, this cannot be done in a moment. 67

It was this prophecy that John Rogers, the millenarian, revived in 1654 to reinforce his own Fifth Monarchist hopes and pronouncements (see above, p.18). Other myths of the Hermetic messiah and other occult prophecies of the millennium were used by both adepts and Puritan chiliasts as validating charters for messianic and reformationist dreams.

Another very influential prophecy was uttered by the alchemist, Michael Sendivogius, a disciple of Paracelsus, and a figure widely known in the occult circles of Puritan England. In his prophecy, Sendivogius conflated the vision of the Fifth Monarchy (computed numerically and historically) with the sibylline vision of the Northern Monarchy, a messianic reign computed geographically:

Now those times are coming, in which many secrets of Nature shall bee revealed. Now that fourth Monarchy of the North is about to begin: Now the times are at hand; the Mother of Sciences will come: greater things shall bee discovered then hath been done in these three last past Monarchies. Because this Monarchy

67 The Prophecies of Paracelsus, p.101. The overtly revolutionary fervor of this prophecy no doubt made it that much more attractive to Rogers and his Fifth Monarchist colleagues.
(as the Ancients have foretold) God will plant by one of his Princes, being enriched with all manner of vertues, whom haply times have already brought forth. . . . In this Northerne Monarchy God the maker of all things, will without doubt bring to light greater secrets in Nature, then in those times, when Pagan, and Tyrant Princes reigned. . . . In this Northern Monarchy, where the attractive pole is . . . Mercy and Truth are met together; Peace, and Justice shall kisse each other, Truth shall rise out of the earth, and Justice shall looke from heaven. One sheepfold, and one Shepheard. 68

As Sendivogius sees it, an Hermetic enlightenment of the occult secrets of nature will soon take place under the reign of a mysterious northern prince, who will reform the world, and bring back the Golden Age. This prophecy was also revived during the Puritan Revolution to support the millenarianism so rampant at the time. It was translated into English by John French, the Puritan Independent who was very active in the occult milieu of Puritan England. Sendivogius' prophecy appealed to him because he also harbored expectations of a new age through magic. A year after he published his translation of Sendivogius he wrote:

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68 A New Light of Alchymie, trans. John French (London, 1650), pp.79-80. For a discussion of the identical nature of the Fifth and Fourth (Northern) monarchies, see Ezerel Tonge, The Northern Star: The British Monarchy: or, the Northern the Fourth Universal Monarchy (London, 1680), sig.B2. Both Tonge and the original compiler expected a "Transcendent Metamorphosis of Humane Affairs." Tonge claims that this anthology of occult prophecies was compiled during the Puritan Revolution, around 1648. Sendivogius, Paracelsus, the Rosicrucians and sundry other occultists are quoted to validate and support this prophecy of an expected metamorphosis of human affairs.
I am of the same mind with Sandivogius, that that fourth Monarchy which is Northerne, is dawning, in which . . . all Arts and sciences shal flourish, and greater and more things shalbe discovered then in the three former. These Monarchies the Philosophers reckon not according to the more potent, but according to the corners of the world, whereof the Northerne is the last, and indeed is no other then the golden Age, in which all tyranny, oppression, envie, and covetousnesse shal cease, when there shal be one prince and one people abounding with love and mercy & flourishing in peace: which day I earnestly expect.69

The Sendivogian prophecy had wide currency in Puritan England; in fact, it was cited not only by adepts like French, but by the most important millenarians of the age, including Johann Heinrich Alsted and Nathanael Homes, both of whom used it to lend added support to their own predictions of the millennium. We will return to this prophecy, and to the subject of its use by Puritan millenarians, in Part 3 of this chapter.

69John French, The Art of Distillation (London, 1651), "To the Reader." During the Puritan Revolution there were many prophecies concerning a northern monarch who would come to restore the world. One such prophecy can be found in A brief Description of the Future History of Europe (1650; sigs. A3v-A4, and p.28); another can be found in William Lilly's Monarchy or No Monarchy in England (1651), an attack on the notion that the 'northern' country was Scotland. Concerning the author of A brief Description Lilly writes: "In his 28. page, he will have us to understand, that he [the monarch] must not be a Moyses of the Jewes blood, but a Captaine from the North, who shall restore the Jewes, and worke the workes of God in righteousness, and make peace, and like a mighty stream overflow the whole Earth" (p.14). Others argued that the prophecy referred to a German monarch, and thus the Rosicrucians collectively came to be viewed by some as 'the ruler' prophesied of by the Sibyls and Sendivogius and others. For another prophecy of an Hermetic reformer of the world, see Grimmelshausen's Simplicius Simplicissimus (1668), III, ch.4.
Another prophecy that both Christianity and the occult tradition had in common was the prophecy regarding the coming of Elias (or Elijah). The figure of Elias is explicitly mentioned in several Biblical passages, and other passages hint darkly of such a figure. For our purposes, the two most important references are to Elias the Prophet, who is to come "before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord" (Malachi 4:5), and to Elias the Restorer of all things: "And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias as truly shall first come, and restore all things" (Matt. 17:11).

This mysterious figure seemed to have possessed special appeal for alchemists. No doubt part of the reason for this was the fact that Malachi 3:3 was also believed to be a prophecy of Elias: "And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver" (King James ver.). This metallurgical imagery could easily be interpreted as possessing secret alchemical significance, and that is just how many alchemists no doubt interpreted it. At any rate, under the influence of

70 Deut. 18:18; Acts 3:22; John 15:26; Malachi 4:5; Matt. 18:11.


72 More calls this a description of Elias (p.357).
Paracelsus this figure was adopted into the occult tradition of messianic prophecy. What Paracelsus did was to transmogrify this Christian 'prophet' into an alchemist: in an influential prophecy, Paracelsus referred not to Elias the Prophet, but to Elias the Artist, that is, one initiated into the art of alchemy. As a result, Elias became a sort of messianic alchemist, the long-awaited Hermetic messiah who would use magic to renovate the earth. Many subsequent alchemists believed themselves Elias, and even the Rosicrucian brotherhood was given the name.

The Paracelsian prophecy concerning Elias the Artist was translated by Basil Valentine, who also provides a commentary on the prediction. Are not the times at hand, Valentine encouragingly asks, in which Elias the Artist, revealer of the secrets of transmutation, is to come? He then quotes from Paracelsus' *Book of Minerals* the prediction that the secrets of nature would remain hidden until the coming of "Elias as the Artist, others read, until the Art of Elias, when he comes." "Therefore," Valentine assures his readers, "be comforted, O Lover of Chymistry, and prepare the way of Elias, who brings happy times, and will reveal more Secrets than our Ancestors, by reason of Envy, and the Iniquity of their Days durst discover. Whosoever thou art, conversing in this Art, confer some small matter of this felicity; and let us give the World that Medicine, which by reason of evil Humors predominant, it cannot take all at once, by degrees,
that it may gradually recover of its Disease, and the Times of Elias come . . . where it will be lawfull for us to speak freely of those Things, and openly to do good to our Neighbours, without persecution of the Impious."  

As one can readily see, the prophecy of this Hermetic messiah became something of a talisman for the alchemists of the millenarian mode. The "Messiah of the Hermetic Mysteries," as Edward Waite puts it, "was expected ardently by several successive generations" of alchemists. One grand adept after another was thought to be Elias the Artist. The first impulse was to identify Paracelsus himself with this mysterious reformer (Waite, p.57), but later adepts found in the call for a 'universal reformation' uttered by the Rosicrucians a reflection of the salvational mission of the Restorer of All Things (Waite, p.242).

One of the original supporters of the Rosicrucian movement wrote in a letter published as a preface to the first manifesto, "So we trace and conclude that ye now are the men sent from God, to spread the knowledge of the eternal Theophrastia [Paracelsus?] and of the Divine Wisdom, reserved until now in such wonderful manner; it may be, to be kept guarded until the time of Elias the Artist foretold in proph-

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73Triumphant Chariot of Antimony (1670), p.90.
This analogy was accepted by Englishmen as well. At mid-century, the two Rosicrucians calling for a reformation of the world were published in England under the pseudonym used by Thomas Vaughan. He says of the Rosicrucians, "Such Eliahs [i.e., Eliases] also are the members of this Fraternity, who--as their own writings testify--walk in the supernatural light." Earlier, Robert Fludd, the first defender of the Brotherhood and an English exponent of their 'philosophy,' said of its members, "They have knowledge of the true mystery and of that key which leads to the joy of Paradise. They have therefore the freedom of Paradise, even as Elias of old." The Rosicrucians thus were viewed as a "corporate Elias" (Waite, p.242), and their quest for a universal reformation of both human and divine things became identified with the Biblical prophecy of a messianic figure who would restore all things.


78 Robert Burton calls "Elias Artifex" the Theophrastian master "of the Rosicrucians," whom "some will have to be the renewer of all Arts & Sciences, reformer of the world, & now living" (The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith [New York: Tudor Pub. Co., 1955], p.100). A Rosicrucian aura surrounds the figure of Elias in the alchemical tract entitled "The Golden Calf," allegedly written by
This fact alone may very well have made the whole Rosicrucian movement more palatable to Puritan radicals and even to mainstream Puritans. For expectations of the coming Elias were widespread in both occult and millenarian circles during the Puritan Revolution. In more than one instance, in fact, talk of Elias occurs in a context that is at once occult, millenarian and Puritan. One example of this occurred in 1650, when Robert Gell, a Puritan clergyman linked to the Familists (Thomas, p.377), appeared before the Society of Astrologers of London to discuss his millenarian beliefs. He reminded his audience, most of whom were supporters of Parliament, that "Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things." He also urged them to keep their eyes riveted on the skies, for like the first magi, English astrologers will surely be the first to see Christ's return as the Messiah.

The prophecy of Elias acquired great credibility for Englishmen because of its use by the European millenarian, Johann Heinrich Alsted (1627). It was almost his exact words Helvetius. He relates a meeting between himself and Elias the Artist, who came to him to reveal the secrets of transmutation. Concerning the subsequent disappearance of Elias, Helvetius says, "Let the most wise King of Heaven Under the Shadow of whose Wings he hath hitherto lay hid . . . accompany him." The phrase, 'under the shadow of whose wings,' was a sort of Rosicrucian password (Frances Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, ch. 9: "Francis Bacon 'Under the Shadow of Jehova's Wings," pp.118-29). The tract also refers to Heinrich Khunrath, author of an important Rosicrucian text (Yates, RE, pp.38-9, passim).

that George Hakewill used when he assures his readers, in 1635, just five years before the start of the Civil War, that "either Elias himself, or some other great heroicall spirit matchable to him, is yet to bee sent, for the accomplishing of this great businesse in restoring all things." Statements such as these may have made English millenarians more sympathetic to occult prophecies of the Hermetic messiah who would reform the world. Alsted, as a matter of fact, was evidently most sympathetic to such occult prophecies.

What should be pointed out is that Alsted employed the Hermetic form of the Eliasian prophecy, not the Scriptural form. The prophecy of Elias he kept within an alchemical context. Hakewill, Gell, and the sundry other Englishmen who read and revered Alsted were thus told that "many Writers of the former, and this present Age, have published many things concerning Elias the Artist, who is to come; Of the Lion of the North, who is neer at hand; Of a fourth Northern Monarchy; of a great Reformation ... and the like." In a side note, Alsted directed his readers to the occult prophecies of Paracelsus and Sendivogius. Thus, through Alsted, if not from other sources, English millenarians became familiar with the occult form of the prophecy of Elias, and were given another example (along with Lactantius) of a highly respected

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millenarian resorting to the magical tradition to support his own chiliastic beliefs.  

Not surprisingly, the messianic prophecy of Elias the Artist was also widely current in occult circles in England. In fact, native occult publications must have done much to popularize the prophecy. In one instance, an English adept, this one associated with the Hartlib circle, presented himself as a kind of precursor of Elias, an Hermetic 'John the Baptist' to the promised Messiah of magic. 'Eirenaeus Philalethes' (likely the Puritan magus John Winthrop) fuses the coming of Elias the Alchemist with the descent of the New Jerusalem, an identification that no doubt appealed to Puritan millenarians, whatever their sect:

The time has arrived when we may speak more freely about this Art. For Elias the Artist is at hand, and glorious things are already spoken of the City of God. . . . I hope that in a few years gold (not as given by God, but as abused by men) will be so common that those who are now so mad after it, shall contemptuously spur aside this bulwark of Antichrist. Then will the day of our deliverance be at hand when the streets of the new Jerusalem are paved with gold, and its gates are made of great

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diamonds. The day is at hand when by means of this my Book, gold will have become as common as dirt; when we Sages shall find rest for the soles of our feet, and render fervent thanks to God. . . . These words I utter forth with a herald's clarion tones. My Book is the precursor of Elias, designed to prepare the Royal way of the Master; and would to God that by its means all men might become adepts in our Art. 82

The availability of alchemical gold, the passage seems to suggest, will make covetousness and greed vanish, and thus lead to a new age of brotherhood and peace.

The millenarian fervor of exoteric alchemy found release, then, in prophecies of a Hermetic messiah, whether he be a northern monarch or Elias himself. According to Hermeticists in both Europe and England, the 'new heaven and new earth' of Revelation would be brought about through magic.

82 Hermetic Museum, II, 178. This prophecy seems to be echoed in the one quoted by the English editor of the prophecies of Paracelsus (see above, p.80, n.66). There is also a striking similarity between the sentiment expressed by 'Eirenaeus Philalethes' (likely the Puritan, John Winthrop), and that of Gerrard Winstanley, to whom gold, money, buying and selling were the handiwork of Antichrist. Winstanley will be mentioned in Part 3 of this chapter, and in Chapter V. The messianic prophecy of Elias the Artist was also popularized by an admirer of Boehme, Paul Felgenhaure. He wrote that Elias shall come from the north and will "put all the Prophets of Baal to the sword, and will destroy them by the sword of the Spirit wherewith he killeth Antichrist, and makes an End of him" (Postilion, or a New Almanacke and Astrologie, prophetic, Prognostication [London, 1655], p. 7). Felgenhaure seems to conflate the prophecy of Elias with that of the Lion of the North. Professor Thomas mentions several fanatics who thought themselves Elias (Religion and the Decline of Magic, pp.133-5).
What we have investigated so far has revealed, I believe, the relevance of this material to the occult milieu of Puritan England. We have seen how the Hermetic revival of the Renaissance gave rise to a new kind of magic, to a magic with a millenarian impulse towards the world. And we have also seen how this millenarian impulse animated even English adepts, men like Elias Ashmole, Thomas Vaughan, and John French. Like the Hermetic reformers before them, these men believed in the powers of magic to reform the world, to revivify nature and to perfect the human condition. This chapter has broadly traced the evolution or development of this millenarian vision in the Western magical tradition, and has described in detail the content of its salvational promise to man. By exploring the nature of millenarian magic, this chapter has attempted to explain why and how the occult sciences of England came to possess their millenarian beliefs, visions and expectations. When we examine astrology, Behmenism, and Rosicrucianism, we will discover many more instances of the millenarian obsession of the occult sciences. The additional evidence to be brought forward in the subsequent chapters of this study will indeed demonstrate that between 1640 and 1660, the occult milieu of Puritan England gave repeated expression to a wide assortment of millenarian beliefs.

The material we have reviewed so far has also indicated that occult prophecies of a Hermetic golden age, or of the restoration of paradise, were often used by seventeenth-century
millenarians to support, lend credence to, or in some way validate their own pronouncements concerning the reformation of the world, or the coming of the millennium. Once again, we will see more evidence of this when we come to investigate the occult milieu of Puritan England. The evidence we shall find there will strengthen my thesis that Puritan radicals were attracted to magic because magic provided them with validating charters for their own millenarian beliefs and expectations. The reason for this attraction will itself be demonstrated in Part 3 of this chapter, where I show the similarity between the millenarian visions of magicians, and those of Puritan millenarians.

But first I should like to consider the work of one seventeenth-century writer who implied some of the points I have been arguing here—that magic possessed millenarian elements, and that Puritans were (or would be) attracted to magic because of these millenarian elements. Let us now turn to Ben Jonson.

**Ben Jonson and the 'Fifth Monarchy' of Alchemy**

One of the first (and few) thinkers to recognize the millenarian impulse (and messianic implications) of this new form of magic was Ben Jonson. His insight into the millenarian nature of alchemy has hitherto been overlooked, and therefore been unappreciated. But a brief analysis of his treatment of the Hermetic art will not only uncover the true nature of hitherto neglected passages, but support the prin-
cipal thesis of this chapter.

Although Jonson explores the connection between politics and Puritan interest in the occult arts through the figures of Tribulation and Ananias, he develops the theme of the millenary nature of alchemy in his treatment of Sir Epicure Mammon.

Like so many real magicians of the time, Mammon is motivated by both Faustian and philanthropic impulses. Like Faustus, he wants to use magic to recreate the world closer to his 'lustful' heart's desire. Magic promises, to him, a world of exquisite fleshly delights. In a fit of voluptuary delirium, Mammon makes clear that what impells him is the desire to enter that enclosed garden of Solomon:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{For I do mean} \\
\text{To have a list of wives, and concubines,} \\
\text{Equal with Solomon; who had the stone} \\
\text{Alike, with me; and I will make me, a back} \\
\text{With the Elixir, that shall be as tough} \\
\text{As Hercules, to encounter fifty a night.} \quad 83
\end{align*}
\]

Later in the play, this vision of a hortus conclusus of earthly delights gives way to a vision of utopia, a brave new world of ravishing sensations:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{We'll therefore go with all, my girl, and live} \\
\text{In a free state; where we will eat our mullets,} \\
\text{Soused in high-country wines, sup pheasants' eggs,} \\
\text{And have our cockles, boiled in silver shells,} \\
\text{Our shrimps to swim again, as when they lived,}
\end{align*}
\]

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In a rare butter, made of dolphins' milk,
Whose cream does look like opals: and with those
Delicate meats, set ourselves high for pleasure,
And take us down again, and then renew
Our youth, and strength, with drinking the elixir,
And so enjoy a perpetuity
Of life, and lust. 84

Mammon's vision is hardly distinguishable from that of Faustus, who also imagines the delights he personally will enjoy when he enters the earthly paradise of magic. 85

But Mammon is also motivated by an impulse that can only be called philanthropic. Many passages indicate that he wants to employ alchemy to help and gratify others. His desire is obviously genuine: even before Subtle admonishes him to use the stone for the "public good" and "dear charity" (II,iii,16-17), Mammon contemplates employing his expected wealth and powers to

  confer honour, love, respect, long life
  Give safety, valour: yea, and victory,
  To whom he will. In eight and twenty days,
  I'll make an old man, of fourscore, a child. 86

Believing that the Elixir "cures all diseases," that it will wipe away "a month's grief, in a day"--all traditional beliefs--Mammon promises to "fright the plague/ Out o' the kingdom, in three months" (II,i,69-70):

84 IV,i, 155-66.
85 Cf. Doctor Faustus, I,i,79-84. The fact that Mammon is a comic figure does not undermine my point here.
86 II,i,50-53; 54-8.
I'll give away so much, unto my man, 
Shall serve th' whole city, with preservative. 87

And, like a good adept, Mammon also vows:

I shall employ it all, in pious uses,  
Founding of colleges, and grammar schools,  
Marrying young virgins, building hospitals,  
And now, and then, a church. 88

Even the realistic Subtle recognizes the sincerity of Mammon's

87II,i,73-4. Eirenaeus Philalethes writes: in the third place, the alchemist "has an Universal Medicine, with which he can cure every conceivable disease, and, indeed, as to the quantity of his Medicine, he might heal all sick people in the world" (HM, II,198). The salvational scope of this project is millenarian: healing all people bodily would be the function of the messiah; such healing was also thought to be one of the gifts of the millennium. Professor Frank Manuel recognizes the philanthropic imperative of alchemy: "Concentration on the production of gold was looked upon as a corruption of the alchemical philosopher's true mission which was... to cure all the diseases besetting mankind. The concoction of this universal medicine and its distribution to suffering millions was regarded as an act of Christian charity demanded by God of the chosen philosopher whom He had guided to the secret" (Portrait of Isaac Newton, pp.167-8). As we shall see, Elias Ashmole's millenarian expectations took the form of a vision of the revival of Hermetic physic.

88II,iii,49-52. Although the humor of these lines should not be overlooked, more important is that Jonson understood the basic salvational message of alchemy, and evidently knew that precisely such endeavors had been 'performed' by other alchemists. If he could only acquire the stone, one adept said,  
Then would I make upon the plaine  
Of Salisbury glorious to be faire,  
Fifteen Abbies in a little while,  
One Abbie in the end of every mile.  
(Thomas Norton, "The Ordinall of Alchimy," in Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p.24). In 1651, John French wrote, "as long as I have sense or reason, I shall improve them to the honour of... Alchymie. In the perfection thereof there are riches, honour, health, & length of dayes: by it Artesius lived 1000. yeares, Flammell built 28. Hospitals with large revenues to them, besides Churches and Chappells" (Art of Distillation, sig.A2v).
altruistic dreams. He envisions Mammon frenetically scurrying about, reforming the world around him. 'I see him,' Subtle muses,

entering ordinaries,
Dispensing for the pox; and plaguey-houses,
Reaching his dose; walking Moorfields for lepers;
And offering citizens wives pomander-bracelets,
As his preservative, made of the elixir;
Searching the spittle, to make old bawds young;
And the highways, for beggars, to make rich:
I see no end of his labours. He will make
Nature ashamed, of her long sleep: when art,
Who's but a step-dame, shall do more, than she,
In her best love to mankind, ever could. 89

The comic ridicule of Mammon that we can detect in these lines does not negate the point that he is indeed impelled by a desire to reform the world, to heal, like some crazed thaumaturge, the physical, social, and spiritual ills of mankind. Even Subtle recognizes this, for he remarks, "if his dream last, he'll turn the age, to gold" (I,iv,29; italics added). Like Norton, Paracelsus, Sendivogius, and French, Mammon too would employ magic to transform the world and restore the Golden Age.

That Mammon's dream is essentially millenarian, that it is--in fact--overtly messianic, Jonson seemed to have understood. In his attempt to seduce Doll Common to his 'free state,' Mammon says that he talked to her

Of a fifth monarchy I would erect,
With the philosopher's stone. (IV,v,25-6)

89I,iv,18-28.
These are extraordinarily revealing lines. Jonson reveals his understanding that the salvational promise of alchemy is as messianic as the apocalyptic tradition of Christianity itself. Both offer, as Jonson somehow knew, an earthly paradise to last at least 1000 years.

Jonson was perceptive in another regard as well. His two Puritans, Ananias and Tribulation, take an active interest in alchemy, and thus foreshadow events that were to take place during the Puritan Revolution, when the radical sects set out to revive all the occult sciences (Thomas, p.375). Alchemy is attractive to these two Puritans only because it seems to promise them a way of gaining political power, and of becoming rulers of the realm. This certainly is the constant message of Subtle's 'pitch' to them, and Subtle is the consummate con man. 'Have I told you,' he asks them, of the "good" the Stone "shall bring your cause?" It shall pay for the "hiring [of] forces" to advance your revolutionary objectives, he informs them. "Even the medicinal use shall make you a faction,/ And party in the realm" (III,ii,20-6). "Verily, 'tis true," Tribulation acknowledges, "we may be temporal lords, ourselves, I take it." Thus, since they have been convinced that the "restorating of the silenced Saints" cannot be accomplished save "by the philosopher's stone" (III,i,39-40), these two Puritans use alchemy to further their holy cause (III,i,11-12). And what, precisely, is their holy cause? Like Mammon's, it is essentially mil-
lenarian, for their struggle is against 'the Antichristian Hierarchy of Bishops' (II,v,82-4), the rooting out of which will usher in the millennium of the Saints. I cannot but think that in these lines Jonson himself was prophetic.

In a way, the action of the *The Alchemist* could be viewed as a rehearsal of the 'movement' of ideas during the eventful years of the Civil War. For when John French, Alsted, John Rogers, Hakewill, Nathanael Homes, and sundry others, use magic and alchemy to support their own visions of a Fifth Monarchy of earthly perfection and Puritan sway—when they themselves link together Magic and the Millennium—they seem to be performing their parts in a revolutionary drama Jonson presciently perceived was about to be staged.
Introduction

When Mammon dreams aloud of a "Fifth Monarchy" to be wrought by the philosopher's stone, it is implied that magic offered substantially the same millennium as Fifth Monarchism did. A brief survey of the millenarian expectations prevalent in England during the Puritan Revolution--when chiliastic expectations were most intense--will uncover substantially the same salvational hopes, sometimes the same myths and dreams, we have already found in the mode of magic we have been examining. The fact that the same soteriological elements occur in both contexts provides, I believe, additional justification for characterizing this mode of the occult as 'millenarian.' And it will also explain why it was so relatively easy for English millenarians to accept the reformationist pronouncements they found in the occult milieu of Puritan England. 90

90The following analysis concentrates on the more 'mundane' aspects of millenarianism, those aspects which focused attention on the kingly mission of the messiah, and on the material or political benefits which were to be derived from the messiah's earthly rule. Yet I have not ignored the other side of the millenarian movement, the side which spiritualized, under the influence of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the external manifestations of the apocalyptic hope. Professor Cohen has argued that these two types of millenarianism were closely related. The Spiritual millenarians understood that the full outpouring of the Spirit in the saints was determined
Millenarian Rhetoric

The reformationist visions of magicians were often couched, as we have seen, in such terms as a reformation of the world, the renovation or rejuvenation of men and things, the restitution of past times (see above, pp.41-5). These, and similar terms, can all be found in the occult milieu of Puritan England. What is especially important is the fact that the same terms and concepts were often used by Puritan millenarians to suggest their notions of what the millennium would be like. In the 'overturning' years of the 1640s, Gerrard Winstanley, the leader of the Diggers, was confident that the "Spirit of the whole Creation . . . is about the Reformation of the World."91 Others expected an "innovation" or ren-

91The Law of Freedom in a Platform or, True Magistracy Restored, ed. Robert W. Kenny (1941; rpt. with a new introduction, New York: Schocken Books, 1973), p.50. The Puritan clergyman Thomas Case was so carried away by reformationist visions that he called for a 'reformation of reformation itself' (Two Sermons [London, 1641], sig.A4v; pp.21-2). Nathanael Homes (or Holmes) quotes the rabbi Aben Ezra concerning "a total, and universal reforming, or new-framing of the world. And although the Text hath it, New Heavens, yet there is no necessity, nor doth the sense require it, that we should
ovation, that is, the time promised by St. John in Revelation, "when all things shall be made new." Some held that the awaited renewal or renovation would come at the "generall restauration, wherein all men shall be reconciled to God and saved." John Archer also identified the "restoring [of] all things" with the "making [of] all things new." Frequently, the millennium was depicted as "the Restitution of all things." understand New Heavens, to be meant of other Heavens... but only that there shall be a certain Instauration, and Reformation of them into better" (in The Resurrection Revealed [London, 1653], p.425). Homes also quotes Calvin concerning the "Reparation of the world" (p.190). See also John Napier, A plaine discovery of the whole Revelation of Saint John (Edinburgh, 1593), in which he called for "a speedy and generall Reformation both in Church and State; and that from the highest to the lowest" (p.4).


94 The Personall Reigne of Christ upon Earth (London, 1642), p.10. As one tract puts it, the dream of the Fifth Monarchy party is nothing less than "the redeeming of Whole Zion," "the restoration of the whole Creation" (A Standard Set Up [London, 1657], p.17).

What the English millenarians expected to be restored was Eden or the Golden Age, that is, some kind of earthly paradise. 'Millennialism,' explains Mircea Eliade, always "implied the restoration of Paradise. . . . There will be an abundance of all things, as in the Garden of Eden." We have already seen that magic, at least in its millenarian form, promised to restore to mankind the existence Adam enjoyed in Eden before the Fall (see above, pp.57ff). This is exactly what most English millenarians also expected. Nathanael Homes, an influential spokesman for the chiliast cause, believed in the whole time of Christ's kingdom," explains John Archer, "is truly called a time of restitution" (Personall Reigne, p.10); what the saints shall receive as their inheritance is "the restitution of all things" (T. B., The Saints Inheritance [London, 1643], p.11). Hansard Knollys also expected in the messianic age "the Restitution of all things" (Apocalyptical Mysteries [London, 1667], Book III, pp.11-12; see also John Rogers, Othel or Beth-shemesh [1653], p.53, p.28). As the date of the millennium predicted by Alsted and many others drew near (ca.1700; "and the thousand yeares will be about the yeare of our Lord, 1700"--Personall Reigne), people began to talk once again about "the Restitution of all things" (A Short Survey of the Kingdom of Christ [London, 1699], sig. III). For the concept of "restitution" in left-wing sectarian thought of the Reformation, see Frank J. Wray, "The Anabaptist Doctrine of the Restitution of the Church," MQR, 28 (1954), 186-96; F. H. Littell, The Origins of Sectarian Protestantism (1952; New York: Macmillan, paperback edn., 1964), ch.2.


that all of Adam's inheritance was not forefeited at the Fall (p.132), and that it would be enjoyed once again during the millennium: "All . . . shall be as in Paradise, before Adam's fall." 98

This longing for paradise was frequently expressed as a longing for the Golden Age. Millenarianism, explains a student of such movements, "is based on the belief in a Golden Age which is going to return or which can be restored in the fullness of time." 99 It is "exactly this 'Golden Age,' or paradise, which the founder of the messianic movement wants to inaugurate" (p.12). In the millenarian mode of Western magic, as

98 Nathanael Homes, Apokalypsis Anastaseos. The Resurrection Revealed (London, 1653), p.527, hereafter cited as Resurrection Revealed. Even "the lowest of this state," explains Homes, "shall be according to that of Adams innocency" (p.530). Mary Cary also taught that people will be like "Adam in innocency" (The Little Horns Doom [London, 1651], p.302). Another wrote that the restitution of all things to their first perfection could only mean the restoring of them to that state in which "Adam found them in . . . at his Creation" (A Short Survey [1699], p.16-17; p.37). Homes also believed that the "restauration of all things" meant their restoration "as at the first Creation" (p.535). He also quotes the Koran (!) to the effect that "after the Resurrection [true believers] shall enjoy the immense pleasures of Paradise" (p.416). George Hakewill wrote that the reward of the faithful would be "a pleasant garden or Paradise of delight" (An Apologie or Declaration, 3rd edn. [Oxford, 1635], p.601). See also, Mary Cary, The Little Horns Doom, p.305; and, T. B., The Saints Inheritance, p.26. Images of paradise were particularly prominent in the Rosicrucian milieu of Puritan England (see Chapter V).

we have seen, restoration of the Golden Age meant, most frequently, the revivification of the natural order through magic. No less ardently, English millenarians also expected the restoration of the Golden Age, and understood by the term the same kind of fecund paradise being pursued by the magicians. The translator of Alsted's messianic tract, *Beloved City* (1641), explains that the "great Sabbath and time of Rest" to last "1000. yeares" is "truely [the] Golden Age" (sig.xviii).100 "This thrice happy and golden age is now at hand" (sig.xx). Some years later a Fifth-Monarchist almanac also predicted the imminent dawning of the "Golden Age," and identified its restoration with the "glorious Rising of the fifth Monarch."101 Soon after Nathanael Homes quoted Calvin's explanation that "'the Instaurati  on of a Perfect State'" would be none other than the restoration of "'that Golden Age . . . in which, before the fall of man, full felicity flourished'" (p.190). Once again we see that both English magicians and Puritan millenarians awaited the same kind of earthly paradise.

100 Lactantius had written that the last times would possess all those things "'which the Poets fable to have beene in those golden Times of Saturnes reign'" (quoted in Alsted, *Beloved City*, p.49). Images of the Golden Age were also very prominent in European Rosicrucian circles.

101 The *Year of Wonders* (London, 1652), t.p. Another astrologer, this one not necessarily a Fifth Monarchist, predicted that after the amazing stellar events of 1652, "there shall immeditately succeed a golden Age" (Vincent Wing, *Almanack and Prognostication* [1654], sig.C3v). Brahe's prophecy of the "Golden Age" was particularly influential.
Visions of Temporal Felicity

As we have seen, in the magical tradition the symbols of the Golden Age and of Eden stood for 'whatsoever man desires on earth' (see above, pp.64-6). These inexhaustible treasures were usually summed up in such often-repeated phrases as "all good fortune," "the glorie of the world,"102 "all material joy," "all temporal happiness," "all temporal felicity." Similar phrases were used by both English occultists and Puritan millenarians to describe the gifts of the millennium they mutually expected. Nathanael Homes, using the words of the Koran, persuades his readers that "they shall have all sweet contentment, and all at their pleasure, without difficulty, or delay" (p.419). In his own words Homes asserts "that the Saints may enjoy all in their perfection" (p.53). Like the magicians who expected "all temporal happiness" and "all temporal felicity," John Archer, a leading Puritan millenarian during the 1640s, asserted that the age of perfection would contain "all fulnesse of all temporal blessings" (Personal Reigne, p.29). Whatever may make their lives comfortable and pleasurable, will be enjoyed by the Saints in the millennium. In phrases that resemble those of the alchemists ("all material joy," "all the comforts

102 The millenarian, John Rogers, used the phrase "the glory of the world" to describe what he would have inherited if he had made use of "Necromancy & Nigromancy" and "Magick" (Othel or Beth-shemesh [1653], p.433).
of this world"), Mary Cary, an outspoken millenarian, promises her readers that in the millennium they shall enjoy every conceivable "outward blessing," every imaginable "creature comfort" ('Little Horns Doom', p.302). And Homes promises the "confluence of all Comforts" in the new age about to dawn (p.536; p.533). It is thus no wonder that Mary Cary echoed Boehme's prophecy concerning an age of 'gold,' and that Homes cited the occult prophecies of both Paracelsus and Sendivogius. As both recognized, magic promised what they themselves wanted, a fact which helps to explain the popularity of the occult during those years when Puritan millenarianism was most intense.

The phrases we have just reviewed were intended to encircle both the 'emotional' blessings of paradise, and its more directly physical and material joys as well. Concerning the 'emotional' blessings, what is frequently promised for the millennium is the elimination of the threats and tensions of everyday life (see above, p.74, n.56). As Professor Wilson says, millenarianism usually promises relief from all "personal problems, and fears and tensions in social relationships," as well as the "eradication of political and social oppression" ('Magic and the Millennium', p.365). Magic, as we have already seen, promised to mankind precisely these gifts. The Stone was thought to put to flight "anxiety and care," and to comfort and refresh man's heart in the hour of trouble, mitigating all adversity. One adept taught that alchemy could put
an end to all "Hatred and Sorrow," "Poverty and Misery," replacing them with "Health, Joy, Peace, Love," and "all good things." In addition, it was thought that magic would eliminate social oppression as well, by putting "an end to vanity, hope, and fear," and by removing from the hearts of people "ambition, violence, and excess." Even the root of all social evil—"covetousnesse"—can be extirpated by alchemy.

Thus, John French, while endorsing the messianic prophecy of Sendivogius, predicts the imminent return of the "golden Age," in which "all tyranny, oppression, envie, and covetousnesse shall cease." What these European and English alchemists dreamed of corresponds almost perfectly with what Puritan millenarians expected in the millennium. In the millennium there shall be no more "sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain." Nor shall there be any "fear, terour, and dread" (p.175).

Afflictions such as these will end because social

104 *Art of Distillation* (1651), sig.A4r. Both Ashmole (1652) and French mention the end of covetousness. At the same time (1652), Winstanley was declaiming against "Kingly Covetousness," the root of all evil according to him (*The Law of Freedom*, ed. R. W. Kenny, p.78).
106 Homes wrote that in the new age there would be "No fears," "No Wants" (p.523). He looked forward to a "New Earth," that is, "a New naturally politick state . . . "(p.526).
oppression shall end, which was the reason for so much human misery. "There likewise will be an end of all oppression. For who is left to oppress? Violence shall no more be heard in her Land, wasting nor destruction within her borders" (A Sober Inquiry, p.173). As the alchemists expected an end to "all tyranny, oppression, envie, and covetousnesse," so English millenarians expected the elimination of all "Tyrannical and Oppressing laws, and courts of justice," of "tithes," and "slavery to the wills of men." "Whatsoever bears but the face of oppression in it," shall be eliminated by the reformation of the world. 107 What is becoming quite obvious is the fact that magical visions of the millennium reinforced the expectations of Puritan chiliasts in every respect, a fact which no doubt helps to explain why the occult sciences were so popular with left-wing Puritans during the Civil War years.

Both magicians and millenarians agreed, moreover, that what shall replace fear and social oppression will be "Health, __________

107 Thomas Collier, A Discovery of the New Creation (1647), in Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647-9) from the Clarke Manuscripts, sel. and ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse (Chicago: U. of Chicago P., 1938), p.395. Nathanael Homes maintained that in the millennium there shall be "No humane ruling Majesty," "No painfull labour." It shall be "utterly superiorless, the least of the saints now being Adam in his full dignity and power" (p.523). Gerrard Winstanley wrote, "There shall be no Tyrant Kings, Lords of Manors, Tything Priests, oppressing Lawyers, exacting Landlords, nor any such like prickling bryar in all this holy Mountain of the Lord God our Righteousness and Peace" (The Law of Freedom, ed. R. W. Kenny, p.82). See Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p.143, for a resume of the millenarian vision.
Joy, Peace, Love" and "all good things" (Book of the Revelation of Hermes). The Fifth-Monarchy commonwealth envisioned by William Aspinwall was filled with love, mercy, truth and peace, "health . . . and holiness." It should be recalled that the Golden Age predicted by the alchemist John French was also "abounding with love and mercy & flourishing in peace" (Art of Distillation, sig.*fl4*). Homes believed that all enjoyments "shall be varnished with beauty, environed with peace, enlarged with liberty" (p.533). As we should also recall, Sendivogius expected in the Hermetic enlightenment of the Fourth Monarchy "Mercy and Truth," "Peace and Justice," and 'one shepherd and one sheepfold.' Similarly, Homes also dreamed of a world-wide Christian union, just as there was "in Paradise before Adam fell" (p.541). And, as the paradise of the magicians would be utterly secure from "any corrupt or sinister thoughts," such as those which provoked the first Fall (Fasciculus Chemicus, sig.A), so the "future glorious state" of English millenarians "shall bee Temptation-lesse. Herein we shall be happier then Adam and Eve . . . We shall neither fall, nor be tempted to fall" (Homes, Resurrection Revealed, p.525). Both Magician and Puritan, then, agreed perfectly with each other on the 'emotional' blessings that man would enjoy in the future age both expected.

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They also agreed on the material and physical benefits mankind would possess in the millennium. The millenarian tradition of magic, as we have seen, promised mounds of gold and jewels, a literally 'golden' age. The German mystical alchemist, Jacob Boehme, for example, prophesied that after the building of Zion, "Silver and Gold shall be as common, as in Solomons time" (Mercurius Teutonicus [1649], sig.B3v, a collection of Boehme's prophecies). Just two years later Mary Cary, the English millenarian, asserted that soon there would be "a plentiful enjoyment of silver, and gold . . . in great abundance" (p.302), and that the Puritan saints would have every vestige of the "outward glory that was conferred upon Solomon" (Little Horns Doom, p.286). John Archer included in the "temporall blessings" to be enjoyed in the millennium "riches" and "whatsoever else was enjoyed under any Monarchy, or can be had in this world" (Personal Reigne, p.29). Nathanael Homes taught that in the millennium "the best jewels and treasures shall not be appropriated to Heathens, Atheists, Popish, Hypocrites, or gracelesse Kings," but be given to the Saints in abundance, who shall enjoy them--and everything else--in their full perfection (p.534).

It should not be surprising that the occult vision of the millennium eventually imposed itself on the most important Christian symbol of messianic hope—the image of the New Jerusalem. This Scriptural symbol was viewed by occultists as a symbol of their own Hermetic golden age:
For Elias the Artist is at hand, and glorious things are already spoken of the City of God. I hope that in a few years gold . . . will be so common that those who are now so mad after it, shall contemptuously spurn aside this bulwark of Antichrist. Then will the day of our deliverance be at hand when the streets of the new Jerusalem are paved with gold, and its gates are great diamonds. The day is at hand when . . . gold will have become as common as dirt. 109

English millenarians would have had no difficulty accepting this vision of the Hermetic New Jerusalem, for they expected the same thing:

As New Jerusalem is new decked, &c. Rev. 21. So all her buildings, walls, streets, gates, &c. (according to Isa. 54. verse 11.) are compared to gold, and all precious stones, which comparison of glorious gold, and precious stones, &c. import all manner of glory of the Church. 110

Evidence such as this indicates that the millenarian elements of the occult tradition were identical to those elements in English Puritanism. It was natural for Puritans to turn to the occult for support of their own millenarian visions.

109 Hermetic Museum, II, p.178. Winstanley maintained that the restoration of "ancient Peace and Freedom" could only be accomplished by forbidding all "buying and selling." For "this takes off the Kingly Curse [covetousness], and makes Jerusalem a praise in the Earth" (Law of Freedom, p.80). He forbade the use of gold and jewels as money in his utopia.

110 Nathanael Homes, The Resurrection Revealed (1653), p.534; also p.527. Hansard Knollys wrote: "It is a most pure Church, and therefore is described; The Walls to be precious Stones, the Citie to be as cleere as glasse, and the Pavement to be pure gold" (A Glimpse of Sions Glory, p.22).
But wealth, treasure, gold, jewels—all these were still only the gifts of the 'left hand,' as Ashmole put it. The right hand held the most precious of all material blessings: health, longevity, immortality. Millenarianism, Professor Wilson explains, promises a future time when illness and old age will not occur (p.349), a time of permanent relief of physical ailments, the "cessation of illness, the ageing process, and death" (p.365). As we have already seen, the millenarian mode of alchemy promised precisely these gifts, offering not only "length of days," but at least the possibility of immortality as well (Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, sig.B1v). At the very least, the Stone of the alchemists would restore to mankind that Edenic life-span of 1000 years which God had intended for all people to enjoy. As one might expect, those gifts that Professor Wilson mentions and which magic promised can also be found in the millennial visions of Puritan chiliasts. "It was the conceit of the same Justine Martyr," observes an interpreter of the mysteries of Revelation, "that the life of the tree of life, or of man in the state of Paradise, was to consist of a thousand years." Adam's sin robbed his posterity of this inheritance, at least for a time. "But when all things shall be restored, that long liv'd day shall be restored to the sons of the first resurrection, and they shall live one thousand years" (I. F., *A Sober Inquiry*, pp.168-9). John Archer included in the "temporall blessings" of the millennium "health" and "long life"
Nathanael Homes argued, not unlike Ashmole a year earlier, that the new earth about to be created would offer a "deathless" state.  

As Jonson so well knew, the 'Golden Age' of Hermeticism was to be a state of love and lust, a restoration of the enclosed garden of Solomon, who allegedly enjoyed all the pleasures life can afford because he owned the philosopher's stone. Mammon's dreams would not have appeared excessively libidinous to most mid-century Puritan millenarians, I believe. They expected almost the same kind of earthly delights that made Mammon and Faustus grateful users of magic. One chiliast wrote that in the millennium life would be like it was in "Solomons time," when the "People of Judath and Israel" spent their days "eating and drinking, and making merry. In this

111The Resurrection Revealed, p.523. John Archer believed that the renovation of mankind would bless man with "long life," allowing everyone to live "an hundred years," "and no infant or any other dye sooner; they shall last long as a Tree" (Personall Reigne, p.30).  

112From The Alchemist: and, with these
Delicate meats, set ourselves high for pleasure,
And take us down again, and then renew
Our youth, and strength, with drinking the elixir;
And so enjoy a perpetuity
Of life, and lust. (IV,i, 155-69)

For I do mean
To have a list of wives, and concubines,
Equal with Solomon; who had the stone
Alike, with me: and I will make me, a back
With the elixir, that shall be as tough
As Hercules, to encounter fifty a night. (I,ii, 34-9)
time they shall Plant, build, marry, beget children from generation to generation, in perfect peace" (Archer, Perso

nall Reigne, p.30). Even the pious visionary, 'Doomsday' Sedgwick, who cheerfully adopted the even less creditable (but no doubt more appropriate) sobriquet of 'spiritual madman,' emphasized the epicurean delights of the millennium:

You shall have your sports, pleasures, we will sing together in the hight of Zion: young men and maids daunce together without offence or iniquity, all in the innocency, holinesse and joy of God: your whol life a course of pleasure; all things, yea labour and pains shall be recreations: God recreating all things, or making all things new, they shall be sweet and delightful: you shall have your Holy-dayes, yea, your whole life shall be spent in Holy-dayes, a continual rest, the great Jubilee. 113

After a steady diet of such visions for about two decades, it is no wonder that Englishmen, even after the Restoration, were still willing to listen to mountebanks like John Heydon. In a series of occult tomes Heydon promised the English people a "golden world" of "Happiness," "Youth," "Pleasure," "Riches," "Long life, health, and Youth"—all through Rosicrucian physic and magical nostrums. 114 All that he did, in fact, was to continue the promises that English occultists and millenarians had been making for at least twenty years.


The New Eden

So far we have discovered in Puritan millenarianism exactly the same elements that we found in magic and in the 'millennary dream' of alchemy. In our examination of this Hermetic science, we found the promise that magic could literally transform the world, restoring to mankind the actual 'landscape' of paradise (see above, pp.74-77). The vision of the millennium entertained by most Puritan millenarians also entailed a new creation, a rejuvenation of all nature. Just like the Hermetic reformers of the Renaissance and seventeenth century, English chiliasts wanted nature released from the Curse and restored to its original Edenic fecundity. They not only wanted it, they, like Paracelsus and others, expected it. With the advent of the millennium, a Puritan millenarian wrote, the corruption that has marked nature "ever since the fall of man, shall be in a great measure done away." All things, including plants and animals, shall be restored to their condition "when they first came out of the hand of God their Creator, and the first Adam found them in at his Creation" (A Short Survey, p.17). The

115 A Standard Set Up (n.p., 1657), p.21. Plants and animals shall be "freed from this bondage, under which they groane, and shall be restored to their first perfection" (T. B., Saints Inheritance After the Day of Judgement [London, 1643], pp.2-3). Lactantius legitimized the notion, and even Calvin accepted the "'change of the nature of wilde Beasts, and the restitution of the Creation as at the first'" (in Homes, The Resurrection Revealed, p.190).
earth shall be fertile, and "bring forth . . . corn, and trees of all sorts, and all desirable fruit" (The Little Horns Doom, p.296). When the thousand-year reign arrives, Hansard Knollys said, "the world shall bring forth Fruite alone, and the Rocke shall distill Dew, and no Creature shall live upon Prey" (A Glimpse of Sions Glory, p.29). The time of restitution is near, urges John Rogers, the Fifth Monarchist, "for already things begin to have a new face, forme, and appearance. . . . The Meadows (me thinks) begin to look green . . . the young Figs . . . are . . . green . . . . So that I am perswaded . . . Sion is to be restored, and the Wildernesse to be like an Eden, or Garden of the Lord" (Othel, p.28).

Prophecies such as this excited Puritans of all persuasions. This millenarian atmosphere finally provoked a group of left-wing Levellers, or the True Levellers as they called themselves, to engage in one of the most extraordinary acts of these revolutionary years—the planting of the common ground on St. George's Hill. Believing that "the time is now come" for the downfall of Antichrist, a group led by William Everard and Gerrard Winstanley planted a garden in the open fields. In no other millenarian movement, remarks Professor Coates, is there an initiating act to compare to the digging of the common waste land for the purpose of sowing it with parsnips, carrots, and beans. 116

116 William Coates, "A Note on the Diggers," in Millennial
The planting was, of course, a symbolic act, perhaps even a millennial gesture designed to set in motion the fulfilling of all the prophecies of the Golden Age and the return of paradise which were so dominant at the time. The Spirit of the Creation, explains the manifesto which accompanied the planting of the common ground, "showed us, that all the prophecies, visions and revelation of scripture, of Prophets and Apostles, concerning the calling of the Jews, the Restoration of Israel, and making of that people the inheritors of the earth, doth all seat themselves in this work of making the earth a common treasury." As Professor Winthrop Huson perceptively writes, "not only was human nature to be completely transformed; an even more startling change was to take place. The earth itself would be restored to its pristine glory. The barren places would become fertile, thorns and briars would disappear, violent storms would cease. These distempers of nature had been caused by the corruption of the flesh of evil men that infected the earth as their bodies decayed in the grave. . . . With the millennium all this would be changed." At this time, writes Winstanley, "the warm sun will thaw the frost, and make the sap to bud

117 In Puritanism and Liberty, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse, p.383. It was Winstanley's belief that the sharing of the earth would "lift up the creature from bondage," and redeem "all things from the curse" (Works of . . . Winstanley, p.262).
out of every tender plant. . . . The tender grasse wil cover the earth, the Spirit wil cover al places with the abundance of fruit . . . ."  

What is so striking about the paradisic motif in Puritan millenarianism is how closely it parallels magical thought regarding the rejuvenation of nature. But even more importantly, the same dream of transforming the wilderness into the garden of the Lord, of making England the new Eden, can be found in the Rosicrucian milieu of Puritan England.  

118 Quoted by Winthrop S. Hudson, "Economic and Social Thought of Gerrard Winstanley," JModH, 18, No.1 (March 1946), p.7; the quote from Hudson, p.7. The millenarian motivation of the sect, and the eschatological significance of its digging, did not go unperceived at the time. This is what the royalist newssheet The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout (Friday, 20 April to Friday, 27 April, 1649, p.98) had to say about the event and the sect:

The new fangled people that begin to dig on St. Georges Hill in Surrey, say, they are like Adam, they expect a general restauration of the Earth to its first condition, that themselves were called to seek and begin this great work, which will shortly go on throughout the whole world. . . . They alledge, that the Prophesie in Ezek. is to be made good at this time, that the travellers which passe by, shall take notice, and say, This Land was barren and wast is now become fruitfull and pleasant like the Garden of Eden.

119 Samuel Hartlib, and some of the alchemists around him, searched for the alchemical substance which would make the earth once again as it was in Eden. John Austen wrote to him, "these are the times of the Gospell prophesied of Esau 49.19.20. when the Wast and desolate places shall be inhabited; The people of God being multiplied . . . they now say to Authority, as vers. 20. The place is too straite for us, give place to us that all may dwell" (Treatise of Fruit=Trees [1653], sig.2r). The endeavors of Hartlib, as we shall see (Chapter V), were all directed at bringing about, through magic, the millennium envisaged by the Puritans. He was supported by Parliament.
A brief review of what we have discovered would be in order. I think we have seen that in every important respect, magic offered the same earthly salvation—the same millennial paradise—that was expected and longed for by Puritan millenarians. To put it another way, the Puritans wanted precisely what the magicians promised. They wanted a reformation of the world, a renovation, a restitution of all good things. And this is what the magicians promised to bring about. And like the magicians of the Renaissance, English Puritans wanted the restoration of Eden or of the Golden Age. And both millenarian magic and Puritanism agreed that the future millennium would confer on mankind all temporal felicity—the spiritual and material blessings that Adam allegedly enjoyed in Eden. Thus, in both magical and Puritan millenarianism, the millennium was seen as a time of peace, brotherhood, freedom, security, riches, and long-life. And Puritanism agreed with magic that in the near future, nature herself would be released from the Curse, and become once again as fecund as she was in paradise. In short, in every important respect, the salvational message of millenarian magic was identical in content to the salvational message of millenarian Puritanism.

This fact, I believe, has never before been recognized. One result of this analysis has been to establish beyond refutation that magic did in fact develop what can only be called a 'millenarian' impulse towards the world. But more
importantly, it has provided a new explanation for why Puritan millenarians and radicals were attracted to magic, and why these left-wing sects set out to revive the occult sciences during the years of the Puritan Revolution. These were the years when millenarianism was most intense and most radical. Those who accepted some form of this ideology sought for ways to validate their beliefs, or to buttress their own convictions. The occult sciences of the time, having inherited the millenarian ideology which formed during the Hermetic revival of the Renaissance, provided such validation and reinforcement by containing the same myths, the same visions, the same prophetic expectations which dominated the imaginations of Puritan millenarians. The popularity of the occult sciences during these years was thus a function of their own millenarian content and of the Puritans' desire to validate their millenarian beliefs. Thus, the connection detected by Professors Hill, Capp, and Thomas between left-wing sects and magic can be explained, at least in part, by reference to the millenarian elements in the occult milieu of England. This thesis will be supported by much more evidence when we come to take a closer look at what these elements were. But before we move on to this material, a review of some of the evidence supporting what I have called my subsidiary thesis would be in order.
English Millenarians and the Lure of Magic

The primary purpose of this study is to demonstrate that during the years of the Puritan Revolution, the occult milieu of England gave repeated expression to a wide assortment of millenarian beliefs and doctrines. Upon this depends, in large part, my subsidiary thesis: that magic attracted Puritans, and particularly those of the left-wing sects, because it provided Puritans with validating charters for their millenarian hopes and doctrines. I think we have come across some rather 'hard' evidence which would lend credence to such a thesis.

Alsted, it should be remembered, cited the prophecies of Paracelsus and Sendivogius regarding the Hermetic messiah who would restore all things and reform the world. By using the occult form of the prophecy of Elias, Alsted legitimized for later millenarian theorists the prophetic tradition of Western magic. Soon after the appearance of Alsted's work, George Hakewill, an Englishman, is supporting his own predictions regarding Elias with references to Alsted, and to Paracelsus and Sendivogius as well (p.558). Obviously impressed by Alsted's production of "the testimonies of many learned men" regarding the advent of the millennium, Hakewill also repeats Alsted's citation of "Dobritius[']" chiliastic prophecy. As Hakewill no doubt understood from reading Alsted's work, Debricius premissed his prophecy on astrology. This is what Alsted himself had to say about the prediction,
his statement being repeated almost verbatim by Hakewill: "John Dobricius also in the year 1612, did set forth a notable book, entitled ... The Interpreter of times; wherein, both out of the Holy Scripture, and from the new Star which appeared in the year [1604] and the great Conjunction of the Planets, many things are discoursed of concerning the reformation, and future happiness of the Church" (Beloved City [1643], p.62). The nova of 1604 excited many messianic prophecies at the time, the most important of which was Kepler's De Stella Nova in Pede Serpentarii (Prague, 1606). Hakewill cites Kepler's prophecy as well (p.556).

Now let us turn to examples that occurred during the years of the Civil War. During the decade in which chiliasm reached its highest pitch, leading millenarians like Rogers and Homes paraded before their readers one occult source after another to reinforce their own prognostications regarding the time and shape of the millennium. The Fifth Monarchist, John Rogers, not only used Paracelsus to establish belief in "the happy Reformation" both he and his sect expected, but Hildegard, Nostradamus, Joachim, and those "Magicianesses," the Sibyls, as well. It would have been almost impossible for Rogers to have been unaware that Joachim and the Sibyls were traditionally thought to have come by their prophetic powers magically.119

119It was often thought that the prophetic powers of
In fact, it may have been their reputation as magi which attracted Rogers in the first place. For Rogers held that the Spirit would water the Churches partly through Church ordinances, that is, "ordinary Passages and currents of Spirit," but also partly by "secret wayes, underground, mysterious occult conveyances" (Othel, p.537; italics added).

Joachim and the Sibyls—and some others—were a result of their knowledge of magic. Paracelsus wrote in his Prophecies (153), "therefore every one who would undertake to interpret such Prophecy, should not only be a good Astrologer but also a good Magus" (Prophecies of Paracelsus, p.39). While discussing the powers acquired by the adept who has successfully proceeded through the sanctification procedure, Agrippa writes: "So we see that a man sometimes... foretels mutations of Kingdoms, and restitutions of ages [!], and such things as belong to them, as the Sybill did." When the mind has been perfected, "it foresees things which are appointed by Gods speciall predestination, as future prodigies, or miracles, the prophet to come [!], the changing of the law. So the Sybills prophecyped of Christ a long time before his Coming" (Three Books of Occult Philosophy [London, 1651], p.134). Because they were "Magicianesses," they "therefore prophecyed most clerely of Christ" (sig.A). There is the implication here that only a magus could foretell the second coming. Robert Gell implies something like this when he spoke before the London astrologers. He says that the three magi attending Christ's nativity may have had the "Sibyls" for counsellors: "And the very word Sibylla signifies... the Counsell of God. Ten of these were famous throughout the world; all of them, Magae or Prophetesses, and the most of them Prophesied most plainly of Christ" (Stella Nova, pp. 6-7). For reasons that are now easy to understand, the Sibyls were cited as often in occult circles in England as in millenarian circles. Since only a magus could prophesy correctly of Christ, St. John himself was brought within the circle of the magicians. Agrippa says that St. John was able to prophesy only because he had mastered mathesis, or the occult use of numbers (see Yates, Giordano Bruno, pp. 296-8). "Abbot Joachim," Agrippa adds, "proceeded no other way in his Prophecies, but by formall numbers" (p.172). The Elizabethan magus, John Dee, quoted Pico's observation "that Joachim in his prophesies, proceeded by no other way, then by Numbers Formall" (Dee's "Mathematicall Preface" to Euclides
Writing at almost the same time (1653), Nathanael Homes, who has often been quoted in this study to illustrate traditional and popular millenarian ideas, used many occult sources to confirm his thesis regarding the millennium. He refers to the cabala, to the prophecies of Debricius, to the astrological prophecy of Kepler, to the Sibyls, and to the prophecy of Hermes himself regarding the reformation of the world. He also cites the messianic predictions of Besold and "Hainlinus," two adepts who have been linked to European Rosicrucianism. 120

But it is to Alsted's Beloved City that Homes owes the greatest debt. He refers to the work repeatedly. Like Hakewill, Homes uses Alsted's reference to the messianic prophecies of Paracelsus and Sendivogius, but unlike Hakewill, he intro-

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Elements of Geometry, ed. Captain Thomas Rudd [London, 1651], sig.B3; Dee's statement thus appeared just when English millenarianism was at its height). Joachim was well known to both mystical and chiliastic sectarians of the Puritan movement (see A. L. Morton, The World of the Ranters: Religious Radicalism in the English Revolution [London: Lawrence Wishart, 1970], pp.83-4; 126-7).

120 Paul Arnold reveals that both Besold and Hainlin (or Heinlin or Heinlein) were associated with Jean-Valentin Andreae, confessed author of the third major Rosicrucian manifesto (The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz), and that they were important members of the 'cenacle of Tubingen,' a circle of adepts and mystics surrounding Andreae and perhaps collectively responsible for the first two manifestos. See "Les Auteurs des Manifestes," in Histoire des Rose-Croix et les Origines de la Franc-maconnerie (Paris: Mercure de France, 1955), esp. pp.110ff. Mr. Arnold calls Besold "l'un des principaux rédacteurs probables des mani- festes" (p.108). See as well, Arthur Waite, The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, pp.200-01.
duces the passage from Alsted without clear acknowledgement, thus making it appear as if this is his own statement:

Give me leave to borrow but a little more of your patience, and I will give you much in few words. Many Writers of the former, and this present age have published many things concerning Elias the Artist, who is to come of the Lyon of the North, who is neer at hand. Of a fourth Northern Monarchy. Of a great Reformation. Of the conversion of the Jews, &c. See Theophrastus Paracelsus. Michael Sendivogius in his Treatise of Sulphur. 121

What this, and the other references and examples indicate, is that English millenarians, at least in several significant instances, could indeed ignore whatever they may have found objectionable about magic to use its millenarian myths and motifs to support their own reformationist expectations. Magical prophecies of a Hermetic Golden Age or restoration of paradise evidently looked to others as they did to Homes, as the prophecies "of blessed Daniel and John" (p.36). Homes' willingness to use cabalistic sources, his use even of the Koran to buttress his predictions of the coming millennium, indicate that it mattered little or nothing at all where the evidence came from, as long as it was there and supported the doctrine of the millennium. 122

121 The Resurrection Revealed, p.440; p.36. Homes also repeats, almost verbatim, Alsted's words regarding the astrological forecast of Debrecius (p.441), but this time he makes clear his source.

122 What is also clear from the examples of Hakewill, Rogers and Homes is the eclecticism which characterized millenarian
A review of Chapter II is in order. This section of my study has had three related objects in view: 1) to explain, both historically and theoretically, the evolution of a new kind of magic, of a magic whose goal was the 'salvation' of the world; 2) to explore, in considerable detail, the content of its salvational message; and 3) to demonstrate the identical nature of its salvational message and that of English Puritanism during the revolutionary years. The general purpose of this Chapter has been to explain many of the themes and preoccupations we will be encountering in the occult milieu of Puritan England, and to support my contention that

polemics during the 1640s and 1650s, and likely before this. It was only after quoting the most diverse sources, as a matter of fact, that Homes could feel confident enough to assure his readers "that there shall be a glorious time on earth for good men . . . is confessed by the generality of all men, of all sorts of men" (p.441; italics added). This last phrase is significant: to establish their messianic beliefs, millenarians, it would seem, were positively obliged to display "all sorts" of evidence, the more diverse and far-fetched the better. The logic behind this is quite simple: a wide assortment of evidence establishes the pervasiveness of the belief, and the pervasiveness of the belief establishes its validity. One might call the need to use purposely far-fetched material the 'syncretist imperative.' Under the pressure of such an imperative, the magical tradition was ransacked for material which could be used to legitimate or validate the reformationist dreams of the millenarian milieu of Puritan England. We see this imperative operating very early, in the work of John Foxe, the martyrologist, and a figure in the mainstream of the early Puritan movement. To legitimize and make credible his own pronouncements regarding the 'reformation' he expected, Foxe cites the prophecies of Joachim (III,p.303), Hildegard (IV, p.86, p.304), Savonarola (IV, p.8), and the Sibyls (III, p.721, IV, p.115) (see The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, 4th edn., rev. and corr., ed. Josiah Pratt [London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d]).
magic achieved the popularity that it did in Puritan circles because it provided Puritans, especially those harboring millennial expectations or wishing for a more radical reformation of earthly affairs, with myths, prophecies, and various visions that were, in substance, identical to their own, and which thus could be used to validate and lend credence to their own chiliastic and reformationist doctrines.

More evidence for this relationship will be advanced in the body of this study. In the chapters that follow, I intend to demonstrate that the occult milieu of Puritan England did, in fact, give repeated expression to the same millenarian myths and motifs we have discovered in European magic after the Hermetic revival and that we have found as well in the millenarian thought of the Puritan movement. During the Puritan Revolution, I maintain, the occult sciences enunciated a millenarian salvational message of sweeping scope and force. It was not just the magic of Europe which advanced a millenarian vision, but the magic of Puritan England as well. The salvational message that we shall find in the occult milieu of the revolutionary years is entirely consistent with the overall expectations of Puritan millenarians, as the evidence will show. Thus, as we explore this occult milieu, we will encounter many more instances of Puritan millenarians using magic—in one form or another—to validate their own diverse beliefs.
CHAPTER III:

STARS OVER EDEN:

ASTROLOGY AND APOCALYPSE, 1640-1660

Introduction

The political implications of prophecies and of astrological prognostications have long been recognized.¹ So too has been the fact that astrological prognostications, especially during the Civil War years and Interregnum, were a propaganda device used to affect the outcome of councils and even battles, or to legitimize new ideas or enterprises which violated respected traditions.² Astrology was attractive to Puritans of the left-wing sects precisely because it could

¹See especially William Fulke, Antiprognosticon (1560) and Henry Howard, A defensive against the poyson of supposed Prophesies (1583; T620). Professor Thomas discusses in detail the use of prophecy as a validating charter (Religion and the Decline of Magic, ch. 13, and pp. 398, 409-14).

legitimize sudden and severe departures from established ideas, and incite people to action. Since the radical sects espoused the most unorthodox programs, they particularly needed to support them with 'legitimizing charters.' Astrology and other forms of prediction could supply such validation, and so Independents and other left-wing Puritans supported such agencies enthusiastically (Thomas, p.371).

What has gone almost unrecognized is the role of astrology in providing validating charters for millenarian beliefs. There are at least two reasons for this oversight. First, millenarian prognostications have not always been distinguished from formulaic 'dooms-day' pronouncements of the end of the world. However, unlike 'dooms-day' predictions, millenarian prognostications convey an exhilarating message of Hope, usually by presenting a ravishing prospect of the new age awaiting mankind. The misunderstanding has been compounded by the fact that the few instances which have been acknowledged of astrology giving expression to a millenarian prognostication have been seen in isolation from each other. Works expressing the same salvational message have not been viewed within a tradition of apocalyptic astrology, and have therefore been discounted as perhaps interesting but hardly important manifestations of millenarian fervor.  

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3 Professor Thomas does note that Culpepper forecast the onset of democracy and the Fifth Monarchy, and that other radicals predicted the fall of Rome and the universal end of
A survey of the astrological milieu of Puritan England will leave little doubt that astrologers vented all kinds of reformationist and millenarian predictions, and that astrological data was repeatedly used by even non-astrologers to validate a wide spectrum of millenarian expectations.

Background

Although astrology has played a part in millenarian movements since Biblical times, and even before, the firm connection between the two—at least as far as the English milieu is concerned—occurred with the nova of 1572, and more particularly, with Tycho Brahe's chiliastic interpretation of it.  

monarchy (all, of course, events signaling the advent of the millennium), but his expansive scope does not permit discussion of these predictions or examination of the themes of reformation or the advent of the millennium in the astrological milieu of the period (see p.299, and n.8). Professor Capp comments only in passing on the relationship between contemporary millenarianism and astrology (The Fifth Monarchy Men, p.37, and n.4, p.236). This applies as well to what Professor Hill has said on the subject (The World Turned Upside Down, p.72, p.234).


5"It seems safe to say," Professor Thorndike remarks, "that to the scientific world of the sixteenth century, and probably to the religious world also, this new star of 1572 came as a greater shock than the publication of the Copernican
Brahe saw in the new star, and in the accompanying seventh revolution of the "fiery Trigon"--the three 'fiery' constellations housing the sun at Christ's birth--the advent of the World Sabbath, the seventh and millennial age of the cosmos. 6 Brahe's messianic interpretation of the new star of 1572 had a profound impact on subsequent millenarian prognostications. Since Brahe's interpretation is often cited in the astrological milieu of Puritan England, its salvational message should be examined. 7

theory of 1543." The nova had special significance because by lacking a parallax, it could not be within the mutable heavens. New creations were therefore taking place within the domain of Divinity itself. It soon came to be seen as a harbinger of great mutations on earth. Brahe's nova, and the comet of 1577, were identified with the two signs often mentioned in the messianic prophecies of the Babylonian sibyl. Both the nova and comet assumed greater significance when they were viewed in light of the change from the aerial signs to the fiery signs (1583-4), those which obtained at the birth of Christ. Many, like Brahe, expected the Second Coming (see Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, VI, p.68, p.75.

6"First as touching the Cimball of the Saboth, it is thought by the most learned, that the six dayes of labour weekly observed, doth meane and beare the simball of 6000. yeares, that mankind shall endure the travells and cares of this world . . . and so consequently the sixe dayes of worke to represent sixe thousand yeares, after the which sixe thousand yeares, of worldly cares and travells, then shall come our externall Saboth and rest in the glory of Heaven, signified by the seaventh dayes rest" (Napiers Narration [London, 1614], sig.B3v).

7Brahe published his interpretation in 1573. Brahe was at once an astrologer, alchemist, religious mystic, and disciple of Hermes, Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Paracelsus. In short, he was a magus (Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p.71; Thorndike, The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe [1905], p.23).
Brahe and the Stella Nova of 1572

To understand why Brahe's messianic interpretation of the nova in Cassiopeia had such a profound impact on later generations, and was accepted by them without questioning, we must see it in relationship to the astrologically-based visions of St. John in the Book of Revelation. Professor Collingwood has demonstrated that St. John's 'mystical' visions were profoundly influenced by the astrology and astral mysticism of Chaldean religion. In Chaldean astrology the constellation Cassiopeia is called "'the woman with child,'" principally because every three hundred years or so it brings forth a remarkable new star, thought of as Cassiopeia's 'child.' By the time of the Nativity magi, Professor Collingwood explains, Cassiopeia was thought to be the presiding constellation of Joppa, the chief city of Palestine. The constellation became known as the Queen of Palestine. To astrologers at the dawn of the Christian era, the appearance of this new star would indicate that the Queen of the home of the Jews had brought forth a child, that is, "an heir to the throne [of Palestine]. Under the Roman Empire such an interpretation was not without moment; political changes of the gravest sort might ensue from such a belief: a Jewish monarch might yet again rule the East" (p.70). It was this

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star, speculates Collingwood, that the Persian magi allegedly followed to Bethlehem, the birthplace of the new leader of the East.

Thus, this bright star in Cassiopeia became for the writer of Revelation a symbol of Christ—"I am the bright and morning star" (Rev. 22:16). As such, it was imbued with potential messianic significance. As Collingwood conjectures, it is of Cassiopeia that St. John said, "And there appeared a great sign in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. . . . And she being with Child, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered" (Rev. 12:1-2). This vision is not merely a recapitulation of the Nativity, but a heavenly map explaining the astral signs which will accompany and signal the Second Coming of the Messiah (Collingwood, p. 72). And the Second Coming would be announced by a new star in Cassiopeia.

This identification, however, had been made long before Collingwood argued the case. Most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century astrologers also believed that St. John's 'woman' was a reference to Cassiopeia. Therefore, when the new star—so bright so as to be visible at noon!—appeared in this constellation—when the woman was with her child—the event was hailed as an irrefutable sign that the renovation of the world and the messianic reign of Christ were about to begin.

The millenarian interpretation of the new star advanced
by Brahe was published, in a somewhat abridged form, in English in 1632. This sixty-year-old prediction was revived as late as 1632 because Brahe had written, "the force and influence of this Starre, will chiefly shew it selfe in the yeare of our Lord 1632. for all the significations of this Star depend on the Trigonall revolution and tansmutation [sic] of the Planets" (1632 edn., p.17). Moreover, Brahe's prophecy was, in a manner of speaking, open-ended, and thus astrologers even after 1632 were at liberty to discover in the events of their own times the continued effects and unfolding of this messianic portent of 1572.

Although the star foretells of the future millennium according to Brahe, it also portends a preliminary age of turmoil and bloodshed. Antichrist will not give over the world without a struggle. Eight years before the start of the Civil War, Englishmen read that this apocalyptic battle with Antichrist is to be fought by a secret order of Christian warriors Brahe calls "Heroes." These "Heroes" have been "ordained to be the Authors and atchievers [sic] of those great mutations" which will make the world fit for the reign of the Messiah. It is they who shall "disburthen" the earth

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9 *Learned Tico Brahae his Astronomicall Conjectur of the New and much Admired* which appeared in the year 1572. The British Museum copy, used for microfilming by University Microfilms, does not have a title page. On one supplied by a contemporary, it appears that "Astronomicall" is struck out and replaced by "Prophetical."
"of her wicked inhabitans" [sic]. For there must be "a great clensing and extirpation of all Earthly impurities, before that peaceable and happie age (whereof the Prophets have spoken) shall come." It should be pointed out that just three years after Brahe's prophecy appeared in English, George Hakewill was looking forward to "either Elias himselfe, or some other great heroicall spirit [!] matchable to him," who would be commissioned by God "for the accomplishing of this great business of restoring of all things."10

Insisting that his conjecture as to the star's millenarian significance agreed perfectly with the messianic prophecies of the Bible, Brahe prognosticated a "peaceable and quiet age wherein the divers formes of Religions and politike government, shall be changed and be made agreeable and conformable to the will of God. Which assertion we may collect out of the Prophets, who did fore-tell, that at last there should be a golden age" (p.18).

10 An Apologie or Declaration (1627; 3rd. edn., London, 1635), p.55. This edition incorporated material from Alsted's millenarian work (1627). Hakewill may have learned of Brahe's prophecy by reading Alsted. The full effects of the star of 1572 are delayed as well by the fact that these secret "Heroes" must come to maturation. What still needs to be investigated is the possible influence of this--and other occult prophecies--on the Puritan millenarian movement. Brahe's prophecy could have helped stimulate Puritans to think more seriously of reforming England, and of extirpating Antichrist from the realm. Were the Saints the 'Heroes' God had chosen to war with Anti­christ? At any rate, Brahe's prophecy may have made more credible to extremists among the Puritan cause the growing belief that a militant 'reformation of the world' would bring the millennial paradise so long awaited.
This Golden Age will entail, Brahe explains, the subversion of all "Pharisaical" religion which has so long "bewitched" the common people, and will entail as well the "decay" and "ruine" of "Antichrist and the Pope." "God who ruleth in heaven will rule all things on Earth" (p.19). What Brahe envisions, then, is the 'golden age' of the Fifth Monarchy, that glorious time when "Religion, and the estate of humaine affaires" shall be brought "to the highest perfection" (p.19). Brahe's tract thus anticipated a phenomenon of the 1650s, when several 'astrological' tracts employed this occult science to support predictions of a Fifth Monarchy paradise.

Brahe's star of 1572 was but the first of a long series of stellar events that provoked millenarian hopes in the seventeenth century. The astrological millenarian tradition, however, was already in existence, in England, in the last decades of the sixteenth century.  

Most of the astrological predictions in the waning years of the sixteenth century supported reformed Protestantism. Geveren's Of the Ende of this Worlde, and Second Comming of Christ (1577) did much to legitimize for Protestants the role of astrology in predicting the fall of Antichrist. Geveren argued that the stars were astral clocks revealing the approach of the end of time (1582 edn., pp.8v, 38v). He predicted the renovation of all things on earth, and the final "end of all ungodliness." There shall ensue a "perpetuall & everlasting world, in which the Lorde God shall reigne & rule. . ." (pp. 52v-53r). Thomas Rogers, the translator, links the comets of 1577 and the new star of 1572 to the vision in Revelation of the falling star, a sign for him that the Pope will soon be pushed into the "bottomlesse pit, the pit of Hell" (B4v-B5).
This millenarian fervor became more intense, however, in the opening years of the seventeenth century. The comets, conjunction and novae of 1599, 1600, 1603, 1604, 1618, and 1632, fanned the *fumo chiliastico* in both Europe and England.

An important example of this phenomenon is John Bainbridge's interpretation of the comet of 1618. Although his interpretation is more concerned with the progress of reformed Protestantism than with domestic politics, it is nevertheless clearly millenarian in its implications.

Behind Bainbridge's millenarian interpretation is the Biblical passage which promises that the millennium will soon follow upon the preaching of the gospel of Christianity throughout the world (*Matt.* 24:14). Bainbridge writes, "that blessed Starre, which conducted the Magi to Christ's . . . nursery . . . doth enforce me often to thinke that those many new stars and Comets, which have beene more this last Century of the world, then in many ages before, did . . . signifie that glorious light of the Gospel, which hath lately illum-

Such predictions and prophecies, of course, could also be used by Puritans against the Anglican establishment. The example of Lady Eleanor Douglas is instructive in this regard. Looking back, from the vantage point of 1633 (Brahe's prophecy was published in English in 1632!), at the new star of 1572, Lady Douglas found in it sure signs that the millennium would begin around 1641 or 1642. Her many pamphlets are filled with calls for restitution and predictions of Elias. About forty-six of her works appeared between 1641 and the year of her death, 1652, an indication of her popularity with the Puritans, who considered her an inspired prophetess. See C. J. Hindle, "A Bibliography of Lady Eleanor Douglas," *Edin-Bib. Soc. Trans.*, 1 (1936), p.77 for reference to Brahe.
inated the whole world." Thus Bainbridge discovers in Brahe's "admirable new Starre in Cassiopae 1572" the flour-
ishing and the eventual triumph of the "Evangelicall Churches in France, and the Low-countries" (p.31).

This spiritual illumination promised before the millen-
nium was also foreshadowed, he says, by the comets and nova interpreted by Johann Kepler. "I am verily perswaded that the new Star which appeared so long from September 1604. to January, 1606. in the foot of Serpentarius . . . and the other so many yeeres in Cygnus, doth promise . . . a more cleare illustration of those remote regions with the res-
pplendent light of salvation." Drawing closer is that inevit-
able triumph of Protestantism and of the Gentiles, "which certainly shall precede the second comming of our blessed Saviour; Fore-runners whereof (he saith) shall be signes in

\[12\] An Astronomicall Description of the late Comet from the 18. of Novemb. 1618. to the 16. of December following. With certain Morall Prognosticks (London, 1618), pp.30-1.

\[13\] In early December, 1603, there occurred a conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of Sagittarius. In Sept-
ember of 1604, Mars joined with Saturn in Sagittarius and then met in conjunction with Jupiter in the same sign. On the day following this inauspicious conjunction (Mars being an 'evil' influence), a new star erupted in Sagittarius, at precisely the place where a solar eclipse was to occur one year later, on 30 September 1605. Kepler, who wrote on the events in considerable detail, saw in them heartening signs of a transformation in human affairs, and perhaps the advent of the Messiah (see De Stella Nova in Pede Serpentarri [Prague, 1606], and De Stella Tertii Honoris in Cygno [Ibid.], in Gesammelte Werke, ed. Max Caspar [Munchen: C. H. Beck'sche, 1938], I, esp. pp.339-51). Both 'signs' are mentioned in the Confessio of the Rosicrucians.
the Sunne, Moone, and Starres" (pp.31-2).
When he viewed them all together, the events of 1572, 1577, 1603-04, and the comet of 1618, signified for Bainbridge the universalization of the Reformed religion, and the imminent fall of Rome, symbol and figurehead of Antichristianism:

This new Comet doth give us hope, that the rest of Christendome before long will follow [the example of Protestant countries]; and so at length shall be verified the Prophesie of [the Babylonian?] Sybilla upon occasion of these new stars.
Rome shall againe become a forlorne
And desert village, or sheep-coat. (p.31)

Although Rome will become a desert, the world as a whole, Bainbridge suggests, shall be returned to the state it enjoyed during the Golden Age. The Greek astronomical poet, Aratos, had taught that when the goddess Astrae left the world at the end of the age of Brass, and at the beginning of the Age of Iron, she took up her abode in the heavens as the constellation Virgo. Virgo was thought to hold in her hand the symbol of Golden Age fecundity—an ear of corn. What struck Bainbridge was the fact that the comet of 1618 was moving towards the constellation Virgo! Having observed this, Bainbridge was wont to see in the event messianic significance:

But this Sydereus nuncius doth as it were in-treat her [i.e., Astrae] returne with her flourishing spike, and advise us to give her content, least as in former times our corrupt manner make her wearie of the earth.
Her virgin's spike ("virgo specifera") shall be given to "the people": "O all preserving Justice, fructificas solum & firmas solium: thou fructifiest the ground, and establishe the throne! Blessed are they that doe justice at all times" (p.35). Thus, Bainbridge found in the comet and new stars of the astrological tradition evidence substantiating his millennial hopes of a world-wide spiritual rebirth and the return of the fecundity that marked the Golden Age.

We see from the example of Bainbridge that even before the Civil War, astrological forecasts were a means of transmitting millenarian hopes. When the millenarian euphoria became more intense during the 1640s and 1650s, those who held such beliefs—and they were usually Puritans—turned to the apocalyptic tradition of astrology to validate and sometimes to communicate their own expectations.

**The Astrological Milieu in England, 1640-1660**

It is the thesis of this study that the occult milieu of Puritan England gave repeated expression to a wide variety of millenarian visions, and that these various pronouncements were often used to validate the doctrines and hopes of left-wing Puritans, most of whom awaited the advent of the millennium. During the revolutionary years, new stars, comets, eclipses, conjunctions were all used to bolster belief in

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14I am indebted to the article by Frances A. Yates, "Queen Elizabeth as Astrae," *JWCI*, 10 (1947), 32.
the imminent reformation of the world. Regardless of whether the new age was seen as the complete triumph of the Puritan religion throughout the world, or as the establishment of a democratic utopia, or as the return of the Golden Age of earthly delights, many of those who eagerly expected and wanted a reformation of this present world used astrology or its data to validate their beliefs and make them more credible to others. This certainly helps explain why the lectures of the Fifth Monarchy men sounded to Pagitt like readings in astrology. The willingness with which English millenarians resorted to astrology for support of their chiliastic fantasies was not a little owing to the works of Johann Heinrich Alsted, who did most to revive the millenarian doctrine in the seventeenth century.

"Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638)"

Alsted was commonly regarded as the "standard bearer of millenaries" in the seventeenth century. With the possible exception of Joseph Mede (the tutor of John Milton), Alsted had the greatest impact on the course of English chiliasm in this century. Even in England he was known as the "Champion of the late millenarians, and a maine prop of this new revised Doctrine" (in Beloved City, p.40). Because he was so highly regarded, and so influential, Alsted can be credited with having done the most to take away any scruple there may have been regarding the use of astrological evidence to support
millenarian doctrines.\textsuperscript{15} Alsted buttressed his own millenarian ideas with appeals to astrology, and, as we have already seen, to the millenarian prophecies of important magicians. It is he who cited Paracelsus, Michael Sendivogius, Pannonius, and the prophet Debri- cius to validate his prediction about a future reformation of the world. Throughout his career, moreover, Alsted was particularly inclined to support his chiliasm with astrological evidence.

Astrology was prominent in his \textit{Thesaurus Chronologiae} (1628), which contains the prediction that the 1000-year rule of the Saints would begin around 1694. Part of the work was translated into English by an anonymous millenarian under the title: \textit{The Worlds Proceeding Woes and Succeeding Joyes} ... or, \textit{The Triple Presage of Henry Alsted, ...} depending as well on the Oracles of Heaven, as on the opinion of the greatest Astrologers (1642). The triple presage of the title refers to Alsted's triune (and likely Joachite) periodization

\textsuperscript{15} An impressionistic survey of some of the tracts of the age suggests that Alsted may have been the most referred-to millenarian of the century. An English compiler of his works wrote, after giving a list of famous millenarians, "and lastly that Henry Alsted most conversant in the apocalypses, most full of most deep senses, and high mysteries in his truly golden work inscribed Diatribe of the thousand Apocalyptick yeares (which is a little Booke, but of great sedulity and diligence) doe manfully and solidly defend the same opinion. Forasmuch as he taking away all scruple of doubting in this matter, as one who liketh and hath a care of these divine secrets worthy to be knowne, translated the same most worthy to be wished" (\textit{WorldsProceeding Woes}, p.12).
of European history, a periodization which depended upon astrological interpretations of cosmological events. Alsted saw the period between 1603 and 1642 as one of great alterations in religious and civil affairs, "for in the space of those fourty yeares, the seventh Revolution of the Planets runs to end, and the numbers in Daniel and the Apocalyps doe confirm the same" (p.3). As another passage explains, the seventh revolution of the planets, falling upon the sixth millenary, signifies upheavals and changes, for the seventh revolution being finished, the planets "doe return to their Beginnings from whence the end of the Kingdoms of the world is collected by men skilfull in Astronomy" (p.3). The end of all earthly monarchy, then, is in sight. The English editor refers to Brahe's millenarian prediction to explain that the "seventh Restitution of the Trigons (which began Anno 1603) from the creation of the world into their former state, obtaineth a certain hidden consideration of Sabbatisme or Rest" (p.3). The "restitution" of the planets, then, would bring that 'restitution' called for by the millenarians. The stars reveal that the 1000-year paradise of rest and peace is about to dawn.

What is of moment to the English compiler of the Worlds Proceeding Woes is Alsted's interpretation of what is to occur in the early 1640s. "In Anno 1642, (to wit in Feb. 1642 and 1643. shall happen the Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, in Aries the Ram (a signe of fiery Triplicity) which partendeth
the Revolution of some new Government or Empire" (p. 4). The compiler, watching England seemingly crumble before his eyes, seeks some ray of hope in the stars. And he finds it. "Take the Prophecie of Tycho Brahe of the most happy and more then golden age that will follow awhile after, which may bee a comfort in this age of the vilest mettle and dregges of ages, especially to us in these most dangerous times" (p. 7). The Civil War, then, is merely a sign that these are the times of tribulation before the dawning of a new age, the Golden Age foretold in the occult prophecy of Brahe. From astrology this Englishman draws hope and a salvational message that is ultimately messianic. Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, Puritans would look to the stars to find signs of the 'revolution' that would bring in the Golden Age.

This short work devoted to Alsted's 'triple presage' concludes with "the most comfortable Prophesie of Tycho Brahe, touching the most blessed age even now at hand" (p. 8). The editor then quotes Brahe's prophecy of "a certaine peaceable and concordant age . . . wherein the tumultuous confusions of politike administrations or governments, & variety of Religions would be transmuted or changed, and adopted or fited to a more conforme Analogie of Gods will. The which we may plainly gather out of the Prophets themselves, who foretold that a certaine golden age should sometime be on the earth, wherein men shall make plough shares of their swords, and sithes of their speares" (p. 8). In this golden age there
shall be no evil, no oppression, no cruelty, but a sublime "felicity of earthly things, surely, so great as hitherto hath been in no age of the world" (p.9). The Puritans, of course, already felt that they were fighting to fulfill the Biblical prophecies of Daniel and Revelation; but they certainly must have been heartened to learn that even the stars validated their unprecedented attack on 'kingly tyranny' and 'episcopal corruption.' Those who wanted to carry the 'revolution' of government and church to the end, to make the world like it was in paradise, continued to use astrology to keep alive the dream of the Golden Age.

It would seem that the editor's intention in this work, at least, was to quiet the prophets of dooms-day by offering the hope of the millennium. He urges the adoption of a millenarian frame of mind, defending chiliasm with reference to its august history: "Surely this doctrine of the millenary felicity is not new, yesterday, or of a very late invention, but worthy of reverence for the very ancientnesse thereof" (p.9). It was this doctrine, he explains, which was espoused by such fathers of the church as Lactantius, whose vision of the renovated earth is repeated: "'To conclude, then shall come to passe those things which the Poets declared to be done in the golden times, Saturne reigning'" (p.11). Therefore, the compiler assures his readers, this doctrine of the Holy Prophets is one which the "Christians doe follow; this is Christian wisedome."
Though hopeful, the editor is cautious about predicting a date for this transformation in human affairs. In what year "this new world and halfe-heavenly condition of mortall men shall happen, and the Church militant, if I may so speak, shall beginne to triumph, it is a matter very disputable. Some doe assigne one yeare, some another; yet they all agree in one full voice, that it is neare and even at our doo res. . . . I wish and wish againe, that this millenary Kingdom, if God shall bee so pleased, may happen in our dayes" (p.13).

Following the predictions of both Alsted and Brahe, the anonymous editor of the *Worlds Proceeding Woes* advances a millenarian vision, and places it squarely within an astrological context. This work, I believe, clearly supports what I have called my subsidiary thesis, that Puritans were attracted to the occult sciences because they could find in them validating charters for their own millenarian beliefs. This editor uses astrological evidence to make more credible the whole millenarian tradition, and to convince his readers that they shall soon see the perfecting of the whole earth, the restoration of the Golden Age itself. His message evidently met with approval, for the following year another work of Alsted's appeared in translation, and it too used astrology to support its central millenarian vision.

Alsted's famous *Diatribe de Mille Annis Apocalypticis* was translated by William Burton as, *The Beloved City or, the Saints Reign on Earth a thousand Yeares* (1643). This work,
with its impressive array of supporting evidence, may have done more than any other work to establish and make widespread the credibility of chiliastic doctrine in England. Its other accomplishment was to introduce the average Englishman to the millenarian prophecies of Western magic.

The occult tradition is virtually ransacked by Alsted for evidence supporting his millenarian position. Agrippa's "magicianesses" (the sibyls) are brought forward, as are the visionaries Debricius, Cotterus, Piscator, Postel--each having some connection with the occult. And as we have seen, Alsted also incorporated into his own chiliastic eschatology the millenarian hopes of Paracelsus and Sendiviogius. But Alsted's most provocative evidence was astrological. He argued that the "severall Phaenomena, or Apparitions in the Heavens; namely, new Starres, and Cometes . . . do without doubt portend and manifestly foretell some notable, and extraordinary change" (Beloved City, p.57). To support this point Alsted refers to the visions of John Debricius, who had asserted in 1604, in a work entitled "The Interpreter of Times," that "from the new Star which appeared in the year [1604] and the great Conjunction of the Planets, many things are discoursed of concerning the reformation, and future happiness of the Church" (p.63). Alsted was also indebted to the messianic prognostication of Tycho Brahe (a fact already recognized by the compiler of The Worlds Proceeding Woes). Thus, appended to the end of Beloved City is a translation of an excerpt
from Brahe's *Astronomicorum Progymnasmatum*, a work on the astral phenomena of 1603 and 1604 (ed. by Kepler, 1602-03).

Brahe is quoted as saying that as every former revolution of the fiery trigon (1st, 3rd, 5th) has been exceedingly auspicious to the world, signaling the advent of a great leader, so this seventh revolution—the 'sabbatical' one—"which now Reignes ever since the yeare of our Lord 1603," likely "is the forerunner of a more happy and glorious state then all the afore passed ages have ever yet enjoyed" (sig.xxi). This astrological prognostication, Burton, the translator, assures us, is quite in harmony with the visions of the Biblical prophets, who had foretold "that there shall be a certaine quiet and peaceable age for some good span of time upon Earth, wherein the tumults and confusions happening in politique States, and by reason of varieties of Religions, shall be settled and appeased" (sigs. xxi-xxii). As Brahe is also quoted as saying, this prophecy agrees with others "who foretold that some golden age should be for a time upon Earth." All this shall happen within the compass of this "renewed Revolution of the fiery Trigon."\(^{16}\)

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\(^{16}\)Also included in the English edition of Alsted's *Diatribe* is a long excerpt from "a Latine Treatise lately Printed in London, and Inscribed Nuncius Propheticus" (sigs. xviii-xxi). The work referred to was originally published in 1642; it defended the millenarian tradition, observing that since the times of Christ it has been believed that "a great Sabbath and time of Rest," a "truely Golden Age of 1000. yeares continuance," would bless the earth. The
The astrological observations of both Alsted and Brahe, we have now seen, were advanced to support the millenarian euphoria of the Puritan movement. The people were lead to expect the return of the Golden Age, the restoration of paradise, the advent of the millennium itself. The Civil War was presented as a necessary prelude to the reformation of the world. Astrology combined with apocalypse to excite in the masses visions of a new order, of a reformed church and government that would be free of all Evil. It was not long before the Presbyterians believed that such an order had been achieved under their rule, but Independents and the more radical sects continued to expect the new age throughout the 1640s and 1650s, and they never gave up searching the heavens for signs of its coming.

It may have been the publication of the tracts we have just reviewed that provoked John Booker, a Parliamentary astrologer, to begin issuing an almanac which combined astrological prognostications with excerpts from one of the most reprinted portion of Nunciuss Propheticus contains parts of Lactantius' description of this Golden Age: "'Lastly, all those things shall come to passe which the Poets fable to have beene in those golden times of Saturnes reigne'" (sig.xix). This work thus places the prophecy within an occult context, for it supports it with references to the new star of 1572, quoting Brahe as to its significance. The author also cites Kepler, and even mentions the comet of 1618 (p.21). The author, however, counsels the reader to maintain a 'wait-and-see' attitude in regard to the political significance of these portents. Though the author is cautious about interpreting the specific meaning of the signs, he clearly sees in them signs of the millennium itself. The trouble is, the identity of Antichrist is not clear.
revered explications of the Apocalypse, John Napier's *A Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John* (1593; 5th edn. 1645; 23 edns. by 1700).

The fathering of an almanac upon a long-dead interpreter of Biblical prophecies could only have been successful if astrology and apocalypse were already inextricably linked in the popular mind. The success of Booker's venture was also aided by the fact that the name "Napier" was already associated with astrology. Richard Napier (1590-1634), a kinsman of Sir John, studied astrology and the occult arts under the notorious magus, Simon Forman. Richard Napier became "one of the most fashionable practitioners of astrology and physic of the seventeenth century" (Thomas, p.379).

Richard may very well have come by his interest in astrology through Sir John, the interpreter of Revelation. For it would seem that John Napier himself was considered one of the most illustrious astrologers of his generation. No less an astrologer than William Lilly says of him, "I have had much acquaintance and society with Schollers of other Nations reputed learned in Astrology in their own Countreys, but I really affirm, that none of them were comparable either to that greave, reverend, and profoundly learned Doctor Napier." \(^{17}\)

\(^{17}\) *England's Propheticall Merline, Foretelling to all Nations of Europe untill 1663* (London, 1644), sig.B3v. Sir John's accomplishments must have been considerable, for Lilly
It may have been Sir John Napier's reputation as an astrologer which gave Booker the idea of combining Napier's explications of Revelation with astrological prognostications.

The title of the first almanac in this series is The bloody Almanack: To which England is directed, to fore-know what shall come to passe, by that famous Astrologer, M. John Booker. Being a perfect Abstract of the Prophecies proved out of Scripture, By the noble Napier (1643; another edn., "With additions"). As the title suggests, the work is not really an almanac at all, but an abstract of Napier's principal observations and interpretations of the advent of the millennium. The almanac form seems to have provided an excuse for publishing Napier's millenarian interpretations on a yearly basis.18

The material in The bloody Almanack (1643) is drawn from Napier's "First and Introductory Treatise" in A Plaine Discovery. These contents explain that since the last of the seventh trumpets was blown in the year 1541 (with the testifies to them again in his autobiography: "Lord Marchister, was a great Lover of Astrology. . . . it's the same Marchistor who made that most serious and learned Exposition upon the Revelation of St. John; which is the best that ever yet appeared in the World" (Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times, 2nd edn. [London, 1715], p.106).

18 There was a renewed interest in Napier's exegesis of Revelation at the start of the Civil War, for in 1641 appeared his Napier's Narration: or, An Epitome of His Booke on the Revelation. Amazingly, Napier had concluded that the last vial would be poured in 1639 (the millennium to begin in 1700).
preaching of Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon against Anti-christ), the number of years characteristic of previous 'trumpet' periods would mean that the end of this world and the beginning of the new age will occur somewhere between 1688 and 1700, or almost the same date suggested later by Alsted. This almanac also contains Napier's explanation of millenarian sabbatism (see above, p.132, n.6) and the prophecy of Elias, the restorer of all things.19

The second edition contained more overtly astrological material, including a somewhat irrelevant chart showing what jobs and professions were governed by the signs of the zodiac. After the same content drawn from Napier occurs this passage: "Whosoever readeth the Prognostication of M. Bookers Almanacke 1643. pray read this comfortable conclusion, summing up all concerning the great Conjunction of Saturne with Jupiter, his words are these: I hope this great conjunction of Saturne with Jupiter is a forerunner of a thorow reformation."20

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19 A Bloody Almanack (n.pub., n.d.) and The Bloudy Almanack (London, 1647) both contain the same material from Napier, except that the first has on the title page, "drawne out and published by that famous Astrologer, the Lord Napier of Marche-ton." The change from "Booker" to 'Napier' is interesting: it suggests Booker was not responsible for this edition, but that someone familiar with Napier's reputation was. Why Capp suggests "H. Burton" to be the author is not clear (The Fifth Monarchy Men, p.37, n.3).

20 The bloody Almanack ... With Additions (1643), p.3. A third edition for 1643 ("Corrected and inlarged") includes an astrological prediction that after "this wonderful and great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter Feb.16. will be great changes through the whole world. And after a while truth shall be known and flourish among us" (p.1).
The Puritan battle-cry of 'thorow Reformation' was thus being supported with astrological evidence possessing millennial significance.

The bloody Almanack concludes with a more obviously millennial message regarding the conjunction. Says Booker, "To go further I shall not need, for I am of the same opinion with the noble Napier in his plain discovery upon the Revelation of S. John. . . . Read the Paraphrasticall Exposition, and Historical Application of the learned Napier upon the 14. of the Revelation" (p.6). Napier's fourteenth chapter discusses the dawning of the seventh and final age, and its eventual triumph in the messianic reign of the Saints. Booker, an astrologer for Parliament, was obviously attempting to evoke millenarian expectations in his readers, and was trying to do it by combining astrology with apocalypse. Not only was millenarian thought sometimes definitely astrological, but astrological thought, as we shall see, was blatantly millenarian.

The developing convergence of astrology and millenarianism which we have been charting is reflected in the work of Robert Gell (1595-1665), who, like Napier and Alsted, combined millenarian theorizing with an interest in astrology and the occult. In 1649 he delivered a sermon to the annual

21 In 1655 Gell proclaimed in Noahs Flood Returning, "Now Beloved! The coming of the Lord to Judgment is near, even at the dores. . . . Our Lord tells us, that the coming of the Son of man to Judgment, should be like the Lords coming in the days of Noah" (p.16). What revived Gell's millenarianism was the approach of the year 1656. "I conceive it worth your
meeting of the London astrologers club entitled, *Stella Nova*, a New Starre, leading Wisemen unto Christ (London, 1649). Gell told the London astrologers that God allowed certain wise-men to learn from the stars a special "natural wisdom" that brought spiritual illumination. These stars also have a general power over the earth: "That the stars are certain treasuries and storehouses, out of which, both to men and beasts, God distributeth His temporal good things wonderfully" is borne out by "the opinion of that great Philosopher of Germany, Paracelsus, whose judgment is, That all natural wisdom, power and knowledge, is contained in the Stars" (p.35).

The principal message of *Stella Nova*, however, is not observation; That just so many years were from the first Adam to the flood of Noah, 1656. and somewhat more as will be run out, from the second Adam, or Christ in the flesh, the very next year, 1656. toward the end" (p.17). Nearly all the signs which shall precede the Messiah's advent, Gell explains, have had their accomplishment, so the end cannot be far off. He mentions a heavenly apparition that occurred two years earlier in Germany, a cloudy formation of Christ on the cross. Gell also refers to Alsted's chronology and to a cabalistic interpretation of the following Latin phrase, the large case letters of which surrender up the date 1657: "MUnDI ConfLagratIo" (p.17; for a discussion of this phrase, see John Swan, Speculum Mundi [Cambridge, 1635], pp.19-20). Judging from his many references to the occult tradition, Gell no doubt knew of the cabala. His familiarity with the occult is impressive. He mentions Paracelsus, Christopher Heydon, Hermes Trismegistus, and many others. On at least two occasions he addressed the Society of Astrologers. His works are so filled with citations from occultists that John Raunce, a critic, characterized Gell as one "deluded with superstitious and heathenish opinion, of the Astrologers and Magicians" (Astrologia Accusata Pariter & Condemnata, Or the Diabolical Art of Judicial Astrologie [London, 1650], p.32). Though Gell may have fluctuated in his religious opinions, he is identified as a 'Familist' by Professor Thomas (p.377).
nostic but millenarian. Once again Brahe's _stella mirabilis_ sheds its influence on English chiliasm. Convinced that God will employ a star to signal the Messiah's Second Coming, as He had done to signal Christ's birth as the second Adam, Gell endorses the nova of 1572 as a sign that the messianic reign is near. When this reign shall actually begin only the astrologers will know. As God had blessed the ancient magi with the correct interpretation of the star of Bethlehem, so He will bless some of the new magi—the astrologers of London (and of the Puritan cause)—with understanding of the messianic significance of this sign of Christ's return (pp. 24-5).

Gell envisioned the millennium primarily as an age of spiritual rebirth and holiness. The New Jerusalem would descend, so to speak, within the hearts and minds of mankind, miraculously reforming man's very nature. Yet, although primarily spiritual, the millennium would also entail a profound reformation of human affairs. "Not onely the spiritual wickednesse in heavenly things, but also those things, which in comparison of legall administrations, were accounted heav­enly, even they in regard of the new heaven and the new earth

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22 This star was "held by all, and called . . . a wonderful Star. And well might it be so called, for that wonderfull Star pointed at the great wonder in Heaven, _Revel.12.1_" (pp. 24-5). Thus, like Brahe, Gell anticipated Collingwood's thesis that the star of Bethlehem and of _Revelation_ was the nova in Cassiopeia.
that now appeares, even they must be shaken" (p.28). Even the most revered institutions of the earth, even they are corrupt when seen in contrast to the new earth about to be established. Thus all things of this world must be shaken to their foundations. The world must be turned upside down. To the London astrologers, already fascinated by the millenarian tradition of their art, Gell proclaims: "He puts downe the mighty from their seats, and exalts the lowly and meek." On the eve of the most radical decade in British history, Gell tells the astrologers that this Messiah is to come "to turn the Earth upside down." And that it is the mission of these astrologers to say when He has arrived. Many in Gell's audience heard his message: throughout the 1650s, astrologers, particularly those with radical sympathies, searched the skies for the Messiah Who would overturn the world.

In A brief Description of the Future History of Europe, from 1650 to 1710 (1650), we find another important millenarian tract which uses astrological data to validate its apocalyptic pronouncements. Though viewed by William Lilly as a royalist Presbyterian tract, the work transcends the narrow political boundaries of the time by enunciating an overtly Fifth-Monarchist message of salvation.

A brief Description might be called a "Prognostique Prophecy," a phrase the anonymous author applies to another work which combines, in the same way, both the prophetical and astrological traditions. Although it is primarily a
visionary work which employs Biblical chronology to prove its conjectures, *A brief Description* is also steeped in astrological lore. Even the Elizabethan seer Paul Grebner, who had prophesied of a great Charles, son of Charles, to rule the world, even Grebner is drawn into the occult tradition: "That excellent Astrologer of Misnia Paul Grebner, was more than an Inquisitor into the effects of Starres, being questionlesse indued from above with a Prophetick spirit" (sig.A4).

Like so many other millenarians of the day, the author of this work harkens back to that star of 1572 to support his apocalyptic expectations. The effects of that luminary, he says, shall not begin to operate upon Europe and the eastern coast of America until about 1699, with the last act of the apocalyptic drama to begin around 1710. Brahe's star signified the "Revolution and Dominion of a new Empire" (p.35). It is this empire that shall rule the earth until the Second Coming, an empire composed of the "godly in every Kingdom and State in Europe." This empire will include the Jews, who shall soon accept Christianity. Together, the crusading Saints shall "root out all names of Iniquity," thus establishing a purified realm ruled by those who "consist of, and subsist by Holiness, and an unquenchable desire of propagating the Glory and Gospel of God" (p.34).

In the course of *A brief Description* Grebner's inspired vision is conflated with the astrological prognostication of that "incomparable Astrologer," Johannes Baudensis, the
nephew of Grebner, and a "dear Friend" of the writer. Baudensis has attributed to him the same prophetic powers the writer accorded to Grebner. Since both were gifted with "Prognostique Prophecy," their interpretations of history are somewhere between being "Astrological" and "Apostolical." Thus the author feels no compunction about conflating visionary and astrological prophecies.

Using both Grebner and Baudensis, the author looks back at the terrible conjunction and comet of 1618, in which he now sees a judgment from God on the Protestant princes for "neglecting the downfall of Antichrist, ruine of Rome, annihilation of the Sodomiticall Order of the Society of Jesuits, and in the extirpation of all Kingdoms and free states of Papists, to make way for the Lion of the North to erect his Fifth Monarchie in the Ashes of Germany" (sig.A3). It should be recalled that Paracelsus prophesied of a Lion of the North, and that Sendivogius looked forward to the Fourth Northern Monarchy, which would be the reign of the Golden Age. More particularly, what the author is referring to is the failure of England to aid Frederick V, Elector Palatine, when he attempted to wrest the Bohemian throne from the Catholic Hapsburgs, an act which precipitated the Thirty Years' War, which was almost a disaster for European Protestantism.

The evils which Protestantism suffered both in Europe and in England were punishments, the author argues, for England's failure to support Frederick in his efforts to root Antichrist
from Europe. But these evils, he goes on to point out, are only temporary. Protestantism has not been permanently defeated in Europe. God shall bring "his Church to a final Conquest over her Enemies, and both the Congregations of Jewes and Gentiles to an universall Monarchy over the face of the whole Earth" (sig.A2). This joyous time of Protestantism's victory over Antichrist is going to be foreshadowed by the fourth conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, to occur in 1663, when "shall begin those destructive Combustions in Italy" which shall signal the demise of the Catholic church throughout the world. The defeat and disgrace of the Elector Palatine shall be avenged and his dream accomplished, for an "all-conquering" Protestant coalition shall annihilate the armies of the Hapsburgs. In 1684 the fifth great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the constellation Leo "shall bring forth the Conversion of the Jews of the West, and their al­ lignment with Eastery Jewes to destroy the Turk" (pp.4, 12). After the Turkish empire has been won, the Jews shall establish their new kingdom in the Holy Land, and "these shall obtain the Revolution of a new Empire, under which shall be administered universall Gladness, Joy and Delight to mankinde (the wicked being every where taken away)." These wonderful upheavals are to be affected by a "certain Northern King who shall miraculously establish Peace, Religion and Security throughout the whole World" (sigs. A3^V-A4). In the same year English millenarians could have read a similar prophecy of the
Northern Monarch in the alchemical tract of Sendivogius. Thus, a millenarian prophecy already well established in the occult tradition, was used by a Puritan to validate the 'internationalist hope' of the time.

Those alive at the sixth great conjunction of the two planets in Taurus, about 1703, "shall behold that which many glorious Saints and Children of God have read of, and rejoiced and desired to see." And that is, the millennium: "Now shall the time of Tribulation, War and desolation, the time of torments, temptations, heresie and persecution be utterly abolished from the memory of man," for what the stars reveal during this time is the complete renovation and perfection of the world. "For a new Heaven and a new Earth, a renovated Church, purified Saints shall succeed in the room of those wolves, who in sheeps-cloathing devoured the Flock of Christ" (p.12). Pleading that he is a "zealous adorer of a Parliament," and does not intend to denigrate "the Actions of our Representative," the author nevertheless points to the signs in the sky as testimony that a radical change in the government of England and the world "is nigh at hand" (sig. A4), a change that will fulfill the prophecy of Revelation.

As I have said before, the astrological milieu of Puritan England gave repeated expression to a wide assortment of millenarian opinions. No matter what his particular belief, a millenarian could find it validated and supported in the astrological works of the time. A brief Description
very likely appealed to Puritan millenarians (the "glorious Saints and Children of God") whose Fifth-Monarchist ideas were still vague, and largely directed toward European Protestantism, and not domestic politics. Other tracts of the time employing astrological data were often more directly revolutionary, and likely appealed to radical millenarians who wanted an immediate overturning of the English establishment itself.

One such work--this one provoked by the astrological events of 1652--was entitled, The Year of Wonders: or, The glorious Rising of the fifth Monarchy. Unlike A brief Description, this tract proclaims a dramatic change in England's government; the establishment of everlasting peace will also come, but only after the assassination of Catholic monarchs, the death of the "K. of Scots," the "hanging of the great Turk in a Bow-string," and the "stabbing of the Pope of Rome by an English-man." With a cheerful bloodthirstiness characteristic of revolutionary eschatologists, the author gleeefully promises his readers that the streets of London shall run red with the blood of her enemies (t.p.). And all this was supported and validated with astrological data.

The author of this manifesto borrows almost verbatim from the millenarian almanac published by the astrologer Nicholas Culpepper, entitled Catastrophe Magnatum. The Year of Wonders. The prophecy from Culpepper's work used in The Year of Wonders asserts that around 1655, the "Government wil
come into the hands of the people, and everlasting peace shall we enjoy, and never more War afflict us. And (if we may trust a piece of Art Caballistic) in August 1655, Rome falleth, and Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace may Reign amongst Us" (p.13). Without apology, a Puritan millenarian employs 'cabalistic' and astrological material to validate overtly Fifth-Monarchist doctrines. And only a year later John Rogers, one of the leaders of the Fifth Monarchy party, quotes the prophecies of Paracelsus and other visionaries of the occult tradition.

The democratic messianism of The Year of Wonders is validated by reference to the eclipses and conjunctions of 1652. They reveal, the author claims, that "the 5. Monarchy of the World is Coming." The savior will be no Northern Monarch from 'Scotland,' "no nor English," but the Great Comforter Himself, before Whose coming "the Heathen shall rage, and the People imagine a vain thing; The Kings of the earth shall set themselves together against him, &. His Rise will be great, his Coronation glorious, and he shall rule all

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23 Although there are minor typographical and orthographical differences between the two passages, this one is borrowed almost intact from Culpepper's powerful anti-monarchical prognostication of 1652, in which he prophesies the dawn of a democratic millennium. There are other instances of the author's borrowing from Catastrophe Magnatum (pp.4, 8). The similarities were so pronounced that one contemporary attributed The Year of Wonders to Culpepper (see Black Munday Turn'd White [1652], p.4). Though Culpepper shared with the author of this tract Fifth Monarchist hopes, he was somewhat more temperate in his remarks.
Nations in the World" (p.9). Monarchy shall be at an end, despite the misguided efforts of those few who will attempt "to save their Kings," tyrants who "never did them good, nor never will" (p.14).

The millennium envisioned by this Fifth Monarchist shall be a time of release from toil, and of the exercise of great "liberty." It shall be an egalitarian state of nature, blessed with Liberty and Fraternity. What the author prognosticates from the astrological events of 1652 is a return to the age once ruled by "Saturn," when he had turned "Leveller and brought up the Golden Age" (pp.15; 3). Three years after Gell had announced to the London astrologers the imminent coming of the overturning Messiah, the author of The Year of Wonders envisions the overturning of Parliament, where sit those men who have continued to "tyrannically" defraud the poor of their ancient and natural "birth rights," just like the King himself had done. New magistrate is but old monarch writ large. Because the "cryes of the poor" are still heard by "our Lord God Almighty" (p.10), the present rulers shall suffer with the kings of the earth "infamous deaths." The "poor groan under" their oppression: "Arise O God and help them!" The sign of His coming appears in the heavens. "This Eclipse wil pul down the pride of Magistrates, who are grown to such a terrible hight, that 'tis their glory to insult and act wickedly" (p.4). When the heavens herald the promised Messiah--"that mighty Leveller"--the people
shall rise up to displace and imprison "Lawyers and Clergymen," making many of them, the tract threatens, shorter by the length of a head (p.8). "The goods of rich men, who have tried their unlucky & common-wealth destroying braines, will be extorted by violence" (p.6). Look to it, "ye great ones in authority," have "care of your selvs, lest some of you be sent to take a supper apud inferos, before you are aware of it" (p.8).

As this tract demonstrates, astrology could be used to validate even the most revolutionary political designs. The astrological data—the eclipses, conjunctions, comets—could reflect every shade of millenarian opinion, and could be used to reinforce any kind of reformationist vision. Revolutionaries, philosemites, 'internationalists,' even millenarian mystics, could find in the stars validation for their beliefs.

Following, as it did, the failure of the 'year of wonders' to bring the millennium, John Brayne's Astrologie Proved to be the old Doctrine of Demons (1653) would seem to be yet another condemnation of astrology. It is anything but that. Brayne's work is actually a millenarian tract which advances an idiosyncratic vision of the role of astrology in establishing that new age which Brayne felt was about to dawn. And we will find that its message, while still millenarian, appealed to those mystics who awaited the 'millennium within.'

Brayne seeks to prove that as currently practised, astrology is nothing but the old pagan worship of demons. Under the
present organization of the universe, he maintains, the stars and planets--the 'powers of the air'--are nothing less than the functionaries of Satan himself. They are literally 'demons.' And because these powers of the air are under the complete control of Satan, only he can know the consequences to issue from their configurations. Only Satan, or his minions on earth, can prognosticate by the stars. What possible use Satan may make of these astral powers of the air "is above all the art in the world" to fathom. It is thus utterly impossible for any astrologer to give "Judgement by the Starres" (sig.C2r). But this is not really Brayne's main point at all, as we shall see.

Brayne does not attribute to Satan an omnipotence unbecoming his fallen nature. Brayne explains that "the Starres and the powers of the ayre are in themselves good," and do not "stirre up . . . warre, lust, or other evill" but as they are "directed by Satan" (sig.Dr). But not even Satan is autonomous. He is a functionary of God, Who mysteriously chooses to work His will through Satan, and through Satan's demonic agents, the stars: "How farre God may make use of Satan in the preferment and fall of some by the powers of the ayre, inciting men thereto, or how farre he may permit him to doe it on others is not cleare, but we may see it in the Contracts of mean men with him to be advanced to the Papacy, and at her dignities of the world" (sig.Br). The notion that Satan controls the powers of the air to work evil,
though with God's permission, is Brayne's way of explaining the triumphant success of the rich, proud, and powerful in this world, or the 'state of Antichrist.'

In the future, however, Satan's control of the powers of the air shall end, and when it does, life on earth shall radically change. In "the true Church" of the millennium, when Satan is finally bound, the powers of the air will be ruled directly by God, or through Christ, "immediately" (t.p.). Thus, in the messianic age, God shall rule the world, and exercise His sway, through the stars. As Satan had used the stars to work evil on the earth, God shall use them to deliver the earth from all manner of sin and corruption (sig. D2v). For one thousand years the planets and stars will be used by God to rain down on earth "every good thing to the Inhabitants [sic] thereof," to establish peace between enemies, and to create a covenant between "beasts, fowles, creeping things" and mankind (sig.D1v). If I understand Brayne correctly, he is suggesting that the millennium will come about through 'astrology,' by means of a shift of control of the heavens from Satan to God. For Brayne, then, the millennium must be the reign of astral magic, for the influences of the stars shall be the agency through which God will convey the blessings of the Golden Age paradise.24

24 What is significant about Brayne's theory is that it does not relegate the stars to being mere signs of the millennium, but to being the agency through which it is brought.
The time is now at hand, Brayne asserts, when the control of the astral powers is passing from Satan to the Messiah, who shall prevent the planetary influences from being used as they have been by Satan. As Satan had so ordered and patterned "Conjunctions and Eclipses" to advance error and to "Rule . . . his [earthly] Kingdome," so his binding shall signal the dissolution of "the frame of the government of the old world." The establishment shall crumble: "Monarchy, Peers, Priests, People and servants," shall oppose one another, but from this chaos shall come "the redemption of Gods people" (p.8).

Brayne's peculiar blend of astrology and apocalypse led him into advancing a somewhat antinomian doctrine that no doubt appealed to mystics of the 'inner millennium.' He argues that even before the final dissolution of Satan's control of the heavens, there exist 'star-inspired' prophets who are completely invulnerable to the evil influences of the powers of the air still in Satan's control. These invulnerable prophets Brayne calls the "Saints," a term that the Puritans frequently applied to themselves. These Saints are not immune to the influence of the stars, Brayne points out, but to the 'evil' influences created by Satan. As a matter of fact, it is because of the stars that these prophets enjoy their 'inspiration,' which comes from God Himself. What

about. One might also compare Brayne's notion of the 'astrological millennium' to the notion of the 'alchemical millennium' of the Hermeticists. In both cases, an occult science plays an active role in actually bringing about the Golden Age.
must be understood is that these 'star-inspired' Saints enjoy now--under Satan's reign--what all mankind will enjoy during the millennium. That is, they are ruled directly--or at least through the stars--by God. They inhabit, so to speak, their own private millennium, which has descended within them. Brayne says of the Saints that they are "of another world, called the new Heaven & Earth, Rev. 21. they themselves are new Creatures." As inhabitants of the 'new earth,' the Saints are guided by "the good Angels of God," who direct "the starry powers for good to [the Saints], as the evill [demons direct the starry influences] to evill in the old world" (sig.C4v). These Saints, then, are already perfect, and do not have to wait until the millennium to enjoy its spiritual gifts.

What is antinomian about this view is the fact that the astral Saints, inhabiting as they do a provisional paradise, are released from the obligation to obey the authorities of this earth. This old earth is, after all, ruled by Satan, and therefore its laws and regulations cannot oblige those whom the stars have already redeemed, those who possess the millennium within. Brayne has thus conjured up an astrological theory that validates at once both the messianic dreams of the revolutionary sects, and the perfectionist fantasies of the mystical antinomian sects. A wide range of millenarian sects could have found in this work validating charters for their hopes and dreams.
Another work advancing millenarian doctrines under the guise of astrology is Paul Felgenhauer's *Postilion. Or a New Almanacke and Astrologicke, prophetical, Prognostication* (1655). Felgenhauer was not a practising astrologer, although he was something of a mystic, but a millenarian influenced by the visions and teachings of Paracelsus and Boehme.

Felgenhauer saw in the stars a coming *reformatio mundi*. The new star of 1604, he argues, was the same that intimated to the three magi the "Nativity of the Childe of the woman, *Revel* 12." The star's return in 1604 indicates the second coming of Christ. "The great Blazing Starre *Anno* 1618, hath sounded the Seventh Trumpett for an Alarme to all the world," foretelling of the "Ruine of all Kingdomes, and Kings of the Earth, and the Judgement over the World, and the comming of the Lord" (p.4).

But before the Messiah, Elias shall come, armed with his Art (alchemy) and his Sword (*I Kings* 18): "none shall escape this two edged sword, let him be mounted as high as

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Baxter identified Felgenhauer (1593-1660?) as a disciple of Paracelsus (*Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, p. 147). Felgenhauer was a convinced millenarian. In 1620 he wrote that the world had only 145 years to last, but as he grew older, the last days came much nearer (Abba Silver, *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel*, p.164). In his Latin treatise, *Bonum Nunium Israeli* (1655), dedicated to Menasseh ben Israel, Felgenhauer intimates that he is the Elias who has been sent to announce the millennium. He was impressed by the comet of 1618, and the events of 1652. "'Further, that comet which appeared in 1652 and the star or comet which followed,'" he explained, signify the Golden Age (Silver, p.165).
he will, though he be as high as the Pope at Rome, yet the time is come that he which exalted himself so high, and hath even seated himselfe in Gods place must come downe." All the 'high points' of the earth shall be "levelled" (p.34). Thus, before the swords can be turned into ploughshares, "the ploughshares must be turned into Swords, and pruning hookes must be turned into speares . . . for the weeds must be gathered as it is written, Math: 13.40, 41, 42. because the Harvest commeth" (p.26). This "joyfull good newes and happy Prognostication" should delight the faithful, for they shall be saved.

What Felgenhauer foresees in the stars (besides a bloody liquidation of the grandees of the earth) is the literal restoration of the Golden Age. His disciple, Jacob Boehme, had prophesied that after the building of Zion, "Silver and Gold shall be as common, as in Solomons time" (Mercurius Teutonicus, ed. J. Ellington [1649], sig.B3v). Felgenhauer also taught that gold and silver will soon be found in abundance. "Glory shall come to Miners that they will bring in the new World out of the Earth, more Gold and Silver then there will be need or use for, and that shall be cleare and pure and compact not needing to be melted or refined." The earth shall offer up the "fields of Gold and Silver and pretious stones, which hitherto was hidden and sealed till the last time" (p.41). This notion of Boehme and Felgenhauer's reinforced, or at least agreed with, the vision of the millennium advanced by
Mary Cary, a popular mid-century millenarian. Like both of these adepts, she prophesied that soon there would be "a plentiful enjoyment of silver, and gold . . . in great abundance" (Little Horns Doom, p.302). Thus we see once again that the occult milieu provided myths and messages that validated hopes and visions prevalent in the millenarian circles of the Puritan movement.

More generally, the stars announced to Felgenhauer "a new birth a renewing and transmutation [!], namely, that Heaven and Earth shall be renewed, Sunne Moone and Starres and all other Creatures none excepted. . . . for the whole Creature in Heaven and Earth speake with one mouth of renewing of all things" (pp.20-1). The year 1655, Felgenhauer thought, would be the year of the "renovation of man, and of all things in the world" (p.23), the time which Peter called the "times of Refreshings from the presence of the Lord, and the times of Restitution, all what was lost or taken away in Paradise" (p.40). Felgenhauer's prophetical almanac, in other words, promised precisely that 'renovation' and 'restitution' which the Puritan millenarians had been so long expecting. Napier, John Archer, Gerrard Winstanley, Nathanael Homes, and many others, also awaited the renovation of the world, and "the Restitution of all things" (see above, pp.101-2). Here is another occasion on which a prophecy surrounded with occult associations provided a validating charter for Puritan millenarianism.
Several years after Postilion appeared, an English translation of an astrological and apocalyptic tract by Petrus Serrarius (1600?-1669) was published. Serrarius was a close friend of Felgenhauer, and shared his millennial hopes. Serrarius' work was entitled, *An Awakening Warning to the Wofull World* . . . *Uttered in a brief Dissertation Concerning that Fatal, and to be admired Conjunction of all the Planets in one, and the same Sign* (1662). Although the work was published after the Restoration, and outside the boundaries of this study, it is included here because it illustrates so well the subject of this chapter, the use of astrological data to validate the millenarian dreams of the Puritans. It was no doubt hoped that the publication of this particular 'astrologic prophecy' would revive the flagging millenarian movement, despirited by the return of the king, and by the failure of Venner's military attempt to bring on the Fifth Monarchy through force.26

In 1661 there had been a "concurse of all the Planets in the same Sign," an extraordinary event which gave rise to some millenarian speculation. This event became even more

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26Serrarius may very well have come into contact with Fifth Monarchy men on one of his several trips to England during the years of the Puritan Revolution (Capp, p.236), a fact which also makes his work relevant to this study. Serrarius brought Menasseh ben Israel, the millenarian rabbi, into contact with Paul Felgenhauer (Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium, and the Future of Israel*, p.153). In 1657 and 1661 Thomas Venner, a Fifth Monarchist, led armed uprisings to bring Christ down to earth (Thomas, p.143).
auspicious when viewed in relationship to the conjunction that would occur in 1663. These two events were interpreted by Serrarius as portents of revolutions to occur on earth. Serrarius based his interpretation on what Kepler had to say about Brahe's star of 1572, and on Kepler's interpretation of the novae of 1603 and 1604. Kepler's account Serrarius views as a millenary presage of the "Advent of the King of Kings, whom all, and every where the Creatures, especially the Inhabitants of his Metropolis (the men of Jerusalem) have . . . so long expected. To which purpose it advantageth, that the said Keplerus affirmeth, that this Star almost in all circumstances is like to that which the wise men saw in the East, as the Sign of the Lord Jesus, King of the Jewes" (p.17).

Surely even a "greater change is portended under the eight great Conjunction of them (which happened in the year of Christ) 1603. in Sagittarius" (p.12). The astral event of 1663, which exceeds in consequence the events of 1603 and 1604, shall be the final, climactic phase of Christian history: "After the conjunction there is nothing more certain to follow, than the Period of Esaus time, and the destruction of the Beasts Dominion and false Prophet; That now at last the time of Jacob may succeed, and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ and of his Saints may be established on Earth" (p.12).

The restitution of the Jews to the Holy Land, the end of monarchy, the return of the Messiah, although signified "by this Conjunction of the Princely or chief Stars," "are not
meer Astrological Prognosticks, but matters founded in the Word of God" (p.36). The glorious Kingdom of God foreshadowed by the heavens is that time "of which all the Prophets have prophesied, of which also Christ so often nourished his Disciples, and they us" (p.41). Thus, what else can such an unheard of conjunction forebode but the "Restitution of that Kingdom so long promised, and desired, and which the Apostles themselves expected by Christ to be erected (Acts 1.5.), and the final ruine of the Kingdomes of unrighteousness in this world?" (pp.12-13).

The conjunction in the fiery sign is therefore interpreted by Serrarius as the sign of "that fiery Judgment which immediately foreruns the Kingdom of Christ; intimated in Peter (Ep.2. Ch.3.) and in the Revelation, (Ch 11. V. 18)" (p.16). Those heavenly fires shall 'purge' the world so that "a new heaven and a new earth may come forth," accomplishing the Messiah's mission "to restore all things on earth" as they were in Paradise (pp.34-5). An Awakening Warning, like so many other tracts of the age, employed astrological data and earlier prophecies to validate, and in this case keep alive, millenarian expectations of a reformed world and of the messianic reign. It illustrates, as the other works do, that Puritan millenarians--even after the Restoration--were willing to employ the occult sciences to reinforce their own radical dreams and chiliastic hopes. It seems to me that this is one very good reason for why the occult sciences enjoyed
the popularity they did during the years of the Puritan Rev-
olution.

So far the focus of this chapter has been primarily on
millenarian texts which used astrological data or an astro-
logical format to advance chiliastic, reformationist ideas. Al-
most all of the tracts reviewed thus far were written not
by astrologers, but by those who held millenarian beliefs.
What remains to be considered is the astrological milieu
proper, those works written by practising astrologers that
also use astrological data to validate millenarian doctrines.

It would be difficult to determine exactly which work
was the first to enunciate during the revolutionary years a
millenarian message. What is clear is that William Lilly
was the first astrologer of any importance to give some of
his prognostications a millenarian implication. But Lilly
approached millenarianism cautiously, befitting the uncertain
political situation of the early 1640s. Thus, during the
early years, his central message was almost always one of
amelioration, not reformation. An example of this is his
exegesis of the conjunction of 1642-3. He interprets the
conjunction as a sign of the subjugation of "all excesse in
tyrrany, government, command, or exercise of illegall com-
mands" to "Justice." Lilly carefully points out, however,
that he is not talking about 'perfect' justice, the justice
of the millennium, let us say, but to "a troubled and disturbed kinde of Justice" (England's Propheticall Merline, sig. *5).

Yet, in the same work, which was published in 1644, just a year after Alsted's Beloved City appeared, Lilly advances a gnomic prophecy that does possess millenarian overtones:

And God who dwelleth in the Heavens, shall then,  
Save the remainder of the sonnes of men:  
Then peace and knowledge of the truth shall flourish;  
The earth her plenteous fruits shall likewise cherish.  
It shall not be divided as before,  
Nor to the plough be subject any more. (sig.B4v)

The 'saved remnant,' the vision of concord, enlightenment, fecundity, the end of private property--all these are attributes of the millennium. And Lilly's audience would have understood this, for even though these lines are not identified, his readers would have no doubt recognized them to be the famous millenarian prophecy of the Sibyllina Babilonica, one of those 'magicianesses' praised by Agrippa (see above, p.124, n.119). These same six lines were quoted by Tycho Brahe when he was urging his millenarian interpretation of the stella nova of 1572. In this work, at least, Lilly was willing only to insinuate a millenarian prophecy, not proclaim it.

Lilly also knew, it would seem, the prognostication of Johann Heinrich Alsted. In the Prophecy of the White King (also 1644), Lilly promises that England and Scotland--then an ally--shall play a prominent role in "performing . . . the mightiest action Europe ever beheld since the birth of
Our Saviour" (p.5). This dark remark harkens back to the vision that Bainbridge advanced in 1618. Lilly is not talking about a battle to be fought in England, or attempting to bolster the morale of the troops on the front lines; he is reinforcing the growing 'internationalist hope' of these years, a hope that was premissed on a millenarian assumption. England was to play a role, he is saying, in the rooting out of Antichrist in Europe. English Puritanism would be the saviour of European Protestantism, and thus the agent through which God will inaugurate the millennium. "A high, a mighty, and a supreme piece of work is already upon the stage of Europe," he asserts. This work will bring a great "mutation, or transmigration of Kings, Kingdoms, Monarchies and Commonwealths." It would only be a few years later that Lilly and others were prophesying the elimination of all kings everywhere.

The "Clavis of the more secret Astrology," Lilly hints darkly, has revealed that the eclipse of 1654 will advance this work, which shall in some measure be complete "before or neere 1666" (p.19). Since the number of the Beast in Revelation (13:18) is "666," this date possessed obvious millenarian significance, as Lilly surely realized.27

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27 A brief Description observes that it is commonly "dreamed" that Christ shall descend from Heaven to reign upon earth in "An. 1666" (sig.A2). As this year drew nearer, its millenarian aura excited increasing speculation. On 18 February 1666, Pepys 'fell' to reading Francis Potter's An Interpretation of the Number 666, which was published just two years before Lilly's Prophecy of the White King (1644).
The "fulness of time," however, will not come until around 1700, the date Alsted and others gave for the advent of the messianic age. The time is drawing near, Lilly assures his readers, "when England shall miraculously and as it were in a moment be disburdened of all her oppressions and oppressors" (p.5). The salvation announced here is thus in every respect millenarian: terrestrial, imminent, total, collective and miraculous.

The portents of 1603 and 1604 loom large for Lilly as further indications that the world is to undergo enormous upheavals and mutations. In 1643, it should be recalled, Tycho Brahe's "Testimony" that the seventh revolution of the fiery trigon heralded the "golden age" had appeared as part of Alsted's chiliastic work, Beloved City (sigs.A3-A3v). The next year, in England's Propheticall Merline (1644), Lilly predicts an age of earthly perfection, substituting for Brahe's "golden age" the concept of the world sabbath, or seventh age of rest throughout the world. "And now this seventh [restitution of the planets], hath a secret mystery of Sabbatisme in it, and promiseth something of more singular moment to the World then the [first restitution, at the world's beginning]" (p.23). According to Lilly, this miraculous Sabbath would commence either in 1648 or 1654 (A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophesies [1645], p.23). The year 1648 is the annus mirabile mentioned in the Cabala (Silver, p.51). As we shall see, several years later Nicholas Culpepper
was to link "sabbatism" to the Jewish messianic belief of the Zohar that the seventh conjunction foreshadowed the great sabbath that would give man "a thousand yeers of rest," "in which time the kingdoms of the world should become the King­
doms of our God and of his Christ" (Catastrophe Magnatum, 1652, pp.15-16).

Three years later, in The Worlds Catastrophe (1647), Lilly once again promised world-convulsing mutations, this time for the year 1654, a year that would likely see the end of all monarchies, if Brahe's and Kepler's stars have been interpreted correctly. Lilly argues, in addition, that if one adds the age of Christ to the date '1632,' in which there occurred a portentous conjunction, then it becomes clear that near 1666 "the fals miracles of the world shall be discovered, with the change, and destruction of (almost) all Sects" (p.32).

These early tracts, then, advance millenarian predictions which have obvious political implications for England. But Lilly's later tracts are more preoccupied with predicting a spiritual reformation. Even the locale of the reformation shifts, moving from England to Europe. Lilly seems to be distancing his prophecies, as if he were trying to lessen their impact or avoid reflections on the immediate political establishment. In 1651, for example, he talks of "innocent" and "plaine men" being "miraculously" enabled by God's spirit to perform "that great worke of converting soules." In both
Puritan and occult circles, of course, the 'great work' was the reformation of England, the 'perfecting' of the realm. What Lilly proposes had simply ceased to be relevant to the left-wing sects. "Souls" were no longer their prime concern. And what's more, the 'souls' in question are not even those of Englishmen, but of foreigners, heathens, as Lilly calls them. What Lilly seems to be doing is proposing a missionary movement, perhaps to siphon off some of the millenarian energy that was being increasingly directed at Lilly's supporter, Parliament. Notice that Lilly has also shifted the emphasis from the millennium itself to what might be called the 'pre-millennium.' Like Bainbridge before him (1618), Lilly discusses the events which shall lead up to the millennium. And like Bainbridge, he finds in the stars the sign that evangelical and reformed Puritanism will restore Christianity to world dominion, a necessary pre-millennial event:

And when these times are, or not long before or after, we Christians shall recover the Holy Land, viz. the terrestrial Jerusalem, out of the hands of the Turkes; then also shall Almighty God, by miracle withdrawn the people of the Jews, from their hard-hearted-nesse & unbelief, & from the several parts of the World, where now they live concealed, and they shall believe in the true messias, Jesus Christ, and by their meanes and preachings innumerable people, both of Asia and Affrick, shall be converted unto Christianity.27

There is no doubt that this is a millenarian prophecy; what I am arguing is that it is one without social content. Lilly is hopeful and elevating in his later works, but he is avoiding anything that smacks of revolution. The terrestrial Jerusalem was to be established in England, as far as the Fifth Monarchy party was concerned; for Lilly, it is in a distant land. His prophecy may console fellow millenarians, but it will not incite them. At best, what Lilly would have his fellow millenarians do is go on a crusade! What we see in these later prophecies is Lilly's withdrawal from a millenarianism that was explicitly social or political, precisely at the time when it was this kind of content which was dominating the chiliastic visions of the left-wing sects. As apocalyptic astrology came to be used more and more to discredit and threaten Parliament, Lilly, always (until the Restoration) a good Parliament man, attempted to channel millenarian fervor at home in directions less insidious to the rulers of the realm. His work also demonstrates that astrology could be used to validate a wide variety of millenarian beliefs and expectations.

Although Lilly may have been one of the first major astrologers to insinuate millenarian suggestions into Civil War almanacs, an astrological work of 1645 indicates that messianic and reformationist hopes were bound to become, sooner or later, a standard feature of prognostications and almanacs. On the title page of *A Calculation for this present Yeer*, 1645
(Thomason's date, 1645), the eighth item of the bill of particulars reads: "The severall Types of the 4. Monarchies; (opening a a [sic] great part of Daniels 2. 7. and 8. chapters.). And of the Fifth, succeeding and far surpassing them all." This almanac was signed "H. J. Minister of the Gospel," the author very likely being the Fifth Monarchist preacher, Henry Jessey.28

Henry Jessey (1601-1663; also spelled Jacie) was a Baptist divine who had affiliations with the notorious Fifth Monarchy men. He was a friend of the Independent preacher, Christopher Feake (fl. 1645-1660), the leading member of the Fifth-Monarchy party. Jessey may also have been an associate of Thomas Venner, the fanatic who led two armed uprisings to bring about the Fifth Monarchy (1657, 1661; Thomas, p. 95; 

28The author is likely Henry Jessey, and not, as Wing has it, 'Henry Jessop,' about whom I have been able to find nothing. All the evidence points to Jessey being the author. He was, for instance, an outspoken millenarian and scholar of Hebrew, both of which traits are reflected in A Calculati-

on (see Silver, A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel, p.177). Jessey was also the author of a series of astrological calendars from 1648 to 1660, and is so credited by Wing. On the title pages of most of these calendars we find the same reference to Daniel's Fifth Monarchy prophecy: "Daniels severall Types of the 5 Monarchies, opening part of Dan. 2. 7. & 8. Ch. the Fifth is at hand." The similarities of the title pages alone is fairly strong evidence of a connection between A Calculation and the works known to have been done by Jessey. In addition, the same symbolic print accompanying Jessey's explication of Daniel's prophecy in his series of almanacs is also found in A Calculation. And finally, the texts to the two works are substantially the same (see The Scripture-Kalendar, 1652, item 7, passim). I would have to agree with Professor Silver (p.177, and n. 54) that Jessey, and not Jessop, wrote A Calculation.
Jessey's millenarian sympathies are reflected in his almanacs. Applying various chronological patterns to Biblical prophecies, Jessey looks forward to the year 1657, when there shall be, he writes, "a restitution of all things" and the birth of a "new and flourishing World" ("A Chronologie," in *A Calculation*). These same visions and hopes were dominant in the millenarian movement of the time. Here they are given an astrological setting, and supported by astrological evidence.

Each one of Jessey's *Scripture Almanacks* or *Scripture-Kalendars* (the title varies from year to year) proclaim on the title page that the Fifth Monarchy of the Messiah is near at hand. In every one of them, there is a brief survey of the messianic prophecies of Daniel, in which is included a symbolic representation of the five monarchies in the form of a man. In The *Scripture-Kalendar* of 1651 there is included in the body of the work (under 'April') a notice calling attention to a book lately published (?) on "Christ's Raigne 1000 years." After this there is a cross reference directing the reader to the Fifth Monarchist information contained in the almanac.

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The insert notice also mentions two messianic works by the Fifth Monarchist, Robert Maton, *Israel's Redemption* (1642), and *Israel's Redemption Redeemed* (1646). Then occurs this note: "See the glorious promising effects of the 7 & last Fiery Trigon in Alsted, Chrono. . . . and Ticho Brahe, De Cometis" (sig. II Mnth [sic]). The Fifth Monarchist vision advanced by Maton in his two books is thus reinforced by reference to the messianic prophecies of Alsted and Brahe—both of which were founded on astrology, as we have already seen. This work is a good example of how messianic material infiltrated, or was consciously incorporated into, the popular almanac form. In Jessey's work, Astrology and Apocalypse are once again fused together.

Another seer to Parliament, John Booker, Lilly's friend and colleague, directed millenarian rhetoric not only against accepted symbols of Antichrist but also against domestic political symbols of Antichrist as well. "Tyrant Turke, and pompous Pope," Booker learns from the stars, are about to fall, along with the new God and Magog—'Prelatry and Presbyterianism.' The demise of this Antichristian coalition was portended by the last "Saturnine revolution," a revolution possessed of the power to "produce wonderfull mutations in the World." "Before Mars hath made seven changes, or danced seven Zodiacal! rounds there will be scarce a King in Christendome" (*Celestial! Observations* [1651], "To the Reader").
Astrology is thus used to support a millenarianism which has decided left-wing bias. Booker's prognostication against the Presbyterians would help explain why they were astrology's most outspoken opponents (Thomas, p.371).

Samuel Thurston's *Anglicus Anglicanus* (1651) set the course that apocalyptic astrology was to follow in the decade of the 1650s. Thurston rids the world not only of kings, as Booker did, but also of all oppressors, tyrants who shall be eclipsed like the sun:

O Priests and Lawyers harken what I say,
These times will make th'one fast, th'other Pray,
But now to fast and pray 'twill not await
The Heavens promise, and they will not faile
To right our wrongs on all that do oppresse us:
And from such men the hand of heaven blesse us.
Cease to be proud betimes, and mend your lives:
Lawyers must take no fees, nor Priests no Tithes.

Whereas Lilly, years before, had prognosticated a "moderation of Tythes," Thurston--at one with the radical, millenarian Diggers--does away with all tithes. The end of tithes, the transformation of all economic relationships, was the substance of the Digger paradise. As Thurston wrote, using the rhetoric of this movement:

When Adam digg'd and Eve did spin,
Who was then to raigne as King? (sig.C2)

*Annus Mirabilis: 1652*

The astral phenomena of 1652 provoked an intense outpouring of millenarian fervor in the astrological milieu (Thomas, p.299). And indeed, from an astronomical viewpoint
alone, this was an exciting year indeed. First of all, four eclipses were to occur—two of the sun and two of the moon (March 15, moon; May 29, sun; September 17, moon; September 22, sun). In addition, the planets Saturn and Jupiter were to "make three Oppositions, within the time of the operation of this present Eclipse—a most strange thing, and not to be contemned" (Culpepper, Ephemeris, p.8). There was also to be a conjunction of Jupiter and the malevolent planet, Mars, in September 1651, the effects of which would not be felt until the next year. People were warned as well that the "Square of Jupiter and Mars in February," 1652, possessed awesome significance (Ibid.). If all of these occurrences are added to the conjunctions of the sun and Mars (1652), and of the sun and Saturn (July 1652), and of Saturn and Mars (Aug.1652), it becomes readily understandable why 1652 was awaited with almost breathless expectation by those who had been convinced that the world was on the brink of a reformation. The year 1652 would bring it, they thought.

The conjunction of the two 'highest' planets, Jupiter and Saturn, was especially promising for those with reformationist hopes. Jews and Christians alike regarded this conjunction as important because the same conjunction had occurred six years before the birth of Jesus Christ, and was looked back on as a foreshadowing sign of His birth. As the two planets approached conjunction, there arose increasingly more urgent expectations of the advent of the great world
leader, a "second Caesar," a Hero, perhaps even the Messiah Himself (Silver, p.259). In occult circles, there had long been an expectation of Elias the Artist, or some messiah of the Hermetic Mysteries, who would come to perfect and transform the world.

This prevailing euphoria of expectancy may very well have influenced the millenarian hopes of the occultist, Elias Ashmole, whose *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, which has supplied so much evidence for the points I have been making, appeared in the year of wonders—1652. This work contains a millenarian prophecy of an Hermetic enlightenment leading to the removal of the Curse itself:

Now as God hath formerly shed most eminent Beames of the first light upon a few particular Men... So I am confident there are yet most noble seeds of that light of Nature appointed to spring up for the Benefit of Posterity. The Glory whereof we see hath shin'd in other Horizons, shortly it will draw neere to ours; and that which with incessant Toyle cannot yet be Discovered, shall in those dayes be freely Revealed to some that little dreame of it... The Circuit of that great and Sabbathical Conjunction of the two Superior Planets which began An. 1603. in the Fiery Triplexity, will Illustrate, Enlarge, and Refine Arts like the tryed Gold, It shall produce more pregnant and famous Philosophers by Fire... then yet the world ere saw;... This Fiery Trigon shall not passe, before that God make manifest what he commanded former Ages to keepe Secret.

What Ashmole is doing here is putting into a new idiom the old prophecy of Sendivogius regarding the restoration of the golden age. French's translation of this prophecy had appeared only two years earlier (1650). Like Sendivogius, Ashmole
expected an Hermetic enlightenment, a revealing of the secrets of alchemy, and thus the illumination of the mysteries of the Elixir. The future, he felt, held forth to mankind those coveted gifts of the 'right hand'—health, long life, perhaps immortality itself. The millennium would come about, then, through the restitution of the "Aetheriall Phisick" of Hermes Trismegistus, a wondrous medicine "able not onely to Nourish, Fortifie, and Encrease the vitall Spirits, but Digest, Correct and Consume all Impediments and Corruptions, those hurtfull and Impure Seeds which crept in with the Curse" (pp. 460-61). As we saw from the material examined in Chapter II, this dream was one aspect of the 'millennary dream' of alchemy. In 1652 Ashmole prophesied of the Hermetic millennium—that is, release from the effects of the Curse through magic—because the heavens declared the illumination of the Hermetic mysteries, and the advent of the Hermetic messiah. As we shall also see in Chapter V, Ashmole's prophecy may have helped provoke Thomas Vaughan to release an English translation of the Rosicrucian manifestos—in 1652, the Year of Wonders.

Other prognostications provoked by the events of this year were far more political in nature. In fact, the year 1652 seems to have crystallized a millenarian fervor, at least in occult circles, which was more 'socially' oriented. Although the Scripture-Kalendar for 1652 continued to prophesy, rather vaguely, that mankind stood on the threshold of "a new and flourishing World . . . wherein shall be a restitu-
tion of all things" (sig.B3), other works were prognosticating definite transformations in the institution and laws 'oppressing' humankind. Lilly, for example, discovered in the heavens the "cessation of all Taxes" and government of the world "by Love" (Annus Tenebrosus, p.40).

The astrological milieu of this year was saturated with class antagonism, made more intense by the millenarian expectations so prominent at this time. In "A Short Discoverie Discourse of the Eclipse of the Sunne," William Ramesey warned, sinisterly, "Let the Kings and Rulers of the earth repent them of their oppression and Tyranny. . . . Know that when the Sun is Eclipsed in V[irgo], it portendeth the death of Kings, and rich Men (or the Grandees of the earth)" (in Lux Veritatis [1651], sig.L4v). Substantially the same message was conveyed by Booker's almanac for that year:

Bright Sol eclips'd the nine and twentyeth day For time to come Black Monday call we may, To King and Prince, to Peer and Potentate Within few Yeers it shows a dismall fate; For who in blood a violent pleasure have, Seldome descend but bleeding to their Grave.

Hatred of the "great Ones" by the "poor Commoner" was also expressed in the astrological tract entitled The Levellers Almanack: For, the Year of Wonders, 1652 (1651). The year 1652 would be the year of the Levellers' paradise, so the work maintained, for the eclipses in heaven signify the lev-

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elling not just of Kings but of all "Magistrates" (p.6). Another almanac foresees in the eclipses of the sun a new democratic age, a time when "Commoner shall be a Freeman, and no longer remain in bondage either to Kings or Parliaments" (Black Munday, p.6). The power and authority of those "puft up with high Conceits" of dignity and honor shall disappear, for "Democracy takes place." The grandees are about to fall under the "revenging hand" of the Messiah:

Your mighty Hosts shall be consumed by the Sword, 'tis not your Kingdoms, nor your high-born blood can prevent Gods revenging hand that is upon you, therefore repent in time, lest his Judgements fall upon you, and utterly eradicate you. (p.6)

The dire threats and rhapsodic hopes of 1652 were repeated again in 1653, in Brayne's Astrologie Prov'd to be the old Doctrine of Demons, a work which we have already examined. Clearly, around 1652, the reformationist prognostications of the astrological milieu took a more radical turn. The 'democratic dreams' of the Diggers and Levellers became a standard feature of almanacs and astrological forecasts. Radicals could thus turn to astrology for validation of their most cherished hopes.

The most important and extreme almanac of 1652 was written by the famous occultist, Nicholas Culpepper. His Ephemera and Catastrophe Magnatum rank as the most intense expression of democratic millenarianism to be found in the astrological milieu of the time, and would certainly help
to explain why radicals were attracted to magic during the years of the Puritan Revolution. 31

Culpepper's Ephemeris for the Year 1652 . . . Prognosticating the Ruine of Monarchy . . . and a Change of the Law (1651) exemplifies the 'levelling' impulse which suffused the apocalyptic astrology of the 1650s. As one might expect, Culpepper was deeply indebted to Johann Heinrich Alsted, the German chiliast. Alsted is mentioned in the Ephemeris as having prophesied in Speculum Mundi that the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter "would bring a new Government into the World different from Kingly Government." Culpepper explains that after having read this pronouncement, he set about studying "what reason might be given from the Book of the Creature for it" (p.15). The book he looked into was the heavens. They convinced him that "the Kingdoms of the World shall become the Kingdoms of Our God, and af [sic] our Lord Christ." As Gell had announced to the astrologers in 1649, the Messiah shall act the part of the Great Leveller. He "will pull down the lofty," Culpepper proclaims, "and exalt the humble and meek" (p.14). These were the same words that Gell had used

31Culpepper was perhaps the most famous (or notorious) astrologer/physician of the century. While at Cambridge, he studied physic and astrology, and after leaving there, he became an apothecary in London. In 1640 he set up as a doctor and astrologer at Spitalfields. Perhaps better than any other Civil War figure, Culpepper--sectarian, revolutionist and occultist--displayed that "Famliasticall-Levelling-Magical Temper" so dreaded by Thomas Hall.
in his address before the Society of London Astrologers; Culpepper very likely was in the audience. This astrologer may have then been convinced that foreshadowed in the stars was the 'upside down' millennium of the radical sects.

Although his expectations were running high, in 1651, Culpepper was reticent about proclaiming the following year the beginning of the millennium. Instead, he says that it does "but make way for" Christ's return, and goes on to say that the return shall be a spiritual one, taking place internally, within the hearts of humankind. It will be only in the figurative sense, Culpepper explains, that "Christ shall set upon his holy hill of Sion." But the eclipse is nevertheless an important pre-millennial event. Although the Messiah will not reign personally, His descent into the hearts of men will bring about a transformation of human affairs, and a turning upside down of the institutions of human society. "The Law shall quite and clean be changed," for men will no longer be the victims of legal "wronglings" or feel the need to "go to law." "The holy Ghost the Comforter shall lead us into all truth" (p.19).

Culpepper's earlier reticence to declare the advent of the messianic age had disappeared by the time he wrote his next apocalyptic work, Catastrophe Magnatum: or the Fall of Monarchie. A Caveat to Magistrates. This work is the most vigorous articulation of 'levelling' dreams in the astrological milieu of the revolutionary years. In it Culpepper
advances an unabashedly messianic interpretation of the year of wonders, and prophesies of the onset of a democratic millennium.

In the hands of Culpepper, Grebner's prophecy of 'Charles son of Charles' becomes an anti-monarchical prophecy. Culpepper argues that although Grebner was right to detect in the astral alignments of the 1650s the "preparative to the fifth Monarchy," he was wrong to identify the messiah as Charles. Acknowledging his own familiarity with the messianic lore of the Cabala, Culpepper says that what Grebner discovered through "Art Caballistick" was that the two initials of the "Utopian Monarchy" were "C" and "H." Where Grebner went wrong, Culpepper explains, was to think these letters stood for Charles. Instead, they stand for Christ. The Messiah is the "Utopian Monarch" to come in the 1650s.

Trusting to his own "piece of Art Caballistick" (p.72), Culpepper prophesies that in August, 1655, "Rome falleth, and Jesus Christ the Prince of Peace may reign amongst us" (p.72). The eclipse of "Black Monday" clearly "makes way" for the "Fifth Monarchy."

In the messianic age foreseen by Culpepper, government, at least for the Saints, shall be egalitarian and democratic. Such was surely meant, he urges, because Jupiter is a "democratic" planet, and shall work in 'conjunction' with Saturn to establish on earth a Golden Age of "equality in the creation" (p.11). "Jupiter delights in equality," he proclaims,
"and so do I." Thus, through the agency of this planet, there shall be a redistribution of wealth and property, for Jupiter "is a just, upright-dealing creature: he will not give all to some, and none at all to the rest." Jupiter "signifies much good to the people." By 1655, the Digger/Leveller paradise will have arrived.32

Although 1652 signals much good to the people, it bodes ill for the grandees of the earth. That egalitarian paradise enjoyed by the Saints does not include their erstwhile oppressors. Daniel's promise that the Saints of the most high shall exercise dominion over all creatures, being served and obeyed by them (Dan.7:26-7), is about to come true. Culpepper asserts that the Saints shall exercise despotic rule over their old enemies. The world shall indeed be turned upside down, and the oppressed shall become in the new age the virtuous oppressors. All political power "will come into the hands of the People" (p.72), and they shall use this power as avenging angels, to chastise the egregious "Pride" of haughty and tyrannical magistrates (p.11). The stars support Daniel's

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32 The author of Strange Newes of the sad effects of the eclipse of 1652 (by N. R.) also detects in the astral events of this momentous year a foreshadowing of the democratic age: The Sun's eclips'd in's Throne, and cryes aloud O Kings, why being mortall are ye proud? Your Scepters gone, Democracy takes place, Your Hoasts shall fall by th'sword before your face. Though others also prophesied of a democratic millennium, it was Culpepper who was singled out for special ridicule in Black Munday Turn'd White (London, 1652), p.4.
prophecy, for they show that "'The Lord will pull down the mighty, and exalt the humble and meek'" (p.10). What Culpepper found in the stars, as he himself declares, is that great "Sabbath" foretold in the Cabala of the Jews (pp.15-16). 33 Quite obviously, the astrological prognostications of Culpepper provided radicals and revolutionists with visions and doctrines reinforcing left-wing expectations of a coming reformation of the world.

Almanacs continued to give expression to millenarian and revolutionary pronouncements throughout the 1650s, even after the 'year of wonders' proved no such thing. The Bloody Almanack... for the Year of our Lord, 1654 (London, 1654), interpreted the stars with an 'overturning' eye. The tract threatens that the great swindling officials of the nation shall soon be called to account for their malfeasance. What shall inevitably follow is "the beheading of divers great Ones, and Committeemen." After the elimination of these minions of Antichrist, the millennium shall begin to dawn. The author views the millennium as a Leveller or Digger utopia, a restoration of the lost rights and privileges once enjoyed by Adam in paradise: by August, "our long-lost Lib-

33 Professor Hugh G. Dick incorrectly dismisses Catastrophe Magnatum as an unsuccessful attempt to ride the wake of doomsday hysteria provoked by Black Monday. But Culpepper's work is no such thing; it is not a "dismal" prediction of the end of the world, as Dick says, but a visionary revolutionary manifesto proclaiming the advent of a left-wing millennium.
erties begin to appear in great splendor." The glimmering of perfect freedom shall be followed in September by disasters befalling "many eminent Officers, and the influence of the Combination of Saturn and Mars may in all probability to England [do] the greatest good, that ever was done to it since William the Bastard conquered it, I mean, restore it to its desired Liberty, and take off all Burdens, Oppressions, and Taxes, from the wearied shoulders of the people" (p.4).

Behind this statement is the sleeping emperor myth, that form of millenarianism that expects the return of a 'hero' or the 'perfect' times in which he lived. What this author expects, then, is the return of the 'golden age,' the golden age not of pagan antiquity, of Rome, but the golden age of England. For what is to be restored to humankind is "Arthurian Liberty" (p.6).34

34 This astrological prophecy expresses the sentiments of the left-wing sects, and is certainly 'radical' in both its sympathies and appeal. Many of the left-wing sects viewed the Norman conquest (William the Bastard) as the Fall, at least in terms of the blessed isle of England. With the Norman conquest, the Anglo-Saxon paradise established by Arthur was destroyed. This almanac prognosticates a utopian paradise that Gerrard Winstanley would have felt most comfortable in. Two years before the almanac Winstanley said of the 'bastard' William: "When William Duke of Normandy, had conquered England, he took possession of the earth for his freedom, and disposed of our English ground to his friends as he pleased, and made the conquered English his servants, to plant the earth for him and his friends" (The Law of Freedom, ed. Kenny, p.68). William thus began the oppression of the small tenant farmer that Winstanley saw in his own day. He was a king, and a foreign king at that. True Englishmen were the oppressed and subjugated. It was they who envisaged
By 1656, after the millennial prognostications of *Catastrophe Magnatum*, *The Levellers Almanack*, *Postilion*, the *Bloody Almanack*, and all the rest of such work had proven false, a sceptic could begin the satiric counterattack on the para­
disic fantasies of the astrological milieu:

Beat Drums, sound Trumpets, here's hopes of a Reformation: Justice shall flow, and Righteousness shall stream in every angle of the whole City, the conduits shall run with Cream.

The broadside was signed "W. Liby," an oblique acknowledge­
ment, perhaps, of the role that Lilly played in formulating and initiating in Puritan England the millenarian tradition

the millennium as a return to the old Anglo-Saxon laws of the Arthurian legendary Golden Age.

Exactly how closely millenarian astrology was paralleling the visions of chiliastic mystics is made clear by the sim­
ilarity between the *Bloody Almanack* (1654) and the visions of Arise Evans. Evans is described as a "royalist visionary" by Professor Thomas (p.364) on the basis of his alleged prophecy of the restoration of Charles (p.413, n.8). But in other tracts, however, Evans envisioned an earthly paradise under the Lord Protector. In fact, the Protector's reign would bring, he said, "the restoring of the churches from defiling and robbing," and the "restoring of all men to their just Rights, and pristine Liberties, and the vanishing away of all Oppressors, Traytors and Tyrants." This is the rhet­
oric of the *Bloody Almanack*. Moreover, Evans enlists the aid of astrology to buttress his prophecy. A comet, or 'blazing star,' had convinced him that "the dissolution of the late power" was near, and that the Protector would move smoothly into power (*The great & bloody Visions; Interpreted [London, 1654]*)). In his *Declaration* (1654), Evans prophesies that "Universal peace [shall come] over all the World: then shall the Son of man receive a marvellous token, and thence shalbe great plenty of all manner of fruits" (p.7). This is the same millenarian vision we have found in the occult milieu of the Renaissance, and in the millenarian milieu of Puritan England.
of apocalyptic astrology.

Although the power of chiliastic astrology declined after its peak during the years of the Civil War and Interregnum, it did not expire. The year 1660 brought another outburst, though one not nearly as intense as that of 1652. There were also outbursts in 1662 and 1666, and at the end of the century, the date Alsted and so many others had predicted would witness the advent of the millennium. Astrology has continued to reinforce radical, millenarian, utopian visions of reform-ation right up to today. But it would never again communicate the millenarian fervor that it did between 1640 and 1660.

Conclusion

The evidence reviewed in this chapter proves that during the years of the Puritan Revolution, the astrological milieu of England gave repeated expression to a wide variety of millenarian visions and pronouncements. These visions and pronouncements appealed to millenarians of the most different persuasions. They appealed to those who expected the triumph of reformed Protestantism in Europe, to those who sought the reformation of the English church, to those who wanted a radical overturning of the entire society. But what all these millenarians had in common was the belief that after the events they each expected would take place, the human condition would be completely transformed and wholly perfected, becoming as it
was in the Golden Age, or when Adam lived in Paradise.

We have also seen many instances in which millenarians resorted to astrology to validate their own particular dreams and visions of the future age of perfection. Astrology furnished them with myths and prophecies, and with an agency which could be used to make more credible and attractive the millenarian visions these chiliasts offered to the people.

In addition, we have also seen that practising astrologers repeatedly advanced millenarian predictions that were identical to the doctrines of the Puritan sects of the time. Indeed, we have also seen that these astrologers were in fact members of these sects, and were thus using their occult art to support and espouse the dreams and visions of the sects to which they belonged.

Needless to say, I have not mentioned every millenarian prophecy to be found in the astrological milieu of Puritan England. What I have attempted to do is focus on those works which presented a fairly detailed and coherent millenarian message. Although this survey has not been exhaustive, it has, I believe, demonstrated that millenarianism was, in fact, a prominent feature of astrology during the years of the Puritan Revolution. It has also indicated, I believe, that astrology enjoyed the popularity it did during these years because it provided left-wing sectarians and millenarians generally with validating charters for their own beliefs.
CHAPTER IV:

THE MAGICIANS OF JEHovah:

BEHMEHISM AND THE MILLENNIUM IN ENGLAND

Introduction

Although Jacob Boehme is thought of today as a spiritual teacher and religious mystic, his works reflect a profound indebtedness to magic. One finds in them repeated references to astrology and alchemy, and the constant use of terms drawn from the occult sciences. Boehme gave many of these terms a mystical or metaphorical meaning, using them to articulate in­effable conceptions and spiritual insights. But some of these magical terms seem to carry something of their old meaning too. They were not merely metaphors, but highly charged words by which Boehme strove to explain the very structure of the universe. However Boehme may have used these concepts and terms, and whatever their deep spiritual significance, their occult associations pervade Boehme's works and his visions.

As a consequence, when these works were translated into English between 1644 and 1662, they contributed to the formation of the occult milieu of Puritan England. In the eyes of seventeenth-century Englishmen, Behmenism was not just
a mystical movement, it was a magical movement as well, and its inspirer, Jacob Boehme, was, above all, a magus.¹

¹In the eyes of William Rowland, Boehme was "the German-Conjuror," and his doctrines were similar to the superstitions of astrology (Judiciall Astrologie Judicially Condemned [London, 1652], "To the Christian Reader"). Seth Ward feared that the introduction of magic into the curriculum of the universities would "put us into a course of studying Magicaall signatures, Astrology, and Jacob Boehmen" (Vindiciae Academiarum [Oxford, 1654], p.41). Ward associated Boehme with "Lilly, and Booker," and the whole 'gang' of "Magicians, Soothsayers, Canters, and Rosy-crucians" that 'plague' England and threaten the nation's collective sanity (p.46). See also Thomas White, The Practice of Christian Perfection (London, 1651), "Epistle to the Reader." The influence of Paracelsus on Boehme was apparent to many of his detractors. Richard Baxter, no thoughtless vituperator, called Boehme "a German Paracelsian Prophet," and pointed out that Boehme's tenets were not unlike those of the "Rosie Crucians" (The Unreasonableness of Infidelity [London, 1655], p.155; also p.147; see as well One Sheet Against the Quakers, p.1). On Paracelsus and Boehme, consult as well Henry More, Divine Dialogues (London, 1668), pp.349-50. The study of Boehme was so closely linked to the study of alchemy, that Boehme's nickname of "Teutonicus" became a synonym for the word 'alchemist.' Baxter relates of a friend that he suddenly "'turned an extraordinary Chymist, and got Jacob Boehme his works translated and printed'" (quoted in Milton and Jakob Boehme, by M. L. Bailey [New York: Oxford U. P., 1974], p.95). It was said of Sir Isaac Newton that he became so deeply enrapt in the theosophy of "J. B. that he, together with one Dr. Newton, his relation, set up furnaces, and for several months were at work in quest of the Tincture, purely from what they conceived from him!" (in Bailey, p.80). Clearly, Newton and many others did not interpret Boehme's alchemical references symbolically or mystically but literally (see Serge Hutin, Les Disciples Anglais de Jacob Boehme aux XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles [Paris: Editions Denoël, 1960], ch. 6: "Isaac Newton"). The alchemical substance of Boehme's writings were so pronounced, that a student of Boehme was very likely to also be a student of Paracelsus as well. "J. H." defends his translation of "The Water-Stone of the Wise Men" on the grounds that this treatise "hath the testimony of that inlightened man Jacob Behmen, in his 23. Epistle" (Paracelsus His Aurora, & Treasure of the Philosophers [London, 1659], "To the Reader"). Pinnell honors Boehme as "that most profound Teutonick Philosopher" in his translation of Paracelsus
Behmenism is relevant to this study because it was a millenarian movement as well, and its leader, Boehme, was its prophet. Like so many other mystics and occultists of the seventeenth century, Boehme expected, and wrote about, a reformation of the world. Though he did not have what could be called a systematic or even coherent vision of the future age, Boehme prophesied with great force and frequency of the fall of Babel and Antichrist and the advent of an enlightened age of spiritual perfection and physical well-being.

Thus, even the most influential mystic of the seventeenth century deserves a place in this examination of magic and millenarianism during the Puritan Revolution. The purpose of this chapter is explore the millenarian elements in Boehme's

and Oswald Croll, a Hermeticist associated with Rosicrucianism (Philosophy Reformed & Improved, trans. H. Pinnell [London, 1657], sigs.A3v-A4). In Novum Lumen Chemicum (London, 1662), Joachim Poleman described Boehme as "that highly ill-luminated and anointed instrument of God, the German or Teutonic Philosopher and wonder-man." He claims that Boehme not only revealed the alchemical mystery but "speaketh of and teacheth other and the greatest mysteries of God, and of his manifested Nature," in books of "great and profound knowledge" of "divine" and "natural secrets," where are couched mysteries of the "exterior Nature of Metals, and their heavenly Vertues, of Hearbs, Beasts, Sun, Moon and Stars, and of the generation of the whole Nature, and all exterior visible things, yea of the great stone of the Wise also (p.116). For Sparrow, the leading translator of Boehme's works, the German visionary had penetrated into the "deepest Mysteries of Nature," and had thus attained the same "powerful naturall Wisdome" attained by "Hermes Trismegistos, Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Platon .... and the moderne Trevisanus, Raymundus, Lullius, Paracelsus, Sendivogius" (Forty Questions Concerning the Soul, trans. John Sparrow [London, 1665], "To the Reader").
works, and in those of his English disciples during the revolu-
tionary period. This examination will show that the Behm-
enistic milieu of Puritan England provided millenarians with
legitimizing charters for their own visions and hopes, and
reinforced the prevalent chiliastic beliefs of the time.
Part 1:  
The Writings of Jacob Boehme

Background

With their combination of millenarianism and magic, the works of Jacob Boehme gave expression to the time and place in which they were conceived and written. Although the mystic element in Boehme's thought was largely an inheritance from the medieval past, the magic and reformationism which pervade his works reflect the prevailing atmosphere of the early seventeenth century, and of his own hometown of Gorlitz, in Prussia.

Gorlitz, where Boehme lived from 1599 until his death in 1624, early in the Reformation had come under the influence of a Christianity which stressed "religious reformation and social change." During the years of Boehme's domicile there, Gorlitz became a hotbed of mystical, occult, and reform activities, eventually becoming the headquarters of a group of influential thinkers who studied Hermetic philosophy and who practiced the occult arts of alchemy and astrology.

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3 As early as 1589, one Elias Shadeus had brought together in the city some of the followers of the Silesian mystic, Schwenkfeld, whom Baxter identifies as the inspiration of Paracelsus (Unreasonableness of Infidelity, p.147), and those who followed the teachings of Paracelsus. The result was the
One of the leaders of this brotherhood of adepts was Bathasar Walther. Walther dabbled in the occult arts. He likely met Boehme in 1617, for we know he spent three months at Boehme's home the following year. He became "Boehme's most learned intimate friend" (Stoudt, *Sunrise to Eternity*, p. 96). Another prominent member of this group was Tobias Kober. It may have been Kober who initiated Boehme into the exoteric aspects of Paracelsian alchemy (Stoudt, p. 95). Johann Rothe introduce Boehme to the mystico-magical works of Johann Arndt, a German adept and religious reformer who also engaged in alchemical and astrological studies.

Through one of these acquaintances Boehme discovered the work of Sebastian Franck, the German mystic who once

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formation of a group of 'metaphysical alchemists,' whose first principles were from Renaissance Neoplatonism interpreted by Paracelsus and the mystic cabalist, Reuchlin (1455-1522), the man who introduced cabalistic thought and doctrines into German philosophy (Stoudt, *Sunrise*, p. 95; Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* [1914; rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959], p. 134).

4Stoudt, *Sunrise*, p. 96. It may have been Walther who introduced Boehme to the Fourth Book of Ezra, a popular cabalistic work which influenced Boehme (*Ibid.;* Desiree Hirst, *Hidden Riches* [London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964], p. 87, and ch. 3: "Jacob Boehme and 17th century England"). Walther had close associations with Paracelsian adepts living in Gorlitz as early as 1587. He seems to have been an intimate friend of the burgomaster of Gorlitz, one Scutetus, the man who, with Johann Huser, first edited the Glagau edition of the works of Paracelsus (Stoudt, p. 95).

5Stoudt, p. 77, n. 8. Arndt is accused by Baxter of having 'magnified' the heretical magic of Paracelsus (*Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, p. 14).
boasted that the Egyptian magus, Hermes Trismegistus, had spoken to him more clearly than Moses himself (Jones, Spiritual Reformers, p.53). It is also likely that Boehme heard in this circle of the astro-mysticism of Valentin Weigel (1533-1588), a disciple of Agrippa and Paracelsus, and a student of "the natural sciences, astrology, alchemy, and magic."6

In outlining Boehme's immediate intellectual milieu, one should mention the possible influence of the Rosicrucian movement on his early work. "Living where he did and when he did," Professor Yates speculates, "Boehme cannot have failed to know of the Rosicrucian furore and of the [Rosicrucian] movement around the Elector Palatine and its crashing failure in 1620." The reference is to Frederick V's disastrous attempt

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6 Robert Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1876), p.13; for Weigel see Rufus M. Jones, Spiritual Reformers, ch. 8: "Valentine Weigel and Nature Mysticism;" Steven E. Ozment, Mysticism and Dissent: Religious Ideology and Social Protest in the Sixteenth Century (New Haven: Yale U. P., 1973), ch. 8: "Valentin Weigel," esp. sect. entitled "Dissent in Disguise;" and, George H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), pp.812-3. Weigel's Astrologie Theologized was translated into English in 1649. This publication of Weigel's work may have been provoked by the burgeoning interest in Rosicrucianism. Professor Bailey's provocative reminder that separatists in Germany were called either "Weigelianer" or "Rosenkreuzer" indicates the similarity of their doctrines, and that Weigel was associated with the Brotherhood, at least in Germany. Although he died before the movement came to light, "ses nombreux écrits," as Professor Arnold says, "ne parurent qu'entre 1604 et 1619, précisément pendant toute l'époque de la première rose-croix" (Rosie-Croix, p.59), n.2). Had he lived, he would have been entitled to be named the "founder and Grand Master ad vitam of the Rosicrucian Order" (Waite, The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, pp.71-2).
to take the Bohemian crown from the Hapsburgs. In 1619 he entered Prague and thus precipitated the Thirty Years' War. He may have been urged into his action by Rosicrucian prophecies glorifying him as the messianic savior of Protestant Europe. "One of the few dates known in Boehme's obscure biography is that he was in Prague in 1620." In one of his visions, included in the English edition of his prophecies (Mercurius Teutonicus, p.6), Boehme foresaw, in Prague, the "coming in of the new King." Did he look upon Frederick as the long-awaited Hermetic messiah?

Though he was silent between 1612 and 1618, when the Rosicrucian movement became public and announced to the world its aims of reforming all things on earth and in heaven, Boehme surely heard its call for a 'general reformation of all things human and divine.' In fact, the first manifesto—the Fama—was evidently circulating in manuscript around Austria and southeastern Germany at least as early as 1610, four years before it was published. Boehme could have seen a copy of the work before he himself began to write his treatises. What is interesting is the fact that the Cassel edition of the Fama (1616) contained an appeal to the Fraternity from one Valentine Tchirness, who evidently read the work in manuscript; Tchirness gave his home as "Gorlitz." Did Boehme move to Gorlitz thinking

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the town had become, or was to be, the center of the Rosicru-
cian movement?

The *Fama* proclaims that before the "general reformation,
both of divine and humane things," there shall "appear and
break forth *Aurora.*" The title of Boehme's first work was
*Aurora* (1612). One more question, perhaps, should be asked,
and left without an answer: Did Boehme believe that his own
blend of mysticism, piety and magic would provide that spark
of illumination that the Rosicrucians believed would reform
the world?

Whatever the situation between Boehme and Rosicrucianism
may have been, the important fact is that the same spirit of
"restless longing and dissatisfaction" with the social and
spiritual order of the world can be said to have character-
ized the visions of both. The same spirit which found ex-
pression in the plans for a world reformation in the Rosi-
crucian fraternity is also mirrored "in Jakob Boehme's writ-
ings" (Bailey, p. 82). 8

8 Richard Baxter, as we have seen, linked Boehme to the
Rosicrucians. So did John Webster, a sectarian, who advocated
teaching magic in the universities. His only mention of the
"highly illuminated fraternity of the Rosie Crosse" is in con-
nection with 'the language of nature,' which is known only
to the "Rosy Cross Fraternity" and the "divinely inspired
Teutonic Boehme." Yates says of this remark that it is an
"interesting (and undoubtedly correct) insight into the affin-
ity between Boehme and the Rosicrucian manifestos" (*RE*, p.
186ff). Johann Zimmerman (1644-1694), praised by the Royal
Society for his scientific abilities, was the leader of a sect
devoted to the teachings of Boehme. They called themselves
"the true Rosicrucians" (Bailey, p. 107).
Boehme's Millenarian Visions

Boehme was not a theorist of the millennium, but a visionary prophet of it: "we speake what is given to us," he declares. The fact that Boehme was a visionary imposes on any interpreter of his works and thought severe limitations. Boehme spoke 'what was given to him' in a private language impenetrably obscure to the 'uninitiated,' in a language of symbol, image, and metaphor whose full range of meaning only Boehme himself may have understood. Sensing the problem, Boehme urged his readers to think deeply about his "dark sayings." But even arduous thinking will not always render up those "very hidden meanings" Boehme assures us are buried in his imagistic rhetoric. As a result, we must content ourselves in this study with the surface significance of what he envisioned and wrote. Sometimes all that will be possible will be a paraphrase of the English texts.

This limitation does not vitiate, necessarily, what I have to say about the millenarian significance of his works. It may have been on this very level of superficial paraphrase that most seventeenth-century readers read his works. We have already seen, for example, that Boehme's alchemical rhetoric--however mystically he may have been using it--sent the Newtons off to the furnace in a hunt for the elixir. Most others, I suspect, understood Boehme on the same literal level. I am convinced that this is how they dealt with his frequent prophecies of the millennium. Boehme spoke of the new age about
to dawn in apocalyptic language dear to the heart of every English Puritan. The 'fall of Rome,' the 'death of Anti-christ,' the 'conversion of the Jews,' the 'storming of Babel,' the 'rage of the Beast,' and the 'building of Zion'—whatever they may have meant to Boehme—conveyed a millennial vision to English Puritans. These terms formed the rhetorical 'heart' of the millennial zeal of the Puritan movement, and cried out to be taken literally, and no other way.

And we should also recognize that the obscurity of Boehme's works would not necessarily have been a drawback to these same Puritans. Obscurity has its uses, especially in a time of turmoil and revolution. Revolutionists, mystics, millenarians searching for validating charters were permitted by the very obscurity of Boehme's writings to find in them whatever meaning might legitimize or reinforce their innovative programs or visionary ideas. 'Babel,' 'Zion,' the 'Beast,' the 'Whore,' precisely because they were unidentified and vague, were like unminted coins on which radicals could stamp any image they pleased. Therefore, what was important then, and what is important to us, now, is not the precise or true significance of Boehme's mystical rhetoric, whatever that significance might be, but the obvious message it would likely have conveyed to mid-century Puritans in England. And that message, I maintain, is blatantly millennial in every way.
Boehme's Millenarianism

Boehme's millenarian beliefs—though existing in their own right—were frequently embedded in a magical context. He seems to have attempted, at least on occasion, to integrate a mystical and almost indefinable concept of magic, with his vision of the millennium.

This was not difficult for him to do, for Boehme seems to have believed in the power of magic to radically change the external, as well as the spiritual, world. He thought that the "children of the divine Magia" (Epistles, p.44) understood the mysteries of creation. Understanding these 'experimental' secrets of nature, they are able to work transformations, such as bringing "all the Mettals of the Earth" "to the highest degree of perfection." A select number of men are "born and chosen by God" to have this knowledge revealed to them. Once they have achieved this revelation, they have, as Boehme put it, "the Magickal guide in them" (Epistles, p.80). These men, to whom the secrets of Creation have been revealed, are "Magi in Christ" (Signatura Rerum, p.63). These "Magi in Christ" understand much more perfectly that "which the word of God modelleth & frameth" than the "Naturall Magus" of pagan antiquity, who stopped his search into things with the merely physical laws of Aristotle.9

The natural magician of pagan antiquity is in many ways the opposite of the Magician of Christ. Adam fell, in fact, because he wanted to be "a God of nature" (Mysterium Magnum, sig. Lr). That is, he "did imagine to know and prove the Magick, and would be as God through magia naturales." His sin was not, according to Boehme, one of pride, but of choosing the wrong road to divinization. He attempted to become divine through natural magic alone. But natural magic confers power over only "the Centre of Nature," it does not expose "the ground of the Eternall Nature, out of which the Nature of this World had its Originall, and wherein standeth" (Mysterium Magnum, p.507). In contrast, a 'right true Divine Magus' is one who "'has the entire art and understanding of the earth,'" and who thus can "bring Nature into a figure," that is, manipulate it according to his will. He who enters the "Divine Magicall Schoole," Boehme explains, has power over "the external World" (Epistles, p.81).

In other words, Boehme believed in the power of magic

good nor bad: "in that which is good it is good, and in that which is evil it is evil." The good man, therefore, need not fear using magic, because magic can be corrupted to "Nigromantia" only by men already evil. As "nigromantia," magic aids the "sorcerers of the devil's kingdom." But good magic aids the magicians of Christ, and exists for the "use of the children of God's kingdom" (Six Theosophic Points, p.134). At the end of time, the good magic of God will defeat the evil magic of Satan.

10 Stoudt, Sunrise to Eternity, p.108; Mysterium Magnum, p.509. Hereafter this work will be abbreviated to "MM."
to transform the external world. He accepted, it would seem, the operative mode of Western magic. For Boehme, as for the earlier Hermetic reformers, this operative mode possessed millenarian implications. Possessed of the "Divine Magic" of creation (MM, sig.Lr), the Divine Magician may "do wonders with Christ" (Signatura Rerum, p.55). The messianic dimension of these wonders is clear, for it is the mission of the magus to employ magic for "the honour of God, and Salvation of mankind" (MM, p.46). The Magicians of Jehovah are to use their knowledge of magic to redeem the entire world. For Boehme, redemption meant the freeing of the world from Antichrist. How this world was to be freed from Antichrist will now be explored.

We have seen that Boehme believed that "the children of the divine Magia" understood both the physical and spiritual mysteries of creation. These "Magi in Christ" would thus be able to understand and interpret the will of God. Boehme accepted the belief widely held in occult circles that only a magus--one of the 'children of the divine magia'--could interpret Revelation (see above, pp.123-4, n.119). Boehme wrote, "John the Evangelist, or whosoever wrote the Revelation, knew the figures of the Divine Magia" (Epistles, p.80). By 'figures' Boehme meant the numbers found in the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel and St. John. Knowledge of such numbers carried special millenarian significance and power for Boehme.
Especially crucial was the 'sabbatical' number of seven. God "hath signed, and sealed the Mystery," he explains, "with the might of the first Principle in the Seven formes of Nature to the wonders of God; and againe he hath signed it in the Love in the humanity of Christ, with the Seven golden Candlesticks and lights" (Epistles, p.65). The numbers of Revelation, Boehme says, will be clear only to a "Magist, who understands Thesaurinella [the little Treasury of Wisdom or Cabinet of the Divine Magia]." To the magus, who can 'dive' into these 'mysteries,' "the Revelation is very easily to be understood, and in no other manner shall it at all be understood save from the Mystery of God, he that is able to dive or sinck himselfe into that, he finds whatsoever he doth but search" (Epistles, pp.80-1). Although knowledge of such mysteries is itself not necessarily millenarian, it became so in the context of Boehme's thought.

In Boehme's system, knowledge of the numbers of the mysteries was to be used to defeat Antichrist. This knowledge was a crucial ingredient in the struggle of the magician to redeem the world. As Boehme saw it, the magician's knowledge of the apocalyptic mysteries would allow him to identify or expose Antichrist and his minions on earth. The magician would thus show the people those evil-hearted followers of Satan who have oppressed the Saints and corrupted the world.

Boehme was convinced that the power of Antichrist would be broken only when men had come to recognize his presence in
the hearts of those who have posed as good men. Thus, the
gnosis gained by the magician would eventually lead to the
freeing of the world from Evil, and perform the redemptive
mission of transforming and perfecting the whole world. Here
is how Boehme expressed the idea:

And as it was highly necessary and good, that
the Naturall Magia was discontinued amongst
the Christians, where the Faith of Christ was
manifest: so now at present it is much more
necessary that the Naturall Magia were againe
manifest, that indeed Titulary Christendoms
Idealls [idols] which it maketh to it selfe,
might through Nature be made manifest and knowne,
that Man might know in Nature the Outspoken or
expressed formed Word of God. . . . that thereby
the contrived supernaturall Idolls [of Titulary
Christendome] might be suppressed, that men might
at length in Nature learne to understand the
Scriptures, seeing Men will not confide in the
Spirit of God in the Divine Magia of true Faith,
but lay their foundation upon the Tower of Babell,
in the Contention and contrived Idoll Opinions. TO

The revival of magic, Boehme seems to be saying, will lead
to the exposing of the false religious idols of established
Christianity, and thus eventually to the end of the reign of
Antichrist in the hearts of men.

Whatever this particular passage may mean, Boehme was
insistent that the Magicians of Jehovah (as a later English
work was to call them) are to silence the "Magia [of] Titu-
lar Christendome," those mere imposters who have "no Nat-
urall understanding, either of God or of Nature more among
them, but onely an empty Babbling of a supernaturall Magick
Ground, wherein they have set up themselves for Idoll Gods,
and understand neither the Divine nor Natural Magia, so that the world is made stock-blind by them" (MM, p.506). All wicked magicians, Boehme promises, are to be "suppressed" forever by the Magicians of Jehovah (MM, p.506).

An important part of Boehme's millenarian doctrine was thus associated with magic, in one form or another. Magical gnosis would do two things: it would give the Magicians of Jehovah the power to transmute physical creation in the interest of redeeming all mankind, and it would permit him to expose Antichrist, and thus weaken his hold over the hearts of humankind. Both of these beliefs were millenarian in their implications.

This aspect of Boehme's thought would have appealed to Puritans seeking validation of their prophetic claims. Boehme asserts the ability to interpret the mysteries of the Revelation. Thus, radicals wishing to prophesy concerning the millennium could turn to Boehme's work to support their prophetic claims; to do so, however, meant that they would have to endorse, at least in part, the magical notions that framed these prophetic assertions. Magic, at least according to Boehme, was the way prophetic powers could be acquired. And only the magus would interpret correctly the mysteries of Revelation.

It should be acknowledged, however, that Boehme's millenarian doctrine exists in its own right, independent of his
magical beliefs. His magical notions aside, Boehme was a millenarian pure and simple, and his works are filled with expressions of his apocalyptic hopes. His strictly millenarian vision shall now be examined in more detail.

According to Boehme, Good and Evil would eventually struggle for the final possession of the world. But until that time, the world—that is, the present order of things—was corrupt, oppressive, and evil. This Antichristian world he called 'Babel.'

Babel was built or created by mankind. Those "men with sweet speeches, and blind folded eyes . . . even in very Deceit," have led others in spiritual and physical captivity, "to the glory of the great Whore: so that she hath fatted her adulterous Brat; and domineered over our body, and soule, goods, and Estate." Captivity is total and, until the millennium, inescapable: "Babel encompasseth the whole Earth" (MT, p.15).

Although mankind exists in Babel, it should not despair: "For as God helped the children of Israel with Consolation in the Babylonicall Captivity, and sent them Prophets; even so shall now also Lillies [i.e., prophets?] grow in the midst of thornes; and this is wonderfull" (MT, p.45).

Mercurius Teutonicus; or a Christian Information concerning the Last Times. Being Divers Propheticall Passages of the Fall of Babel, trans. Francis Ellington (London, 1649), p.1. This work is abbreviated "MT."
As the allotted time for the dominion of Antichrist draws to a close, Antichrist will attempt to deceive mankind into continued obedience. But a prophet shall be born, and will come forth at this time, "in the Highest Number in the Crowne of the end of the limit." His mission will be to "prophecieth of the errours in the will, whence it is, and why it can proceed no further; and of Destruction." He shall announce to mankind that Babel is to fall, and shall teach that continued allegiance to it is folly:

he speaketh of the Turba [principle of Evil?] in his Kingdome, and how it shall end; and then he prophecieth of a new (Kingdome) that shall be brought forth out of Destruction; for he is the Mouth of that same Kingdome; . . . . And he discovereth the [other] Kingdomes pride, its covetousnesse, and envie . . . . then he manifests the evill twiggs . . . which are the Errour [Confusion, Seduction] and Turba of the Kingdome.

(MT, p.19)

Babel will end when "the Whore hath been somewhat discovered" (p.8), and thus it is the role of the prophet to expose her to mankind. This same belief, of course, we have already found in a magical context, when Boehme talked about the magus who would expose Antichrist and thus undermine his present power in the world. Obviously, Boehme's millenarian beliefs could exist independent of his magical notions, and could also co-exist with them.

There is little doubt in my mind that Boehme saw himself as this 'prophet' of the millennium. He came forth to identify the 'whore' of Antichrist, and to announce to the world that
Babel had "run to the limit; and is now manifest, namely, at the limit" (MT, p.10): "Therefore the Lord doth proclaime, that his children must goe out from it: for the Lord will terribly shake the earth, and overthrow Babel" (p.10). It was this which was revealed to Boehme: "I give you out of good affection to know," he declares, "that this present time is seriously to be taken into consideration; for the Seventh Angel in the Revelation hath prepared his Trumpet." Like the magician of which he wrote, Boehme is able to understand the significance of the 'figures' of Revelation, and interpret its 'sabbathical' number. "Whosoever will enter in with Zion, and praise God in Jerusalem, he hath now an acceptable time: the Seventh Trumpet hath already sounded" (MT, p.12). This is the time of the accomplishment of the prophecies of St. John. Even the stars themselves--"the Powers of Heaven"--declare by their "Peculiar Motion" the imminence of the apocalyptic struggle between the Messiah and Antichrist: "It is knowne [to me] that the time is nigh, and at hand, that the contentions about Religion shall enter into the Temperature; but with great ruination of the false Kingdom in Babel, that hath set up its selfe in Christs stead, together with other great Alterations" (MT, p.8).

The children of Zion, he declares, "shall have a fiery deliverance" from the forces of Antichrist (MT, sig.B). This deliverance is already underway, "for Babel is already in flames, and begins to burn. There is no longer any quenching,
nor any remedy. She has been recognized as evil; her kingdom goeth to the end. Hallelujah.¹² Some men, he points out, have "begun to Storme Babel on one side" (MT, p.8). "The Tribulation and Destruction of Babel approacheth with exceeding vehement haste; The Storme ariseth upon all Coasts: There shall be an exceeding Tempest" (MT, p.3). He says again that the Tower of Babel shall be overthrown by a terrible "winde from the Lord" (p.3). This wind is septenarian, and therefore 'sabbatical' in its implications and powers. The six (evil) winds shall be destroyed "by the manifestation of the seventh Winde, . . . . which seventh Winde, a new fire revealeth, whence a great light shineth forth; and at this time shall the fountaine of Grace flow forth, and the distressed shall be refreshed" (MT, p.4). A "Fountaine shall flow out of Sion," out of the "true Jerusalem," to refresh the thirsty soul, "for the miserable shall be refreshed, and eat in his own Pasture" (MT, pp.10-11). And with the destruction of Babel, "the Oppressour" himself shall also "be destroyed" (p.11).

Not infrequently Boehme depicted the new age in the rather vague terms of an 'enlightenment.' The aurora of the millennium illuminates the eastern horizon, he insists. "The day breaketh:" "some dawnings of the day will now more and

more break through in some mens hearts, and make knowne the
day" of the Messiah (p.13). "But when the Dawning or Morning
Rednesse shall shine from the East to the West or from the
rising to the setting, then assuredly, time will be no more;
but the Sun of the Heart of God riseth and spri[n]geth forth"
(Aurora, p.635; MT, p.9).  

What is interesting is the fact that Boehme also associated
this dawning of the millennium with political events in a
'northern' kingdom, not unlike Paracelsus and Sendivogius, by
whom he was influenced, and not unlike Lilly, and the author
of A brief Description. "In the darknesse of the North," he
wrote mysteriously, "ariseth a Sunne, which taketh its light
from the sensuallish properties of the Nature of all Beeings,
from the Formed expressed, re-expressing Word; and this is a
Wonder; at which all Nations rejoice" (MT, p.4). His hope
that the millennium would begin in the North was almost an
obsession:

It is already the time, that the Bridegroom
crowneth his Bride; ghesse! where lyeth the
Crowne! towards the North; for amidst in the

13The symbol of the aurora was taken up by later prophets
of the millennium. Stephen Melish, obviously influenced by
Boehme, had a vision during the 1640s of the world breaking
into pieces, "chiefly towards the North, as if all should be
turned upside down. . . . But towards the South all was changed
into smoak, insomuch that because of the fume nothing was to
be seen: And westwards in blood. But from the East did arise
a fair bright morning-red (Aurora) underneath blood-red, and
from thence a round Rain-bow, extending it self from the East
to the West" (XII Visions [London, 1663], p.11).
shape astringeth quality, the light becomes cleare and shinning: but whence comes the bridegroom? Out of the midst, where the heat produceth the light, and goeth towards the North in the astringent quality, where the light becomes cleare and shinning. (MT, p.12)

Such prophecies of a northern monarch or kingdom were being echoed in the millenarian circles of Puritan England at the same time.

In one of his letters Boehme explains that there is a twofold meaning to his prophecy concerning the northern kingdom. The first meaning "pointeth at the Crowne of life; viz. the Spirit of Christ." But the second points to an earthly and more external kingdom:

the other overture is a Figure of the outward Kingdome; where the great confusions, intanglements, and contentions shall be; when as the Nations shall stand in Controversie: There also is the Figure, viz. the victory signified; as it stands in the spirituall Figure; how it shall goe, and what People shall at last conquer, and how in the meane while, in such lamentable time of Tribulation Christ shall be made manifest, and knowne.

It seems as if Boehme saw in the fortunes of a German (?) monarch a prelude to the messianic reign. Like both Paracelsus and Sendivogius, Boehme associated the reign of a 'northern' monarch with a 'millennial' enlightenment:

in such lamentable time of Tribulation the great Mysteries shall be revealed, that men shall be able to know even in Nature, the hidden God in Trinity; in which knowledge the strange Nations shall be converted, and turne Christians; also therein is signified how the Sectarian Contentions in Religion
shall be destroyed in such manifestation; for all gates will be set open, and even then shall all unprofitable Praters, which at present lie as so many bolts before the truth be done away; and all shall acknowledge, and know Christ; which manifestation shall be the last: then the Sun of life shall shine upon all Nations: and even then the Beast of iniquitie, with the Whore, and their dayses, . . . as to be seen in Revelation. 14

Boehme's prophecies of an 'outward' millennial kingdom, perhaps under the messiah, would have appealed to a wide assortment of Puritan millenarians. Like Boehme, they expected the momentary end to the reign of the Beast and the Whore, and the accomplishment of the prophecies of Revelation.

Puritan millenarians also shared Boehme's notion of what the future age would be like. Imminent is that "Wonderfull time . . . wherein all things shall be altered; many great Mountaines and hills shall be made a plaine; and a Fountaine shall flow out of Zion." 15 In the most literal sense possible, the millennium shall be an Age of Gold: "At that time Silver and Gold shall be as common, as in Solomons time, and his wisdome shall governe the whole Earth; this is a Wonder" (MT, p.8). Evidently Boehme also believed

14 Mercurius Teutonicus, pp.13-14; the passage occurs in the Epistles (1649), p.170.

15 Mercurius Teutonicus, sig.B3v. The metaphor of the levelling of the mountains to a plain usually conveyed the political message that the 'great ones' of the earth would be overturned, and the world organized according to the principle of equality. It was a revolutionary metaphor.
that the millennium would amount to the restoration of paradise, for it is the "Day of Restitution of all whatsoever Adam lost" (Signatura Rerum, p.52). The world will be transformed into Eden, for "the Heaven shall give its dew, and the earth its fatnesse" (MT, p.3).

What Boehme envisioned, and prophesied of in his mystical works, was a paradisic age identical to the one expected by most Puritan millenarians. Like them, Boehme expected a terrestrial paradise: "At the last Day wee shall not ascend above the place of this world, but make our abode here in our owne Native Country, and goe into our home."16 As most English millenarians also believed, the new age would bring about the transformation of the earth itself: "For, there will be no cold, or heat any more, also no night: we shall be able every where to passe through the heavenly Earth without interruption, and then it will be Paradise. . . . for it is written, Behold I make all things New, a New Heaven, and a New Earth" (XL. Questions Concerning the Soule [1647], p. 150). As Homes, Archer, Alsted, and so many others believed, the enlightenment would release man from effects of the Curse:

There is no Death any more, also no feare, no sorrow, no sickness; no Superior, but onely Christ, who will dwell with us: we shall have one Communion with the Angels,

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wee shall have fruit grow according to our desire and wish.

There will be no old Age: but one of a hundred yeares will be as a new-borne childe; and we shall live in meere delight-full Love.

All what ever is joyfull will be sought after: and there the will of all will be bent, to make one another rejoice. (Ibid.)

Fecundity, material wealth, longevity, perhaps even immortality, constitute Boehme's millenarian vision. His vision, of course, was not unique. That, in fact, is one reason why Boehme's exceedingly obscure and lengthy works possessed such wide appeal during the revolutionary years. Puritans could find in these works the same vision of the millennium that they themselves harbored. Boehme's 'magical' works thus furnished Puritan millenarians with 'myths' which sustained their own revolutionary expectations. His works could be used to validate the most diverse millenarian hopes, from a theocratic Fifth Monarchism to the radicals' dream of a world turned upside down, where gold would be freely available to all. There was a little something for everyone in Boehme's millenarian vision, and this would certainly help explain the reason his works were so popular with Puritans of the radical and left-wing sects.17

17Boehme's works were read by the leading reformers and political radicals of the age, including George Fox, the Quaker (H. J. Cadbury, "Early Quakerism and Uncanonical Lore," Har. Theol. R., 40 [1947], p.192, n.47), Morgan Lloyd ("Morgan Lloyd and Jacob Boehme," by L. Evans, Jacob Boehme Society Q., 1 [1956], p.15), William Erbery, Gerrard Winstanley,
No doubt Boehme's peculiar brand of mysticism attracted many people to his works. But for many, it was not Boehme's theosophy which was so alluring, but his murky vision of the millennium, a vision that harmonized with the various dreams of millenarian sects. Professor Bailey is surely on the right track when she discovers in Gerrard Winstanley's pursuit of "reformation" in religion, the law, and society in general, a manifestation of Boehme's central message (Milton and Jakob Boehme, pp.113-4). Winstanley's revolutionary utopian tracts, she maintains, "show clearly the strong influence of Boehme" (p.113).

Certainly it was the millenarian, not the mystical, element in Boehme that appealed to Sir Henry Vane. Vane is the man whom Baxter credits with driving "the Parliament to go too high. . . . His great Zeal to drive all into War, and to the highest, and to cherish the Sectaries, and especially in the Army, made him above all Men to be valued by that Party."\(^{18}\)

and by Lodowick Muggleton (on whose messianic delusions see G. F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946],p.16; C. Whitting, Studies in English Puritanism [1931], p.243). Boehme was read by John Webster, the Grindletonian (Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, pp.65-68), and by J. Bauthumley, the pantheistic antinomian associated with the Ranters (Hill, pp.176-7; Bailey, p114). Behmenism was rife amongst the new model army, where "Jacob Boehme's . . . Aurora was zealously read" (Bailey, p.110). See The World of the Ranters by A. L. Morton (pp. 127-8) for the sect's appeal.

\(^{18}\) Reliquiae Baxterianae (London, 1696), Book I, p.75.
Vane read Boehme to validate his own millenarian doctrines. Vane expected momentarily the dawn of the Third Age of the Spirit—when "the whole creation will be restored to its primitive purity and to the glorious liberty of the sons of God," which Vane believed would come with the thousand-year reign of the Messiah (Jones, Spiritual Reformers, p.277).

There can be no clearer indication that it was Boehme's millenarian prophecies that intrigued Puritans than Francis Ellington's *Mercurius Teutonicus* (1649), a collection of the prophetic passages from Boehme's works. Significantly, this collection was published as millenarian fervor was about to reach its peak. Both '1649' and '1650' were thought by some to be the years when the Messiah would inaugurate his earthly paradise of 1000 years. Ellington justifies his collection on the grounds that the mystic prophesied correctly of the messianic age: "The Antichrist, the whore of Babylon, the Beast, the False Prophet, in their Mystery of iniquitie, and

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19The period of 1649 to 1653, observes Professor Cohn, "was a time of intense religious excitement, of ecstasies and visions and millenarian expectations, when thousands . . . waited daily for Christ to return and set up a kingdom of the Saints on English soil" ("The Ranters: The 'Underground' in the England of 1650," Encounter, 34 [1970], p.15). In February, 1649, people in Norfolk and Norwich petitioned the Council of Officers to establish the Fifth Monarchy. Christ would soon suppress "'all worldly Rule and Authority!' about "'the time we live in'" (in Louise F. Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England [Washington: American Hist. Assoc., 1912], pp.17-18). A radical named Thomas Tany, friend to John Pordage, who was a leading Behmenist of the day, began to prophesy of the millennium around 1650, and after reading Boehme.
perverser practises are abundantly described in his writings . . . and he hath not only discovered in a great measure the tracks and feats of Babel . . . but also hath shewne the way to come out of her" (sig.A2\textsuperscript{v}).

Boehme was thus seen as, at the least, a prophet of the millennium. His work fused together a strange sort of magic with millennial expectations focusing on various messianic figures. His visions of paradise were traditional in every respect, and perfectly consonant with Puritan dreams of the future age. As the example of Ellington reveals, the popularity of Boehme in England, during the revolutionary years, was in part owing to the apocalyptic elements of his works, apocalyptic elements which reinforced millenarian and radical hopes of a transformed world.
Part 2:

English Behmenists

The English disciples of Jacob Boehme shared their master's belief that the 'morning light' of magical gnosis would lead to a general enlightenment and to a new age of the body and the spirit. For English Behmenists, the enlightenment meant especially revelation of the secrets of nature. Sympathetic to Baconianism, and tinged, perhaps, with that mild form of millennial fervor which colored Bacon's dreams of the 'great instauration,' English Behmenists tended to interpret the future age of earthly perfection as the result of a scientific renaissance. To put it in other words, Boehme's doctrine that the adept of the "Divine Magical Schoole" possesses total power over "the external World" (Epistles, p.81) was interpreted by his disciples, already flushed with the millenarian excitement of the time, in the context of Boehme's injunction to use magic to effect the salvation of mankind. Since "all things are possible to nature" (Signatura Rerum, p.59), "all things may be effected" (Ibid.). We hear in these lines the translator's echo of Bacon's phrase, 'the effecting of all things possible.'

For Bacon, the "knowledge of causes and the secret notions

\[\text{\textsuperscript{20}}\text{For a provocative discussion of this concept in the seventeenth century, see Sir Peter Medawar, "On 'the Effecting of All Things Possible,'" The Listener, 82, No.2114 (Thursday, 2 October 1969), pp.439-42.}\]
of things" would 'undo the work of the Fall.' In much the same way, English Behmenists thought that they had found in the Divine Magia of Boehme the illumination of those physical mysteries and forces which could be used to free mankind from the curse.

John Ellistone, the translator of the Epistles, the work in which so much of Boehme's occult and apocalyptic hopes is to be found, explains that the divine magician, by binding his own soul into union with God through gnosis, can penetrate into the secret qualities and virtues hidden in all visible and corporeal things, a belief which Agrippa also held. This 'enlightenment' will result in the magician's command of the healing and curative powers God Himself implanted in nature for the benefit of man:

This knowledge, must advance all Arts and Sciences, and conduce to the attainment of the Universal Tincture and Signature, whereby the different secret qualities which are hid in all visible and corporeal things as metals, minerals, Plants, and Herbes, may be drawn forth and applied to the right natural use for the curing and healing of corrupt and decayed nature.

Do we not recognize behind this passage, the old 'millennary dream' of alchemy? Gnosis will lead to the discovery of the Panacea, the restorative ordained by God to heal earthly corruption and decay. The millennium will come through magic.  

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21 The Epistles, sig. xiii. See Rufus Jones, Spiritual Reformers, p.219. Ellistone himself discovered in the "sig-
John Sparrow entertained the same hope, but there is a social dimension to Sparrow's expectations that may have been especially appealing to more radical millenarians of the left-wing Puritan sects. For Sparrow, the 'curing and healing of corrupt and decayed nature' possessed the promise of a better social world and entailed particular social reforms. Like others in the circle of English Behmenists, Sparrow believed that through the study of the master's works, one could acquire the same magical powers with which the first Apostles "wrought their Miracles." Their successors, the followers of Boehme, according to Sparrow, will use these powers "to change the whole Universe in a Moment." They shall use magic, he says, "to restore the whole Creation to the Glorious Libertie of the Sons of God: Surely it will be worth our pains, to find such Wisdom as this."  

The phrase 'glorious liberty of the Sons of God' was

\[\text{natura rerum}\] of Boehme "the outward Cure of the Body; how the outward Life may be freed from sickness by its likeness or As-similate, and be again introduced into its first Essence, where also by way of Parable or Similitude the Philosophers Stone is lively described for the Temporal Cure" (Signatura Rerum, "Preface," sigs.A3v-A4r). Ellistone is the translator who glossed Boehme's reference to "Revelation" as meaning knowledge of "experimentall science" (see Epistles, p.44). One might call Sparrow and Ellistone's 'scientific' interpretation of Boehme's magico-mysticism 'vulgar Behmenism, a quasi-scientific magianism not unlike the 'vulgar Baconianism' of Samuel Hartlib, who was himself a reader of Boehme.  

\[22\] Mysterium Magnum, sigs.B4r-v. Sparrow may have had contact with Ranters and Diggers, from whom he learned the true meaning of the phrase, 'the glorious liberty of the sons of God.'
something of a left-wing shibboleth. Like more radical followers of Boehme's teachings, Sparrow envisioned a reformation of the political and legal order of the world. Addressing those with the power "to make a Reformation," he explains that the understanding of the Divine Magia of Boehme's works will result in a reformation "of the Lawes ... in every Nation" (*MM*, sigs.A4r-v). Encouraged by the fact that Boehme's "Wisdom is growing" throughout England, Sparrow is led to expect at any time the "reform [of] the Laws" which now so oppress the Saints (*XL. Questions*, "To the Reader"). This reform of the law shall also bring social reform, for it will turn upside down "the degrees in every Nation." As the enlightenment spreads throughout the world, and more and more come to understand Boehme's works and receive the illumination they bestow, "the whole World will be governed in Peace to the joy of all" (Ibid., sig.C2v).

The magical and apocalyptic strands of Behmenism which weave their way through the various prefaces and commentaries of the movement, were finally woven into a single fabric by one of Boehme's English disciples. I am referring to the long poem entitled, *Mundorum Explicatio*, written by "S. P.,” likely the initials of Samuel Pordage. This poem is an exhaustive—if somewhat tedious—treatment of the magical and millenarian messages we have discovered in Boehme's works. It is also the boldest manifestation of the occultism that
existed in Behmenistic circles during the revolutionary period. Its central thesis is the millenarian salvational powers of magic, and their specific role in bringing about the fall of Antichrist and the advent of the millennium. Coming as it did in 1661, Mundorum Explicatio is, in many respects, the culmination of the magico-millenarian movement in English Behmenism.

Although the poem offers a traditional distinction between three different types of magic—natural, diabolical, and sacred—only the 'diabolical' and 'sacred' need concern us here. It is these two types that will resolve the fate of the universe: as evil opposes good, so "Magic opposeth Magic."²³

Black magic—the magia of Satan—is the power through which Satan originally corrupted man and through which he continues to "converteth Good to Ill" (p.31). The world's evil—its oppression, injustice, poverty, and its other miseries—can all be attributed to this "dark Magic" (p.36). It was to combat this dark magic that God permitted an eclairissement of the secrets of divine magic. To the "Holy-wise" God makes available His own "Power" and "Magic" to resist

²³S. P., Mundorum Explicatio or, the Explanation of an Hieroglyphical Figure: Wherein are couched the Mysteries of the External, Internal, and Eternal Worlds (London, 1661), p. 87. I have been unable to find any discussion of this most interesting work. The authorship of the poem will be discussed shortly.
the forces of the devil (p.87).

This is the general theme of *Mundorum Explicatio*. The precise details of this magical enlightenment—and of the millennium that is to issue from it—are couched in a long and awkwardly literal allegory recounting the journey of the character 'Pilgrim' towards magical gnosis. This allegory of how one of the "holy-wise" acquires the magical power to oppose Satan is tantamount to a disquisition on the formation of the mind of the magus. Nowhere could one find a clearer picture of the Behmenistic hero—"Heav'n's Archemagus"—or find more glaringly exposed the fantastic millennial hopes and delusions harbored by those English Behmenists ravished by the Teutonic's peculiar fusion of magic and millenarianism.

In his journey through the three magical states of existence—diabolical, natural, and finally sacred—toward the New Jerusalem of Divine Magic, Pilgrim is told by various accompanying guiding spirits the meaning and uses of the (symbolic) objects he encounters along the way. The most important of these objects is the "Tree of Life," on which the important "Theomagical twelve fruits do grow" (p.267). Pilgrim must eat each one of these fruits to acquire the attributes of the true Magician of Jehovah. Each one confers upon him special magical powers needed in the struggle against Antichrist and the magicians of the Devil.

By eating of the first fruit, the poem explains, the would-be magus has his mind cleared of the cobwebs of fallacious
logic, and learns the "true Logic Art" (p.270). The second fruit "makes man truly wise," bestowing on him "Magic, Wisdom, and true knowledge." From this fruit the would-be magus also receives the power to read rightly the "most mysterious Books" of Nature, because he is now possessed of

An Eye which doth perspicuously see,  
What Virtues, in all Vegetables be;  
That the true Nature of all Things that grow,  
From the tall Cedar, to the shrub, doth know;  
An Eye that from the Earth to Heav'n doth rise,  
And rangeth th'rough the myst'ries of the Skies.

The aspirant to Divine Magia acquires as well knowledge of the beneficient and maleficient stars, and the true "courses of all natural things:"

These sacred Fruits besides all these disclose Nature's hid Magic, which th'universe oppose,  
The Ancients wisdom, whereby they could do Things wonderful, yet natural, and true.

It was "this food" that gave the "mighty Magus" Solomon his "wisdom and his knowledge" (pp. 270, 271, 272).

Other fruits on this "Tree of Life" bless the aspirant with the power to work miraculous cures:

So these with perfect Health do man imbue,  
And t'others make him Health's Physitian too, 
Simples from his Hand ta'ne more virtues hold,  
Than Bezoar or dissolved Pearl or Gold:
His touch, or breath, or word, or healing Eye,  
May Physical Medicaments supply,  
The Taster gaineth from these Fruits alone,  
The healing Virtue, and the med'cinal Stone.

These ravishing healing powers are, of course, messianic as well as magical in nature, for they recapitulate those miracles
effected by Christ Himself, including healing the blind, the
lame, and the deaf. The Magician of Jehovah can also perform
the ultimate messianic cure: he can raise the dead to life
again.

Yet another fruit on the Tree of Life confers the power
of prophecy, a power to which many of Boehme's disciples laid
claim. Prophecy is the gift that makes the Archemagus a true
and infallible interpreter of the Scriptures and of the will
of God:

This to the Eater gives the golden Key
Which doth unlock the Letter's mysterie,
Which doth unseal the most mysterious wells;
Which doth reveal Gemms hid in Parables. (p.274)

The same fruit also makes the magus infallible in oneiromancy,
that is, in deciphering the "mysteries of the Night." Such
claims as this may very well have attracted left-wing sectar-
ians to Boehme's works, and inclined them to look sympathetic-
ally on magic, which, after all, only offered the same powers
they themselves already claimed to possess.

One of the most coveted of all theomagical powers—even
in primitive tribes (Eliade)—is the power to live once again
with the gods, a gift which usually takes the form of commun-
icating personally with their messengers, the Angels. Unto
the magus is restored this gift. Explains one of the angelic
guides to Pilgrim:

In Ages past when we so frequent were
With Men and did in Humane Shapes appeare;
Simplicity, and Innocency reign
Did among Men, they know not how to gain
By lying Miracles: Their Natures all-
Most like to ouers were Angelicall. (p.28)

With every stage of his gnostic journey Pilgrim acquires a more angelic, or even divine, nature, a nature which recapitulates Adam's when in Eden. Thus, to become Heaven's "Arch-Magitian," Pilgrim must have his bodily senses purified, so that he can perceive the "sacred Visions of Aeternal Light," and hear the "Sounds of Paradise," the "world's sweet Harmony" and "the mystic voyces" of the heavenly choires (p.283)—just as Adam did before the Fall.

Now, at almost the summit of sanctification, the aspiring magus is blessed with one of the most valuable gifts of all—the power to suspend the laws of nature and to work stupendous miracles:

The Eater shall nothing too hard suppose
To be effected by him: for by those [fruits]
Mountains may be remov'd, Sees made a Plain.

"All living Creatures," the poem asserts, will "Obey his Word, who of this Fruit have eat" (p.281). It was this very same 'fruit' which infused the Apostles with the power to work "Miracles," and permitted the "Great Thaumaturgus"—Moses—to roll back the Red Sea. Now that this power has been re-kinkled within a new apostolic elite of sanctified magicians, the future holds the promise of even more wonderful magical transformations:
By this the latter ages not a few
Have Wonders done; and Wonders more shall do:
For time draws nigh wherein this Fruit shall then,
Not such a stranger be to Mortel Men. (p.282)

At the end of this sanctification process lies that
fruit which "maketh Mortal Man/ To be Jehovah's great Magitian,"
that "Art-Magic" which imbues the magus with "heav'nly Sap-
ience" through which "Great Miracles" can be worked:

Great Miracles this Magic-Art affords,
Not caus'd by joyning superstitious words,
But in the true Name of Jehovah all
Wonders are done, if truly magical. (p.284)

To "Heav'n's Sophus, or Magitian" who has eaten of these last
"beautifying Fruits," "Nothing's impossible for him to do,"
for

His Will is God's, they are no longer two:
He willeth nothing but by Heav'n's own Will.
Then what shall dare not his Command fulfill?

Utterly perfected, innocent, omnipotent, armed with the
transforming, creative potency of God Himself, the Magician
of Jehovah is the Master of all Creation, including all men:

He now is Sovereign over the World, and all
Things, that therein are shall obey his Call. (p.293)

To oppose him would be folly,

For by this Art of divine Magic, he
May shroud him in invisibility:
Walk on the Clouds: stand in a flame of Fire;
And th'row the Walls, if dores be shut retire:
May walk upon the surliest Seas, while they
Smoothing their rugged Fronts his feet obey.
Thus accoutered and empowered, the Magician of Jehovah is ready to fulfill the prophecy of Boehme, by engaging Antichrist in the long-awaited apocalyptic struggle for dominion of the world. As the opponent of evil magic, the Divine Magician continues the struggle against the forces of Antichrist begun by "Heav'n's great Magitian mighty Moses," who brought plagues and "sev'n-fold Wonders" upon the hardened Egyptians. This Magician is also to imitate the mighty warrior of the Lord, Joshua, who overthrew "the strong-built walls of Jerico" through magic. By the same magic "Jerubaal did overthrow/ The Midians mighty Host without a blow." And so Paul, by the "Coelestial Magic's might," blinded "the Sorcere Elymas;" and Peter, through "Heav'n's true Magic's Skil," brought crashing to earth "Hel's magus Simon:"

For Hel's dark Magic unto Heav'n's must yield; Nor dares that come, when this is in the Field. (pp.295-6)

It is thus through the agency of the Divine Magician that mankind will repossess all that was lost through Adam's fall. In behalf of all mankind, the Magician of Jehovah will assume man's proper role as "Godlike King" of the earth:

24 Even John Sparrow was enthralled by this vision. Magic, he insists, is "not to be rejected, but to be sought after, with all diligence," because magic is a weapon in the apocalyptic battle to be waged by the enlightened against the forces of oppression and ignorance. Through magic, he says, "We may be able to disclose the secret workings and oppose the wiles of the Devill and Satan, used by his wicked Magi or Magicians, his instruments in this world" (MM, sig.A3r).
Divinely taught; divinely learn'd indeed,
He Heav'n's Cabal, and mysteries doth read,
And thus is Heav'n's Magitian a King
Upon the Earth, to whom all Creatures bring
Their homage due unto that Image, that
In him appears, of the Incorporat,
And increated Deity.

What Adam lost he gains by this new Birth,
And is new-Crowned King, and God on Earth.(p.295)

Remarkable as it may seem, English Behmenists conceived of the Fifth Monarchy paradise as the reign of the Magician. The messianic powers of magic acquired through gnosis are to be used by the magician to restore the earth, and the human condition generally, to its primordial "Purity." Through magic, "the Earth a Paradise shall be." This disciple of Boehme was espousing the dream of the Hermetic reformers, and the 'millennial dream' of alchemy. Like Adam in Eden, the Magician of Jehovah shall dispense the "External blessings" of "Wisdom, Wit, and Wealth,/ Riches, and Honors, Plenty, Pleasures, Health" (p.31). These were the blessings that even Puritan millenarians believed would come to humankind at the end of time. Behmenistic magic would thus bestow on man precisely those 'creature comforts' desired by Puritan millenarians and Hermetic magicians alike:

All things shall turn to Harmony agen:
My Foe shall then be captivate: Man shall
Most happy live upon the outward Ball. (p.83)

The author of this strange rhapsody on the millennial powers of magic no doubt viewed the revival of Behmenistic
magic during the revolutionary years as that 'aurora' or enlightenment which would usher in the millennium itself:

Turn to the East your long-expecting eyes,
And see the Sun in his bright lustre rise;
His Kingdom then no longer shall be hid,
Nor under Clouds of darknesse abide,
None then shall say, where is this kingdom, where
This Paradise? for then it shall appear.
In all its lustre th'row the Earth . . . .

Nothing but Peace, and Righteousnesse shall flow,
With Joy, and Blisse, and all content below.
Then shall Jehovah's gracious will be done.
On Earth, as now in Heav'n by every one. (pp.27-8)

The millenarian message expressed here was not only an articulation of Boehme's central thesis, but an epitome of the millenarian hopes of the Puritans. However literally or figuratively this work should be taken, on the surface at least it expressed the expectations and dreams of Magician and Puritan alike. In the works of Boehme and his disciples, magic and the millennium were once again inextricably fused into a single vision of the future.

Dedicated as it was to "J. B. and his interpreter [sic] J. Sparrow Esq" (sig. a4'), Mundorum Explicatio was obviously an expression of the Behmenistic milieu of Puritan England. It is likely that either Samuel Pordage (the "S. P." of the title page) or his father, John Pordage, or both, had a hand in the poem. Whether or not this can be proved, we do

25 In 1660, Samuel Pordage (1633-1691?) published Poems
know that the Pordages, especially John, were members in good standing of the circle of adepts and mystics which expounded the doctrines of the master. In fact, John was widely recognized at the time as being the principal expositor of the Teutonic's thought.  

A brief review of Pordage's activities and acquaintances will provide another perspective on the Behmenistic milieu of Puritan England. We will find that Boehme's teachings, and

upon Several Occasions, signing it "S. P. Gent." Although Pordage's biographer in the DNB notes that the content of Mundorum is utterly unlike anything else he ever wrote, Lowndes, among others, attributes the poem to him. Writing in 1728, Bishop Kennett also says that the work is Samuel's. A solution to the problem of authorship consistent with what we know about the Pordages may be contained in a prefatory remark by an 'anonymous' editor that states the ms. "came into my hands, another being the author." I believe the editor was Samuel Pordage. The work was not his, but his father's. John Pordage, because he had been indicted in 1654 for conducting magical rituals, may have wished to keep his responsibility for the work secret. Dryden's reference to Samuel as "lame Mephilioseth, the wizard's son" (Absalom and Achitophel, 1.405) indicates the extent to which John Pordage was recognized as a magician. The ruse about the editor and the author being different people, and about the author being one "S. P." were meant to throw everyone off the track, and to distance John as much as possible from the poem, perhaps for the sake of the poem. Certainly it was John more than Samuel who was most inclined to magic and to millenarianism.  

those of his English disciples, attracted some of the most radical sectarians of the age.

John Pordage combined an interest in the theosophy of Jacob Boehme with the most chthonic magical pursuits. He seems to have been the center of a mystical-magical sect which surrounded him at his living at Bradfield. Baxter charges him with having "Familiarity with Devils" and with performing "Conjurations," charges which Pordage himself would have probably not denied.

It is also fair to say of him that he was something of an apocalyptic visionary as well. There are several contemporary reports, some from Pordage himself, that evil spirits and 'fiery dragons,' "so big as to fall a very great Room," would often engage John Pordage in combat. What Pordage may have thought himself doing was waging war with the forces of Antichrist, just as Boehme had envisioned and as Mundorum Explicatio described. Initiated into the Divine Magic of Boehme, Pordage employed it to exorcise "devils in the forms of beasts, spirits of wicked men all deformed, with cloven hoofs, cat's ears, tusks, crooked mouths, and bow legs" (Whiting, p.299).

At once a magus and apocalyptic visionary, Pordage was also something of a revolutionary as well, thus epitomizing,

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like the astrologer Culpepper, the "Familiar-levelling-Magical" temper of the times (Thomas Hall). His political associations included some of the most radical thinkers of the age, and some of the most notorious fanatics as well. He knew William Erbery, the Seeker (see Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, pp.154-8), who quoted Boehme with approval, and he was host to William Everard the Digger (or perhaps it was Robert Everard the 'agitater'--Hill, p.181).

He also put up at Bradfield the notorious Abiezer Coppe, the Ranter, to whom Pordage seems to have been very close and whose very presence at Bradfield was listed in an indictment brought against Pordage in 1654 to have him expelled from his living.²⁸ Pordage also expressed approval of the writings of

²⁸ Coppe was one of the most outspoken advocates of the roaring, fornicating, threatening doctrines and practices of the Ranters, the most extreme of the antinomian sects. He probably became affiliated with the sect around 1649, the year in which he published his two infamous tracts, or 'fiery flying rolls' as he termed them, warning pieces of the "dreadful day of Judgement," which would come in 1649. Because God "dwelleth in the form of the Writer of this Roll," he says, he speaks with the voice of God when he cries in the face of the rich, "I overturn, overturn, overturn." Those who oppose Coppe, he warns, oppose God (A Fiery Flying Roll [London, 1649], pp.14, 1). After an apocalyptic bloodletting, the earth will be filled "with universal love, universal peace, and perfect freedom" (p.4). In A Second Fiery Flying Roule (1649) he delivers this message to the establishment: "I say deliver your purse, deliver sirrah! deliver or I'll cut thy throat!" (p.2; Professor Hill views Coppe as a pacifist! [pp.168-71]). Most Ranter pamphlets were published by Giles Calvert, who also published most of Boehme's writings (Morton, The World of the Ranters, p.127, n.2). Calvert also published many Antinomian, Digger, Leveller and Quaker works. Ranters justified their amoralism in terms of the 'provisional paradise' they inhabited, which freed them from earthly laws. They were thus mystical millenarians.
Richard Coppin, another important Ranters. Staying with Pordage at Bradfield on occasion was Thomas Tany, a millenarian fanatic and philosemithe. Another regular associate of Pordage was Roger Crab (1621?-1681), a vegetarian and hermit who "dabbled in astrology and physic," and who "indulged in prophecy" (DNB, s.v. Crab). The minister of Uxbridge denounced Crab as a "Witch."

29 For Richard Coppin, see Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, pp.177-9, passim; and, A. L. Morton, The World of the Ranters, pp.71-5, passim.

30 Thomas Tany (fl.1649-1655), called the "mad Transilvanian" by contemporaries (DNB), boasted he was a Jew of the tribe of Reuben. His philosemitism left him a prey to the growing millenarian fervor affecting the Jewish community of Europe during the early 1650s (Silver, A History of Messianic Speculation, pp.163-83). In 1650 he announced the return of the Jews to the Holy Land and the rebuilding of the Temple—all symbolic events signifying the dawning of the messianic age. His fervid proclamations inflamed the notorious John Robins (fl.1650-52), who touted himself the father of the messiah (DNB, s.v. Robins). Under the influence of Tany, Robins hatched a scheme for leading a host of 144,000 to the Holy Land (the number is mentioned in Revelation 14:3). Tany read the English translations of Boehme around 1650, and in 1651 began publishing a series of pantheistic tracts echoing the German magus. His tracts interested Pordage, "who had him at his house for a week or a fortnight at a time" (DNB). In 1652 Tany, who had already identified himself as the Earl of Essex and thus heir to the throne of England, claimed for himself the throne of France as well. In 1654 he used a sword on several doorknackers of Parliament who prevented him from announcing to its members the dawning of the Messiah. Though Tany can not be said to have had any serious political ideas, he was an example of the kind of millenarian fanatic who was attracted to the writings of Boehme. When last seen, Tany was sailing, alone, towards Amsterdam, where he was going to prepare the Jews for the return of the Messiah.

31 For a discussion of Roger Crab, see Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution, p.315.
Here we have, then, some of the close friends of the 'chieftest' of the Behmenists. Though evidence would suggest that each of these fanatics shared Pordage's interest in magic in one form or another (Laurence Clarkson, for example, was a practicing astrologer in 1650—Thomas, p.374), their common bond was their shared belief in the millennium. Pordage, and each of his acquaintances, were animated by an intense—and sometimes bizarre—form of millenarianism. It was this which surely attracted such activists as Coppe, Tany, Clarkson and others. Pordage himself, it should be pointed out, was also a radical in politics. A contemporary of his noted that "he cared no more for the higher powers then for the dust under his feet. Ere long there would be no Parliament, no magistrate nor government in England, and the saints would take the estates of the wicked for themselves and the wicked should be their slaves." 32 Like most of his associates, Pordage expected a momentary reformation of the world, the overturning of the social structure, and the end of the reign of Anti-Christian oppression. It was as much his millenarian fervor as his magical delusions that made Pordage a true disciple of Jacob Boehme.

Conclusion

The true significance of the Behmenistic revival of the 1640s and 1650s can only be understood if it is recognized that the doctrines of Boehme, and of his English disciples, offered millenarians, and especially those with vague notions of the future age of bliss, a legitimizing charter for their own dreams of world reformation, or the dawning of a new age of spiritual perfection and material well-being. Thus, in the Behmenistic milieu of Puritan England, chiliasts and social radicals of many different descriptions could find reassuring pronouncements substantiating their own expectations of, and desires for, a total reformation of the human condition. The fact that these pronouncements were often embedded in a magical context did little to undermine their force, and likely made more credible to Englishmen the role of magic in bringing about the reformation concerning which so many were prophesying.

One must conclude with Professor Solt, that English millenarianism drew some of its strength from "the writings of Jacob Boehme." This would help explain why the magical and obscure doctrines of Boehme enjoyed such widespread popularity during the years of the Puritan Revolution.

CHAPTER V:

THE ROSICRUCIAN REFORMATION

OF THE WORLD

Introduction

In 1652, under the pseudonym used by Thomas Vaughan ("Eugenius Philalethes"), there appeared an English translation of the two manifestos which had announced to the world, in 1614 and 1615, a universal reformation of all things to be brought about by a secret society of magicians, named the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross.¹ The publication of these tracts in English has been called by Frances Yates "an epoch-

¹Eugenius Philalethes, The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C: Commonly, of the Rosie Cross (London, 1652). It is unlikely that the translation was done by Vaughan. Evidence indicates that it was circulating in manuscript in England as early as 1633, and that it was done by an unknown hand. For a full discussion of this ms. and of the various editions of these two manifestos, and their accompanying material, see the introduction by F. N. Pryce to his facsimile reprint of the London edition (The Fame and Confession . . . now reprinted in facsimile. Together with an Introduction and Notes, and a Translation of the letter of Adam Haselmeyer [Margate: W. J. Parrett, Ltd., 1923], pp.2-4). All quotations from, and references to, the manifestos are based on this edition.
making event," for it made them known to a wide audience of Englishmen long intrigued by the mystery which surrounded the Rosicrucian movement (The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, p.185).

For this English edition of the manifestos, Thomas Vaughan wrote the "Publisher to the Reader" section (signed "E. P."), a long introduction entitled simply "The Preface," and an essay entitled "The Fraternity of the Rosy Cross." Vaughan was also responsible for the closing "Short Advertisement to the Reader." Clearly, Vaughan's heart was very much in this endeavor, and his sponsorship of this publication was certainly no passing flirtation with the movement. All the evidence indicates that he was seriously interested in the teachings of the Rosicrucians, and that he knew well the works attributed to them. Although he denies being a member of the Fraternity, he proclaims "I am indeed of the same Faith with them" (Pryce edn., sig.d2). He incorporated into his Lumen de Lumine (1651) what has been called one of the "finest of Rosicrucian manifestoes" (Pryce edn., "Introduction," p.3). The manifesto referred to is a parable of gnostic illumination. Moreover, in his preface to the manifestos, Vaughan quotes, without acknowledgment, from the Rosicrucian alchemist, Michael Maier (Waite, The Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, p.375). Throughout his magico-mystical treatises, Vaughan refers repeatedly to the Rosicrucians.

In the same year that Vaughan issued the Rosicrucian manifestos, Elias Ashmole published his important collection
of alchemical tracts, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), a work which brought before the English reading public the "millennary dream" of alchemy. This collection is similar to the 'theatres' or collections of alchemical material which had been published in the early seventeenth-century German alchemical movement. In fact, Frances Yates has suggested that Ashmole's work "derived partly (though certainly not entirely) from the impetus to alchemical studies given by Michael Maier as part of the 'Rosicrucian' movement" (*RE*, p.195). According to Yates, Ashmole's collection was a kind of continuation of Maier's revival of English alchemy in the German Rosicrucian movement (Maier had translated Norton's 'Ordinall of Alchemy'). For Yates, Ashmole's *Theatrum* is clearly "Rosicrucian in sympathy" (p.195).

The fact would not have escaped an attentive reader of Ashmole's collection. For in the opening words of the work, Ashmole quotes from the *Fama Fraternitatis*, and refers with praise to Michael Maier, one of the staunchest defenders of Rosicrucianism.²

²See Yates, *RE*, pp.8ff, 196-7. The investigation of Professor Yates has revealed that Ashmole took a serious interest in Rosicrucianism, as Vaughan did. He took the trouble to copy out by hand an English translation of the *Fama* and the *Confessio*, and to add to these copies an elaborate letter in Latin, also written in his own hand, addressed to the 'illuminated' members of the Fraternity, and petitioning to join their secret society (Yates, p.194). Something of a Rosicrucian aura surrounds as well Ashmole's edition of a work entitled *The Way to Bliss* (London, 1658), to which he supplied
Vaughan and Ashmole's public acknowledgement of the Rosicrucian movement may have encouraged the Puritan divine, John Webster, to advocate the teaching in the universities of Hermetic magic reformed by Paracelsus. Professor Yates places Webster's extraordinary work within the broad tradition of Rosicrucianism: "Webster goes very deeply into the kind of doctrines that are behind the Rosicrucian manifestos, urging, like them, the replacement of Aristotelian scholasticism by a Hermetic-Paracelsist type of natural philosophy, through which to learn the language of nature rather than the language of the schools. His only mention of the 'highly illuminated a preface. Ashmole says of this mystical work that it proves "the Possibility of such a thing as the Philosophers Stone" (in C. H. Josten, ed., Elias Ashmole (1617-1692): His Autobiographical and Historical Notes, 5 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966], II, p.732). It appears that Ashmole was provoked into publishing the ms. in his possession because John Heydon, who pretended to Rosicrucian mysteries, issued a mutilated version as his own work in his New Method of Rosicrucian physick (London, 1658), and The Wise-Mans Crown: or the Glory of the Rosic Cross (London, 1664; see Josten, ed., II, p.734). It may have been to the Way of Bliss that Samuel Hartlib was referring when he enquired of Dr. John Worthington, "I hear that Mr. Ashmole hath published the orders of Rosy Crucians & Adepti. Can you tell me what esteem it bears?" (in Josten, ed., II, p.760). The question was asked in 1659. Josten suggests that Hartlib may have been referring to the English edition of Maier's Themis Aurea, The Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Crosse (1656), which was dedicated to Ashmole. But Josten's interpretation would mean that Hartlib, a very 'eager' person, was three years late in asking his question.

fraternity of the Rosie Crosse' is in connection with the 'language of nature,' which he speaks of as a secret known to the 'divinely inspired Teutonic Boehme' and 'in some measure acknowledged' by the Rosy Cross Fraternity, an interesting (and undoubtedly correct) insight into the affinity between Boehme and the Rosicrucian manifestos" (RE, p.186). Webster's eulogy of the Rosicrucians was enough to convince Seth Ward that Webster was nothing more than a "credulous fanatick Reformer," a revealing indication of the extent to which Rosicrucianism was associated with current ideas of reformation in mid-century England (Vindiciae Academiarum [1654], p.5).

Two years after the publication of Webster's Academiarum Examen, Nathaniel and Thomas Hodges dedicated to Elias Ashmole their translation of Michael Maier's Themis Aurea, a work reputedly setting forth the "Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Crosse." Maier was a most important figure in the origin of the Rosicrucian movement (Yates, RE, pp.70-95).

4N. L., T. S., and H. S., trans., Themis Aurea. The Laws of the Fraternity of the Rosie Crosse. Written in Latin by Count Michael Maierus, And now in English for the information of those who seek the knowledge of that Honourable and mysterious Society of wise and renowned Philosophers (London, 1656). Concerning the translators, see Josten, ed., Elias Ashmole, II, p.680, n.4, and 681. Yates writes: "In Themis Aurea ... Maier purports to reveal the structure of the Rosicrucian Society and its laws. On the whole, the work is a digest of the Fama" (pp.86-7). The dedication to this work pays tribute to Ashmole as a reflection of the Light of God by whose refracted glow men may come to discover "the most reclused Mysteries, both naturall and divine" (Josten, p.681).
Perhaps an even more profound manifestation of Rosicrucianism can be found in the work of Samuel Hartlib and his associates, especially John Dury and Johann Amos Comenius. These three men, Hugh Trevor-Roper has written, "both in their limited, practical aims and their wild, bloodshot mysticism," were "the real philosophers, the only philosophers, of the English Revolution." As Trevor-Roper also recognized, and as Frances Yates has proved, each of these three men were associated with Rosicrucianism. All three were dedicated to propagating in England the Rosicrucian program of social, religious and political reformation.

What these works indicate is that we can talk meaningfully about a Rosicrucian milieu in Puritan England. The Fraternity was publicly praised and its 'laws' allegedly revealed and endorsed by some of the leading magico-scientists and reformers of the day. But most important is the fact that with the revival of the Fama and Confessio in 1652, the Rosicrucian Brotherhood added its call for a Hermetic ref-


\[\text{6Yates, RE, chs. 11, 12, and 13. It is Yates' thesis that these three adepti attempted to implement in England that version of the Rosicrucian program of reform advocated by Johann Andreae, whose reform ideas were "propagated by men like Comenius, Samuel Hartlib, John Dury, all influenced by Andreae, and inheritors of the reforming movement which had met with such catastrophe in its Rosicrucian disguise" (p.170).}\]
ormation of the world to the many voices in England prophesying of the millennium. This magical movement became part of the millenarian milieu of Puritan England.

In the following pages, we shall examine in some detail the millenarian motifs and visions to be found in the Rosicrucian milieu between 1640 and 1660. I shall try to indicate how the reformationist message of this movement reinforced and validated many current millenarian expectations of the left-wing sects.
Part 1:
Vaughan and the Manifestos

It is not difficult, of course, to explain Vaughan's interest in such a movement as Rosicrucianism purported to be. What is more perplexing, and what is worth considering, is why Vaughan should have thought the year '1652' the opportune time for publishing somebody else's translation of the Rosicrucian manifestos (Yates can offer no explanation, p.185). I believe the answer lies in the prophetic environment of the time. To understand the significance of this prophetic environment, however, it will be first necessary to review Professor Yates' exciting discoveries and suggestions concerning the origin and political objectives of European Rosicrucianism. These same objectives were still viable in English Rosicrucianism, as we shall see. A review of her findings, and a survey of the prophetic context in which the revival of the manifestos should be viewed will help to clarify what is of central concern to us here--the millenarian message of the Rosicrucian milieu of Puritan England.

Rosicrucian Origins

In many respects, Rosicrucianism was an outgrowth of the millenarian furor which spread through Hermetic circles in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. Hermetic millenarianism soon spread to mystic and occult circles in Germany, flowering there during the years of the Reformation. When the
traditional and more moderate Protestant reformers did not, in the opinion of more utopian visionaries, go far enough with the reformation, the belief spread that the reformation of Calvin and Luther was only a prelude to and harbinger of an even more pervasive reformation, one that would transform the human condition and restore the Golden Age to earth.

Adepti like Michael Servetus and Paracelsus gave vent to a number of prophecies of the coming millennium, often describing it as a continuation of the earlier Reformation. Expectations of great change spread throughout the sixteenth century. Brahe's 'new star' thus shed its influence on many who were already inflamed with an eager expectation of the thousand-year paradise. To them, the new star seemed to be a sign, particularly in Protestant circles, that a second Protestant reformation was near. This reformation, it was believed, would finally cast down Antichrist (the Pope), and then heal the wounds of religious strife by imposing on mankind the 'true' faith of Christ.

Similarly, the prognostication by Paracelsus that an enlightenment would accompany the advent of Elias the Artist gave rise to intense millenarian expectancy, in both Christian and occult circles. The learned world conjectured about this figure, and the transformation of the world he would initiate. It is not difficult to imagine that Paracelsus' many disciples were ready to welcome any man, or group of men, who both espoused the philosophy of the master and attempted to implement
his prophecy of reformation. Thus, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as one age was giving way to another, a new "'and a great general reformation,'" one far more radical and profound than that accomplished by Luther, "'was believed to be impending over the human race, as a necessary forerunner of the day of judgment.'" 7

This, then, was the mood of the times when Rosicrucianism first came to light. That this mood, and its associated prophecies, helped give rise to Rosicrucianism can hardly be denied. But Frances Yates has detected a more immediate and direct cause of the movement in the efforts of John Dee to interest Protestant rulers in his schemes of "far-reaching imperialist mysticism." 8 Yates suggests that Dee's scheme may have been similar to that of Sidney, who, in 1577 (the year of the comet!), explored the possibilities of a Protestant League in Europe to be led by the Calvinist rulers of the Palatinate (RE, p.15). The Palatinate was to become the focus of Rosicrucian dreams of the millennium several decades after the death of John Dee.

According to Yates, the seeds of imperialistic mysticism

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sown by Dee lay quiescent until 1613. In this year Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, married Frederick V, hereditary ruler of the Palatinate, and chief lay Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, as well as head of the union of German Protestant princes. In the eyes of some, the union of these two powerful Protestant countries seemed to betoken the end of Catholic dominance in Europe, and perhaps the very demise of Antichrist himself. Around Frederick there grew what Frances Yates has described as a 'Rosicrucian culture,' a kind of prophetic milieu in which Frederick was depicted as the Paracelsian 'Lion of the North' who would bring about an Hermetic enlightenment and the reformation of the world. This 'Rosicrucian culture' was primarily the work of Christian of Anhalt, a noted patron of alchemists and Paracelsian adepts (RE, p.28). With the urgings of Christian of Anhalt, Frederick seems to have viewed himself as the redeemer of Protestant Europe, and perhaps as the 'restorer of all things.'

Frederick must have been aware of the gnomic prophecy of Paracelsus regarding the "young Lion" from the North who is to come, armed with the "Pearl" of alchemy, to create a "New World." The Lion had special and powerful significance for Frederick, for it was the heraldic symbol of the Palatinate, of his own family, of Bohemia, of England, and of the Protestant Netherlands (Yates, RE, p.20; Plate 18, and p.56). In the same prophecy, Paracelsus had also prognosticated of the defeat of the "Eagle," who shall "be plucked, dishonoured,
insulted and despised." The Eagle "shall cringe before him" (The Prophecies of Paracelsus, p.115). The heraldic emblem of the Hapsburgs was the Eagle. The Rosicrucian implications of all this become clear when we recognize that the prophecy of Paracelsus was in the minds of the German authors of the second Rosicrucian manifesto, the Confessio (1615), which was originally published just two years after Frederick's marriage to Elizabeth, and his alliance with England. Before the new golden age can begin, the Confessio asserts, those "Eagles Feathers in our way"—hindering the purpose of reform—must first be plucked (p.49). Who is to pluck them? "The Lion" to whom the Rosicrucians offer their magical treasures, to be used, they explain, "for the confirmation and establishment of his Kingdom" (p.45; cf. The Prophecies of Paracelsus, p.119). It seems likely then, that the Rosicrucians say Frederick as that leonine ruler prophesied of by Paracelsus, who would restore to the world the Golden Age dreamed of in the magical tradition. The original manifestos, therefore, were, in part, propaganda advancing the cause identified with the fortunes of Frederick.

Thus, when the Bohemians offered him the crown of Bohemia in 1619, Frederick accepted it as the first stage of his mission to wrest Europe from the control of the Catholic Hapsburgs. With his acceptance of the Bohemian crown, the Palatine Lion went to war with the Hapsburg Eagle. Unfortunately for Frederick, the prophecies of his success in plucking this
Eagle were greatly exaggerated. In the battle of White Mountain, 1620, Frederick was defeated and driven from his estates. The support he fully expected from England never came. James turned his back on his daughter and son-in-law, despite the vehement objections of his counsellors and ministers, who were bitterly opposed to his abandonment of Elizabeth's policy of imperialism. The resulting thirty years of strife, and the humiliation suffered by the Protestant forces, were attributed by many to James' policy of neutrality in 1620, a policy which many Englishmen condemned as cowardly and un-Christian.

What is truly remarkable is the fact that even at the time, Frederick's Bohemian adventure was seen by some contemporaries as a stage in the Rosicrucian program of world reformation. Immediately after the defeat of Frederick, Hapsburg sympathizers issued a broadside which presented Frederick standing on the globe of the world, and which spoke of Frederick's enterprise as an effort of the 'high society of Rosicrucians' to reform the human condition. The verse which accompanied the print explained some of the emblematic symbols of the cartoon:

The round wooden ball represents the world
To which the Bohemians married the Palatine,
They expected to teach the world,
And to reform all schools, churches, and law courts,
And to bring everything to the state
In which Adam found it,
And even to my state, Saturn's,
And this was called the golden time.
To that end, the high society
Of the Rosicrucians
Wish to turn all the mountains
Into gold for their own good.
Concerning this print and its accompanying verse, Frances Yates has written:

Here is the general reformation of the world announced in the Rosicrucian manifestos described as a world reformation which the Bohemians expected to achieve through the Elector Palatine. Whilst involving definite reforms in education, church, and law, this general reformation has millenarian overtones; it will bring the world back to the state in which Adam found it, which was also Saturn's golden age. So, in the Confessio, the second Rosicrucian manifesto, the general reformation is said to presage 'a great influx of truth and light' such as surrounded Adam in Paradise, and which God will allow before the end of the world. And, in the verses of the print, this millennium, this return to the golden age of Adam and Saturn, is said to be assisted by 'the high society of the Rosicrucians' who wish to turn all the mountains into gold. The satire here associates the whole movement with a 'Rosicrucian' type of alchemy, for the gold referred to is not the material gold of alchemical transmutation but the spiritual gold of a golden age and a return to Adamic innocence.

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10Yates, RE, p.57. Immediately after the fall of Frederick and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, Johann Amos Comenius, one of the 'philosophers of the Puritan revolution,' wrote a sort of pilgrim's progress in which he describes the hopes engendered by the manifestos: And then immediately I hear in the market-place the sound of a trumpet [a Rosicrucian symbol], and looking back, I see one who was riding a horse and calling the philosophers together. . . . And he told them that some famous men had, impelled by God, already examined these insufficiencies [in learning], had remedied them, and had raised the wisdom of men to that degree which it had in Paradise before the fall of man. . . . And though they had hidden themselves for so many years . . . yet they would now no
Thus, this satirical print provides valuable evidence of the political message of the Rosicrucian manifestos, and of the role Frederick and his Bohemian adventure played in translating this message into a reality. As Yates explains, "it was an apocalyptic message of universal reformation leading to a millennium and associated with movements around the Elector Palatine which were eventually to lead to the Bohemian enterprise. The Bohemians who 'married the Palatine' to the world, expected world reformation to be the result" (RE, pp.57-8).

I believe that the Rosicrucian associations of the Bohemian adventure were still alive during the Puritan Revolution. At least one writer somehow knew the Rosicrucian background to Frederick's attempt to bring about the Golden Age. It is now time to consider the question of why Vaughan felt the year '1652' the opportune time for reviving the tracts so inextricably associated with the disastrous attempt of Frederick to redeem European Protestantism and initiate the millennium.

The Prophetic Milieu

To the Englishmen of mid-century, the events surrounding

longer hide themselves, as they had already brought everything to perfection; and besides this, because they knew that a reformation would shortly befall the whole world. (The Labyrinth of the World, ed. and trans. by Count Lutzow [London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1901], pp.150-51).
Frederick's Bohemian adventure were not mere 'ancient history.' The Thirty Years' War, which had sent so many Bohemian and German refugees into England (Hartlib and Comenius among them) had ended only in 1648. Moreover, Frederick had lived until 1632, remaining throughout his life in exile the focus of febrile millenarian prophecies concerning his future restoration and the accomplishment of his messianic mission in Europe (RE, pp.158-9). Even more important, Frederick's widow lived on through the years of the Civil War (d1662), a constant reminder of how England had ignobly failed the Protestant cause in Europe.\(^{11}\)

And the cause itself was revived by the triumph of Puritanism in England. There was a widely respected prophetic tradition which held that England would provide a great evangelist or military hero who would reform the world.\(^{12}\) To many Puritans, Cromwell, at the head of the New Model Army, appeared to be such a deliverer and reformer. His ambitious policy of imperial expansion in Europe was interpreted by

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\(^{11}\)Yates says of the Queen of Bohemia that she was a "living reproach" to Englishmen for deserting the internationalist cause in 1619 (p.175). The Queen was extremely popular with parliamentarians, and even the revolutionary Parliament recognized the right of the Queen to its support. Trevor-Roper has pointed out that the chief lay patron of Hartlib and his associates was the Queen of Bohemia ("Three Foreigners," 256).

\(^{12}\)James Maxwell, Admirable and notable Prophecies (London, 1615), esp.p.84. In 1618 Bainbridge had prophesied of the triumph of reformed Protestantism in Europe (see above, pp.138-41).
those caught up in the internationalist mysticism which had characterized the foreign policy of the Age of Elizabeth as the promised fulfillment of the prophecies of world reformation.

This rebirth of Elizabethan foreign policy under Cromwell provided, I believe, the bedrock foundation for the prophetic outburst we shall now examine.

The 1650s provided fertile ground for a flowering of Rosicrucian millenarianism in England. A mood of intense expectancy followed the end of the Civil War, and it spread throughout England after the execution of the King. Great things, unheard of things, had already happened, and surely more were soon to follow. This mood gave rise to all sorts of millenarian attitudes and postures. Thousands of Englishmen awaited the Paraclet who would restore peace and unity to the troubled land, and bring about the reformation of the world. It was precisely such a mood which gave rise to the Waiters and Seekers, sects longing for a reformer to set things right.

One might describe this mood as 'apostolic euphoria.' This 'apostolic euphoria' was so intense that Thomas Edwards was provoked into attacking it: the notion "that within a while God will raise up apostles, men extraordinarily endowed with visible and infallible gifts to preach the Gospel, and that shall precede the fall of Rome," he ridiculed but could do little to suppress (Gangraena [1646 edn.], p.28). What must be recognized is that the Rosicrucians claimed the
very 'gifts' Edwards mentions. They claimed miraculous powers and the ability to infallibly interpret the Scriptures. Thus, Adam Haselmeyer addressed the Rosy Cross Fraternity as "ye especially illuminated apostolic men of God" ("Reply to the Laudable Fraternity," in Pryce, ed., "Introduction," p.58). Haselmeyer's statement was written in 1612, and attached to the first edition of the *Fama* (1614), but the English edition of the tract did not contain it. Nevertheless, Thomas Vaughan referred to the Fraternity as the "most Illustrious and Truly Regenerated Brethren R.C.,” the "Peacheable Apostles of the Church in this Storm-driven Age." As far as Vaughan was concerned, then, the 'apostles' so eagerly awaited by the people of England were the Brothers of the Rosy Cross. And there were others who agreed with him.

This mood of expectancy gave rise, especially in astrol­ogical circles, to several prophecies and prognostications which were easily applicable to the Rosicrucian movement, and which thus seemed to identify the Brothers of the Rosy Cross with those apostles awaited as early as 1646, and even earlier (Burton was awaiting Rosicrucian reformers in 1621!).

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13 "Dedication" to Anthroposophia Theomagica (1650), in Works, p.3. Vaughan may have known Burton's (sarcastic) call for reformers: "We have need of some general visitor in our age that should reform what is amiss; a just army of Rosy-Cross men, for they will amend all matters, (they say) religion, policy, manners" (Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith [New York: Tudor, 1955], p.80). Others saw the Brotherhood, as we have already seen, as a sort of 'corporate Elias.'
This 'apostolic euphoria' may have also been encouraged by two early seventeenth-century prophecies, into which it would have been very easy to read prognostications of the Brotherhood of Rosicrucian adepts. Brahe had prophesied of a future order of "Heroes," as he called them, men who would help extirpate Antichrist and bring back the Golden Age (see above, pp.135-6). These "Heroes" were thus ordained by God to be "the Authors and atchievers of those great mutations" heralded by the stars. An even more striking prophecy was made by Francis Bacon, whose early works may have influenced Rosicrucianism (Yates, RE, pp.125-6). Bacon made his prophecy in 1603 (Simon Studion wrote a strangely 'Rosicrucian' work in 1604). In Bacon's passage, an old man is initiating a young man into the mysteries of 'science.' He says to the initiate: "My dear, dear boy, what I purpose is to unite you with things themselves in a chaste, holy, and legal wedlock; and from this association you will secure an increase beyond all the hopes and prayers of ordinary marriages, to wit, a blessed race of Heroes or Supermen who will overcome the immeasurable helplessness and poverty of the human race . . . and will make you peaceful, happy, prosperous, and secure."14 Whatever Bacon may have been talking about, his 'prophecy'

could easily be applied to the Rosicrucians, for they professed to know the language of nature, or 'things themselves,' and they promised to use science and magic to restore the Golden Age. More fundamentally, the very concept of the 'heroic' possessed palpable Rosicrucian associations.  

To these prophecies we should perhaps add one from Paracelsus. Several decades after Brahe's original prognostication James Maxwell repeated in England a prophecy of Paracelsus (who looms large in the Rosicrucian manifestos, being mentioned by name as its mentor) regarding the flowering of "Roses" in England, 'roses' which would establish the Church on a sure footing, as it was said, and transport reformed Christianity into "Farraigne Landes."  

15. The work which best reflects this is Abbe de Montfaucon de Villars' *The Count de Gabalis: Being a Diverting History of the Rosicrucian Doctrine of Spirits, viz. Sylphs, Salamanders, Gnomes, and Daemons* (1st Eng. edn. 1680; London, 1714). In this work the Rosicrucians were depicted as heros in the ancient mold:

The Heroick Man, those Amours of Nymphs, these Voyages to the Terrestrial Paradise, those Palaces and incanted Groves, and all the charming adventures that happen there; all this is nothing but a faint Sketch of the Life led by the Sages, and of what the World will be when they shall cause Sagery to reign therein. Nothing but Heroes shall be seen in it; the least of our Children shall have the Strength of Zoroastres, Apollonius, or Milchesedek; and most of them will be as accomplished as the Children Adam would have had by Eve, if he had not sinn'd with her. (p.87)

There is no doubt that such prophecies influenced mid-century astrologers. Looking back at the astral events of 1603 and 1604 (those events explicitly mentioned in the Confessio), and seeing them through the eyes of Paracelsus and Brahe and Maxwell, William Lilly discovered the promise of "great searchers of divine things," who are about to reveal themselves to the English nation. A year later he added to this the medieval prediction of "some new enlightened holy men, into whom God shall pour a more full and clearer understanding" of His will and mysteries. And, in 1650, just two years before the English edition of the manifestos appeared, Lilly broadcast the messianic prophecy concerning the Lion of the North, asserting that he would be of the German nation. The Fama speaks of "we Germans."

18 A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophecies Concerning these present Times (London, 1645), p.15.
19 Monarchy or no Monarchy in England... The Northern Lyon, or Lyon of the North, and Chicken of the Eagle discovered who they are, of what Nation (London, 1651), p.19. Although Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, whose heraldic symbol was also the Lion, was for a time seen as this messianic figure after the fall of Frederick, he could not have been meant by Lilly's prophecy for he died in 1632, the same year as Frederick V. Later Lilly was to advance the cause of another Lion of the North, Charles Gustavus of Sweden, but this would not be until 1654 (see Folke Dahl, "King Charles Gustavus of Sweden and the English Astrologers William Lilly & John Gadbury," Lychnos (annual of the Swedish History of Science Society) [1937], pp.161-86). The Lion to whom Lilly referred must have been Prince Charles Louis, oldest surviving son of Frederick V, the Rosicrucians' messiah. See Yates, RE, p.174.
Also in 1650 John French published in English the Sennovogian prophecy of the "Northerne Monarchy" ruled over by an earthly monarch who would restore the "Golden age," perhaps the same one sought by the Bohemians in 1619.

There is yet another prognostication which could have easily been interpreted as a veiled allusion to Rosicrucianism. *A brief Description of the Future History of Europe*, also issued in 1650, reveals an active awareness in England of the Palatine-Bohemian background to the continuing expectation of a Protestant messiah-figure. This particular work links expectations of an earthly monarch and golden age with those reformationist hopes which had surrounded Frederick. *A brief Description* evidently sought to revive these hopes in mid-century Englishmen by darkly hinting that a secret brotherhood stands ready to usher in the millennium.

As we have already seen in Chapter III of this study, *A brief Description* substantiated these millenarian expectations with occult prophecies and astrological evidence.

*A brief Description* is blatantly messianic, as we have seen. The Fifth Monarchy will be established, the author claims, by a Northern monarch whose symbol is the "Lion" (p.29). That old Lion, Frederick, is unmistakably alluded to, but is not explicitly mentioned. In the author's mind, however, is the desertion of Frederick by Protestant England in 1619.

In the eyes of this author, the "comet and conjunction of 1618," which may have convinced Frederick to accept the
Bohemian offer in the first place, viewed in hindsight, are seen as "fearfull and ominous Night-tourches" warning of impending disaster. In fact, they are said to have been signs of God's impending chastisement of Protestantism "for neglecting the downfall of Antichrist, ruine of Rome, annihilation of the Sodomitieall Order of the Society of Jesuits, and in the extirpation of all Kingdoms and free States of Papists, to make way for the Lion of the North to erect his Fifth Monarchie in the Ashes of Germany." What the author seems to be saying is this: because of Protestant England's faint-heartedness in 1619, God visited on Protestantism a terrible chastisement, both in Europe and in England. What the portent of 1618 foreshadowed was the Civil War, God's own special plague for England's neglect of the millenarian mission assigned to it. Antichrist has thus survived, and Protestantism is very nearly in the same state it was in when Frederick took on the Hapsburgs.

20 A brief Description (1650), sig.A3. The phrase, 'ashes of Germany,' perhaps refers to the physical and cultural ruins left by the religious wars of the sixteenth century. It could also suggest the failure of the Reformation to unite Germany and drive out Antichrist, in the form of Catholicism. The Rosicrucians were also awaiting a "Lion" who would extirpate Popery from Germany, and then from Europe generally. And the bitter denunciation of the Jesuits--somewhat gratuitous given the time and place--echoes the vituperation heaped upon the order in the Fama and in Haselmeyer's "Reply," where the Jesuits are warned of their approaching doom (The Fame and Confession, ed. F. Pryce, p.59). The tone of the manifestos can be heard throughout A brief Description, a work which sounds again that "war-cry of extermination" Waite detected in the Fama and Confessio.
One thing, however, is quite different: the destined fall of Antichrist and the demise of the Catholic religion have come much closer. The false dawn of 1618 over, the true aurora glows on the horizon. The year '1666' shall witness, the author urges, the death of the Pope, though his 'carcass shall stink' a few years after his death (p.9). Who shall extirpate Antichrist from Europe? Another Lion of the North.

But the author of *A brief Description* gives the prophecy of a northern monarch a new twist. The northern monarch is not one man, but a 'corporation' of men,

> even a Nation which at this day is hid invisibly within the bowels of Europe, which seeing are not seen, and living are not known: Which shall by a miraculous resurrection . . . be raised to destroy all Idolatry and abomination out of every corner of the North, with the weapons of an holy warfare tending to the glory of God and the Honour of their King. 21

Although this gnomic passage could, conceivably, be a reference to the messianic role some believed was to be played by the Jews, there are elements which give the prophecy a Rosicrucian aura. "Nation" need mean only an independent

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21 *A brief Description*, p.34. The fact that the Lion of the North was thought of in this work not as one man but as a coterie or sect was missed by Lilly, who rather emptily ridiculed the prognostication on the grounds that the Northern monarch could not possibly live until the year 1700, when the millennium would come. The view of the Northern monarch as a group should bring to mind the view of the Rosicrucians as a 'corporate Elias' (Waite, p.242).
group, a society united by a common belief or cause. This group is something of an independent 'nation' because it operates secretly ("... are not known"). Secrecy and obscurity were characteristics widely associated with Rosicrucians. The reference to "weapons of holy warfare" evokes not only the tone of the Rosicrucian manifestos, but the promise made in the Confessio that the Brotherhood would supply "secrets" and "great treasures of Gold" to the ruler willing to chastise the "Pope" and "Mahomet." But it is

22 On secrecy in the Hermetic and Rosicrucian traditions, see Frances Yates, "The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science," in Art, Science and History in the Renaissance, pp.263-6. She writes, "Finally, the situation of the Rosicrucian in society is worse and more dangerous than that of the earlier magi... partly as a result of the worsening political and religious situation in Europe." Because of both Protestant and Catholic reaction to the movement, "the Rosicrucian seems a more hunted being than the earlier magi" (p.263). "Whether or not he belongs to a secret society, the Rosicrucian is a secretive type, and has to be" (p.264).

23 Fame and Confession, ed. F. N. Pryce, p.35. The phrase 'weapons of holy warfare' also brings to mind an extremely rare Rosicrucian print first published as a frontispiece in Speculum Sophicum Rhodo-Stauroticum (1618), by Theophilus Schweighardt. The print was entitled, significantly, "The Invisible College of the Rose Cross Fraternity" (this work is reproduced as the frontispiece to Yates' Rosicrucian Enlightenment). It depicts a castle-like fortress on wheels, in which is a scholar studying a globe, perhaps a symbol of the 'universal' reformation to be carried out by the Brotherhood. In turrets soldiers with shields proudly display very large feathers, perhaps those Paracelsus and the Confessio had prophesied would be plucked from the 'Eagle.' The castle itself bears a rose and a cross, and the inscription, "Collegium Fraternitatis," and the word "Fama." From the rear protrudes a trumpet giving forth a blast, no doubt the 'trumpet-call' of the Fama. What is of most importance is the arm which protrudes from another porthole on the front
the reference to the 'invisibility' of this 'nation' which possesses the strongest Rosicrucian associations. Throughout Europe, to both sympathizers and critics alike, the Rosicrucians were known as the "Invisibles," not only because they were monomaniacally secretive, but also because they claimed the power to make themselves, quite literally, invisible. As the Confessio put it, Rosicrucians "neither can be seen or

side of this mobile fortress. Under the arm is labelled "Jul. de Campi," a reference to the character "Julianum de Campis" who appears in Speculum and whose defence of the Brotherhood was printed with the 1616 (Cassel) edition of the manifestos (Yates, p.94). Near where the arm protrudes, "Jesus nobis omnia" is written on the building. The arm bears a large sword, over which is written, "Cavetel!" All of these symbols together could very adequately be described as conveying a message of 'holy warfare' to be waged by the Brotherhood. Frances Yates' interpretation of the sword as a "defensive sword" comes from her sympathy for the higher Rosicrucian ideals, but does not capture the aura of the print, which is aggressive, martial, threatening. Ben Jonson, it seems to me, understood the message of this print much better than Yates. In his first reference to this print, Jonson describes the mobile fortress mockingly, as a 'moon machine,' a "Castle i'th'air that runs upon wheels with a winged lanthorn" ("News from the New World in the Moon" [1620], in Ben Jonson: Selected Masques, ed. Stephen Orgel, the Yale Ben Jonson series [New Haven: Yale U. P., paperback edn., 1970], p.183). The sword is not mentioned. But five years later, after the furor over Rosicrucianism had reached its peak, and, perhaps, news of the Rosicrucian involvement in the Bohemian disaster had become better known, Jonson draws attention to this symbol of 'holy warfare.' In "The Fortunate Isles" (1625), he points out that the arm extending from the "Rhodostaurotic" castle "Holds out the brandished blade" (Masques, p.278). It is also significant that in this masque, a would-be member of the Fraternity must be banished from the realm, and have his madness cured, before the Golden Age can return to England. Jonson makes quite clear that England will become one of the Fortunate Isles through the agency of an enlightened monarch and not through the efforts of Rosicrucian fanatics to transform the world through the 'brandished blade' of reformation.
known by any body" (Confession, p.42; "...seeing are not
seen, and living are not known...").

In short, A brief Description seems to echo, even before
they appeared in print, the language of the English trans­
lations of the Rosicrucian manifestos. In light of these
associations, anyone at all familiar with Rosicrucian lore
could easily have read the prophecy of A brief Description
as a prognostication of a revival of the Rosicrucian movement,
a revival that would eventually lead to the reformation of
the world. And many other prophecies current in England dur­
ing the late 1640s and early 1650s also seemed to point to
the Rosicrucians, and to announce the imminent revival of
their doctrines and the imminent accomplishment of their dreams.
Thomas Vaughan, as we have noted, was most familiar with
Rosicrucian lore, and no doubt knew of these prophecies. I
am convinced that these prophecies persuaded him of the need
to revive Rosicrucianism in England, if the country was ever
again to enjoy peace, concord, and perfect happiness.

But one question still remains: Why did the year '1652'
in particular seem promising for a revival of the Rosicrucian
manifestos? One answer may lie in the belief, expressed in
A brief Description, that the apocalyptic drama would begin
in earnest in 1654. By publishing the manifestos in 1652,
Vaughan was preparing the way for the apocalyptic struggle
about to begin, a struggle that would require the aid of
Rosicrucian doctrines and magic.
Another answer to this question may lie in Paracelsus' prophecy of the Lion of the North. Paracelsus had written that the millennial struggle would begin in "northern countries" only after "a great and fearfull eclipse of the sun is past" (The Prophecies of Paracelsus, p.115). In the year '1652'--the year in which Vaughan published under his pseudonym the two revolutionary manifestos of the Rosicrucians--there was not to be one but TWO eclipses of the sun. '1652' was to be the year of wonders, and many besides Vaughan looked forward to great events and overturnings during this momentous year. The time seemed ripe for a rebirth of the reformation impulse of Rosicrucianism.

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24 See above, Chapter III, for a discussion of 'the year of wonders.' Certainly the most revolutionary almanacs and prognostications were evoked by the eclipses and conjunctions of this awesome year. In 1652 Elias Ashmole published his Theatrum Chemicum Britanicum. I do not think the date of publication was accidental. As an astrologer, Ashmole very likely saw in the stars the same promise of reformation and the restoration of the Golden Age that Culpepper and other astrologers saw. From his Prolegomena to the work we know that he viewed in the stars signs of an approaching Hermetic enlightenment. That "Sabbathical Conjunction of the two Superior Planets" which took place in 1603, when other "powerful Signacula" were also indicating that the "Lords Sabbath," as the Confessio put it, "is almost at hand." God is about to raise up "choyce and eminent Men, whom (by the Illumination of his blessed Spirit) he hath furnished with ability to reade the Characters . . . in that ample and sacred Volume of the Creation" (p.46). They shall perform the wonders shown to be possible by both tradition and brute creation. For not only will "the Body [be] strengthened the Vital and Animal faculty quickened, decrepid and withered Age revived, & Life enlarged," but Nature herself, and all creatures in it, shall be blessed with the "benefit of Renovation." What shall be "restored" is the "Aetheriall Phisick" of "Old Hermes," a physick which can "Digest, Correct and Consume all Impediments
The Rosicrucian Manifestos in England

The revival of the Rosicrucian manifestos, then, must be seen within the context of millenarian expectations concerning a 'northern' ruler or brotherhood which would combat Antichrist and reform the whole world. Such expectations—and those that were rife in Puritan circles at mid-century—were most congenial to the central message of both the Fama and the Confessio. Both of these manifestos were intensely apocalyptic and messianic, conveying a message of both "terreur et d'espoir" (Arnold, p.38).

The first manifesto, the Fama (1614), announces that these are the last days before the advent of the millennium. God had promised that at the end of time He would pour out His spirit on mankind to make it attain "to the perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ and Nature" (Fame and Confession, sig.B). These years, then, are those happy times in which all the hitherto mysterious "Works and Creatures of Nature" (p.2) will be discovered, and in which God will raise up men endowed "with great Wisdom," to "partly renew and reduce all Arts . . . to perfection."

and Corruptions, those hurtfull and Impure Seeds which crept in with the Curse" (p.461). Ashmole thus awaited an enlightened medical brotherhood who would restore the pure and primitive physic of Hermes and Adam, and by so doing, heal the world and release it from the curse. Notice that the first rule of Rosicrucianism was "to cure the sick, and that gratis" (Fame, p.14). Significantly, both the authors of the manifestos and Ashmole sanctioned their dreams of a reformation by referring to the new stars of 1603 and 1604.
This 'enlightenment' promised by God was the first stage of a world reformation. The renovation of the arts, the Fama explains, shall lead to a "general reformation, both of divine and humane things," a transformation of human affairs so sweeping that the earth will be as it was in the Golden Age.

The renovation of "all things" would come about through the application of the infallible 'axiomata' of the Brotherhood. Through this set of magical principles discovered by Christian Rosencreutz, "all things might fully be restored" (p.8). To those who "bear affection" for this new movement, the Rosicrucians promise to bestow on them both physical and spiritual treasures (p.32). These gifts would be but the tokens of those ravishing goods which would be available to all in the millennial age instituted by the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross. The Rosicrucians, then, promised to bring about the paradise envisioned by the Hermetic reformers.

Attached to the 1614 edition of the Fama was the 'reply' by Adam Haselmeyer. What he has to say about the Brotherhood indicates the way its message was interpreted at the time by contemporaries. Haselmeyer regarded the Rosicrucians as "hallowed priests" "anointed with Eternal Wisdom, garlanded with miracles," and appointed to restore the holy blessing of the eternal kingdom of God "portrayed to the world" by Paracelsus. Like Paracelsus, he insists, the Rosicrucians clearly understand the true meaning of the apocalyptic vision of "'a new heaven and a new earth'" (The Fame and Confession, p.63). In fact, these adepts, he goes on to argue, have been commissioned by God to make, through magic, a "new Creation." Their mission is to bring about the renovation mentioned in Revelation. Regenerated and reborn into the spiritual and natural mysteries, the Rosicrucians, Haselmeyer believes, have had bestowed upon them the most coveted worldly riches, the same riches enjoyed by Adam and Solomon. These ravishing
The millenarianism implicit in the *Fama* is more obvious in the second Rosicrucian manifesto, the *Confessio* (1615). Before the last days, the *Confessio* explains, God shall grant to the world the "Truth, Light, Life and Glory" which "Adam had . . . in Paradise" (p.45). In other words, the whole world—all humankind—shall enter Eden. This paradisic reform of the world the Rosicrucians are pledged to hasten. As "Messengers" of this new age, and as signs informing Europe of the advent of the Rosicrucian reformation, God sent "some new Stars, which do appear and are seen in the Firmament in *Serpentario* and *Cygno,*" "powerful Signacula of great weighty matters."26

26 These were the stars that provoked an outburst of millenarianism at the start of the seventeenth century, and concerning which Kepler advanced a messianic interpretation. For Kepler's connections with Rosicrucian circles in Germany, see Paul Arnold, *Histoire*, p.110, and Yates, *RE*, p.223. Note that these are same stars to which Ashmole referred to support his prophecy that God is about to raise up "choyce and eminent Men" who will free mankind from the Curse (above, p.276,n.24).
As the stars are making their way back again to the positions they held during the Golden Age, so the clock of nature itself shall be turned back to the time of the first beginning. What heretofore had been "sought with great pains, and dayly labor," shall soon be free to all, that thereby "the life of the godly may be eased of all their toyl and labor, and be no more subject to the storms of inconstant Fortune" (pp.34-5). What the Confessio offers is nothing less than life in an earthly paradise: ". . . all those Goods which Nature hath in all parts of the World wonderfully dispersed, shall at one time altogether be given unto you, and shall easily disburden you of all that which obscureth the Understanding of Man, and hindereth the working thereof" (p. 54).27 Embrace the magical and religious doctrines of Rosicrucianism, the tract urges, and you shall enjoy a transformed

27 In the Labyrinth of the World, Comenius gives an account of the 'paradisic' message of the two tracts. The Rosicrucians promised to restore things to the way they were 'in Paradise before the fall of man' (p.150). They were now making themselves visible because this was the time when everything would be brought to perfection. "A reformation would shortly befall the whole world," they proclaimed. When the people heard this message, and the gifts that were promised them, they rejoiced (p.151). People "congratulated themselves because perfect philosophy had been fully given unto them. Thus could they, without error, know everything; without want, have sufficient of everything; live for several hundred years without sickness and grey hair, if they only wished it. And they ever repeated: 'Happy, verily happy, is our age'" (p.152). "Almost everyone burnt with the desire of obtaining these goods" (p.153). Even from Comenius' account, we can see that European Rosicrucianism promised no more than what English millenarians also believed would soon be enjoyed by humankind with the advent of the millennium.
existence, an existence foreshadowed in the old Eden. "Were it not good," the Confessio asks rhetorically, insinuating its vision of the new age to be wrought by magic, "were it not good

that we needed not to care, not to fear hunger, were it not a precious thing, that you could always live so, as if you had liv'd so, as if you had liv'd from the beginning of the world, and moreover, as you should still live to the end thereof? Were it not excellent, you dwell in one place, that neither the people which dwell beyond the River Ganges in the Indies could hide any thing, nor those which live in Peru might be able to keep secret their counsels from thee? (p.39)

Do we not hear the voice of Faustus in these lines? Faustus says,

How am I glutted with conceit of this!
Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please,
Resolve me of all ambiguities,
Perform what desperate enterprise I will?
I'll have them fly to India for gold,
Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,
And search all corners of the new-found world
For pleasant fruits and princely delicates;
I'll have them read me strange philosophy
And tell the secrets of all foreign kings;

(I,i,77-86)

Fecundity, health, even the knowledge of the secret treasure hordes buried out of sight in India, all this is promised by the Confessio, and expected by Faustus. A material paradise both want, but the Confessio promises it to all mankind.

Even political power shall accrue to those who embrace the movement: "How pleasant were it, that you could so sing, that in stead of strong rocks you could draw to thee pearls and precious stones, in stead of wilde beasts, spirits, and
in stead of hellish Pluto, move the mighty Princes of the world?" (p.40). This note reveals the audience to whom the Confessio was addressed. Promises of fabulous wealth and power over the "mighty Princes of the world" were meant to appeal to those who considered themselves deprived, oppressed. The Confessio, it seems to me, was not at all directed to the 'illuminati' of Europe, the followers of Paracelsus and Dee, as Professor Yates suggests, but rather—as the Confessio itself declares—"to the common people" (p.41). To this extent, the Confessio of the Rosicrucian fraternity is truly a 'revolutionary' manifesto. It sounds a clarion call for the oppressed to throw off their oppressors and reform the world. And it announces that the Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross shall lead them to the new revolutionary paradise, using science and magic. A message like this could not have failed to find a sympathetic audience in revolutionary England.

The Confessio, I suggest, envisioned a popular overturning of the political regimes of the world, despite its occasional reassurance that it does not threaten Christian monarchs. It is certainly implied that such overturnings will include even Protestant kingdoms where the rulers are unenlightened by Hermeticism. The tract is not, then, just anti-Catholic, but millenarian in the widest and most intense meaning of the word. Rosicrucianism seeks to reform the entire world. Behind the message of the Confessio lies the dream of bringing all governments—whatever their religion—to a state
of utopian perfection. It should be remembered that the founder of the movement, Brother Christian Rosencruetz, discovered in the city of "Damear" a new and perfect model of earthly government. The Confessio says that in Damear "do govern only wise and understanding men, who by the Kings permission make particular Laws; according unto which example also the Government shall be instituted in Europe..." (p.42).

Under the utopia—to be ruled no doubt by the Rosicrucians—"all servitude, falseness, lies, and darkness" shall cease, and false opinions, error itself, shall be eliminated (p.45).

This trumpet call announcing the advent of a world utopia under the rule of enlightened magicians must have rung loudly in the ears of Levellers, Diggers and Fifth Monarchists during the 1650s. The message of the Confessio—minus its magical overtones—can be read in almost every revolutionary tract of Puritan England: "God is far otherwise pleased," the Confessio says, "for he exalteth the lowly, and pulleth down the proud with disdain; to those which are of few words he sendeth his holy Angel to speak with them" (p.51).

This utopian and revolutionary message exists alongside of a more traditional apocalyptic millenarianism directed at 'Antichristian' Popery. In this respect, 'hope' gives way to 'terror,' for the Confessio insists that reformation can only follow the extermination of "the Pope of Rome" (p.33).

Praising the "many godly people" who have "desperately pusht at the Popes Tyranny... with great earnest, and
especial zeal in *Germany*" (p.43), the writers of the manifesto advance themselves as Protestant reformers destined to complete the reformation begun by Calvin and Luther. Unlike the earlier reformers, however, the Rosicrucians are willing to push the conflict with the Catholic world to its final conclusion. Whoever wrote the *Confessio* eagerly anticipated the apocalyptic struggle recounted in the vision of St. John. The *Fama*, it should be pointed out, also sneered at the moderation of the early reformers of the Protestant movement, commenting that if the first Rosicrucian brothers were now alive, "they would more roughly have handled the Pope, Mahomet, Scribes, Artists, and Sophisters, and had shewed themselves more helpful, not simply with sighs, and wishing of their end and consummation" (p.14). But in the *Confessio* these threats have grown into hysterical ravings. It is with joyous exhilaration that the writers of the *Confessio* contemplate scratching the Pope to "pieces with nails," so that a final and awful end can be "made of his Asses cry" (p.43). As Christopher Hill has demonstrated in his *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford U. P., 1971), pronouncements such as these were characteristic of Puritan millenarian rhetoric before and during the Revolution.

The work of ridding Germany of Antichrist has largely been completed, the tract explains. That country is thus about "to be renewed and [made] altogether new" (p.36). The world at large can soon expect a similar renovation. The Fraternity
intends to direct its energies to helping Protestant princes in other countries rid their lands of Popery. To this end the Rosicrucians propose to supply Protestant rulers with "prayers, secrets, and great treasures of Gold," all to be used to prosecute the final campaign against "the Pope and Mahomet" (p.35).

This, then, was the message of 'terror and of hope' that Englishmen found in the Fama and Confessio published by Thomas Vaughan in 1652. The message was at once both magical and millenarian. It was communicated in the same visionary and apocalyptic rhetoric Puritans themselves had so long used to describe their own struggles with 'Evil' and their own expectations of the future. There can be little doubt that by issuing these manifestos in English, Vaughan helped to reinforce the chiliastic extremism which characterized the early years of the 1650s. Whether it was by design or not, Vaughan may have also helped to excite the reformationist quest of the more radical sects of the period.  

There is no intent here to insinuate that Vaughan himself harbored any sympathy for the programs or methods of the radical sects or of the more activistic millenarians. As someone with royalist leanings and Anglican connections, he was likely appalled by the 'fanaticism' of these groups. But we cannot ignore that Thomas Vaughan—whatever his political beliefs and sympathies—was enthralled by the vision of an earthly paradise. Nor can it be denied that by publishing the Rosicrucian manifestos, he helped to reinforce this vision in others of a less moderate political persuasion. It is very likely that Vaughan believed that he had found in Rosicrucianism that path to the earthly paradise others found in Behmenism. Evidence of this paradisic obsession, and of its magical con-
Certainly by publishing the *Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R: C:*, Vaughan was giving expression to his own millenarian dreams and to those of his age. He may also have been giving expression to the millenarian dreams of those with whom he associated as well. Around 1650 Vaughan began to associate with a group of alchemists and reformers not unsympathetic to the new political movements of the day. Although there is no hard evidence to support this, Vaughan may have been encouraged to issue the Rosicrucian manifestos by this group of adepts. Their interest in these manifestos text, can be found throughout his work. In *Lumin de Lumine* (Works, pp.259-63), Vaughan reprints an original Rosicrucian tract expressing the promise of world transmutation and perfection:

'After all these things and near the day break there shall be a great calm; and you shall see the Day-Star arise and the dawning will appear and you shall perceive a great treasure. The chiefest thing in it and the most perfect is a certain exalted Tincture, with which the world—if it served God and were worthy of such gifts—might be tinged and turned into most pure gold.'

Like so many other millenarians of the day, Vaughan expected both mankind and nature to be freed of "those corruptions wherewith of a long time we have been oppressed" (p.392). In this he was one with Elias Ashmole. For Vaughan, this meant entering once again the enclosed garden of Solomon (see above, p.63). Vaughan's critic, Henry More, recognized Vaughan's paradisiac syndrome. Madmen who strive "for some strange Mag- icall power over Nature and externall Elements," More wrote, really want paradise on earth. "Here, Magicus having recourse to his Cymistrie, in the height of his imagination prefigures to himself not onely Crystalline Heavens, but also Vitrifide Earth. But I consulting with Scripture, and with the simplic- ity of mine own plain Spirit, think of a new Heaven and a new Earth wherein dwells righteousness. He's for an Eden with flowry walks, and pleasant trees ... for a pure clear place" (*Enthhusiasmus Triumphantus* . . . prefixed to *Alazonamastix His Observations and Reply* [1656], p.238).
can be easily explained: one of the members of this group was Samuel Hartlib, and Hartlib was once a member of a Rosicrucian-like society before coming to England. We know now that it was the mission of Hartlib, and of those who aided him, to pursue in Puritan England a 'reformed version of that reformation announced in the first two Rosicrucian manifestos. It is to Hartlib and the Hermetic circle around him that we must now turn to see another expression of Rosicrucian millenarianism and to see more clearly how it reinforced the chiliastic expectations of Puritanism at large.²⁹

²⁹ Vaughan may have been brought into Hartlib's group by Dr. Robert Childe. It was to Childe that 'J. F.' dedicated his translation of Agrippa's Three Books of Occult Philosophy (1651). Vaughan's veneration of Agrippa was well known. Claiming to follow the principles of Agrippa, Vaughan says, "he is my author, and next to God I owe all that I have unto him" (Works, p.50). A common veneration of Agrippa may have provided the foundation for the friendship between Childe and Vaughan. Childe claimed to possess quasi-magical cures which were first propounded by Jean Baptiste von Helmont, a disciple of Paracelsus. Around 1650 he tried to form a "chymical club" with Henshaw (who claimed to have discovered the coveted 'alkahest'), Joseph Webbe (the Ranter), and Thomas Vaughan, who was then working on his Magica Adamica (G. H. Turnbull, "Robert Child," Pub. of the Colonial Society of Mass., Trans., 1947-51, 38 [1959], p.25 and n.5). Childe was a close friend of Samuel Hartlib. It is still unclear if Vaughan was on close terms with Hartlib.
Three points should be made about the Hartlib circle. First, the principal members of the circle can be linked to the Rosicrucian movement, and engaged in occult studies characteristic of the movement. Second, the circle as a whole espoused millenarian opinions, and many of its activities were colored by millenarian hopes. Third, the Hartlib circle operated with the consent and support of Parliament, and was dedicated to the fulfillment of Puritan visions of reform. Each of these points deserves elaboration.

Frances Yates has analyzed in some depth the relationship of Hartlib and his associates to European Rosicrucianism, and little can be added to her treatment of the subject (see The Rosicrucian Enlightenment, chs.12 and 13). Briefly put, Yates found that both Comenius and Hartlib were influenced by Johann Valentin Andreae, the German adept who wrote, according to his own confession, the third major Rosicrucian manifesto, The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz (1616). About 1617, however, Andreae became extremely anxious about the course the Rosicrucian furor, and perhaps the movement itself, was taking. He may have thought that the expectations and fears the movement evoked throughout Europe were damaging the more important spiritual reformist message that the 'myth' or 'fiction' was intended to convey.
As a result, Andreae tried to stem the torrent and guide the cause of reform into other channels. In place of Rosicrucianism as it had come to be thought of, he advocated the formation of 'Christian Unions,' or 'Christian Societies.' These societies or unions were to have aims very similar to those expressed in the Rosicrucian manifestos, though without the message of 'terror' one finds in these works: "They were to give expression to a renewal in religion, or a new reformation, to encourage by precept and example the spread of Christian charity and brotherly love, and to engage earnestly in intellectual and scientific activities for the good of mankind" (RE, p.140).

Andreae's reformed version of the Rosicrucian movement was different in another respect too. It was to be clear and open, neither using obscure language nor hiding its activities under secret societies (RE, p.140). Between 1618 and 1620, Andreae organized and administered such a society. Throughout Germany, and even in other localities, groups of adepts, religious mystics, and social reformers banded together in imitation of Andreae, to form models of his Christian Society. "Such 'models' were, for the mystical enthusiast, but preparations for the great and universal reformation which, in spite of all, was still hoped for" (RE, p.155). The reformationist dream of the manifestos lived on.

The plan or program of this 'Societas Christiana' was set forth by Andreae in two little works published in 1619 and
1620. They were believed lost until copies of them were found a few years ago in England. They were found—as one might expect—in the papers of Samuel Hartlib. We know now that Hartlib had had these two works translated and published in English, in 1647. Thus, Samuel Hartlib must be numbered among the many earnest enthusiasts for a model society and a 'reformed' program of world renewal.

Hartlib had come to England in 1628, after the Catholic conquest of Elbing, in Polish Prussia. At Elbing, Frances Yates writes, Hartlib had been the centre of mystical and philanthropic society modeled after Andreae's 'reformed' Rosicrucian society, the Christian union. It had thrown off the Rosicrucian 'myth,' but it continued to pursue Rosicrucian ideals. "The 'word' of Hartlib's group was 'Antilia,' and not 'R. C.,' yet Hartlib in his whole life and work was

30 See G. H. Turnbull, "Johann Valentin Andreaes Societas Christiana," Zeitschrift fur Deutsche Philologie, 74 (1955), pp.151-185. The translations were done by John Hall (see Turnbull, "John Hall's Letters to Samuel Hartlib," R. E. S., NS., 4, No.15 [1953], pp.221-33). The English titles of the two works are, "The Right Hand of Christian Love Offered," and "A Modell of a Christian Society." Concerning such Andreae-inspired reform societies Professor Bailey remarks, "that turn for the practical led them on in their striving for a general reformation of the whole world. With their keen sense of the significance of fraternal organization, they formed unions which were intended to benefit the whole man and his whole mode of thinking, to influence his whole life. . . . When the time and place is more propitious for a franker carrying out of their plans and purposes of reform, we shall find them in . . . England" (Milton and Jakob Boehme, p.23). Although 'reformation' tended to give way to mere 'reform' in these societies, millenarian fervor was not entirely absent from them.
something like what an R. C. Brother, if real and not invisible, might have been" (RE, p.176). And, whether he was in Europe or in Puritan England, the ideal which continued to impell Hartlib was "an Andreaean combination of evangelical piety with science, and the utilitarian application of science" to the cause of world reformation (RE, p.155).

It was during the 1620s that both Comenius and Dury met Hartlib, and shared with him their own ideas of world reformation. Comenius had been a friend of Andreadeae, and was a supporter of Rosicrucianism while he lived in Bohemia (Yates, p.161ff). John Dury, a Scotsman but almost a 'foreigner' after so many years in Europe, met Hartlib at Elbing and became an enthusiast for the kind of reform program Hartlib was espousing (p.176). Together, they can be considered the true inheritors of the reforming movement which had met with such disaster in its 'Rosicrucian' dress (RE, pp.169-70). And it was to England that these three men came to propagate the Rosicrucian message of "universal reformation, advancement of learning, and other utopist ideals" (RE, p.176).

Hartlib discovered in Parliamentarian England, which had returned to the old Elizabethan role of champion of Protestant Europe, a new chance for bringing about the universal reformation of the world: "As the R. C. Fraternity had represented hopes raised by the English alliance, through the Elector Palatine's English marriage, so, when hopes failed,
it was towards an England restored to its Elizabethan role that Hartlib and his friends turned for support for their ideals of universal reformation, their continuation of the Rosicrucian dream under other names" (RE, p.155).

And support they found. It came from Puritans and from Parliament, and from the leaders of what Hugh Trevor-Roper has called the 'country party.' The country party, Trevor-Roper has shown, accepted a strange mixture of practical Baconianism applied to law, education and the church (pp.242-44), and the messianic gospel of world reformation. 31 He writes:

The English country gentry had accepted 'Baconian' ideas as the formulation of their mundane hopes and interests. But in such a [millenarian] climate they could not accept the pure Baconianism of Francis Bacon. Baconianism must be changed to meet them. It must put off its courtly Jacobean clothes . . . and become instead a 'country Baconianism,' acceptable in the new world of the 1630s. It must be serious, Puritan, dull, only with its dullness lit up here and there by lunatic flashes: millenary calculation, messianic hopes, mystical philo-Semitism. 32

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32 Like Trevor-Roper, Professor Bernard Capp would attribute the new climate to the events of the 1620s and 1630s, and particularly to the Thirty Years' War. "The turmoils of the Thirty Years' War transformed this 'gradualist' millenarian belief [which characterized Puritan eschatology during the sixteenth century] into a more "cataclysmic" approach ("The Millennium and Eschatology in England," PP, No.57 (November, 1972), p.160.
The leaders of the 'country party' found this mixture of utilitarian Baconianism and millenarianism in the thought and works of Hartlib and his associates. As a result, "both in their limited, practical aims and their wild, bloodshot mysticism," Hartlib, Dury and Comenius became "the real philosophers, the only philosophers, of the English Revolution" ("Three Foreigners," p.240).

What these three philosophers did was to make vivid to the country party and to all those who espoused the cause of reformation a vision of reformed society which the Hartlib circle and the country party both hoped, somehow to attain (Ibid., p.240):

Thus we may fairly describe Hartlib, Dury and Comenius as the philosophers of the English country party in the 1630s. Peers and bishops, Parliament-men and country gentry ... recognized them as the prophets and articulators of Baconian reform. It was Baconian reform with a difference, of course, Baconianism for new times, and brought to a lower level. ... [Bacon's] 'experiments of light' had been transformed into inflamed apocalyptic speculation. ... Still, it was Baconianism of a kind, and the men of the country party took it seriously. As the rule of Laud and Strafford came to an end they listened more attentively than ever to the prophets of the new divine revelation and the new social reformation. (Ibid., p.258).

Thus, in 1640, Hartlib was directed to write to both Dury and Comenius in the name of 'the Parliament of England.' By 1641, the three were together in England, pursuing under a different name, and with a more benign temper, the Rosicrucian reformation of the world. Though Comenius stayed only a
year, others from the Palatinate and Bohemia soon immigrated to England. They brought with them the Hermetic, mystical and Rosicrucian dreams so much a part of continental reform movements. In a very short time, a sort of Rosicrucian culture grew up around Hartlib. This Rosicrucian culture espoused a philosophy in which "science [was] mixed with magic" (Yates, RE, pp.177-8). Hartlib, "and the radical scientists" which formed around him, Christopher Hill observes, "wanted science to be applied to the problems of human life: this was the practical significance of their emphasis on astrology, alchemy and natural magic.""34

33 Frederick Clodius (eventually to become Hartlib's son-in-law) was the first of a stream of German hermeticists to be attracted to England by the prospect of reformation under the Puritan regime. Clodius had been recommended to Hartlib by another German hermeticist, Johannes Morian, who persuaded other German alchemists to follow Clodius' example. Among these were Frederick Kretschmer, Johannes Hartprecht, Johann Sibertus Kuffeler (who claimed to possess the "arcanum of the celestial Liquor") and Peter Stahl, called by Anthony à Wood a "'Chimist and Rosicrucian'" (in G. H. Turnbull, "Peter Stahl, the First Public Teacher of Chemistry at Oxford," Annals of Science, 9, No.3 [Sept.1953], pp.265-70). Theodore Haak, Oldenburg and Pell, the English mathematician, were also close friends of Hartlib. Haak and Oldenburg, like Hartlib, were actually disciples of Andreae's 'reformed' Rosicrucianism. Both were members of the cenacle of Tubingen which formed around Andreae in the early years of the Rosicrucian movement.

34 The World Turned Upside Down, p.239. What has become clearer in recent years is the fact that in attempting to reform the world through a mixture of science and magic, the Rosicrucians--and other occultists--were giving life to Bacon's dream of the future, as the 'country party' well knew. Recent studies of Bacon have emphasized the millenarian and sometimes magical elements in his thought. Bacon, we now better understand, was influenced by the millenarian obsessions
This application of science and magic to the problems of human life possessed millenarian overtones. Hartlib and his associates gave repeated expression to a millenarian salvational of Renaissance Hermeticists. In an astute and cogent analysis of Bacon's millenarian impulse, Harold Fisch argues Bacon's indebtedness to magic: "I should like to argue here quite seriously that Bacon was not so much a philosopher as a magician" (p.83). Although Bacon would have no truck with the various occult sciences, "he hankers after the same results for which the practitioners of such arts has [sic] been ambitious: absolute power, the conversion of quicksilver into gold, and the prolongation of life." Bacon, however, did not seek physical power for its own sake, and Fisch seems to recognize this when he lists what were the real ends of Baconian science: the gifts of paradise--wealth, immortality, continued health. Fisch has been one of the few commentators to recognize that the Baconian vision is essentially millennial in nature: "Bacon made Physics not a technique but a religion, and Induction becomes for him not so much a useful mechanism for the discovery of certain limited axioms, but rather a mystic path, an ultimate revelation and a millennial hope" (Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature [New York: Schocken Books, 1964], p.86, italics added). What Fisch does not understand is that Bacon's millennial hope derived from Renaissance magic, as much as from the Christian tradition. This crucial fact was perceived by Paolo Rossi, whose book did not appear in English until four years after Fisch's study. Rossi says, "Bacon's aim was to communicate his basic theories to the intellectual world of his time without alienating it. On the other hand, this belief is intrinsic to the religious character with which he invested his reform--it was to redeem man from original sin and reinstate him in his prelapsarian power over all created things" (Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch [1953; London: Routledge, 1968], pp.130-31). Charles Webster has also written: Hartlib "shared Bacon's confidence that a great co-operative effort to marshal empirical knowledge would lead to an intellectual regeneration, a return of man's dominion over nature which had been sacrificed at the Fall. This was a corollary of the protestant search for spiritual renewal; secular wisdom with consequent material power of the Baconian and spiritual regeneration of the puritan, provided conditions for the imminent realisation of the Kingdom of God, in the form of the earthly paradise, fulfilling the biblical prophecies of the New Eden and New Jerusalem" (Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning [Cambridge, 1970], p.3).
message, associating the millennium with educational reform and scientific progress. Although this message was phrased by the various members of the Hartlib circle in different ways, it was always reformationist and millenarian in its scope and intensity. Now that the Hartlib circle has been connected to both the Puritan cause and continental Rosicrucianism, it is time to focus on the millenarian aspects of its endeavors. As we shall see, the Hartlib circle helped popularize and disseminate millenarian expectations of an imminent world transformation that agreed almost perfectly with the dominant millenarian dreams of the Puritan sects.

The Millenarianism of the Hartlib Circle

Comenius, like Hartlib, dedicated himself to the cause of world reformation. While a student in Germany, Comenius had as one of his teachers Johann Heinrich Alsted, 'the standard-bearer' of seventeenth-century millenarians. Perhaps under the influence of Alsted, Comenius attempted to use Baconian methodology to elucidate the apocalyptic passages of the Bible, to calculate the number of the Beast and predict the advent of the millennium ("Three Foreigners," p.253). During the 1620s, he championed the causes of several millenarian visionaries (Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.233-4; p.235). Kotter was his particular favorite, perhaps because he prophesied of the future restoration of Frederick V, in visions replete with Lions and Eagles (Yates, RE, pp.159-60).
In 1626 Comenius took the illustrated manuscript of Kotter's prophecies to Frederick at The Hague. Even after Frederick's death, Comenius continued to publicize Kotter's prophecies, eventually publishing them in *Lux in Tenebris* (1657). This work contained as well the messianic prophecies of Nicolas Drabik, and Christina Pontratova (or Poniatovia).

Comenius' millenarianism took on a more mystical cast as he came under the influence of the Rosicrucian concept of pansophia. Pansophia, a sort of infallible methodology opening up universal science, but resting upon a foundation of spiritual truth, seemed to Comenius to provide that "perfect Method of all Arts" prophesied of by the *Fama* (p.2), under the term 'axiomata.' By means of this method, Comenius thought he could bring about that "general reformation, both of divine and humane things" announced in the Rosicrucian manifestos (p.27).

Soon after arriving in England, Comenius wrote (but did not publish) three drafts concerning a pansophic reform of...
English education. These works are "filled with mystical, millenary language" ("Three Foreigners," p.271). "'I presume we all agree,' he wrote, 'that the last age of the world is drawing near, in which Christ and his Church shall triumph;' this age was to be 'an age of Enlightenment, in which the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea'" (in "Three Foreigners," p.271). To Comenius, Puritan England appeared as the center from which would break forth that aurora foretelling of the future millennial age.

One of the three drafts that Comenius wrote in England eventually became his famous *Via Lucis*, or, The Way of Life, a work which Professor Webster has characterized as a "remarkable chiliastic tract" (*Samuel Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning*, p.36). What Comenius desires, as he himself confesses, is "nothing . . . less than the improvement of all human affairs, in all persons everywhere." In other words, he wanted a universal reformation of all things. He

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37 *The Way of Light*, trans. E. T. Campagnac (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938), p.6. Although written in 1641 and 1642, *The Way of Light* was not published until 1668. Evidently Comenius saw in the newly established Royal Society the agent which would bring to fruition the old Rosicrucian dream of reformation through enlightenment. Members of the society like Glanvill were therefore eager to dissociate themselves from what was contemptuously referred to as 'Rosicrucian vapours.' For more on the relationship between the Royal Society and Rosicrucianism, a relationship that was often very close, consult Frances Yates' *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, chs. 13 and 14.
recognized that what he really was pursuing was the "salvation of the whole world" (p.25), the compelling dream of the Herm­ etic reformers, and the long-awaited blessing of Puritan millenarians.

The millenarian promise of pansophic methodology derived from the coercive nature of its power to illuminate the truth. In the words of Comenius, pansophic methodology can "state all things of this or any future age, hidden or revealed in an order inviolable and in fact never broken, with such clear­ness that no man who surveys them with attentive mind can fail to understand all things, or to give them his genuine assent" (The Way of Light, p.7). People anywhere in the world would thus be 'coerced' into accepting the truth. Pansophia would thus govern the "will" of populations, and compel everyone through the force of its rays of light, to follow a life as if Christ were already King of the earth, governing all nations (p.30). As he says in another work, the road to the earthly New Jerusalem, to "Sion" as he calls it, "shall be so plaine, that even fooles shall not erre therein."38

Whatever it may be called, the age which is to result from the pansophic enlightenment will be nothing less than "the Sabbath of the Church, the seventh Age of the world in which, after the unceasing toil and sweat and struggle and

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disaster of [sic] thousand years, it will be granted to her to rest, before the eighth age of Blessed Eternity shall sound its coming" (Way of Light, p.204). Comenius was expecting that same 'sabbath' that astrologers and Puritan millenarians were awaiting throughout the 1640s and 1650s. It would be an age of "universal Peace," of brotherhood and love, just as the millenarians in England believed. All error, the very cause and source of strife and conflict, shall be expunged by pansophia. The Hermetic reformers believed that the same result could be achieved through alchemy. In this age of pansophic enlightenment, the prophecy of Isaiah will finally be fulfilled, for men 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares,' "and everyone shall sit down under his own vine and fig tree and no man shall make them afraid (Mic. IV.4). and violence shall no more be heard in the land (Isa. IX.18)" (p.203).

As those Hapsburg satirists so well knew, the Rosicrucian effort to "reform all schools, churches, and law courts" was really a millennial quest, an attempt to restore to earth the fabled Golden Age of Saturn's reign. Behind Comenius' pansophic enlightenment lurks this Rosicrucian dream of the Golden Age:

Learning, Religion and Government ["schools, churches, and law courts" of the Hapsburg broadside] may be brought to certain given and immutable principles or bases, to their best foundation, so that ignorance, uncertainty, discussions, the noise and tumult of disputes, quarrels and wars shall cease throughout the world, and Light, Peace, Health return, and that golden age which has ever been longed
for, the age of Light and Peace and religion, may be brought to sight.

Here we have yet another expression of the 'millennary dream' of magic, one that would have been particularly appealing to a nation torn by civil war and class conflict.\(^{39}\)

The hope of restoring to earth the lost Golden Age animated as well Comenius' colleague and fellow millenarian, Samuel Hartlib. Like Comenius, Samuel Hartlib was an intimate friend of one of the great millenarians of the seventeenth century. While at Cambridge (1625-6), Hartlib made the acquaintance of Joseph Mede, who was at that time completing his epic analysis of the millennial prophecies of the Bible. Throughout his life, Hartlib was obsessed with chiliastic calculations and messianic prophecies, just as Comenius was. In a work which has often been attributed to him, and in which he may have had a hand, one of the fictional characters boasts that he "can shew an hundred texts of Scripture which do plainly

\(^{39}\)The Way of Light, pp.8-9; see p.203 for another reference to the Golden Age of pansophic enlightenment. It may have been Comenius' concept of pansophia, perhaps this very passage, that Samuel Butler had in mind when he attacked the Rosicrucian presumption to be able to "part all the mad Frays of Controversy in Philosophy" and "Religion also, and, like true canonical Constables, make those spiritual Swash-Bucklers deliver up their Weapons, and keep the Peace. Nor is their Power and Authority less in composing of civil Differences; for they have a Receipt to make two Armies, that are drawn up ready to fight, put up their Swords and face about" (Characters, ed. Charles W. Daves [Cleveland: Case Western Reserve U. P., 1970], "A Hermetic Philosopher," pp.152-3).
prove, that such a reformation shall come before the day of Judgment." In 1655, Hartlib published the millenarian treatise *Clavis Apocalyptica: or, a Prophetical Key: By which the great Mysteries in the Revelation of St. John and the Prophet Daniel are opened*. Dury wrote a long "Epistolicall Discours" for the work (pp. 1-79), in which he suggests the millennium may come as early as 1656 (the discourse was addressed to Samuel Hartlib). In the same year Hartlib translated or had translated Paul Felgenhauer's messianic almanac, *Postilion*, which was considered in Chapter III. Hartlib was very busy legitimizing the millenarian expectations of his age in whatever way he could.

The eleventh chapter of *Postilion* Hartlib included in his collection of *Chemical, Medicinal and Chyrurgical Addresses* (London, 1655). This section of *Postilion* must have had unusual significance for Hartlib to provoke him to publish it

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40 A *Description of the famous Kingdom of Macaria; shewing its excellent Government, wherein The Inhabitants live in great Prosperity, Health, and Happiness*, in Harleian Miscellany (London, 1808), I, p. 584. Professor C. Webster has recently shown that Macaria, written as a practical blueprint for the Parliament of 1641, was the work of Gabriel Plattes, an alchemist and reformer who shared Hartlib's interest in millenarianism ("The Authorship and Significance of Macaria," PP, No. 56 (Aug. 1972), pp. 34-48. The work of Plattes shall be discussed shortly.

41 This work may have been written by the friend of Boehme, Abraham von Frankenberg. Joseph Mede also wrote a *Clavis Apocalyptica*. Hartlib may have given the later work this title as a sign of his respect for Mede's work. His correspondence with Mede "is full of references to Biblical prophecy fulfilled and to be fulfilled" (Bailey, p. 83).
twice in the same year. The excerpt he reprinted contains Felgenhauer's prediction of the imminent discovery of the "universal Medicine," a medicine that "will not onely recover the sick and keep them well, but also take away death, and for ever swallow it up" (in Chemical Address... sig. T). This universal medicine Felgenhauer envisioned as springing from what he called the Tree of Life:

there growes in Paradise a Tree, which is, and is called the Tree of Life, which in the glorious long expected coming of Jesus Christ our God and Saviour shall be made manifest, and then shall it be afforded to men, once the fruits of it shall be gathered, by which all men and all flesh shall be delivered from death, and that as truely, solidly, and surely, as at the time of the Fall, by gathering the fruit of the forbidden Tree, we together with all flesh, fell into sin, death, and all ill.

This 'glorious gift,' he says, has been reserved for those who live in these, the last days of the world, which are also "the times of restitution... of that good which was lost and taken away in Paradise" (sig.T2'). Felgenhauer, in essence, asserted no more in this passage than what Puritan millenarians also believed at the time, for they too awaited the restitution of all things. The difference is that Felgenhauer's vision is rooted in the 'millennary dream' of exoteric alchemy. And Hartlib understood this, for he included Felgenhauer's 'prophecy' in a collection of alchemical tracts.

Hartlib, I believe, was much given to alchemy because he accepted its promise to release mankind from the Curse. He
supported the alchemical endeavors of others out of a philan­
thropic motive, the same one that impelled the Hermetic re­
formers of the Renaissance. Would not the Universal Medicine 
be the greatest gift that anyone could bestow on humankind? 
I believe that it was this hope that prompted Hartlib to 
accept so readily a young alchemist named George Starkey. 
Starkey darkly hinted at being on the verge of a great alchem­
ical breakthrough. Hartlib was so excited by the 'millennial' 
promise of Starkey's experimental brand of alchemy that he, 
and Dury, and the alchemist Clodius took a solemn pledge in 
1652 to fund Starkey's alchemical experiments.42 

Why this exceptional regard for the alchemical endeavors 
of 'just another alchemist'? It was because Starkey himself 
asserted the millennial powers of his alchemy, the same 
powers that Felgenhauer prophesied of in Postilion, a work for 
which Hartlib obviously had high regard. In fact, Starkey 
uses almost the same imagery as Felgenhauer to describe the 

42 C. Webster, "English Medical Reformers of the Puritan 
Revolution," Ambix, 14 (1967), p.33. The date of this oath 
(1652) may be significant. It should be recalled that in 
1652 Elias Ashmole published his prophecy that there would 
soon appear "more pregnant and famous Philosophers by Fire . . . then yet the world ere saw," and that these men shall 
restore the "Aetheriall Phisick" of Hermes. This physic 
would "not onely . . . Nourish, Fortifie, and Encrease the 
Vitall Spirits, but Digest, Correct and Consume all Imped­i-
ments and Corruptions, those hurtfull and Impure Seeds which 
crept in with the Curse" (Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 
460-61). Both Hartlib and Starkey may have thought this 
prophecy fulfilled, at least in part, for Starkey signifi-
Jantly signed himself "a Philosopher by Fire" (Pyrotechny 
Asserted [1658], t.p.).
'medicinal millennium' his art would soon establish on earth. Just three years after Felgenhauer's prediction of the 'alchemical breakthrough,' Starkey is declaring that a concoction he has brewed will "overcome" "all diseases." 43 "This medicine is universal," he asserts, speaking of his famous alkahest, "and wonderfully restorative, curing all diseases powerfully in tono uni sono" (Pyrotechny Asserted, p.150). In a curious passage that brings to mind the allegory of Felgenhauer, Starkey suggests that through alchemy, or through his own particular brand of alchemy, mankind can once again inhabit a sort of earthly paradise. How literal or physical a paradise he may have meant is not clear, but Starkey was little given to mystical allegories or double talk. He says that the alchemical fire is creative, not destructive. From this creative, fecund fire will grow pleasant gardens and fresh walks, wherein may be gathered the sweetest flowers, "flowers of Sun," he calls them, and "Apples of Paradise, Fruit from the tree of Life [!], and therefore are professed enemies to death, and his armies of diseases, the bowes of that tree being for the healing of the Nations" (Pyrotechny Asserted, sigs.A3v-A4r). Through alchemy, Starkey goes on to promise, people shall be blessed once again with the gifts of paradise: 

43Pyrotechny Asserted and Illustrated, To be the surest and safest means for Arts Triumph over Natures Infirmitities (London, 1658).
"Wisdom, Length of daies, durable riches, true and substantial honour." We have met these 'gifts' before, when discussing the content of alchemy's salvational message. We have also seen them in the principal millenarian works of Puritan England. Starkey was promising only what the age itself desired, and fully expected to come with the millennium.

While Comenius was busy advancing the millennium through pansophia, Hartlib, as we have seen, was hard at work trying to bring about the Golden Age through alchemy. His efforts in this pursuit were not confined to supporting Starkey. Re-viving what is perhaps the most ancient function of magic—the insurance of fecundity—Hartlib labored in the cause of reformation by advocating the use of chemistry/alchemy in agriculture, as a way of releasing nature from the blighting effects of the Curse. All of his efforts to bring about agricultural reforms, his interest in horticulture and in gadgets and inventions to aid farming were focused on one goal: to make England, and then the whole earth, another Eden. His mission in life was to make real the paradisic dreams of the Hermetic reformers (see above, pp.72-77).

44 These same claims were made a few years later by John Heydon, the pseudo-Rosicrucian. The axiomata of the Brotherhood he wrote, could "enrich and instruct the whole world, and liberate it from innumerable hardships." He promised, like Comenius and Hartlib, a "golden World" of "Pleasure, Long life, health, and youth," riches, success in love, happiness, contentment, wisdom, "unshaken Prudence, Temperance, Benignity, Piety, Modesty, Justice, Faith, Grace, Equity, Clemancy" (El-havarevna [1665], p.197, and Theomagia [1664], p.150).
As we have already seen in Chapter II of this study, the vision of a nature released from the Curse, once again fertile, fruitful, benign, permeated both the occult and millenarian milieux of Puritan England. The tract written by Alsted, Comenius' master, prophesied, in the tradition of Lactantius, that the earth would once again express her fruitfulness (Beloved City, sig.A2r). William Lilly (a year later, in 1644) envisioned a new age marked by "plenteous fruits," and by soil so fecund that all within it would "flourish," and when the fields "shall not be divided as before,/ Nor to the plough be subject any more." In a similar vein, the Diggers expected at any moment the "restauration of the Earth to its first condition," when travelers who pass through England shall say, "This Land was barren and wast is now become fruitfull and pleasant like the Garden of Eden." As we shall see, Hartlib dreamed of the very same thing.

Such prophecies and expectations were entirely consistent with Hartlib's own vision of the future paradise. As Trevor-Roper has observed, Hartlib's 'philosophic' contribution to the Puritan reform movement was that of making more vivid the dreams of the future shared by so many during the Puritan Revolution. According to Hartlib, God's plan for His creation involves the "renovation of the Creature by a natural operation" (Chymical ... Addresses, pp.1-2). Renovation was not to be sudden or supernatural, but gradual and by dint of man's labor. In the cause of such a renovation, man may use whatever
means at his disposal to implement God's plan. For Hartlib, and for others, this meant that alchemy and magic could be used "to draw forth the earth to her uttermost fruitfulness." 45

Hartlib's 'magical ecology,' or 'alchemical husbandry,' was not, as we have already seen, of his own concocting. Of course Paracelsus and others had taught that alchemy could renovate and restore "all cattle, fruits, herbs, and trees" (Paracelsus His Archidoxis [1660], p.13). Some of these were Englishmen, and one, Gabriell Platten, was a close friend of Hartlib.

The earliest Englishman to advocate such a use of magic was Hugh Platt. In Flores Paradise (reprinted in 1653 as The Garden of Eden [!] ), a work written in 1608, Platt talks about astrology and natural magic being used to restore to the earth something of her Edenic fruitfulness. In one passage he suggests that if the earth had simply lain fallow after its creation, the stars themselves would have "so manured"

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45 Cornu Copia (1652), p.8. The way in which Hartlib's millenarianism expressed itself inevitably hints at some connection between his circle and the Diggers. They saw in the conversion of the commons a means of providing all people with sufficient goods, and thereby eliminating Antichristian buying and selling. Similarly, Hartlib taught that through magic, mankind will discover the "means of Plenty," and usher in the millennium. Possessed of plenty, "we shall then be all inclined to beat our swords into Plough-shares, and our spears into pruning-hooks, and . . . we shall live as Brethren," precisely what the Diggers believed too (A Designe for Plentie, By an universall Planting of Fruit-Trees [1652], sig.A3r).
it with their divine influences, that the ground would have
brought forth "strange and glorious plants, fruits & flowers,
as none of all the Herbarists that ever wrote till this day"
had ever seen. Only Adam, he says, would have been able to
name such exotic plants (pp.7-8).

The stars can still be used to increase fecundity, Platt
argues. He who knows how "to lay his fallows truly, whereby
they may become pregnant from the heavens, and draw abundantly
that celestially and generative vertue into the matrix of the
Earth; this man, no doubt, will prove the true and philosophicall
Husbandman, & goe beyond All the country Coridons of
the Land" (p.9).

Alchemy is another occult science which furnishes the
'philosophical husbandman' with a magical means for insuring
plenty, and awakening the dormant paradisic longing of the
earth. Corn, for example, can be so "philosophically" (i.e.,
chemically) prepared, "only by imbibition in the Phil-
osophers aqua vitae, that any barraine ground, so as it bee
in nature kindly for corne, shall bring forth a rich crop,
without any matter added to the ground." Could not Ripley,
"that renowned Alchymist," make "a Peare-tree to fructifie
in Winter"? (p.6). 46

46 In Theatrum, Ashmole wrote that the "Vegitable" stone
could bestow the knowledge of how to make "all kinds of Trees,
Plants, Flowers" "Grow, Flourish & beare Fruit," "Daily,
Monethly, Yearly, at any Time, at any Season; yea, in the
depth of Winter" (sig.B).
There is a substance, Platt continues, that has been so "enriched from the heavens," that it will make any ground "flourish and fructifie in a strange and admirable manner: Yea, I am perswaded, that it wil receive any Indian plant, and make all vegetables to prosper in the highest degree, & to beare their fruites in England, as naturally as they doe in Spaine, Italie, or elswhere; & that either by a branch of this Skill, or with a graine or two of the great Elixir applied to the roote, that Black-thorne bush . . . which blossometh . . . neere or upon the birth-day of our Lorde God, . . . had his strange nature given unto it" (p.5).

There is no mistaking the occult influence upon Platt's magical husbandry. Platt, in England, was giving expression to the paradisic quest of the Hermetic reformers of the Ren­aissance, who also believed, as we have seen, that magic could release all nature from the Curse of the Fall. Platt himself proudly confesses that it was Agrippa who first per­suaaded him to use magic to renovate physical creation. Platt also adds, interestingly, that he has abridged the first three books of Agrippa's Occulta Philosophia to make avail­able to English adepts those passages in which the master explains "most learnedlie, though exceeding darklie," the "vegetable Philosophy" of magic (sig.A5r). When Platt's work was revived during the Puritan Revolution (thirteen editions of his work appeared between 1647 and 1660!), it contributed its paradisic vision not only to the occult milieu, but to the
millenarian euphoria of the Puritan sects as well, for it depicted what the most important millenarians of the age all agreed would come: a Golden Age of fruitfulness and fecundity.

Platt's influence on Hartlib cannot be denied. But an even more immediate influence was Gabriel Platten. Platten has recently been identified by Professor Charles Webster as the author of Macaria, long attributed to Hartlib. In terms of its basic message, Macaria could very well have been written by either of these men, for it reflects their shared utopian, alchemical, and reformist interests. Of the five councils devised to superintend social and economic development in the utopian kingdom of Macaria, the most emphasis is given to the Council of Husbandry, by which "the whole Kingdome is become like to a fruitful Garden." Behind this vision, as we now well know, is the paradisic dream of the Hermetic reformers and millenarian alchemists.

Writing before the Civil War, Platten tried to re-direct the alchemical movement towards applied husbandry. Although he asserts that he has accomplished transmutation, he contemns this endeavor as not as "lucrous" as the new alchemical pursuits he advises adepts to take up.47 He calls for alchemists to direct their "inventive braines" to the study of "my new Husbandry" (p.26). This 'new husbandry' is really old magic,

47The claim is made in A Discovery of Infinite Treasure (1639), p.25, and A Discovery of Subterraneall treasure (1639), p.41.
for it rests on the use of alchemy to insure fecundity, precisely as Paracelsus and Hermes had taught. In language that remarkably anticipated the social-reform message of the Diggers, Plattes reveals, for a moment, the crypto-millenarianism that underlies his pursuit of plenty through magic:

I have as good a minde to it [i.e., transmutation], as to any temerarious enterprise that ever I tooke in hand, to try my cunning to strike off at one stroke the head of that oughly monster, Covetousnesse, by taking all danger of future want cleare away, for then none but fooles would be covetous. 48

Like Macaria, Plattes' Discovery of Infinite Treasure was designed "to make this Countrey the Paradise of the World" ("Epistle Didictory," sig.A3v). This was, of course, the mission of the magicians and the hope of the millenarians throughout the seventeenth century.

It is within this millenarian context and tradition that we should view, I believe, the agricultural reform endeavors of Ralph Austen, another associate of Hartlib. The millenarian impulse animating their mutual endeavors can be detected

48 A Discovery of Infinite Treasure, hidden since the worlds beginning (London, 1639), p.91. For Winstanley, "Kingly Covetousnesse" was the original sin, the flaw that corrupted nature and thrust man from paradise into bondage. His utopian system eliminated covetousness by furnishing each person with more than enough provisions. His program "will turn swords into plowshares, and settle such a peace in the Earth, as Nations shall learn War no more" (The Law of Freedom, ed. R. W. Kenny, p.61). Later alchemists, Ashmole and French being two, also explicitly attacked 'covetousness' in their alchemical works, and suggested that by eliminating this sin, alchemy would be initiating the millennial age.
in Austen's *A Treatise of Fruit=Trees* (London, 1653), dedicated "to the worshipfull Samuel Hartlib," and embodying that spirit of paradisic longing so characteristic of both magicians and Puritans during the revolutionary years.

Excited by a millenarian vision of the future paradise now possible through 'philosophical husbandry,' Austen exclaims that their 'new husbandry' shall fulfill the prophecy of *Esau 49:19-20*, where it is said that "'the Wast and desolate places shall be inhabited'" (Epistle Dedicatory). For Austen, the planting of fruit trees is almost—if not in fact—a millenarian act, almost like the planting of parsnips was to the millennial Diggers. With each fruit planted, the earth moves along in its progressive journey towards the Edenic state God Himself has ordained for it. By planting such trees, and by tending them with a reformed husbandry, as it was called, England would soon be transformed into "another Canaan, flowing with Milk and hony, of which it is recorded, that there were Fruit-trees in abundance" (Ibid., *Neh.9:25*).

The messiah, so to speak, is the adept devoted to husbandry, who will lead the nation out of the desert and into an earthly paradise. Was not "Adam in time of his Innocency," Austen asks pointedly, "employed in this part of Husbandry about Fruit-trees?" ("To the Reader"). What lied behind this question is the old magical dream of restoring nature once again to the state it possessed in its innocence. The reinvigoration of natural things would restore mankind to
paradise. All Austen was doing here was giving voice to the great vision of his time, a vision and dream that captivated both magician and millenarian during the years of the Puritan Revolution.

One can well imagine the thrill and excitement that must have shot through Hartlib when he heard from the lips of Starkey that he was about to discover that alchemical elixir which had long ago infused new life into a peach tree that had been withered for eight full years (Turnbull, "George Stirk," p.239). No doubt Hartlib was convinced that his Hermetic/Rosicrucian circle of adepts was on the brink of discovering that magical agency which would make the "waste and wilde places" of the earth, as Hartlib wrote, "abound with fruitful trees," just like the very "Garden of God" itself (A Designe for Plentie, p.10). His adepts would have the glory of fulfilling the dream of these revolutionary years—the millennial dream that nature would soon be released from the Curse, and restored to its original Edenic fecundity (see above, pp.116-20). Since this dream dominated the imaginations of almost every Puritan millenarian of mid-century, it is not surprising that in this—as well as in other things—Hartlib and his colleagues were the true philosophers of the Puritan Revolution.

Conclusion

This review of some of the works and people associated with the revival of Rosicrucianism in Puritan England has made
clear, I believe, that the Rosicrucian milieu gave repeated and diverse expression to a millenarian message, to a message that reinforced, in all of its particulars, the dominant contemporary dreams of world reformation to be found in the Puritan sects. Hartlib, Dury and Comenius were indeed, as Trevor-Roper has put it, "enthusiastic prophets of the Protestant millennium" ("Three Foreigners," p. 293).

The Rosicrucian revival of the 1640s and 1650s was clearly not an organized and conscious attempt to create an English chapter of the secret society, but a revival of certain dreams, hopes, and expectations that Rosicrucianism had in common with the 'millennial mode' of magic and with the chiliastic, left-wing Puritan groups. Although Rosicrucianism in England was a revival of a magico-millenarian impulse towards the world, it was a result, at least in part, of the millenarian euphoria which characterized the 1640s and early 1650s. English Rosicrucianism was rather like a response to the broad popular demand for some sort of supernatural, miraculous agency that would transform and perfect human culture and the natural condition.

It is in this light that the many endeavors of the Hartlib circle must be understood. What is important is not the methodology the Hartlib circle may have employed, but the impulse that impelled it. If we look only at the methods of these adepts, then the members of the Hartlib circle appear to be scientists manque. But if we view them within the context of their time, and in terms of the occult tradition which
they accepted and attempted to implement, then they appear in their true light—as millenarians who were following the magical road to paradise.

To view them as scientist manque would not only distort the nature of their work, it would also obscure the nature of the new science with which these adepts were so closely allied. What I would like to suggest is that the new scientists of the 1660s did not wholly escape the influence of the Hartlib circle—that they were, one might say, millenarians manque.

If we ask, 'where did the reforming, millenarian impulse go after 1660,' we might answer, 'into the burgeoning scientific movement.' The drive to reform the world, to perfect it, to transmute it into a paradisic domain at once fecund and treasure-laden, this drive was absorbed by science. Although it repudiated, by and large, the magical procedures of the occult tradition, the new science gave new expression to its "millennial hope," as Bacon, perhaps, knew it eventually would. Fisch has astutely remarked that it was the 'millennial hope' of Bacon, a hope he had inherited from the Hermetic reformers of the Renaissance, "which has worked even more powerfully (however surreptitiously) in the history of modern science and modern civilization" than Bacon's stress upon a mechanical physics (Jerusalem and Albion, p.86). And indeed, to this day, when mechanical physics has been almost discarded, it has been Bacon's 'magical' dream of using
gnosis to undo the work of the Fall which has continued to possess us, and to drive us on.

If, after 1660, magic began to lose its 'millennial overtones,' it was because its millenarian impulse towards the world—the impulse that has been examined in this study—was gradually being absorbed by the new science of Francis Bacon and the Royal Society. It would be the new science which would fulfill the millenarian expectations of those who envisioned an earthly paradise and new Golden Age. It would be to the new science that chiliasts would turn for validation of their perfectionist hopes. We can find evidence of this in Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667), where Cowley wrote,

Lo! Sound too the Trumpets here!  
Already your victorious Lights appear;  
New Scenes of Heven already we espy,  
And Crowds of golden Worlds on high;  

(sig.B3)

It had been just two years earlier that John Heydon, a professed 'Rosicrucian,' promised his readers a "golden World" through magic (see above, p.306, n.44). The voice had changed, but the promise was the same. 49

CONCLUSION

Before we consider the conclusions justified by this examination of the occult milieu of Puritan England, a review of the material explored in this study would be in order.

It was argued in Chapter II that Western magic can be separated into different modes in terms of the scope and nature of the earthly salvation that is promised. By focusing on the content of Western magic's various salvational messages, I distinguished between three primary modes of the occult: thaumaturgy, Hermeticism, and millenarian magic.

As we saw, thaumaturgy—-the perennial form of magic--offered immediate, ad hoc salvation (in the form of relief) from the minor daily aches and pains of human existence. It promised to mitigate the physical ailments and psychological stresses unavoidably associated with the human condition. More particularly, it promised to individuals reassurance, protection, relief from pain, health and prosperity. Although these promises were made by 'millenarian magic,' they were limited, in thaumaturgy, to the individual, not to the culture. Moreover, thaumaturgy promised to save a person only from the minor afflictions or shortcomings of life, not from
the limitations of the human condition itself.

The term 'Hermeticism' was used to describe two closely related forms of magic which emerged at the time of the Renaissance, and which were rooted in the body of writings ascribed to Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus. Underlying both of the Hermetic forms of magic was the gnostic doctrine that through the intellect, man can once again become 'divine.' In what was called the 'contemplative' form of Hermeticism, 'becoming divine' amounted to the deification of the adept, and his acquisition of the contemplative powers of God, which the adept was to exercise in the passive reflection on, and worship of, the cosmos and its Creator. The salvation offered by this form of magic was individual (like the salvation offered by thaumaturgy), but it was also complete and total (unlike that offered by thaumaturgy). The second form of Hermetic magic was called 'operative' magic. Operative magic conceived salvation as release from the physical laws of nature. The adept would acquire the creative powers of God, and with these powers, suspend the customary operations of nature in order to work thaumaturgic-like miracles for the benefit and profit of all mankind.

Operative magic, I argued, was transmuted, under the influence of the new scientific movement and revived traditions of prophetic millenarianism, into yet a new kind of magic, into a magic with a still more ambitious thaumaturgic enterprise as its goal. This new kind of magic which emerged at
the time of the Renaissance, I named millenarian magic. I did so because this form of magic offered to all humankind a salvation that was at once collective, terrestrial, imminent, total, and miraculous. Millenarian magic sought to use occult operative powers philanthropically, to 'save' both nature and society from the continuing effects of the Curse. The salvation offered by this mode was neither individual nor ameliorative, but cultural and perfect. This form of magic was 'millenarian' because it promised to bring about, in essence, the 'new heaven and new earth' promised in Revelation.

In Part 2 of Chapter II we explored in more detail the precise content of this millenarian salvational message. We saw that the salvational promise of millenarian magic amounted to the restoration of paradise, most frequently depicted as either Eden or the Golden Age. This restoration of paradise was interpreted to mean that humankind generally would once again acquire the powers and enjoy the gifts that Adam allegedly enjoyed and exercised in his prelapsarian condition in Eden. What these powers and gifts were thought to be was indicated by a review of alchemical and magical texts published during the Renaissance and sixteenth century.

We found that these gifts and powers were of two kinds—spiritual (or emotional), and physical (or materialistic). Under spiritual gifts were included such attributes as peace, security, freedom, brotherhood, happiness, virtue, spiritual
perfection, and any other intangible quality deemed by the magicians to be requisite for a perfect state of earthly existence. All these were to be conferred on humankind by magic. Under physical gifts were included such materialistic benefits as riches (gold, jewels, money, etc.), power, health, longevity, and perhaps even immortality. Under this heading might also be included the transformation of the actual physical environment surrounding humankind. By using magic to reinvigorate and make perfectly fecund and long-lived the flowers, plants, and animals of the earth, the magician would restore paradise—in a very literal sense—to all people. All these spiritual and physical gifts, if bestowed on mankind, would amount to the redemption of the whole earth from its present bondage to corruption. It was thus the mission of the magician to act the part of the messiah to the external world. The same beliefs and impulses which characterized the millenarian mode of Hermetic magic we later discovered in the occult sciences of Puritan England.

In Part 3 of Chapter II, I supported my use of the term 'millenarian' to characterize the salvational message (or promise) of this one form of magic by demonstrating that what the magician envisioned coincided perfectly with what the Puritan chiliast of mid-century also expected in the millennium. Puritan millenarians hoped for, and awaited, precisely the same kind of spiritual and physical redemption promised by the magicians. They expected to enjoy, in the
millennium, spiritual and bodily contentment, physical pleasure, peace, vast material wealth, long-life, health, beauty, and even the fecundity characteristic of Eden. In every important respect, the salvation promised by the magicians agreed with the salvation envisioned by the Puritans. It was suggested that this agreement may help explain why prominent Puritan millenarians often used occult prophecies even if they themselves did not believe in magic, to validate their own chiliastic expectations and pronouncements.

The general purpose of Chapter II was to demonstrate that a form of Renaissance magic did in fact acquire what can only be called a millenarian impulse towards the world. An examination of this background material, however, also provided us with an explanation of why millenarianism was such a prominent feature of the occult sciences during the Puritan Revolution.

In Chapters III, IV, and V, the same millenarian elements found in the magical tracts of the Renaissance and later, were shown to exist in the occult milieu of Puritan England. We found the same millenarian myths, the same motifs, even the same prophecies, in the astrological, Behmenistic, and Rosicrucian circles of revolutionary England.

In Chapter III, it was shown that astrological data were used by Puritans to validate or otherwise reinforce and make more credible conceptions of the millennium popular with
Puritan chiliasts of mid-century. Thus, some of those seeking to validate particular millenarian expectations of the age, used astrological data to reveal the imminency of the Fifth Monarchy or reign of the Messiah; others used the same data to increase popular belief in a spiritual rebirth and the imperial sway of Protestantism throughout the world; and still others used astrology to prophesy of the overturning of the social order and advent of a democratic, egalitarian Golden Age. In other words, Puritan millenarians repeatedly resorted to astrology in some form to reaffirm their own beliefs, or to make more credible to others their own millenarian predictions and programs. At the same time, and in much the same way, practising astrologers—many of whom espoused radical Puritan doctrines—used their occult science to legitimize the millenarian expectations that both they, and their fellow sectarians, harbored. Puritan millenarians of almost every persuasion could thus turn to some portion of the astrological milieu to find predictions and myths supporting their own visions and beliefs regarding a future Golden Age or millennium.

Similarly, Behmenism, as we learned in Chapter IV, also gave repeated expression to various forms of millenarian prophecy current in the Puritan millenarian milieu of the revolutionary years. Boehme, it was shown, combined his magical obsessions with his role as a visionary prophet of the millennium. He suggested that the millennium would come
about, in part, through a gnostic enlightenment of the occult secrets of creation, an enlightenment to be wrought by a true Christian magician. Because he depicted the millennium as a time of spiritual enlightenment, Boehme's prophecies tended to appeal to the more mystical chiliasts of the day. Yet, the language into which his visions were translated was the language of apocalyptic Puritanism generally, and not of any one sect. Consequently, when his message was rendered into English, it appealed to Fifth Monarchists, Diggers, and even Ranters, as well as to Baptists and Quakers. Boehme's English disciples, it was shown, repeated his millenarian message, one going so far as to suggest that the millennium would be the work of the Magician of Jehovah, who will use Behmenistic magia to expose and thus depose the Antichristian power structure corrupting the world.

What we discovered in Chapter V was that in 1652, when Thomas Vaughan, a mystical alchemist, issued an English translation of the first two Rosicrucian manifestos, the original Rosicrucian call for a universal reformation of the world was added to, and thus reinforced, the millenarian fervor pervading the Puritan sects during the 1650s. I argued that this explicitly millenarian call was likely drawn into print by the prophetic milieu of the late 1640s and 1650s, when Puritan millenarians of the various sects were waiting for and seeking a group of apostolic redeemers who, it was prophesied, would heal the wounds of the Civil War and lead
England into a future promised land of spiritual perfection and material well-being. We saw that some adepts of the age associated these prophetic figures with the Rosicrucians. We also saw that a reformed version of the Rosicrucian message, minus its note of 'terror,' was emanating from the Hartlib circle, a circle of adepts several of whose members had once been associated with European Rosicrucian groups. This circle continued in Puritan England the Rosicrucian program of world reformation through the occult sciences. That program both Hartlib and Comenius advanced in behalf of the Puritan cause. Comenius, invited to England by Parliament, taught that a pansophic reformation of education would lead to the world sabbath, that seventh age of perfect contentment and rest equivalent to the millennium desired by the Puritans. Samuel Hartlib dreamed of using alchemy to renovate nature itself, to transform it into a literal paradise. The well-established fact that both Hartlib and Comenius were publicly praised in sermons given before the Long Parliament, and that the chief support for their reforming endeavors came from the 'country party' alliance, is the most powerful evidence we have seen that the occult milieu was used by Puritans—in this case, mainstream Puritans—to reinforce and validate their own political programs and their own reformationist and millenarian dreams.

What conclusions seemed justified by the wealth of material
examined in this study?

One conclusion seems inescapable: that between 1640 and 1660, the occult milieu of Puritan England gave repeated expression to a millenarian message—that it voiced numerous and various prophecies, myths, predictions and pronouncements that contained obviously millenarian or reformationist significance.

It is also clear that this millenarian message emanating from the occult milieu was identical—in its basic salvational content—to the millenarianism pervading the Puritan sects at this time.

Moreover, it is also quite clear that the most diverse kinds of Puritans—from Behmenists to Fifth Monarchists and Diggers—frequently employed occult material in some form and in some way to legitimize and validate their own revolutionary, reformationist, or millenarian hopes and beliefs.

Viewed as a whole, this evidence and these conclusions drawn from the evidence would suggest another explanation for why the Puritans—and particularly the radical Puritans—took such a sympathetic interest in the occult sciences during the Puritan Revolution, an interest that took the form of their attempting to revive all the occult sciences. Puritans were attracted to the occult sciences during these years because they could find there myths, prophecies, and even promises that buttressed, validated or somehow re-invigorated their own millenarian expectations.
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Part 2: Secondary Sources


